TRANSLATION AND POWER:

THE TRANSLATOR’S FOOTPRINT IN A HISTORIOGRAPHIC TEXT DURING FRANCO’S DICTATORSHIP
Abstract

El presente documento explora la forma de identificar, de manera objetiva, la ideología implícita en la traducción de un texto a través del estudio de la obra *El laberinto español. Antecedentes sociales y políticos de la guerra civil* de Gerald Brenan y su traducción al castellano realizada por J. Cano Ruiz. Gracias al análisis crítico del discurso (CDA, por sus siglas en inglés) y al estudio y aplicación de las técnicas de traducción propuestas por Molina, hemos podido realizar un estudio descriptivo del texto traducido. Además, se proporcionan pruebas que demuestran la manipulación de algunos pasajes del texto original en la traducción. Por este motivo, es necesario realizar una revisión historiográfica de los hechos tratados en dichos pasajes modificados. Trataremos también con la importancia de la existencia de editoriales e intelectuales en el exilio, así como el papel que éstos jugaron en contrarrestar los discursos dominantes y la propaganda creada por quienes habían tomado el poder. Este estudio pone en evidencia la importancia de tomar consciencia acerca de la ideología del traductor cuando tenemos entre manos un texto traducido y podría abrir el camino a otros análisis de textos traducidos durante el franquismo en España y la consecuente censura ejercida.

This paper explores how to objectively find out the ideology engraved in the translation of a text through the study of Gerald Brenan’s *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War* and J. Cano Ruiz’s translation into Spanish. Through Critical Discourse Analysis and the study and application of Molina’s Translation Techniques, we will be able to perform a descriptive analysis of the translated text. Furthermore, evidence is provided that proves the manipulation of some passages of the Source Text in the translation. Consequently, a historiographic review of the facts included in the modified passages in the translation is required. We will also discuss the importance of the presence of exiled intellectuals and publishing houses and the role they play in offsetting the dominant discourses created by those in power. This paper outlines the importance of considering the translator’s ideology when dealing with a translated text and may pave the way for further review of translated texts during Franco’s dictatorship and consequent censorship in Spain.
Index

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................... 1

1. Introduction and Justification ................................................................................................. 4

2. Problem, Goals, Methodology and Bibliography .................................................................. 4

3. Theoretical framework, materials and methods, analysis results ........................................... 5
   3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis as a tool for source and target analysis............................ 5
   3.2. Ideology and its influence in translation ....................................................................... 9
   3.3. Translation Quality Assessment and Translation Techniques ........................................ 11
   3.4. Context: Ruedo Ibérico Publishing House .................................................................. 15
   3.5. About the Author .......................................................................................................... 17
   3.6. The importance of reviewing translations from the past .............................................. 19

4. Practical application ................................................................................................................. 20
   4.1. CDA analysis of source text ......................................................................................... 21
       4.1.1. Description Stage: Linguistic features based on SFG ........................................... 21
       4.1.2. Interpretation Stage ................................................................................................ 28
       4.1.3. Explanation Stage .................................................................................................. 30
   4.2. CDA analysis of target text .............................................................................................. 31
       4.2.1. Description Stage: Linguistic features based on SFG ........................................... 31
       4.2.2. Interpretation Stage ................................................................................................ 35
       4.2.3. Explanation Stage .................................................................................................. 36
   4.3. Molina’s Translation Techniques ...................................................................................... 36
       4.3.1. Findings .................................................................................................................. 38
   4.4. Results ............................................................................................................................... 49

5. Conclusion ................................................................................................................................. 52

6. Further investigation .................................................................................................................. 54

7. Bibliography ............................................................................................................................. 54

8. Annexes .................................................................................................................................... 56
TABLE INDEX

TABLE 1: MOLINA’S TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES ................................................................. 15
TABLE 2: PROCESS OCCURRENCES ..................................................................................... 22
TABLE 3: MOOD IN ST ............................................................................................................ 26
TABLE 4: PERSONAL PRONOUNS .......................................................................................... 27
TABLE 5: PROCESSES OCCURRENCES ............................................................................... 32
TABLE 6: MOOD IN TT ............................................................................................................ 33
TABLE 7: THEMATIC STRUCTURE .......................................................................................... 34
TABLE 8: TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES IN THE TEXT ......................................................... 39
TABLE 9: LITERAL TRANSLATION .......................................................................................... 40
TABLE 10: LITERAL TRANSLATION ...................................................................................... 41
TABLE 11: ESTABLISHED EQUIVALENT .............................................................................. 41
TABLE 12: AMPLIFICATION ................................................................................................... 42
TABLE 13: LINGUISTIC AMPLIFICATION ............................................................................. 43
TABLE 14: LINGUISTIC COMPRESSION ............................................................................... 44
TABLE 15: REDUCTION ........................................................................................................... 44
TABLE 16: COMPENSATION ................................................................................................. 46
TABLE 17: MODULATION ..................................................................................................... 46
TABLE 18: TRANSPOSITION ................................................................................................... 47
TABLE 19: GENERALIZATION .............................................................................................. 48
TABLE 20: PARTICULARIZATION .......................................................................................... 48
TABLE 21: TEXT ALTERATIONS ............................................................................................ 51
1. Introduction and Justification

Recently, Translation Studies have given more and more importance to the translation of subversive texts. Many studies have been conducted on the manipulation of literary texts during Franco’s dictatorship and consequent censorship, but there is little to be found in relation to historic texts.

The content of this study is focused precisely on the descriptive analysis of the translation of Brenan’s book *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War*. The methodology used in this paper is firstly, a critical analysis of the source text and of its translation, and secondly a descriptive analysis of translation based on Molina’s Translation Techniques. The first part is intended to decipher the writer’s ideology, while the second is oriented towards finding out the ideology of the translator and seeing if it matches that of the writer and of the general lines of the publishing house, as well as verifying if any changes have been introduced by the translator or if manipulation of some sort is taking place.

Taking into account Brenan’s influential position as a respected historian, the conclusions drawn from this study might condition certain interpretations of the Spanish conflict, or the causes that led to it, and therefore require its historiographic revision.

2. Problem, Goals, Methodology and Bibliography

To what extent is a translator free to take his own decisions when doing his/her job? The wording choices we make while translating may seem superfluous or not so important, but they will always affect the way our translation is perceived in the target culture. In the past, the art of translation was perceived at a sentence-level, the focus was placed in translating word by word and in creating meaningful sentences, but that has changed since the appearance of the Skopos theory, which brought a shift from the sentence as the centre of attention for the translator to the text as a meaningful unit. The basic principle which determines the process of translation is the purpose (Skopos) of the translational action. The idea of intentionality is part of the very definition of any action (Nord, 1997: 27). Nowadays most agree that, when translating, meaning should be conveyed into the target language with as little semantic and stylistic difference as possible. However, some meaning differences are sometimes inevitable, and so, the choices and the ethics of a translator become hugely important.
The goal of this study is to throw some light over the importance of the ethics of the translator on political and historiographic texts in times of conflict. To do so, we will base our analysis in the CDA method to understand the power relations and ideologies present in texts written in English and translated into Spanish in the exile during Franco’s dictatorship and consequent censorship. Discourse Analysis (DA) is a discipline that studies the relationship between discourse and the social, political and cultural context in which it happens, that is, it studies language in use. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been widely used to uncover the ideologies and power relations present in texts. Even seemingly neutral texts are loaded with ideology. It is claimed that “almost any decision in translation is consciously or unconsciously guided by ideological criteria” (Nord, 2003: 111).

3. Theoretical framework, materials and methods, analysis results

Understanding the quality of a translation has been a central issue to translation studies since its beginning, but it is not an easy matter. To put it in Bowker’s words, defining the quality of a translation is extremely difficult because it presents “fuzzy and shifting boundaries” (Bowker, 2001: 347). There is no such thing as a definite guide for the quality of translations that is universal to every type of text. Therefore, we can assume that any critical comments regarding the quality of a translation need to have as a reference the parameters of a specific type of analysis. For the purpose of this paper, we will first perform an exhaustive analysis of the original and target texts, from a descriptive and functional approach, and then we will focus on the quality of the translation by doing a contrastive study of the previously mentioned texts.

3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis as a tool for source and target analysis

The theories of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are of enormous value when trying to decipher what is implicitly being said, what is happening behind the curtains in a text. It will help us analyse its linguistics and prove that, even when trying to preserve objectivity, texts are inevitably loaded with hints of ideology and personal utterances. CDA has its roots in Critical linguistics, it takes a descriptive and functional approach to understanding both the textual and extratextual aspects of a text through the lens of Halliday’s Systemic-functional Grammar (SFG). This is a meaning-based system, in which the text is perceived as a system composed by different parts that interact with each other in specific ways. It understands that language is a social practice and, as such, it is
tied to historical and cultural contexts and it serves a purpose, it conveys different intentions.

Through CDA we will be able to examine the dominant and subordinate discourses present in the text (although this can be extrapolated to any type of discourse in society) and thus this type of analysis not only depicts something important about the social world, but it also plays a key ethical and political role and shows us how social phenomena are discursively constructed. We tend to assume that certain types of texts are “knowledge”, “truth”, or simply “common sense” if they are part of an authoritative discourse. Take, for instance, a history book. You would think that everything written there is purely objective and true, impartial and strictly based on facts. Critical Discourse Analysis stresses that ideas, facts and knowledge are not static ideas, but rather shifting as discourse changes.

For Halliday (2000) the notion of Metafunction is at the core of this issue. The way he sees it, language has, simultaneously, three different functions: an Ideational Metafunction, an Interpersonal Metafunction and a Textual Metafunction; this means that a clause can be analysed from three different perspectives:

The Ideational Metafunction is concerned with how reality is expressed in a language, it comprises experience and the semantic association that is carried out in our brains between a thing of the world and the linguistic representation we make of it. Halliday (2004: 29) defines the ideational function as the function that the speaker or writer embodies language in his experience of the phenomena of the real world. Dijk (2008) adds that analysing the action-process of a discourse is one of the ways in doing CDA. Halliday divides this Metafunction into two: the Logical Metafunction, which is concerned with the grammatical resources used for building up grammatical units into complexes, for instance, how clauses are combined into clause complexes; and the Experiential Metafunction, that looks into the grammatical resources used for construing the flux of experience throughout the text or discourse. For the purpose of this analysis, we will focus on the latter.

The Interpersonal Metafunction relates to how we, humans, interact with each other. We not only talk to construe reality; we talk to communicate with other persons. This Metafunction analyses then the social aspect of language, the relationship between the writer and his public.
Finally, the Textual Metafunction is very closely related to the previous ones, in that it deals with coherence in the text. That is, it contains the information about the grammar of a language that makes it possible for interlocutors to maintain a coherent conversation or, in this case, the mechanisms used by the author to give coherence to the text. Its object is language itself.

Similarly, in *Language and Power*, Fairclough’s Three-dimensional approach to the CDA understands the text as a complex system and allows us to perform a critical analysis of it that will undermine the different relations of power and ideology present in the text by following three stages of analysis that are linked to his “three-dimensional conception of discourse”. In his work *Discourse and Social Change* (1992: 73) he used the following diagram that puts out very clearly his understanding of the relationship between a text, discursive practice and social practice. This visual representation helps us understand the inter-relations between the three levels of analysis. Having each of the dimensions embedded into others also shows the interdependence between the three of them (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Discourse and Social Change. Fairclough, 1992: 73

1. Description: In this first stage, to put it in Fairclough’s words (1989: 26), “Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text”. As the name indicates, here the formal properties of the text are analysed, such as the choice of words, syntax, morphology, use of different rhetoric figures, structure of the text, etc. This stage could be understood as a micro-level of analysis and is very closely related to Halliday’s Systemic-functional Grammar. To complete this stage, we will use the technique of transitivity analysis, proposed by Halliday, which allows us to obtain objective numeric data from the samples selected to then analyse...
in the Ideational Metafunction. For the Interpersonal Metafunction, we will look into aspects of Mood and, lastly, for the Textual Metafunction we will explore the thematic structure.

2. Interpretation: In the second stage, Fairclough says: "[...] interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as recourse in the process of interpretation" (1989: 26). At this stage the focus is placed on processing analysis, that is, on the practice of discourse: where is it coming from, who is the target audience, what channel is used to spread the message, what intertextuality is present, etc. In other words, the analyst needs to look at the production and consumption of the discourse. The focus here has shifted from a purely linguistic approach to a broader one: the discursive practice.

3. Explanation: In Fairclough’s words: "Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects" (1989: 26). This is the last stage of the analysis, and it is concerned with the historic, social and cultural aspects in which the text is framed. Since this stage takes a broader view of the whole context surrounding the text, it can be understood as a macro-level of analysis.

As we mentioned above, to perform the descriptive stage of CDA we will follow the Transitivity analysis proposed by Halliday. Mathiessen and Halliday (1997) state that grammar in Systemic Functional Linguistics refers to the resource for creating meanings by means of wordings. In creating the meanings, grammar can be represented within the previously mentioned Metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. In transitivity, the clause is the grammatical unit that can show what happens in a text. Based on the semantics of the verbs, each process or clause is categorized into one of the following categories: material, relational, mental, verbal, existential and behavioural.

The final goal of this analysis is to reveal the hidden or not apparent ideologies and the power and dominance structures that lie behind the actual words of a text. In discourse analysis, particularly when dealing with a historiographic piece of work, whose main aim is to tell the truth in the most objective way possible, it is tremendously important to understand how to identify the ideology of the author and throw light over
the traces of him/herself left on the text; and CDA, hand in hand with transitivity analysis, are great tools to achieve this.

3.2. Ideology and its influence in translation

Count Destutt de Tracy, a French philosopher, defined the term ideology for the first time at the end of the 18th century (Van Dijk, 2005: 5). He claimed that it is related to “systems of ideas, especially with the social, political or religious ideas shared by a social group or movement”. Hawkins (2001) defined ideology as the source of human conflicts and regarded it as a phenomenon in which humans are engaged with for a lifetime, just like language. For Mason (1994: 25), ideology is “a set of beliefs and values which inform an individual’s or institution’s view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts, etc”. It is thus clear that a person’s ideology will imprint anything he/she says or writes, especially when what is being told is the history of a country with a turmoil of ideologies and fights, and it will therefore shape the understanding of the reader about the events that are being told. We may deduct from this that there is no such thing as total transparency and objectivity when talking about history and politics, and therefore, that the importance of the role of both historians and translators is huge.

For the purpose of this paper, we will divide ideologies into two categories, attending to a classification established by Javid (2019: 5-14): internal and external ideologies. By internal ideologies, we refer to the ones which are made and followed by people themselves, that is, those which are common among people without any obligation by outer forces such as the government. We will divide the internal ideologies into: 1) norms, 2) religion, 3) culture, and 4) gender. By external ideologies, we refer to those that are imposed on people by an external agent. The external ideologies that we will examine in this paper are patronage and rules. There is no need to mention that some of these subcategories we just mentioned may belong to both types of ideologies in some cultures. Let us have a closer look at this classification:

1. Norms

Toury analysed the role of norms in translation. For him, norms are sociocultural constraints specific to a culture, society, and time. They are acquired through the process of education and socialization, and define what behaviours are expected by the members of a given society. In this respect, the translator will face different challenges when dealing with a
text, for example, with taboo terms or topics that can cause especial sensitivity in a specific culture.

2. Religion

Religion influences our internal ideology, it has certainly shaped the culture of the target audience of the translation we are dealing with, that of Spain, and it plays a major role in Brennan’s work. Religious terms, expressions or references carry a heavy load of ideology with them, and this can be another challenge for the task of translation.

3. Culture

Culture is strongly interrelated with norms and religion and it constitutes yet another type of internal ideology. Language and culture go hand in hand, and the role of the translator is not simply to translate words, but to convey a whole culture into a different language. I’d like to make reference to a statement by Chen Yan and Jingjing Huang:

A nation has not only its own language, but also its own culture, which came into being under the certain natural environment, historical conditions and social reality. The common culture gave birth to the common language. People from different languages needed to exchange and such exchange must be followed by translation since language is the most important instrument for culture. So, it can be seen that culture and culture exchange are the originations of translation, and translation is the product of culture exchange. In other words, translation can never exist without culture. Translation and culture can never be separated. (2014: 490)

4. Gender

Last but not least, gender shapes our ideology daily. It is one of the internal ideologies, as we are able to choose where we want to stand with regards to this issue. Sexism poses another challenge for translators and the way a text with gender marked terms is translated will heavily impact the perception of the speaker or writer in the audience.

As for the external elements that shape ideologies, let us take a brief look into what is understood by patronage and rules:
5. Patronage

Lefevere explored this concept, he understood that there are two factors that can influence the publication of a book. Firstly, there is the professional factor, the one that establishes the quality of that work, and secondly there is Patronage. Patronage is understood as the powers (persons, institutions) who can further or hinder the reading, writing, and translation of the literature. As he states, “Patrons can encourage the publication of translations they consider acceptable and they can also quite effectively prevent the publication of translations they do not consider so” (Lefevere, 1992: 19). In the next episodes we will discuss the context in which Brenan’s book was published and this concept will be particularly relevant, but as a little preview, we can say that the ideology of patrons has been often imposed on the masses by the means of deciding what to translate and what not to, how to translate it, and, in the case of Spain, creating a whole ministry in charge of selecting and banning or censoring books (literary and non) and altering others so the reception by the target culture would be different to what was originally intended.

6. Rules

Rules are an instrument that serve the purpose of patronage. They may consist of punishments for publishing texts which are considered ‘illegal’ according to the rules themselves.

3.3. Translation Criticism and Translation Techniques

Within the field of Translation Studies, Quality Assessment has always awakened interest among scholars. However, as stated before, it becomes necessary to first determine what is meant by quality. To what extent is it possible to measure quality? Is it possible to affirm that there will always be certain components in the quality of a translation that will always remain subjective? In any case, something is certain: that is, that there are, effectively, certain elements that can be measured in an objective way. Therefore, if we focus on those elements, we will be able to achieve a satisfactory measurement of the quality of a translation. Doubtlessly, measuring what is unmeasurable is extremely difficult, so a quality assessment should always be an objective and standardized process, in such a way that the process can be repeated in different texts or
excerpts of the same text to obtain similar results. Both translators, translator companies and scholars, and clients benefit from measuring the quality of translations.

Translation Criticism approaches the decisions of the translator and tries to understand where they come from, from a non-biased point of view and never with the aim of giving negative feedback but rather to try and see what purpose does a particular translation serve.

For House (1997: 119), "Translation criticism will always have to move from a macro-analytical focus to a micro-analytical one, from considerations of ideology, function, genre, register, to the communicative value of individual linguistic units in order to enable the reconstruction of the translator's choice and his decision processes in as objective a manner as possible".

We have so, that according to House, we should first examine macrostructural elements such as ideology, function, genre and register to be able to move afterwards to microstructural elements. In the previous chapter we examined a few considerations on ideology that we consider essential to carry out the analysis of the translation of this work. Following up with House’s idea of Translation Criticism, we will next have a look at the other aspects we will need in order to reconstruct the translator’s choices and understand whether or not he left his own trace of ideology in the target text.

Based on Bühler’s organon model, Jakobson defines six functions of language (or communication functions). Summing them up, these are:

- **The referential function**: According to Jakobson, the referential function relates to the thing "spoken of" (Jakobson, 1960: 355), or it is associated with an element whose truth value (true or false status) is being affirmed (or questioned). This is the function he describes the less, as if he gave it for granted.
- **The conative function**: The purpose of discourses with a predominance of this function is to influence the behaviour and attitudes of others. It is highly involved with commands and requests.
- **The emotive function**: it can also be referred to as the expressive function, and it can be said that it is used to describe the writer’s or the speaker’s emotions, feelings and attitudes. The most remarkable markers of this function that we might find in a socio-political text are exclamations.
- **The poetic function**, which understands the use of language as a linguistic artefact.
• The metalingual function, which is concerned with language itself, deals with the code in its latent form.

• The phatic function, which is used to keep a conversation going or to catch the attention of the audience.

The genre of a text or discourse refers to the topic dealt with in the narrative and the audience it is addressed to. Genre tends to be divided in two broad categories: fiction and non-fiction. Both these categories have tons of sub-categories that we will not get into as it is not so relevant for our cause. In the case of the book we will be working with, we would locate it in the non-fiction group, more specifically we can say that it is a non-fiction, historiographic work, that focuses on popular history.

Finally, following up with House’s approach to translation criticism, we shall consider register too. Register is the level of formality of a text or discourse. It should be seen as a scale where we could place a highly formal type of text such as academic writing in one end and very informal writing, such as a text to a friend, on the other. All in between are the different registers that can exist in a discourse.

