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Faculty of Humanities (Modern Languages)

An Anatomy of Exile, Return and *De-exile*

The Writing and Life Trajectory
of the former Spanish Anarchist Minister

Juan López Sánchez

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Pedro García-Guirao ©

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES (Modern Languages)

Doctor of Philosophy

AN ANATOMY OF EXILE, RETURN AND *DE-EXILE*. THE WRITING AND LIFE

TRAJECTORY OF THE FORMER SPANISH ANARCHIST MINISTER

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ

By Pedro García-Guirao

This thesis explores the scantily studied Spanish anarchist exile that followed the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and lasted until Francisco Franco's death and, arguably, beyond. So far, Spanish anarchist exile has occupied a marginal research space under the wider label of "Republican exile". Within this marginalized exile, I have chosen to address a specific issue: the voluntary return of former anarchist exiles to a dictatorship. The research is built around the controversial case study of a former anarchist Minister, Juan López Sánchez. The thesis tries to discover how, after a period of exile consisting of a short stay in Toulouse, followed by almost 15 years in England and 14 in Mexico, this former Minister constructed a discourse that justified his return to Spain at the age of 66, and the reasons why he collaborated with the Francoist *Sindicato Vertical* [Vertical Union].

The research attempts to extrapolate from the problems affecting a specific person (Juan López Sánchez) in a particular historical moment (1939-1975) to gain a broader understanding of the experience of returning Spanish exiles and refugees. The theorizing thus goes to a certain extent from the general to the particular. Methodologically, the study is developed based on an interdisciplinary vision. It draws on qualitative methodology to analyse the intellectual output of Juan López Sánchez and his contribution to newspaper publications in exile, which will help us understand the experience of exile and broader human dimension of the former Minister. At the heart of this data lies a corpus of 630 letters that the Minister sent and received between 1939 and 1971. Through the study of this correspondence, which has hitherto remained unexamined, Juan López Sánchez held a rich

and insightful dialogue with 73 leading republican figures inside and outside of Spain, providing invaluable insights into the exile and return from both a personal and political perspective.

The findings of the thesis hope to contribute to the historiographical, theoretical, cultural and humanistic gaps surrounding the work and memory not only of Juan López Sánchez, but also of many other intellectuals who attempted to reintegrate into Spanish society during the Franco regime, a subject which has so far been generally rejected as a field of study by the academic establishment.

Contents

Abstract.....	2
Contents	4
Nomenclature	8
Declaration of Authorship	9
Acknowledgments.....	10
A note on citing Juan López Sánchez' Archive.....	11

INTRODUCTION.....	12
0.1. THESIS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES.....	12
0.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	14
0.3. THESIS OUTLINE.....	15

CHAPTER 1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ IN AN ANARCHIST CONTEXT.....	19
1. PRE-EXILE.....	19
<i>A terminological and historical clarification: the conceptual history of 'anarchism', 'anarcho-syndicalism' and 'possibilistic anarchism'</i>	20
<i>Murcia: The Birth</i>	23
<i>Barcelona: The First Emigration</i>	24
<i>The Way to Prison</i>	25
<i>Adopting Syndicalism and Forgetting Anarchism</i>	28

“Power Tends to Corrupt, and Absolute Power Corrupts Absolutely”.....	30
2. EXILE.....	31
3. RETURN AND <i>DE-EXILE</i>	39

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: EXILE, RETURN AND *DE-EXILE*.....44

1. EXILE.....	44
1.1. EXILE AND ITS FETISHES.....	44
1.2. CIVIL REPUBLICAN VIRTUES IN EXILE.....	51
2. RETURN.....	53
2.1. THE TABOO OF RETURNING.....	53
2.2. RETURN AS A MORALLY INCONVENIENT DECISION.....	54
<i>The return from legal perspectives: The Francoist Laws.....</i>	58
3. DE-EXILE.....	63
<i>Etymological approach.....</i>	64
<i>De-exile according to Mario Benedetti.....</i>	64

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY: ANALYSING JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ’ ARCHIVE.....73

3.1 THEORETICAL MODELS TO APPROACH THE PAST FROM THE PRESENT.....	74
<i>Qualitative inductive model.....</i>	74
<i>Reconstruction of the past.....</i>	75
<i>Psychohistory.....</i>	76
<i>Issues of self-reflexivity... ..</i>	77
3.2 “ARCHIVO DE JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (LÍDER ANARQUISTA Y MINISTRO REPUBLICANO)”.....	79

Gatekeeping archives.....82

Correspondence analysis.....83

CHAPTER 4

EXILE AS A SYMPTOM OF THE “GERMEN OF WAR”.....91

Juan López Sánchez and Republican virtues as demagogoy.....93

CHAPTER 5

PRAGMATISM AS A WAY OF SURVIVING IN EXILE.....100

The impossible reinstatement of the Republic.....101

Facing new realities and circumstances.....104

The Spanish circumstances and the mysticism of the Civil War.....108

CHAPTER 6

THE PATRIOTIC IMPERATIVE TO RETURN.....120

Return to make up for lost time.....120

Problems of identity.....123

Juan López Sánchez: a Spanish man who loves his homeland.....134

CHAPTER 7

DE-EXILE AND COLLABORATION WITH THE “ENEMY”.....141

De-exile: a category for interpreting Juan López Sánchez’ correspondence and attitude towards exile.....142

Negotiations while in exile.....145

Putting returnees into quarantine.....153

Integration into the Francoist apparatus.....159

CHAPTER 8

THE PSYCHOSOMATIC ELEMENTS OF EXILE, RETURN AND DE-EXILE.....	164
8.1 PSYCHOSIS OF THE BODY.....	165
<i>The asthma of exiles.....</i>	171
<i>Sleep disorders and fatigue.....</i>	177
8.2 RETURN AS A TREATMENT AND SPAIN A AS MEDICINE.....	180
<i>The role of the “curative” national food in exile.....</i>	181
<i>Family ties in exile as an impediment for returning.....</i>	183
8.3 TO DIE IN SPAIN.....	187
CONCLUSIONS: HISTORY AS A CEMETERY.....	198
APPENDIX I: Contents of “Archivo de Juan López Sánchez (Líder anarquista y ministro republicano)”.....	205
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	262

Nomenclature

BOE	Boletín Oficial del Estado
CEDA	Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas
CN	Comité Nacional
CNT	Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
CNS	Confederación Nacional de Sindicatos
CGT	Confederación General de Trabajadores
ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya
FAI	Federación Anarquista Ibérica
FTRE	Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española
FIJL	Federación Ibérica de Jóvenes Libertarios
IEE	Instituto Español de Emigración
IISH	International Institute of Social History of Amsterdam
IWA	International Worker's Association
JARE	Junta de Auxilio a los Republicanos Españoles
JLS	Juan López Sánchez
IR	Izquierda Republica
PCE	Partido Comunista Español
POUM	Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista
PP	Partido Popular
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
SALTUV	Sociedad Anónima Laboral de Transportes Urbanos de Valencia
SERE	Servicio de Evacuación de Refugiados Españoles
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores
UNED	Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Pedro García-Guirao, declare that the thesis entitled '**An Anatomy of Exile, Return and De-exile. The Writing and Life Trajectory of the Former Spanish Anarchist Minister Juan López Sánchez**' and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work; I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- parts of this work have been published as:

García-Guirao, P. (2013). 'The Ground Rots Equally Everywhere': Federica Montseny and those who Returned to Die in the Francoist Spain, In: *Coming Home? Vol. 1: Conflict and Return Migration in the Aftermath of Europe's Twentieth-Century Civil Wars*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 70-88.

García-Guirao, P. (2009). Anarchism in Spain. In: *International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest: 1500-Present*. Ed. Immanuel Ness. Oxford, Blackwell, 144-147.

García-Guirao, P. (2008). Federica Montseny en Francia: la nueva comunidad humana y el exilio como utopía. *Espinosa, Revista de Filosofía*, 8, 3-24.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

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Finally, Dr Pavla V. and our children, Félix and Diana, have been there for me throughout the process, to offer their unconditional patience and support. It is to them that I am ultimately indebted.

A note on citing Juan López Sánchez' Archive

The documentation of Juan López Sánchez' Archive is organized in six big folders according to the following numeral classification table: JLS 237, JLS 990, JLS 991, JLS 997, JLS 998 and JLS 999 (see Appendix I). Following the model of Russian dolls, each of these folders is composed of between 1 and 10 documents (e.g. JLS_237_01 ...JLS_237_10). Each of those documents contains, in turn, a further division between three and fifty-seven documents (e.g. JLS_237_01_57). When citing these letters the initials "JLS" are followed by the full number of the archive (e.g. 237_01_20), followed by the date sent and place of the letter (e.g. JLS_237_1_20/07-Oct-1962/Mexico). In the same way, the archive contains other types of documents (drafts of unpublished books, newspaper clippings, notes and reflexions). When citing these documents, I will use the same system of citation.

INTRODUCTION

0.1. THESIS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This research examines the role of Juan López Sánchez as part of the so-called “Spanish Republican exile” of the Spanish Civil War. However, the focus of interest here is not the life story of someone whom we might call a “great man”, but the peculiar and controversial ideological journey that his exile on which he embarked. Despite his relevance in the history of Spain (he became the Minister of Commerce), he was a figure who did not fit properly into the Second Republic or into the community of exiles; he was a pariah among most of his anarchist comrades because his ideas regarding anarchism, exile and return ran against the prevailing currents. The other three anarchist ministers died in exile –Federica Montseny died in Toulouse in 1994, Juan Peiró died in Valencia in 1942 (after being illegally extradited and killed by Franco’s agents) and Juan García Oliver died in Guadalajara (Mexico) in 1980. In contrast, Juan López Sánchez voluntarily returned to Spain and collaborated with the Francoist dictatorship. Arguably, this earned him political and social rejection and condemned him to obscurity in the historiography of the Spanish Civil War exile.

Bearing in mind this context, my aim in the thesis is twofold. Firstly, I try to discover how, after a period of exile consisting of a short stay in Toulouse, almost 15 years in England and 14 in Mexico, this former Minister constructed a discourse that justified his return to Francoist Spain at the age of 66, and the reasons why he collaborated with the Francoist Regime. Secondly, I want to trace and analyse the ideological journey of someone who went from being a violent revolutionary anarchist in his youth to becoming a resigned and convinced conservative. In other words, I want to explore the extent to which Juan López Sánchez’ forced geographical displacement also entailed a radical ideological migration.

These questions feature prominently in current debates over a cluster of ideas that have become central to so-called *Exile Studies*. On one side there are arguments by scholars from various fields that have been seduced by the so-called *buenismo* [goodism] ideology; that is, by a way of writing history unrealistically or with the purpose, not necessarily malicious, of

mystifying the lives of those in exile, guided by value judgments rather than by historical evidence.

As a subject of study, “exile” has succumbed to the excessive praises –not always well founded in empirical data– of historians close or sympathetic to Spanish Republicanism. In order to make sense of the dramatic personal, political, social and national ruptures that the Spanish Civil War entailed, “exile” has become synonymous with moral rectitude. Moreover, it has been considered that leaving Spain symbolised an obligation of avoiding any kind of collaboration with the Francoist dictatorship. More specifically, the mystification process of Spanish exile is usually linked to certain literature that defines those Spanish Civil War exiles as subjects morally superior to other mortals.¹ Furthermore, “exile” is often considered a moral category that in itself implies some intrinsic goodness or glorification of being in exile:² “But if true exile is a condition of terminal loss, why has it been transformed so easily into a potent, even enriching, motif of modern culture?”³ Edward Said asked rhetorically in one of most famous writings.

¹ A small selection of those books are: AAVV (1999). *Castellanos sin Mancha. Exiliados castellano-manchegos tras la guerra civil*, Madrid: Celeste Ediciones; Abdón, M. (Ed.) (2009). *¡Ay de los vencidos!: El exilio y los países de acogida*. Madrid: Ediciones Eneida; Alted Vigil, A. (2005). *La voz de los vencidos. El exilio republicano de 1939*, Madrid: Aguilar; Anonymous (2010). *Forgotten Heroes: Spanish Resistance in France (1939-45)*. Online: The Anarchist Library; Aróstegui Sánchez J. (Ed.) (2007). *España en la memoria de tres generaciones. De la esperanza a la reparación*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense y F. Largo Caballero, 26-48; Ben-Sasson, H.H. (1960). *Exile and Redemption Through the Eyes of the Spanish Exiles*. Jerusalem: Historical Society of Israel; Bort-Vela, J. (1977). *La angustia de vivir. Memorias de un emigrado republicano español*. Madrid: Ed. de la Revista de Occidente; Carrasco, J. (1980). *La odisea de los republicanos españoles en Francia (1939-1945)*. Barcelona: Edicions Nova Lletra; Felipe, L. (1974). *El español del éxodo y del llanto*. México: Finisterre Editores; Ferraz Lorenzo, M. (2004). El largo peregrinaje de los maestros exiliados canarios a partir de 1936. *Boletín Millares Carlo*, (23), 37-57; Fraser, R. (2012). *Blood of Spain: an oral history of the Spanish Civil War*. Random House; Fresco, M. (1950). *La emigración republicana española: una victoria de México*. México: Editores asociados; García de Cortázar, F. (2006). *Los perdedores de la Historia de España*. Barcelona: Editorial Planeta; Lida, C. E. (1994). *Una inmigración privilegiada: comerciantes, empresarios y profesionales españoles en México en los siglos XIX y XX*. Alianza Editorial; Martínez, F.J. (2009). Exilio y compromiso: el caso de Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez. *Arbor: Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, 739, 1010-1018; Medina-Navascués, T. (2007). *Memorias del exilio: la vida cotidiana de los primeros refugiados españoles en México*. México: Conaculta; Pike, D.W. (1969). *Vae Victis! Los republicanos españoles refugiados en Francia. 1939-1944*. París: Ruedo Ibérico; Plasencia de la Parra, E. (1995). Conmemoración de la hazaña épica de los Niños Héroes: Su origen, desarrollo y simbolismos. *Historia mexicana*, 45(2), 247-8; Stein, L. (1979). *Beyond death and exile: the Spanish Republicans in France, 1939-1955*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; Vilanova, A. (1969). *Los olvidados. Los exiliados españoles en la Segunda Guerra Mundial*. París: Ruedo Ibérico; Vilar, J.B. (2006). *El exilio en la España contemporánea*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.

² Faber, S. (2006). The Privilege of Pain: The Exile as Ethical Model in Max Aub, Francisco Ayala, and Edward Said. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Crossroads*, 3 (1), 11-32.

³ Said, E. (2000). *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays (Convergences: Inventories of the Present)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.137.

On the other side there are arguments that have hoisted the flag of critical thinking and revisionism within Spanish Exile Studies. As pointed out by Sebastian Faber⁴ among others, apart from its minority nature and marginal situation, the study of the Spanish exile has been prone to the magnification of the life experiences and achievements of its protagonists. These studies have been emphasising the positive aspects of exiles' traits and personalities, to the point of arguing that the exiles' lives of hardship should serve as a model for the rest of humanity not in exile. Accordingly, it would seem that in the case of Spanish Republican exiles, the mere fact of being exiles –and regardless of their political, cultural and personal backgrounds preceding the Spanish Civil War– meant that they had the monopoly of pain and suffering. I believe this debate is an ideal vantage point from which to study the case of Juan López Sánchez since, on the one hand, he questioned the supposed moral superiority of those living in exile and challenged their self-proclaimed righteousness, which they attributed to themselves by the mere fact of living in exile. On the other hand, he placed himself within an exilic context –which Faber has so aptly theorized– where morality was not king, but was a situation where a whole world of concessions and negotiations took place, with the idea of the “small and larger betrayal”,⁵ involving constant changes of opinion and shifts in ideology. The aim of my thesis is to work under this new paradigm which calls the mystification of exile into question.

0.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question of the thesis can be formulated in the following terms: How did Spanish exile and former anarchist Minister Juan López Sánchez construct a discourse that justified and enabled him to return to Francoist Spain?

This question arises in response to the silence that has historically characterised the return of Spanish exiles to Franco's Spain. Many authors have devoted their intellectual efforts to unravelling the philosophical, moral and political reasons why most Spanish exiles considered returning to Francoist Spain to be an act of treason (See in Chapter 2, *Return as a morally inconvenient decision*). However, little attention has been given to the opposite phenomenon, that is, the personal, political, and even psychological discourse of those exiles

⁴ Faber, S. (2006). The Privilege of Pain: The Exile as Ethical Model in Max Aub, Francisco Ayala, and Edward Said. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Crossroads*, 3 (1), 11-32.

⁵ Faber, S. (2006). *op. cit.*, p. 21.

who decided to return home even when they had been engaged in fighting Franco in wartimes.⁶

Taking this into account, the purpose of this work is to discover why Juan López Sánchez (born in Bullas –Murcia– in 1900), after 29 years in exile, he decided to return to Spain when he was 66, and why he collaborated with Francoist *Sindicato Vertical*.⁷ In order to do so, contrary to the optimistic anthropological conception defended by classical anarchists, it must be stressed that Juan López Sánchez defended a pessimistic anthropological theory where selfishness was the engine that drove human beings:

Yo no creo en el espíritu de sacrificio. Nadie se sacrifica por nada. Nadie hace nada por nada. El egoísmo dicta las acciones humanas y por el egoísmo se vive, se muere, se lucha, no se lucha, se es gandul y trabajador. Yo soy, como los demás mortales, un egoísta.⁸

Given that this worldview underwrites all of Juan López Sánchez' thought, I now outline the content of the five chapters that explore the construction, justification and realisation of his return.

0.3. THESIS OUTLINE

The division of chapters signals to the reader the main points of Juan López Sánchez' personal theory of return. Contained within their titles are implicitly key theoretical ideas that can be extracted from the former Minister's body of correspondence. In a manoeuvre to reconcile Juan López Sánchez' biography and bibliography, the thesis chapters are organized chronologically and thematically, following the line initiated by the starting point or *Retirada* (1939), followed by his period of exile (1939-1967) and the moment of his return (1967), and concluding with what I call the process of *de-exile* (1967-1972). Despite this seemingly rigid model, the boundaries of each of these phases are often blurred and escape this linear conception. In the thesis, I reconstruct the life trajectory of Juan López Sánchez as follows.

⁶ One exception would be the book: Soo, S. and Gemie, S. (eds.) (2013). *Coming Home? Vol. 1: Conflict and Return Migration in the Aftermath of Europe's Twentieth-Century Civil Wars*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. And especially the chapters 1 to 5. Chapter 1, by Alicia Alted Vigil: “Repatriation or Return? The Difficult Homecoming of the Spanish Civil War Exile”. Chapter 2, by Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand: “From Exodus to Exile: The Diversity of Returns and the Spanish Civil War Refugees”. Chapter 3, by María González Pendás: “Apátridas Architectures: Félix Candela, José Luis Sert, and the Return of the Modern to Francoist Spain”. Chapter 4, by Pedro García-Guirao: “‘The Ground Rots Equally Everywhere’: Federica Montseny and Those who Returned to Die in Francoist Spain”. Chapter 5, by Alicia Mira Abad and Mónica Moreno Seco: “Cultures of Return among Spanish Republican Women Exiles and their Children”.

⁷ During the Franco regime, in order to avoid the Marxist notion of ‘class struggle’, both workers and employers were forced into a single vertical union.

⁸ López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.69.

Chapter 1, “Juan López Sánchez in an Anarchist Context”, aims to trace Juan López Sánchez’ unpublished and almost unknown biography, and to illustrate some of the key events of his public and private life in order to have a better understanding of the matters discussed in the thesis. This academic writing exercise is an important element mainly because Juan López Sánchez remains almost unknown both in the Hispanic and Anglo-American contexts, and especially because it has been written bearing in mind his personal archive.

Chapter 2, “Theoretical Framework: Exile, Return and *De-exile*”, is based on a new paradigm of exile studies. Roughly described, the thesis focuses on three key concepts: exile, return and *de-exile*. ‘Exile’ is presented here not as something to be proud of but as something totally different. For Juan López Sánchez exile was an odyssey, something to be ashamed of as a Spaniard, a heavy international stigma carried by the defeated Republican Spain. The term ‘return’ also became a highly moralizing one within the community of exiles. The exile of 1939 invoked this term on the one hand to designate a dream, a desire, and an obsession. On the other, it used the term to insult and denounce publically the small group of exiles who decided to go back to Francoist Spain. For its part, ‘De-exile’ is the most important and original concept that this thesis relies on in its attempt to frame Juan López Sánchez’ writings and life trajectory within a theory of exile return.

Chapter 3, “Methodology: Analysing Juan López Sánchez”, comprises a set of four research methods. Firstly, I employ a qualitative inductive model. Secondly, I stay with the model that I call ‘reconstruction of the past’, which proposes ‘traveling’ to the past and ‘being there’ by rebuilding the contexts, experiences, historical junctures, debates and circumstances of Juan López Sánchez’ case to the greatest extent possible. Thirdly, the thesis also draws on some notions of so-called ‘Psychohistory’. Psychohistory can be defined as the study of the motivations, fantasies, emotions and traumas of the protagonists of history, which I will use here to connect migration with medicine. Finally, since most of the primary sources of this thesis are letters, I draw on correspondence analysis to examine a corpus of 630 letters that the former Minister sent and received between 1939 and 1971.

Chapter 4, “Exile as a Symptom of the Germen of the War”, provides a background for understanding the special interpretation of the Spanish Civil War as a radical event that those in exile suffered. This interpretation of the Spanish conflict shapes the notion of exile. For Juan López Sánchez, Spaniards had to overcome the traumas of the war as soon as possible.

He believed exile had to be temporal, “a transitory category”, and something unthinkable in the medium/long-term, since the integration of exiles within their host countries was, in his view, a national betrayal. At this point I analyse Juan López Sánchez’ conception of exile as something anachronistic based on an original traumatic experience or emotional shock from which lots of the exiles never recovered despite the passing of time. Following his reasoning, the trauma of war paralyzed an entire generation.

Chapter 5, “Pragmatism as a Way of Surviving in Exile”, unravels Juan López Sánchez’ notion of “Circumstancialism”, which is very close to the official definition that the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset created in 1914 in his *Meditations on Quixote*.⁹ There he developed his very famous sentence “I am I plus my circumstances”.¹⁰ Given this theory, for Juan López Sánchez those exiles were unaware that they were far removed from their real situation as they displayed rhetorical and propagandistic discourses burdened by sentimentalism and romanticism; they formed a community living in a cage inside the absolutism of desires,¹¹ separated from direct contact with reality.

Chapter 6, “The Patriotic Imperative of Return”, addresses the struggle (personal and ideological) between Juan López Sánchez’ patriotic feelings –developed mostly while in exile–, and the theoretical incompatibility of these feelings with anarchist theories which ran contrary to patriotism. I conclude this chapter arguing that this discourse of return suspiciously resembles the official discourse of the *Falange*¹² and, in consequence, can be interpreted as ideological preparation for returning.

Chapter 7, “*De-exile* and Collaboration with the ‘Enemy’”, provides a general outline of how Juan López Sánchez justified the last necessary step prior to returning to Spain without having to present himself before public opinion (in exile or in the interior) as a turncoat or social arriviste or climber. To this end, Juan López Sánchez justified his arguments for returning with claims to his alleged ideological immutability.

⁹ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *Meditations on Quixote*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

¹⁰ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *op. cit.*, p.41.

¹¹ The “absolutism of reality” is opposed to the “absolutism of the images and desires”. Neither of these expressions is attributed to Juan López Sánchez. They are categories theorized in: Blumenberg, H. (1990). *Work on Myth (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought)*. Cambridge and London: MIT Press.

¹² “Falange” was a Fascist movement founded in Spain in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera and the only legal party in Spain under the Francoist Regime (1939-1975).

Chapter 8, “The Psychosomatic Elements of Exile, Return and *De-exile*”, looks at the development of a discourse of sickness (in both a physical and a psychological sense) in conjunction with Juan López Sánchez’ discourse of return. From his earliest days in England, the correspondence of the former Minister began to make constant references to asthma as the centre of his life and to the necessity of moving to another place with better weather for the treatment of his disease. As he got older, he increasingly emphasised his vision of Spain as the ideal place to cure his physical and mental illnesses. In the same way, this chapter highlights a change in Juan López Sánchez’ general discourse about return.

Finally, the concluding chapter, “History as a Cemetery”, highlights a framework for exploring problems concerning memory in the anarchist world. Recapping one of the problems that I develop immediately below, I work out the reasons why Juan López Sánchez and his works have remained almost unknown in Spain. In doing so, I anticipate that this thesis might face some problems in being received within Spain and I envisage being confronted by a critical question regarding my own political positioning in my attempt to rescue the former Minister from oblivion: Does research on politically incorrect historical characters imply a revisionist or historical agenda?

In addressing the research question: How did the Spanish exile and former anarchist Minister Juan López Sánchez construct, justify (and put into practice) a discourse of return to Francoist Spain? I hope to make a significant contribution to the study of return in the context of political exile and contribute to a revitalisation of the studies of the consequences of the Spanish Civil War, with a particular focus on exile and memory in Spain’s pre-current democratic period. In this sense, the thesis wants to open a debate about individuals like Juan López Sánchez, who acted in such a way that they were pushed into oblivion by the dominant historiography in its attempt to mask the main actors of what might be called “the ugly face of Spanish history”. In this respect, the thesis challenges the academic neglect and intellectual taboo that has hitherto surrounded these exiles’ works and life trajectories. The key findings of the thesis and insight of my whole research are the excessive glorification of the Spanish Civil War exiles, the idea that geographical migrations entail ideological migrations, and that the exilic discourses of the body (anatomy, psychiatry and health issues in general) have not received adequate academic attention. All these findings support the idea of a revitalisation of the so-called *Exile Studies*.

Chapter 1

Juan López Sánchez in an Anarchist Context

Juan López Sánchez fue sin duda alguna el más desconocido de los cuatro ministros anarquistas. También ha sido uno de los más criticados desde los sectores más intransigentes del anarquismo español. Su trayectoria sindicalista y posibilista le granjeó no pocos detractores en su tiempo, y muchos más a partir de su vuelta del exilio mexicano en que se acercó al sindicato vertical. López fue sin duda un reformista y un posibilista, pero su trayectoria vital en absoluto resultó acomodaticia; fue un luchador nato, estuvo varios años en la cárcel y trabajó intensamente en toda la prensa libertaria.¹³

1. PRE-EXILE

This above quote summarizes the existing research slovenliness hanging over Juan López Sánchez. Biographical dictionaries and history books either omit him or underestimate him, or devote to his entry a mere few lines.¹⁴ This can only be partly explained when we consider the accessibility issues regarding the archive that I describe in Chapter 3. Also when we consider his poor political image: in Spain, his relaxed conception of anarchism and his “dangerous friends” within the Francoist *Sindicato Vertical*, damaged his reputation, because the few people who knew him continued to consider him a mere turncoat. Undeniably, he was a turncoat but also a man who had made himself and who had escaped poverty. He had educated himself in the “anarchist university” par excellence, that is, in jail. And above all, he

¹³ Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *Ministros anarquistas. La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936-1939)*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, p.138.

¹⁴ Some of these books are: Íñiguez, M. (2001). *Esbozo de una enciclopedia histórica del anarquismo español*. Madrid: Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo; Gutiérrez-Álvarez, P. (2007). *Libertarios, libertarias. Un diccionario bio-bibliográfico*. Sant Pere de Ribes: The author; Montseny, F. (1987). *Mis primeros cuarenta años*. Barcelona: Plaza y Janés; Lorenzo, CM. (1972). *Los anarquistas españoles y el poder (1868-1969)*. París: Ruedo Ibérico; Peirats, J. (1971). *La CNT en la revolución española (3 vol.)*. París: Ruedo Ibérico; Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *Ministros anarquistas. La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936-1939)*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori; Herrerín, A. (2004). *La CNT durante el franquismo. Clandestinidad y exilio (1939-1975)*, Madrid: Siglo XXI.; Lozano, I. (2004). *Federica Montseny. Una anarquista en el poder*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe; García Oliver, J. (1978). *El eco de los pasos*. Barcelona: Ruedo Ibérico; Monferrer, L. (2007). *Odisea en Albión. Los republicanos españoles exiliados en Gran Bretaña (1936-1977)*. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre; Gurucharri, S. & Ibañez T. (2010). *Insurgencia libertaria. Las Juventudes Libertarias en la lucha contra el franquismo*. Barcelona: Virus Editorial; García, M. (2010). *Prisionero de Franco. Los anarquistas en la lucha contra la dictadura*. Madrid: Anthropos.

was a human being who suffered the experience of thirty years in exile, enduring illness and poverty; a humbling experience when we consider that he had been a former Minister of the Spanish Second Republic. What follows is an attempt to reconstruct and explain the key contexts surrounding his controversial biography. This will enable us to better understand and contextualise the analysis of his correspondence. I am interested here in describing the political ideology that influenced the anarchist grounding of Juan López Sánchez.¹⁵ Nonetheless, first I will start by discussing anarchist and syndicalist ideologies. This analysis will help to understand the confrontation and tensions among the members of the different political groups during the Second Republic, as well as Juan López Sánchez' decisions.

A terminological and historical clarification: the conceptual history of ‘anarchism’, ‘anarcho-syndicalism’ and ‘possibilistic anarchism’

The aim of this terminological section is to discuss the ideological issues that moved Juan López Sánchez to challenge anarchism and embrace syndicalism and possibilistic anarchism. By doing so, we will get a better understanding of Juan López Sánchez' claims about the Spanish style, and his connection with syndicalist (and possibilistic) ideas until the end of his life. To start with, it should be noted already the term ‘anarchism’ is, *per se*, largely problematic because it is historically and ideologically polysemic. As stated by Norberto Bobbio (*et al*):

Es imposible dar una definición completamente precisa de anarquismo porque el ideal designado con este término, aunque ha evolucionado notablemente en el tiempo, siempre se manifestó y se manifiesta más que como algo cumplido y elaborado, como una aspiración, un último objetivo al cual referirse llenándolo de significados y de contenidos distintos, según el punto de vista desde el cual se lo observe.¹⁶

In spite of this intractable problem of multiplicity of meanings, it is possible to identify a set of constants of meaning within ‘anarchism’ that have been more or less accepted by the specialists in the field. Thus, risking oversimplification, it could be said that this concept has been put to use in two ways: one traditional-negative use and one revolutionary-positive use. On the one hand, the traditional use of the word ‘anarchism’ was loaded with negative characteristics that sometimes have been transferred to our days in the form of prejudices. At

¹⁵ An analysis of the origins (1845) of anarchism in Spain can be found in: García-Guirao, P. (2009). Anarchism in Spain. *International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest: 1500-Present*. Ed. Immanuel Ness. Oxford, Blackwell, 144-147.

¹⁶ Bobbio N. & Matteucci N. & Pasquini G. (2005). *Diccionario de política*. México: Siglo XXI, p.29.

least this is what was thought, among many others, by Enrico Malatesta who already in 1907 collected in a definition of ‘anarchism’ the old pernicious spirit that had been dragged with this term since its origins.¹⁷ In his opinion, the problem of anarchism was not so much a philological problem as one of malicious interpretation. Malatesta tried to expose the political interests that were hidden behind the misinterpretation of the term.¹⁸ This traditional use of the word ‘anarchism’ is both a misunderstanding of the term ‘anarchy’ and also a prejudice born out of the fear of living without a government.¹⁹ Nonetheless, using a metaphor from biology, the function creates the organ, that is, the good organisation of the people (especially the working class) by themselves can create new ways of relations among them, without any kind of mutual exploitation and that, in his opinion, can have two direct consequences: the destruction of governments and the ‘rehabilitation’ of the word ‘anarchism’.

On the other hand, the revolutionary use of ‘anarchism’ alludes here to the historical-philosophical term that was born in parallel to Liberalism and Utopian Socialism.²⁰ Although the term ‘anarchism’ is attached to those movements genuinely born under the auspices of the principles of the French Revolution (1789), its major milestone must be linked to the works of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon who, concretely in 1840, described himself as ‘anarchist’ in his famous book *What is property?*.²¹ Nevertheless, at the beginning of XIX century it was not very clear what ‘anarchism’ was. Even the word had different implications but some of the common characteristics that it invoked, at least in the Spanish context, include the following: “...intellectual, political and social emancipation, which implies moral emancipation, and,

¹⁷ “Anarchy is a word that comes from the Greek, and signifies, strictly speaking, ‘without government’: the state of a people without any constituted authority. Before such an organization had begun to be considered possible and desirable by a whole class of thinkers, so as to be taken as the aim of a movement (which has now become one of the most important factors in modern social warfare), the word ‘anarchy’ was used universally in the sense of disorder and confusion, and it is still adopted in that sense by the ignorant and by adversaries interested in distorting the truth”. In: Malatesta, E. (1977). *Anarchy*. London: Freedom Press, p.62.

¹⁸ “We shall not enter into philological discussions, for the question is not philological but historical. The common interpretation of the word does not misconceive its true etymological significance, but is derived from it, owing to the prejudice that government must be a necessity of the organization of social life, and that consequently a society without government must be given up to disorder, and oscillate between the unbridled dominion of some and the blind vengeance of others”. In: Malatesta, E. (1977). *op. cit.*, p.63.