Considering all these aspects, we will be able to understand the translator’s decisions better and to examine the source and target texts and the relation between them more closely. Molina (2002) has established the need for differentiation between translation methods, strategies and techniques. She understands the translation method as the global approach that the translator adopts and that affects the whole text. She talks about different translation methods that can be chosen and that depend on the aim of the translated text: interpretative-communicative (translation of the sense), literal (linguistic transcodification), free (modification of semiotic and communicative categories) and philological (academic or critical translation) (see Hurtado Albir 1999: 32). In her own words (Molina 2002: 508):

*The translation method affects the way micro-units of the text are translated: the translation techniques. Thus, we should distinguish between the method chosen by the translator, e.g., literal or adaptation, that affects the whole text, and the translation techniques, e.g., literal translation or adaptation, that affect microunits of the text.*
Translation strategies, on the other hand, are the processes that the translator uses (consciously or unconsciously) to solve translation problems that come up along the translation process.

For her, a translation technique cannot be good or bad in itself, but rather responds to the functional and dynamic nature of the process of translation and needs to be seen as a decision taken by the translator in relation to several factors:

1. The genre of the text (letter of complaint, contract, tourist brochure, etc.)
2. The type of translation (technical, literary, etc.)
3. The mode of translation (written translation, sight translation, consecutive interpreting, etc.)
4. The purpose of the translation and the characteristics of the translation audience
5. The method chosen (interpretative-communicative, etc.) (Molina 2002: 509)

The following is Molina’s classification of translation techniques (2002: 498-511). In her essay, she includes the following translation techniques we may encounter:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation Technique</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amplification</td>
<td>To introduce details that are not formulated in the ST: information, explicative paraphrasing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing</td>
<td>To take a word or expression straight from another language. It can be pure (without any change) […] or it can be naturalized (to fit the spelling rules in the TL).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calque</td>
<td>Literal translation of a foreign word or phrase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compensation</td>
<td>To introduce a ST element of information or stylistic effect in another place in the TT because it cannot be reflected in the same place as in the ST.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>To replace a term or expression with a description of its form or/and function.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discursive creation</td>
<td>To establish a temporary equivalence that is totally unpredictable out of context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established equivalent</td>
<td>To use a term or expression recognized (by dictionaries or language in use) as an equivalent in the TL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalization</td>
<td>To use a more general or neutral term.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic amplification</td>
<td>To add linguistic elements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic compression</td>
<td>To synthesize linguistic elements in the TT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literal translation</td>
<td>To translate a word or an expression word for word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modulation</td>
<td>To change the point of view, focus or cognitive category in relation to the ST.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularization</td>
<td>To use a more precise or concrete term.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>To suppress a ST information item in the TT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution (linguistic, paralinguistic)</td>
<td>To change linguistic elements for paralinguistic elements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposition</td>
<td>To change a grammatical category.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variation</td>
<td>To change linguistic or paralinguistic elements (intonation, gestures) that affect aspects of linguistic variation: changes of textual tone, style, social dialect, geographical dialect, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Molina’s Translation Techniques

3.4. Context: Ruedo Ibérico Publishing House

After three years of Civil War, the success of Franco over the republicans forced thousands of people to the exile. According to the historian Javier Rubio, over 684,000 persons left Spain as a consequence of the war\(^1\). Ruedo Ibérico Editions was found in 1961 in Paris by five Spanish expats from different political backgrounds who had a common belief: their desire to fight the fascist dictatorship that existed in Spain at the time and which was getting more and more settled thanks to the constant diffusion of controlled propaganda and which had established strong censorship over any discourse against the regime. Settling in the neighbour country was a perfect way to establish a base for criticism and to give voice to different intellectuals who would not be able to tell their truths about what was happening in Spain.

In 1951 the Ministry of Information and Tourism is created in Spain with competence to control and censor the means of communication, such as publications, news, radio content, news, etc. as well as issues related to tourism. Going back to the notes on ideology we mentioned previously, this constitutes an example of patronage. One of the most active ministers in this department was Manuel Fraga Iribarne, who was in charge during the period starting at 1962 until 1969. During his time there, he issued a “Bulletin of bibliographic orientation” (Boletín de Orientación Bibliográfica) that reviewed the works published by Ruedo Ibérico with a seemingly open-minded approach. However, as José Martinez, co-founder and editor of the publishing house, argues\(^2\), this served as a powerful weapon that altered the way in which people read their books. Among the titles published by Ruedo Ibérico, we find *The Spanish Civil War* by Hugh Thomas, and other important titles such as *The Myth of Franco's Crusade* by Herbert Southworth, *Spanish Republic and the Civil War* by Gabriel Jackson and *The Spanish

---

1. [https://eacnur.org/blog/ninos-refugiados-guerra-civil-espanola-tc_alt45664n_o_pstn_o_pst/](https://eacnur.org/blog/ninos-refugiados-guerra-civil-espanola-tc_alt45664n_o_pstn_o_pst/)
Labyrinth by Gerald Brenan. Reig Tapia argues (1986: 47) that all these works caused tremendous irritation in the political climate of Franco to the point of creating a “special” section within the Ministry of Information and Tourism to offset the ideological influence that they could bring to the new generations of Spaniards.

In this context, the role of the translator is essential, as his footprint will mark in one way or another the reception of that text in the target culture. Even though Venuti’s idea of transparency has been reconsidered later on by Bowker, it is worth taking it into account:

A translated text [...] is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers and reader when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer’s personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text, the appearance, in other words, that the translator is not in fact a translation, but ‘an original’. (1995: 17)

A recent study carried out by Guillermo Sanz Gallego found out that the translation of precisely one of the works mentioned above, “The Spanish Civil War” by Hugh Thomas, had been heavily manipulated in such way that it altered the perception of the work. Hugh Thomas’s works had a tremendous impact in the creation of a historic memory in Spain. Furthermore, considering that the target audience of such book was the republican band, perhaps people in the exile or who could access contraband books within Spain, it is easy to guess the sort of changes that were applied. Some of the most remarkable alterations the translator introduced include changing the approximate amount of deaths from 500,000 to 600,000 or the size of troops, where the republican band came out in a way better position than the nationalist one. All these major changes influenced the way people perceived the historic event of this particular war. Thomas’s book is taken as a source of reference for historic facts in other important works of the time such as Southworth’s The Myth of Franco’s Crusade.

But then again, translation needs to be understood as a means of conveying culture, the culture of a particular place into a target audience. As Sanz Gallego explains in his paper, Brubaker has put out a very interesting point, which is that any institution in the exile needs to be analysed in terms of both their political capacity to create the identity of a social group and in terms of its diasporic projects, which rather than describing the world, they aspire to reconstruct it (Brubaker, 2006: 12). Knowing that Ruedo Iberico
aspired to destroy the Francoist regime, we shall analyse in depth the original text and compare it with its translation to see in what ways and to what extent history can be “rewritten”.

3.5. About the Author

Gerald Brenan is considered to be one of the most important hispanists of the twentieth century. He lived in London for a while, where he joined the Bloomsbury group, getting involved with remarkable intellectuals such as Virginia Woolf, H. D. Foster and Morgan Foster among others. He spent much of his life in Spain, where he died in Malaga in 1987. In 1943 he wrote his most important piece of work: The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War, a book that would be banned by the censorship in Spain but nonetheless sold and read as contraband.

This is not a book that analyses or explains the facts happening during the war in Spain, it is a study of the social, political and economic causes that led to it. It was, however, written during and immediately after the war, and it therefore was influenced by the spirit of the time. It soon became one of the most important books of reference when talking about the conflicts taking place in Spain. Many important authors of the time mention it. For example, Southworth, in his book The Myth of Franco’s Crusade mentions Brenan’s work as one of the basic books to read for those who want to understand the war. Quite often francoist propaganda mixed up with the factual information about the war, leading to a manipulated and distorted historic memory of the conflict or, as others like to put it, of the Spanish Holocaust.

We have previously mentioned how the works of certain intellectuals awoke concern and anger among the Nationalist band, so much to create the Ministry of Information and Tourism. Among those intellectuals, Fraga Iribarne was especially worried by the influence caused by those of Anglo-Saxon origins, that is: Brenan, Thomas, Southworth Jackson and Payne (Reig Tapia, 1986: 48). By focusing on the positions of the Church, the military, and Spain’s economic and social movements in the country’s contemporary history, Brenan was able to present a multi-layered explanation for the events that took place between 1936 and 1939. Brenan’s work was noted when it appeared for showing an objective analysis of controversial topics, his ideology was not

---

3 The Spanish Holocaust by Paul Preston
explicitly exposed in the first edition of the book. The second edition (1960), however, clearly stated it in two of the paragraphs of the preface:

I especially wished to make clear the mistakes and illusions of the Spanish Left, for they were the people who, on the whole, seemed to me to have the greatest amount of justice and decency on their side and, since most persons of good will in other countries supported them and their cause was also that of the Democracies, the lessons to be learned from their failure might find a wide audience. [...] Of the folly and wickedness of the Military rising, dependent as it was upon foreign assistance, there can to-day be no two opinions. [...] The Nationalist leaders had had their heads turned by Nazi Germany: they wanted nothing less than a complete victory with the annihilation of their enemies. Brenan (1960: 9-10)

For the purpose of this study, we will focus on finding out how the hints of this ideology that was later explicitly revealed to the public and, therefore, proven, in the second edition, were present in the actual text of a sample of this history book and its translation and see if and how, as it happened with Thomas’s work, the translator left his own hints of ideology in the Spanish version. As Esenwein explains, although it might not have been Brennan’s intention to take sides in the polemics about the Civil War, the conclusions he reached made it uncomfortable for readers of both of the dominant narratives in the left and right to read him. As Belenguer explains (2015): “Conservatives found his pro-republican biases off-putting, while pro-communist and liberal leftist chose either to ignore or dismiss both his sympathetic treatment of unpopular causes like anarcho-syndicalism and his criticisms of communist policies”. Vernon Richards declared that Brennan had written a “scholarly and eminently readable book” which “cannot be too strongly recommended”\textsuperscript{5}. If we can prove how the writer was implicitly or explicitly transmitting his own ideology in the book, it will be interesting to see whether the translator has stuck to that very same ideology or if significant changes have been introduced that may alter the way the text and, in a next level, the conflict it talks about, were perceived by the target audience.

\textsuperscript{4} https://archive.org/details/spanishlabyrinth001334mbp/page/n7/mode/2up
\textsuperscript{5} Vernon Richards, Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, 1936-1939 (London: Freedom press, 1953),
3.6. The importance of reviewing translations from the past

As we all know, technology has exponentially evolved in the last few decades. Before that, translators (and writers, for that matter) were compelled to doing their job with pen and paper, therefore no translation memories, no glossaries, nor many of the helpful tools translators get nowadays. The impossibility to review closely every single translation that had been done in the world gave translators more freedom to express themselves through their work. I recently came across this article⁶:

> In 1900, Icelandic publisher and writer Valdimar Ásmundsson set out to translate Bram Stoker’s world-famous 1897 novel Dracula. Called Makt Myrkranna, this Icelandic edition included an original preface written by Stoker himself. Makt Myrkranna was published in Iceland in 1901 but remained undiscovered outside of the country until 1986. However, no one looked beyond the preface and deeper into Ásmundsson’s story. In 2014, literary researcher Hans de Roos dove into the full text of Makt Myrkranna, only to discover that Ásmundsson hadn’t merely translated Dracula but had penned an entirely new version of the story, with all new characters and a totally reworked plot. The resulting narrative is one that is shorter, punchier, more erotic, and perhaps even more suspenseful than Stoker’s Dracula.

I was deeply shocked, how was it possible that nobody had noticed it before? -

Turns out, it was not the only case. Recently, it was discovered that one of the most important historiographic accounts of the Spanish conflict had been not simply translated, but manipulated, as it was proved in a paper by Sanz Gallego, called “Translation as historiographical manipulation in exile: paratextual and intertextual analysis of Hugh Thomas’s *The Spanish Civil War*”. This has huge consequences, as the alteration of facts and figures related to historic events may lead to misinformation and a distorted view of history. Thomas’s book had been published by Ruedo Ibérico. Being Brennan another of the main hispanists dealing with the causes that led to the civil war, we will try to see if anything like this has occurred too with the translation of his book. It is important to note that, as stated before, Brenan’s ideology was explicitly shown in the Preface of the second edition of this book. We will focus on seeing how that ideology is visible in the text and we will use the same method to find out the ideology of the translator, of which there is no explicit allusion anywhere.

---

4. Practical application

In a first stage of the analysis, we will focus on Fairclough’s three-stage procedure for CDA analysis of the source text. Therefore, the process will be as shown in the following diagram (See Figure 2):

1. Description stage. We will examine prominent linguistic features within the framework of Systemic-functional Grammar through the lens of Transitivity, and we will give a close look to key relevant elements in each of the three Metafunctions as mentioned in the previous epigraph on CDA.
2. Interpretation stage. We will provide a plausible interpretation and establish a more comprehensive analytical framework.
3. Explanation stage. We will place the author’s discourse in a wider social context, where institutional and socio-historical factors relevant to his remarks are to be explored. The final goal is to bring the hidden and naturalized ideological messages to the surface for reinspection.

![Figure 2]

Taking into account that the length of Brennan’s book would make it impossible to analyse the whole text in this paper, we have selected a significatively long excerpt, corresponding to the epilogue of the book, that will help us get a general idea of what is going on beneath the surface.

After having analysed in depth through Fairclough’s CDA the source text (which, in turn, will use Halliday’s SFG), we will follow up with an analysis of the translation through House’s and Molina’s models. As for the sample we have selected for the deep
analysis, we will work on the Epilogue of the book, that comprises 17 pages. However, we will also briefly explore other issues that we have encountered while reading the rest of the book. Let us then get our hands on the text itself.

4.1. CDA analysis of source text

As expressed above, the epilogue of Brenan’s book will be first examined and described at a purely lexical and grammatical level, then interpreted at a discourse level and, finally, explained with regards to the socio-economic circumstances in which it took place. Fairclough states that “there is often a choice between different grammatical process and Participant types, and the selection that is made can be ideologically significant” (Fairclough, 1989: 120). Indeed, our choices of words often follow a purpose, whether it is a conscious or an unconscious one.

As Fairclough stated, “it is not possible to ‘read off’ ideologies from the text” (Fairclough, 1995: 71). For this reason and to provide data that can be analysed, we will use for this analysis Halliday’s transitivity system (1985), as he is recognised as one of the most prominent theorists of text and context relationship as regards the development of CDA. The SFG model, just as CDA, takes the concept of context as indispensable in the study of sentence structure (Halliday and Hasan, 1985). Transitivity, one of the three pillars of SFG for Halliday, represents a reflection of the processes that take place in the world through formal grammatical components. In transitivity, “grammar is related to reality” (Perez. M. C., 2007: 68). It thus considers a paradigmatic conception of language where choices play an essential function. Transitivity analysis is used as a tool for CDA.

4.1.1. Description Stage: Linguistic features based on SFG

As mentioned above, and following Dijk’s suggestion (2008) of analysing the action-process of discourse, we will make use of the Transitivity analysis to get started with the first stage of CDA. In the pages that follow, I will perform a transitivity, mood and thematic structure analysis of the epilogue in Brenan’s book. However, please note that this does not exhaust the possibilities of the three Metafunctions. For example, transitivity could be paralleled by an analysis of the ergative structure in terms of Agent, Process and Medium (Halliday 1994; Thompson 1996). Modality, in addition to mood, constitutes a significant element of the Interpersonal Metafunction. And the Textual Metafunction, includes, for example, information structure (analysed in terms of Given and New) and cohesion, that could add up to the thematic analysis we will perform.
A major element of the Ideational Metafunction is transitivity. In SFL, transitivity is much more than the traditional distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs; it is concerned with the type of processes involved in a clause, the participants connected in it, and, if there are any, the associated circumstances. We will first examine the text looking into the Experiential Metafunction, that is, looking at the actions and processes of the text. The source text’s transitivity analysis can be consulted in annex 1. In transitivity analysis, six processes can be categorized: material, verbal, mental, relational, behavioural, and existential. To recognize each process, we will look into the verbs that compose each of the clauses.

In the sample under analysis, we have found a total of 818 processes, of which 472 were material processes, 201 were relational, 75 mental, 41 verbal, 25 existential and 4 were behavioural processes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Verbs (as taken from the text)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>57.45 %</td>
<td>Rose against, occupy, destroyed, intimidated, abandoned, organized, were taken…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>24.57 %</td>
<td>Were, was, is, had, became…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>9.41 %</td>
<td>Needed, thinks, expect, see, felt, seemed, forgot, feared, suppose…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5.01 %</td>
<td>Had said, called, promised, insisting, replied, demanding,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.05 %</td>
<td>There is, there was, there were, there should be, there would be…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.48 %</td>
<td>Shed any tears, frowned…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>818</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: Process occurrences*

It becomes clear from the figures above that there is a total domination of material processes in the text, proven in the use of those processes in 57.45 % of times. As we have seen, material processes are marked by the use of action verbs, as depicted in the table above. The next dominating processes are relational processes, marked by the verb *to be* and other linking verbs, found in the data in 24.57 % of the instances. Mental processes account for 9.41 % of the total; verbal processes occur in 5.01 %, and are
represented by verbal verbs; and finally, we find very few behavioural processes, which some have found to be a sort of hybrid between Material and Mental processes, that account for 0.48% of the total of processes. Summing up, material and relational processes dominate the sample, while existential and behavioural processes are the least used.

As mentioned before, material processes are the processes of doing or happening in the transitive or intransitive clause. They are identified for involving a process or action and participants, represented by a Noun Phrase (NP). These participants can be of three types: Actors (who is doing the action), for example, “Diana (Actor) went to Geneva (Goal) (Eggins, 2004: 215)”; Goals, as seen in the previous example; and the Affected, which is someone or someone who is affected by the action marked by the verb, for example, “Pele (Agent) kicked the ball (Affected) (Downing and Locke, 2006: 133)”. Let us see some examples of this in the text:

1. “The Military Junta and group of Right-wing politicians which rose against the Government in July expected to occupy the whole of Spain, except Barcelona and perhaps Madrid, within a few days”. In this first sentence of the second paragraph of the epilogue, we can identify the Actor: “The Military Junta and group of Right wing politicians”, which is a NP with two coordinated elements; two processes: “rose against” and “expected to occupy”, and consecutively two Goals: “the government” and “the whole of Spain, except Barcelona and perhaps Madrid” respectively.

In the same paragraph, we find an example of a material process with an Affected as participant:

2. “But the plans of the rebels were defeated by the tremendous courage and enthusiasm […]: In this sentence, the process is “were defeated”, and the Affected is “the plans of the rebels”.

As we have seen, the second most common type of processes in the sample are Relational processes, where the verb marks the relationship between participants. Within this category, we may differentiate between three sub-categories: attributive, identifying, and possessive processes.
In the first sub-category, the participants are Carrier and Attribute. The meaning of an attributive process is that “X is a member of the class A” (Eggins, 2004: 240). A Carrier is the participant in the Attributive structure, while an Attribute is the entity to which is ascribed (Downing and Locke, 2006: 123).

In the second one, the identifying process, we find two participants: Token and Value. A Token is the participant being defined, while a Value is the participant which defines. Eggins (2004: 242) understands that a Token and a Value are composed by nominal groups.

Finally, in the last sub-category, possessive processes, the participants are the Possessor and Possessed. Let us see some examples of each of these in the text:

3. “But German and Italian help was enormously more powerful than Russia’s”. In this case, we find an attributive process, where “German and Italian help” is the Carrier, “was” is the relational, attributive process and “enormously more powerful than Russia’s” is the Attribute.

4. “The other important function of the committees was the taking over of the estates, factories and businesses […]”. This is an example of an identifying process, where “The other important function of the committees” is the Token, and “the taking over of the estates, factories and businesses” is the Value.

5. “They had at their disposal the greater part of the armed forces of the country”. This is a clear and simple example of a possessive process, where the Possessor is “They” and the possessed is “the greater part of the armed forces of the country”.

As for the rest of processes, not being so significant in the text, we will only mention them briefly. One of the Mental processes of the data is seen below:

6. “The Communists felt an intense hatred and suspicion of what they called Trotskyism”. The first process in this sentence is marked by “felt”, which carries two participants: a Senser (The Communists) and a Phenomenon (an intense hatred and suspicion of Trotskyism).

Verbal processes account for 5.01% of the total and are composed of two participants: a Sayer and a Verbiage. Thus, an example of this type of process found in the text is:
7. “The atmosphere at Burgos and Salamanca, as even ardent Fascist sympathisers have admitted, was heavy with suspicion and hatred”. In this sentence, we find a verbal process marked by the verb “admitted”, with two participants: a Sayer (ardent Fascist sympathisers) and a Verbiage (the fact that the atmosphere at Burgos and Salamanca was heavy with suspicion and hatred).

As for the last two types of processes:

8. “There were mutinies in various places” accounts for an example of an existential process.

9. “Whilst few shed any tears over the fate of these Left-wing Marxists […]” is an example of a behavioural process.