¹⁹ “[...] if it is believed that government is necessary and that without government there must be disorder and confusion, it is natural and logical to suppose that anarchy, which signifies absence of government, must also mean absence of order”. In: Malatesta, E. (1977). *op. cit.*, p.64.

²⁰ And this is because as pointed out by M. Nettlau: “The history of anarchist ideas is inseparable from the history of all progressive developments and aspirations towards liberty. It therefore starts from the earliest favourable historic moment when men first evolved the concept of a free life as preached by anarchists –a goal to be attained only by a complete break from authoritarian bonds and by the simultaneous growth and wide expansion of the social feelings of solidarity, reciprocity, generosity and other expressions of human co-operation”. In: Nettlau, M. (1996). *A Short History of Anarchism*. London: Freedom Press, p.1.

²¹ Proudhon, P. J. (2004). *What is property? An inquiry into the principle of right and of government*. Whitefish: Kessinger.

upon this basis, the free development of a mature and regenerated humanity".²² Moreover, at the end of XIX century: "The word 'autonomy' was used frequently, at that time and for a year or two, as a synonym for anarchism".²³ In any case, despite the variety of movements that can be described as 'anarchist' there was a common denominator to the various strands of anarchism. As Ignacio Molina notes:

No hay una única concepción anarquista pues cuenta con muy diversos teóricos (Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin), pero sí existen unos mínimos rasgos comunes. El deseo de abolir el Estado, el método autogestionario, las visiones utópicas, la libertad como meta individual y el rechazo a la religión y a las materializaciones occidentales, son algunas de sus señas de identidad.²⁴

In its negative form, God, the State and Capital are the three enemies of all anarchists. These are their enemies because they restrict the freedom of the individual in the personal, economic and socio-political sphere. Hence, although we have just said that God, the State and Capital are the main enemies of anarchism, authority –as it appears in all the spheres of life- is in fact the primary target and enemy of anarchism: "Authority has also been attacked in many works of high artistic merit [...], and in good pamphlets, in satire, in caricature, in the comedy of all the ages, in all types of writing that were by their nature 'disrespectful'"²⁵ In fact, it is something that can be found in all kinds of anarchisms: "Thus, whoever denies Authority and fights against it is an Anarchist".²⁶

Despite the heterogeneity of meanings mentioned above, for the purpose of this thesis, in the following sections I will present anarchism as somehow homogeneous. What interests me here is to decipher the core characteristics and issues that are identifiable in the CNT trade union and then focus on the specific aspects of anarchism that Juan López Sánchez developed in his writings. Nevertheless, there are several currents of thought and practice within anarchism: anarcho-communism, anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-collectivism, anarcho-pacifism, libertarian possibilism or 'possibilistic anarchism', and mutualism, among a much longer list. In the end, what is relevant to this thesis are the ideologies of 'anarcho-syndicalism' and 'possibilistic anarchism'. Anarcho-syndicalism can be defined as follows:

Doctrina concomitante con el anarquismo que no rechaza, a diferencia de las concepciones estrictas de éste, la actividad política. Se caracteriza por organizarse en sindicatos, como sustitutivos funcionales de

²² Nettlau, M. (1996). *A Short History of Anarchism*. London: Freedom Press, p.44.

²³ Nettlau, M. (1996). *op. cit.*, p.184.

²⁴ Molina, I. (1998). *Conceptos fundamentales de Ciencia Política*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, p.10.

²⁵ Nettlau, M. (1996). *op. cit.*, p.98.

²⁶ Woodcock, G. (Ed). (1977). *The Anarchist Reader*. Glasgow: Fontana Original, p.62.

los partidos, y propugna la colectivización, la huelga revolucionaria y la acción directa, que puede conllevar la utilización de la violencia contra el Estado.²⁷

Likewise, the historical meaning of possibilistic anarchism in Spain is:

Con el término ‘possibilismo libertario’ nos referimos a la postura de aquel sector del movimiento libertario que, sin renunciar a sus objetivos últimos –la destrucción del capitalismo y del Estado– decidió apoyar la Segunda República y aceptar el sistema democrático como marco adecuado para desarrollar su actividad, actitud que en ocasiones se plasmó en el ejercicio del poder político o en la participación en estructuras de partido.²⁸

According to Ruiz Pérez, the origin of the expression ‘possibilismo libertario’ can be found in the early twentieth century in Spain:

De hecho, si creemos a Federico Urales, la paternidad del término possibilismo libertario corresponde a Salvador Seguí, quien a finales de 1922 y principios de 1923 lo habría utilizado durante sus intervenciones en público para proponer una táctica similar a la que hemos expuesto: que la CNT prestara su apoyo a los partidos republicanos con el objetivo de desarrollar un programa mínimo desde el Gobierno.²⁹

In the different chapters of this thesis, the analysis of these currents of Spanish anarchism will become more obvious and specific as I analyse the written work of Juan López Sánchez. For example, when speaking about ‘possibilistic anarchism’ I will refer not necessarily to the anarchist collaboration during the Spanish Second Republic (a democracy) but to the personal and institutional collaboration of specific anarchist figures (living in exile) with the Francoist Regime (a dictatorship). Now we will turn to the ideological and life journey that Juan López Sánchez went through.

Murcia: the birth

From the union of an illiterate mother and a Guardia Civil as father, Juan López Sánchez came into the world with the above socio-political heritage in Bullas, a small provincial town in Murcia, southeast Spanish. He was born on 16 January 1900 and grew up with five siblings: Manuel, Pepa, María, Remedios and Pedro³⁰, who are hardly referred to in his writings.³¹ Suffocated by poverty, the family migrated to Barcelona in 1910; a city full of

²⁷ Molina, I. (1998). *Conceptos fundamentales de Ciencia Política*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, p.10.

²⁸ Ruiz Pérez, J. (2004). Reflexiones sobre possibilismo libertario. *Libre Pensamiento*, 44, p.73.

²⁹ Ruiz Pérez, J. (2004). op. cit., p.73.

³⁰ Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.62.

³¹ In fact, only one letter written in the 60s refers to his sister who lived in Barcelona when a major flood occurred: “Estos días estoy sumamente preocupado por la suerte de mi familia. Toda ella reside en Barcelona y

opportunities but also fraught with dangers. His education, like the education of all poor children who lived in large families, was minimal. Only those families who could afford to place their children in the *seminario* (a college for future catholic priests) could guarantee a higher education. This was not the case for Juan López Sánchez' family. At the age of ten, he had to leave school and engage in physical work³² Later, in prison, he completed his studies in an autodidactic way as most of Spanish anarchists did. The solidarity that he encountered during those long and frequent periods in prison marked him, especially in what relates to education: "Es ésta una de las premisas de la escuela libertaria mundial: el que sabe enseña al que no sabe".³³

Barcelona: the first emigration

Just three years before Juan López Sánchez moved to Barcelona, the city was a political and social hotbed of conflicts.³⁴ In 1907, *Solidaridad Obrera* was created in Barcelona with the intention of uniting all Spanish social-anarchist movements that refused to join the *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT, founded in 1888 under the political control of the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español*, PSOE). *Solidaridad Obrera* had a profound influence on anarcho-syndicalism. First, its periodical, *Solidaridad Obrera*, served throughout the history of Spain as propaganda during strikes. Second, the organization played a significant role during the *Semana Trágica* in Barcelona (from July 25 till August 1, 1909). In response to the deaths of Spanish soldiers in the war with Morocco, a general strike began, which resulted in the burning of convents and violent clashes with the army. The opposition reacted quickly: a hundred workers died, thousands others were incarcerated and a scapegoat found: the anarchist pedagogue Francisco Ferrer y Guardia, the founder of *Escuela Moderna*, was accused of instigating the rebellion. Despite international protests, he was shot on 13 October,

Badalona. Y aunque las noticias de prensa nos informan de que en esa zona hayan habido muchas víctimas, uno no sabe qué pensar. Las inundaciones destruyeron el puente del río Besós, y ese puente está entre Barcelona y Badalona. Una hermana mía vive con su familia a mitad de la carretera de San Adrián del Besós –una barriada– y Badalona. Es un lugar sumamente llano... En fin, no estaré tranquilo hasta tener noticias de ella". In: (JLS_237_05_09/29-September-1962/México).

³² "Y mis estudios terminaron en 1910 en Chinchilla, sabiendo leer y escribir y las cuatro reglas de la aritmética. De siempre fui alérgico a la gramática". In: López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.47.

³³ Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *Ministros anarquistas. La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936-1939)*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, p.53

³⁴ For a deeper analysis of the city of Barcelona in the early twentieth century, see the decisive books: Ealham, C. (2010). *Anarchism and the City. Revolution and Counter-revolution in Barcelona, 1898-1937*. Edinburg: AK Press. And: Smith, A. (2007). *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction: Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the Spanish State, 1898-1923*. Oxford: Berghahn.

1909. Other anarchists, including Anselmo Lorenzo, Esteve Claramunt, and Teresa Claramunt, were deported. Finally, at its 1910 congress, *Solidaridad Obrera* decided to create the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT).

Juan López Sánchez' arrival in Barcelona in 1910 coincided with a wave of immigration from Murcia and Almeria to Catalonia. A year later, when he was only eleven years old, he joined a trade union and soon became aware of the miserable life that he could expect as a bricklayer-labourer unless he joined forces with others to demand fair working conditions. As noted earlier, the CNT was created in 1911 and from the beginning, he felt strongly identified with this Spanish trade union. However, the CNT was not fully functional until 1914: "Después de su primer congreso de 1911, fue puesta al margen de la ley al solidarizarse con una oleada de huelgas muy violentas que agitaron de norte a sur a la península".³⁵ In 1916, Juan López Sánchez was elected as secretary of the *Junta de la Sociedad de Moldistas y de Piedra Artifical*, which became part of the *Sindicato de la Construcción* of CNT in the Congress of Sans in 1918. It was during these early years when he was trying to adapt to life in a big city as well as taking his first steps in the anarchist movement, that he first developed asthma an illness that stayed with him until his death.

The way to prison

The events that broke the peace of Barcelona in 1919 were decisive in the life trajectory and ideology of Juan López Sánchez. At the beginning of February, a strike of the company *La Canadiense* began in the city. The reaction of the employers was to praise the figure of the gunman ("pistolero").³⁶ The appointment of the Governor Martínez Anido and the chief of the police Arlegui initiated a period when anarchists and trade unionists were severely persecuted, and "pistolero" ruled over Barcelona for several years. The Commissioner of the Police Manuel Bravo Portillo also killed selecting very carefully his targets: among his victims were Massoni, Pablo Sabaté ("El Tero"), Segura, and the industrialist Josep Albert Barnet. In response, radical anarchists assassinated Bravo Portillo. The same fate befell upon one of those responsible for the massacre of the workers: President Eduardo Dato. On March 8, 1921, the anarchists Mateu, Casanellas, and Nicolau ended his life on the Plaza de la Independencia in Madrid. To avoid further social conflicts, King Alfonso XIII turned the

³⁵ Peirats, J. (1988). *La C.N.T. en la revolución española* Vol. I. Cali: La Cuchilla, p.7.

³⁶ These gunmen started working for Alfonso XIII as employees. Their aim was to kill syndicalists and notable left-wing leaders in order to suffocate protests and riots.

assassins' death sentences into 30 years imprisonment. At the same time, in response to the revolutionary chaos of the time, the king allowed General Primo de Rivera to form a government that was repressive of the proletariat and anarchist unions.

Shortly before the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, two young anarchists of the CNT decided to fight back and seek revenge for the ravages of state-sponsored terrorism against anarchists. Those who tried to confront the gunmen were Joaquín Roura Guim and Juan López Sánchez himself, aged 21 at the time. In the course of a shooting, Roura and Juan López Sánchez pursued the *pistoleros*.³⁷ Although they failed in their intention to kill them they caused one dead (that of Agustín Gay –a worker who was travelling inside the tram where the shooting took place) and one injury (to Mariano Sanz Pou). This event had a significant social and media impact at the time. The Catalan newspaper *La Vanguardia*, for instance, reported it or referred to it in sensationalist terms for several years after.³⁸

Only one day later, *La Vanguardia* gave more details stating that Roura and Juan López Sánchez had put up resistance to a sergeant on the Civil Guard and to an artilleryman of the command of Barcelona. The same day, the anonymous journalist described that during the detention of Roura and Juan López Sánchez, a card of the CNT and an anarchist newspaper –*España Nueva*– were taken away from them.³⁹ Three days later, *La Vanguardia* gave some extra details about the case saying that the detainees were kept in solitary confinement and were soon quickly judged.⁴⁰ Two days after this processing, Roura and Juan López Sánchez were transferred to military prisons; the first was also accused of being a deserter.⁴¹ Although they had spent already two years in prison, it was not until 1922 that the serious allegations were made official.⁴² In the first sentence imposed by a military court, the judge

³⁷ The name of the gunmen paid by baron Koenig were Mariano Sanz Pou and Julio Zaporta Cieza –who was totally unhurt in the attack.

³⁸ “Los autores del criminal atentado, con una audacia inconcebible y una temeridad acreedora del mayor castigo, la emprendieron a tiros contra dos individuos que iban en un tranvía, malhiriendo a uno y matando a otro infortunado pasajero, que, ajeno en absoluto a la cuestión, tuvo la infiusta suerte de ir en aquel tranvía al realizarse la agresión”. In: (*La Vanguardia*, 30/07/1920, p.11).

³⁹ In: (*La Vanguardia*, 31/07/1920, p.11).

⁴⁰ “Por el juzgado especial se ha dictado auto de procesamiento y prisión sin fianza contra Juan López Sánchez y Joaquín Roura Guim, autores del suceso ocurrido en la carretera de Ribas”. In: (*La Vanguardia*, 03/08/1920, p.4).

⁴¹ “Parece que Joaquín Roura es desertor del regimiento de pontoneros”. In: (*La Vanguardia*, 06/08/1920, p.2).

⁴² “Estos hechos son constitutivos de dos delitos de asesinato siendo uno consumado y el otro en grado de frustración, y de un delito de disparo de arma de fuego contra persona determinada”. In: (*La Vanguardia*, 06/06/1922, p.7).

sentenced them to life in prison.⁴³ Nevertheless, another court reviewed the sentence and in February 1923, the court pronounced that only Juan López Sánchez was the culprit.⁴⁴ Almost at the end of 1923, Juan López Sánchez' case was reviewed by a court-martial and the public prosecutor requested a sentence of 6 years.⁴⁵ Despite witnesses, he always denied the facts of that day.

During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), all activities of the CNT were prohibited, even though the organization continued to exist illegally. In 1927, another clandestine organization appeared—*The Iberian Anarchist Federation* (FAI)— an underground organization of Spanish and Portuguese anarchists. The old Spanish organization *Federación Nacional de Grupos Anarquistas* aimed to unite all struggles against the bourgeoisie, the church, and the army. Legendary militants such as Durruti, García Oliver, Aurelio Fernández, Gregorio Jover, Ricardo Sanz and Ascaso, financed from robberies of Latin American and French banks, prepared assassinations, and fomented direct action as well as libertarian propaganda. FAI coordinated violent actions aimed at the elimination of the dictatorship and the king. However, it would not be necessary to use violence much further: from 28 January 1930, the dictator resigned and the elections held on April 12, 1931, resulted in the proclamation of the Second Republic and the king's exile.

Before the dictator's resignation, according to *La Vanguardia* of March 1924, a pardon was granted that enabled⁴⁶ Juan López Sánchez to reduce his prison sentence from six to four years.⁴⁷

⁴³ “Corresponde imponer a los procesados, por el primer delito la pena perpetua a cada uno; por el asesinato frustrado la pena de doces años y un día de cadena temporal, también para cada uno, y por el delito de disparo de arma de fuego dos años de prisión correccional a Juan López; 10.000 pesetas de indemnización a Enriqueta Mallfú Bonet viuda de Agustín Gay y de 225 pesetas a Mariano Sanz por las lesiones que le causaron en la refriega”. In: (*La Vanguardia*, 06/06/1922, p.7).

⁴⁴ “Media hora después reanudándose la sesión, dándose lectura del veredicto, que fue inculpabilidad para el procesado Joaquín Roura y de culpabilidad, apreciando el hecho como homicidio por imprudencia y disparo, para su compañero. En su virtud la Sala condenó al procesado Juan López Sánchez a la pena de un año y un día de prisión correccional por el primer delito y un año, ocho meses y veintiún días de la misma pena, por el segundo delito o sea el de disparo, más la indemnización de 10.000 pesetas a la familia del interfecto, sirviéndose de abono total el tiempo de prisión preventiva”. In: (*La Vanguardia*, 25/02/1923, p.6).

⁴⁵ “El fiscal, auditor de brigada don Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora, pidió para el acusado seis años de prisión correccional”. In: (*La Vanguardia*, 08/12/1923, p.8).

⁴⁶ “Por la autoridad militar se han concedido los beneficios del decreto de indulto a los paisanos Juan López Sánchez, José Serós Sirvent y otros. Sargento Emilio Ferrando Adell, Luis Moreno Alonso; Benjamín Baile Lizón y Tomás Bernal Maza; cabo Ramón Comerma Baqué; carabinero Juan Quirante Tapia y soldados Melchor Cosp Rius, Juan López Conchán y Escolástico Rubio”. In: (*La Vanguardia*, 12/08/1924, p.8).

Adopting syndicalism and forgetting anarchism

Juan López Sánchez' violent youth –as we shall see below– inevitably influenced his future. Upon his release from prison, he re-joined the CNT. From that time onwards, he started to call the hegemony of the anarchist ideology into question.⁴⁸ In order to reduce the anarchist influence inside the CNT, he collaborated with other trade unionists in the creation of *Grupo Solidaridad* (in 1928). While in prison, Juan López Sánchez had time to further develop his theory about syndicalism and gradually distance himself from the more radical positions within the CNT-FAI, becoming part of its so-called political-reformist section.⁴⁹

In August 1931, Juan López Sánchez, Angel Pestaña, Juan Peiró, Horacio M. Prieto, and a large part of the CNT signed the famous *Manifiesto de los Treinta* or *Manifesto of the 30: To All Anarchists*, where they proposed the intervention of anarchism in professional politics. In opposition to the FAI, which called for the immediate introduction of libertarian communism, the signatories believed that a transitional phase between capitalism and an anarchist society was necessary. To that end they envisaged the creation of anarchist political parties: *Partido Sindicalista*, *Partido Libertario* and *Sindicalismo Político*.⁵⁰ However, they were eventually expelled from the CNT, which opened a rift between trade unionists and the *faists*. Those who distanced themselves from the reformist anarchism of political parties created the *Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias* (FIJL) and *Mujeres Libres* in 1932 and 1936, respectively. In the combative context of the so-called *Manifesto of the 30* Juan López

⁴⁷ “En 1926 recobré la libertad, siendo beneficiario del indulto concedido por Primo de Rivera con motivo del vuelo ‘Plus-Ultra’ de Ramón Franco”. In: López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.48.

⁴⁸ “Juan López fue contrario a la hegemonía que iba tomando el anarquismo dentro del sindicalismo; el anarquismo que, desde multitud de publicaciones, se fue infiltrando en el seno de los grupos afiliados que se establecieron en torno de la lucha sindical”. In: Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *Ministros anarquistas. La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936- 1939)*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, p.139.

⁴⁹ “Corresponde a ese tiempo mi relación personal, íntima y militante, con Ángel Pestaña, Juan Peiró, Progreso Alfarache, Francisco Arín, José Villaverde, Domingo Torres, Eleuterio Quintanilla y un numeroso grupo de militantes y trabajadores que en jornadas de gran trascendencia encabezaremos –y yo digo que encarnaríamos– la concepción revolucionaria del sindicalismo español constructivo, al que muchos calificaron de político-reformista, moderado y contemporizador con no sé qué trapisonadas de la política de bajo techo en que se movieron siempre los partidos políticos de la burguesía”. In: López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.49.

⁵⁰ For a detailed discussion of these issues see: Equipo “El sindicalista” (1978). *Movimiento libertario y política*. Biblioteca Júcar: Madrid.

Sánchez was already a prominent leading figure; his signature appears first on the *Manifiesto*).⁵¹

After this act of rebellion, there was a purge inside the CNT and the signatories of the *Manifiesto* were expelled from the anarchist trade union. Regarding Juan López Sánchez, it is worth noting that:

Sus ideas, que expuso en la prensa y en los comités, hicieron que se le expulsara del Sindicato de la Construcción el mes de octubre de 1932. Tres meses después, en enero de 1933, impulsó la Federación Sindicalista Libertaria y dirigió su principal divulgador: *Sindicalismo*, desde Valencia, sin llegar a pertenecer nunca al Partido Sindicalista.⁵²

A few years after leaving prison, Juan López Sánchez had troubles with the law again. This time the charges were related to the lack of press freedom during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera's successor. However, on this occasion, he was not convicted of printing offenses.⁵³

During its first days, the Republic was considered by many a panacea powerful enough to resolve the four grand problems that had dragged Spain down for over a century: latifundism (huge parcels in hands of a few property owners), the religiosity of the State, the exploitation of the proletariat, and centralism. From an anarchist perspective, Republic soon became seen as nothing more than a reformist political regime perpetuating the same problems. A good illustration of the gap that existed between the government and the people is what happened in the village of Casas Viejas (Cádiz) in January 1933, where 25 people—one of whom was the coal merchant Francisco Cruz, better known as “Seisdedos”—were burnt alive by the Republican Civil Guard. The motive for the attack was the proclamation of libertarian communism in Andalucía. Rather than silencing the anarchists, this event elevated the humble peasants to the status of martyrs, ignited libertarianism in a number of areas (mostly in Asturias, Aragón, Barcelona, and Levante), and spread radical discontent throughout the Second Republic.

⁵¹ “Dentro de esa línea de moderación, y a favor del sindicalismo, pronto decidió actuar junto con el leonés Ángel Pestaña y algunos sindicalistas de más edad. En agosto de 1931 fue el primer firmante del Manifiesto de los Treinta. También figuraba como miembro del consejo de redacción de Cultura Libertaria en noviembre de 1931”. In: Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *Ministros anarquistas. La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936-1939)*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, p.140.

⁵² Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

⁵³ “El juzgado especial que instruía los sumarios por artículos injuriosos para la autoridad, publicados en ‘Solidaridad Obrera’ y ‘Acción’, de los que son autores Juan Peiró y Juan López Sánchez, los ha dado por conclusos”. In: (*La Vanguardia*, 16/12/1930, p.10).

On 19 November 1933, the *Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas* (CEDA), an alliance of religious political parties sympathizing with Italian and German fascism, won the elections. *CEDA* paralyzed all the progressive reforms and projects that the Second Republic had started. During the elections, the CNT issued the slogan: “Do not vote, get ready for Social Revolution.” The organisation kept its words and ignited uprisings in Aragón and Asturias, which resulted in 3,000 dead, 7,000 wounded, and around 30,000 arrested, almost all of whom were anarcho-syndicalists. The situation became so unstable that political persecutions escalated. Once more, the anarchists took centre stage in the conflict. An example can be found in Juan López Sánchez himself, who was attacked by the police in Paseo de Colón (Barcelona) in June 1935:

Ayer, fue remitido al Juzgado de Guardia para que sea entregado al Juzgado correspondiente, el proyectil que le ha sido extraído, en la intervención quirúrgica que le fue practicada ayer al detenido Juan López Sánchez, herido por la Policía hace unos días en el Paseo de Colón cuando intentó escapar al detenerle un agente por creerle complicado en un acto de sabotaje.⁵⁴

During the following elections in 1936, the fear that the right might win again led to the creation of the *Frente Popular* (FP).⁵⁵ The CNT (with over 1.500.000 members) decided not to boycott the *Popular Front*, as it promised amnesty for all political prisoners. The coalition won and the amnesty was declared. The CNT tried to establish libertarian communism, declared a general strike, and started to implement revolutionary urban guerrilla tactics. These events marked the beginnings of the Civil War. The start of the Civil War found Juan López Sánchez in Valencia, away from the front. The anarcho-syndicalists controlled the main Spanish cities, including Barcelona—“the capital of Spanish anarchism”—and organized life by means of the collectivization of factories, transport and health system.

“Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely”

During the Civil War, four anarchists became ministers of Largo Caballero’s socialist government although they were in power for a mere six months.⁵⁶ On 5 November, 1936 the

⁵⁴ In: (*La Vanguardia*, 05/06/1935, p.17).

⁵⁵ A coalition of left-wing political parties and trade unions, including Izquierda Republicana, PSOE, PCE, POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista) and Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC).

⁵⁶ “Entran a formar parte del gobierno de Largo Caballero cuatro ministros anarquistas: Juan García Oliver estará al frente del Ministerio de Justicia, Federica Montseny del de Sanidad, Juan López del de Comercio y el veterano sindicalista Juan Peiró del de Industria. Estarán escasamente seis meses dentro del gobierno”. In: Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *Ministros anarquistas. La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936-1939)*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, p.268.

newspaper *La Vanguardia* started the news with these headlines: “Queda reorganizado el Gobierno y ampliado con la colaboración de 4 ministros de la CNT”.⁵⁷

As C.M. Lorenzo argued,⁵⁸ Joan Peiró Belis (Minister of the Industry), Federica Montseny (the first woman in Europe who worked as a Minister of Health and Social Assistance), Juan García Oliver (Minister of Justice) and Juan López Sánchez (Minister of Commerce) joined the ranks of other anarchists who had previously acted as directors, mayors, and even military commanders, especially in Catalonia. Their slogan was: “If the war is lost, so too the revolution and the fascist steamroller that flattened a part of Europe will also destroy Spain”. The revolution was secondary; the priority was the creation of a united front against fascism. Largo Caballero hoped that with such political responsibilities, the anarchists would abandon spontaneous struggles in the streets and follow the discipline that was necessary if they were going to be given weapons. This implied the dissolution of the anarchist militia (which the CNT eventually refused to do it)⁵⁹ in order to join the semi-professional Republican army, dominated by the minority, albeit powerful, *Partido Comunista de España* (PCE). It was during his stay in the Ministry of Commerce that Juan López Sánchez met his *compañera*, Carmen Pastor.

In May 1937, the communists betrayed their hitherto allies. The anarchists wanted to pursue their libertarian revolution. However, communists attacked the libertarian movement in Barcelona assassinating their previous anarchist comrades and assaulting the building of the *Telefónica*, where the anarchists were barricaded. The struggle continued in the streets and the militias of the CNT, FAI, FIJL, and *Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista* (POUM) were declared fascist elements. At that time, Juan López Sánchez was outside of Spain, trying to improve the international economic relations of the Republic.⁶⁰

2. EXILE

The correspondence of the former Minister indicates that in the summer of 1937 he had travelled to Mexico: “A juzgar por tu información las cosas siguen exactamente igual que el

⁵⁷ In: (*La Vanguardia*, 05/11/1936, p.5).

⁵⁸ Lorenzo, CM. (1972). *Los anarquistas españoles y el poder (1868-1969)*. París: Ruedo Ibérico.

⁵⁹ Juan López Sánchez was one of the few members of the CNT to defend publicly the need to professionalize militias. It did it in *Gran Teatro* of Valencia at a conference the May 27th, 1937, which will then be published: López Sánchez, J. (1937). *6 meses en el Ministerio de Comercio*. CNT: Valencia.

⁶⁰ Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *Ministros anarquistas. La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936-1939)*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, p.268.

verano de 1937 cuando yo pasé unos días con motivo del viaje a México".⁶¹ His long exile began shortly thereafter; he left Spain on 25 March 1939, at least, according to some of his personal documents, amongst which is a document of safe-conduct granting him permission to leave the country on a special mission.⁶² He received another document of safe-conduct approved by Manuel G. Marín who at that time was Councillor of Finance and Economy.⁶³ On 22 and 23 March, he received another safe-conduct. Juan López Sánchez must have felt relieved to have been part of the Republican government, especially during the war as being a politician led him to safety. Unlike the masses of refugees who were crowded on the French border, Juan López Sánchez had a safe-conduct document, which would greatly facilitate the process of crossing the border. Indeed, there was a first- and second-class exile. This does not mean, however, that Juan López Sánchez did not go through the suffering of the rupture that occurred between him and all that concerned his personal and political life in pre-Francoist Spain. The secret mission, as can be read in his personal archive, was based on three points aimed at desperately trying to save the battered economy of the Republic:

1º Bloqueo de todas las cuentas Corrientes individuales de todos los particulares procedentes de la Zona Republicana establecidas a partir del 1 de agosto de 1936. 2º Investigar las compras de valores, acciones y obligaciones de sociedades en las mismas condiciones del nº 1. 3º Entablar (si es posible y hasta donde lo sea) la acción judicial pertinente para el descubrimiento, encarcelamiento y extradición en su caso de todas los estafadores del pueblo español.⁶⁴

The last point of this letter refers to the fact that –at least in Juan López Sánchez' opinion– the fascists and communists had taken all the money from the Republic. His mission took him on the following journey: from Alicante to Oran (by plane), from Oran to Marseille (by boat) and from Marseille to Paris by car. In France, after some days, the members of the Spanish expedition became illegal immigrants and none of the efforts to get official documentation worked. In the report of his mission, he described Negrín as the main person responsible for the poor state of the Spanish Republic. His unconditional and insurmountable hatred of Communism dates especially from this period. His hatred knew no bounds; for him, communism was an unnatural ideology for the Spanish people and something completely

⁶¹ "Después de los dolorosos acontecimientos de mayo del 37 en Barcelona y ante la campaña de hostigamiento y desinformación organizada por el Partido Comunista en contra de la CNT, Juan López se marchó en una campaña de prensa y propaganda a Estados Unidos y México. A su retorno continuó como miembro del Comité Regional de Levante y el 7 de marzo de 1939 fue elegido secretario del Movimiento Libertario. A finales de marzo partió hacia Francia con una delegación del Consejo Nacional de Defensa. Después pasó a México, donde colaboró en la prensa del exilio confederal, en especial en Comunidad Ibérica". In: (JLS_237_03_07/12-June-1940, London).

⁶² In: (JLS_237_2_1/12-April-1939, Madrid).

⁶³ In: (JLS_237_2_1/19-March-1939, Madrid).

⁶⁴ In: (JLS_237_2_1/?, Madrid). [Emphasis added]

opposed to the libertarian movement. Without doubt, he preferred the Francoist solution to the Communist solution; this feeling would accompany him on his return to Spain.

While Juan López Sánchez was in France, he suffered constantly because he did not really know the fate of his partner Carmen Pastor. He knew that she was first in Cambridge and later in Ringstead (Northamptonshire, with some friends, but she could not travel to France because of problems with her visa, even though she was not politically committed to any political ideology.⁶⁵ Manuel G. Marín wrote to him regarding his *partner's* visa:

El visado del pasaporte de tu compañera es difícilísimo conseguirlo, lo gestione quien lo gestione, por la sencilla razón de que el criterio que tiene el cónsul francés, en esta, es no conceder ningún visado a las personas que presenten pasaporte de los expedidos por las autoridades republicanas, si previamente no se lo ordenan de París.⁶⁶

A few days later, Juan López Sánchez told him that if his partner could not join him in France, he would move to England:

No lo eches en olvido, pues si no existe la posibilidad de mandarla para Francia, entonces tendría que verse la manera de que yo fuese a residenciarme en Londres, teniendo la libertad de poder entrar y salir de este país.⁶⁷

Juan López Sánchez kept his word and joined her in England a month later, without knowing how he would survive there:

Como la decisión de venir la tomé el mismo sábado por la noche cuanto te telefoneé, no me dio tiempo de ir a despedirme de los compañeros. Te ruego se lo hagas constar así. Y al mismo tiempo te agradecería que le digas a Cabanas que deben escribirme para que aclaremos aquella cuestión de Aliaga.⁶⁸

The answer to this letter was written directly (by hand) by Manuel G. Marín when he was already in his London exile. Juan López Sánchez referred to Negrín also as an immoral person surrounded by immoral people. According to Juan López Sánchez, the Republic had run out of money because of Negrín and now the Republic Government could only survive with the help of international solidarity and especially British solidarity:

⁶⁵ “Hasta hoy no da resultado nada, seguramente porque del asunto se encargó en esa el Comité británico de ayuda a los refugiados españoles. Mi compañera estaba con la familia de Falomir, en Cambridge, y la trasladaron a Ringstead, donde está ahora con el desespero que puedes imaginarte por que no llega nunca el día del permiso para reunirse conmigo. [...] Creo que deberías hacer alguna gestión en este sentido, para esclarecer ante las autoridades consulares de ahí francesas, que mi compañera no es un refugiado políticamente peligroso. Si puedes hacer algo, te lo agradeceré”. In: (JLS_237_2_17/22-May-1939, Melun).

⁶⁶ In: (JLS_237_2_18/25-May-1939, London).

⁶⁷ In: (JLS_237_2_19/29-May-1939, Melun).

⁶⁸ In: (JLS_237_2_22/26-June-1939, Melun).

Así pues, aquí estamos a expensas de la solidaridad que nos quieren prestar. Por carecer de independencia económica nos vemos obligados a aceptar la protección del comité de ayuda a los refugiados españoles en Inglaterra, el cual nos facilitó la entrada aquí.⁶⁹

In this situation, Marín used Quixote as a symbol of resistance in post-war times: “Desde el punto de vista moral hemos adoptado la postura del gran Quijote pero nuestra situación es la que te acabo de describir”.⁷⁰ According to this letter and others, one can deduce that Juan López Sánchez moved to London in the summer of 1939; his first letter from London is from 30 July.⁷¹ Also in the summer of 1939, he wrote *Memorias sin Importancia* (written mainly under the influence of Angel María de Lera and his book *Las últimas banderas*) on the Isle of Wight.⁷²

On 1 October 1940, he moved from London to Oxford due to health reasons. Asthma was becoming a crucial element in his exile (dealt below in Chapter 8) as the following quote indicates:

De mi parte, lo único noticiable es el cambio de residencia, que puedes ver por las nuevas señas arriba indicadas. Salí de Londres porque la salud no me permitía resistir la vida de tenerla que hacer en el refugio, como me sucedía en los últimos días de Septiembre, que fue cuando decidí buscar otra residencia. Desde el uno del pasado octubre vivo en Oxford y por ahora no pienso abandonar este pueblo hasta que pueda regresar a la vida de Londres.⁷³

Around 1945 he moved to Brighton (Sussex).⁷⁴ While he was there, in February 1945 Suceso Portales –as a representative of the CNT– wrote him a critical letter in which the organisation complained about the undemocratic way in which Juan López Sánchez was publishing his materials. He was also accused of not respecting the will of the majority of the CNT. At that time, Juan López Sánchez was publishing in England *Materiales de Discusión*, without support from the majority of the CNT. Portales expressed the CNT’s discontent in these terms:

⁶⁹ In: (JLS_237_2_22/26-June-1939, Melun).

⁷⁰ In: (JLS_237_2_10/24-April-1939, London).

⁷¹ In: (JLS_237_2_24/30-July-1939, London).

⁷² “Ese relato lo escribí en mis primeros días de exilio en Isle of Wight, a vuelta pluma, sin previo borrador ni siquiera con una planificación de los capítulos. Lo hice así porque los hechos todavía estaban frescos en mi memoria, incluso la misma actitud sicológica en la que vivimos los dos años y medio de guerra. La mandé a México –a fines de 1939- con el propósito de que allí la publicase algún periódico. La persona a quien encargué el cometido no consiguió que se publicara, sin duda, porque en las primeras expediciones que llegaron allí preponderaba el negrismo y había cierta prevención contra quienes habíamos tomado parte al final de la guerra que se atribuyó al golpe de Casado. [...] Desde entonces me olvidé de ella [...]”. In: (JLS_237_03_20/01-June-1971, Madrid).

⁷³ In: (JLS_237_03_08/02-January-1941, Oxford).

⁷⁴ In: (JLS_237_03_17/26-May-1946, Brighton).

[...] terminada una discusión, tomado un acuerdo por mayoría, -aunque éste sea contrario a mi modo de enjuiciar el problema tratado- me atengo y respeto la decisión de la mayoría. Lo que nunca he hecho -ni pienso hacer- es sumarme, ni apoyar directa o indirectamente, a ningún grupo que se constituya y actúe al margen de la opinión de la mayoría del núcleo en que se desenvuelven por entender que los que hacen tal cosa se colocan al margen de la organización.⁷⁵

She continued the letter saying that any criticisms were not personal but merely born out of the need for internal union and democracy within the trade union:

No está en mi ánimo entablar una disensión de tipo particular sobre tu publicación, por lo cual me reservo mi opinión, tanto de su contenido y orientación como de su publicación en contra de la mayoría, hasta la próxima asamblea que se celebre.⁷⁶

For these reasons, the year 1945 would be decisive in the history of the CNT, because this trade union suffered a radical excision once in exile: “Escisión dentro de la CNT. La protagonizan Diego Abad de Santillán, Horacio Martínez Prieto y Juan López Sánchez. Por los ‘apolíticos’: Federica Montseny, Felipe Alaiz, Josep Peirats y Germinal Esgleas, reunidos todos en torno al núcleo llamado ‘de Toulouse’”⁷⁷. History repeated itself: on the one hand, there were orthodox defenders of revolutionary syndicalism, direct action, and libertarian communism. On the other, there were those who believed in ideological change and who considered political syndicalism closer to socialism. In this year, for example, the CNT expelled Manuel G. Marín. He described his situation in a letter to Juan López Sánchez as follows:

La F.L. de Marsella obedeciendo órdenes superiores ha decretado mi expulsión, y la militancia, y yo mismo, nos enteramos del decreto por su publicación en la prensa. [...] Esta es la segunda vez que me expulsan en el exilio por decreto.⁷⁸

The correspondence appears to suggest that Juan López Sánchez was also expelled from the CNT because he wrote a letter to Manuel G. Marín saying: “Vuestra expulsión y la nuestra, la de África del Norte y las que se presentarán como consecuencia de todo, parecen todas hechos que responden a una misma consigna”⁷⁹. Manuel G. Marín referred to those who expelled him from the CNT as purists who had no legitimacy amidst the CNT in Spain: “[...] Los puritanos han desencadenado sus iras contra sus compañeros de España porque sus

⁷⁵ In: (JLS_237_04_01/10-February-1945, London).

⁷⁶ In: (JLS_237_04_01/10-February-1945, London).

⁷⁷ Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *Ministros anarquistas. La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936-1939)*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, p.270.

⁷⁸ In: (JLS_237_2_27/07-August-1945, Marseille).

⁷⁹ In: (JLS_237_2_28/25-August-1945, Brighton).

acuerdos son diametralmente opuestos a los acuerdos de la organización en Francia".⁸⁰ To address this situation, Marín recommended in the same letter four things:

1º No reconocer ninguna de las expulsiones ejecutadas en el exilio. 2º Reconocer a la organización en Francia como una regional más y nada más. 3º Desautorizar la celebración de una conferencia intercontinental del M.L. que pretendía celebrarse en África. Y 4º Intervenir en la política llegando incluso a formar parte del gobierno que se forma y reivindicar para los compañeros que fueron jefes y oficiales en el ejército republicano sus categorías en el nuevo ejército que se forme.

For a short time Juan López Sánchez lived in Milford Haven at the beginning of 1945⁸¹ and one year later, specifically on 19 June 1946, he set out on a journey to Paris.⁸² Already in 1947, he offered to collaborate with the CN (*Comité Nacional*) in Spain:

En el año 1947, no obstante mi estado de salud, me ofrecí a incorporarme a España si ello representaba alguna utilidad. El Delgado del CN en el Exterior me informó que fuera de España podía ser de más utilidad. Han transcurrido 18 años, y la diferencia de mi edad es de 47 a 65, con lo que 18 años significaban de deterioro de un organismo crónicamente enfermo. (Por entonces mi enfisema pulmonar era para mí imperceptible). No tengo madera de héroe y la que me queda de Quijote está algo carcomida. Por eso, y por varias razones de mucho peso, yo no puedo renovar mi ofrecimiento, que en verdad carecería de sentido y desde luego de utilidad. Y las razones ahora son estrictamente económicas y de protección.⁸³

It appears from his letters, he almost stopped writing for 10 years. Misunderstood, expelled from the CNT, with little moral support from any of his comrades and almost ruined financially, he reconsidered whether to continue writing.⁸⁴ In England, he survived thanks to small payments from different international aid agencies. He also managed to get some money from selling his writings, from translating and from his collaborations with BBC radio.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, I did not manage to discover either when or how he learned English. His partner, Carmen Pastor, was a key element in the couple's economic livelihood. She was younger and healthier than Juan López Sánchez was, and she worked as a dressmaker. Without wishing to judge Juan López Sánchez politically –and taking into account this real economic issue– it can be suggested that he did not take any money illicitly during his time

⁸⁰ In: (JLS_237_2_29/28-August-1945, Marseille).

⁸¹ In: (JLS_237_04_02/13-February-1945, Milford Haven).

⁸² "Lo tengo todo resuelto y el próximo miércoles día 19 saldré de Londres para París, donde llegaré el mismo día y pienso estar cuatro o cinco días. Después saldré para Toulouse". In: (JLS_237_03_18/14-June-1946, Brighton).

⁸³ In: (JLS_237_05_54/25-June-1965, México).

⁸⁴ "A decir verdad llevo muchos años –aproximadamente desde 1949– sin mantener correspondencia con nadie. Diez años seguidos escribiendo más que un calamar no me sirvieron de gran cosa. Y si lo fui reduciendo es porque no me era posible mantener el costo de la correspondencia". In: (JLS_237_05_04/15-December-1961, México).

⁸⁵ "Juan López fue asiduo colaborador en numerosos medios de comunicación, especialmente en prensa escrita pero también en radio como colaborador en las emisiones en español de la BBC durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial". In: Castillo Fernández, J. & Herrero Pascual, M. (2008). Fondos sobre la Guerra Civil Española en el Archivo General de la Región de Murcia. *Anales de Documentación*, 11, p.39.

in the Ministry of Commerce: “Quien había manejado oro y divisas en su etapa de Ministro de Comercio, no tenía dinero para vivir ni para regresar a España”.⁸⁶

He moved to Mexico in 1954.⁸⁷ He lived in Mexico City for three years and then in 1957 he moved to Guadalajara when he became manager of the British Encyclopaedia in that city, having previously worked for the company during his English exile. However, his asthma worsened there and he returned to Mexico DF:

A mediados del 57, después de varias experiencias frustradas –las traducciones se pagan mal, los seguros requieren conexiones y resistencia económica, etc., me conecté con Enciclopedia Británica. Tenía buenas perspectivas de trabajo y me dieron la gerencia de ventas en Guadalajara, ciudad hermosa y de clima muy bueno, pero que a mí no me prueba. Allí estuvimos tres años, hasta que, bastante enfermo, hace año y medio volvimos a la ciudad de los palacios.⁸⁸

The frustration expressed above has to do with Juan López Sánchez' translation of the book *My Mission to Spain. Watching the rehearsal for World War II*. Written by Claude Bowers (former United States Ambassador to Spain from 1933 to 1939) and published in New York in 1954, the book became a best seller. Thanks to his former post in the Government of the Republic, Juan López Sánchez thought that it would be a good idea to establish contacts with Bowers in order to translate his book. They exchanged several letters and, as a result, the publishing house Grijalbo (based in Mexico) published the book in Spanish in 1960. The Spanish edition also achieved considerable international success although, as it often happens in these cases, the name of the translator went unnoticed for the vast majority of readers. The translation may not have been very good since the 1966 edition incorporated an in-depth revision by the Catalan poet and translator Agustí Bartra, who at that time was also exiled in Mexico.

Regarding his other writings, one can find in Juan López Sánchez' archive a brief note that he wrote himself, probably for a magazine or newspaper:

Escribo en la prensa obrera desde 1921. En casi todos los periódicos cenetistas que se han publicado en España, casi siempre con seudónimo. De los que recuerdo, los que usé con más frecuencia son: “Nog” “Juan de la Rosa”, “Juan de Tevas”, “Ovidio de Abajo”, “Lorenzo Ché” –fuera de España, “Lorenzo Valentín”. Fui director del semanario “Acción” de Barcelona, revista “Mañana” (1930), “Sindicalismo” (1932-35) e hice “Combate Sindicalista” (Valencia 1935-36). Durante la guerra: fundé “Fragua Social” y fui redactor hasta el final de la guerra.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.85.

⁸⁷ In: (JLS_237_1_20/07-October-1962, México).

⁸⁸ In: (JLS_237_05_03/21-November-1961, México).

⁸⁹ In: (JLS_999_1_1/??). Also In: Gutiérrez-Álvarez, P. (2007). *Libertarios, libertarias. Un diccionario biobibliográfico*. Sant Pere de Ribes: The autor, p.124, we can read: “Como director de la revista Acción se

In exile, he also wrote in *CNT México*, *CNT Toulouse*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *Hoy*, *Siempre* (México)⁹⁰ and especially in *España Libre* (the organ of the *posibilista* section of the CNT of which Juan López Sánchez was part).⁹¹ His publications were not exactly calling for peace with the CNT. His controversial writings targeted the CNT in exile as one of his main ideological enemies. Despite this, officially, it was not until 1961 that the ideological struggles within the CNT ended. However, the unification of the different factions was short-lived and the ensuing separation was so final that the anarchist movement practically disappeared until the Spanish transition to democracy.

According to the chronicler of Bullas (the former Minister's place of birth), Juan López Sánchez did not have any contacts with the interior of Spain until 1962.⁹² However, this assertion is in complete contradiction with what has been posited earlier in this thesis. The letters from Juan López Sánchez' personal archive leave no doubt: by 1947, he offered to cooperate with the Interior and previously, in 1945, he was among a group of anarchists who tried to negotiate a monarchic solution for Spain with Don Juan (Juan de Borbón y Battenberg).⁹³ Still in exile, Juan López Sánchez began to collaborate with the *Sindicato Vertical* –the Francoist official trade union– because, in his opinion, this institution was defending –with subtle differences– the same kind of syndicalism that he endorsed:

inclinó hacia el grupo Solidaridad; también colaboró en la revista *Mañana* y en *Solidaridad Obrera*, siempre con planteamientos moderados. [...] En Valencia dirige *Sindicalismo* y tras la frustración del frente único la Alianza Obrera propugna el retorno a la CNT, y actúa con eficacia en el Congreso de Zaragoza".

⁹⁰ In: (JLS_237_04_04/14-January-1964, México).

⁹¹ "Aunque minoritarios en el Exilio, estaban organizados en torno al Subcomité Nacional, publicaban el periódico *España Libre* y, con apoyo del Interior, formaron parte de los gobiernos Giral, Llopis, etc. Reunieron a personas como Diego Abad de Santillán, Acacio Bartolomé, Manuel Buenacasa, Juan Doménech, Enrique Marco Nada, Juan Molina (*Juanel*), Sigfrido Catalá, Juan García Durán, Juan López, Ramón Álvarez (*Ramonín*), José Leiva, Gregorio Gallego, Ramón Liarte, Fidel Miró, Francisco Rayano, Lorenzo Íñigo, Félix Carrasquer, Ricardo Sanz, Ginés Alonso, los hermanos Aransáez, etc". In: Gurucharri, S. & Ibañez T. (2010). *Insurgencia libertaria. Las Juventudes Libertarias en la lucha contra el franquismo*. Barcelona: Virus Editorial, p.21.

⁹² "Hasta finales de 1962 no había tenido ninguna relación directa con militantes de España. Fue en esa fecha cuando entró en relación con un compañero de los pocos que había conocido sufriendo condena en el Reformatorio de Ocaña, en los años 1924-26. La relación epistolar con este compañero comenzó a familiarizarse con el proceso interno que ya conocía por informaciones de las que se nutrió siempre el exilio. Comenzó a recibir documentación de España, especialmente de la Organización Sindical. También recibió la revista 'Índice' y en México, leía la edición americana de 'SP'. Pero el documento que más le impresionó fue la 'Memoria del Primer Congreso Sindical, celebrado en Madrid en 1961'. La lectura contenida en aquella *Memoria* le llenó de gozo". In: Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.65.

⁹³ He was the heir of his father, King Alfonso XIII of Spain. However, with the outbreak of the Second Spanish Republic and the following Franco's Dictatorship, Don Juan could not be crowned King of Spain. During the Dictatorship, he tried to negotiate with different political groups, plotting for the possible overthrow of Franco and the establishment of a monarchy in Spain. Franco forced him to abdicate, in favour of his son Juan Carlos – the current King of Spain.

En 1965, por lo que respecta a españoles de mi condición, con recia vocación sindicalista, la vía del retorno era ya expedita. La luz verde que todavía esperan algunos rezagados –Dios me libre de inferirles ninguna acusación ni reproche- ya hace tiempo que funciona para los españoles que no se hayan extranjerizado al extremo de perder la virtud de servicio a su pueblo.⁹⁴

Juan López Sánchez, probably trying to reconcile with Francoist Spain, was referring to the past of the CNT as if almost seeking a fresh start. He wanted to bury the CNT 55 years after its creation because the CNT had already fulfilled its mission in his opinion:

La CNT cubrió una página en la historia social de España. Mucho antes la habían precedido otras formas orgánicas de lucha de los trabajadores. Lo he repetido repetidas veces, y lo digo nuevamente, que el sindicalismo confederal fue una de las fuerzas promotoras de la revolución de julio de 1939, convertida en guerra civil.

Pero entre los hechos de fuerza que vienen de la guerra, con signo irreversible e incontestable, el más importante de ellos es la estructuración de un nuevo sindicalismo. Este nuevo sindicalismo no sería un cuerpo vivo si careciese de las cualidades dinámicas y evolutivas que son ley natural de todo sindicalismo en cualquier porción en tierra donde pueda crecer. Y lo sería menos que en otros países en España, porque está en la raíz de su naturaleza y de su desarrollo social.⁹⁵

For Juan López Sánchez the death of the CNT was necessary in order to achieve the “irreversible unity of Spanish syndicalism”. Obviously, this principle of unity created more tensions inside the CNT in exile and Juan López Sánchez was aware of that “betrayal” with anarchism in exile. He tried to justify his ideological positions on countless occasions but he did not manage to convince his old *compañeros*. In his public discourse, he refused to be treated as an opportunist using these words: “No es ningún tipo de oportunismo ni conveniencia personal lo que me ha inducido a integrarme, sin reticencias, en el sindicalismo que muchos, por chochez mental, denominan ‘oficial’”.⁹⁶

3. RETURN AND DE-EXILE

In January 1967, Juan López Sánchez needed to have an operation due to prostate problems.⁹⁷ Although he had the “aches of old age”, he himself stoically complied with all his operations and treatments as he considered them part of his final preparation for returning in good health to his beloved Spain. He returned permanently to Spain on the morning of 6 June 1967, that is, at the age of 67 (after 29 years of exile). He was full of enthusiasm and eager to develop his theories on syndicalism further. Despite being in a frail condition at the age of 67, Juan López Sánchez refused to live in Spain without working. He did not want to

⁹⁴ López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.55.

⁹⁵ López Sánchez, J. (1972). *op. cit.*, p.57.

⁹⁶ López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.59.

⁹⁷ In: (JLS_237_03_11/22-December-1966, México).

be a pensioner supported by the State. Ultimately, he was able to return thanks to the help – among others – of the neo-Falangist Francisco Royano (also a former anarchist):

Volvió a España en 1967 con el propósito de reimplantar el sindicalismo, por lo que colaboró en varios intentos de establecer puentes con el sindicato vertical franquista, hecho que le reportó muchas críticas por parte de los anarcosindicalistas.⁹⁸

The data from the letters suggests that this was his second trip to Spain. The first one had taken place in 1966. Behind Juan López Sánchez' happiness on returning home at that time, a doubt cast a shadow over him. He was afraid that his temporary return might end with his imprisonment due to his political past. This doubt made him anxious, so much so that he even asked not to make his return public: he feared Franco's Regime but also the anarchist section of the CNT in exile. However, as Long and Oxfeld note, "provisional returns give people a chance to decide if they want to return on a long-term basis".⁹⁹ Once assured that imprisonment was not going to happen, he embarked on his exploratory trip.¹⁰⁰ As his integration and *de-exile* unfolded at the end of the 1960s, Juan López Sánchez became more comfortable and visible in his new life. Although he always argued that his ideology remained the same, his writings imply that very soon his ideas positioned him to the right of the right wing. He went from being a violent revolutionary to a resigned and sincere conservative. In 1968, for example, he participated in a Congress about *verticalismo*:

Asistió como observador en el Congreso Verticalista de Tarragona en mayo de 1968 y defendió la desaparición de CNT, molestando su reformismo hasta a los cincopuntistas; aceptó un cargo remunerado como jefe de relaciones públicas de la Sociedad Anónima Laboral de Transportes Municipales de Valencia, SALTUV, instalándose perfectamente en el país.¹⁰¹

He obtained his job in SALTUV¹⁰² (*Sociedad Anónima Laboral de Transportes Urbanos de Valencia*) thanks to a contact of Francisco Royano.¹⁰³ The company, together with some

⁹⁸ Marín Silvestre, D. (2005). *Ministros anarquistas. La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936-1939)*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, p.270.

⁹⁹ Long, D.L. & Oxfeld E. (2004) (Ed.). *Coming Home? Refugees, Migrants, and Those Who Stayed Behind*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, p.9.

¹⁰⁰ "Un corto viaje de Méjico a España en la primavera de 1966; mi libro de impresiones escrito al retorno a Méjico, España 1966; y la suerte de encontrar trabajo en la empresa del Transporte Urbano de Valencia, SALTUV, cierran mi odisea de exiliado y me han permitido ya cerca de cinco años transitar, vivir, observar y trabajar, iniciándome en el conocimiento de nuestros problemas nacionales y en la situación del hombre español frente a dichos problemas". In: López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.57.

¹⁰¹ Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.65.

¹⁰² For a brief history of this company see: <http://www.emtvalencia.es/portal/srv.RESENYAHISTORICA.saltuv> [Accessed 19/04/2011]

¹⁰³ "Espero recibir carta de Boldu, como me anuncia Lizcaino, para saber sobre un punto importante del que nada me dice Manolo y que yo le rogué plantease a los amigos de SALTUV: la ayuda a los gastos del traslado". In: (JLS_237_05_20/24-April-1967/ México).

Falangist friends, took charge of his move to and even his stay in Madrid. Regarding the details of the job he was offered, his position was as an external relations manager at SALTUV, and he was committed to moving to Madrid.¹⁰⁴ The Spanish newspaper *La Vanguardia* praised the work of Juan López Sánchez as the head of the company with these headlines: “Empresa Valencia de Transporte ‘SALTUV’ es un ejemplo de socialización. Las acciones pertenecen íntegramente a los trabajadores: en los seis años de funcionamiento han conseguido ocho aumentos de sueldo”.¹⁰⁵ The press described the activity of the company as a very successful anti-capitalist experiment, which could only take place in Spain and always in the interest of the workers: “Don Juan López Sánchez, se refiere al sindicalismo como promotor de la empresa”.¹⁰⁶

In the international arena, the events of May 1968 in France awakened the remnants of the anarchist conscience that existed both in Spain and in the rest of the world. Nevertheless, despite this mirage of freedom, anarchism during this period was characterized by illegality, exile, and decline. Due to both external repression and internal conflicts, the CNT continued to deteriorate. Moreover, in 1950, the UN withdrew its condemnation of Spain, and Francoist Spain was recognised by UNESCO. The Francoist experts painted a dismal view of events of *The French May*. For them, these events were orchestrated by an enemy hovering over Europe: Communism. Franco’s Spain was still in combat with the old spectre of foreign contamination of Spanish purity;¹⁰⁷ the greater the foreign influence in Spain the lower possibility of “peaceful coexistence” among Spaniards. For Juan López Sánchez the best example of this anti-foreign logic was the Civil War. He believed that Spaniards were not guilty of the Civil War, they were in foreign hands: “Para mí es clarísima la lección: fuimos juguetes de potencias extranjeras; y que quede a salvo el honor de todos los españoles”.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ “El puesto que ocupó en la empresa fue de Encargado de Relaciones Exteriores SALTUV, con residencia en Madrid para evitarle desplazamientos. Su sueldo mensual: 10.000 pesetas”. In: Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.85. “En la década de los 60, el salario medio en España era algo superior a las 60.000 pesetas anuales. [...] Un piso en un buen barrio de Madrid oscilaba entre 200.000 y 500.000 pesetas. En barrios de la periferia de Madrid como en el Barrio de la Concepción, había pisos desde 140.000 pts. Un apartamento en Fuengirola costaba unas 225.000 pts.” In:

<http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/programa/loteria-decada-1960-1969/363399/> [Accessed 14/04/2011].

¹⁰⁵ In: (*La Vanguardia*, 11/07/1970, p.8).

¹⁰⁶ In: (*La Vanguardia*, 11/07/1970, p.8).

¹⁰⁷ For complete study of this medical metaphor see: Richards, M. (1998). *A Time of Silence. Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco’s Spain, 1936-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁰⁸ Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.84

On 15 April 1969, Juan López Sánchez conceded an interview for the Falangist *Revista SP*. There, he continued praising his patriotism to such extremes that his discourse was clearly reminiscent of imperial past times:

Si en Europa hay un país que podría aspirar moralmente al liderazgo, es España. No se asombe que no estoy delirando. Somos una potencia moral, y lo que se juega hoy en el mundo es la soberanía moral frente a la fuerza material.¹⁰⁹

In the same interview, he spoke about fanaticism:

Los hombres que no hayan sido capaces todavía de superar los sentimientos del enfrentamiento violento, es que llevan los gérmenes de la guerra en el corazón. Se han fanatizado. Mi reacción emocional en pro de la convivencia comenzó el mismo día que terminó la guerra. Me martilleaba el cerebro la idea de la convivencia. Y no fue una obsesión pasajera, sino una especie de constante lógica.¹¹⁰

In the summer of 1969, Juan López Sánchez gave a lecture entitled *Sindicalismo y Poder*.¹¹¹ In 1970, he visited Bullas, the village in Murcia where he was born.¹¹² This visit marks, symbolically, the moment when his process of *de-exile* can be considered complete. Not only had he returned to Spain without major problems, but he was now also back in the town of his birth. There, he felt deeply moved by the time that had elapsed, and especially by the fact that he could hardly remember anything from his childhood. Time had erased much of his memories. He blamed that amnesia on his illnesses. The same year, following the advice of one of his Falangist friends, he decided to formalise his situation with Carmen Pastor after thirty years living as a couple. Juan López Sánchez and Carmen Pastor married at the age of 70 and 64, respectively.¹¹³ With his marriage, he tried to disguise his confessed dislike of the church, which he had never before hidden.

He died in the *Clinica Puerta del Hierro* (Madrid) on 26 August 1972, due to respiratory problems. He died as he had lived, suffering, suffocated by pulmonary emphysema after 60 years of asthma, something which had condemned him to living with supplementary oxygen. In spite of this, according to his correspondences, the final stage of his life was very happy.

¹⁰⁹ Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *op. cit.*, p.65

¹¹⁰ Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *op. cit.*, p.84.

¹¹¹ In: (JLS_237_05_22/01-July-1969, Madrid).

¹¹² In: (JLS_237_03_24/08-May-1970, Madrid).

¹¹³ “Doña Carmen conoció a Don Juan López Sánchez en el Ministerio de Comercio. Tras un vida larga de sinsabores, unidos por un mismo ideal y por una misma lealtad a sus principios, tuvo como resultado la celebración de su matrimonio canónico que tuvo lugar en la Parroquia de Santa María la Real de la Almudena de Madrid, el 30 de mayo de 1970. Don Juan contaba 70 años, y doña Carmen Pastor Solbes 64. Actuó como sacerdote asistente del Doctor Don Moisés García Torres; y como testigos Don José María Ponce y Doña Matilde García Mena”. In: Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.90.

Never in the solitude of exile had he thought that his dream would come true: to die in Spain. Interestingly, his remains made the opposite journey to those of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the leader of the Falangists. His remains travelled from Madrid to Alicante and Primo de Rivera's travelled from Alicante to Madrid. Juan López Sánchez' body rests in the same cemetery where the mortal remains of José Antonio Primo de Rivera rested on 20 November 1936 until 19 November 1939 when they were moved to *El Valle de los Caídos* (Madrid). As a Minister of the Republic Juan López Sánchez was (unintentionally) an accessory to the death sentence of the leader of the Falangists. Those Falangists were the same ones who 30 years after Primo de Rivera's execution opened the doors to Juan López Sánchez' dream of returning to Spain. This symbolic opening should only be interpreted as a beginning that heralded a new era of reconciliation among Spaniards. For Juan López Sánchez this *españolidad* (Spanishness) was what united those who had lived together until the outbreak of the Civil War in brotherhood, hence they had to leave behind their antagonistic ideologies to focus on what was the best for Spain: "Soy, por encima de toda consideración cronológica o generacional, un español que ama su patria. Quien me dio el derecho a nacer y a ser, me impuso igualmente la noción del deber, inherente a la obligación de servir".¹¹⁴ Obviously, without neglecting his great admiration for England and Mexico, Juan López Sánchez always conceived of Spain as the centre of world.

¹¹⁴ López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.46.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework: Exile, Return and *De-exile*

1. EXILE

This chapter addresses key issues arising in the area of *Exile Studies*, particularly after WWII, a turning point that generated a constant flow of migrations due to political and ethnic reasons, contributing also to the social and economic transformations that took place in Europe in the post-war period. A central problem I will focus on is the tendency in the historiography of Spanish Exile Studies to perpetuate certain myths about those who went into exile.

1.1. EXILE AND ITS FETISHES¹¹⁵

Scholars have not always agreed on a satisfactory common criterion to define “exile”. In this thesis, when I refer to “exile” I do so in its classical sense:

Exilio equivale a destierro, a vivir fuera del país o del lugar de origen, independientemente de las razones que hayan motivado ese extrañamiento. Por eso a veces nos referimos a “exilio voluntario”, asumiendo, sin embargo, que por lo general todo exilio presupone una fuerza mayor, una cierta

¹¹⁵ “The exile can make a fetish of exile, a practice that distances him or her from all connections and commitments. To live as if everything around you were temporary and perhaps trivial is to fall prey to petulant cynicism as well as to querulous lovelessness. More common is the pressure on the exile to join –parties, national movements, the state. The exile is offered a new set of affiliations and develops new loyalties. But there is also a loss –of critical perspective, of intellectual reserve, of moral courage”. In: Said, E. (2000). *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays (Convergences: Inventories of the Present)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.183.

coerción, sea ésta de orden familiar, profesional, económica, cultural o, [...], política. En realidad, éste fue el significado prístino del término. El latín *exul*, del cual proviene nuestro vocablo moderno, estaba formado por el prefijo *ex*, que como bien se sabe alude a lo exterior, lo de afuera (aunque también a lo anterior), y una voz prehistórica tomada del indoeuropeo, *ul*, cuyo significado equivale al verbo ir. A partir de ahí se creó el latín *exilium*, que etimológicamente significaría sencillamente “ir afuera” pero que ya en latín tuvo el sentido de “proscripción” o “destierro” tal como en el antiguo francés *essil*, y en las voces equivalentes de las lenguas modernas, incluido el castellano exilio.¹¹⁶

According to this definition, exile is characterized by some constant elements: a forced or coercive process, estrangement (defined as separation and alienation), proscription and an awkward relationship between an inside and an outside. A special issue of the *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* published in 2005 brought together a series of articles on the specific case of Spanish Republican exile.¹¹⁷ The special issue would have probably gone more or less unnoticed among the flood of publications on this subject that Spain witnessed in that decade were it not for the fact that the journal proposed a paradigmatic change in the way that scholars approach the exile after the Spanish Civil War. The proposal focused on rethinking the Spanish Republican exile from new archival, thematic and interpretative paradigms. In that sense, the special issue of the journal was part of a historical revisionist drive that tried to move away from the political manipulation of history among what we might call “Neo-Francoist Spain”, especially from the period of 2000-2004 and from 2011 to the present, a Spain that is represented –according to some authors– by the hard core or extreme right of the PP (*Partido Popular*) and the most traditional section of the Church.¹¹⁸

However, there is another coetaneous type of historical revisionism –which I might call *positive* or *critical*. This critical revisionism highlights the urgent need to demystify Spanish exile and by reviewing the experiences and trajectories of those who lived in exile in a way that is meaningful in present-day Spain. As Balibrea, the editor of the journal, puts it, “how can critical thinking make Republican exile relevant today?”.¹¹⁹ As noted in the introductory chapter, in the process of mystification of Spanish exile, a certain literature has appeared arguing that those Spanish exiles were somehow morally superior to the rest of mortals. Or

¹¹⁶ Conteris, H. (2006). Exilio, ‘desexilio’ y ‘desterritorialización’ en la narrativa de Mario Benedetti (1973-1999). *A Contra Corriente: A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America*, 4 (1), p.56.

¹¹⁷ Balibrea, M.P. (2005). Rethinking Spanish republican exile. An introduction. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 6 (1), p.3-24.

¹¹⁸ “En los últimos años venimos asistiendo al surgimiento y consolidación de una corriente involucionista y de masas en el pensamiento político español. Salida de los laboratorios ideológicos del PP y la Conferencia Episcopal, amparada por poderosísimos grupos mediáticos, esta ideología –que no duda en coquetear con la ultraderecha- va impregnándolo todo”. In: Muñoz Navarrete, M. (2009, 5 May). *Revisitando a los revisionistas. Una contribución a la lucha contra el neofranquismo*. Rebelión. pp. 1-37. Available in: <http://www.rebelion.org/docs/84829.pdf> (Accessed 10/04/2012).

¹¹⁹ Balibrea, M.P. (2005). Rethinking Spanish republican exile. An introduction. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 6 (1), p.4.

put it differently, “exile” has become a moral category that in itself seems to imply some intrinsic goodness:

After all, the large majority of the *pueblo* whose cause they pledged to keep alive was left in France and Spain, along with numerous intellectuals colleagues. [...] It might also account for their tendency to assume a position of superiority and to claim the moral high ground.¹²⁰

According to this position, what we call “Spanish Exile” would have been composed of a minority consisting of people with an elitist sense of morality. Given the information presented in the following tables on migration and population in Spain, it is possible to establish that out of a population of 26 million people living in Spain in 1940 “only” 900,000 went into exile from the beginnings of the Civil War and 1945. These figures mean that the exiles represented less than 4% of the entire Spanish population.