We have also noticed a highly frequent use of passivization and of compound verb phrases, as well as of nominalization. Passivization and nominalization are very remarkable techniques to look at when dealing with ideology, as they are characterized by an omission of the actor in the former and by an omission of the timing of the process in the latter, as there is no verbal tense. The lack of an actor or affected person in the process gives an idea of impersonality and detachment. Following this line, we will now look at the Interpersonal Metafunction, that is, at how the author of the text interacts with the public.

**INTERPERSONAL METAFUNCTION**

Interpersonal meaning is mostly analysed in terms of mood and modality, which refers to a speaker’s/writer’s/narrator’s attitude towards and opinions about the events and situations around him/her (Simpson, 1994: 47).

The Mood can be seen in the syntactic order of the sentence, focusing on the elements of Subject + Finite. The Subject is realised by a noun phrase that the speaker gives responsibility to for the validity of the clause, while the Finite is realized by the first functional element of the verbal group. According to Eggins and Slade (1997), the position of subject-finite in a clause marks to which speech function that clause belongs to. In Brenan’s epilogue we find that most clauses show a declarative mood, which is to be expected in this type of text. To put it in numbers, out of 818 processes, 2 are interrogative clauses and just one is imperative, meaning that 99.6% of them are declarative.
The Interpersonal Metafunction translates in a text's tenor or interactivity, which contains three participants: the speaker/writer persona (whether the writer or speaker has a neutral attitude, which can be seen through the use of positive or negative language), social distance (how close the audience is), and the relative social status (whether they are equal in terms of power and knowledge on a subject); but the two last ones are only applicable to spoken discourse, although, one might argue that the latter is also applicable to written text, such as this one, in which the writer is the authority and possesses the power of knowledge that he shares with the public. According to Fontaine (2013), modality is expressed by nine auxiliary verbs (can, could, shall, should, will, would, may, might, must) and various lexical items (such as adverbs like probably) or groups that function as modal adjuncts. The following tables summarize the presence of these in the text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal Verb</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Modality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.34 %</td>
<td>Ability/ possibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26.98 %</td>
<td>Ability/ possibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.69 %</td>
<td>Projection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.17 %</td>
<td>Inclination/futurity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25.39 %</td>
<td>Projection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.93 %</td>
<td>Likelihood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Might</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.11 %</td>
<td>Likelihood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Must</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.34 %</td>
<td>Obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Mood in ST

From the table above we find a strong preponderance of the modal verbs Could and Would, followed by Should and Might. All these modal verbs are on the weak side so to say, this means that they do not convey a strong sense of obligation or possibility, but rather a soft one implying what could have happened, how it should have happened or what might have happened if things had happened differently. Should is used to express a weak obligation, as in, for example, “[…]it increased the atmosphere of mutual hatred and suspicion between the different anti-Fascist parties who should have been cooperating loyally”. Might is used to express a weak sense of possibility. For example,
“Unfortunately the Church, which might have played a moderating part, applauded all these horrors”.

Adverbs of probability, such as Probably, never, hardly, scarcely, nothing or anything appear a few times in the text too, and they express polarity quite clearly.

Whereas the others appear less than 5 times each, never occurs often, ironically, more specifically it is found in 10 instances in the text. Let us look now at the use Brenan makes of personal pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Pronoun</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>We</td>
<td>Us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qty</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Personal pronouns

Some things stand out looking at Table 4: Third person pronouns account for 97.16% of the total, of which the feminine singular does not participate, as there is not a single instance of the pronoun ‘she’ in the text, just as of any second person pronoun. The first-person pronouns account for 2.81% of the pronouns used in the text, which means the author states his persona or opinion explicitly very little. It is easy to understand from these numbers that Brenan is talking mostly in third person plural, since They and Their account for 61.26% of the instances of pronouns, followed by the impersonal forms it and its (27.81%) and by the masculine singular forms he and his, which only accounts for 8.09% of the instances and which suggests Brenan is not pointing fingers at any particular person, but rather to groups of people.

TEXTUAL METAFUNCTION

One of the main elements of the Textual Metafunction is that of thematic structure, which is an analysis of the clause in terms of Theme, the writer’s starting point and Rheme, where the clause goes from there. The selection of a particular theme can reflect the assumptions of the writer. It may direct the audience’s attention to the topic by placing it at the slot of theme for his own unspoken purpose.

When taking a look at this aspect in the epilogue, we find out something quite interesting: most of the Themes in the epilogue refer to the left-wing side of the conflict.
Out of a total of 16 pages, Themes in 9 of them are almost exclusively referred to the left-wing side of the conflict, while only 4 are dedicated almost entirely to the right-wing side of it and 3 remain balanced. This does not mean that he has nicer words for the left-wing side, in fact, he talks about “their irresponsibility and their ruthlessness”, referring to one side, and about “their will to exterminate the enemy” of the other; but rather that he likes to put more emphasis on their perspective of the problem.

He does, in fact, criticise heavily both sides, but what concerns us here is just the Theme and the Rheme. While he talks quite a lot of the right-wing side of the conflict, he does not place them in the Theme, thus willingly or unwillingly placing them in a sort of secondary position.

The personal pronouns of third person plural “they” and “their” also account for a high level of appearance throughout the Themes in the text. Brenan uses them to mainly refer to the left-wing side of the problem: whether it is the communists, the anarchists, the republicans, the collectives or the government.

Passivization can also be used for thematization purposes. For example, the shifting of a noun-phrase into the Theme place in the sentence allows the writer to emphasize his thematic priorities, to emphasize what a text is “about”, which otherwise would be subordinate. Take, for example, the following sentence:

“The victims were selected by Public Safety committees of the three working-class parties and the executions carried out by small groups of men.”

Instead of a normal, natural sentence order Subject, verb, predicates; the passivization and the bringing of the object of the verb (The victims) into the Theme position helps giving that particular part of the sentence extra emphasis.

4.1.2. Interpretation Stage

Summing up the results from the previous chapter, we can say that from Table 2 and the experiential Metafunction analysis, we are able to understand that the sample is mostly concerned with describing events and actions, which would be expected of this sort of text. The Interpersonal Metafunction, as illustrated in Tables 3 and 4, has shown us that the author talks in third person plural most of the time, and never addresses the reader directly (you), remaining impersonal, and talking about himself or stating his opinion very few times. Furthermore, this analysis also showed us that there is a use of modal verbs that indicate ability, possibility and likelihood, which implies that the writer
offers also his own perspective of what could have happened. Finally, the Textual Metafunction analysis has shown us that the mechanisms of nominalization and passivization play also an important role in relation to the Thematic position of the sentence, and that most of the Themes in the text referred to different entities of the left-wing side of the conflict.

WHAT IS GOING ON?

Brenan is telling us the historic facts of the Spanish civil war. While he talks about all the parts involved in the conflict, he tries to emphasize the figures of the left-wing. The public of this book would normally be Spanish people or foreigners who are interested in the Spanish conflict. The normal reaction of the general public in this case is to pick a side, and by using the Thematic position mainly for the left-wing, he leans the reader towards that side. There is a preponderance of the use of the personal pronouns They and Their, which refers most of the times to: The communists, the anarchists, the government or the republic or the collectives.

Looking at Table 1, we notice that the proportion of Material processes in relation to the others is quite imponent. By presenting many facts and actions to the reader, in third person and almost never taking a personal stand (personal pronoun I appears only twice), he wants to seem impartial and objective.

WHO IS INVOLVED? IN WHAT RELATIONS?

In the epilogue of this book, Brenan is the writer, he is a hispanist who lived in Spain for a good part of his life. He was an intellectual, who got mixed with other prominent figures of Europe and who could see the conflict both from a detached and from an insider point of view, knowing that strong censure was happening in the country he wished to explain to everyone what was happening in Spain. His father had been enrolled in the British army and wished the same traditional life for his son. He did follow this path for a while, fighting in three different battles. This would most likely have given him a somewhat deeper knowledge than the average man about how the army works.

The typical audience of this book is either a Spanish person who is looking into the conflict and who wants to understand better the labyrinth of Spanish affairs, or someone from another country who is curious about it. The relation between these two participants, therefore, is clearly that Brenan is an information-giver and the reader is an
information-receiver, and therefore the former is in an authoritative position in relation to the latter, who would not likely question what the former says.

We may also say that another element or entity is involved, which is the publishing house, in this case Ruedo Ibérico. This entity controls whether the content will be published or not and therefore maintains a high level of authority.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE?

Language here is being used to give information in a one-way type of communication, meaning that, since this is no conversation, the author is providing information without any interaction from the other side of the communication process. The use of personal pronouns or references to the communists, the anarchists, the communes or the government in the thematic position highlights the perspective adopted by Brenan by placing them “on the stage”, underlining also Brenan’s position and ideology.

4.1.3. Explanation Stage

In the explanation stage, all the previous facts should be put in a socio-historic frame, to be able to understand the reasons behind the text and its ideologies. As explained in the previous chapters, this is a book written during and immediately after the Spanish Civil war, by a man who was an intellectual and who lived in Andalusia for quite some time. Brenan was fascinated by Spain and had a clear idea of what was happening, both from an insider point of view and from a foreigner point of view. Andalusia at the time was a very rural and quite a poor place. As he himself mentions, he did not intend to tell what was going on during the war, but rather to give an account of all the issues that led to it, and to explain to the general public why the war was happening and why it was inevitable.

Let us keep in mind that Brenan was British, and Britain fought alongside the Allies against fascism very few years after this book was written, so in a similar trend, Brenan fought against Fascism by writing this book, which was forbidden in Spain and only published originally through this revolutionary publishing house in France, as a way to explain “the other side of things” so to say, that is, to fight the strong censorship that was crushing over Spain and its historic memory, where only the tales of the right-wing were allowed to be spoken. It is not only an account of the socio-historic facts that led to the civil war then, but also a statement to give voice to the voiceless and subaltern in
Spain. *Subaltern* is a term coined by Antonio Gramsci, an Italian left-wing politician and intellectual who was imprisoned for life for disagreeing with the fascist political order that his country was living at the time. This term entered the terminology in post-colonial studies and it defines very well what intellectuals such as Brenan experienced in Spain: it represents the social groups excluded from the socio-economic institutions of society in order to deny their political voices.

As such, Brenan’s ideology in the book, and in particular in the epilogue under analysis, is clear: to portray the side of the left-wing parties and peoples. He does not adopt ideologies of victimization, but rather of heroism. He does not attempt to conceal anything that the left-wing side of the conflict might have done, indeed he has quite strong words for the disorganization of the Anarchists for instance or their war crimes. By writing this book his intention was thus not to idealize that side but rather to give them a voice.

In terms of the interpersonal aspect, a few means have been used to position the relationship between the author and the public. Brenan tries to detach himself from any of the sides by, for example, using lots of third person plural personal pronouns, in such a way that the information he provides appears more objective. In terms of the textual aspect, the thematic structure has allowed to direct the attention of the public towards what the writer wanted.

**4.2. CDA analysis of target text**

We will now perform a lighter analysis following the same steps as in the previous chapter for the source text, but this time we will take as a sample the target text to see if any significant differences show up that can be relevant to identify any changes in ideology, which would in turn reveal the translator’s ideology.

**4.2.1. Description Stage: Linguistic features based on SFG**

Just as we did for the source text, we will now analyse the target text in terms of the Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual Metafunctions:

**IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION**

As in the previous analysis, we will take care first of the Ideational Metafunction through transitivity analysis and its six different types of processes. The target text’s transitivity analysis can be consulted in annex 2. Looking at the Spanish version of the
text, we have found a total of 806 processes, of which 470 were material processes, 189 were relational, 86 were mental, 36 verbal, 24 existential and only 1 was a behavioural process. In the table presented below, I will place this data next to the data collected in the source sample:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Percentage in source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>58.31 %</td>
<td>57.45 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>23.45 %</td>
<td>24.57 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>10.67 %</td>
<td>9.41 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4.47 %</td>
<td>5.01 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.98 %</td>
<td>3.05 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.12 %</td>
<td>0.48 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>806</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Processes occurrences

Just as it was to be expected, there is not much difference in the results. It is only symbolically remarkable the fact that the translated version contains 10 less processes in total, which are distributed among the different types. This implies a use of nominalization or omission of the verb by the translator. However, not a frequent one. We can also see in the table above a decrease in the amount of relational, verbal, existential and behavioural processes, and a slight increase in the percentage of material and mental processes, the two dominant types.

Just as in the source text, we have also noticed a frequent use of passivization and of compound verb phrases, as well as of nominalization. As stated before, passivization and nominalization are very remarkable techniques to look at when dealing with ideology, as they are characterized by an omission of the actor in the former and by an omission of the timing of the process in the latter, as there is no verbal tense. It should be added that the use of passive tense is very limited in Spanish, and the overuse of it makes the translation sound somewhat unnatural. We can see from this fact however that the translator has adopted a global approach or translation method of literal translation (linguistic transcodification), but we will look at that in the next chapter.
INTERPERSONAL METAFUNCTION

Just as in the source text, the interpersonal Metafunction will be examined in terms of mood and modality, that is, the writer’s attitude towards and opinions about the events described. Neither here we find much difference with the source text, there is a total predominance of declarative clauses. Out of 806 processes, only two are interrogative clauses and just one is imperative. The percentage of declarative clauses is therefore 99.6 %, just as in the source. We can therefore say that there has been no manipulation or modification of any sort in this aspect by the translator.

Modality in Spanish is shown through modal verbs, just like in English. They are five: *deber*, *querer*, *saber*, *poder* y *soler*. The use of conditional tense through *hubiera* is also significant in this sense. Same as the use of reflex passive sentences, which is significant with regards to modality and also the use of other phrases that imply likelihood or obligation. Please note also that Spanish has more linguistic resources to express modality than English. However, let us look at numeric figures that allow us to measure this objectively and in such a way it can be compared with the results obtained in the source text:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal Verb</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Modality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deber</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26.67 %</td>
<td>Obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Querer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>Desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saber</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>Knowledge/ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poder</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36.67 %</td>
<td>Ability/possibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soler</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
<td>Reiteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habria</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3 %</td>
<td>Projection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6: Mood in TT*

The lack of perfect equivalents makes the task of comparing the interpersonal Metafunction a bit complex. However, we can say that the most recurring modal verbs in the target text are those having to do with ability or possibility, which account for 36.67 % of the instances in the sample. Equally, in the source, there are several modal verbs that express the same modality (*can, could*), but together they account for 33.32 %, a very similar figure to that expressed in the translation. Leaving aside modal verbs, we can take a look at other indicators of modality and polarity in the translation, such as adverbs.
There are tons of adverbs in the text. The majority are mode adverbs, but they also are loaded with significance for those who want to see it. “Solamente”, “naturalmente”, “extraordinariamente”, “especialmente”, “lealmente”… All these examples bring the reader’s attention to a particular fact by making emphasis on it. Their function is not descriptive, but rather that of attributing a positive or negative value to an action.

As for the use of personal pronouns, it should be noted that Spanish does not require the verb to be accompanied by a subject, therefore personal pronouns are often omitted to improve readability in the text. For this reason, we will not present a table with the results. However, we can say that the mode and modality of the source text does not appear to have changed in the process of translation.

TEXTUAL METAFUNCTION

To check the textual Metafunction, we will look into the thematic structure of the target text, and we will do so by comparison to the source text’s. Looking at the thematic structure of the translation we see that there are no differences with its English counterpart. The translator has adopted a global approach of literal transcodification, which has allowed him to maintain the same elements in the Theme position as Brenan had, thus not shifting the reader to any other elements of the text.

He even maintains it in those cases in which passive tense would sound strange in Spanish. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actually few of the arms sent to Spain were Russian. <strong>They were bought</strong> in Europe and America by Comintern agents with gold paid in advance by the Spanish Government.</td>
<td>En realidad, pocas de las armas enviadas a España fueron rusas. <strong>Fueron compradas</strong> en Europa y América por agentes del Komintern y pagadas por adelantado con oro del gobierno español.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Thematic structure

In the example above, the Spanish reads “Fueron compradas en Europa…” The natural order of that sentence in Spanish would follow the normal structure of Subject, Verb, complements: “Agentes del Komintern las compraron en Europa y América y se pagaron por adelantado con oro del gobierno español”. While it is true that we need to bear in mind that this translation happened in the sixties, and translation techniques might have been different then, this sort of examples are to be found very often in the sample.
Passive tense is much less common in Spanish than it is in English, but the translator has always chosen to maintain the Thematic structure of the source text, even at a price that compromises the degree of naturality in the target language but that keeps the reader’s attention where the writer meant it to be.

We can say therefore that J. Cano Ruiz has respected quite systematically the thematic structure, and that this implies his agreeing with Brenan in terms of ideology. In some instances, he has shifted the attention in those few cases of Theme referring to the right-wing elsewhere, increasing even more the numbers in favour of the left-wing. For example, “The ‘Nationalists’, on the other hand, fell more and more deeply under German and Italian influence […]” shifts in the translation to “Por otra parte, los «nacionales» se sentían cada vez más bajo la influencia germánico-italiana […]”.

4.2.2. Interpretation Stage

We will now look at the interpretation stage of CDA, following the same questions as in the analysis of the source text, but now dealing with the target text and its relation to the source one.

WHAT IS GOING ON?

Just as in the English version, Brenan tells us about the historic facts that happened during the Spanish civil war. Through the Thematic structure he has given emphasis to the left-wing perspective of the story, given that the right-wing side of it had all the press and media to show theirs. The difference now is that we are dealing with a ‘processed’ version of that text, it is a text that has gone through the hands of a second person, the translator, who could take many decisions on how to handle it and how to show it to the new audience. While in the previous CDA analysis the typical audience were foreigners, students or intellectuals from other parts of the world, probably Europe, now the typical audience would be Spanish people, whether within Spain, let us not forget that it was a country at the time sank into the rigidness of a dictatorship, or outside of Spain, in the exile. This audience, therefore, would be very likely to want to pick a side. And this can be connected with what has been discussed regarding the thematic structure of the text.

WHO IS INVOLVED? IN WHAT RELATIONS?

At this point we have a few people involved in the process. We have Brenan, the author, who maintains a position of authority by being the information giver. We then have the Translator, J. Cano Ruiz, who acts as a linguistic bridge between Brenan and his
Spanish-speaking audience. The degree of transparency of the translator will be seen in the next chapter. Finally, we have the public. There are two audiences now: the English-speaking one, probably less familiar with the Spanish situation and conditions; and the Spanish speaking one, very familiar with the situation in the country and probably repressed in one way or another, whether they are living in Spain under the dictatorship and censorship, forced to read this type of books covertly, or outside of Spain in exile.

Just as before, there is another element involved, which is the publishing house, Ruedo Ibérico, about which we have already spoken and which holds a very authoritative part, in terms of external ideologies, more specifically, of patronage.

**WHAT IS THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE?**

Language here is used as a bridge between the information giver, that is, Brenan, and his Spanish-speaking audience. It is thus also used to give information, but now we have added a “filter”. That is, someone who reads the information, processes it and sends it to a different audience, which has a different background and a different knowledge and perspective of the events that are being described.

4.2.3. **Explanation Stage**

While Brenan’s ideology remained clear in the first CDA analysis performed, the second CDA analysis done on the translated text has not revealed much in terms of the translator’s ideology. J. Cano Ruiz has adopted a literal translation method that avoids him from rephrasing the original content and thus creates an illusion of transparency.

It has not been possible to find a biography of the translator, which would have very much contributed to placing his translation into a socio-historic frame that would help us find out his ideology. However, we will perform in the next chapter a deeper descriptive analysis of his translation to try and extract as many hints as possible that can lead us to it.

4.3. **Molina’s Translation Techniques**

From the previous epigraph we have been able to decipher Brenan’s ideology in the source text. J. Cano Ruiz’s ideology, however, has not been so easy to decipher in the CDA analysis as we only found a few traces. This may be due to either his choice of translation method or him having the same ideology as Brenan. In this epigraph, we will follow the macro to micro-structural analysis suggested by House and, based on Molina’s
classification of Translation techniques, we will examine the translated text and its relation to the source text, to see through it and understand the translator’s choices. This will allow us to see if his ideology is also latent in the text and if it corresponds to the one we just saw Brenan had or if it has been somewhat altered. Let us dive into it.

As seen before, House (1997) proposes a classification of the text in terms of ideology, function, genre and register.

Javid’s classification of ideologies into internal and external that we mentioned previously is a good guide for us to follow in this respect. In terms of internal ideologies, the text under analysis deals with a few aspects that are worth mentioning. In the epilogue that we are analysing, Brenan deals with norms, talks about religion, culture and, by not talking about it, he also talks about gender.

In terms of norms, he defies them. That is actually, I would dare saying, one of the scopes of his writing this book. He does not consider anything to be a taboo and talks about delicate issues openly and in a straightforward way.

In terms of religion, he puts out the failure of the church to appease down the hysteria of the time: “Unfortunately the church, which might have played a moderating part, applauded all these horrors” (Brenan 1943: 322). He also mentions the church while highlighting the good actions of the Communists: “The Communists, who to annoy the Anarchists had adopted a protective attitude towards the Church, took on themselves the task of sheltering priests.” (Brenan 1943: 323). Note here also the role of the thematic structure and how he portrays the heroism of the Communists. Religion is, thus, catholic and very present in his book, but portrayed as a failure, as an entity that could have helped but did not do it.

Another internal ideology mentioned by Javid (2019) was Genre. If we take a second look at Table 4, where we analysed the use of personal pronouns, we can easily notice that there is not a single reference to the female third person pronouns. He does, however, talk about La Pasionaria in the text, a really transcendental political figure who led the Republic and who played a very important role within the Communist party in Spain. However, Brenan does not give her much importance in the epilogue, or for that matter, mention any other female figures. His book talks, therefore, about influential men, thus making a statement and positioning himself in his ideology regarding gender.
In terms of external ideologies, it is clear that patronage has played a fundamental role in the diffusion of certain discourses during censorship and the hiding of others. Brenan’s book and J. Cano’s translation were, unfortunately, in the latter group.

Following House’s steps, we will look now at function and genre. Both in Brenan’s source text and in J. Cano’s translation, the referential function predominates in the text, and in terms of genre, we would locate it in the non-fiction group, more specifically we can say that it is a non-fiction, historiographic work, that focuses on popular history.

As for the register, both the source and its translation show a formal but familiar register. It goes in line with the results of the CDA, where Brenan has proved to be describing events, in a detached manner as it would be expected from a historic text, but at the same time positioning himself with one of the sides, and thus showing some sympathy for them.

4.3.1. Findings

Because we see the translator as a communicator, it is important to find out what techniques he has used. Out of the 17 translation techniques defined by Molina, we have found 15 present in the sample under analysis. The table below illustrates their occurrences by number of words in each category. It should be noted that, while some of them are pure and belong clearly to one of the categories, some others may be fuzzy or belong to various of them. For the purpose of this paper we have chosen just one in those cases. For instance, the category Established Equivalent may be somewhat ambiguous, as almost every word occurring in the sample is to be found in bilingual dictionaries as an equivalent, but if the whole clause it belongs to has been translated word by word, then that clause has been considered to fit best into the literal translation category. Let us now take a look at the numbers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literal Translation</td>
<td>2571</td>
<td>41.05 %</td>
<td>No socialization of industry</td>
<td>No socialización de la industria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established Equivalent</td>
<td>1313</td>
<td>20.96 %</td>
<td>The Civil Guard</td>
<td>La Guardia Civil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the figures above, it is clear that the translation technique most used by J. Cano in the translation is literal translation, which constitutes in turn the translation method. I believe the above techniques are best analysed in couples, as some of them might have blurry limits with respect to others. Let us take the first pair: literal translations and Established Equivalents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic Amplification</th>
<th>644</th>
<th>10.28 %</th>
<th>[...] and for this reason the Franco forces won.</th>
<th>[...] y por esta razón las fuerzas de Franco obtuvieron la victoria.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compensation</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>7.23 %</td>
<td>And yet it would, I think, be a mistake [...]</td>
<td>Y sería un error, creo yo, [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic compression</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>6.55 %</td>
<td>[...] Inevitably meant the at least partial failure</td>
<td>[...] Explica el fracaso parcial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>3.39 %</td>
<td>The government had only the Republican Assault Guards.</td>
<td>El gobierno tenía solamente a la guardia de asalto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amplification</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>3.04 %</td>
<td>[...] Certain number of Italian tanks and aircraft.</td>
<td>[...] cierto número de tanques italianos y de escuadrillas de aviones de bombardeo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modulation</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>2.14 %</td>
<td>Hedilla’s following was small.</td>
<td>Los que seguían a Hedilla eran pocos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalization</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>1.69 %</td>
<td>Most people are in agreement that [...]</td>
<td>Muchos están de acuerdo en que [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposition</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1.37 %</td>
<td>Respect the property of the peasant</td>
<td>Respeto hacia la propiedad del campesino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0.81 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularization</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0.77 %</td>
<td>Caballero refused this request.</td>
<td>Caballero rechazó estas exigencias.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.61 %</td>
<td>Kept them as a lever</td>
<td>Tenerlos a la mano como una especie de levadura o fermento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calque</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.08 %</td>
<td>Fait accompli</td>
<td>Un hecho positivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.03 %</td>
<td>Air raid</td>
<td>Raid aéreo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6257</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 8: Translation techniques in the text*
These two techniques alone account for 62% of the whole sample. Molina defines literal translation as follows: “To translate a word or an expression word for word” (Molina, 2002: 510). Literal translation might sound awkward at times in the TL, but just as any of the other techniques, it is ideologically significant in that it tries to respect to the maximum the source text formally. For example, take a look at the following excerpt from ST and TT:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The small peasants and labourers took matters into their own hands</td>
<td>Los pequeños campesinos y labradores tomaron la cosa entre sus manos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those Jesuit missionaries who [...] The better to convert the Chinese, suppressed [...]</td>
<td>Aquellos misioneros jesuitas [...] que, para mejor convertir a los chinos, suprimían [...]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that, as Molina states in her essay (2002), she understands by literal translation that one in which form coincides with function and meaning, that is, her idea of literal translation corresponds to Nida’s formal equivalent (1969). Please note that for the purpose of this paper, we will not go into detail as to whether a translation is correct or not, we will only perform a descriptive analysis. In the example above, we can clearly see the limitations of literal translation, where “took matters into their own hands”, meaning they took control of the situation, is translated as “tomaron la cosa entre sus manos”, which to a native Spanish speaker will feel more like someone physically grabbing an object. While this technique maintains the form and etymological root of the words, it does not quite convey the meaning in an accurate way. It is also true that not being a literary text, but a historical one, where the goal is an exposition of facts, the text lends itself to a word-by-word translation that does respect well the original meaning of the ST. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It seems probable that the generals and politicians who had started the revolt [...]</td>
<td>Parece probable que los generales y políticos que habían iniciado la revuelta [...]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lead us to suppose that for each person executed in Government territory, two or three were executed in the Rebel zone during the first six months of the war.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They saw in it the opportunity for which they had long been waiting to create a new type of society and were perfectly aware that, if they failed […]</td>
<td>Veían en ella la oportunidad que habían esperado tanto tiempo de crear un nuevo tipo de sociedad y sabían perfectamente que si fracasaban […]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Literal translation

In opposition to literal translation, we can examine a somewhat near technique, that of Established Equivalent. Going back to Molina’s words, this technique is: “To use a term or expression recognized (by dictionaries or language in use) as an equivalent in the TL” (2002: 510). This one is similar to the previous technique in that it does not add or take anything from the text; it does not modify the perspective or style, it rather follows its structure and, sometimes, translates word by word; but not necessarily respecting the form of the ST, in such a way that it sounds more idiomatic in the TL and improves readability.

For example, in the text, we find the translation of “support” for “soporte”, for “apoyo” and “ayuda”. This term is used quite often in the sample and is a good example that helps us compare the two methods. While “soporte” is grammatically correct, it does not quite make an idiomatic use of the TL, while the translations as “apoyo” and “ayuda” do. The former respects the form of the ST and is perfectly correct, it constitutes an example of literal translation; while the latter use an established equivalent that does not necessarily have to respect the form of the ST but conveys the meaning in a much more idiomatic way. Let us see another example of the technique of Established Equivalent:

Table 11: Established Equivalent
In the example above, we can see that it is a sentence that might appear to be translated word for word but that reads naturally in the TL. If that same sentence had been translated using the Literal Translation technique, it would sound as: “Veían en ella la oportunidad para la cual habían estado esperando mucho para crear un nuevo tipo de sociedad y eran perfectamente conscientes que, si fracasaban [...]”.

No technique is better than another one, the translator chooses one or another depending on different factors, but once again, his choice will most likely be, whether consciously or unconsciously, ideologically significant.

While Translation can be seen as a re-writing, the fact that J. Cano Ruiz has used these two techniques so much throughout the sample gives us a hint that he mostly agrees with Brenan in his arguments. Let us explore what the use of other techniques may tell us about his ideology.

AMPLIFICATION AND LINGUISTIC AMPLIFICATION

The next pair of techniques we will revise are those of Amplification and Linguistic Amplification. Just as the previous pair, these two translation techniques are also closely related to each other.

Molina defines Amplification as “To introduce details that are not formulated in the ST: information, explicative paraphrasing” (2002: 510). This helps the translator ‘explain’ to the target audience what the author meant, or when no established equivalent exists for one particular word, it helps being able to describe what was meant. In the sample, only a 3.04 % of the translation techniques was found to be Amplification, let us see some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They had at their disposal the greater part of the armed forces of the country.</td>
<td>Tenían a su disposición la mayor y mejor parte de las fuerzas armadas del país.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their propaganda was skilful.</td>
<td>Su propaganda fue hábil e ingeniosa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Amplification

As for Linguistic amplification, it implies adding linguistic elements, not necessarily new information as in the previous case, but rather translating an expression that might have an equivalent in the TL with the same amount of words for another one
which is longer. This translation technique relates to ideology in that it gives more visibility to a piece of discourse than what it was originally intended by the author. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For this reason the Franco forces won</td>
<td>Por esta razón las fuerzas de Franco obtuvieron la victoria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government, which to impress foreign opinion […]</td>
<td>El gobierno, que con el fin de impresionar a la opinión extranjera […]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 13: Linguistic amplification*

In the example above, the translator could have just said “Por esta razón las fuerzas de Franco vencieron/ganaron”; instead by using the expression “obtener la victoria”, the clause is lengthened and gets more prominence. The same happens with the second example, where “to impress foreign opinion” could have simply been translated as “para impresionar a la opinión extranjera” instead of “con el fin de”. This type of translation technique is very used by J. Cano Ruiz, it accounts for 10.24% of the occurrences, being the third most used technique in the sample.

If we add the usage of these two techniques to the previous two, we have completed the 75% of all the techniques used in the sample. We have, therefore, that J. Cano Ruiz has deemed appropriate to translate Brenan’s work mostly word by word (literal translation), if not using expressions that make it sound more natural (Established Equivalent), or added some information (Amplification) or linguistic elements (linguistic amplification) to bring more emphasis to Brenan’s ideas. This analysis reinforces our previous hypothesis that J. Cano Ruiz’s ideology matches that of Brenan. Next, we will look into what could be seen as the opposite techniques of these two: linguistic compression and reduction.

**LINGUISTIC COMPRESSION AND REDUCTION**

Linguistic compression corresponds to the opposite of linguistic amplification, that is, in Molina’s words: “To synthesize linguistic elements in the TT” (Molina, 2002: 510). It happens when there is an expression in the TL with the same amount of words as in the SL but the translator chooses to use a shorter one. Let us look into a couple of examples of this technique in the sample.
There was a definite policy of collectivization which was intended to prepare the way for […]

Existía una política definida de colectivización que pretendía ser una preparación de […]

For putting pressure on the government Para presionar sobre el gobierno

Table 14: Linguistic compression

In the examples above, the translator has not added or eliminated information, he has simply contracted it into fewer words. Thus, we have that the first example could have been translated as “Pretendía abrir el camino a”, using the same amount of words as the ST, and the second one could have been translated as “Para ejercer presión sobre el gobierno”. In this way, two events take place: firstly, the syntax of the sentence is simplified, thus making it easier to read and understand, while not eliminating any essential information. Secondly, in making the sentence shorter, the translator is giving it “less importance”, that is, he is taking away from it the focus that was originally intended for it. As exemplified in Table 8, this technique is used on 6.5 % of the instances in the sample. If we compare it to its cousin Linguistic Amplification, we see that there are nearly 4 percentual points of difference in their use, being Linguistic Amplification more common in the sample.

Reduction, on the other hand, is defined by Molina as “To suppress a ST information item in the TT” (2012: 510). It has a very reduced occurrence in the sample, only 3.39 %. The table below shows a couple of examples of this technique:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The result of the war was decided by the question of foreign help.</td>
<td>El resultado de la guerra fue decidido por la ayuda extranjera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The victims were selected by Public Safety committees</td>
<td>Las víctimas eran seleccionadas por comités</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Reduction

While most of the details omitted are not of much importance, such as the noun “question” in the first example, there are a few instances in which some relevant information is taken from the ST. Such is the case of the second example and of few others. To provide some context, in the example cited above the text was talking about the fascist victims taken by those public safety committees, which belonged to the
government, that is, to the left-wing. In eliminating the fact that the perpetrators of those murders worked for the republican government, J. Cano Ruiz is making a very clear statement about his ideology and giving us one more hint that proves that it matches Brenan’s.

Just a couple of lines after the example we just talked about, we find another case of reduction: “In addition to these *paseos*, as they were called” has been translated as “A más de estos «paseos»”, once more reducing visibility about the same phenomenon as we have just discussed. Another relevant example for this matter is found a couple of pages later, when talking about the fact that sometimes, the Anarchists would use the force to compel landowners to collectivization. As socialists, Anarchists can be identified as left-wing too. The ST reads “There was often a connection between the ‘elimination’ of factory owners and land owners and these expropriations”. The translation has omitted “land owners”, leaving the translation as “Hubo a menudo una conexión entre las «eliminaciones» de dueños de fábricas y estas expropiaciones”.

The next occurrence of reduction happens a few pages later, when talking about the atrocities of the massacres carried out by the fascists all over the country. Brenan then tries to stay neutral by saying “How many died before the firing squads of one side and the other it is impossible to say”, while the translation reads “Cuántos cayeron delante del piquete de ejecución es imposible saberlo”.

While there are more examples that illustrate this point, it is very significant to note how sometimes what you do not say tells more about your ideology than what you do say. J. Cano Ruiz has, consciously or unconsciously, omitted certain details that have mitigated the perception of the violence carried out by the left side of the conflict, taking away visibility where he found appropriate and thus altering the reader’s perception of the source text. The analysis of the technique of reduction matches, therefore, the results obtained in the analysis of the four previous techniques seen.

**COMPENSATION AND MODULATION**

In her essay, Molina defines Compensation as follows: “To introduce a ST element of information or stylistic effect in another place in the TT because it cannot be reflected in the same place as in the ST.” (2012: 510). As it can be seen in Table 8, Compensation is used as a translation technique on 7.23 % of the cases. How is this technique relevant to ideology? The answer relates to the Textual Metafunction we saw
while performing CDA. That is, it might alter the thematic structure of the ST and thus it may shift the focus of a particular phrase from the Theme position to another less prominent position within the sentence. Let us look into some examples taken from the sample:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tales of atrocities on the other side were used to work up the hysteria.</td>
<td>Se repetían hasta causar histeria leyendas de atrocidades cometidas en el otro lado.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some observations upon the political developments brought about by the war seem to be called for.</td>
<td>Se hacen necesarias algunas observaciones sobre la evolución de la política ocasionada por la guerra.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 16: Compensation*

The first example is taken from a paragraph in which the author talks about the atrocities carried out by the Falange towards anyone who was known to have been in contact with the republican movement, so “tales of atrocities on the other side” refers to atrocities committed by the republicans. In this sentence, the Theme of the ST is taken by the noun phrase “Tales of atrocities on the other side”, while in the TT the Theme is taken by the verb phrase “Se repetían”. We find once again that, whether consciously or unconsciously, the translator is taking away the reader’s attention from the “atrocities from the other side”, that is, from the left side of the conflict.

The second example, on the contrary, and as most of the cases of compensation in the text, is not located at the start of the sentence and therefore does not alter the thematic structure of it. It responds merely to the different grammatical structures present in both languages, so when literal translation is not possible, this technique is applied to reorganize the elements in the sentence so that it sounds natural in the TL.

Going now into the other technique, that of Modulation, Molina defines it “To change the point of view, focus or cognitive category in relation to the ST.” An example could be the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They alone could be trusted to look after the soviet interests</td>
<td>Se podía confiar en que éstas sólo mirarían por los intereses soviéticos.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 17: Modulation*
While there is no change in meaning, no addition or reduction of information either, this technique helps to change the shift from an element to another one in the sentence. As seen in Table 8, this technique appears only in 2.14% of the sample.

**OTHER TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES**

The remaining translation techniques present in the text, that is, Transposition, Substitution, Description, Generalization, Particularization, Calque and Borrowing account, altogether, for about 5% of the total. We will therefore examine them briefly.

Transposition happens when the grammatical category changes in the TT in relation to the ST. It is used often when dealing with gerund forms in English performing the role of subject in the sentence, which is translated as a noun in Spanish. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What one never saw [...] was the sharing out of the land among the peasants.</td>
<td>Lo que nunca se pudo ver fue [...] el reparto de tierras entre los campesinos.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 18: Transposition*

Description is not very common in the text (it accounts only for 0.61% of occurrences). This is probably due to the fact that although Brenan is writing in English, he is doing so about Spanish culture, so the translator would not feel the need to explain to the reader any concepts or facts that the author may be talking about and that would be alien to them. In the few cases in the sample, Description is simply used to provide information about English expressions.

Generalization and Particularization can be seen as one of the previous pairs that keep a dialectic relationship between them. They are defined by Molina as “To use a more general or neutral term” and “to use a more precise or concrete term”, respectively (2002: 510). The following are a couple of examples of Generalization in the text:
On several occasions before in Spanish history [...]  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On several occasions before in Spanish history [...]</td>
<td>En algunas ocasiones anteriores en la historia de España [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whilst most people are in agreement that those set up in Catalonia countryside worked admirably.</td>
<td>Muchos están de acuerdo en que las colectividades organizadas en el campo catalán trabajaron admirablemente.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Generalization

We can see that the difference caused by Generalization is quite subtle, but it is present. The same happens with Particularization, where a slightly more specific term is used in the translation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As soon as the supply of raw cotton was exhausted the mills stopped working.</td>
<td>Tan pronto como las reservas de algodón se agotaron, las fábricas de tejidos dejaron de trabajar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another factor which helped them to take up their position [...]</td>
<td>Otro factor que los empujaba a tomar posición [...]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Particularization

In the first example, *mills* is a quite generic term which is also polysemic, but the translator wanted to clarify the ‘type’ of mills the author was talking about. The same happens with the second example, where J. Cano Ruiz wanted to go one step further and use a stronger, more precise word to increase the ‘help’ that Brenan had originally stated, by saying it was *pushing* them to take up their position.

Calque and Borrowing account, together, for 0.1 % of the sample. The former is a literal translation of a foreign word or phrase. For example, Brenan uses a lot of latinisms and of French terms in his ST, such as “nouveaux riches”, that the translator has chosen to translate directly as “nuevos ricos”. A borrowing, on the other hand, happens when a word or expression is taken from another language. The only example of this technique to be found in the text is “air raid”, that the translator has chosen to leave as “raid aéreo”.

48
4.4. Results

Summing up the previous chapter, we may say that although J. Cano Ruiz’s ideology is not explicitly stated anywhere, as Brenan is, it is possible to decipher it looking into the techniques he has chosen to use in his translation. The analysis of translation Techniques, as defined by Molina, has allowed us to understand why the translator has made certain choices instead of others. Thanks to the analysis of Literal Translations and Established Equivalent, amounting to 62% of the total, we have been able to see that J. Cano Ruiz respects Brenan’s authority and agrees with his words. Also, the fact that the next two most common techniques used are those of Amplification and Linguistic amplification leads us to think that the translator has mainly approved of Brenan’s words or added extra information. But perhaps the most significative of the analyses in the previous epigraph was that of Linguistic compression and Reduction, where we have found how many important details have been obscured in one way or another to try to put the left-wing in a more positive light.

Although Brenan’s ideology was clear from the beginning, as he had stated it in the second edition of his book, we have analysed the sample looking for traces of that particular ideology that we are certain is present in the text. To do this we have followed CDA, which has proven to be a wonderful tool for this purpose, and therefore, we have applied the same method into the translated text, which has revealed that J. Cano Ruiz had respected quite carefully the thematic structure created by Brenan in the text, which as we have already seen, favoured already quite a lot the Republican side. J. Cano Ruiz has, in some instances, altered the thematic structure in cases where the Theme referred to the Fascists, increasing even more the numbers in favour of the Republicans and thus giving them a stronger position in terms of the reader’s attention.

Through an analysis of Molina’s Translation techniques, we have found out many more hints pointing at J. Cano Ruiz’s ideology towards the left side of the Spanish conflict. The fact that not only did he respect almost meticulously Brenan’s thematic structure, but he also translated, mainly, using the techniques of Literal Translation and Established Equivalent shows a strong agreement with the ST, and therefore, with Brenan’s ideology. The omission of certain details or even whole sentences, as was the case of “Far better than the feeble Republicans, they [the Fascists] could give protection or offer a career to anyone who joined them.” (Brenan: 1960, 325); that, in all cases,
benefited the Republican side makes it clear that J. Cano Ruiz was in favour of the Republican cause and that he left that idea in his translation.