Gross external migration, 1936-1939

Phase	Period	Reason or Origin	Destination	Number (Approx.)
1 st	From August 1936	Campaign of Guipuzcoa and Navarra	France	15,000
2 nd	June-October 1937	The storming of San Sebastian and northern campaign	France, England (children) and USSR (children)	160,000
3 rd	March-June 1938	Blockade of the Republican Army in the Pyrenees	France	24,000
4 th	January-February 1939	Campaign of Catalonia.	France	470,000
5 th	February-March 1939	The fall of Catalonia. Pressure in the Centre and Southeast	French possessions in Africa (Algeria and Tunisia)	15,000
6 th	Rest of the War	From embassies and harbours	England and Argentina	50,000
TOTAL:				734,000

Adapted from: Ortega, J. A., & Silvestre, J. (2005, May). *Las consecuencias demográficas de la Guerra Civil*. Retrieved March 7, 2012, from <http://web.usal.es/~jaortega/invest/OrtegaSilvestre-GC.pdf> p.18

Net External Migration, 1936-1944

¹²⁰ Faber, S. (2002). *Exile and Cultural Hegemony: Spanish Intellectuals in Mexico, 1939–1975*. Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, p.125.

Date	Destination	Number Outcome
End of the war (1 April 1939)	France Rest of Western Europe USSR Northern Africa America	430,000 3,000 4,000 12,000 1,000
Total:		450,000
End of 1939	France Rest of Western Europe USSR Northern Africa Mexico Rest of America	140,000 3,000 6,000 19,000 8,000 6,000
Total:		182,000
1944	Idem	
Total:		162,000

Adapted from: Ortega, J. A., & Silvestre, J. (2005, May). *Las consecuencias demográficas de la Guerra Civil*. Retrieved March 7, 2012, from <http://web.usal.es/~jaortega/invest/OrtegaSilvestre-GC.pdf> p.19

Change in the Total Population in Spain, 1920-1950

Year	Inhabitants
1920	21,388,551
1930	23,677,095
1940	26,014,278
1950	28,117,873

Adapted from: Del Campo, S. (1975). *La Población de España*. París: CICRED, p.4.

As pointed out by Sebastian Faber,¹²¹ among others, apart from its minority nature and marginal status, the study of the Spanish exile after the Civil War has been prone to the magnification of the life experiences and achievements of its protagonists. Some historians have emphasized excessively the positive aspects of the exiles' traits and personalities, to the

¹²¹ Faber, S. (2006). The Privilege of Pain: The Exile as Ethical Model in Max Aub, Francisco Ayala, and Edward Said. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Crossroads*, 3 (1), 11-32.

point that their lives of hardship are proposed as a model for the rest of the humankind not in exile. According to this view, by the mere fact of their exile –regardless of their political, cultural and personal backgrounds preceding the Civil War– these exiles had acquired exclusivity over pain and suffering. However, a simple question challenges this idealised view of the exile: What was more difficult, to stay in Spain, as the majority of Spaniards did, and face the hardships and suffering of daily life under a repressive dictatorship, or to go into exile?

In line with this critical revision of *Spanish Exile Studies*, it is necessary to demystify and uncover some controversial elements of those Spanish Civil War exiles and: “[...] the ways in which these minimize or mask the extent to which exile involves concessions, contaminations, complicities, negotiations and, in general, institutional dependency”.¹²² The comparative analysis that Faber makes of the exilic experiences of Aub, Said and Ayala opens the door (and our eyes) to a new way of rethinking the Spanish exile. I believe this is an ideal vantage point from which to study the case of Juan López Sánchez: On the one hand, he questioned the supposed moral superiority of Spanish exiles and challenged their self-proclaimed rights, which they attributed to themselves by the mere fact of living in exile. On the other, he himself settled in an exilic context –that Faber so aptly theorizes- where morality did not reign, but was in fact a world of concessions and negotiations, inhabited by the idea of the “small and larger betrayal”, with changes of opinion and shifts in ideology (as opposed to those who remained in exile not due to ideological principles but due to stubbornness). In this exilic context, the obsolete and old-fashioned¹²³ made the exiles live anchored in the darkness of the past. In a sense, these Spanish exiles lived in an anti-modern world –the world of betrayal and cowardice.¹²⁴ In the same way, for Juan López Sánchez exile was equivalent to vulnerability (compared to the apparent ideological and spiritual strength that many exiles wanted to show to those who remained in Spain), but also equivalent to privilege: the privilege of having more freedom than those who stayed in Spain

¹²² Faber, S. (2006). The Privilege of Pain: The Exile as Ethical Model in Max Aub, Francisco Ayala, and Edward Said. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Crossroads*, 3 (1), p.19.

¹²³ “What virtue is there in defending the legitimacy of a government that disappeared thirty years ago? When do changed circumstances – or the simple passage of time – exonerate someone from an obligation contracted decades earlier? At what point does moral perseverance turn into pig-headedness? To what extent do the circumstances of displacement force an exile to betray his loyalties?” In: Faber, S. (2006). *op. cit.*, pp.20-21.

¹²⁴ “Exiles might see their leaving their country as a major sacrifice and a supreme moral act, but it is easy for those left behind to turn this logic around and brand the exile’s departure as a form of betrayal or cowardice. Especially if existence in exile is relatively comfortable in comparison with life back home, the exile can become haunted by feelings of doubt and guilt. Sure, exile can be harsh – but it also dissolves many of the bothersome obligations and limitations that are part and parcel of a normal life back home”. In: Faber, S. (2006). *op. cit.*, p. 21.

and suffered more repression and anxiety.¹²⁵ Finally, Juan López Sánchez' exile trajectory unfolded in a context marked by the exaltation of Spanish nationalism, since nationalism is maximised while abroad, and there is nothing worse for an intellectual (republican, anarchist, and communist) than being a nationalist.¹²⁶ In short, this thesis explores the exilic context of apathy and egoism that marked Juan López Sánchez' period of expatriation, which I argue was marked by indifference, the inertia of militant passivity and, above all, intransigence: “Wilfulness, exaggeration, overstatement: these are characteristic styles of being an exile, methods for compelling the world to accept your vision [...]. Composure and serenity are the last things associated with the work of exiles”.¹²⁷

There is no question, then, that in dealing with these sensitive historical, ideological and personal circumstances, general categorical statements and global value judgments can be, *per se*, unfair or dangerously benevolent and therefore uncritical, as the following statement shows in its attempt to magnify the heroism of Republican exiles without relying in factual evidence:

Cierto que entre los exiliados no faltaron oportunistas e impostores, cuya presencia en ocasiones es detectada y denunciada por los propios emigrados. Pero son la excepción a la regla, ya que el talante ético del expatriado, sobre todo mientras dura el destierro, suele ser irreprochable.¹²⁸

The “irreproachability” that Vilar emphasises relates to a notion of exile based primarily on the unique nature of its subjects and their ideologies, something unlikely in light of the hundreds of diverse studies and testimonials that exist on this topic. It is therefore very important to acknowledge the heterogeneous nature of Spanish Republican exile: “As one would expect of any refugee community, it was extremely eclectic in nature, comprising men, women and large numbers of children and students”.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, respect for eclecticism amongst Spanish Republican exiles, and for the diversity of characters and interests within exile individuals, groups and communities, should not lead us to the other extreme, that is, to

¹²⁵ “At one point Aub is even forced to admit that his own suffering in exile has been relatively minor compared to the fate of those who were forced to live and write in a dictatorial Spain”. In: Faber, S. (2006). *op. cit.*, p.22.

¹²⁶ In his interpretation of Said's notion of exile, Faber exactly mentions that exile should be a framework where people: ‘[...] manage to go without the ideological and psychological consolations of nationalism, dogmatism, exceptionalism, and narcissistic self-pity.’ In: Faber, S. (2006). *op. cit.*, p.32.

¹²⁷ Said, E. (2000). *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays (Convergences: Inventories of the Present)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.182.

¹²⁸ Vilar, J.B. (2006). *El exilio en la España contemporánea*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, p.13.

¹²⁹ Atkin, N. (2001). France in Exile: The French Community in Britain, 1940-1944. In: M. Conway, & J. Gotovitch. *Europe in Exile. European Exile: European Exile Communities in Britain, 1940-1945*. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books, p.215.

the moral image –generally perverse– that the Francoist state machinery generated about Spanish exiles:

En general, tuvimos buena y mala prensa. La buena era pro gubernamental, y la que nos era adversa había construido una versión de los refugiados españoles en la que todos éramos sospechosos de criminalidad diversa, de ‘comunistas’ represores del catolicismo. Este último dato servía para encaminar algunas hostilidades contra nosotros.¹³⁰

The exiles’ desire to appear as morally superior Spaniards in front of the national and international public opinion was in response to Franco’s accusations of betrayal, culpability for the war, disloyalty and anti-patriotism. Furthermore, one of the causes behind this insistence on the idea of moral rectitude among the Spanish exiles is the phenomenon of the Spanish Civil War in the Francoist media during exile, used to discredit those exiles and to try to justify and legitimise certain behaviours.¹³¹

This defensive reaction may explain the pervasive moral imperative demanding that Spanish exiles behave according to ethical principles that would far exceed what might be expected in post-war circumstances. In any case, what seems undeniable is that Spanish exiles wanted to convey an image of moral rectitude: “[Los exiliados españoles] desean ofrecer una imagen de rectitud moral, un ‘querer ser’ que debía ajustarse en lo posible a la realidad”.¹³² The self-justification of the Spanish exiles is therefore, in principle, the result of an aesthetic act (based on that image of moral rectitude) in a particular historical moment (the post-war period). This act must be understood as just that, especially if we conceive of the exile of the Spanish Civil War as a compact and homogeneous group, that is as the so-called “Spanish Exile”. A different thing is to describe specific cases of individual exiles whose moral superiority might then be compared to other specific individuals who remained in Franco’s Spain. Therefore, according to Balibrea to speak about Spanish Republican Exile as a whole is incorrect and even reactionary, mainly because this image or conception was a Francoist creation.¹³³ In fact, this is the position that I am adopting in thesis.

¹³⁰ Esteva Fabregat, C. (2009). Exilio y desexilio: experiencia de una Antropología. México-Madrid-Barcelona. *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 13 (28), p.2.

¹³¹ “Desde el principio, la comunidad exiliada se vio en la apremiante necesidad de justificarse ante sí misma, pero también ante México, ante España –tanto los franquistas como los compañeros abandonados- y ante la comunidad internacional. A quien se exilia es fácil acusarlo de traidor. Del mismo modo, lo que el exilio tiene de privilegio o de comodidad –y para muchos la estancia en México acabó siendo relativamente cómoda- puede suscitar sentimientos de culpa.” In: Faber, S. (2005). Silencios y tabúes del exilio español en México: Historia oficial vs. Historia oral. *UNED. Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 17 (5), p.381.

¹³² Moreno Seco, M. & Mira Abad, A. (2009). Entre el compromiso y la privacidad. Memorias de guerra y exilio de mujeres y hombres. *UNED. Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 21 (5), p.265.

¹³³ “Republican exile as a whole, as a concept even, is constituted in the actions of those in power –a power they have illegitimately acquired-/in Spain in 1939, who use the full force of the state and of its international allies to directly or indirectly expel from Spain half a million people on the basis of their perceived alliances to the

1.2. CIVIC REPUBLICAN VIRTUES IN EXILE

Apart from the aesthetic defensive self-justification of moral rectitude among exiles discussed above, there is another kind of justification that perhaps is theoretically more interesting: the notion of “civic republican virtue”. Regardless of the ideological differences between anarchists, communists, socialists and nationalists, that is, among factions of the so-called Republican exile (reminiscent of the *Popular Front* during the Spanish Civil War) most of the Spanish exile’s theoreticians maintain that there moral and political values blossomed at the convergence of the public and private sphere, that is, in politics and ethics. This can be seen in times of extreme hardness (especially during the first years of exile, 1939-1945), for instance, when the former Republican Government in exile¹³⁴ called constantly for political uprightness among the exile community. At a time when it was very difficult to find coherence across political ideas, behaviours and personal lives, “se retoma el ‘ideal de virtud’ del republicanismo y del pensamiento progresista, que no sólo implicaba identificación con una idea política, sino también actuar en consonancia con ella”.¹³⁵ Virtue must be understood here as excellent conduct and behaviour that adhere tightly to some universal maxims and rules or moral laws that serve as an example, which in turn have an impact on the public sphere, that is, on politics. In other words, the Republican virtue proponents argue that “para tener una sociedad bien ordenada, justa y próspera, se necesitan buenos ciudadanos”.¹³⁶ Therefore, good citizens would be those that follow –if not all of them- the maximum number of civic virtues listed below:

- a) Prudencia, entendida como capacidad de reflexión crítica y deliberación sobre los fines y actividades de la sociedad política. [...] b) Participación informada y reflexiva en los asuntos públicos. [...] d) Solidaridad, en el sentido de ayuda activa a los conciudadanos para asegurar su vida y su libertad; d) Justicia, como disposición a considerar imparcial y equitativamente lo que corresponde a ciudadanos iguales; e) Tolerancia, en el sentido de reconocimiento de que todas las personas merecen respeto al margen de sus diversos valores y formas de vida. [...] f) Responsabilidad por lo público; g) Valor

overthrown Republic”. In: Balibrea, M.P. (2005). Rethinking Spanish republican exile. An introduction. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 6 (1), p.9.

¹³⁴ We can get an idea of the instability of the Republican Government in exile enumerating their presidents during the period 1939-1977: Juan Negrín López (1939-1945); José Giral y Pereyra (1945-1947); Rodolfo Llopis Ferrández (1947); Álvaro de Albornoz y Liminiana (1947-1951); Félix Gordón Ordás (1951-1960); Emilio Herrera Linares (1960-1962); Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz y Menduiña (1962-1971); and finally, Fernando Valera Aparicio (1971-1977).

¹³⁵ Moreno Seco, M. & Mira Abad, A. (2009). Entre el compromiso y la privacidad. Memorias de guerra y exilio de mujeres y hombres. *UNED. Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 21 (5), p.264.

¹³⁶ Peña, J. (2009). El retorno de la virtud cívica. In Rubio, J., & Morales, J.M. (coord). *Democracia, ciudadanía y educación*, Madrid: Akal, 2009, p.82.

cívico, o disposición a adoptar riesgos a favor de la justicia y la libertad (los valores) de la comunidad política.¹³⁷

Moreover, the notion of civic republican virtue also glorifies the values of community and the fatherland, something further enhanced in exile: “[...] el patriotismo está basado en una concepción de la propia vida en el seno de una comunidad histórica a la que debemos gratitud, obligación y devoción”.¹³⁸ This code of behaviour was so strict that individual interests must be subjugated to the good of the community or the common good: “Ser buen ciudadano implica posponer e incluso renunciar a la satisfacción (al menos inmediata) de los deseos, así como a la obtención de beneficios particulares, atendiendo a consideraciones del interés o bien público”.¹³⁹ Applied to the exilic world, to be a good exile was to meet at least four categorical imperatives that I have theorized elsewhere:¹⁴⁰

1) The first of these imperatives is to remain united. It is said that “unity is strength; division brings weakness” therefore, one of the greatest fears of the Spanish exiles was disintegration. There were those who “creían que abandonar Francia y desperdigarse por el mundo suponía darle la razón a Franco en aquello que lo único que los rojos querían era dividir y separar a España”.¹⁴¹

2) The second is the imperative of globalization, in the sense stated here:

Las luchas a las que se dedicaron los exiliados españoles poco tenían que ver con intereses de carácter personal. [...] Todos los esfuerzos se dirigían hacia un proyecto común, global, fraternal: el derrocamiento del fascismo. No del fascismo francés o español sino de todos los fascismos imperantes en el mundo.¹⁴²

3) Third is the historical imperative to be achieved in and for the future; its aim was to protect the historical memory of the exile: “es un imperativo que tiene que ver con la obligación y el deber de transmitir, recordar y no dejar olvidar la labor de quienes derramaron su sangre por las libertades que hoy disfrutamos”.¹⁴³

¹³⁷ Peña, J. (2009). *op. cit.*, p.100.

¹³⁸ Peña, J. (2009). *op. cit.*, p.92.

¹³⁹ Peña, J. (2009). *op. cit.*, p.84.

¹⁴⁰ García-Guirao, P. (2008). Federica Montseny en Francia: la nueva comunidad humana y el exilio como utopía. *Espinosa. Revista de filosofía*, 8, 163-179.

¹⁴¹ García-Guirao, P. (2008). *op. cit.*, p.175.

¹⁴² García-Guirao, P. (2008). *op. cit.*, p.176.

¹⁴³ García-Guirao, P. (2008). *op. cit.*, p.176.

4) Finally, there was the moral imperative to return to Spain but only when Franco had been removed because: “[...] regresar a la España franquista suponía una traición absoluta tanto personal como colectiva a los principios democráticos pre-franquistas [...]”.¹⁴⁴

Such was the importance of this sort of exilic propaedeutic (especially the fourth moral imperative) for observing the exiles' correct behaviour that the message put out by the “official exile” may be explained by the following equation: return (unless to fight Franco) equalled betrayal. In response to this, as we will see in Chapters 3 to 7, those exiles such as Juan López Sánchez who decided to disobey these unwritten rules faced different types of criticism and rejection.

2. RETURN

2.1. THE TABOO OF RETURNING

Most conceptual definitions of “return” in the Spanish migration context of the 20th century refer to economical emigration during the 1960s. However, this section focuses on the political dimension of the concept. If one accepts that the Spanish “community of exile” “[...] es la comunidad desterrada desde 1939 hasta 1977”,¹⁴⁵ then the elements of the return process and its protagonists can be easily identified. According to Àngels Pascual de Sans the *returnee* is: “[...] el individuo que salió al extranjero desde un punto de España y regresa a él o a cualquier otro lugar del mismo Estado, independientemente del lugar de nacimiento y de residencia anterior”.¹⁴⁶ Such definition involves an idea of “exile” as a two-way movement, as if one went through a revolving door, an exile-return.¹⁴⁷ According to this, every single exile that leaves her/his country would have the idea of returning permanently embedded in their mind.¹⁴⁸ However, while exile usually is presented as a mass movement, return is something that in the context of the Spanish Civil War exile is related to the individual. In the

¹⁴⁴ García-Guirao, P. (2008). Federica Montseny en Francia: la nueva comunidad humana y el exilio como utopía. *Espinosa. Revista de filosofía*, 8, p.177.

¹⁴⁵ Férriz Roura, T. (2004). Las miradas del retorno. *Migraciones y Exilios*, 5, p.51.

¹⁴⁶ Pascual de Sans, A. (1983). Connotaciones ideológicas en el concepto de retorno de migrantes. *Papers*, 20, p.62.

¹⁴⁷ “The narratives —of exile and return— are essentially stories of a journey, which is always a process, and always relational” In: Chamberlain, M. (2005). *Narratives of Exile and Return*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p.88.

¹⁴⁸ According to some authors the exile-return would be the other side of the same coin: “El retorno, pues, está inscrito en las aspiraciones de la emigración, y refuerza los nexos entre la salida y la vuelta”. In: Cuesta Bustillo, J. (2006). Los retornos: sueño, horizonte, destino y mito. In: Alted Vigil, A. & Asenjo, A. (Coord.). *De la España que emigra a la España que acoge*. Madrid: Fundación Francisco Caballero, p. 381.

case of Juan López Sánchez is important to note that his return to Francoist Spain was a gradual process:

The return of immigrants to their country of origin has always been part of any migration project, even if it does not always come true. While departures may be a mass movement, returns —at least voluntary ones— are always individual.¹⁴⁹

The reasons that led to almost one million Spaniards to become exiles were undoubtedly political; however, we cannot consider their return as a part of a mass scale or a political strategy. If exile has been explained on the grounds of politics and survival, “return” seems to be motivated by a very personal discourse of subjectivity, which responds to the appeal not only of identity, nostalgia, homesickness and patriotism but also to pragmatism and opportunism. To explore these issues in more depth I will now split the problems linked to “return” into the following two sections.

2.2. RETURN AS A MORALLY INCONVENIENT DECISION

As discussed above concerning the “exile” phenomenon, “return” also became a highly moralizing term among the community of Spanish Civil War exiles. Contrary to economic migration contexts, where “return” is basically the movement of former immigrants back to their home countries once they have met their economic and savings targets, the exile of 1939 invoked the notion of return, first of all to designate a dream, a desire, and an obsession.¹⁵⁰ In this scenario, the vital question was not ‘to be or not to be?’ but more a matter of ‘to return or not to return?’ Second, the term was used to insult and publically denounce the small group of exiles that decided to go back to Francoist Spain. In addition to the legal, economic, personal and safety problems that potential *returnees* faced in Francoist Spain, they also suffered the repudiation of those exiles who stayed abroad: “Existía un valor añadido que impedía la vuelta temporal a España: la censura a que eran sometidos los que volvían por parte de sus compañeros en el exilio”.¹⁵¹ For someone —such as the former Minister Juan López Sánchez— who did not accept the appellative of “exile” (for him being in exile was a type of treason against Spain), return was the result of a personal decision rather than the outcome of a political party or trade union strategy. In the initial phase of exile (up until 1946), a period that we could locate between the commencement of the exiles’ displacement

¹⁴⁹ Gentileschi, M.L. (2009). Immigration to Italy and return policies: provocation, a wishful thinking or an opportunity? *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica*, 53, p.13.

¹⁵⁰ For an exhaustive analysis of this obsession see: Guilhem, F. (2005). *L'obsession du retour: les républicains espagnols, 1939-1975*. Toulouse: PU Mirail.

¹⁵¹ Cordero Oliveros, I. (1996). El retorno del exiliado. *Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México*, 17, p.4.

and up to the end of WWII, most exiles accepted with resignation and without calling into question the temporary need of staying in exile. They were comforted by the hope that the Western democracies would destroy the Francoist Regime as they had done with the regimes of Hitler and the Mussolini. However, once the certainty of Franco's perpetuation in power sank in, individual Spanish exiles started to consider what had until then been unthinkable: returning to Francoist Spain. At this point, I would note the fundamental dilemma that most exile groups faced: blindly follow the party (or trade union) line and be subject to its discipline, or be guided by their own personal decision-making. Whether they were communists, socialists or anarchists, all exiles had to deal with this difficult dilemma.

According to Férriz, there are two main periods that result in different attitudes towards return among exiles. From the end of the Spanish Civil War until 1946, the official opinion of the Republican Government in exile and other CNT leaders was completely against return. After 1946, return became accepted by most exiles as something natural, a personal choice. This distinction clearly parallels the shifting meaning attached to "exile" before and after WWII mentioned earlier. In other words:

Las razones se han repetido una y otra vez: hasta 1945 se confía en las instituciones republicanas como garantes del retorno y estas tienen unos medios de difusión consolidados, entre los que destacan las revistas culturales y las actividades vinculadas a centros de carácter oficialista.¹⁵²

These brief references to the trust in the Republican Government in exile suggest that "return" was somehow broadly accepted by the great majority of the exile community. However, as Inmaculada Cordero Oliveros and Josefina Cuesta Bustillo¹⁵³ make clear, exiles tolerated the return of some of their colleagues until 1945 (as Europe was under the threat of fascism) but not afterwards.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Férriz Roure, T. (2004). *Las miradas del retorno. Migraciones y Exilios*, 5, p.61.

¹⁵³ According to Cuesta, the political return must be understood as an exception: "La opinión generalizada entre aquellos era la de no volver. Los regresos, en todo caso, son excepción: Juan Comorera que había regresado clandestinamente en 1951, es detenido en 1954 y morirá en el penal; José María de Barandiarán en 1953 vuelve para enseñar en Salamanca, Vicente Rojo Lluch en 1957. Entre los años 1957 y 1964 son conocidas las visitas a España de algunos militantes del Partido Comunista, especialmente provenientes de México, o la de la propia Ernestina de Champourcín. Otro exponente de estos viajes de ida y vuelta, es el madrugador regreso de José Bergamín en 1958, que se expatria de Nuevo a Francia en 1963 hasta su segundo regreso, en 1970. Estas visitas temporales permiten conocer la realidad española y su evolución, en el círculo de exiliados, y son fundamentalmente los retratos y las imágenes que de ella se difunden. Regresos son los de Segismundo Casado López en 1961, o del cartelista José Bardasano, también desde México en 1960". In: Cuesta Bustillo, J. (2006). *Los retornos: sueño, horizonte, destino y mito*. In: Alted Vigil, A. & Asenjo, A. (Coord.). *De la España que emigra a la España que acoge*. Madrid: Fundación Francisco Caballero, p. 396.

¹⁵⁴ "La irritación se dio cuando, entre 1954 y 1969, perdida la esperanza de la caída de Franco, los viajes comenzaron a generalizarse. Algunos miembros eminentes del exilio volvieron a España para reintegrarse en

Rather than a free choice, most exiles were doomed to frustration while facing the issues of returning to Francoist Spain. As previously mentioned, in the exile community there was an unhealthy and schizophrenic relationship with the idea of return. On the one hand, it was possible to find an immense and distressing desire to return, on the other, for the hard core of the exilic community a return while Franco was alive was incompatible with their republican principles, and in consequence an act of betrayal. The continual conflicts between the imagined return and the real return had both personal and political costs which resulted in the mere contemplation of return becoming a taboo subject. A “taboo” is arguably something regarded as sacred and prohibited. Although “return” did not become a forbidden subject of discussion, the very act of return was subject to moral judgment by the exile community. While the label “*returnee*” may be applied to a wide range of experiences,¹⁵⁵ the official anarchist discourse was very clear about the two contexts in which return to Spain was permitted. First, it was permissible if it was part of a strategy to fight the Franco regime. Secondly, return would be permitted only after Franco’s death. Outside of these inflexible scenarios, return was described as betrayal. For example, within the section “Fototipia” of the *CNT* newspaper in exile, an article by Javier Elbaile¹⁵⁶ openly described those who returned to *Franquilandia* as traitors:

Quien se va, de no ser para luchar allá contra la tiranía, es un desertor. Y aquellos que envían de veraneo sus hijos allá, pasando por el Consulado, me recuerdan a los de Casa del Rubio, de mi pueblo,

una lucha política que, ya estaban seguros, sólo debía realizarse desde dentro. Desde las publicaciones del exilio, se embistió duramente contra aquellos que volvieron. Para el exilio que se negó a volver, incluso temporalmente, la vuelta significaba dar la razón a Franco, aceptar con humillación la justicia franquista y reconocer que eran los culpables. Sólo existía la derrota cuando el vencido la aceptaba, pregonaban, y volver era reconocerla”. In: Cordero Oliveros, I. (1996). *El retorno del exiliado. Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México*, 17, p.4.

¹⁵⁵ For example, Cerase, F.P. (1974) established a typology of the *returnees* based mainly in the analysis of economical migrations. For him there were 4 kinds of returns: 1. Return of failure; 2. Return of conservatism; 3. Return of innovation; and 4. Return of retirement. In: Expectations and Reality: A Case Study of Return Migration from the United States to Southern Italy. *International Migration Review*, 8 (2), 245-262. Based on this typology but adapting it to the Spanish Republican refugees’ case Alicia Pozo-Gutierrez and Scott Soo (2010) describe 6 categories of ‘return’: 1. Permanent returns; 2. Failed returns; 3. Involuntary returns; 4. Temporary returns; 5. Clandestine returns; and 6. Imagined returns. In: Categories of return Among Spanish refugees and other migrants 1950s-1990s: Hypotheses and early observations. *Les Cahiers de Framespa*, 5, 1-10. Similarly, Álvarez Silvar, G. (1996) in a doctoral thesis focused on Galician returns mentions 3 types of return: 1. Planned return [*retorno previsto*]; 2. Forced return [*retorno forzado*]; and 3. Return because of failure to adapt [*retorno por inadaptación*]. In: *La migración de retorno en Galicia* (1970-1995). Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Meanwhile De la Fuente Rodríguez, Y.M. (2003) prefers to systematize the returns following 2 panoramic typologies of the *returnees*: On the one hand it is possible to find the ones with their aims targeted [*el retorno con los objetivos cumplidos*]; on the other hand, the ones disappointed, without their aims targeted [*retornados ‘desilusionados’ o sin sus objetivos cumplidos*]. In: *La emigración de retorno. Un fenómeno de actualidad. Alternativas: cuadernos de trabajo social*, 11, 149-166.

¹⁵⁶ García-Guirao, P. (2013). ‘The Ground Rots Equally Everywhere’: Federica Montseny and those who Returned to Die in the Francoist Spain, In: *Coming Home? Vol. 1: Conflict and Return Migration in the Aftermath of Europe’s Twentieth-Century Civil Wars*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 70-88.

que eran padre e hijo y el uno votaba para las derechas y el otro para las izquierdas, a fin y objeto de estar bien con todos.¹⁵⁷

As can be read in these lines, the traitors –in Elbaile’s view– were not only those who returned to Spain with an intention other than to kill Franco, but all those who contributed (even indirectly) to the maintenance of the Franco regime. For example, those who visited the country as tourists and thus filled the coffers of the regime while internationally publicizing the summer wonders of Spain. All of them, according to this journalist, were also betraying the ideals of freedom of the Spanish Second Republic. For the many exiles who opposed return, returning meant not only a legitimization of what was going on in Spain, but also a tacit agreement with the idea that Franco had in fact needed to bring order to the Spain of 1936. Finally, return also entailed an endless disrespect of those who had died fighting Franco’s coup. In this exilic context, when one thinks about “return” it is obvious that moral issues come to the surface. Thus, it is important to figure out not only when return was morally accepted and when it was not, but also for whom return was an option and for whom it was an inconvenient decision. Taking this into account, a key issue of the *exilic morale* that I have been describing was that the strategy of opposition and continued struggle against the Franco regime generated contentious and divisive conflicts among exiles. In other words: “La forma de combatir la dictadura era precisamente otra de las causas de divergencia interna, al enfrentarse las tesis de quienes apostaban por la acción directa y quienes apoyaban la solución pacífica”.¹⁵⁸

Based on the approach presented here, when discussing the moral issues surrounding return, it is essential to note the confrontation between at least two main anarchist cultures in exile and the long-held internal division that existed within CNT:

Por un lado, los libertarios “políticos o colaboracionistas”, que consideraban que puesto que el fascismo no había sido derrotado era necesario mantener la colaboración con otras fuerzas políticas para derrocar al régimen de Franco, y por otro lado los libertarios “apolíticos o puristas”, que sostenían que dicha etapa de colaboración había quedado liquidada con la victoria franquista y que la organización debía recuperar sus tradicionales postulados anti-estatales.¹⁵⁹

Contrary to these assumptions on return as a treasonous behaviour, the morality surrounding the notion of return did not always affect the whole community of exiles. There was a relatively small group of people –including Juan López Sánchez– who held different

¹⁵⁷ Elbaile, J., “Fototipia”, *CNT* 835 (30/April/1961), p.1.

¹⁵⁸ Fonseca, C. (1998). *Garrote vil para dos inocentes. El caso Delgado-Granados*. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, p.31.

¹⁵⁹ Fonseca, C. (1998). *op. cit.*, p.30.

moral principles, for whom return to Francoist Spain –for individual, political, opportunistic, cynical and survival reasons– was an urgent task, or more crucially, a matter of vital importance. I explore this phenomenon in more detail in Chapter 8 *The Psychosomatic Elements of Exile, Return and De-exile*.

Return from a legal perspective: The Francoist Laws

In order to better understand the phenomenon of return, it is also important to analyse and contextualize the prevailing legal frameworks (both in their home and in the host countries) to those who wished to come back. In the Spanish context, the key question was: What policies did the Franco Regime put in place to regulate, encourage or restrict the return of Spanish Civil War exiles? The first thing to note here is that Francoist legislation referring to “return” was in most cases ambiguous and a trap set to catch *rojos* [left-wing exiles]. Cuesta Bustillo has pointed out a list of Francoist laws linked to return:

Los decretos de amnistía en España parecen preparar el camino, pero son engañosos, pues están vigentes las leyes de “Responsabilidades Políticas” y de Represión de la Masonería y el Comunismo, además de la Ley de Seguridad del Estado. En ocasiones, el choque con la desolada España franquista de los años 40 es brutal [...].¹⁶⁰

These laws suggest that Francoist bureaucrats tried to exclude exiles from returning with any kind of guarantee of amnesty under existing repressive and retroactively applicable legislation. That legal code was put in place mainly in the aftermath of the civil war to persecute republicans. As noted before, an early manifestation of this type of legislation are the legal purges carried out even before the Spanish Civil War ended (1 April 1939) such as the *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas* [Law of Political Responsibilities] (9 February 1939). The main points of this legislation can be summarized as follows:

The spirit of equity and justice that inspires all the National Government’s actions constitutes a firm guarantee for all Spaniards who are not criminals. The courts of justice, applying the established laws and procedure promulgated before 16th July 1936... are restricted to bringing to judgment within the framework of those laws the authors of crimes.¹⁶¹

Behind this triumphalist and baroque rhetoric, we can infer that the Franco regime had a clear agenda aimed at the systematic elimination of the enemy. As Preston argues, religion and politics mixed dangerously in these laws throwing Spain back to a medieval regime where

¹⁶⁰ Cuesta Bustillo, J. (2006). Los retornos: sueño, horizonte, destino y mito. In: Alted Vigil, A. & Asenjo, A. (Coord.). *De la España que emigra a la España que acoge*. Madrid: Fundación Francisco Caballero, p. 396.