There are, however, some further findings that are worth discussing. Something that has not been said in the previous epigraph, as it does not constitute any translation technique, is that a whole sentence has been left outside of the TT, and it is not just any sentence; it is yet one further proof that supports our hypothesis of the translator’s ideology: “Far better than the feeble Republicans, they could give protection or offer a career to anyone who joined them.” (Brenan: 1960, 325). Note that by ‘they’, Brenan here is talking about the Communists, which are to be placed on the left side of the spectrum but, as everybody knows, the left wing has historically been fractionated into many different ideologies. J. Cano Ruiz’s omission might signify that the one he was closer to was that of republicans.

Furthermore, and although it is out the sample considered for this paper, as it would be impossible to perform the previous analyses for the whole length of the book and condense them into so few pages, other relevant aspects that support the cause of this study have stood out while reading the rest of the book. Outside of the sample under analysis, which corresponds to the Epilogue of the book, and paying attention to numeric figures, we have been able to find some further alterations on the translated text:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Text</th>
<th>Target Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The disastrous Cuban War of 1896-1898 produced a general revulsion in the</td>
<td>La desastrosa guerra de Cuba de 1896-1898 produjo una reacción general de todo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country against military service. Two hundred thousand Spaniards are said to</td>
<td>el país contra el servicio militar. Se da la cifra de 2000 españoles muertos en la isla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have died of disease and wounds […] (Brenan, 1960: 59)</td>
<td>a consecuencia de enfermedades o de heridas […] (Brenan, 1962: 49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This excessive expenditure produced a false sense of prosperity, caused the</td>
<td>Gastos tan excesivos crearon una falsa sensación de prosperidad, elevando la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public debt to rise from 15 to 20 million and led to the economic crisis of 1929. (Brenan, 1960: 82)</td>
<td>deuda pública de 15 000 a 20 000 millones de pesetas y motivando la crisis económica de 1929. (Brenan, 1962: 66)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some 19,000 peasants who had been settled on the large estates in Extremadura were evicted. (Brenan, 1960: 269)

Unos 10 000 campesinos que habían sido asentados en grandes propiedades de Extremadura fueron desposeídos de sus derechos. (Brenan, 1962: 205)

Table 21: Text alterations

In the first example, we notice that the translator has altered the number of soldiers who died in the Cuban War. It is quite an important modification indeed, going from 200,000 to 2,000, a hundred times less. The Cuban War was fought between the Spanish on one side and the Cubans fighting for their independence alongside the USA on the other. At the time, Spain was a democratic monarchy (not a republic), just as it is now. Brenan is discussing in these pages, however, the decline in the perception of the army by the Spanish people. The paragraph goes on saying that when the surviving soldiers came, they told horrible stories about corruption and military incompetence. It should be noted that on the Civil War the Spanish army was divided between both sides involved. What effect might drastically reducing the number of soldiers who died in Cuba have had in Spain in 1962? It would, without any doubt, have made that war seem nothing compared with what had happened during the Civil War. Keep in mind that the first edition of the book written in English was published in 1943, right after the Civil War, and that the edition we are handling in this paper is the second one, published in 1960 and translated in 1962.

To provide some context, the second example is talking about some policies carried out by Primo de Rivera, who let us not forget, was a far-right-wing man, founder of Falange Española. The fact that J. Cano Ruiz is inflating the figures of the national debt as a consequence of his decisions is most likely linked to the fact that, as has already been said in the previous chapters of this paper, J. Cano Ruiz is Spanish and, just like the readers of his translation, most likely cannot help taking sides when dealing with such a sensitive topic as the Civil War is.

As for the third example, once again, we cannot tell whether J. Cano Ruiz’s alteration has been intentionally made or whether it has been a mistake, but what is undeniable is that by reducing the number of peasants that were evicted he is taking importance away from the fact of the evictions, reducing them nearly to a half, which would, once again, benefit the Republicans and alter the reader’s perception.
As has already been said in this paper, it is important to mention first of all, the impossibility of total neutrality when translating, as all our linguistic choices are, whether consciously or unconsciously, ideology ridden. The good news is that, as has been proven, it is possible to objectively measure the changes introduced in the ST by the translator to find out that ideology. Since the figure of the translator handles the text and, to one extent or another, re-writes it, it is fundamental to understand that his footprint is also present in the text and know how to read it. Not just for a deeper understanding of the topic of the text in question, but also for the purpose of improving our own translation skills and for the advancement of Translation Studies.

However, deliberating on whether all these modifications have been introduced by mistake would be, at the very least, naive. All the cases of modification and alteration discussed in this paper respond to the outline that Baker has called Selective Appropriation of textual material, which consists of patterns of omission and addition designed to suppress, accentuate or elaborate particular aspects of a narrative encoded in the source text (Baker, 2006: 171). This has enormous consequences, as it alters the perception of the reader about the content of the book, which is in this case, the historic memory of a whole country. Being Brenan such an influential writer and having such a wide audience, the diffusion of altered facts is not to be overlooked.

5. Conclusion

Translation is the art and science of changing a particular message from one language to another one, in such a way that information is not altered and that the message sounds perfectly natural to the receiver. It may sound simple when expressed with such simple words, but it is not an easy matter, and ethics and ideology play a fundamental role in understanding and analysing this process. I personally believe translation should always be analysed in terms of what the ‘artist’, that is, the handler of the text, the translator, adds or takes away, and how that affects the message and its perception. Historical and political texts are especially sensitive in this regard, and we go one step further when we deal with a text like Brenan’s, that handles a conflict that divided entire families, villages and cities.

While Brenan tries to stay objective, he himself admits leaning closer to one of the sides of the conflict. The causes that led to the Spanish Civil War, main topic of the book, are going to be certain ones if someone who can relate to the left wing tells them,
and other ones if the story is told by someone on the other side. What happens with a text that is translated is that the story is told twice. First by the writer and later on by the translator. It is essential to know how to find and analyse, therefore, the ethics and ideology of the latter. If this aspect of the process of translation is not given enough importance, the translator has the power in his hands to drastically modify the source text. It is indispensable for the figure of the translator to follow an ethic code of non-alteration of the sense of the source text.

This study has been able to provide answers related to the translation of the Spanish Labyrinth by Brenan, such as the role and strategy of the publishing house Ruedo Ibérico, as well as the faithfulness of the translation of this text. We have found that the publishing house Ruedo Ibérico, through patronage, fought from the exile to not only insert the translation of Brenan’s book into the public market, but also, together with J. Cano Ruiz, to appropriate the source text and introduce certain modifications to support and revendicate a political position that had been silenced by Franco and re-write history in such a way that they would benefit the Republicans. It even seems that, in some cases, more than describing events, the publishing house and the translator’s goal were reconstructing them.

We have found that, in this case, the translator’s political ideology coincided with that of the writer. This has, nevertheless, not stopped him from altering facts and modifying the information portrayed in the Source Text. The lack of technology back in those days allowed many more alterations that the current system of translation and revision, but the implications and consequences of modifying history books that are distributed as objective knowledge about a certain historic period are huge.

Nowadays, in the era of technology and information overload, we are more or less used to misinformation and false data that needs to be contrasted at all times. This was not the case, however, a few decades ago, when anything written in a history book was regarded as a given universal truth.

The power of the translator has been greatly ignored and overlooked for a long time, and the lack of technology made it very difficult to properly analyse and revise translations. The critical analysis of discourse applied to translation is essential for the prosperous development of this discipline and, since translation is a cross-disciplined art, for that of many other disciplines such as history.
6. Further investigation

This paper formulates a statement that promotes a broader use of discourse analysis in historiography and political science.

Generally speaking, historic texts are considered to be objective and impersonal; and thus everything related to it must be crystal clear on the surface, the translator must be careful not to take any sides in her/his translation. A historiographic review of the facts included in the modified passages in the translation is required.

7. Bibliography


8. Annexes
The history of the Civil War lies outside the scope of this book. Those two and a half years require a volume to themselves and in any case the time when an objective survey of them can be made has not yet arrived. However, to round off the events described in the last chapter, some observations upon the political developments brought about by the war seem to be called for.

The Military Junta and group of Right-wing politicians which rose against the Government in July expected to occupy the whole of Spain, except Barcelona and perhaps Madrid, within a few days. They had at their disposal the greater part of the armed forces of the country—the Civil Guard, the Foreign Legion, a division of Moorish troops from Spanish Morocco, four-fifths of the infantry and artillery officers and a certain number of regiments recruited in the north and therefore reliable. They had also the Carlist levies or requetés which had for some time been drilling secretly and the promise of Italian and German tanks and aeroplanes if necessary. Against these the Government had only the Republican Assault Guards and a small and badly armed air force. But the plans of the rebels were defeated by the tremendous courage and enthusiasm with which the people rose to defend themselves and by the loyalty of the naval ratings who at a critical moment deprived them of the command of the sea. Each side being then left in control of one half of Spain, a civil war became inevitable.

In the political sphere things did not follow quite the lines that might have been expected. After a period of violent social revolution the ‘Reds’ or ‘Loyalists’, as the parties supporting the Republic were variously called, began to move more and more to the Right, taking as their slogans ‘Respect the property of the peasant’, ‘No interference with the small business man’ and ‘No socialization of industry’. At the same time they took up a national and patriotic attitude of defence of their country against the foreign invader. What seemed strange was that the chief advocates of this policy were the numerically feeble but
actually very influential Communist party. The ‘Nationalists’, on the other hand, fell more and more deeply under German and Italian influence and, to give their own side something of a mass following, were obliged to hand over the greater part of the political power to the Falangists and to come out with a social programme that, if it were meant seriously, was more drastic than anything ever proposed by the Republic.

The result of the war was decided by the question of foreign help. Whilst there was little to choose between the political and military competence or incompetence of either side, almost all the mass support, the enthusiasm, the spirit of sacrifice was upon the Republican. The Falangists proved to be a mere Iron Guard, undisciplined and irresponsible: for a crusading spirit Franco could count only on the Carlists. But German and Italian help was enormously more powerful than Russia’s, and for this reason the Franco forces won.

To consider first the Republican side, the rising of the masses that led to the defeat of the insurrection in Madrid and Barcelona carried everything before it. The Government, which to impress foreign opinion was composed of Liberal Republicans, led by Giral, a friend of Azáñas’s, lost all authority. The workers, through their party and trade-union organizations, became the real rulers of the country and the organizers of the war. This, one might say, was the Soviet phase of the Spanish Revolution. And yet it would, I think, be a mistake to regard it as a purely revolutionary phenomenon in the sense usually given to that word. On several occasions before in Spanish history the people have pushed aside their weak and clumsy governments and taken the conduct of affairs into their own hands. This happened notably in the war against Napoleon, when the local juntas, composed of men of all classes and opinions, but mainly of priests and artisans, were the really effective organs of resistance. That war had also been to a certain extent a civil war just as the 1936 war could likewise be regarded as a war of defence against a foreign aggressor.¹ It was thus natural that the juntas of 1808 should be reborn in the Workers’ Committees of July–October 1936.

¹ The Dos de Mayo was followed in Madrid and all over Spain by attacks on the Governors, nobles and other members of the ruling classes who were thought to favour the French. A tract was printed with this title: ‘List of the houses assaulted by el Gran Pueblo Libertador against the rascals who have ruined the nation of Spain, which is worthy of better governors and of honourable kings and of other things.’ The church of San Juan de Dios in Madrid was burned by the mob because it contained a portrait of Godoy.
The function of these committees was triple. Through the militia, which they armed and organized, they carried on the war against the enemy forces. By terrorism they destroyed or intimidated the enemy in their midst. And they took over the factories and estates abandoned by their owners and in one way or another continued to work them. Where the committees were Anarchist, there was a definite policy of collectivization which was intended to prepare the way for a thoroughgoing social revolution.

A great deal has been written about the Red terror of the first two months. It was at bottom a spontaneous movement, corresponding to the necessities of a revolutionary war, where the enemy within may be as dangerous as the enemy outside, and in spite of many protests both public and private, it accorded for a time with both the policy and the sentiments of all the Popular Front parties except the Republicans. The victims were selected by Public Safety committees of the three working-class parties and the executions carried out by small groups of men, who took them from their homes in the dead hours of the night in motor lorries. In addition to these paseos, as they were called, there were the mass executions of Fascist suspects taken by mobs from the prisons in reprisal either for an air raid or for some report of Fascist atrocities. But the most typical acts of mass terrorism were those carried out by the Durruti column in Aragon or by the militia in Madrid on their way to the front. In their irresponsibility and ruthlessness as well as in their psychological implications they were the counterpart of the September Massacres of 1792. The troops on the way to the war cleared the way for the revolution and made certain that there would be no surrender by the Government and no fifth-columnist rising behind their backs.

The reaction against this revolutionary terror began after 25 August, when the news of the massacre of Badajoz reached Madrid. The indignation caused by this was so great that a general massacre of the political prisoners was only averted by the setting up by the Government of a Revolutionary Tribunal. Although this tribunal only tried cases of open treason or rebellion, it provided a safety-valve for public opinion, which from this time began to condemn irregular executions. During September and October these fell off considerably, those that still took place being attributed to the ‘uncontrollables’, who usually turned out to be terrorist groups hailing from the ranks of the Anarcho-Syndicalists. They were gradually put down, the F.A.I. itself lending a hand, so that by the end of the year unauthorized
‘eliminations’ had practically ceased to occur. Their place was taken by a police terror which, under the increasing Communist influence, was exerted almost as much against the dissident members of the Left as against Fascist suspects. Although this caused comparatively few deaths—for whilst the prisons were filled, executions were rare—it did harm to the morale of the Republican side because it increased the atmosphere of mutual hatred and suspicion between the different anti-Fascist parties who should have been co-operating loyally.

The other important function of the committees was the taking over of the estates, factories and businesses whose owners had disappeared or who were regarded as reactionaries—that is to say, of almost all estates or factories of any size. There was no general rule as to how this was to be done: the procedure was left to the discretion of the local committees and even when a Popular Front Government headed by Largo Caballero came in on 4 September, it abstained from laying down any general policy. In U.G.T. territory estates were, as a rule, simply taken over by the municipality or by the officials of the Institute for Agrarian Reform and the workers continued to be paid at the same rate as before. Often they were not even confiscated but merely administered in the name of the owner, who continued to live in his own house and to receive a small monthly payment. Only in those areas where the Land Workers’ Federation of the U.G.T. had established collectives before the war was any real collectivization carried out: here the example spread, the small peasants and agricultural labourers took matters into their own hands and the Agrarian Reform officials then stepped in to legalize the position. This happened all over New Castile and La Mancha. What one never saw (except occasionally in Catalonia and Aragon) was the sharing out of the land among the peasants. That was because both the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. set their faces against it.

The Anarchists, on the other hand, had a policy of collectivizing both land and industry which they did their utmost to push through. For them it was the first and most important step in social revolution. Far from regarding the war as a mere war of defence against Fascism, they saw in it the opportunity for which they had long been waiting to create a new type of society and were perfectly aware that, if they failed to set up a fait accompli in the first days of the struggle, they would be overcome by events and defeated. Moreover, they believed that the war could only be waged successfully if it was accompanied by social revolution behind the lines. The side which could show most
self-sacrifice and devotion to a cause would win, but if the workers were to rise to the heights demanded of them they must be given some tangible proof that a new and better world lay in store for them. If that were done, the military discipline and organization, about which the Communists made such a song, would follow automatically. They therefore, in the first days of the war, collectivized all the large and many of the small industries in Catalonia, urged the peasants to collectivize not only the estates which had been expropriated but their own plots as well and in some cases, though this was contrary to their declared policy, used force to compel them to do so. There was often a connection between the ‘elimination’ of factory owners and landowners and these expropriations.

Were these collectives successful? There is a certain amount of evidence to show that they often were so to a surprising degree. Even so sceptical an observer as Dr Borkenau was struck by the effectiveness of some of the large industrial collectives in Barcelona, whilst most people are in agreement that those set up in the Catalan countryside worked admirably. One should remember, however, that here the Anarchists had the skill and good business sense of the Catalan people to build upon: we have seen how admirably the collectives set up in Catalonia before the war by the Co-operative Societies were managed. Outside this province Anarchist collectivization had less success, and in Andalusia was either taken up reluctantly by the C.N.T. and allowed to languish or else pushed through by a small number of militants in a fanatical spirit. But then in Andalusia there was an almost complete lack of the necessary farm machinery.¹

The later history of the large industrial collectives in Barcelona was

¹ The first act of the villagers in revolutionary villages was to abolish money, the symbol of all evil in their eyes. So deeply rooted was this in the Spanish conscience that sometimes U.G.T. villages did it as well. All the money in the village was ‘voluntarily’ collected and handed to the comité. Wages were paid in coupons: they were paid not according to the amount of work done, but according to the size of the family. The unemployed received the same amount as the employed. The comités judged, performed marriages, buried the dead, directed the collective and fixed salaries. They alone could buy or sell. Their members were changed often so that everyone should take their turn at sitting on them. There was a distinct leaning to asceticism and a disapproval of alcohol and other ‘luxuries’. Whilst there is no doubt that in many villages this system worked well and was popular, it is also true that wherever property was much divided, the peasants were against collectivization and no revolution took place. Another reason in its favour was that the peasants were often afraid of dividing up the large estates themselves in case the rebels won. Collectivization would, they thought, prevent victimization.

In the towns there was of course no question of abolishing money: one must distinguish between urban anarchism which was an affair of modern syndicalist theories and village anarchism which was really a revival of old collectivist impulses.
not as happy as their beginning. The Central Government, and especially the Communist and Socialist members of it, desired to bring them under the direct control of the State: they therefore failed to provide them with the credit required for buying raw materials: as soon as the supply of raw cotton was exhausted the mills stopped working. Other industries that had been turned over to making munitions fared somewhat better, but even they were harassed by the new bureaucratic organs of the Ministry of Supply and had a perpetual struggle to maintain their independent existence. In spite of the support given them by the Catalan Generalidad, the end of the war saw them well on their way to being absorbed by the State. In other words, the fact that the Anarchists had not been strong enough in the first days of the war to abolish the State altogether inevitably meant the at least partial failure of their experiment of free collectivization. No government, least of all one that had come to birth in times of stress, could afford to allow the heavy industries of the country to rule themselves, even though it is true that the special position of Catalonia vis-à-vis Madrid allowed room for compromise.¹

Meanwhile the insurgent forces, with the aid of a certain number of Italian tanks and aircraft, had advanced to the suburbs of Madrid and had there been held. On this side too there was a terror. It seems probable that the generals and politicians who had started the revolt had intended to employ a certain amount of terrorism, both to intimidate their opponents and to get rid of the more troublesome leaders of the working-class parties on the other side. But thanks to the failure of the coup d'état and to the eruption of the Falangist and Carlist militias, with their previously prepared lists of victims, the scale

¹ In a published correspondence between Company and Prieto (De Company a Indalecio Prieto, Barcelona, 1939) Company declares that the workers in the arms factories in Barcelona had been working 56 hours and more each week and that no cases of sabotage or indiscipline had taken place. But since June 1937 production had fallen off owing to the prodigious bureaucratization set up by the Government. An army of inspectors and directors owing their appointment to political reasons (i.e. to their being members of the Communist party or of its dependants the P.S.U.C.) had descended on the factories, and the workers had been demoralized. Things had grown worse since the factories had been militarized by the decree of August 1938, i.e. after Prieto had left the Government.

Obviously the old triangle of Castile—Catalonia—and the Castilian party in Catalonia was reasserting itself in a new form. Just as Madrid had used the Radicals against the Lliga, and the Sindicato Libre against the C.N.T., and the Lliga against the Esquerra, and the F.A.I. and the Esquerra against one another, so the Valencia Government was now using the P.S.U.C. against the C.N.T.—but not (here is the difference) because the Communists wished to weaken them before destroying them.
on which these executions took place exceeded all precedent. Andalusia, where the supporters of Franco were a tiny minority and where the military commander, General Queipo de Llano, was a pathological figure recalling the Conde de España of the First Carlist War, was drenched in blood. The famous massacre of Badajoz was merely the culminating act of a ritual that had already been performed in every town and village in the South-West of Spain.¹

The North did not escape either: here everyone connected with the Republican movement, unless he sought safety by entering the Falange, was ruthlessly shot—middle-class freemasons and liberals suffering as frequently as Communists and Socialists. Tales of atrocities on the other side were used to work up the hysteria. Unfortunately the Church, which might have played a moderating part, applauded all these horrors. Everything that its enemies had said about it seemed to come true when it was seen that scarcely a voice was raised on behalf of Christian charity to stem this flood of executions. How many died before the firing squads of one side and the other it is impossible to say, but both the accounts of eyewitnesses, who emphasize the prolonged and systematic nature of the purge, and the evidence of history, which shows that White Terrors are usually worse than Red ones, lead us to suppose that for every person executed in Government territory, two or three were executed in the Rebel zone during the first six months of the war. For Andalusia the proportion was probably even higher.

The method of execution was similar to that employed on the Republican side: the victims were taken from their houses in lorries driven by young Falangists and Carlists and shot before dawn outside the town. Nothing is so like a rising of Spanish revolutionaries, says Galdós, as a rising of Spanish reactionaries. But executions without trial also took place every day in the prisons and this continued for a considerable while, in fact until the prisons had several times been filled and emptied. If this did not happen to any great extent on the other side that was because the Republican authorities were strongly opposed to terrorism and put an end to it as soon as they were able,

¹ I have in my possession a file of cuttings from Portuguese newspapers which abundantly proves this. Every rebel column in Andalusia was accompanied by Portuguese journalists and their accounts made no effort to conceal the terrible savagery with which the war was being conducted. But when the reports of the culminating massacre at Badajoz got into the English and American press, the Portuguese censorship was tightened up and no more stories of this sort were published.
whereas on the Nationalist side the terrorists themselves—that is the Falangists and the Carlists—were in charge of the Home Front and remained so throughout the war. And though as time passed the position became regularized and the number of executions diminished, they broke out again whenever a new tract of territory was conquered. The will to exterminate their enemies never failed the Nationalists.¹

The decisive factor in the war was, as has already been said, the foreign intervention. Germany and Italy supported the rebel generals from the start. Stalin only decided to intervene in September. It should be noted that there was a difference in their method of doing so. The Fascist dictators dealt directly with Franco and his generals and sent their war materials to them. Although they encouraged the Falangists, they never made them their representatives in Spain, but (as they have since done in Roumania) kept them as a lever for putting pressure on the Government. Stalin, on the other hand, saw it to that the arms which he supplied and the International Brigades which he organized should secure the predominance of the Communist party. They alone could be trusted to look after the Soviet interests.

The policy they were to follow in Spain is contained in a letter

¹ The great difference in the degree of humanity shown on the two sides may be judged from the fact that from the beginning of the Civil War to the end not a single protest appeared on the Nationalist radio or in its press or in the books published at Burgos and Salamanca against the atrocities that were taking place. The British Fascists and neo-Catholics visiting Franco denied that there had been any irregular executions, yet in private conversations the Falangists never concealed what was happening and during the first months bodies were exposed to view everywhere.

On the Government side, on the other hand, the radio almost every night during August and September contained strong denunciations of the executions that were going on; not only the Government authorities but members of the U.G.T., F.A.I. and Communist party spoke in this sense. Posters were put up ordering the summary execution of the gangsters who were engaged in these murders. How far the rank and file of the U.G.T., C.N.T. and F.A.I. supported these protests may be doubted: for a time humane opinion among them was silenced and it was dangerous for anyone to protest too much, but the leaders of the Left parties often protected people who were in danger and facilitated their escape. The Communists, who to annoy the Anarchists had adopted a protective attitude towards the Church, took on themselves the task of sheltering priests. And there were some outstanding exceptions to the general acceptance of the terror. Juan Peiró, the well-known Anarchist and editor of Libertat, denounced almost every day in his paper the crimes of certain elements of the C.N.T. He did not stint his language. They were ‘modern vampires’, ‘fascists in a latent state’, ‘thieves and assassins, guilty of a crime against the honour of revolutionaries’. His paper was not suppressed and he was not interfered with. Can one imagine even a tenth part of this outspokenness being possible on Franco’s side? See Perill a la tercaguardia, Mataró, 1936, where these articles are reprinted. Peiró is not only a courageous man but an intelligent one and his opinions on collectivization are worth reading.
written by Stalin to Largo Caballero and dated 21 September 1936. He recommends him to attract the peasants by settling the agrarian question and by reducing taxes: to attract the middle and lower bourgeoisie by avoiding confiscations and furthering their trade: to draw the Republican leaders into the Government and to appease foreign capital. It must be agreed that from the point of view of winning the war this was extremely sensible advice. The support of the lower-middle classes, who had been deeply antagonized by Anarchist expropriations, was essential. The peasants, too, needed to be reassured and satisfied. And it was urgent to gain the sympathy of the Democracies, who had been shocked by the confiscations and the terrorism: as many at that time foresaw, the war would be won or lost in London. But it was also the policy most suited to the Communists themselves. Russia is a totalitarian regime ruled by a bureaucracy: the frame of mind of its leaders, who have come through the most terrible upheaval in history, is cynical and opportunist: the whole fabric of the state is dogmatic and authoritarian. To expect such men to lead a social revolution in a country like Spain, where the wildest idealism is combined with great independence of character, was out of the question. The Russians could, it is true, command plenty of idealism among their foreign admirers, but they could only harness it to the creation of a cast-iron bureaucratic state, where everyone thinks alike and obeys the orders of the chief above him.

Another factor which helped them to take up their position on the Right rather than on the Left of the Popular Front movement was their deep-seated dislike of all Spanish revolutionaries. No one is so severe on the excesses of the young as the reformed rake. The Communists felt an intense hatred and suspicion of what they called Trotskyism—a word which could be made to cover not merely the pedantic Marxism of the P.O.U.M., but the moral and revolutionary enthusiasm of the Anarcho-Syndicalists and of the Left-wing Socialists. As we have said, they were probably quite correct in their appreciation of the fact that the day of such parties is over. Even in Spain successful revolutions cannot be brought off by the proletariat and the landless labourers without the help of a large section of the more energetic and technically-minded middle classes. But such an admission involved a contradiction of everything they had ever said or done in the past. When they accused the Anarchists of ‘Left-wing

1 Published in the New York Times on 4 June 1939, with a photostat copy of the original.
infantilism', they forgot that only two years before they themselves had been the most extreme and intractable of all the revolutionary parties in the country.

As we have seen, the Russian intervention gave the Communists a position they could never otherwise have held in Spain. The power to distribute the arms that arrived put the Anarchists in their hands: the C.N.T. accepted the situation and broke the most sacred of its taboos by entering the Government. The prestige of the International Brigade, which had saved Madrid, was another factor. Besides, it seemed that Stalin had been correct in thinking that a moderate Left-wing line was the one which held most future for his party. Unable to draw to themselves the manual workers, who remained firmly fixed in their unions, the Communists found themselves the refuge for all those who had suffered from the excesses of the Revolution or who feared where it might lead them. Well-to-do Catholic orange-growers in Valencia, peasants in Catalonia, small shopkeepers and business men, Army officers and Government officials enrolled in their ranks. Far better than the feeble Republicans, they could give protection or offer a career to anyone who joined them. In Catalonia, where fear and hatred of the Anarchists were very strong, they were able to combine the various Socialist groups (all of which were very much to the Right and contained few manual labourers) into a single party, the P.S.U.C., which was affiliated to the Comintern. Many of the Esquerra and of the Rabassaires joined it. There were even a few rich manufacturers who obtained important posts in it. Thus one had a strange and novel situation: on the one side stood the huge compact proletariat of Barcelona with its long revolutionary tradition, and on the other the white-collar workers and petite bourgeoisie of the city, organized and armed by the Communist party against it.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Communists owed their success merely to their control of Russian arms and to their dislike of social revolution. They had a dynamism that no other party in Government Spain possessed. In their discipline, their organizing capacity, their drive and above all in their understanding of modern military and political technique, they represented something new in Spanish history. With missionary fervour (for most of the young were on their side) they set out to conquer the traditional inertia and passivity of the Spanish bureaucratic temperament. And it must be admitted that with the relatively feeble means at their disposal they were very successful. They built up out of nothing a splendid army
and staff which won victories against great odds. Their propaganda was skilful. For two years they were the heart and soul of the anti-Fascist resistance. Compared to the Falangists on the other side who never became more than a feeble imitation of their German and Italian masters, adept at mopping up the rearguard but chary of risking their lives in battle, their superiority is evident. But it was not easy for other parties to get on with them. They suffered from a fixed belief in their own superior knowledge and capacity. They were incapable of rational discussion. From every pore they exuded a rigid totalitarian spirit. Their appetite for power was insatiable and they were completely unscrupulous. To them winning the war meant winning it for the Communist party and they were always ready to sacrifice military advantage to prevent a rival party on their own side from strengthening its position. Thus they kept the Aragon front without arms to spite the Anarchists and prevented a very promising offensive in Extremadura from taking place because the credit for its success might have gone to Caballero.

But perhaps more serious than this in the long run was their lack of moral or political integrity. Their opportunism extended to everything. They seemed to have no programme that could not be reversed if its reversal promised them any advantage, and they were just as ready to use the middle classes against the proletariat as the proletariat against the middle classes. No doubt the historical method of Marxism lends itself to a good deal of stretching: even so their going back on so many of their past tenets recalled the feats of those Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century who, the better to convert the Chinese, suppressed the story of the Crucifixion. It is a comparison that is worth insisting on. By their devotion to an institution rather than to an ideal, to a foreign Pope rather than to a national community, they were following the road laid down by Loyola. And their impact on Spain was very similar. Just as the Jesuits from the time of Lainez had turned their backs on the great ascetic and mystical movements of their age and had worked to reduce everything to a dead level of obedience and devotion, so the Communists showed that the great release of feeling that accompanies revolution was distasteful to them. They frowned on all its impulses, both its cruel and its creative ones, and applied a severely practical spirit to its various manifestations. Thus not only did they disapprove of even such rural and industrial collectives as had arisen spontaneously and flooded the country with police who, like the Russian Ogpu, acted on the orders of
their party rather than of the Ministry of the Interior, but by their perpetual intrigues and machinations they helped to sap the fibre of the various Popular Front parties and of the two great trade unions, on whose firmness and solidarity the morale of the Republican forces depended.

The damping effect of this attitude of theirs can hardly be exaggerated. Revolutionary movements are movements which spring up from below and are fed by new desires and impulses. Spain is precisely a land where such impulses are perpetually bubbling up from underground. In no country of Europe is there so much spontaneity of speech or action, so much dislike of restraint and regimentation. Yet in the middle of a war of liberation the Communists appeared in the guise of professionals and experts and, not content with harmonizing such impulses and directing them towards the end of military victory, they proceeded as far as they could to suppress them altogether. For their whole nature and history made them distrust the local and spontaneous and put their faith in order, discipline and bureaucratic uniformity. It may be replied that this ordering impulse corresponds to an inevitable phase in all revolutions. But the Communists were not, as Robespierre or Bonaparte had been, the product of a native upheaval, but were a ready-made importation from outside, acting under the orders and in the interests of a foreign dictator. That is why, rapid as their progress was and responsive as is the Spanish soil to every kind of bureaucratic weed, they never succeeded in rooting themselves in it firmly.

We may now, in the light of these remarks, examine briefly the history of the war on the Republican side. By the end of 1936 the period of committees and of social revolution was over and the well-armed P.S.U.C. confronted the C.N.T. in Catalonia. A state of tension at once developed. The first crisis came in January. Communist pressure on the Government had become very great and for a moment it was thought that a coup d'état was imminent and that the International Brigade would march on Valencia. But there was a combination of all the other parties against them and they gave way. However, the question of an increase in their power was not the only issue involved. They stood for a regular army instead of party militias, for an end to all revolutionary measures, for greater centralization and a more efficient conduct of the war. In this Prieto and Negrin with about half the Socialists and all the Republicans supported them. On the other side stood the Prime Minister, Largo Caballero, with his
group of Left-wing Socialists and the whole of the C.N.T. Matters came to a head in May when, as the result of a somewhat obscure incident, there were three days of street fighting in Barcelona. The bulk of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. remained at home and their leaders did everything possible to put an end to the conflict, but this did not prevent the Communist ministers from demanding the complete suppression of the trade unions in Catalonia and the placing of the Catalan press and police under what would in practice have amounted to Communist control. Caballero refused this request, but Communist insistence procured the suppression of the P.O.U.M., who as ‘Trotskyist’ heretics were especially hated by Stalin, and the prosecution of its leaders on the absurd charges of treason and collaboration with the enemy. Although the other members of the Government prevented any executions, Andrés Nin, the principal figure in the P.O.U.M. (Maurin was in Franco’s hands), was secretly murdered in prison. Whilst few shed any tears over the fate of these Left-wing Marxists, the Anarchists could not help seeing that they were next on the list.¹

The Barcelona affair led to the fall of Largo Caballero’s government. Prieto as Defence Minister and Negrín as Finance Minister succeeded him with a cabinet that contained both Communists and Republicans, but no Anarcho-Syndicalists. But Prieto, brought in by the Communists, soon found himself in serious conflict with them. The main ground of their disagreement lay in the question of the control of the Army. The Communists were endeavouring to increase their hold on all the armed forces and Prieto was determined to resist this. Everyone remembered that after the last civil war the Army had ruled the country for a whole generation. If the Communists could win over the troops to their side, they would be able, as the Liberals had done in 1840, to impose a military dictatorship. The means by which they hoped to effect this was through the appointment of Communist officers and by propaganda carried on by the political commissars. Through the good offices of Álvarez del Vayo, who had been in charge of the War Commissariat since October 1936, almost all the commissars were Communists, but the allotment was only one per battalion and they now insisted that there should be one to every company. La Pasionaria is said to have threatened Prieto that if this

¹ The Russian press had never made any bones about this. ‘So far as Catalonia is concerned’, wrote Pravda on 17 December 1936, ‘the cleaning up of the Trotskyist and Anarcho-Syndicalist elements has already begun, and it will be carried out with the same energy as in the U.S.S.R.’
were not done there would be no more help from Russia. Thanks to the Anglo-French policy of non-intervention they had in the Russian arms a lever which never failed, for whatever private inclinations the Socialist and Republican ministers might have, they knew that a breach with Stalin would mean the rapid loss of the war. Prieto bowed to the inevitable and left the Government (April 1938).\textsuperscript{1}

After his resignation, which led to a reorganization of the cabinet, Communist influence reached its height. The Basque Minister for Justice, Irujo, and the minister from the Esquerra resigned in protest and the direction of the war centred in Negrín, del Vayo and the Communist Uribe. The Communists, in fact, were indispensable and Negrín, whose political opinions were ill-defined and who put the winning of the war above everything, was careful to maintain a close relation with them.

The last months of the struggle saw, however, a decline in their strength. Gradually during the last two years they had infiltered and penetrated, in Nazi fashion, into the various organs of the administration and of the Army till now they held many of its key positions. As we have seen, nearly all the political commissars in the Army were Communists and the Subsecretario de Propaganda, which was the Government department which directed propaganda, had also become a party organization. They controlled the Cypher Bureau and (except in Madrid) the new political police,\textsuperscript{2} in addition to which they had of course their own police and prisons, run by the Ogpu. In the Army the best divisions were theirs. And although the rank and file of the U.G.T. (except for their Youth Organization, which had gone over to them in the first days of the war) had resisted incorporation, many of the union leaders leaned towards them. And yet in spite of all this, as soon as it became clear that Stalin was withdrawing from his Spanish adventure and would send no more arms, their influence began to diminish. In the Government the Socialists and Republicans were able to take a firmer line against them. The unsubstantial

\textsuperscript{1} Actually few of the arms sent to Spain were Russian. They were bought in Europe and America by Comintern agents with gold paid in advance by the Spanish Government. When, owing to the pro-Franco sympathies of the French bankers, it became difficult to make payments in the ordinary way, the greater part of the gold reserve of the Bank of Spain, some 574 million dollars, was sent to Russia. From this time on the control of the Politburo over Valencia was greater than ever.

\textsuperscript{2} The Servicio de Investigación Militar or S.I.M. It was composed mainly of the old political police, those Struldbrugs who survive all revolutions, and who had now become Communists. Its action, especially in Catalonia, was directed at least as much to suppressing the political enemies of the party as to unearthing those of the Republic. Like all the Spanish police it was extraordinarily incompetent.
nature of their power, dependent upon prestige and success, became obvious.

There is little that need be said of the political developments on Franco's side. The first six months passed without any trace of the revolutionary enthusiasm and exhilaration that was seen among the Republicans. The atmosphere at Burgos and Salamanca, as even ardent Fascist sympathizers have admitted, was heavy with suspicion and hatred. The spring of 1937 saw a political crisis similar to that which occurred on the Republican side. The 'Old Shirts', as they were called, of the Falange, led by the Secretary of the Party, Manuel Hedilla, took José Antonio's social programme seriously and demanded that the Twenty-Six Points which contained it, and which had been adopted by Franco, should at once be put into execution. That alone, they said, would give the Nationalists the mass following they needed to win the war. It was a feeble reflection of the quarrel of the Left Socialists and the Communists, but Hedilla's following was small and the Franco administration felt strong enough to deal with it vigorously, especially as the Germans and Italians did not support it. Hedilla himself with his principal followers was arrested and imprisoned.

At the same time the Carlists or Traditionalists, who had recently merged with the Monarchists and the remnants of the Ceda, became restive. Franco dealt with them by a decree forcibly uniting them to the Falange and assumed himself the leadership of the new party, which was known as Falange Española Tradicionalista. At the same time he exiled their leader, Fal Conde. The death two months later of General Mola, the most intelligent of the military junta and a strong anti-Falangist, was a further blow to them, for they had always had hopes of his supplanting Franco. After this their influence, like that of their opposite number, the Anarcho-Syndicalists, declined. Both the Right and the Left wings of the Nationalists had been put in their place.

From now on the power was divided between the Army and the New Shirts, as those who had joined the movement since February 1936 were called. The latter were an amalgam of people of different kinds—Government clerks, nouveaux riches, second-rate intellectuals, lawyers and doctors with all that tribe of needy and ambitious people who in every country (but especially in a poor one such as Spain) join parties which have jobs to offer. The Andalusian bourgeoisie were

---

1 See in particular Capt. Francis McCullagh, *In Franco's Spain*, 1936.
well represented and there was a strong youth movement—it will be remembered that the entire Youth Organization of the Ceda had gone over to the Falange just before the outbreak of the Civil War. A mass following was provided by ex-anarchists and socialists who had joined to save their skins—almost the same elements that on the other side made up the Communist party. There, however, the analogy ends: discipline was lax, for there was no real bond of union. They had no military feats to their credit, for the Army and the Carlists did all the fighting and the Old Shirts, who alone could have given it some cohesion, had been swamped by the new arrivals. There was not even a real führer, for Franco was merely one general among many who had come to power through an accident and who was singularly lacking in all führer-like qualities. Their own leader, José Antonio, had met his death in a Republican firing squad. Thus the Falange never succeeded in becoming a coherent Fascist party, but remained an amorphous flock of job hunters united to a disreputable but vociferous Iron Guard. But it had no rivals, for the Army, divided as it was between pro-Falangists and Monarchists, pro-Germans and those who were jealous of the foreigners, and taken up with the waging of the war, tended to withdraw from politics.

Once more, in the summer of 1938, trouble broke out in the Nationalist ranks. This time it was among the Army officers. General Yagué made a speech in which he spoke of the Germans and Italians as beasts of prey and praised the courage of the Republican soldiers. There were mutinies in various places. Negrín then issued his Thirteen Points with a view to creating a movement favourable to reconciliation. This was the moment for the British Government to have repudiated the stupid and cynical farce of non-intervention and given the Germans a hint that further convoys of armaments would not be well looked on. Such action might well have led to an armistice. But the appeasement policy was in full swing and Mr Chamberlain saw nothing disturbing in the prospect of an Italian and German victory. Indeed he put special pressure on the French Government to close their frontier. Under these circumstances, for Russia withdrew her assistance, it is nothing less than a miracle that the Spanish Government was able to continue resisting until March 1939.
14. Epílogo. La guerra civil

«El vencido vencido
y el vencedor perdido»

La historia de la guerra civil española está fuera del alcance de este libro. Aquellos dos años y medio requieren un volumen por sí solos y, en todo caso, el tiempo en el que pueda hacerse un examen objetivo de los mismos no ha llegó todavía. No obstante, para completar el conjunto de acontecimientos descritos en el capítulo anterior se hacen necesarias algunas observaciones sobre la evolución de la política ocasionada por la guerra.

La junta militar y el grupo de políticos de derechas que se alzaron contra el gobierno en julio, esperaba ocupar toda España, excepto Barcelona y quizás Madrid, en pocos días. Tenían a su disposición la mayor y mejor parte de las fuerzas armadas del país: la guardia civil, la Legión Extranjera, una división de tropas moras del Marruecos español, cuatro quintas partes de los oficiales de infantería y artillería y cierto número de regimientos reclutados en el norte y por lo tanto, de confianza. También contaban con las levas carlistas o «requetés», quienes habían estado ejercitándose secretamente durante algún tiempo y tenían también la promesa de tanques y aviones alemanes e italianos si era necesario. Contra todo eso el gobierno tenía solamente a la guardia de asalto y una pequeña y mal armada fuerza aérea. Pero, el plan de los rebeldes fue deshecho por el tremendo coraje y entusiasmo con que el pueblo se alzó para
defenderse a sí mismo y por la lealtad de la marinería, que en el momento crítico les privó de la soberanía de los mares. Como cada lado poseía el control de una mitad de España, la guerra civil resultó inevitable.