¹⁶¹ Quoted in: Ruiz, J. (2005). *Franco’s Justice: Repression in Madrid after the Spanish Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 131.

religious discipline and political punishment where the centre of a new Inquisition.¹⁶² “The other Spain” –the one in exile– had no place within the geographic territory of Francoist Spain. The law appealed to the spiritual and material reconstruction of the Francoist Motherland and, for republicans that meant an “expiation of offences”.¹⁶³ The law promised a disproportionate response against the defeated as, taking into account all its principles, Francoist authorities had a free hand to arrest, punish and execute almost anyone they wanted, not only for crimes committed directly but also for acts of omission, collaboration with republican authorities and obstructing the rule of Franco. In other words, whether in a passive or active mode, any person suspected of being non-Francoist could be a potential victim of this law. The *Movimiento Nacional* [National Movement] did not apply half-measures against its enemies and took the religious vindictive maxim of the Bible as a law: “Anyone who isn’t with me opposes me, and anyone who isn’t working with me is actually working against me” (Matthew 12:30). Perhaps this grim “legislation” can give us an idea of why people like Juan López Sánchez –fully involved in the Government of the Second Republic– were in fact terrified with the idea of returning to Franco’s Spain.

Similar to the *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas*, almost 10 years later a new Francoist law tried to convince the international powers of the necessity of a *reconciliación nacional* [national reconciliation], especially in the geopolitical context of the end of the WWII. Many Spaniards living in exile had suffered the horrors of two wars: the Spanish Civil War and WWII. When international democracies tacitly accepted Francoist Spain, the regime started to avoid the use of external fascist symbolism while promoting its international image as a fierce enemy of Communism; the Regime also projected the image of an alliance with Western democratic and therefore anti-communist nations in the context of the Cold War. During those years and the ones that followed, the Regime passed the *Ley de los españoles* (17 July 1945)¹⁶⁴ or *Fuero de los españoles* [The Spaniards’ Charter] which coined a peculiar (and ambiguous) notion of freedom; one that could have lead the exiles to believe that Franco wanted to open the doors to their immediate return. Expressions such as *respect for the*

¹⁶² Preston, P. (2012). *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*. London: Harper Collins Publisher. For a specific anarchist point of view of this Francoist repression see: Herrerín López, Á. (2004). La represión contra la CNT (1939-1949). *Historia Contemporánea*, 28, pp. 375-395.

¹⁶³ “Próxima la total liberación de España, el Gobierno, consciente de los deberes que le incumben respecto a la reconstrucción espiritual y material de nuestra Patria, considera llegado: el momento de dictar una Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas, que sirva para liquidar las culpas de este orden contraídas por quienes contribuyeron con actos u omisiones graves a forjar la subversión roja, a mantenerla viva durante más de dos años y a entorpecer el triunfo, providencial e históricamente ineludible, del Movimiento Nacional [...]. In: BOE (13-02-1939). *Ley de Responsabilidades políticas*. Madrid.

¹⁶⁴ In: BOE (17-07-1945). *Fuero de los Españoles*. Madrid.

*dignity, integrity and freedom of the human person*¹⁶⁵ invited the international public opinion to think that Franco had achieved peace for Spain. However, the situation was far from peaceful and many exiles who naively returned ended up being prosecuted and imprisoned. According to Casanova and Chaves Palacio, the number of prisoners in the 1940's reached somewhere between 100,000¹⁶⁶ and 210,219.¹⁶⁷ Despite the disparity in numbers, there is some agreement regarding the non-criminal and political nature of these prisoners: "El 87 por ciento de los presos con penas más altas, entre 12 y 30 años, eran políticos".¹⁶⁸ The *Fuero de los Españoles* mentioned in chapter 14, article 14: "Todos los españoles tienen derecho a fijar libremente su residencia dentro del territorio nacional". This apparent freedom or invitation to take up residence within the national territory was part of a Francoist strategy for further incarceration, which in turn was part of the Regime's broader agenda of revenge and elimination of the enemy.

The question then was clear: Why return to a country where laws were not respected? The *Fuero de los Españoles* –like previous Francoist laws that were not aimed at seeking peace and reconciliation between the so-called "two Spains"– had an implicit repressive strategy. The Regime expected to use the *Fuero* when the time was right, that is, when those who were considered traitors by the Franco Regime returned to Spain, in particular those who had fought in foreign armies and expats,¹⁶⁹ whose presence in foreign countries could negatively influence Spain's image abroad.

The journey through the Francoist Laws that officially stimulated, facilitated and invited exiles to return does not end here. On 15 July 1954 the Francoist Regime passed a new law based on a controversial law created on 4 August 1933 by the Spanish Second Republic to control anarchist riots: *Modificación de la Ley de Vagos y Maleantes*.¹⁷⁰ Along with articles relating to homosexuality, prostitution and begging, the Regime insisted on retroactively

¹⁶⁵ Preliminary Title, Article 1: "El Estado español proclama como principio recto de sus actos el respeto a la dignidad, la integridad y la libertad de la persona humana [...]" In: BOE (17-07-1945). *Fuero de los Españoles*. Madrid.

¹⁶⁶ "En 1943 había todavía más de 100.000 presos. 15.947 personas purgaban en ese mismo año sus penas en los 121 destacamentos penales que, desperdigados por toda la geografía española, empleaba a los presos para trabajos de reconstrucción, en carreteras o pantanos". In: Casanova, J. (Ed.) (2002). *Morir, Matar, Sobrevivir. La violencia en la dictadura de Franco*. Barcelona: Biblioteca de Bolsillo, pp.24-25.

¹⁶⁷ Chaves Palacios, J. (2005). Franquismo: prisiones y prisioneros. *Pasado y memoria: Revista de historia contemporánea*, 4, p.45.

¹⁶⁸ Casanova, J. (Ed.) (2002). *op. cit.*, p.25.

¹⁶⁹ In chapter 1, article 20: "Ningún español podrá ser privado de su nacionalidad sino por delito de traición, definido en las Leyes penales, o por entrar al servicio de las armas o ejercer cargo público en país extranjero contra la prohibición expresa del Jefe del Estado". In: BOE (17-07-1945). *Fuero de los Españoles*. Madrid.

¹⁷⁰ In: BOE (17-07-1955). *Modificación de la Ley de Vagos y Maleantes*. Madrid.

prosecuting any past or present form of dissidence inside or outside of Spain. By claiming that the Regime had successfully upheld social peace, the nearly two decades of dictatorship were presented as a real political success. However, this social peace was just a euphemism for on-going repression and authoritarianism. According to this new law, any sign of protest or propaganda against Franco constituted an act of terrorism strictly defined and harshly punished.¹⁷¹ As expected, the retrospective nature of the law and its arbitrary definition of “*paz social*” [social peace] did not facilitate the return of the exiles.

An archetypal example of Franco’s migratory policies was the creation in 1956 of the *Instituto Español de Emigración* (IEE).¹⁷² The IEE was born not as a political institution but as an economic one.¹⁷³ It focused on “assisted emigration”, specifically aimed at ensuring that a substantial amount of foreign currency in the form of migrants’ remittances entered the country, which was essential for the economic survival of the Francoist Regime during the 1960s. The remittances of the IEE made no mention of the exiles that had left Spain in 1939, nor did it include any policies for “assisted return”.

Overall, no area of life in post-Civil War Spain remained unaffected by Francoist laws, including the regulation of any political parties or organisations as well as cultural and social associations. Furthermore, in addition to the repressive and vindictive nature of laws against individual rights, the Regime added an absolute prohibition against membership in any political institution other than the *Falange* and the *Sindicato Único*. In 1958, the *Ley de Principios del Movimiento Nacional*¹⁷⁴ [Law of Principles of the National Movement] stated in article 8: “toda organización política de cualquier índole, al margen de este sistema representativo, será considerada ilegal”. With this “legal” manoeuvre, the national movement denied any legitimacy to the thousands of Republican militants who were still scattered around the world. The gradual erosion of the political forces in exile, the new international

¹⁷¹ Article 2 (section 11): “Podrán asimismo ser declarados peligrosos como antisociales los que en sus actividades y propagandas, reiteradamente inciten a la ejecución de delitos de terrorismo o de atraco y los que públicamente hagan la apología de dichos delitos. También podrán ser objeto de igual declaración los que, de cualquier manera, perturben con su conducta o pusieren en peligro la paz social o la tranquilidad pública”. In: BOE (17-07-1955). *Modificación de la Ley de Vagos y Maleantes*. Madrid.

¹⁷² For a concise history of this institution see: Calvo Salgado, L.M. (Ed.) (2009). *Historia del Instituto español de emigración: la política migratoria exterior de España y el IEE del Franquismo a la Transición*. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración.

¹⁷³ “Durante la Dictadura, no se pretendía escuchar la voz de las asociaciones sino influir en sus actividades. No se garantizaban los recursos a través de las instituciones ni la libertad de expresión de los emigrantes. No se asumía la responsabilidad pública de la provisión de servicios sociales de bienestar a los ciudadanos residentes en el extranjero desde una perspectiva democrática, sino con políticas paternalistas de asistencia y control”. In: Calvo Salgado, L.M. (Ed.) (2009). *op. cit.*, p.5

¹⁷⁴ In: BOE (17-05-1958). *Ley de Principios del Movimiento Nacional*. Madrid.

role of Francoism as a fierce anti-Communist ally, the ravages caused by the urban anarchist guerrillas¹⁷⁵ clandestinely arrived from exile, together with the imposition of these laws, significantly undermined the morale of those exiles who had hoped to return peacefully to Spain as if nothing had happened.

Although the war officially ended in April 1939, neither Franco nor his Regime conceived this date as the end of the deployment of the military machine. As I have argued so far, the war and a permanent state of political emergency lasted three more decades. These historical events are not my invention or an invention of historians with left-wing views, as argued by revisionists. On the contrary, they were corroborated by Manuel Fraga Iribarne himself – Franco's Minister of Information and Tourism, and his right-hand man – when on 1 April 1969 he declared: "Hoy podemos decir históricamente que la guerra ha terminado a todos los efectos y para el bien de España".¹⁷⁶ The context of those words was the passing of the "*Decreto/Ley 10/1969 de prescripción de todos los delitos cometidos con anterioridad al 1 de abril de 1939 (31 de marzo de 1969)*".¹⁷⁷ [Law for the expiration of all crimes committed prior to April 1, 1939]. Like all steps taken by the Franco regime, the law of 1969 had been studied and tested thoroughly for years. Every possible threat that it might pose to the regime had been considered and, above all, every national and international benefit that could be derived for the perpetuation of the regime had been taken into consideration. In any case, neither the *Decreto/Ley* nor any previously publicised amnesties put in place by the regime¹⁷⁸ were well received by the exiles. None of them fulfilled the essential requirement of a safe

¹⁷⁵ For an analysis of the anti-Franco anarchist guerrillas see (among others): Pons Prades, E. (1977). *Guerrillas españolas, 1936-1960*. Barcelona: Planeta; Téllez Solá, A. (2004). *Facerías, guerrilla urbana (1939-1957). La lucha antifranquista del Movimiento Libertario en España y en el exilio*. Barcelona: Virus; Arnal, M. (2009). *Memorias de un anarquista de Angués en la República, la revolución y la guerrilla*, Zaragoza: Raúl Mateo; and finally, Gurucharri, S. & Ibañez T. (2010). *Insurgencia libertaria. Las Juventudes Libertarias en la lucha contra el franquismo*. Barcelona: Virus Editorial.

¹⁷⁶ Quoted in: Abellá, R. & Cardona, G. (2008). *Los años del Nodo. El mundo entero al alcance de todos los españoles*, Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, p.191.

¹⁷⁷ In: BOE (31-03-1969). *Decreto/Ley 10/1969 de prescripción de todos los delitos cometidos con anterioridad al 1 de abril de 1939*. Madrid.

¹⁷⁸ The 9 October 1945, the Francoist Regime announced the amnesty of the Spanish civil war exiles. The newspaper ABC from 28/01/1947, p.16 published the following news: "El BOE publica hoy un decreto de Justicia, por el que se prorroga por seis meses el decreto de indulto de 9 de octubre de 1945. Podrán acogerse a los beneficios del indulto del decreto de 9 de octubre de 1945 los españoles que se encuentren en el extranjero y regresen a España dentro de los seis meses siguientes a la publicación del presente decreto. A su llegada a la frontera española serán socorridos y pasaportados hasta los lugares de su residencia en 18 de julio de 1936, o hasta los puntos donde se ejercieron sus cargos en aquella fecha, si fueron funcionarios públicos. A solicitud de los interesados, y con justa causa, podrá autorizárseles para dirigirse a lugares distintos de los anteriormente señalados. Los que resulten condenados, además de los beneficios de indulto total de las penas privativas de libertad, conforme a los términos del decreto de 9 de octubre de 1945, podrán beneficiarse, en su caso, de lo que establece la ley de 18 de los corrientes".

and legal return: “Well designed return policies should consider helping the returnee to settle, if not in the most developed areas, at least in their proximity”.¹⁷⁹

It can be concluded that the Franco regime neither implemented nor attempted to develop policy changes in any of the four categories that, according to Rodríguez Velasco¹⁸⁰ would be necessary for a possible post-Civil War reconciliation to take place: forgiveness, punishment (in a democratic legal framework), moral compensation and forgetting. Despite having nearly forty years to restore national peace and effectuate national reconciliation, Francoism –like all fascist regimes– chose permanent violent repression of the defeated. According to Rodríguez Velasco, where the dictator could have promoted forgiveness, he encouraged the condemnation of those living in exile and incited revenge on exiles for their ideology. Where the dictator could have promoted economic compensation or restitution of the confiscated goods among republicans –as a way of uniting the country around the notion of some kind of national brotherhood–, he encouraged the spoils of the republican properties and belongings. And finally, where he could have encouraged forgetting, he promoted resentment. In sum, none of the major laws passed during the Franco Regime had a real intention to reconcile the two Spains of 1936. Not even the Regime’s speeches, neither the official statements nor official pardons and decrees had a genuine spirit of reconciliation. What really moved the regime was the selective return of certain figures like Juan López Sánchez with a propagandistic use that responded to the international image that the regime wanted to promote in the context of the Cold War, given the concessions made to the Francoist Regime by the international community. In other words, the reincorporation and collaboration of key *returnees* was tolerated in order to quiet international criticism of Francoist Spain’s amnesties. Furthermore, another dimension of the return of key people like Juan López Sánchez was the use of the Regime in order to approach, and control, the emerging and increasingly visible labour movement in the late 1950s-1960s. The regime only counted on *Sindicato Único*’s leaders to tranquilise that emerging labour movement. Therefore the integration of ‘trade union experts’ like the former Minister could help the regimen to manage the anti-establishment proletariat.

3. DE-EXILE

¹⁷⁹ Gentileschi, M.L. (2009). Immigration to Italy and return policies: provocation, a wishful thinking or an opportunity? *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica*, 53, p.20.

¹⁸⁰ Rodríguez Velasco, H. (2007). Estrategias de reconciliación en dos conflictos inacabados: las guerras civiles en España y Grecia. *Studia historica. Historia contemporánea*, 25, pp.167-180.

“De-exile” is the third central concept that this thesis relies on in its attempt to frame Juan López Sánchez’ writings and life trajectory within a theory of exile return. We shall see below that what I call *de-exile* involves a range of meanings, some of them contradictory. I believe that an exploration of the meaning of “de-exile” can provide unique insights into the experience of return. However, few scholars and intellectuals have analysed this concept. In fact, “de-exile” was a neologism coined by Mario Benedetti. I outline below two approaches to the problem of *de-exile*.

Etymological approach

From an etymological perspective, the word *de-exile* (composed of the Latin prefix *dis* – negation, contrariety, separation, privation¹⁸¹ and *exsiliū*) means the opposite of exile, that is, and by extension, to return from exile. The seeming triviality of this literal definition hides several nuances of meaning. According to the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*¹⁸² the prefix *des-* has five main senses: 1) Negation or inversion of the meaning; 2) Privation; 3) Excess; 4) Outside of; and 5) Affirmation. Bearing in mind these meanings, and applying them to the context of exile, *de-exile* particularly focuses on the idea of negation, end or process of inversion of exile. Therefore, I interpret *de-exile*, on the one hand, as the privation of the home country, and on the other, as the privation of settlement in the host country. In other words, *de-exile* is the end of exile by means of returning to the home country. *De-exile* denotes an excessive time in exile. It describes the situation of a person who has remained longer in the host country that granted him or her refuge than in the home country or country of origin. Similarly, the concept of *de-exile* is concerned with the process of being “outside of” a place (it can be outside of the home country or outside of the host country and even outside of both, as in a “nowhere”). Finally, *de-exile* evokes on rare occasions an affirmative situation where someone is absolutely convinced that he or she will remain in a place for a long period. As in the preceding cases, this place can be the home country or the host country. These five meanings of *de-exile* are at the base of the following two approaches.

De-exile according to Mario Benedetti

¹⁸¹ Díaz Rojo, J.A. (2001). Nociones de neología. El prefijo *des-*. *Panacea*, 2-6, p.83.

¹⁸² DRAE online: http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/SrvltConsulta?TIPO_BUS=3&LEMA=des [Accessed 20/11/2011]

The problem of *de-exile* as such was a literary invention of Uruguayan writer Mario Benedetti. He created the neologism in the early 1980s, when he felt the need to theorise the situation of those Latin-Americans who, like him, had immigrated to Spain following different Latin-American coups and dictatorial regimes (e.g. Uruguay, Argentina and Peru). At first they thought it would be a temporary migration. Even though Spain did not welcome them as they had expected, and even after discovering that their language was not quite the same as Castilian Spanish, they decided after several years of overcoming cultural shocks and failed attempts to return to Latin America to make Spain their new home and homeland. According to this second approach, *de-exile* would also refer to the end of exile but with a nuanced meaning whereby the concept avoids mentioning the end of exile as a way of returning to the home country. Another way of putting this is to say that *de-exile* involves adaptation to the host country and the end of exile but not necessarily by means of returning to the country of origin. So *de-exile* would be a situation where an individual living in exile feels that he or she does not want to return to his or her country of origin as he or she is already reintegrated into the new country. Here is an example of what Benedetti had in mind when he wrote about this new concept in an article in the Spanish newspaper *El País*:

Ninguna de mis palabras inventadas ha tenido tan buena fortuna como *desexilio*. La usé por primera vez en mi novela *Primavera con una esquina rota*, publicada en junio de 1982, y luego, como título, en un artículo publicado al año siguiente en *EL PAÍS* (...) Al parecer, la palabra respondía a una necesidad: de alguna manera había que designar al posible y arduo proceso de los exiliados que comenzaba a vislumbrarse en los países del Cono Sur. Cuando escribí aquel artículo, semejante operación era apenas una conjeta; hoy, a fines de 1984, es un mero dato de la realidad.¹⁸³

In Benedetti's novel *Primavera con una esquina rota*,¹⁸⁴ Santiago is a political prisoner of the Uruguayan dictatorship. He is married to Graciela and they have a daughter, Beatriz. The couple were members of a political group, which was dissolved with the arrival of the dictatorship. When Santiago is imprisoned, his father (Rafael) has to provide support for the whole family, especially for Graciela and Beatriz. Some members of the group are killed, others imprisoned (such as Santiago) and others leave Uruguay to start a new life in other countries of Latin America or Europe. Graciela, Don Rafael, Beatriz and Rolando –a good comrade of Santiago–, run away from the dictatorship and go into exile. Once there, Rolando becomes a great help for Graciela: they share their fears and hopes about politics, the sufferings of being in exile, concern for Santiago and Beatriz and they speculate about their

¹⁸³ Quoted in: Conteris, H. (2006). Exilio, 'desexilio' y 'desterritorialización' en la narrativa de Mario Benedetti (1973-1999). *A Contra Corriente: A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America*, 4 (1), p.56. Also in: Benedetti, M. (1985). *El desexilio y otras conjetas*. México: Editorial Nueva Imagen.

¹⁸⁴ Benedetti, M. (2000). *Primavera con una esquina rota*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana.

expected future return to Uruguay. Soon they become lovers. One day Graciela discovers that she no longer needs her husband to be happy; she does not want to return to Uruguay to live with Santiago because she finds her new life in exile is better than she had first thought. Santiago's father advises the new couple to wait until Santiago is released. A short time after, Santiago is released and arrives at the airport, where his father, Don Rafael, his beloved daughter Beatriz, his missed Graciela and his friend Roland are waiting for him. In the novel Graciela, and especially, Don Rafael represent very important dilemmas regarding exile and *de-exile*.

The concept of *de-exile* as it emerges from this novel could be extrapolated to the experiences of other exiles who at different times decided not to return to their countries of origin. At some point in their lives, exiles are faced with at least four vital options or dilemmas highlighted by Benedetti in his works:

- a) To be emigrants forever (living in the host country in a kind of ghetto).
- b) To be emigrants forever but assimilated in their new countries (learning the language and traditions and bringing up their children with the values of the host country).
- c) To live a permanent and constant nomadic existence, where the person is a more a kind of traveller rather than an *émigré*.¹⁸⁵ The expression *itinerant homeland* comes to mind here, which implies movement, no-place. That is the case, for instance, of gypsies, travellers, but also Inuit, Turkana, Maori, Bedouin, and Tuareg are also examples of nomadic cultures with an *itinerant homeland*.
- d) To return to their countries of origin or not; this fourth dilemma has already been analysed above.

Of these four dilemmas, I would like to focus on the second one, which is the one that led Benedetti to coin the notion of *de-exile*. *De-exile* conceived in this sense is a situation capable of altering what is ordinarily designated as “identity”, that is, the essence of an individual and what makes a person unique.¹⁸⁶ For this reason, becoming a de-exile is not an easy decision, in fact, most of the time it is not even a decision taken by the *émigrés*; it is more the vital

¹⁸⁵ Two excellent examples are: Clifford, J. (1992). Travelling Cultures. In: Grossberg, L., & Nelson, C., & Treicher, P.A. (Ed.). *Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, pp. 96- 116; And: Lucassen, L., & Willems, W., & Cottaar, A. (1998). *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

¹⁸⁶ *Cambridge Dictionary Online*. In: <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/identity?q=identity> [Accessed 19 February 2012].

pressure of circumstances which decides for them, just as “exile” (in a political sense) is neither an selection or a decision.¹⁸⁷

As Benedetti stated in one of his stories, it was possible to find some exiles who pronounced unenthusiastically these words: “Lo cierto es que no quiero volver. Algo se rompió en mí y no he podido soldar esos pedazos. Lo malo es que tampoco soy de aquí. Tengo amigos, gente a la que quiero. Pero estoy afuera”.¹⁸⁸ In order to construct a critical definition of the notion of *de-exile* I can ask a series of questions: Where does exile end? Is the process of *de-exile* a conscious one among *émigrés*? To what extent can an adult living in exile be totally integrated into a new country? And also, is there an identity capable of reconciling the sense of belonging to two or more countries? In summary: What are the personal costs that an exile has to pay for becoming *de-exiled*?

In order to seek answers to these questions I am going to concentrate on the idea of *de-exile* both as something negative and filled with personal conflict. To start with, Hiber Conteris – another Uruguayan writer – reminded us, while commenting on Benedetti’s neologism, that *de-exile* refers to the unsettled lifestyle that is characteristic of exiles and offers very helpful reflections on the meaning of the term:

Por esta misma razón, el neologismo incoado por Benedetti, *desexilio*, es también un acto que supone una cierta violencia; no es, simplemente, dar por finalizado el exilio, como si nada hubiese pasado; es regresar a algo, pero también arrancarse o ser arrancado de algo, de un territorio que resultó ajeno en un comienzo, pero que luego, con el paso de los años, se hizo propio o fue asumido como propio, al mismo tiempo que aquel otro, el territorio natal, se fue haciendo cada vez más lejano y extraño.¹⁸⁹

In Conteris’ reflections, the features of *de-exile* focus prominently on five interconnected points:

- First of all, as stated in the etymological approach, *de-exile* is not just the end of exile; if anything, it is a violent attempt to normalise what until now was not normal.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the hard demarcation between what is normal and what is imposed by external circumstances

¹⁸⁷ “Exile is not, after all, a matter of choice: you are born into it, or it happens to you. But, provided that the exile refuses to sit on the sidelines nursing a wound, there are things to be learned: he or she must cultivate a scrupulous (not indulgent or sulky) subjectivity”. In: Said, E. (2000). *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays (Convergences: Inventories of the Present)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.184.

¹⁸⁸ Benedetti, M. (1994). *Cuentos completos (1947-1994)*. Madrid: Alfaguara, p.596.

¹⁸⁹ Conteris, H. (2006). Exilio, ‘desexilio’ y ‘desterritorialización’ en la narrativa de Mario Benedetti (1973-1999). *A Contra Corriente: A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America*, 4 (1), p.58.

¹⁹⁰ According to this notion of *de-exile*, exile appears as a break up with the civic normality. This break up entails a new moral of survival, in fact: “[...] los hechos que impiden el ejercicio de la normalidad ciudadana conducen también a entender mejor el origen de los hábitos de supervivencia”. In: Esteva Fabregat, C. (2009). *Exilio y desexilio: experiencia de una Antropología*. México-Madrid-Barcelona. *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 13 (28), p.37.

(for example, the prevailing view of the world in the host country) implied a certain kind of cultural violence. It is necessary to lose certain characteristics of our native identity in order to acquire (not always voluntarily) a new identity. The problem is that this new identity is generally alien to both identities: the native one and that of the host country. “Lo malo es que tampoco soy de aquí” as Benedetti stated above. The *émigré*’s home is neither here nor there, therefore *de-exile* in Benedetti’s sense sets the *émigrés* upon a path full of incertitude connected to a conception of the *émigré* as someone inevitably condemned even when both re-adaptation and reintegration are in some way completed. In another novel the Uruguayan writer elaborates his enigmatic theory of identity in exile: “Algún día abandonaré este raro exilio y me reintegraré al mundo, ¿no? Y seré alguien distinto, creo incluso que alguien mejor, pero nunca el enemigo del que fui o el que soy, sino más bien el complementario”.¹⁹¹ Thus *de-exile*, following again Benedetti’s reflections, is always problematic, which leads us to conclude that exile does not end with the return or with *de-exile*; exile here is more a constant category impossible to be rid of.¹⁹² Perhaps this is why the Catalan-Mexican Claudio Esteva Fabregat defines *de-exile* as an *imperfect transition*: “[...] un proceso nunca definitivo porque siempre forma parte de una transición imperfecta”.¹⁹³

- Secondly, Hiber Conteris explains that *de-exile* is an act of returning to something. Playing with words, the Uruguayan writer tells us that *de-exile* is mainly a process of *returning from the return*. *De-exile* is a state or feeling of being between two worlds unwilling to return to the first one. In this exilic context, the return to the native land would close the full the circle of exile; return would complete the journey trip (outward and inward). However, if we take on board this notion of *de-exile*, then exile would be a journey without return, without ever being able to come back and close the circle. Once one is out of his or her own country, home is neither here nor there. Even after returning, the sensations among *returnees* are reported to be mainly of frustration: “Nadie brinda por el pronto regreso. Los que ya se fueron no están para brindar. Y los que quedan, ya no brindan”.¹⁹⁴ Thus, we discover in the words of Benedetti that, in the end, return did not necessary imply reintegration among the Latin American *émigrés* that settled in Spain in the 1980s, nor did it confirm that they reintegrated in their host countries. In Benedetti’s novel, *Don Rafael*, voiced this frustration: “¿Soy extranjero? Hay días en que estoy seguro de serlo; otros en que

¹⁹¹ Benedetti, M. (2000). *Primavera con una esquina rota*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, p.65.

¹⁹² See: Abellán, J.L. (2001). *El exilio como constante y como categoría*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.

¹⁹³ Esteva Fabregat, C. (2009). *op. cit.*, pp.30.

¹⁹⁴ Benedetti, M. (1994). *Cuentos completos* (1947-1994). Madrid: Alfaguara, p.586.

no le concede la menor importancia; y por último otros más (mejor diría que son noches) en que de ningún modo admito ante mí esa extranjería”.¹⁹⁵

- Thirdly, building on Gaos’ metaphor of exile as a plant¹⁹⁶ –something that has been “uprooted, displaced, transplanted”– we could infer that *de-exile* entails a permanent pulling out of exile. As a result, those in exile are exposed to a permanent farewell; both melancholy and nostalgia seems to dominate their lives, as theorised by Freud¹⁹⁷ and Valis¹⁹⁸. It is not surprising then that a feeling of mourning (as if something deep down inside them had died) becomes part of their existential make up for the rest of their lives. (I will return to this issue in Chapter 8). What seems clear from these brief characteristics is that there is a tendency among *émigrés* to suffer from what the sociologist Richard Sennett has called a “corrosion of character”.¹⁹⁹ With this term, Sennett offers a provocative view of how the new urban capitalism can have devastating consequences for the individual. Although he refers to the ways in which a specific economic system affects our emotional system, I would like to link this idea to the exilic context and use the term *corrosion of character* to point out some of the personal consequences of *de-exile* in the present time. To start with, Sennett refers to “character” as: “[...] the ethical value we place on our own desires and on our relations to others. Horace argues that the character of a man depends on his connections to the world”.²⁰⁰ These connections to the world are of great importance among *de-exiles*. In general, according to Benedetti, those living a *de-exilic* process experience a situation where their connections to the world are undermined by the idea of separation. Then, the corrosion of their characters comes as a result of the damage caused by an entire life of separations (moving away from loved ones), instability (defined as the opposite to personal continuity) and unlearning (*desaprender*)²⁰¹ the worldview they had acquired before going into exile. There is also another way in which Sennett’s definition of character can be extrapolated to a *de-exilic* context.

Character particularly focuses upon the long-term aspect of our emotional experience. Character is expressed by loyalty and mutual commitment, or through the pursuit of long-term goals, or by the practice of delayed gratification for the sake of a future end. Out of the confusion of sentiments in

¹⁹⁵ Benedetti, M. (2000). *Primavera con una esquina rota*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, p.140.

¹⁹⁶ Gaos, J. (1962). *De la filosofía*, México and Buenos Aires: FCE.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Freud, S. (2005). *On Murder, Mourning and Melancholia*. London: Penguin.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Valis, N. (2000). Nostalgia and exile, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 1:2, pp.117-133

¹⁹⁹ Sennett, R. (1988). *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*. Nueva York: W. W. Norton & Company.

²⁰⁰ Sennett, R. (1988). *op. cit.*, p.10. [Underline is mine].

²⁰¹ Conteris, H. (2006). Exilio, ‘desexilio’ y ‘desterritorialización’ en la narrativa de Mario Benedetti (1973-1999). *A Contra Corriente: A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America*, 4 (1), p.62.

which we all dwell at any particular moment, we seek to save and sustain some; these sustainable sentiments will serve our characters. Character concerns the personal traits which we value in ourselves and for which we seek to be valued by others.²⁰²

As can be inferred from this definition, even if the *de-exiles* are reintegrated in their host countries, their long-term emotional experiences are marked by the double trauma of leaving their country of origin and above all by the trauma of returning to their home countries and discovering that they no longer belong to their native communities. Benedetti's characters are very clear about this; the generational gap is impossible to bridge and the elder Don Rafael – in his harsh exilic reality – describes the prospects of returning to his country in the following terms:

Pero nada podrá ser igual a la prehistoria de los setenta y tres. Para mejor o para peor; no estoy seguro. Y menos seguro estoy de poder habitarme, si algún día regreso, a ese país distinto que ahora se está gestando en la trastienda de lo prohibido. Sí, es probable que el *deseñilio* sea tan duro como el exilio. La nueva sociedad no será levantada por los veteranos como yo, ni siquiera por los jóvenes maduros como Rolando o Graciela. Somos sobrevivientes, claro, pero también heridos y contusos. [...] A lo sumo puede que ayuden, que comuniquen lo aprendido, que pregunten por lo desaprendido, que intenten adaptarse y bregar. Pero quienes forjarán el nuevo y peculiar país del mediato futuro, esa patria que es todavía un enigma, serán los púberes de hoy, los que estuvieron y están allí, los que desde una óptica infantil pero nada amnésica, vieron buena parte de las duras refriegas y cómo otros adolescentes, los del setenta y nueve y del setenta, eran acribillados como enemigos, y cómo se llevaron a sus padres y tíos y a veces a sus madres y hasta sus abuelas y sólo mucho más tarde volvían a verlos, pero tras las rejas o desde lejos o también desde una proximidad hecha de incomunicación y lejanía. [...] ¿Y nosotros los veteranos? ¿Nosotros las carrozas, como dicen los gaitas? Bueno, los que para entonces todavía estemos lúcidos, nosotros las carrozas que todavía rodemos, nosotros les ayudaremos a recordar lo que vieron. Y también lo que no vieron.²⁰³

As we can see from this long quotation, it is not just a personal sensation what *de-exiles* experience, but rather the gradual corrosion of their characters when they return and their native compatriots show them that their family, communitarian and even national commitments cannot be fulfilled. In these cases, some of those *de-exiles* project an image of themselves as renegades who have betrayed both their personal and national loyalties. At the same time, the confusion of sentiments corrodes their characters even more because it is not something that marks a particular moment in their lives, but a constant that perseveres, whether they return or whether they decide to settle in their countries of refuge. Either way, *de-exile* results in a life of emotional homelessness.

- Fourthly, based on Hiber Conteris' reflections on *de-exile*, it could be argued that this phenomenon describes a paradoxical process whereby the native country becomes foreign and the foreign country becomes almost like the native one, but not quite. Benedetti describes this process in terms of nostalgic adaptation:

²⁰² Sennett, R. (1988). *op. cit.*, p.10.

²⁰³ Benedetti, M. (2000). *Primavera con una esquina rota*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, pp.82-83.

Lo esencial es adaptarse. Ya sé que a esta edad es difícil. Casi imposible. Y sin embargo. Después de todo, mi exilio es mío. No todos tienen un exilio propio. A mí quisieron encajarme uno ajeno. Vano intento. [...] Cuando uno llega a percibir que una calle no le es extranjera, sólo entonces la calle deja de mirarlo a uno como a un extraño. Y así con todo.²⁰⁴

This is what I described earlier as a violent attempt of normalising what until now was not normal. In this normalisation process within the host countries the *de-exiles* have to learn to affirm certain new cultural values and norms –it is what I might call *collective sentiments*. They also have to assimilate, to interiorise and clarify the new moral boundaries. Even though those *de-exiles* may feel different from the rest of the natives, they have to be part of a new community or group (at least that is the expectation) in order to promote social cohesion within their host countries. This requires active intervention in the process of normalisation. Nevertheless, even if *de-exiles* do not actively want to normalise their new situations, they end up passively being consumed by conformism. The overall impression is that this conformism is a way of adapting to the new society as well, where *de-exiles* end up accepting the fate that circumstances have imposed on them, something that further contributes to the corrosion of their characters.

- The last feature of *de-exile* also has an almost inevitable resonance for those living in exile, according to Benedetti. In his story “Recuerdos Olvidados” [*Forgotten Memories*] the author explains: “Todos regresan al país aunque después algunos regresen del regreso. Allá van, los más ignorando a qué. Sin saber por qué y eso les alcanza”.²⁰⁵ As I have already described in the previous section, the Republican *émigrés* spent half of their lives obsessed with the idea of returning.²⁰⁶ Unfortunately, when this finally happened, they realised that they had returned to uncertainty and to a world that they then found foreign as well:

Bueno, lo que yo puedo decir de los exilios es que generalmente los exiliados que vuelven a sus países de alguna manera se sienten extraños en ellos. Al fin y al cabo, me sentí más extraño en España que en México.²⁰⁷

It is at this point that some of these *émigrés* choose to *return from the return*, or in other words, to settle in the host countries as, even though they are still strangers, there they feel less so than in their countries of origin. At this point, the strict definition of *de-exile* may involve a process of what could be termed “remembering to forget” [*Acordarse de olvidar*]. For instance, this *return from the return* reminds us of the supposed involuntariness inherent

²⁰⁴ Benedetti, M. (2000). *op. cit.*, p.17.

²⁰⁵ Benedetti, M. (1994). *Cuentos completos (1947-1994)*. Madrid: Alfaguara, p.584.

²⁰⁶ For an exhaustive analysis of this obsession see: Guilhem, F. (2005). *L'obsession du retour: les républicains espagnols, 1939-1975*. Toulouse: PU Mirail.

²⁰⁷ Esteva Fabregat, C. (2009). Exilio y desexilio: experiencia de una Antropología. México-Madrid-Barcelona. *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 13 (28), pp.35-36.

to forgetting as opposed to the supposed voluntary nature of remembering. If the *émigré* wants to survive emotionally he or she has to initiate a process of selective forgetting of the memories from his or her home country. Thus exiles in this context (at least until the beginning of the information age) had to distance themselves from their past life, family, friends, customs, habits and, sometimes, even language:²⁰⁸ “Allá, no solo se va perdiendo el vocabulario, sino que insensiblemente vamos incorporando al habla diaria palabras inglesas”.²⁰⁹ In the same way, the psychological mechanism of the *returnees* suggests that their identities after *de-exile* end up puzzled; their identities are like disassembled puzzles where the pieces do not fit together any longer and they will never fit together even if the *returnees* put their best efforts at making them do so. Consequently, this recalling of what one has to forget is always a painful experience.

To sum up, the key points of this discussion so far, the negative aspects surrounding the notion *de-exile* are accentuated even more dramatically in the following remark by Hiber Conteris:

[...] es un costoso, doloroso y doble proceso de reintegración y readaptación, pero también de separación de lo que se ha dejado atrás, del *exilio* propiamente dicho. No hay que desprenderse sólo del territorio en el que se ha vivido durante varios años, sino también, en más de un caso, de los vínculos afectivos que se crearon allí, de los hábitos y costumbres adquiridos; hay que hacer el esfuerzo, incluso, de *desaprender* la lengua “mayor” (según el concepto de Deleuze/Guattari), aun cuando ésta se trate del castellano de España, y *reaprender* la lengua local, sus giros, sus expresiones coloquiales, sus connotaciones polisémicas.²¹⁰

As we shall see in the following chapters and despite this theoretical framework, Juan López Sánchez’ ideas regarding exile, return and *de-exile* were far from, and sometimes directly hostile to, the above standardized meanings of these notions. Nevertheless, he stamped on these notions a vision of the *exilic world* based more on personal circumstances, discourses on patriotism, pacific coexistence, pragmatism and health issues. It does not mean that those terms were irrelevant to him because, in fact, they were crucial, but he tried to adapt them to his case, sometimes by refuting them and others shaping them to his will.

²⁰⁸ For an introduction on nostalgia and melancholia see: Freud, S. (2005). *On Murder, Mourning and Melancholia*. London: Penguin; Valis, N. (2000). Nostalgia and exile, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 1:2, pp.117-133; Burton, R. (2002). *The Essential Anatomy of Melancholy*. Devon: Dover Books; Starobinski, J. & Kemp, W.S. (1966). The Idea of Nostalgia. *Diogenes*, 14, pp.81-103; Boym, S. (2002). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books; Akhtar, S. (1999). The Immigrant, the Exile, and the Experience of Nostalgia. *Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*, 1:2, pp.123-130; Stewart, K. (1988). Nostalgia –A Polemic. *Cultural Anthropology*, 3, pp. 227-241; and Rubenstein, R. (2001). *Home Matters: Longing and Belonging, Nostalgia and Mourning in Women's Fiction*. New York: Palgrave.

²⁰⁹ Benedetti, M. (2000). *Primavera con una esquina rota*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, p.51.

²¹⁰ Conteris, H. (2006). Exilio, ‘desexilio’ y ‘desterritorialización’ en la narrativa de Mario Benedetti (1973-1999). *A Contra Corriente: A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America*, 4 (1), p.62.

Chapter 3

Methodology:

Analysing Juan López Sánchez' Archive

Like it or not, historians cannot avoid theory. [...] Even if they do not explicitly use theory themselves, the writing of historians is subtly informed by theoretical assumptions.²¹¹

After providing an outline of the research aims and the ways in which the terms “exile”, “return”, and “de-exile” are used in this thesis, I am going to focus on methodological issues. The thesis adopts an inter-disciplinary methodology that borrows concepts from History, Philosophy, Literature, Psychology and even Medicine. To speak about “methodology” presumes already an excessive and exaggerated challenge, especially in a research work that deals with something as anti-systemic as anarchism. Maybe it is more appropriate, following Hans Blumenberg’s models,²¹² to use the notion of ‘theoretical models’ instead of methods or systems. These models, argues Blumenberg, can change during the course of research, depending on our interests and particular topics or problems under study. Nevertheless, it is important to clarify from the beginning that this thesis, is not a traditional historical piece; rather, it is an analysis and explanation of a personal and political ideology (that of Juan López Sánchez), circumscribed to a very concrete period (1939-1971). The analysis follows three interconnected theoretical models.

²¹¹ Berger, S. & Feldner, H. & Passmore, K. (Eds.). (2003). *Writing History. Theory and Practice*. London: Arnol, p.XI.

²¹² *Myth and the Concept of Reality*. Originally written in German: “Wirklichkeitsbegriff und Wirkungspotential des Mythos”. In Blumenberg, H. (2001). *Ästhetische und metaphorologische Schriften*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag. A Spanish translation exists, but not an English translation.

3.1. THEORETICAL MODELS TO APPROACH THE PAST FROM THE PAST

Qualitative inductive model

Firstly, I employ a qualitative inductive model to go from the particular, that is, Juan López Sánchez' case, to the general in an attempt to construct a model of return from exile to post-Civil War Spain. However, it is not always possible to draw a line that goes from the very particular case study to a general theory on this subject. Hence the limitations of this model, for example, when dealing with the contextual biography of Juan López Sánchez' in Chapter 1, whenever relevant and appropriate, I have tried to implement what Peter Burke called: “The capacity to see the general in the particular [...]”.²¹³ In other words, there is an attempt to rescue the “universal” problems from the “particular” problems of one individual. This inductive model, as we shall see in the next section, allows us to make inferences from data collected mainly via archives. The model implies a conception of society as the sum of the lives of its members; from a historical point of view, it implies a conception of history as the sum of the life stories of its protagonists:

Life histories reveal juxtapositions of social contexts through a succession of narrated individual experiences that may be obscured in the structural study of processes as such. They are potential guides to the distinctions that may make these spaces otherwise invisible.²¹⁴

As stated above, in this thesis I work with the study of feelings, fears and subjectivity of those who were living in exile. Therefore, the qualitative inductive model, although it seems otherwise, is consistent with this frame of feelings. Again, it is a question of finding the right balance between the personal and the universal. One might think that in this case the uniqueness of Juan López Sánchez is in his desire to return to Spain, however even the desires and obsessions of those living in exile obey a logical model, because:

There is nothing simpler and more human than to desire. Why, then, are our desires unavowable for us? Why is it so difficult for us to put them into words? It is so difficult, in fact, that we end up hiding

²¹³ Burke, P. (1992). *History and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.5.

²¹⁴ Marcus, G.E. (1994). Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, p.110.

them, constructing a crypt for them somewhere within ourselves, where they remain embalmed, suspended and waiting.²¹⁵

The problem is complex; to solve it, nothing better than to compare different cases: “It is only thanks to comparison that we are able to see what is not there, in other words to understand the significance of a particular absence”.²¹⁶

Reconstruction of the past

Secondly, in my analysis I use a method that proposes to reconstruct the past contexts and try to “be there” in the past. The idea is to rebuild as much as possible the contexts, experiences, historical junctures, debates and circumstances of Juan López Sánchez’ case study through the use of secondary literature and, above all, the archive of his written works. As will be discussed below in the section on “sources”, the study of Juan López Sánchez’ correspondence²¹⁷ has been a decisive tool for “being there”, in exile, in touch with his feelings (or what he wrote about his feelings), contexts, traumas, and personal and social fears. The aim is the reconstruction of the public and private contexts that marked his life and give us broader insights to the exile experience of anarchists after the Spanish Civil War. In this sense, the archive can be defined as an excellent contextualizing framework: “Examples of these other methods include working in archives and adapting the work of macro-theorists and other kinds of scholars as a mode of contextualizing portraiture in terms of which predicaments of local subjects are described and analysed”.²¹⁸ Context is important because it is the real object of history. It is, in fact, intrinsic to history:

It is grounded in the very definition of the object of history. This is not the past, nor is it time, it is “men in time”. [...] But history is a matter of “men in time”, which implies a fundamental relationship between the present and the past.²¹⁹

Two points emerge from this: first, the dynamics of the “insider/outsider” researcher position, and second, the link between the past and the present. Luis A. Fernández,²²⁰ among others, has worked on these. Fernández argues that whenever possible, the academic should

²¹⁵ Agamben, G. (2007). *Profanations*. New York: Zone Books, p.53.

²¹⁶ Burke, P. (1992). *History and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.23.

²¹⁷ There is a science whose goal is the study of correspondence: Epistolography.

²¹⁸ Marcus, G.E. (1994). Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, p.96.

²¹⁹ Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, pp.169-170.

²²⁰ Fernández, L.A. (2009): “Being there. Thoughts on anarchism and participatory observation” in Amster, R. & Deleon, A. & Fernandez, L.A. & Nocella, A.J., & (Eds.). *Contemporary Anarchist Studies. An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy*. London; New York: Routledge, pp.95-98.

“be there” exercising what he calls “participant observation”. It is important to be present in situations that raise issues of concern to the academy because one can understand first-hand what one has studied for years in the abstract. According to Fernández, this results in a strategic reconciliation between the heart and the brain, and leads to their synthesis into one organ. From this organ, it becomes possible to uproot the old myth of objectivity and in its place implant compassion and connectivity: “Rather than detachment and objectivity, we therefore should seek connectivity and compassion, values that dovetail well with anarchist sensibilities such as cooperation and mutual aid”.²²¹ Fernández also chooses to blur the lines between the participant, the scholar, and the activist, advocating the use of the inductive method previously described: going from the particular to the general, or: “In other words, to go from the specific to the general without losing sight of what makes the specific circumstance unique”.²²² So, should we give up all the rigor and professionalism of the academy? His answer is negative. What the author recommends is to work through a real *immersion* in the problems that I study. He writes:

The goal was to immerse myself [...] and develop a theoretical understanding of the situation based on that immersion. While I recognized the impossibility of entering the field *tabula rasa*, I did attempt to put aside academic ideas and theories regarding the movement, hoping that this would produce a deep experience of the situation, resulting in valuable new insights.²²³

Finally, Fernández proposes to introduce Max Weber’s term *Verstehen*: a term that connect intentions, passions and experiences of the objects studied. This manoeuvre does not condemn social sciences, but rather popularises them and brings them closer:

In line with an anarchistic approach, it involves a deep commitment to and involvement with those under study, as well as an attempt to connect with the intentions, passions and lives of those in the margins. For me, adopting this method involved opening myself to the emotions, fears, and frustrations experienced by those in the movement.²²⁴

Psychohistory

The third and final theoretical model that is relevant to this thesis is linked to Psychohistory and Medical Anthropology. As stated in the title of the thesis, one of the aims of this work is to create an “anatomy” of exile, return and *de-exile* that explains Juan López Sánchez’

²²¹ Fernández, L.A. (2009), *op. cit.*, p.95.

²²² Fernández, L.A. (2009), *op. cit.*, p.97.

²²³ Fernández, L.A. (2009), *op. cit.*, p.98.

²²⁴ Fernández, L.A. (2009), *op. cit.*, p.99.

migration history. In its first sense, the word “anatomy” refers to “the branch of science concerned with the bodily structure of humans, animals, and other living organisms, especially as revealed by dissection and the separation of parts”.²²⁵ Previous theoretical models cannot confront either the physical or the psychological problems of those who were living in exile. In this sense, the tools offered by Psychohistory (the study of the motivations, fantasies, emotions and traumas of the protagonists of history) and Medical Anthropology (“the study of human health and disease, health care systems, and biocultural adaptation”)²²⁶ will help us to connect migration with medicine specially in Chapter 8 *The Psychosomatic Elements of Exile, Return and De-exile*.

Issues of self-reflexivity

One final question regarding methodology emerges: The relationship between the social investigator and his or her personal and intellectual background. In other words, how I have tackled the critical questions raised by the thesis given my personal, professional and social interests in the topic. Writing in an academic context, like most intellectual activities, requires training. However, the investigator is not an objective computer capable of producing intellectual products starting from some kind of *tabula rasa*. The researcher is inevitably impregnated with personal beliefs and inevitably with life circumstances. Hence, before I proceed, I want to outline how my life circumstances are linked to the topic of this thesis. My work is the work of a Spaniard studying other Spaniards; it is also the work of a person living his own kind of exile since 2004²²⁷ while studying those who were living in exile more than 70 years earlier; thirdly, I am a member and activist²²⁸ of the CNT researching the lives of other CNT members. Finally, I am also a member of the *Anarchist Studies Network* (ASN),²²⁹ working in the community of those who speak of Anarchism as a “subject” and hence an area worthy of study in the frame of academia. Despite all this, I have tried to develop a serious

²²⁵ Oxford Dictionary Online: http://oxforddictionaries.com/view/entry/m_en_gb0026410#m_en_gb0026410 [Accessed 29/04/2011]

²²⁶ McElroy, A. (1996). Medical Anthropology. In Levinson, D. & Ember, M. (1996), *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*. Henry Holt: New York.

²²⁷ In 2004 I moved to North Carolina where I worked as a Visiting Instructor at Duke University. One year later I left the USA for Prague where I worked as an Associate Teacher at Instituto Cervantes. Finally, since that time my usual place of residence is Southampton.

²²⁸ Although my labour as an activist is reduced to collaborating as a columnist in the anarchist newspaper www.periodicocnt.org

²²⁹ *The Anarchist Studies Network* is an official specialist group of the *Political Studies Association* (UK). As stated in its webpage: “The principal aims of this network are to coordinate and promote the re-investigation of anarchism as a political ideology”. From: www.anarchist-studies-network.org.uk (Accessed 26/04/2011)

piece of critical research. To be subjective does not mean abandoning criticality or academic rigor; to park subjectivity aside does not close the door to criticism, what is more: “This term [criticism] specifies history as a science. [...] In fact, it is within the historiographical sphere that the very word criticism appeared with the sense of corroboration of what others say”.²³⁰ If I combine criticism and the use of archival research²³¹ the scientific spirit of the thesis is guaranteed.

Given the relatively new and still tentative nature of *Anarchist Studies*, it is common to find attacks against and resistance to accepting this area of study. An extreme example is found in the ultraconservative Carl Schmitt. In one of his books, he compared anarchists to the figure of the partisan²³² –a professional revolutionary who is unarmed, without a uniform and without military training, but aided by his group of people, mobile and so committed to his or her ideals which he or she is willing to die for. Someone might object that erasing the borders between the world of academics and anarchist militancy is to agree with Schmitt that academics have become something like partisans in a permanent state of war. One could respond to such an attack with the words of Norbert Elias, who claimed:

Únicamente los niños pequeños y, entre los adultos, tal vez los dementes, se comprometen absolutamente con su actitud y sus experiencias de modo que se abandonan sin condiciones a lo que sienten aquí y ahora; y también es únicamente entre los dementes donde podemos encontrar un distanciamiento absoluto; sólo ellos son capaces de mantener una total indiferencia hacia lo que sucede a su alrededor. Normalmente, el comportamiento de los adultos se encuentra dentro de una escala que oscila entre estos dos extremos.²³³

Accordingly, we should understand the methodologies and the theoretical models of this thesis as a set of tools to fight, by means of education, for a future history that would be more critical, non-extremist, and peaceful. To these ends, nothing works better than establishing the right balance between distance and commitment: Commitment to historical truth and memory. The development of these forms would avoid manipulation, marginalisation and abuse of power from the so-called official historiography. They would also rescue the human face of history in times of dehumanisation. Moreover and ultimately, my work is committed to put “an honest intellectual penny in the piggy bank of history” by rescuing those exiles like

²³⁰ Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, p.171.

²³¹ Some authors prefer relativize prominence of archives to avoid their reification: “In a period now taken to be out-dated in historical research, work in the archives had the reputation of assuring the objectivity of historical knowledge, protected thereby from the historian’s subjectivity”. In: Ricoeur, P. (2006). *op. cit.*, p.169.

²³² Cf. Schmitt, C. (2004). *Theory of the Partisan: a Commentary/Remark on the Concept of the Political*. Michigan: Michigan State University.

²³³ Elias, N. (2002). *Compromiso y distanciamiento. Ensayos de sociología del conocimiento*. Barcelona: Ediciones Península, p.20.

Juan López Sánchez, who are part of the marginalised community of “people without History”. The next section on archives explains how these principles work in practice.

3.2. “ARCHIVO DE JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (LÍDER ANARQUISTA Y MINISTRO REPUBLICANO)”

On 26 August 1972, Juan López Sánchez died in Madrid; the *caudillo* Francisco Franco would do it in the same city on 20 November 1975. Despite his constant pilgrimages from one home to another, from city to city, from one country to another, and from one hospital to the next, he knew that both his testimony and his controversial political experience would be useful to history. This could only happen if he could save what many other exiles had failed to do: his personal archives. The famous suitcase²³⁴ that all those living in exile stored under their beds, thinking that any moment they would return to Spain was full. In the case of Juan López Sánchez, it was filled with a substantial amount of documents compiled between 1939 and 1972.

One of his obituaries reads: “*Ya, Pueblo y Arriba* publican hoy una esquela de la muerte de don Juan López Sánchez ex ministro de Comercio durante el Gobierno republicano de Largo Caballero, que falleció ayer en Madrid a la edad de 72 años”.²³⁵ In other newspapers he was described in the same terms,²³⁶ however, these last obituaries added an important fact for this research; one of them mentioned that the widow –Carmen Pastor (a dressmaker)– would donate her husband’s archive to an official institution.²³⁷ The other mentioned that the widow would possibly donate the archive to a specific university in Barcelona. None of these plans were fulfilled. It took almost thirty years after the death of Juan López Sánchez for his archive to be made accessible. The history of the hermetic anarchist archive repeated itself once more and this raises a few questions: How did the archive end up in the hands of his nephew, when in his obituary it was mentioned that it was going to be donated to a Catalan university? Why had what appeared in his obituary not been fulfilled? Why did his wife not

²³⁴ “[...] Mi sorpresa, disimulada, fue grande al ver cómo D. Pedro entraba en mi despacho cargado con una pesada maleta con los documentos de su tío, D. Juan López Sánchez”. In: Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.108. [Emphasis mine]

²³⁵ In: (*La Vanguardia*, 27/08/1972, p.8); in the same newspaper, (31/12/1972, p.8).

²³⁶ Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.90.

²³⁷ “Su viuda (alicantina) posiblemente donará el archivo particular a una universidad”. In: Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *op. cit.*, p.90.

comply with her husband's will? What was she afraid of? What prevented the archive from being open to research? The answer to these questions is covered in secrecy. So far, I have been discussing these questions (most of them without a clear answer),²³⁸ and also highlighting the constant contradictions and tensions regarding the editing, archiving and future dissemination of Juan López Sánchez' documents mixed with the history of his life.²³⁹ What was probably conceived as a personal archive ended up being a social archive, especially if we consider Ricoeur's words: "But the archive is not just a physical or spatial place, it is also a social one".²⁴⁰ Having identified the main problems of the archive it is worth outlining Juan López Sánchez' recent archival history, which can be summarised as follows:

En la primavera de 2000 el investigador local de Bullas Juan Sánchez Pérez logró ponerse en contacto con parte de la familia de López Sánchez al objeto de recabar información para una publicación dedicada a bullenses ilustres. Un sobrino del ex-ministro, Pedro López Pellicer, radicado en Alicante, le proporcionó dicha información y puso a su disposición parte de la documentación que la esposa de su tío, Carmen Pastor, le entregó poco antes de fallecer en 1990. Conocido el valor del fondo, Juan Sánchez Pérez, gestionó su donación al Ayuntamiento de Bullas, quedando él como apoderado de los herederos. La entrega se verificó en enero de 2001.²⁴¹

The history of the archive did not end here. During the Christmas holidays of 2009, I met with Juan Sánchez Pérez, priest and chronicler of Bullas (the anarchist Minister's hometown), and author of *Bullas en sus Personajes* published in 2001.²⁴² The chronicler devoted a chapter of his book to Juan López Sánchez entitled "Juan López Sánchez, Ministro de Comercio".²⁴³ That chapter, which is very well written historically and chronologically, also contains some unpublished and relevant documents; however, it never delves into the Minister's writings. Nonetheless, conversations with the chronicler resulted in something revolutionary for this research. As has been described above, the anarchist Minister's nephew, Pedro López Pellicer, delivered in an old suitcase all the intellectual legacy of the former Minister (1273 original documents) to the chronicler of Bullas. This one, seeing this historical treasure and after writing the chapter of his book *Bullas en sus Personajes*, decided to include it in the *Archivo General de la Biblioteca Regional de Murcia*, where it was

²³⁸ In principle, this lack of answers does not take away any value to the validity of the questions. In fact: "The historian undertakes research in the archives armed with questions". In: Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, p.177.

²³⁹ "The documents do not speak unless someone asks them to verify, that is, to make true, some hypothesis. Therefore there is an interdependence among facts, documents, and questions". In: Ricoeur, P. (2006). *op. cit.*, p.177.

²⁴⁰ Ricoeur, P. (2006). *op. cit.*, p.167.

²⁴¹ In: "Censo-Guía de Archivos de España e Iberoamérica". Entry: "Legado Juan López Sánchez" <http://censoarchivos.mcu.es/CensoGuia/fondoDetail.htm?id=617893> [Accessed 01/April/2011].

²⁴² Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas.

²⁴³ Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *op. cit.*, pp.61-109.

scanned and where, strangely, nobody undertook a systematic study of this unknown work until now. The “silence” of its non-research is, at least, suspicious:

What is more, the document sleeping in the archives is not just silent, it is an orphan. The testimonies it contains are detached from the author who ‘gave birth’ to them. They are handed over to the care of those who are competent to question them and hence to defend them, by giving them aid and assistance.²⁴⁴

Despite the so-called “Archivo de Juan López Sánchez (líder anarquista y ministro republicano)” technically being an officially public access it remained very difficult to explore. In 2008, a local journal for librarians described the archive in a bit more detail.²⁴⁵ Despite all this, I did not get open access to the archive until the chronicler (and priest) of Bullas made a couple of telephone calls to the *Archivo General de la Biblioteca Regional de Murcia*. Until my former Professor of Political Philosophy in Murcia (Antonio Rivera García), personally offered to mediate between the director of the *Archivo General* and myself in order to obtain a non-official permission to research the sources of Juan López Sánchez’ Archive. Only then, I gained what Ricoeur describes as “the right of access”.²⁴⁶

As we saw in the preceding section, this secrecy that surrounds the archive may be due to the fact that from his youth Juan López Sánchez defended a form of anarchism politically possibilistic, that is, he argued that the syndicalism of the CNT should fight at the same level as political parties. It may be also due to the fact that a few years of being in exile he offered to collaborate, on an ideological level, with the Francoist Vertical Syndicate. In fact, the few references that exist on the former anarchist Minister always tend to be associated with collaboration, with the betrayal that his return to Francoist Spain entailed for a majority within the CNT that did not accept the principles or the tactics that the majority had voted in the congresses held in exile. This can be corroborated by analysing the documents held by the above-mentioned IISH of Amsterdam where there are several archives relating to Spanish anarchists, which include original documents by Juan López Sánchez but always in relation to “cincopuntismo”,²⁴⁷ that is:

Con el nombre de “cincopuntismo” se denomina a una serie de militantes cenetistas que se pasaron a las filas del sindicalismo franco-falangista, Confederación Nacional de Sindicatos (CNS).

²⁴⁴ Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, p.169.

²⁴⁵ Castillo Fernández, J. & Herrero Pascual, M. (2008). Fondos sobre la Guerra Civil Española en el Archivo General de la Región de Murcia. *Anales de Documentación*, 11, pp.37-39.

²⁴⁶ Ricoeur, P. (2006). *op. cit.*, p.177.

²⁴⁷ For a detailed list of documents referring to this topic see concretely the “Archive of Ramón Álvarez Papers” and “Archive compiled by Fernando Gómez Peláez”, both archives in IISH.

La CNS era la macroestructura sindical del aparato del estado franquista, dirigida por la Falange e inspirada en la ideología fascisto-falangista; se caracteriza por la negación de la lucha de clases y la agrupación “fraternal” en una sola organización sindical, (vertical), de empresarios y trabajadores; donde los intereses de unos y de otros no debían estar enfrentados sino comunes.²⁴⁸

Similarly, this secrecy is possible because in his archive Juan López Sánchez hardly criticised the other former anarchist ministers, perhaps because he did not want all these criticisms to be unveiled while all his former comrades were alive. Federica Montseny died in Toulouse in 1994, Juan Peiró died in Valencia in 1942 (he was extradited illegally and killed by Franco's agents) and Juan García Oliver died in Guadalajara (Mexico) in 1980. It is certainly hard to know how to respond to these hypotheses but a minimal knowledge of Juan López Sánchez' bio-bibliography is enough to know that this controversial syndicalist never hid his ideas, or his contacts and friendship with some Falangists, or his relaxed conception of traditional anarchist principles as described in the next chapter. So, in light of all this, how can we explain the excessive secrecy that surrounds the access to his archive? The existence of gatekeepers guarding Juan López Sánchez' documents can provide some answers.

Gatekeeping Archives

A gatekeeper²⁴⁹ is a person whose job is to open and close a gate and to prevent people entering without permission. In other words, a person or thing that controls access to something. At first, it was Carmen Pastor (Juan López Sánchez' widow). Then, it was Pedro López Pellicer (the former Minister's nephew). Third, Juan Sánchez Pérez (the chronicler of Bullas and former priest of that small city) served as the gatekeeper. And, finally, Francisco Giménez Gracia (General Director of Books, Archives and Libraries of Murcia, appointed to this position by the conservative *Partido Popular*), assumed, consciously or not (voluntarily or involuntarily), the gatekeeper role of Juan López Sánchez' legacy. Generally, the gatekeeper of an historical archive has to face at least five problems. First, a gatekeeper must think about the future implications of opening an archive. Next, a gatekeeper has to take into account the importance and seriousness of the events that can emerge from opening an archive. Third, a gatekeeper also has to take into account the political standing of the people mentioned in the archive. In the case of Juan López Sánchez' archive it is possible to find the

²⁴⁸ Alcalde, J. (Ed.). (2008). *Los servicios secretos en España. La represión contra el Movimiento Libertario Español (1939-1995)*. E_books: UCM, chapter III, p.1. [Accessed: 05/04/2011]

²⁴⁹ Cf. Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnographic principles in practice*. New York: Routledge. Of especial interest is the chapter 'Gatekeepers', pp.49-62.

names of syndicalist leaders, grassroots militants, politicians, diplomats, scientists, intellectuals and a few relatives. Fourth, a gatekeeper may deal with the credibility of the data contained in the archive and, what is even more complicated, with the coherence between public discourse, private letters and attitudes (or performances) of the most significant social actors that are linked to the archive. Finally, closely related to the previous point, a gatekeeper has to deal with the uniqueness and exclusivity of legitimated and verified facts, which can change both contradictory versions of history and the public image of its protagonists. It is noteworthy that these five points can be summarised in three interconnected wider issues concerning the uses of non-public archives. At this point, I am going to point them out briefly. The first issue deals with ethics, the second deals with censorship and the last with control of information and power. In the absence of written evidence to the contrary, I must think about the good will of all gatekeepers who have guarded the legacy of Juan López Sánchez. This is important especially if I consider the personal care with which Juan López Sánchez prepared the folders containing more than one thousand documents. Each of these folders contained the words “for Pedro López”. Therefore there is some evidence to suggest that, contrary to what was said in his obituaries, his last wish was to deliver his personal legacy to his nephew. Consequently, I am not sure that, if something was destroyed, manipulated or censored, it only belongs to Juan López Sánchez. For him, there is an ethical issue of historical responsibility for anybody who attempts to modify the archive or access to it in any way. Inevitably, once the archive became “an orphan” with the death of its creator, we witness its “instrumentalisation” at the hands of the gatekeepers though this does not necessarily entail the manipulation of its documents.

Correspondence analysis

In this context, as previously mentioned, one of the aims of this research is to revisit Juan López Sánchez’ intellectual output. In addition to his contribution to newspaper publications from exile (*CNT*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *España Libre*, and others) but, most importantly to deepen the understanding of the human side of the former Minister by analysing his exile experience, his return and the process of what I will call *de-exile*. This human dimension can rarely be found in his written theoretical works or in his historical-political lectures although sometimes he indiscriminately mixed it in his writings the personal and the professional, as was typical among those who lived through the Spanish Civil War period and afterwards.

Nevertheless, I could argue that the most human elements of Juan López Sánchez' exile experience tend to be reflected in a more genuine manner in his correspondence. This consists of 630 letters that the Minister sent and received between 1939 and 1971. This is a fundamental point for the research because in this personal correspondence Juan López Sánchez maintained a dialogue (formally and informally, personally and politically) with more than 20 major figures in the national and international historical arena:

La mayoría de la correspondencia, esencialmente de carácter político y sindical y en la que se reflejan los asuntos más relevantes de España y el mundo durante más de tres décadas, la mantuvo con compañeros exiliados de la CNT (de la corriente posibilista) y con políticos e intelectuales de renombre, tanto españoles (exiliados y residentes en el interior) como extranjeros.²⁵⁰

Some of those 20 celebrities were:

- Diego Abad de Santillán (1965-1971). - 42 letters.
- Álvaro de Albornoz (1939). - 3 letters.
- Luis Araquistáin (1939-1942).- 14 letters.
- Claude G. Bowers (1954-1955). - 16 letters.
- Wenceslao Carrillo (1940). - 17 letters.
- Segismundo Casado (1940-1968). - 192 letters.
- Sigfrido Catalá (1966-1971). - 16 letters.
- José Juan Doménech (1944-1962).- 21 letters.
- José González Barberá (1939-1966). - 40 letters.
- Avelino González Entralgo (1939-1968). - 25 letters.
- Manuel González Marín (1939-1948). - 37 letters.
- Félix Gordón Ordás (1954). - 4 letters.