En la esfera política las cosas no siguieron la línea que era de esperar. Después de un período de violenta revolución social, los «rojos» o «leales», como eran llamados los partidos que sostenían a la República, empezaron a inclinarse cada vez más hacia las derechas tomando, como sus slogans, «respeto hacia la propiedad del campesino», «no intervenir en los negocios de los pequeños comerciantes» y «no socialización de la industria» Al mismo tiempo adoptaron una actitud nacional y patriótica en defensa de su país contra la invasión extranjera. Lo que pareció extraño es que los principales propagandistas y defensores de esta política fuesen los más débiles numéricamente, pero en aquellos momentos los de más influencia: el Partido Comunista. Por otra parte, los «nacionales» se sentían cada vez más bajo la influencia germano-italiana y, para conseguir ganar para su causa el sentimiento de las masas estaban obligados a servirse de la fuerza política de los falangistas y (confeccionar) un programa que, de haber sido en serio, era más avanzado que cualquiera otro propuesto por la República. El resultado de la guerra fue decidido por la ayuda extranjera. Mientras había poco para elegir entre la competencia o incompetencia política y militar de ambos lados, casi todo el sostén de masas, entusiasmo y espíritu de sacrificio estuvieron de parte de la República. Los falangistas demostraron ser una simple Guardia de Hierro indisciplinada e irresponsable. Para un espíritu de cruzada Franco sólo pudo contar con los carlistas. Pero, la ayuda alemana e italiana fue mucho más poderosa que la de Rusia y por esta razón las fuerzas de Franco obtuvieron la victoria.
Considerando primeramente el lado republicano, el alzamiento de las masas, que condujo a la derrota de la insurrección en Madrid y Barcelona, arrastró todo ante sí. El gobierno, que con el fin de impresionar a la opinión extranjera, estaba compuesto de liberales republicanos, conducidos por Giral, un amigo de Azaña, había perdido toda autoridad. Los trabajadores, a través de sus partidos y organizaciones sindicales se convirtieron en los auténticos conductores del país y en los organizadores de la guerra. Esto, podemos decir, fue la fase soviética de la revolución española y sería un error, creo yo, el considerarlo como un fenómeno puramente revolucionario en el sentido corriente de esta palabra. En algunas ocasiones anteriores, en la historia de España, el pueblo ha echado a un lado a sus débiles e ineptos gobiernos y tomado la dirección de los asuntos entre sus propias manos. Esto sucedió especialmente en la guerra contra Napoleón, cuando las juntas locales, compuestas por hombres de todas las clases y opiniones, pero especialmente de curas y de artesanos, fueron los órganos realmente efectivos de resistencia. Aquella fue también, en cierto aspecto, una guerra civil, como la de 1936 puede igualmente ser considerada como una guerra de defensa contra el invasor extranjero.\(^1\) Así, fue natural que las juntas de 1808 fueran reencarnadas por los comités de trabajadores de julio-octubre de 1936.

\(^1\) El 2 de mayo fue seguido en Madrid y en toda España por ataques contra los gobernadores, nobles y otros miembros de las clases gobernantes que eran sospechosos de favorecer a los franceses. Un prospecto fue impreso con el siguiente título: «Lista de las casas asaltadas por el Gran Pueblo Libertador contra los bribones que han arruinado a la nación española, la cual es digna de mejores gobernantes, de un rey honorable y de otras cosas» La iglesia de San Juan de Dios en Madrid fue quemada por el populacho porque contenía un retrato de Godoy.
La función de aquellos comités era triple. Por medio de las milicias que armaban y organizaban, sostenían la guerra contra las fuerzas enemigas. Por el terrorismo destruían o intimidaban al enemigo que se hallaba en su zona. Tomaron las fábricas y las tierras que habían sido abandonadas por sus dueños y en un sentido u otro las hacían trabajar. Allí donde los comités eran anarquistas existía una política definida de colectivización que pretendía ser una preparación de la revolución social en marcha.

Mucho se ha escrito sobre el terror rojo de los dos primeros meses. En el fondo fue un movimiento espontáneo, que correspondía a las necesidades de una guerra revolucionaria, en la que el enemigo de dentro es tan peligroso como el enemigo de fuera y, a pesar de muchas protestas públicas y privadas, concordaba perfectamente con la política y con los sentimientos de los partidos del Frente Popular, excepto de los republicanos. Las víctimas eran seleccionadas por comités integrados por los tres partidos de la clase trabajadora y ejecutadas por grupos pequeños de hombres que los sacaban de sus casas en las tranquilas horas de la noche y se los llevaban en automóvil. A más de estos «paseos», existían las ejecuciones en masa de fascistas sospechosos sacados de las cárcel por las turbas y fusilados en represalias por algún raid aéreo o como pago por las atrocidades fascistas. Pero, los actos más típicos del terrorismo de masas fueron los cometidos por la columna de Durruti en Aragón o por las milicias de Madrid, camino del frente. En su irresponsabilidad y falta de piedad, como también por sus implicaciones psicológicas fueron el duplicado de las matanzas de septiembre de 1792. Las tropas en su marcha hacia la guerra limpiaban el camino para la revolución y se aseguraban de que no había peligro alguno para el gobierno ni alzamiento de quinta columna en su ausencia.
La reacción contra este terror revolucionario empezó después del 25 de agosto, cuando las noticias de la matanza de Badajoz llegaron a Madrid. La indignación causada fue tan grande que una matanza general de los prisioneros políticos sólo pudo ser evitada por la creación, por parte del gobierno, de un tribunal revolucionario. Aunque este tribunal sólo juzgaba las causas por alta traición y rebelión, era una válvula de seguridad para la opinión pública, que por aquel tiempo ya empezaba a condenar las ejecuciones irregulares. Durante septiembre y octubre éstas disminuyeron grandemente, continuando sólo aquellas que se podían atribuir a los «incontrolables» y cuyos ejecutores solían ser grupos de terroristas venidos de las filas anarcosindicalistas. Estas fueron también disminuyendo gradualmente, con ayuda de la misma FAI, de manera que a fines del año las «eliminaciones» no autorizadas habían cesado prácticamente. Su lugar vino a ocuparlo un terror policíaco que, bajo la creciente influencia comunista, era ejercido casi por igual contra miembros disidentes de las izquierdas, que contra fascistas sospechosos. Aunque causó en comparación pocas muertes, pues aunque las prisiones estaban llenas las ejecuciones eran raras, dañó a la moral del lado republicano porque aumentó la atmósfera de sospecha y de odio mutuo entre los diferentes partidos antifascistas que debían haber cooperado lealmente.

La otra función importante de los comités fue la de apoderarse de las tierras, fábricas y negocios cuyos dueños habían desaparecido o eran considerados como reaccionarios, es decir, de casi todas las propiedades de todos los tamaños. No había una regla general para llevarlo a la práctica. El procedimiento fue dejado a la discreción de los comités locales y aun el gobierno del Frente Popular el 4 de septiembre, con Largo Caballero a la cabeza, se abstuvo de dictar cualquier política general sobre el particular. En el territorio dominado por la UGT las haciendas...
eran, por regla general, ocupadas por el ayuntamiento o por oficiales del Instituto de Reforma Agraria y los trabajadores continuaban siendo pagados con los mismos salarios de antes. A menudo no eran confiscadas, sino simplemente administradas en nombre del dueño, quien continuaba habitando en su casa y percibía una pequeña paga mensual. Solamente en aquellas áreas en que la Federación de Trabajadores de la Tierra, de la UGT, había establecido anteriormente colectividades se llevaron a cabo verdaderas colectivizaciones. El ejemplo cundió, los pequeños campesinos y labradores tomaron la cosa entre sus manos y los dirigentes de la Reforma Agraria hacían lo necesario para legalizar la situación. Esto sucedió por toda Castilla la Nueva y en la Mancha. Lo que nunca se pudo ver fue (excepto en Cataluña y en Aragón) el reparto de tierras entre los campesinos. Esto fue debido a que, tanto la UGT como la CNT no lo veían con buenos ojos.

Los anarquistas, por otro lado, tenían su política de colectivización de la tierra y de la industria e hicieron todo lo posible por ponerla en práctica. Para ellos era éste el primero y más importante paso a dar en una revolución social. Lejos de mirar la guerra como una simple lucha contra el fascismo, veían en ella la oportunidad que habían esperado tanto tiempo de crear un nuevo tipo de sociedad y sabían perfectamente que si fracasaban en la realización de un hecho positivo en los primeros días de la lucha, serían barridos por los acontecimientos y derrotados. Más aún, creían que se ganaría la guerra solamente si la revolución social llegaba hasta las líneas de fuego. El bando que mostrará más espíritu de sacrificio y devoción a la causa era el que debía vencer, y para que los trabajadores se elevaran a las alturas pedidas por ellos, habría que darles alguna prueba de que les esperaba un mundo nuevo y mejor. Si esto se llevaba a cabo, la disciplina y organización tan cacareadas por los comu-
nistas se impondrían automáticamente. Por esta razón, colectivizaron en los primeros días de la guerra todas las grandes y algunas de las pequeñas industrias de Cataluña, instaron a los campesinos para que colectivizaran, no solamente las grandes propiedades que habían sido expropiadas sino igualmente, sus propias tierras, y en algunos casos, aunque ello era contrario a sus tácticas oficiales, usaron de la fuerza para obligarlos a ello. Hubo a menudo una conexión entre las «eliminaciones» de dueños de fábricas y estas expropiaciones.

¿Tuvieron éxito aquellas colectividades? Hay gran cantidad de evidencias que demuestran que lo tuvieron en algunos casos en un grado sorprendente. Hasta un observador tan escéptico como el Dr. Borkenau quedó atónito ante la efectividad de algunas de las grandes industrias de Barcelona y muchos están de acuerdo en que las colectividades organizadas en el campo catalán trabajaron admirablemente. Debemos recordar, no obstante, que allí los anarquistas tenían a su disposición el ingenio y buen sentido de los negocios, tan característicos del pueblo catalán. Hemos visto cuan admirablemente marchaban las colectividades en Cataluña antes de la guerra organizadas por las sociedades cooperativas. Fuera de esta región las colectividades anarquistas tuvieron menos éxito. En Andalucía fueron emprendidas de mala gana por la CNT y dejadas languidecer o, por el contrario, fueron impuestas por un pequeño número de militantes con espíritu fanático. Pero, hay que reconocer que en Andalucía había carencia absoluta de las necesarias máquinas agrícolas.

---

1 El primer acto de los habitantes de los pueblos revolucionarios fue el de abolir el dinero, símbolo de todos los males según ellos. Tan hondamente estaba esto arraigado en la conciencia española, que algunos pueblos de la UGT lo hicieron también. Todo el dinero del pueblo era dado «voluntariamente» y entregado al comité. Los salarios se pagaban por medio de cupo-
El final de estas grandes colectividades industriales no fue tan feliz como el principio. El gobierno central, y especialmente los comunistas y socialistas que lo integraban, querían ponerlas bajo el control directo del Estado. Con este designio, dejaron de proveerlas de créditos para poder comprar materias primas y así, tan pronto como las reservas de algodón se agotaron, las fábricas de tejidos dejaron de trabajar. Otras industrias que habían sido adaptadas a la fabricación de municiones estaban algo mejor, pero empezaban a estar cansadas de los nuevos órganos burocráticos del Ministerio de Abastecimientos, y en perpetua lucha para mantener su existencia independiente. A pesar de la ayuda que les dio la Generalidad catalana, el fin de la guerra las vio en camino de ser absorbidas por el Estado. En otras palabras, el hecho de que los anarquistas no fuesen lo suficientemente fuertes en los primeros días de la guerra para abolir el Estado completamente, explica el fracaso parcial de sus experimentos sobre las colectivizaciones libres. Ningún go-

ingos. Los trabajadores percibían, no lo equivalente al precio de su trabajo, sino lo que necesitaban para sí y su familia. Los parados percibían lo mismo que los que trabajaban. Los comités juzgaban, autorizaban los casamientos, enterraban a los muertos, dirigían la colectividad y fijaban los salarios. Sólo ellos podían comprar o vender. Sus miembros eran cambiados a menudo y así, todos tendrían su turno de responsabilidad en los mismos. Había una marcada inclinación hacia el ascetismo y la desaprobación del alcohol y de otras «superfluidades». Si bien no hay duda de que en algunos pueblos este sistema funcionó bien y fue popular, tampoco la hay de que, allí en donde la propiedad estaba muy dividida, los campesinos estuvieron en contra de las colectivizaciones y no hubo revolución. Otra razón en favor de la colectivización fue la de que los campesinos temían el dividir las grandes propiedades por temor a que vencieran los rebeldes. La colectivización, decían ellos, evitará el ser víctima de acontecimientos que pueden producirse. En las ciudades, por supuesto, no fue abolido el dinero. Debemos distinguir entre el anarquismo urbano, el cual era un resultado de las teorías modernas sindicalistas, y el anarquismo de los pueblos que era realmente la resurrec-

ción de los viejos impulsos colectivistas.
bierno y menos aún, los que han nacido en tiempos de agitación, puede permitir que las grandes industrias del país se gobiernen a sí mismas, aunque en este caso, la posición de Cataluña frente a Madrid daba lugar para una excepción.\textsuperscript{2}

El viejo triángulo de Castilla —Cataluña— y el partido castellano en Cataluña estaba rehaciéndose claramente bajo una nueva forma. Así como Madrid había usado a los radicales contra la Lliga, al Sindicato Libre contra la CNT, a la Lliga contra la Esquerra y a la FAI y a la Esquerra una contra otra, así también el gobierno de Valencia estaba usando ahora al PSUC contra la CNT, pero no (y aquí está la diferencia) porque los trabajadores catalanes causaran trastornos, sino porque los comunistas querían debilitar a los anarquistas antes de destruirlos.

Entre tanto, las fuerzas insurgentes, con la ayuda de cierto número de tanques italianos y de escuadrillas de aviones de bombardeo, habían llegado hasta los suburbios de Madrid siendo contenidos en aquel punto. Del lado de los insurgentes reinaba también el terror. Parece probable que los generales y políticos que habían iniciado la revuelta hubieran pensado en cierta dosis de terrorismo con el fin de intimidar a sus enemigos y para librarse de los más peligrosos de los dirigentes de los partidos de la clase trabajadora del lado opuesto. Pero, debido

\textsuperscript{2} En una correspondencia entre Companys y Prieto (De Companys a Indalecio Prieto, Barcelona, 1939), Companys declara que los trabajadores de las fábricas de armas habían estado trabajando 56 horas y más, a la semana, y que no se habían registrado casos de sabotaje ni indisciplina. Pero, desde junio de 1937, la producción había disminuido debido a la increíble burocratización creada por el gobierno. Un verdadero ejército de inspectores y directores, que debían sus cargos a razones políticas (es decir, a ser comunistas o dependientes de éstos como era el PSUC) invadió las fábricas desmoronando con su presencia a los trabajadores. Las cosas habían empeorado desde que las fábricas habían sido militarizadas por el decreto de agosto de 1938, es decir, después de que Prieto hubo dejado el gobierno.
al fracaso del golpe de estado y a la erupción de falangistas y milicias carlistas con sus listas de víctimas previamente preparadas, la escala de las ejecuciones que tuvieron lugar excedió a todas las precedentes. Andalucía, en donde los partidarios de Franco eran una ínfima minoría, y donde el comandante militar, Queipo de Llano era una figura patológica, que recordaba al conde de España de la primera guerra carlista, fue anegada en sangre. La famosa matanza de Badajoz fue simplemente el acto culminante de un ritual que había sido representado en cada ciudad y pueblo del suroeste de España.1

El norte no escapó tampoco a la matanza. Cualquiera de quien se supiese que había estado en conexión con el movimiento republicano, aunque buscando seguridad hubiese ingresado en la Falange, era fusilado sin piedad. Francmasones de la clase media y liberales fueron víctimas igualmente que comunistas y socialistas. Se repetían hasta causar histeria leyendas de atrocidades cometidas en el otro lado. Desgraciadamente la Iglesia, que debería haber representado un elemento moderador, aplaudía estos horrores. Todo lo que sus enemigos habían dicho de ella parecía ser verdad cuando se veía que ni una sola voz se alzaba en nombre de la caridad cristiana para oponerse a este torrente de ejecuciones. Cuántos cayeron delante del piquete de ejecución es imposible saberlo, pero los relatos de testigos, que acentúan la prolongada y sistemática naturaleza de la «purga», junto con la evidencia de la historia, que de-

1 Tengo en mi poder un paquete de recortes de periódicos portugueses que prueban esto abundantemente. Cada columna rebelde en Andalucía iba acompañada por un periodista portugués y sus informaciones no intentaban ocultar el terrible salvajismo con que la guerra era conducida. Pero, cuando los informes de la matanza culminante de Badajoz llegaron hasta la prensa inglesa y americana, la censura portuguesa se hizo más severa y no fueron publicados más relatos de esta índole.
muestra que el terror blanco es peor que el rojo, nos conduce a suponer que, por cada persona ejecutada en el territorio del gobierno, dos o tres fueron ejecutadas en la zona rebelde durante los seis primeros meses de la guerra. En Andalucía la proporción fue quizás mayor aún.

El método de ejecución fue similar al del lado republicano. Las víctimas eran sacadas de sus casas, llevadas en camionetas conducidas por jóvenes falangistas y carlistas, hacia las afueras de la ciudad y fusiladas allí mismo antes del amanecer. Nada es tan semejante, dijo Galdós, a un alzamiento de españoles revolucionarios, como un alzamiento de españoles reaccionarios. Las ejecuciones sin previo juicio tenían lugar todos los días en las prisiones y ello durante largo tiempo, hasta el extremo que se llenaron y se vaciaron repetidas veces por ese sistema. Esto no sucedía con tanta extensión en el otro lado porque las autoridades republicanas eran fuertemente opuestas al terrorismo y pusieron fin al mismo tan pronto como les fue posible, mientras que del lado nacionalista eran los terroristas mismos, falangistas y carlistas, los que tuvieron a su cargo la organización de la retaguardia durante toda la guerra. Pasó el tiempo, regularizando un tanto la situación, y las ejecuciones disminuyeron. No obstante, volvían a las andadas cuando algún palmo de territorio había sido conquistado. La voluntad de exterminar a sus enemigos nunca faltó a los nacionalistas.  

2 La gran diferencia del grado de humanidad mostrado en ambos lados puede ser juzgada por el hecho de que desde el principio de la guerra civil hasta el fin no apareció la más pequeña protesta, en la radio y prensa nacionales ni en los libros publicados en Salamanca y en Burgos, sobre las atrocidades que estaban ocurriendo. Los fascistas ingleses y los neocatólicos que visitaron a Franco negaron que allí se hubiesen hecho ejecuciones irregulares. Con todo, los falangistas nunca ocultaron lo que estaba ocurriendo y durante los primeros meses los cuerpos fueron expuestos a la vista de todo el mundo y en todos los lugares. Del lado del gobierno, por el contrario, casi...
El factor decisivo en la guerra fue, como ya se ha dicho anteriormente, la intervención extranjera. Alemania e Italia sostuvieron a los generales rebeldes desde el principio. Stalin solamente se decidió a intervenir en septiembre. Debe advertirse que hubo diferencia en el método de prestar ayuda. Los dictadores fascistas trataron directamente con Franco y sus generales enviándoles el material de guerra. Aunque animaban a los falangistas, nunca hicieron de ellos sus representantes en España, sino, como ya habían hecho en Rumania, tenerlos a la mano como una especie de levadura o fermento para presionar sobre el gobierno. Stalin, de otra parte, vio que las armas que enviaba y las brigadas internacionales que organizaba le aseguraban todas las noches la radio, durante agosto y septiembre, lanzaba fuertes acusaciones contra las ejecuciones que se estaban llevando a cabo. No solamente las autoridades del gobierno, sino también miembros de la UGT, de la FAI y del Partido Comunista hablaban en este sentido se pusieron carteles pidiendo la ejecución inmediata de los gansters que cometeran tales asesinatos. No sabemos hasta qué punto las masas de la UGT, de la CNT y de la FAI sostenían estas protestas. Durante algún tiempo la opinión humana fue silenciada entre ellos y era peligroso el protestar demasiado, pero los dirigentes de los partidos de izquierdas protegieron a menudo a gentes que estaban en peligro y les facilitaron la huida. Los comunistas, que con el fin de disgustar a los anarquistas habían adoptado una actitud protectora hacia la Iglesia, tomaron a su cargo la tarea de proteger a los curas. Hubo algunas excepciones de calidad en la aceptación general del terror. Juan Peiró, el bien conocido anarquista, director de Libertad, denunció casi diariamente en su periódico los crímenes de ciertos elementos de la CNT. No moderaba su lenguaje. Estos eran «modernos vampiros», «fascistas en estado latente», «ladrones y asesinos, culpables de crimen contra el honor de los revolucionarios» Su periódico no fue suspendido ni él fue contrariado ni molestado por ello. ¿Podemos imaginarnos que pueda ser posible nada más que la décima parte de esta franqueza de lenguaje del lado de Franco? Véase Perill a la retaguardia, Mataró, 1936, donde estos artículos fueron reimpresos. Peiró fue no solamente un hombre valeroso, sino también inteligente y sus opiniones sobre las colectivizaciones son dignas de ser leídas.
rarían el dominio del partido comunista. Se podía confiar en que éstas sólo mirarían por los intereses soviéticos.