²⁵⁰ Castillo Fernández, J. & Herrero Pascual, M. (2008). Fondos sobre la Guerra Civil Española en el Archivo General de la Región de Murcia. *Anales de Documentación*, 11, p.38.

- Salvador de Madariaga (1949-1970). - 19 letters.
- Horacio Martínez Prieto (1940-1948). - 17 letters.
- Carles Pi i Sunyer (1941-1955). - 25 letters.
- Francisco Royano Fernández (1961-1970). - 21 letters.
- Helmut Rüdiger (1956-1966). - 20 letters.
- Manuel Salgado (1944-1955). - 38 letters.
- Domingo Torres (1939-1945). - 31 letters.
- Manuel Villar (1962-1967). - 31 letters.²⁵¹

Analysing the content of this correspondence is the best way to respond with intellectual success to the research question that guides this thesis: How did exile and former anarchist Minister Juan López Sánchez construct, justify (and put into practise) a discourse of return to Francoist Spain? According to Ricoeur's archive theories, it is important to interrogate Juan López Sánchez' letters because, "everything can be interrogated by a historian with the idea of finding there some information about the past".²⁵² Nevertheless, what is distinctive and remarkable about the analysis of his letters is not only their historical value, but also the fact that those letters can revolutionize the task of historians:

Mediante el estudio de estas fuentes personales, proporcionadas por los actores reales de la historia, el investigador actual puede abordar nuevas perspectivas y líneas de trabajo de carácter microsocial, que completan y contrastan la información aportada por las fuentes más convencionales; fuentes novedosas, por otro lado, que el historiador no puede ignorar si no quiere ser cómplice de determinados silencios y olvidos.²⁵³

In accordance with this and since most of the primary sources in this thesis are letters, it is necessary to draw some defining features of what has been called epistolography as a

²⁵¹ Castillo Fernández, J. & Herrero Pascual, M. (2008). Fondos sobre la Guerra Civil Española en el Archivo General de la Región de Murcia. *Anales de Documentación*, 11, pp.38-39.

²⁵² Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, p.178.

²⁵³ Martínez Marín, L. (2008). Las correspondencias de la emigración en la época contemporánea: una mirada historiográfica. *Migraciones y Exilio*, 9, pp.136-137.

historical source.²⁵⁴ In addition to this epistolography, I should start by stating a key connection between exile –political and/or economical– and correspondence:

Los escritos generados por los emigrantes y sus familias se sumergen en un universo profundamente marcado por la separación. De hecho, muchas de las personas involucradas en este proceso nunca se hubieran acercado al papel y la pluma de no haberse producido dicha ruptura.²⁵⁵

Despite the fact that Juan López Sánchez started writing letters when he was in prison in 1920s and later when he became Minister of Commerce, we may focus on his correspondence from the moment when he went to exile. And this is due the quantity and quality but also from a comparative point of view if we consider that in his archive there are very few letters prior to 1939, that is, prior to his exile. We must also take into account that every exile produced by a war entails an initial break-up and a series of separations and voids that written correspondence tries to reduce, as in an attempt to bridge the gap between the new and the old living contexts.

At this point, it is important to consider the intentions behind those letters. On the one hand, keeping in mind the hypothesis stated in the preceding paragraph, letters can be conceived metaphorically as bridges made of paper, that is, as ways of re-establishing continuity with what was familiar before exile. They fulfilled a personal, social and professional function. This can be further defined as follows: “Empleadas para mantener los lazos a pesar de la distancia, reforzando la cohesión del grupo familiar, actuaron como auxilio de la memoria, como instrumento para defender o construir una identidad, como medio para vencer la distancia”.²⁵⁶ On the other hand, one can write letters from exile for many reasons but the most basic –which is implicitly relevant in the case of Juan López Sánchez– is connected to the fear of solitude or loneliness. Not personal solitude, as he was married to Carmen Pastor, but the solitude implicit in living in a foreign country whose language is unknown, without friends, with no contacts or economic resources, and with a politically compromising past that virtually guaranteed an almost impossible return to Spain. This widespread feeling of

²⁵⁴ A non-extensive body of literature exists on the anarchist exile referring to correspondence. Such as: Álvarez Ferreras, F. (2005). *Cartas del exilio libertario. Epístolas de anarquistas ilustres a través del mundo*. Madrid: Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo; Zaragoza Ocaña, D. (2008). *Exilio 1939. Testimonio de familia*. México: Frente y vuelta; García Luis, R. (Ed.) (2008). *Fraternamente Emma. Cartas de amor y de guerra*. La Laguna: La Felguera Ediciones. Fabela, I. (1947). *Cartas al presidente Cárdenas*. México: Altamira. Flores Magón, R. (1925). *Epistolario revolucionario e íntimo*. México: Grupo Cultural Flores Magón. And three studies from Vladimir Muñoz: --(1971). *Correspondencia selecta de Francisco Ferrer Guardia*. París: Cenit. --(1967). *Correspondencia selecta de Joseph Ishill*. México: Tierra y Libertad. And --(s/f). *Contribución a la historia del anarquismo: correspondencia selecta de Federico Urales*. Toulouse: Spoir.

²⁵⁵ Martínez Marín, L. (2008). Las correspondencias de la emigración en la época contemporánea: una mirada historiográfica. *Migraciones y Exilio*, 9, p.137.

²⁵⁶ Martínez Marín, L. (2008). *op. cit.*, p.137.

loneliness in exile affected everyone, children, elderly, men, women, rich, poor, intellectuals and workers. So, loneliness –or rather the struggle to fight it– drove them to write letters:

Escribir les ayudó a sentirse menos solos, a mantener el contacto con sus familias y la esperanza del retorno, a encontrar a quienes creían perdidos, a superar traumas y las dificultades impuestas por las circunstancias que les tocó vivir, a construir una identidad sin prescindir de las costumbres y de los recuerdos del país que les vio nacer.²⁵⁷

Again it must be said that the letters brought to the surface the human side of the protagonists (anonymous or not) of history. The action of opening, reading and studying the letters of exiles entails a process of humanising these historical characters rather than merely maintaining their idealisation, something that we witness in the traditional Spanish exile historiography that is devoted to the recuperation and idealisation of individual well-known figures of Spanish Republican exile. Consequently, this epistolary research opens up the possibility to study exile emotions and feelings and even sickness from the perspective of exiles (both of the body and of the spirit), even though, officially, the letters under study may be considered merely political documents. However, this is where we find marked differences between those exiled for political reasons (like the former Minister) and those exiles for economic reasons. It is argued that while not fully eliminated, the emotional elements of their letters, always tried to avoid too much complaining and negative comments when they wrote to those who were on the other side of the “bridge”: “[...] Letters to home excluded mention of the problems encountered. On the contrary, they contained missives of encouragement”.²⁵⁸ All the miserable moments were usually bearable for exiles since they conceived of their situation as temporary: “Difficulties could be tolerated on a temporary basis, and would not be resolved through grumblings sent home”.²⁵⁹ This feature of temporal suffering an extreme situation was shared by most exiles. They conceived themselves as the forgotten people of Francoist Spain but also as the forgotten people of the world’s democracies. And against forgetting there is nothing better than to verbalise the miseries of living in exile (using the existing correspondence in this case). That is when exiles become involuntary witnesses of history:

This has to do with such literally extraordinary limit experiences –which make a difficult pathway in encountering for reception of auditors educated on the basis of a shared comprehension. This comprehension is built on the basis of a sense of human resemblance at the level of situations, feelings,

²⁵⁷ Sierra Blas, V. (2009). *Escribir desde el exilio: cartas de niños evacuados a la Rusia de Stalin*. SIECE, Universidad de Alcalá, p.3. Available online: <http://www.siece.es/pdf/actividades/hoja-presentacion-sierra-blas.pdf> [Accessed 07/04/2011].

²⁵⁸ Chamberlain, M. (2005). *Narratives of Exile and Return*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p.72.

²⁵⁹ Chamberlain, M. (2005). *op. cit.*, p.74.

thoughts, and actions. But the experience to be transmitted is that of an inhumanity with no common measure with the experience of the average person. It is in this sense that it is a question of limit experiences.²⁶⁰

The experience transmitted in Juan López Sánchez' parallels this general trend. His experiences are conveyed with spontaneity, dialogue, descriptions of limits-experiences, emotions, contradictions, fears, and hopes. In terms of format and style I have also found testimonies and even a certain kind of scatology or fixation with some themes, in particular those of diseases that affected him during his exile (I come back to this point below). Juan López Sánchez' letters –as with those of others who endured the extreme situations of exile– were also worked by an internal play between silence (concealing) and embodiment (unveiling) of words. In fact, even more important than what exiles wrote is what they did not write about, that is, the silence, and the gaps in the letters, which must not be confused with the tendency to avoid discussing precarious situations. To prevent transferring the suffering to the readers both political and economic migrants often resorted to strategies of silence: “The letters remained silent on the central problems which confronted the new migrants”.²⁶¹ This silence was accompanied, as I have explained earlier, by the temporary justification of their extreme situations and experiences:

The first response, —at least in letters home, was silence. Another response was to insist on the temporary nature of the migration, and within that to emphasise the casualness of the decision to come [...] as if so doing minimised their culpability in their actions.²⁶²

From their part, political exiles differ from the latter in that in some ways they were aware of their visibility and responsibility towards history. In this case, the exiles had internalised a degree of self-censorship, knowing that eventually their letters would become public and therefore subject to criticism. Somehow, they had assumed that history would absolve or condemn them precisely because of what they had written and, above all, because of what they had not written, not only in their letters, but also in their books, pamphlets, journals, newsletters, etc. This represents a sword of Damocles that cannot be put aside for a moment in this research. Obviously, the main problem when approaching “silences” or gaps in letters is, according to Chamberlain “how can we account for the consensus of silence, this collective, persuasive muteness which characterized the primary years of migration?”.²⁶³ Perhaps only a symbolic-philosophical explanation can shed some light. This explanation

²⁶⁰ Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, p.175.

²⁶¹ Chamberlain, M. (2005). *Narratives of Exile and Return*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p.73.

²⁶² Chamberlain, M. (2005). *op. cit.*, p.77.

²⁶³ Chamberlain, M. (2005). *op. cit.*, p.74.

should focus on discerning what is explicitly worded, what is concealed and what is left silent in the letters. Written words are graphic symbols that we can read, understand and interpret; what is concealed refers to what is not allowed to be seen; what is hidden. What is concealed also refers to the act of preventing (something) from being known or the keeping of a secret. This definition clearly has an intentional character because the author of a letter chooses knowingly how to dose the access to the information that a potential reader may have. Finally what is silenced in the letters is not always done on purpose or consciously. Silence could be inspired, for example, by a certain kind of complicity with the reader: it is not necessary to write what both writer and reader already know about one another. Silence is typical of those who share personal, social and political affinities. From a pragmatic point of view, the silence of the letters of certain historical characters can be due to the fear that they could be sentenced historically, as well as the fear that the letters might be used (sooner or later) as evidence of a personal, social and political betrayal. Finally, certain silences could be due to some embarrassing experiences that would be better not repeating in writing in order not to humiliate the writer or the reader. In the Spanish context, silences have usually been “secretos a voces”²⁶⁴ where the human condition was tested. Tremillet writes about this “secretos a voces” or whispered secrets in the context of the mass graves in hundreds of Spanish villages where everyone knew about their existence but nobody was willing to discuss about them. Reflecting further on the subject, we can read what the Viennese philosopher Wittgenstein wrote in his *Tractatus*, concretely in the aphorism 6.522: “There are, indeed, things that cannot be put into words. They make themselves manifest. They are what is mystical”.²⁶⁵ In this mystical silence there is, however, a successful communication because we can decrypt the message reading “between the lines” of these letters and reconstruct the contexts. Also the methodology described in the preceding section, with its defence of subjectivity and empathy with the object that it is being studied here, encourages that these silences can be just as meaningful. This is at least what Wittgenstein defends in the aphorism 4.1212 of his *Tractatus* when he states that: “What can be *shown*, cannot be *said*”.²⁶⁶ Wittgenstein’s book finishes with a radical conclusion referring to silence in aphorism 7: “What we cannot speak

²⁶⁴ I borrow this expression from the book: Tremillet, G. (2007). *Ghosts of Spain. Travels Through Spain And Its Silent Past*. Essex: Faber & Faber.

²⁶⁵ Wittgenstein, L. (1922). *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*. London: Kegan Paul, p.90.

²⁶⁶ Wittgenstein, L. (1922). *op. cit.*, p.45.

about we must pass over in silence".²⁶⁷ Personal correspondence teaches readers to listen to this silence as an indirect and empathic way of learning.

After this brief philosophical digression, it is time to descend from the world of ideas to the world of facts because, as Wittgenstein would say in the aphorism 1.1, "The world is the totality of facts, not of things".²⁶⁸ Having come this far in the analysis of Juan López Sánchez' archive, it is necessary to delve into his vital experience –experience of space and time, of the self and others—²⁶⁹ where he constructed, justified and put into practice a discourse of return to Francoist Spain. But this will be a task to develop in the next chapter.

²⁶⁷ Wittgenstein, L. (1922). *op. cit.*, p.90.

²⁶⁸ Wittgenstein, L. (1922). *op. cit.*, p.45.

²⁶⁹ Ricoeur speaks about a different vital experience reflected in the memory: "The three subjects of the attribution of memories: Ego, Collectives, Close Relations". In: Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, pp.124-132.

Chapter 4

Exile as a Symptom of the “Germen of War”

I suspect that, owing to unknown causes, the inner dwelling of the Spaniards was captured long ago by hate, which remains entrenched there, waging war against the world. Now, hatred is a feeling which leads to the extinction of values. [...] In this war the universe has become for the Spaniard something rigid, dry, sordid and deserted.²⁷⁰

In the case of the Spanish Civil War, exile can be seen in a range considerably of different ways. This chapter is an attempt to analyse exile as a continuation of the hate displayed among Spaniards. As the chapter intends to demonstrate, there were certain groups that understood exile as a continuation of war by other means. For the Francoist authorities (also for Juan López Sánchez), those living in exile for a long period were fanatics for whom it was almost impossible to mend their ways. In Juan López Sánchez' opinion, exiles were politically inefficient, combative, fanatical and unable to reach a satisfactory agreement. For him, the exiles' lives were stuck in time in 1936 and could never be reset to current time because of their fanaticism and stubbornness. The former Minister conceived of exile as a disease or trauma, a symptom of the seeds of war living in the hearts of the Spaniards. If we pay attention to the former Minister's metaphors, exile was a skeleton, a shadow of yesterday unable to look positively to the future. It also was an anachronistic skeleton, anchored in 1936, attached to pre-war social and political agendas and unable to heal the diseases of contemporary Spain. Then, again in his opinion, none of the above-described civic virtues (prudence, public participation, solidarity, tolerance, social responsibility, patriotism and altruism) in Chapter 2, *Civic republican virtues in exile* had penetrated deeply into those Spaniards living abroad. Those Spaniards were the dispossessed of the Spanish Civil War and that was not something that one could be proud but quite the opposite. This was not a specific Spanish case. As Cesarini pinpoints “The exiled have nothing to hand off except doctrines

²⁷⁰ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *Meditations on Quixote*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, pp.32-33.

and convictions; hence they fight over ideas like dogs over bones".²⁷¹ This ideological stubbornness and resentment may be explained in economic terms or rather by analysing the pragmatic side of surviving in exile. The element that sought to ensure the physical survival of those living in exile ruined a good part of their forces and energies. Therefore to stay clinging to an ideology and/or political party was, after all, secondary in exile; survival was paramount. This practical side that every exile has to face has been in most cases neglected academically:

For exiles, that struggle is all the more necessary, all the more difficult, and all the more likely to require complex negotiations in which an intellectual is forced to make concessions. Not the kind of personal sacrifices for the sake of ethical principles that Said and Ayala call for, but sacrifices of ethical principles for the sake of survival.²⁷²

As mentioned previously, the main problem is to assume, as is often the case, that while in exile there was a homogeneous community. We need to admit that exile consisted of a plural morality and a plurality of characters. Homogeneous communities in exile, according to Juan López Sánchez, were hostile, hermetic and almost dictatorial since, by their very nature, they denied the individuality advocated by classical anarchism. Juan López Sánchez was not the only one who defended this idea; another theoretician has mentioned that those kind of closed communities show "hostilidad hacia quienes están fuera de la comunidad, y la intolerancia hacia quienes no comparten valores, instituciones y prácticas".²⁷³ Edward Said also defends that massive or collective exiles can generate that kind of behaviour: "an exaggerated sense of group solidarity and a passionate hostility to outsiders, even those who may in fact be in the same predicament as you".²⁷⁴ Against a collective or shared exile experience, the former Minister chose (or perhaps was forced) to be a 'lone wolf' disconnected to a certain extent from the Spanish community in exile. He preferred to live a solitary exile. As Edward Said stated: "[...] 'exile' carries with it, I think, a touch of solitude and spirituality".²⁷⁵ For the former Minister, the opposite, that is, integrating himself in an exile community, would have been like falling into a dictatorship, with the resulting death of freedom and other situations that at the end were worse (or equal) to Francoism. His reasoning and justification involved a lot of criticism against the so-called "republican virtues".

²⁷¹ Quoted in: Cesarini, D. (1998). *Arthur Koestler. The Homeless Mind*. London: William Heinemann, p.247.

²⁷² Faber, S. (2006). The Privilege of Pain: The Exile as Ethical Model in Max Aub, Francisco Ayala, and Edward Said. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Crossroads*, 3 (1), p.29.

²⁷³ Peña, J. (2009). El retorno de la virtud cívica. In: Rubio, J., & Morales, J.M. (coord). *Democracia, ciudadanía y educación*, Madrid: Akal, 2009, p.92.

²⁷⁴ Said, E. (2000). *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays (Convergences: Inventories of the Present)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.178.

²⁷⁵ Said, E. (2000). *op. cit.*, p.181.

Juan López Sánchez and the republican virtues as demagogogy

For Juan López Sánchez, the values described in *Civic republican virtues in exile* were nothing but feigned pose, empty theory, propaganda, or in other words, pure demagogogy born from a non-virtuous state of jealousy and ideological blindness. As E. Said explains, this is “Because nothing is secure. Exile is a jealous state”.²⁷⁶ According to this conception, exiles would be jealous in three ways. First they were jealous of those who returned without worrying too much about what people might say. They also would be jealous of those who integrated successfully into the new adopted country, and finally, jealous of how easily the native people of their countries of refuge enjoyed a life without hardship, and with linguistic, family, economic and social roots: “Exiles look at non-exiles with resentment. They belong in their surroundings, you feel, whereas an exile is always out of place”.²⁷⁷ Once Juan López Sánchez had verified the loss of sense of direction among the so-called Spanish exiles, and considering the impossibility of reaching a common project or vision for a future post-Franco society with these unrealistic civic virtues—, he undertook as his main task the defence of his individualism (which he justified himself appealing to the most individualistic branch of anarchism, rooted in liberalism and almost in the contemporary *laissez-faire* of the so-called Anarcho-capitalism).²⁷⁸ He devoted himself entirely to this aim, driven by a kind of selfishness that focused on the pursuit of personal happiness and safety regardless of others. In this phase of his exile the former Minister could be regarded essentially an individual moved by passions or selfish interests, and against the image of the ‘homogeneous community in exile’. Juan López Sánchez, in fact, lived more or less away from the Spanish exile communities; moreover, he was uncomfortable even with the title of ‘exile’, which Faber conceptualised in the following terms:

Exiliarse significa adaptarse e integrarse, por fuerza, a otro país que el propio. Implica ajustarse a dependencias, obligaciones y lealtades impuestas a cambio de la protección y el refugio proporcionados por un gobierno extranjero. Es un proceso de negociación, a veces doloroso o imposible [...].²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Said, E. (2000). *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays (Convergences: Inventories of the Present)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.178.

²⁷⁷ Said, E. (2000). *op. cit.*, p.180.

²⁷⁸ Heider, U. (1994). *Anarchism: Left, Right and Green*. San Francisco: City Lights Publishers. Especially chapter 3: ‘Anarcho-capitalism’ pp.92-150.

²⁷⁹ Faber, S. (2005). Silencios y tabúes del exilio español en México: Historia oficial vs. Historia oral. *UNED. Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 17 (5), p.380.

He never wanted to adapt or integrate into the host countries where he had lived since 1939 because he considered this would be a betrayal to his Spanishness (See Chapter 6 *The Patriotic Imperative of Returning*). At first, all he wanted out of his exile was to save his life from the repression of Franco regime, especially since those who had held management positions during the Second Republic were automatically condemned during post-war Spain. The *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas* [Law of Political Responsibilities] created by Franco, considered “[h]aber desempeñado cargos o misiones de carácter político o administrativo de índole civil y calificada confianza por nombramiento del Gobierno del Frente Popular, con retribución o sin ella” to be a very serious crime.²⁸⁰ Such a restrictive law immediately denied the right to enter the country to those who sympathised with some of the political parties and trade unions that formed the Popular Front. For most exiles however, exile appeared as a contemporary political punishment.²⁸¹ Having closed the doors to Spain, the “community of exile” began to gather, supposedly joined together by a rather obvious agenda: to demand that Franco leave power, by hook or by crook. But for the former Minister, any attempts by the exile community to discuss the basic details of this agenda resulted in conflicts, inability to reach agreements, lust for power, revenge, and worse, further disunity, which led to hopelessness and pessimism. The Francoist propaganda and the passivity of the so-called international democracies further undermined the morale of the Spanish exiles; Juan López Sánchez was not an exception. Republicans had to face defeatism at the end of the war, while they were leaving Spain not only for exile but also once again in exile. For the former Minister exile was an odyssey, something to be ashamed of as a Spaniard, a heavy international stigma carried by the defeated Republican Spain. At that point many Spaniards living in exile started to think that not only had those international democracies abandoned them but also the very Government of the Spanish Second Republic. This sense of defeatism began especially after 1950: the Francoist Regime was admitted into most international organisations thanks to its excellent relations with the United States and as a result of that Spain was then admitted to the United Nations in 1955. Consequently, for Juan López Sánchez the years in exile were wasteful; a waste of talents, intellectuals and scientists who, had they remained in Spain, would have enhanced the country almost to the extent as in the memorable imperialist times.²⁸² These considerations put the former Minister into the

²⁸⁰ BOE (13/feb/1939). *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas*. Madrid, Chapter II, Art. 4d, p. 824.

²⁸¹ Said, E. (2000). *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays (Convergences: Inventories of the Present)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.175.

²⁸² This *intelligentsia* would be part of the so-called ‘España peregrina’: “[...] las grandes figuras intelectuales de la llamada España peregrina integrada en el pensamiento superior de la República”. In: Esteva Fabregat, C.

regeneracionista movement.²⁸³ Broadly speaking, *Regenerationism* was an intellectual and political movement from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spain. In other words: “Regenerationism was an old intellectual tradition stretching back to the seventeenth-century vogue for instant remedies for the nation’s early decline”.²⁸⁴ The theoreticians (Joaquín Costa, Lucas Mallada, Ricardo Macías Picavea, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Ángel Ganivet, Ramiro de Maeztu, and José Ortega y Gasset –among many others) wanted to find radical (if not authoritative) solutions for the misfortune of Spain. They assumed that Spaniards were living under a permanent crisis due to the lack of strong Spanish nationalism or *hispanidad*.²⁸⁵ These intellectuals proposed eliminating political parties and the conquest of Spanish traditional values combined with increasing the cultural level among the Spanish people and modernising the country.²⁸⁶

Another consideration is that typical reasoning accepts that exiles enjoy more freedom because they live abroad in democratic countries. However, according to the former Minister, the ways in which Spanish exile groups and communities operated and organised themselves collectively (at least the anarchist ones) were utterly undemocratic, marked by favouritism and redolent of mafia-style tactics that included exclusion, expulsion, persecution and censorship. In the anarchist exile context, such closed and inscrutable communities –as the possibilistic Juan López Sánchez defended– would lead to tribalism,²⁸⁷ to exclusion and to the immobility in the name of the ‘sacred’ anarchist principles dictated by the CNT in Toulouse. What more, in ‘its hostility to outsiders’ if we are to follow Juan López Sánchez’ reasoning, from its headquarters in the south of France, the exiled CNT, could be seen as having turned ‘exile’ into a fetish, that is, into a perverse object of worship with almost magical powers:

En definitiva, la fracción ortodoxa fue amplia mayoría en el exilio, mientras que la fracción possibilista lo fue en el interior. Se puede decir que el futuro del anarcosindicalismo empezó desde este momento, y a este respecto son premonitorias las palabras de Federica Montseny, ‘colaboración significa

(2009). Exilio y desexilio: experiencia de una Antropología. México-Madrid-Barcelona. *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 13 (28), p.14.

²⁸³ See Faber, S. (2002). *Exile and Cultural Hegemony: Spanish Intellectuals in Mexico, 1939–1975*. Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, p.125.

²⁸⁴ Balfour, S. (1995). Riot, regeneration and reaction: Spain in the aftermath of the 1898 Disaster. *The Historical Journal*, (38), p.411.

²⁸⁵ See Maeztu, R. (2006). *Defensa de la Hispanidad*. Madrid: Homo Legens.

²⁸⁶ See Balfour, S. (1995). ‘The Loss of Empire, Regenerationism, and the Forging of a Myth of national Identity’. In: *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 25-31.

²⁸⁷ Juan López Sánchez pejoratively called the orthodox faction of the CNT led by Montseny the “pieles rojas” [Red Indians] due to their support of more radical and extreme solutions, being uncompromising supporters of direct action and rejected political collaboration.

transigencia y lo inteligente es mantenerse salvajemente aislados'. El sector integrista, cada vez más 'pieles rojas', tomó buena nota de las recomendaciones de la ex ministra, e hizo de ellas la forma de actuación de la central confederal.²⁸⁸

According to liberals, this homogenized collectivity "a menudo supone la anulación de la propia individualidad, de la existencia privada de los sujetos, reducidos meramente a miembros de una entidad colectiva".²⁸⁹ Juan López Sánchez even went further in his negative interpretation of the CNT in Toulouse defining the Spanish anarchist exile as a fundamentalist and nationalist institution. Relating to the direct relationship between nationalism and exile, Eduard Said wrote:

Nationalism is an assertion of belonging in and to a place, a people, a heritage. It affirms the home created by a community of language, culture, and customs; and, by so doing, it tends off exile, fight to prevent its ravages. Indeed, the interplay between nationalism and exile is like Hegel's dialectic of servant and master, opposes informing and constituting each other. All nationalisms in their early stages develop from a condition of estrangement.²⁹⁰

For Juan López Sánchez there was nothing more anti-anarchist than the imposition of criteria on how to live one's life in exile, as dictated by the CNT in Toulouse, headed by the group Montseny-Esgleas –the "Red Indians" [*Pieles Rojas*]. In Juan López Sánchez' opinion, the CNT leadership exerted its power over its members under the threat of expulsion and public denigration of the transgressors' names in the Spanish anarchist press in exile. His determination to return, and the on-going negotiations and justifications marginalised him to the point of becoming exiled by the exiles. This is a poignant situation highlighted by Said regarding the more recent conflict between Palestine and Israel: "Perhaps this is the most extraordinary of exile's fates: to have been exiled by exiles –to relive the actual process of up-rooting at the hands of the exiles".²⁹¹ Going against the homogeneous collective, the former Minister upheld maximum autonomy as a virtue, but in the process he forgot the other exiles. For Tocqueville (a classical liberal) the two things were not mutually exclusive:

En primer lugar, viene a decir que nuestro interés fundamental es la *autonomía*, aquí entendida en el sentido republicano de ser *sui iuris*, dueño de sí mismo, sujeto que se autogobierna y no depende de la voluntad arbitraria de otro. Y en segundo lugar, que la *autonomía* no es un bien que podamos conseguir solos, sino que se alcanza en el espacio público.²⁹²

²⁸⁸ Herrerín López, A. (2004). *La CNT durante el franquismo - clandestinidad y exilio (1939-1975)*. Madrid, Siglo XXI, p.80.

²⁸⁹ Peña, J. (2009). El retorno de la virtud cívica. In: Rubio, J., & Morales, J.M. (coord). *Democracia, ciudadanía y educación*, Madrid: Akal, 2009, p.92.

²⁹⁰ Said, E. (2000). *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays (Convergences: Inventories of the Present)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.176.

²⁹¹ Said, E. (2000). *op. cit.*, p.178.

²⁹² Peña, J. (2009). El retorno de la virtud cívica. In: Rubio, J., & Morales, J.M. (coord). *Democracia, ciudadanía y educación*, Madrid: Akal, 2009, p.97.

Juan López Sánchez' personal way of understanding “autonomy” and “libertarian ideology” were considered controversial, especially within his former *compañeros* of the CNT who did not go along with his insistence regarding the institutional and political bicephalism of the CNT (exile/interior). For him, there was only one CNT and this one was in Spain, not in exile. According to the former Minister, the future of Spain's future (if you forgive the repetition) should be decided within Spain and not abroad in exile. In some way, Juan López Sánchez (in 1965) practiced what he preached with the purpose of overcoming any likely feelings of revenge among exiles and within Franco's Spain. In this sense, the former Minister seemed to want to join the movement of official reconciliation that the Franco government tried to promote in its period of *aperturismo* or openness. Hence, according to Juan López Sánchez exiles had to negotiate their immediate return and reincorporation to Spain. (See Chapter 7 *De-exile and Collaboration with the “Enemy”*)

Following the same reasoning, apart from being an unpatriotic position, exile entailed political castration for the former Minister. Juan López Sánchez was a political figure halfway between an intellectual and an anonymous or rather run-of-the-mill Spanish exile. But, above all, he was a committed politician (we should remember that he was the first to promote the “Manifesto of the 30” by requesting that anarchism became a political institution) and in exile he was extremely frustrated at being forcedly depoliticised or at least, away from public decision-making. In the end the exile is always a social outcast even when he or she has reached an elevated status while in exile:

Para muchos, el exilio resultó en una imposibilidad de participar e influir políticamente en la comunidad nacional en la que vivían y trabajaban. En este sentido el exilio supuso una “despolitización” de una generación que, hasta ese momento, había estado sumamente politizada.²⁹³

It is clear that while it may sound controversial, exile –in political terms (not literary or human)– was sterile: Franco died of old age 39 years after coming to power and not even those in power during the democratic transition took a special interest in the exiles; once the dictator died: “Aún había algo peor, los exiliados no eran siquiera héroes del pasado, sino fantasmas. No eran nada, el exilio no existía en la memoria de los españoles; y si había algo peor que morir en tierra extraña era morir en el olvido”.²⁹⁴ For years, the beliefs and desires

²⁹³ Faber, S. (2005). Silencios y tabúes del exilio español en México. Historia oficial vs. historia oral, *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie V, Historia contemporánea*, 17, 2005, p.386.

²⁹⁴ Cordero Oliveros, I. (1996). El retorno del exiliado. *Estudios de historia moderna y contemporánea de México*, 17, 1996, p.150.

of the exiles were sadly beyond the expectation. This is at least one of the controversial theses defended by Juan López Sánchez in his voluminous correspondence.