La política a seguir por ellos en España está contenida en una carta escrita por Stalin a Largo Caballero y fechada el 21 de septiembre de 1936. En ella le recomienda que se atraiga a los campesinos resolución las cuestiones agrarias y reduciendo los impuestos; atraerse también a la pequeña burguesía, impidiendo las confiscaciones y respaldando sus intereses; introducir a los dirigentes republicanos en el gobierno, y tranquilizar al capital extranjero. Hay que reconocer que, desde el punto de vista de ganar la guerra, estos consejos eran extremadamente sensatos. El sostén de la clase media, que se había hecho profundamente antagónica por las expropiaciones de los anarquistas, era muy importante. Los campesinos necesitaban también ser tranquilizados y satisfechos. Era también urgente el ganarse las simpatías de las democracias, que habían quedado un tanto perplejas ante las confiscaciones y el territorio. Como muchos preveían por aquel tiempo, la guerra se perdería o se ganaría en Londres. Esta era la política que más se acomodaba con los mismos comunistas. Rusia es un país totalitario gobernado por una burocracia. La mentalidad de sus dirigentes, que se han elevado a través del más terrible alzamiento de la historia, es cínica y oportunista. Toda la construcción del Estado es dogmática y autoritaria. Esperar que semejantes hombres puedan dirigir una revolución social en un país como España, en donde el más ardiente idealismo está combinado con una gran independencia de carácter está fuera de lugar. Los rusos pueden, es verdad, pedir mucho idealismo a sus admiradores extranjeros, pero con él solamente pueden llevar a la creación de

1 Publicada en New York Times el 4 de junio de 1939, con una copia fotostática del original.
un Estado burocrático de hierro en donde todos piensan igual y en donde cada uno obedece las órdenes de su superior. Otro factor que los empujaba a tomar posición más bien en la derecha que en la izquierda del movimiento del Frente Popular fue el profundo disgusto que sentían por todos los revolucionarios españoles. Nadie es tan severo con los excesos de la juventud como los libertinos reformados o convertidos. Los comunistas sentían un odio inmenso y una gran reserva hacia lo que ellos llamaban trotskysmo, palabra que servía para cubrir igualmente al pedante marxismo del POUM, al moral y revolucionario entusiasmo de los anarcosindicalistas y a las izquierdas socialistas. Como ya hemos dicho, ellos estaban en lo justo en su apreciación del hecho de que el momento de aquellos partidos había pasado. En la misma España una revolución triunfante no puede ser llevada a buen término por obreros y labradores sin la ayuda de una amplia sección de lo más enérgico y capacitado de la clase media. Pero, semejante admisión envolvía una contradicción de todo lo que habían dicho y hecho en el pasado. Cuando acusaban a los anarquistas de ser un «ala infantil de las izquierdas» olvidaban que solamente dos años antes habían sido los más extremistas e intratables de todos los partidos y organizaciones revolucionarias del país.

Como hemos visto, la intervención rusa dio a los comunistas una posición que no habrían tenido nunca de otro modo en España. El poder de distribuir las armas que llegaban puso a los anarquistas en sus manos. La CNT aceptó la situación y rompió el más sagrado de sus tabús entrando a formar parte del gobierno. El prestigio de la Brigada Internacional, que había salvado a Madrid, fue otro factor. Además, parece ser que Stalin había estado en lo cierto al pensar que una moderada línea de izquierda era la que más prometía en el futuro para su partido.
Incapaces de atraerse a los trabajadores manuales, que permanecían firmemente en sus sindicatos, los comunistas hallaron un refugio para todos aquellos que habían sufrido por los excesos de la revolución o que tenían miedo a ser arrastrados por la misma. Naranjeros católicos, «buenos para todo», de Valencia, campesinos de Cataluña, pequeños tenderos y hombres de negocios, oficiales del ejército y empleados del gobierno entraron en sus filas. En Cataluña, donde el miedo y el odio hacia los anarquistas era muy grande, fueron lo bastante hábiles para combinar los varios grupos socialistas (todos eran de la derecha y había pocos trabajadores manuales) en un solo partido, el PSUC que fue afiliado al Komintern. Algunos miembros de la Esquerra y de los Rabassaires ingresaron en este partido, como también ciertos ricos fabricantes ocuparon buenos puestos en el mismo. Así, nos hallamos ante una nueva y extraña situación: de un lado estaba la gigantesca masa proletaria de Barcelona con su larga tradición revolucionaria y del otro estaban los empleados y la pequeña burguesía de la ciudad, organizados y armados por los comunistas para exterminarla.

Pero, sería un error suponer que los comunistas debían su éxito simplemente a su control de las armas enviadas por Rusia y a su aversión por la revolución social. Poseían además un dinamismo que no tenía ningún otro partido del gobierno español. Por su dinamismo, su capacidad de organización, su orientación y sobre todo, su conocimiento de la técnica moderna política y militar, representaban algo nuevo en la historia de España. Con fervor de misioneros (la mayor parte de la juventud estaba con ellos), se propusieron vencer la tradicional inercia y pasividad del temperamento burocrático español. Hay que admitir que con los relativamente escasos medios de que disponían, tuvieron bastante éxito en su empeño. Crearon de la nada un magnífico ejército y un estado mayor que obtuvo victorias contra po-
derosos enemigos. Su propaganda fue hábil e ingeniosa. Durante dos años fueron el corazón y el alma de la resistencia antifascista. Comparados con los falangistas del otro lado, que nunca fueron más que una pálida imitación de sus maestros italoalemnes, muy aplicados a limpiar la retaguardia pero cuidadosos de no arriesgar sus vidas en la batalla, la superioridad es evidente. Pero, no fue fácil a los otros partidos el entenderse con ellos. Tenían una creencia fija de su superior conocimiento y capacidad, siendo incapaces de una discusión racional. Les salía por los poros su espíritu rígido y totalitario. Su sed de poder y mando era insaciable, con una carencia absoluta de escrúpulos. Para ellos, ganar la guerra significaba ganarla para el partido comunista y estuvieron siempre dispuestos a sacrificar cualquier ventaja militar con el fin de impedir a otro partido rival, de su mismo bando, que fortaleciera su posición. Así, mantuvieron el frente de Aragón sin armas, para exasperar a los anarquistas, e impidieron una ofensiva verdaderamente prometedora en Extremadura porque el éxito de la misma hubiera recaído sobre Largo Caballero.

Pero, quizás más grave que todo esto fue su falta absoluta de moral y de integridad política. Su oportunismo se extendía hacia todas las cosas. Parecían no tener programa que no pudiera ser invertido si esta inversión les prometía una ventaja y estaban igualmente dispuestos a servirse de la clase media contra el proletariado, como del proletariado contra la clase media. No hay duda de que los métodos históricos del marxismo encierran en sí mismos una gran cantidad de elasticidad. Su marcha atrás en tantos de sus dogmas pasados recuerda los hechos de aquellos misioneros jesuitas del siglo XVII que, para mejor convertir a los chinos, suprimían en sus predicaciones toda alusión a la crucifixión. Esta comparación no puede ser más exacta. Por su devoción hacia una institución más bien que hacia un ideal,
hacia un papa extranjero que hacia una comunidad, seguían el camino trazado por Ignacio de Loyola. Su actitud en España era muy parecida. Del mismo modo que los jesuitas del tiempo de Laínez volvieron la espalda al gran movimiento místico y ascético de su tiempo y trabajaron para reducir todas las cosas a un nivel muerto de obediencia y devoción, así los comunistas mostraron que la gran cantidad de sentimientos que acompaña a una revolución eran desconocidos por ellos. Ponían mal gesto en todos sus impulsos, tanto los creadores como los crueles y aplicaban un espíritu severamente práctico a todas sus manifestaciones. Así, no solamente desaprobaban las colectividades industriales y campesinas que se habían formado espontáneamente, e inundaban el campo de policías que actuaban más bien bajo las ordenes del partido que bajo las del Ministerio de Gobernación, sino que con sus perpetuas intrigas y maquinaciones roían la fibra de los varios partidos del Frente Popular y de las dos grandes centrales sindicales de cuya firmeza y solidez dependían las fuerzas republicanas.

El efecto sombrío de esta actitud no puede ser exagerado. Los movimientos revolucionarios surgen de abajo y son nutridos con nuevos deseos e impulsos. España es precisamente una tierra en la que semejantes impulsos burbujean constantemente en la superficie viniendo de lo más profundo. En ningún país de Europa hay tanta espontaneidad de palabra y de acción, tan diferentes de la restricción y de la reglamentación. Cuando en medio de la guerra de liberación los comunistas aparecieron como profesionales y expertos, no se dedicaron a armonizar esos impulsos y dirigirlos hacia una victoria militar, sino que hicieron todo lo posible por suprimirlos completamente. Su naturaleza y su historia les hizo destruir lo local y espontáneo y poner toda su fe en el orden, la disciplina y la uniformidad burocrática. Se puede replicar que estos deseos de orden corres-
ponden a una fase inevitable de todas las revoluciones. Pero los 
comunistas no eran, como Robespierre y Bonaparte, el produc-
to de un fenómeno nativo, sino que eran un producto de im-
portación, ya preparado, venido de fuera y que actuaba bajo las 
órdenes e intereses de un dictador extranjero. He aquí por qué, 
con todo lo rápido que fue su progreso y con todo lo fecundo 
que es el suelo español para toda semilla burocrática, nunca 
consiguieron arraigar en él firmemente.

Podemos ahora, a la luz de estas observaciones, examinar bre-
vemente la historia de la guerra del lado de la República. A fi-
nes de 1936, el periodo de los comités y de la revolución social 
había pasado y el bien armado PSUC se enfrentaba con la CNT 
en Cataluña. Un estado de tensión se creó al instante. La prime-
ra crisis vino en enero. La presión comunista sobre el gobierno 
era grande y por un momento se pensó en la inminencia de un 
golpe de Estado y de que las brigadas internacionales march-
arian sobre Valencia. Pero, hubo una combinación de todos los 
partidos contra ellos obligándolos a apartarse un poco del ca-
mino. No obstante, la cuestión de un aumento de su poder no 
era la sola cosa que ambicionaban. Querían un ejército regular, 
en lugar de las milicias; el fin de todas las medidas revoluciona-
rias; una centralización más grande y una conducción más efic-
ciente de la guerra. En esto último Prieto y Negrín con casi la 
mitad de los socialistas y todos los republicanos, los sostenían. 
En otro lado estaba el jefe del gobierno Largo Caballero, con su 
group de izquierdas socialista y toda la CNT. Los aconte-
cimientos se precipitaron cuando en mayo, de resultas de un 
incidente sin importancia, hubo tres días de lucha en las calles 
de Barcelona. La masa de la CNT y de la FAI no se movió y sus 
dirigentes hicieron todo lo posible por poner fin al conflicto,
pero esto no impidió a los ministros comunistas el pedir la completa supresión de los sindicatos de Cataluña y que la prensa catalana y la policía se subordinaran en la práctica al control comunista. Largo Caballero rechazó estas exigencias, pero la insistencia comunista consiguió la supresión del POUM, quien, como hereje trotskysta, era especialmente odiado por Stalin, y la acusación a sus dirigentes de los absurdos cargos de traición y colaboración con el enemigo. Aunque los otros miembros del gobierno evitaban cualquier ejecución, Andrés Nin, la principal figura del POUM (Maurín estaba en poder de Franco) fue secretamente asesinado en la cárcel. Pocos fueron los que lloraron la suerte de estos marxistas de izquierda y los anarquistas no podían por menos que considerarse los próximos en la lista.  

Los sucesos de Barcelona ocasionaron la caída del gobierno de Largo Caballero. Prieto como ministro de Defensa y Negrín como ministro de Hacienda lo sucedieron con un gabinete en el que se encontraban comunistas y republicanos, pero no anarcoindicalistas. Prieto, empujado por los comunistas se vio pronto en serios conflictos con ellos. El terreno principal de su desacuerdo fue la cuestión del control del ejército. Los comunistas estaban intentando aumentar su apoyo e influencia sobre todas las fuerzas armadas y Prieto estaba determinado a oponerse a ello. Todos recordaban que después de la última guerra civil el ejército había gobernado el país durante toda una generación. Si los comunistas podían poner las tropas a su lado serían capaces, como lo habían sido los liberales en 1840, de imponer una dictadura militar. Los medios por los cuales esperaban realizarlo eran el nombramiento de oficiales comunistas

1 La prensa rusa no ha intentado nunca ocultar esto. Pravda escribió en 1936: «En lo que concierne a Cataluña, la limpieza de elementos trotskystas y anarcoindicalistas ha empezado ya y será llevada a término con la misma energía que en la URSS»
y la propaganda llevada a cabo por los comisarios políticos. Gracias a los buenos oficios de Alvarez del Vayo, quien estaba en el Comisariado de Guerra desde octubre de 1936, casi todos los comisarios eran comunistas, pero la asignación era de uno por batallón y ellos insistían ahora para que fuese uno por compañía. Se dijo que La Pasionaria había advertido a Prieto que si no se hacía así no habría más ayuda de parte de Rusia. Gracias a la política anglofrancesa de no intervención, los comunistas tuvieron en las armas de Rusia una palanca que no les falló nunca, pues cualquiera que fuese la inclinación política íntima de los ministros socialistas y republicanos, sabían que un rompimiento con Stalin era la pérdida inmediata de la guerra. Prieto se inclinó ante lo inevitable y abandonó el gobierno (abril de 1938).

Después de esta dimisión, que condujo a una reorganización del gabinete, la influencia comunista alcanzó su punto culminante. El ministro de Justicia vasco, Irujo, y el ministro de la Esquerra dimitieron como protesta y la dirección de la guerra quedó en las manos de Negrín, Alvarez del Vayo y el comunista Uribe. Los comunistas, de hecho, eran indispensables y Negrín, cuyas opiniones políticas estaban mal definidas y que ponía por encima de todo la necesidad de ganar la guerra, tuvo cuidado de mantener una estrecha relación con ellos.

---

2 En realidad, pocas de las armas enviadas a España fueron rusas. Fueron compradas en Europa y América por agentes del Komintern y pagadas por adelantado con oro del gobierno español. Cuando, debido a las simpatías por Franco de los banqueros franceses, empezó a ser difícil el realizar los pagos por la vía ordinaria, la mayor parte de las reservas en oro del Banco de España, unos 574 millones de dólares, fueron enviadas a Rusia. Desde aquel momento, el control del Politburó sobre Valencia fue más grande que nunca.
Los últimos meses de la lucha vieron, no obstante, una disminución de su fuerza. Gradualmente durante los dos últimos años se habían infiltrado y penetrado a la manera nazi, dentro de varios órganos de la administración y del ejército hasta tener ahora en sus manos muchos de sus puntos estratégicos. Como ya hemos visto, casi todos los comisarios políticos del ejército eran comunistas y el subsecretariado de Propaganda, que era el departamento del gobierno que dirigía la misma, se convirtió también en una organización del Partido. Controlaban el departamento de cifrados y, excepto en Madrid, la nueva policía política, además de la cual ya tenían ellos, naturalmente, su propia policía y sus cárceles dirigidas por la OGPU. En el ejército, las mejores divisiones eran las suyas. Aunque la masa de la UGT (excepto las Juventudes, que se habían sumado a ellos en los primeros días de la guerra) había resistido a la incorporación, muchos de los dirigentes sindicales se inclinaban hacia ellos. A pesar de todo eso, tan pronto como se vio claro que Stalin se retiraba de su aventura española y que no habría más envíos de armas, su influencia empezó a disminuir. En el gobierno, los socialistas y los republicanos pudieron adoptar una actitud más fuerte contra ellos. La insubstancial naturaleza de su poder, dependiente del prestigio y del éxito, resultó evidente.

**Hay muy poco que decir sobre la evolución política del lado de Franco.**

---

3 El Servicio de Investigación Militar o SIM. Estaba compuesto de la vieja policía política, esos *struldbrigs* que sobreviven a todas las revoluciones y que ahora eran comunistas. Su acción, especialmente en Cataluña, fue dirigida tanto a la mayor supresión de enemigos del partido como a debilitar a los de la República. Como toda la policía española, fue extraordinariamente incompetente.
Los primeros seis meses pasaron sin la menor traza del entusiasmo y alborozo que habían sido vistos entre los republicanos. La atmósfera en Burgos y en Salamanca, como han admitido ardientes simpatizantes fascistas, estaba cargada de odio y de recelos. La primavera de 1937 vio una crisis similar a las que habían ocurrido del lado republicano. Los «camisas viejas» de Falange, conducidos por el secretario del partido, Manuel Hedilla, tomaron en serio el programa de José Antonio y pidieron que se pusieran rápidamente en ejecución los veintiséis puntos que contenía y que habían sido adoptados por Franco. Solamente esto, decían, daría a los nacionalistas el movimiento de masas que necesitaban para ganar la guerra. Esto fue un pálido reflejo de la querella entre socialistas de izquierda y comunistas. Los que seguían a Hedilla eran pocos y la administración de Franco se sintió lo suficientemente fuerte para tratar con él vigorosamente ya que ni los italianos ni los alemanes lo apoyaban. Hedilla, junto con los principales de sus seguidores, fue detenido y encarcelado.

Al mismo tiempo carlistas y tradicionalistas, que se habían unido recientemente junto con los monárquicos y con el remanente de la CEDA, opusieron resistencia. Franco trató con ellos por medio de un decreto obligándoles a unirse a la Falange y asumiendo él mismo la dirección del nuevo partido que fue conocido como Falange Española Tradicionalista. Al mismo tiempo exilió al dirigente carlista Fal Conde. Dos meses después, la muerte del general Mola, el más inteligente de todos los militares de la Junta y un fuerte antifalangista, fue un nuevo golpe para ellos, ya que habían abrigado siempre la esperanza de que suplantaría a Franco. Después de esto su influencia, como la de su número opuesto, los anarcosindicalistas, declinó. Las dere-

---

1 Véase en particular *In Franco’s Spain* del capitán Francis McCullagh, 1936.
chas y las izquierdas nacionalistas habían sido puestas en su lugar.

En adelante el poder estuvo dividido entre el ejército y los «camisas nuevas» como se llamaba a los que habían ingresado en el movimiento a partir de febrero de 1936. Estos eran una amalgama de gente de todas clases: empleados del gobierno, nuevos ricos, intelectuales de segunda fila, abogados y doctores, con toda esa tribu de gentes necesitadas y ambiciosas que en todos los países (y especialmente en uno tan pobre como España) se suman a los partidos que tienen puestos de trabajo para ofrecer. La burguesía andaluza estaba bien representada y constituía un fuerte movimiento juvenil, ya que debemos recordar que toda la organización de Juventudes de la CEDA se había adherido a la Falange poco antes de estallar la guerra civil. La masa fue proporcionada por ex-anarquistas y socialistas que ingresaron para poder salvar la piel. Estos elementos eran casi los mismos que habían creado el partido comunista del otro lado. Allí, no obstante, terminaba la analogía: la disciplina era floja pues no había realmente un lazo de unión. No tenían hechos militares en su crédito, pues el ejército carlista había hecho toda la guerra y los «camisas viejas» que podían haber dado alguna cohesión, habían sido barridos por los recién llegados. No tenían ni un caudillo auténtico, ya que Franco era simplemente un general como otros muchos, que había llegado al poder por un accidente, y al que faltaban singularmente las cualidades que deben adornar a un verdadero caudillo. Su propio dirigente José Antonio, había hallado la muerte ante un piquete de ejecución republicano. Así, la Falange nunca consiguió ser un partido fascista coherente sino que fue siempre una manada de cazadores de gangas unidos a una vociferadora y poco respetable guardia de hierro. Pero no tuvo rival en cuanto al ejército, dividido como estaba entre profascistas y monárqui-
cos, proalemanes y aquellos que no pueden ver a los extranjeros, dominado por el vaivén de la guerra y propenso a ser desorientado por la política.

Una vez más, en el verano de 1938, se produjeron trastornos entre los nacionalistas. Esta vez era entre los oficiales del ejército. El general Yagüe pronunció un discurso en el que trató a los alemanes e italianos de pájaros de presa y ensalzó el valor de los soldados republicanos. Hubo motines en varios lugares. En ese tiempo Negrín publicó sus trece puntos con vistas a crear un ambiente favorable para una reconciliación. Era éste el momento para el gobierno inglés de repudiar la estúpida y cínica farsa de la no intervención y anunciar a los alemanes que no se consentirían nuevos envíos de armamentos. Esta acción pudo muy bien haber conducido a un armisticio. Pero, la política de apaciguamiento estaba en su cénit y Chamberlain no vio nada de extraordinario ni perturbador en la perspectiva de una victoria de alemanes e italianos. Incluso hizo una presión fuerte sobre el gobierno francés para que cerrase sus fronteras con España. En estas circunstancias (Rusia había retirado ya su ayuda) fue realmente un milagro que el gobierno español pudiese continuar resistiendo hasta marzo de 1939.