For the former Minister, those virtues that the official CNT in exile was always going on were easily refuted looking not at their discourses but at their practical or ethical behaviour. It seems as if Juan López Sánchez would ask rhetorically: To what extent is it possible to defend those republican public virtues if the private lives of Spanish exiles were full of vice or disease? He based his opinions in a way that welcomed Francoist reasoning. First, according to this, a majority of Spaniards living in exile had become “professional exiles” and they had lost the opportunity to serve Spain through estrangement from their homeland. In other words, for certain groups within Franco’s Spain, the exile proved to be a lucrative business –as the former Minister pointed out in the below quote. So it is not that exiles, as a community, did not return because they were ashamed about returning to a regime that was dictatorial, illegitimate, and Fascist but because of economic reasons and individual economic interests. In fact, for Juan López Sánchez one of the risks of moving to America in 1954 (when the Francoist Regime began to receive international acceptance) was the economic enrichment of some Spanish exiles and the consequently forgetting of the so-called liberation of Spain:

Son muchos, demasiados, los españoles que se perdieron para la causa de España desde el momento que se acomodaron en tierras del Nuevo Mundo. Claro que también se ha dado ese caso en los que no emigraron, pero en tan grande proporción. El que yo haya decidido ahora emigrar de Europa, no significa el menor cambio en mi actitud frente a esa cuestión, ni muchísimo menos quiere decir que yo lo dé ya todo por perdido. Sigo pensando que cuanto mayor sea la proximidad a España, más eficaz será nuestra labor, y aún más, pienso hoy con más convicciones que nunca que únicamente pudiendo actuar dentro de España es como podrá dar frutos el esfuerzo mancomunado de todos los españoles para liberar a nuestro país.²⁹⁵

The previous argument was based on the idea that proximity to Spain would allow immediate return if the political situation in the country changed unexpectedly. The key was for the former Minister that exiles had to be aware of the situation within in Spain, and that in a time without high-speed communications technology or fast maritime or aerial travel, to live far from Europe was a guarantee to forget the obligations towards Spain. In spite of making this argument and very soon after he wrote those reflections (the Fifties), he moved to Mexico (part of the so-called *Nuevo Mundo*), justifying his decision bringing up language, job conditions and, above all, health conditions. Nevertheless, he never established any lucrative business. Juan López Sánchez’ position is instructive because it highlights the fears of a part

²⁹⁵ In: (JLS_991_01_15/23-March-1954/Brighton).

of the Spanish exile of becoming economic migrants. The Spanish proverb: “No se puede estar en misa y repicando” which literally means “you cannot attend mass and ring the bells in the belfry” [or “It is not possible to have a finger in every pie”], reflects the origin of these fears. As such, from a moral point of view, Juan López Sánchez was quite clear that the probability of having an efficient influence over many different political activities in exile was incompatible with the newfound prosperity of certain exiles. Taking an obvious example, those exiles or refugees who managed to become rich while in exile did not contribute to the Republican Government in exile. Félix Gordón Ordás, the Prime Minister of the Republic in exile (January 1951-April 1960), complained in these terms in a letter (dated 1954) addressed to Juan López Sánchez:

Todo mi periodo de Presidente que suma aproximadamente otros dos años, he tenido que sostener el Gobierno, en mi calidad de Ministro de Hacienda que soy también, apelando a la generosidad de entidades y amigos extranjeros, pues desgraciadamente los españoles refugiados, aun aquellos que han hecho verdaderas fortunas en la emigración, no ayudan con nada a la realización de nuestra obra, que es por eso cada vez más difícil.²⁹⁶

By the mid- and late-fifties, where did those civic Republic virtues go? Asked the former Minister. Juan López Sánchez concluded that Republican virtues such as solidarity, public participation, social responsibility, patriotism and altruism were –if something– an *exilic* myth rather than a reality. In his reasoning, they were mainly a symptom of a disease, if not directly veiled hypocrisy. To place dreams and great discourses before reality and pragmatism was –in his opinion– the most important reason why still half of a million of Spaniards remained in his exile. Then, my intention in the next chapter is to set out Juan López Sánchez’ conception of pragmatism within his discourse of justifying return to Franco’s Spain.

²⁹⁶ In: (JLS_990_6_8/20-March-1954/México).

Chapter 5

Pragmatism as a Way of Surviving in Exile

As will be discussed in this chapter, for Juan López Sánchez, the discourses made by the leaders of the official anarchist movement in exile were victims of the “absolutism of desires”.²⁹⁷ In those discourses, the rhetoric (synonymous with empty verbosity and mere propaganda) were full of romantic and sentimental elements far from reality.²⁹⁸ In his opinion, those elements condemned the anarchist movement in exile from having their feet fixed firmly in reality. This “absolutism of desires” promoted the idea of overthrowing Franco and restoring the Republic –at any cost. However, according to the former Minister, only the Spaniards living in the interior of Spain could find a solution for democratising the country. The projects of the Republican government in exile were –according to him– exhausted already the early fifties mainly because of internal disputes among exiles.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ As I have already mentioned at the beginning of my thesis, the “absolutism of reality” is opposed to the “absolutism of the images and desires”. Neither of these expressions is attributed to Juan López Sánchez. They are categories theorized in: Blumenberg, H. (1990). *Work on Myth (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought)*. Cambridge and London: MIT Press.

²⁹⁸ “En nada me ha sorprendido a mí el divorcio, o aislamiento que se ha producido entre la emigración que salió de España en 1939, y la realidad española, desde el punto de vista de los estratos vivos del pueblo y del resurgimiento del nuevo espíritu “revolucionario”. Nosotros, como sector, no nos hemos librado del proceso de aislamiento, y sufrimos las mismas taras y los mismos errores y las mismas inclinaciones pancistas que los demás sectores de la emigración republicana. Desgraciadamente el proceso del interior con el del exterior ha sido divergente, y digo desgraciadamente por la merma de ayuda que significan las “tendencias” del *exilio*. Y está sucediendo lo que tenía que suceder. España resurge por sí misma. ¿Qué otra cosa podíamos esperar? Y resurge con nuevos valores que desconocen las viejas o clásicas definiciones. Es como si el mismo barro –arcilla- adoptase una nueva forma de vida. Será necesario estudiar lo que se está formando en España y saber en qué forma nosotros vamos a insertarnos en la nueva España. Me refiero a una nueva España de espíritu libre, democrático, atenta a las palpitaciones de orden constructivo que imponen la ciencia y la técnica modernas”. In: (JLS_237_7_20/12-Feb-1964/Mexico).

²⁹⁹ “Todo lo que no surja de allí dentro, será de poca importancia. De ahí que uno sienta cierta indiferencia por todo lo que no sea la intervención activa en el único terreno práctico donde se puede trabajar. Y a nosotros, exiliados, eso no está vedado, a menos de incurrir en una actitud quijotesca que nos colocaría, sin provecho para nadie, en soberano ridículo. Hay que procurar, pues, alargar la vida todo lo posible por si nos es dado llegar a

The Impossible Reinstatement of the Republic

This previous quixotic attitude did not get the best out of the exile, but only removed the exiles further from the real circumstances of Spain and the practical views for solutions for Francoist Spain. Then, it is not strange that Juan López Sánchez conceived the general exile attitude as extremely ridiculous. This sort of idealism (but also the misappropriation of the funds of the Republic)³⁰⁰ made the strategic administration by exiles a chimerical pursuit. From 1939 to 1965, the former Minister complained about the hermetic use of the information coming from the “official CNT” (in exile). At the end of his exile in Mexico he complained, using these terms:

Una de las causas de que la pobreza mental y la falta de vitalidad sea cada día más alarmante entre los círculos de lo que presume ser “militancia” de la CNT es el hermetismo en que cada pequeño grupo se encierra, la irrefrenable inclinación al dirigismo (vergonzante) porque cada pequeño núcleo se considera Vestal o algo así como una Albacea de los intereses de la organización, la falta de confianza y la falta de respeto a los derechos de los demás, y el corolario de todo esto que era la falta de circulación de ideas y noticias de intereses que ha creado una “arterioesclerosis” orgánica determinante de insuficiencia funcional, de parálisis progresiva, además de otro gravísimo defecto: indiferencia y falta de interés.

El mal no es nuevo ni ha florecido en la vida del exilio. Viene de lejos y es la funesta herencia que nos legó el grupismo ácrata, estimulado con algo de la idiosincrasia de lo español. Cualquier “quidam” se considera ombligo del mundo. Hay, además, y esto si es fruto de nuestra postguerra, una predisposición mental al miedo cívico, a querer enterrar el recuerdo de graves errores, a desconocernos cuando es hora del examen de los hechos para trazar el nuevo camino a seguir. En cierta forma, se prefiere inconscientemente el suicido orgánico ante la historia antes de proclamar el fracaso de nuestros “teólogos”.³⁰¹

Consequently, in Juan López Sánchez’ opinion the leaders of the Republic in exile, due to the impossibility of returning to Spain, had to invent their conception of the civic republican virtues, and of the coming-soon restoration of the Republic in Spain. When the truth – according to him – was that those leaders were inefficient and deceitful embezzlers.³⁰² In

ver esa ascensión de la curva a la que usted se refiere en su carta. Y de pasada echar una mano en lo que se pueda”. In: (JLS_990_2_43/19-Dec-1953/ Brighton).

³⁰⁰ For example, José Pinedo (a friend of Juan López Sánchez living among the exiles in France) called into question the honesty of those who ran the CNT in France: “Quiero comunicarte, también, que hemos obtenido últimamente un gran éxito al lograr que, en lo sucesivo, la SAC nos envíe a nosotros directamente toda la recaudación de Suecia, destinada a España, y no a la rue Belfort, como hasta ahora venía haciéndolo”. In: (JLS_237_9_16/20-Feb-1947/ Toulouse).

³⁰¹ In: (JLS_997_01_05/11-January-1965/Mexico).

³⁰² “Lo importante será conseguir unas garantías mínimas de actuación y de libertad, y esas no creo que las puedan impedir ni regatear quienes pueden y han de quitar a Franco de en medio. Más que la República –esa República de las instituciones insepultas que anda por el exilio- debe interesarnos la democracia, y conseguida ésta, que no se pierda. Y lo más difícil, no será sólo terminar con el totalitarismo y la violencia de hoy a cargo del franquismo, sino evitar que esta violencia sea remplazada por otra, que los ánimos están en todos lados cargados de intenciones violentas. España necesita liquidar la guerra civil y el espíritu de la guerra civil. Ese es el gran objetivo de este momento, y a menos que no se acometa abiertamente y con todas las de la ley, será imposible pensar en nada estable”. In: (JLS_237_8_16/12-Jan-1948/ Brighton).

other words, for the former Minister, the Republic in exile and its leaders would never be able to resolve the problems of the Spanish refugees. And that was because at the end of the Spanish Civil War they were using the rest of the money of the Republic to save their friends:

Del problema de la emigración sólo informan, y a medias, de la parte positiva, pero ocultan la verdad, la sangrante verdad respecto a las posibilidades de la emigración hacia América: Ocultan, por ejemplo, que México no acepta más que VEINTE MIL PERSONAS. Y Chile CUATRO MIL más. Ocultan, además, el sistema de selección y sus consecuencias, que serán las de dejar en tierra al grueso de nuestra militancia, y que, por la fuerza de los hechos, ES EN FRANCIA DÓNDE SE TENDRÁ QUE RESOLVER EL PROBLEMA DE LOS REFUGIADOS. No hay, pues, ni orientación ni honradez y sentimiento de responsabilidad para situarse.³⁰³

Thus it is not hard to understand that for the former Minister the Republican Government in exile and its institutions were “los detritus de la política española”.³⁰⁴ In another letter in the context of the WWII, he referred to the CNT in exile as an organization composed of “demented persons” or “lunatics”.³⁰⁵ He even considered that the honour or virtue of the CNT in exile was just a fake attitude. In the following letter, he called into question whether the money collected would end up in hands of the needy refugees or in hands of the leaders of the CNT living in Toulouse or in hands of “mercenaries.”

Existe una tensión enorme en la mayoría de militantes. En una carta recibida de Juanel, se dice que la suscripción pro-España ha llegado a dos millones y medio de francos, pero que la CN de Toulouse no ha hecho ninguna entrega. Por el contrario, las únicas salidas que hay son para pagar “mercenarios” – son sus palabras- que introducen en España con el propósito de minar la organización. Todo indica que esta gente está decidida a todo para conseguir sus fines. No sé si ha perdido la cabeza o se la han vendido. Ambas cosas son probables. De todas formas, puede que a la larga esto sea saludable, pues permitirá limpiar la organización de chiflados e indeseables.³⁰⁶

The tone of the letter is very accusative and serious. In fact, it describes to what extent the money of the Spanish exile institutions was used to support the armed fighting against Franco while those living in exile suffered, struggling to survive. According to Juan López Sánchez, the militants of the CNT clearly did not know what was going on with the distribution of the economic aid, otherwise they would have refused to waste the money in continuing a violent fight against Franco. In the same way, for Juan López Sánchez the Republic (1931-1939) was not the solution because it was based on bourgeois principles:

³⁰³ In: (JLS_990_4_5/06-June-1939/Melun).

³⁰⁴ “[...] Contrariamente a la extrañeza que te ha producido lo del SERE, a mí nada me coge de sorpresa tratándose de esos detritus de la política española”. In: (JLS_990_1_27/31-Oct-1940/Oxford).

³⁰⁵ “[...] El flaco servicio que prestan a la organización esa partida de dementes que constituyen la CN de Francia”. In: (JLS_237_8_13/24-Oct-1945/ Brighton).

³⁰⁶ In: (JLS_990_1_39/25-Sep-1945/ Brighton).

Hemos visto cómo el Gobierno estaba dividido en dos fracciones: la de los sinceramente revolucionarios por su procedencia y por su historia, y la que operaba desde los puestos de mando del Estado español al servicio de los intereses de la República democrática y burguesa.³⁰⁷

For the former Minister, everyone was aware of that antagonism between the revolutionary faction and the bourgeois faction. Nevertheless, even after the experiences of war and exile, the majority of exiles did not take into account the “absolutism of reality”, that is, the fact that Franco was in power and the international democracies seemed were not going to take part in the idea of overthrowing Franco or in the restoration of the Republic. Those discourses, in short, were not means of illustrating the exiles’ crude reality but were a symptom of a divorce from reality. Following Juan López Sánchez’ reasoning, the exiles had in their minds a number of *a priori* conceptions; these ideas interfered with the proper mediation with reality, or in other words, for the former Minister the exiles would have been tied to the “absolutism of their desires” and that dragged them into the hell of dogmatism, fanaticism, intolerance and ineffectiveness. For him, those in exile were living in a world of fantasy; they had lost all sense of reality, not even being conscious that their wishes and desires could not always be achieved. Briefly, they were human beings closed on themselves, for whom whatever external event (whatever happened outside of their control) could not change their *a priori* vision of the reality of the Spain in exile. In light of his writings and at the end of his exile (1966), he recognised a gap in his life between theory and practice. However, for him the “absolutism of reality” (or “imperative of reality”) was above any metaphysical considerations or well-meaning ideas:

Como tú mismo reconoces, no obstante, ese es un punto que todavía está sobre la mesa de discusión, aparte que una cosa es lo escrito en los convenios y otra el imperativo de la realidad que se impone al llevarlos a la práctica. Otras cuestiones son las que tienen verdadera y fundamental importancia.³⁰⁸

Reality and Circumstancialism were closely tied for him. The limits of Juan López Sánchez’ Circumstancialism were so strict that when he wrote his friends about this topic at the beginning of his exile, he insisted on reality being above friendship. If ideals were offered as restraints imposed on the exiles for emotional reasons and for raising their morale, then Juan López Sánchez proposed his personal doctrine of pragmatism. The problem within this personal theory of pragmatism is how to maintain a proper and stable balance between the excesses of honesty and friendship. For him no friendship was more important than his political truth:

³⁰⁷ In: (JLS_990_08_36/?/?).

³⁰⁸ In: (JLS_997_01_20/03-January-1966/Mexico).

No sé si te convencerán mis deslavazados juicios, que más que argumentos, son afirmaciones. Pero quedan dichos con suficiente claridad. No sé si los compartirás o no. Pero amigo Torres, es hora de ser un poco aristotélico. La amistad a un lado y la verdad a otro. Y antes que la amistad, la verdad.³⁰⁹

In the following letter (addressed to D. García C.), Onofre García Tirador (a Spanish anarchist exile in Mexico) defends Juan López Sánchez' attitude against those living in exile dominated by illusion and utopic ideas even in 1967:

Por conocer a López lo asocio –mientras lo contrario no sea demostrable– entre los hombres prácticos de la corriente renovadora y en la línea de avance en la marcha de los acontecimientos, según lo determinen las realidades siempre imperantes sin moldes mezquinos o paralizantes de principios inflexibles que, niegan la lucha diaria de mejores cristalizaciones hacia mejores conquistas, aunque sean de carácter mínimo.³¹⁰

Facing New Realities and Circumstances

In the previous reflections, Juan López Sánchez was described as a practical or pragmatic man who followed the reformist current, one who was capable of changing his mind with the course of the events. And, above all, he was conceived of as a person without paralysing or inflexible principles. In summary, it seems that Juan López Sánchez changed his ideology with the circumstances. “I am myself plus my circumstance, and if I don’t save it I don’t save myself”³¹¹ theorised the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset. Juan López Sánchez’ circumstance was the exile but he wanted to save himself from that circumstance and he did what he thought was best to overcome that circumstance. But his “political conversion” and open discourse of return to Franco’s Spain was a gradual process as we will see immediately below.

For instance, in 1940 rather than living in an exile full of past dreams and illusions, Juan López Sánchez turned to a relatively pragmatic mode that it worked as a justification for negotiations and collaborations with certain actors of the Francoist Spain. For example, according to him, the CNT ultimately based its ideology on theories and dreams and not on realities or historical circumstances. He wrote the following to his anarchist friend Domingo Torres Maeso (he also was in favour of collaborating with different political parties):

Cuando yo busco la relación con otros militantes para ver si están de acuerdo con este punto de vista, es porque preveo todas las dificultades que se opondrán al paso de estas, para mí, tan sencillas verdades. Sé que volverán a gritar “los del lastre pasado”, se intentará volver a la demagogia, al doctrinariismo fanático e insolvente, al apoliticismo furibundo, y que no faltarán los especuladores sentimentalistas

³⁰⁹ In: (JLS_990_4_7/26-June-1939/Melun).

³¹⁰ In: (JLS_237_7_1/25-Aug-1967/ San Miguel de Allende).

³¹¹ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *Meditations on Quixote*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, p.42.

para intentar la vuelta a las cavernas. Todo eso lo sé. Y porque calculo que contra eso hay que oponer la verdad de los hechos, la fuerza de las experiencias, el interés nacional compatible con el interés de clase, creo que no podemos perder más tiempo sin dar a conocer nuestro pensamiento, o por lo menos, ver quienes podemos formar el cuadro, núcleo de militantes que estén dispuestos a no salirse de la CNT y a trabajar porque dentro de ella prevalezca la verdad.³¹²

For him the best antidote or medicine against both the “germen of war”, (see Chapter 4 *Exile as a symptom of the germen of war*) and the “absolutism of desires” was to distance oneself from the exilic mentality. In Juan López Sánchez’ case, this distancing process would have at least two different nuances. First, it involved distancing himself physically and ideologically in relation to the so-called “Spanish exile or community”. Second, distancing can be also understood in a temporal sense. The constant and obsessive act of looking back to the past by those Spaniards living in exile was what sterilised –at least in Juan López Sánchez’ correspondence— whatever projects they proposed for overcoming the exile and returning *en masse* to Spain. As mentioned earlier, the seed of war occupied the thoughts of the Spanish exiles as a permanent trauma or disease. Throughout his life in exile, the former Minister clarified several times that the real enemy of those living in exile was inside of them. Taking into account his ideological turn, we can see that in 1965 (already at the end of his Mexican exile) his discourse was much closer to Franco’s than in 1940. Now the enemy, for him, was not so much Franco but rather the intellectual stagnation, fixed ideas and dogmas, the permanent mental state of living with the Spanish Civil War in mind. He explained his ideas to his friend Helmut Rudiger (a German-Swedish anarchist writer who died in Madrid in 1966 while visiting Spain) in these terms:

Aunque, hablando del exilio, yo tengo para mí que el verdadero enemigo lo llevamos dentro. Es el enemigo de las ideas fijas, del estado mental de la Guerra civil, de la mística de los anagramas, del inmovilismo intelectual, del apoltronamiento y de la falta de contacto con la realidad de España. Para una inmensa mayoría el “antifranquismo” es equivalente a una filosofía, un programa y un comodín que se aplica para todo. ¡Ah, 25 años esperando ver el entierro de Franco, no permiten reconocer que allí ha crecido una nueva generación! Yo recuerdo haber oído exclamar a un buen compañero, con motivo de las víctimas que produjo una bomba de plástico en las oficinas de pasaportes de la Dirección de Seguridad, esta significativa estupidez: “¡Cuantos más fascistas se maten mejor...!” Entre esos “fascistas” figuraba una jovencita costurera que fue mandada por su patrona a retirar unos pasaportes. ¿Por qué no hemos tenido el valor de poner en la picota a ese grupo de insensatos que actuando en nombre del “movimiento” nos han cubierto de criminal ignominia? Pues no, es que ciertos atavismos que se hicieron pasar por revolucionarios y que no eran otra cosa que odio bien canalizado por agentes de la policía, todavía son el patrimonio de tácticas de algunos retrasados mentales que confunden sus bajas inclinaciones con los ideales más respetables.³¹³

Accordingly, for Juan López Sánchez the political usefulness of CNT in exile was finished. The practice of keeping the same ideology without confronting changing circumstances for

³¹² In: (JLS_990_4_19/11-May-1940/London).

³¹³ In: (JLS_997_01_14/26-Sept-1965/Mexico).

long periods leads to decadence.³¹⁴ This idea of the “germen of war” seems to reinforce Ortega y Gasset’ description of Spain as a “land of ancestors” where an oppressive “oligarchy of death” reigned: “Spain –land of ancestors! Therefore, not ours, not the free property of present-day Spaniards. Those who have gone before continue to rule us and form an oligarchy of the dead, which oppresses us”.³¹⁵ Ortega goes even further in his reasoning pointing out that the Spanish mentalities haunted by ghosts³¹⁶ activate “the psychological mechanism of Spanish reactionary propensities”.³¹⁷ Juan López Sánchez similarly believed that the recent past had haunted Spain in any chance for mutual forgiveness. Then, exile appeared to be a continual remembrance of the Civil War. For the former Minister the main mistake of the militants of the CNT in exile was that they had lived for three decades with the hatreds of the Civil War:

Con esa experiencia en mente, es asombroso constatar en qué actitud de estupidez, de ceguera y complicidad hemos visto moverse al sector “libertario” del exilio –joven y adulto- ante la apertura del proceso de transición y la inevitable metamorfosis del régimen franquista, que ganó la guerra físicamente, como ya sabemos, que perdió moral y políticamente el pleito, pero que solamente a fuerza de avivar el resollo emocional y sentimental de la guerra civil y de la concurrencia de errores del exilio y de los cometidos por los aliados occidentales, se ha mantenido en pie, aunque sea apoyado sobre la movediza de su interinidad.³¹⁸

In this sense, the former Minister confirmed and certified in 1965 (and even before) the death of all the political projects in exile. Based on his experiences up to 1954 and on the fact that the Franco Regime started to gain international recognition, he created a kind of taxonomy of those living in exile. First, he described those who kept silent mainly because they felt responsible for the disasters of the Civil War. Second, he found those who spoke extensively and without any kind of complexes about the Civil War in order to remake Spain. Third, there were those who lived very well in exile thanks to the goods that they confiscated during the Civil War and after. He positioned himself within the second group (a minority one). For him, the fact that they were a minority was an embarrassment.³¹⁹ In spite of this, year after year,

³¹⁴ In: (JLS_997_01_14/26-Sept-1965/Mexico).

³¹⁵ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *Meditations on Quixote*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, p.48.

³¹⁶ Colmeiro, J. (2004). Nation of Ghosts? Haunting, Historical Memory and Forgetting in Post-Franco Spain. *452º: Electronic Journal of Theory of Literature and Comparative Literature* 4 (2011), 17-34.

³¹⁷ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *op. cit.*, p.48.

³¹⁸ In: (JLS_991_02_06/09-Nov-1965/Mexico).

³¹⁹ “En el exilio, prácticamente, nos hemos dividido en tres grupos y categorías: los que callan como zorros o porque el peso de las culpas en la tragedia española les traba la lengua; los que gritan su estado de desesperación, hablan como cotorras o claman, con insistencia para rehacer la vida espiritual de España, en el desierto creado por la dispersión y la indiferencia de los que se dan por vencidos; y, por último, los que comen haciendo trampa y ocultando los restos del tesoro que quedaron en sus manos. Yo me coloco en el grupo de los que claman por rehacer la vida espiritual de España, que somos seguramente, una minoría, pudiendo ser una mayoría, de seguro, si quien escribe cartas a los “exiliados amigos españoles” hubiera sabido hacer honor al verdadero espíritu vital de España: su clase trabajadora”. In: (JLS_237_8_3/02-March-1940/St. Helens).

the passing of time was for him the main enemy of the exiles and irrefutable proof that those living in exile had to return to Spain to integrate into a common project of reconstruction after the Civil War. In his opinion, life in exile perpetuated the negative elements of the Civil War. Facing that, what he proposed was a unitary front able to “liquidate” the hatred and that “oligarchy of death”. In this respect, Juan López Sánchez wrote in Mexico (1954) to Manuel Uribarri (a famous Spanish Republican Civil Guard who died in Cuba in 1962):

Políticamente, la emigración está muerta. La han agotado quince años de espera infructuosa, el vivir aferrados a lo negativo que dejó la guerra civil, la trayectoria adversa de la política internacional, o de la crisis internacional, la necesidad de abrirse camino para vivir que crea nuevos vínculos y responsabilidades, en fin, la desgracia de ser eso: emigración política. Mucho, muchísimo pudo haberse hecho, y quizás todavía pueda hacerse, si por algún medio se hiciese el milagro de que los españoles nos diéramos ciegamente a liquidar los odios y la mentalidad que engendró la guerra civil.³²⁰

What the former anarchist Minister seems to forget was that if exiles were emotionally clinging to the recent past of the Spanish Republic, the Francoist authorities were even more haunted by that “oligarchy of death”, but their haunting was based on the period of the Catholic Monarchs of Spain and its imperial “glory”. At the centre of this Juan López Sánchez’ “oblivion” could be a strategy for adopting Francoist ideas against the exile. Both rhetorical styles were very similar. It is not surprising that such ideas rejected the rebirth of the Republic and particularly a new collaboration of the anarchists within any parliamentary government –similarly Franco was a passionate enemy of political parties. Then, according to Juan López Sánchez, the anarchist experiment of collaborating with the Republic proved to be a disaster and it should not be repeated. In the name of the “ideological independence”, he defended that anarcho-syndicalist exiles had to separate from the socialists, nationalists, republicans and, above all, from the communists, precisely because those were the most obsessive exiles, intending to create the immediate restoration of the Republic.³²¹ For the former Minister, only the present and the future of Spain were worthy of discussion. In relation to the past only the objectivity and the critical analysis was permitted: “Pensar en el presente y en el inmediato porvenir, tomando como base un frío examen del pasado, de lo que puede ser fecunda experiencia y de lo que forzosamente debemos considerar funestos errores”.³²² Furthermore, he argued that to focus meticulously on the past was fine but only to judge those political responsible of the disasters of the war, but not the people (*pueblo*). He

³²⁰ In: (JLS_990_4_46/13-Sep-1954/Mexico).

³²¹ “Para discutir este problema debemos recabar nuestra absoluta independencia. No podemos, en manera alguna, sentirnos vinculados a las disueltas instituciones de la República, puesto que uno de los puntales más importantes que hemos de coger como base de estudio a las experiencias vividas son los fracasados ensayos de la República.” In: (JLS_990_4_11/12-August-1939/Melun).

³²² In: (JLS_237_8_6/06-April-1940/London).

promoted distance with the past in order to avoid the continuous remembrances of the Spanish Civil War and the consequent triumph of hatred. However, immediately after the official end of the Civil War Juan López Sánchez was in favour of previous Spanish Governments' assuming political responsibilities and culpability: “Diríase que en el pasado de nuestra política no hay culpables de nada, sino dioses y santos a los que glorificar, y un solo responsable de todos los males: el pueblo. Es decir, el menos responsable”.³²³ Ortega y Gasset theorised this attitude or national psychology of blaming the Spanish people or the masses under the label of “Spanish circumstances”.³²⁴ That is to say, historically the political elites of the country had avoided any kind of responsibilities and had not given a straight answer about their decisions. Rather, those elites pointed to the people as being guilty for the political disasters of Spain. Therefore, the former Minister suggested cutting the evils of Spain by taking on the errors both by the CNT and the other political groups in the advent of the Civil War. Nevertheless, in a letter written during his British exile in 1940 he expressed his worries over the fact that the CNT perceived this act of assuming responsibilities as a sort of regret or deceitful illusion:

Yo, personalmente, en ninguna de las categorías que establece la carta me considero incluido. Pero doy en pensar que esa acusación se hace contra todos los que nos preocupemos de meditar sobre los males de España, con afán de conocer sus causas y con la voluntad de aplicarles remedio, de donde ha de resultar que, alguno de esos remedios, signifique el reconocimiento de las culpas propias y ajenas. Y a eso, los de la carta llaman “cultivo del arrepentimiento y del ilusionismo”.³²⁵

This attitude towards the Civil War exasperated Juan López Sánchez, because it took into account neither the crude reality of exiles nor the circumstances of Franco's Spain.

The Spanish Circumstances and the Mysticism of the Civil War

Together with those senses of distance previously mentioned (physical, ideological and timeframe), Juan López Sánchez promoted what Ortega y Gasset theorised under the label of “reabsorption of circumstance”³²⁶ as an antidote against the “absolutism of desires”. This “reabsorption of the circumstance” was part of Juan López Sánchez' justification for returning to Spain. For the former Minister, his destiny was not to be in exile but to integrate

³²³ In: (JLS_991_06_18/08-March-1940/St. Helens).

³²⁴ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *Meditations on Quixote*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, p.31.

³²⁵ In: (JLS_237_8_3/02-March-1940/St. Helens).

³²⁶ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *Meditations on Quixote*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, p.45. In this case, “reabsorption of circumstance” refers to the situation when a circumstance is adverse to us. However, we assimilate and accept this circumstance in order to avoid that determinism destroys our vital freedom.

within Spain. He took a long time to fulfil what he considered as his destiny but in the end, he even managed to integrate actively into Franco's Spain. In doing so, he had to deal with the "Spanish Circumstances" of that moment. According to Ortega y Gasset, the underlying argument in favour of pragmatism is that "Man reaches his full capacity when he acquires complete consciousness of his circumstances. Through them he communicates with the universe".³²⁷ The former Minister conceived that those circumstances were constituted by contradictions, by the impossibility of defeating Franco by violent action, and by the egoism as the engine of the exile. There were, however, those who deny those "Spanish circumstances" of that moment.

There are, at least, three main arguments that can be advanced to analyse these circumstances. First of all, we have to insist on the vital and ideological contradictions that those living in exile suffered. The contradictions then were part of the "Spanish circumstances" but according to the former Minister, the CNT preferred to turn their back on reality and pretend to live in a supposedly theoretical pure anarchist ideals or dogmas. With regards to those contradictions, the data appear to suggest that Juan López Sánchez threw several of these incoherences in CNT' face. To illustrate this, he criticised that the official CNT adhered to an apolitical discourse and to the impossibility of collaboration in parliamentary political groups when, in fact, several CNT members were part of the Government of the Republic. If at that time anarchists participated in a parliamentary democracy, why should this political experience not be repeated while in exile in order to overcome the Francoist Regime? Juan López Sánchez asked rhetorically. Indeed, both in exile and especially within Spain, there was a movement that promoted the political unification (creating a common front) of the all anti-Francoist syndicalist groups. In particular, Horacio Martínez Prieto explained to Juan López Sánchez the dawn of a kind of anarchist political party in 1945:

Te digo también que la Regional Catalana en el Pleno de Regionales celebrado en España el día 15 de julio del 45 propuso la creación de un Partido Político. El Pleno no rechazó la idea, pero la dejó a consideración del próximo congreso.³²⁸

In fact according to the same letter, the CNT denied and expelled Martínez Prieto (by "the pieles rojas" –see Chapter 1 *Juan López Sánchez in an Anarchist Context*) due to his defence of the anarchist interventionism (or probabilistic anarchism) in politics:

³²⁷ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *op. cit.*, p.41.

³²⁸ In: (JLS_237_8_10/09-Sept-1945/Orleans).

Soy el enemigo número 1 de los pieles rojas y sobre mí se inventan las historias más disparatas para desacreditarme. Pero están arreglados. En el Congreso de París los he derrotado y ahora, sigo siendo el portavoz de la contraofensiva. Y si no les va peor es porque tus afines del Estado sindicalista son blandos y sin cohesión... Sí, apreciado amigo, sí; una “línea” y una “disciplina” orgánica, que jamás se lograría en la CNT política como no se logró en la CNT apolítica, es lo que necesitamos si no queremos desaparecer.³²⁹

Facing such a reaction from the CNT, Juan López Sánchez had the feeling that he would share the same fate as Martinez Prieto. He seemed especially worried from the possible reaction of Federica Montseny (the leader of the CNT in Toulouse and also a former Minister of the Republic) after knowing the political direction that Spanish anarchism in the interior of Spain was taking.³³⁰ As a result of this ideological “extravaganza” (as described in the previous footnote), the former Minister also earned his expulsion (or “excommunication”) from the CNT in 1945.³³¹ After that, he manifestly blamed Germinal Esgleas and Federica Montseny of leading the expulsions.³³² Another clarification from the CNT in exile mentioned the publication of “Materiales de Discusión” (a short of anarchist newspaper edited by Juan López Sánchez) as the cause of his expulsion.³³³ The reason for this expulsion is that in that newspaper he agreed with the politicisation of the CNT. Above all, he was

³²⁹ In: (JLS_237_8_10/09-Sept-1945/ Orleans). [Emphasis mine]

³³⁰ “Me preocupa ahora lo que está sucediendo en el seno de nuestra organización en Francia, más que la discusión sobre la constitución del partido. Conozco las reacciones de la Federica y temo que nos haga más daño que Atila. Ahora que has de tener contacto permanente con el CN de España, a ver si lográis entre los de dentro y los de fuera que se imponga cordura. Y una cosa de buen sentido sería cambiar ese mal llamado Comité Nacional de Francia. De lo contrario, torpedearán toda labor que no cuadre a sus extravagancias”. In: (JLS_237_8_11/09-Oct-1945/ Brighton). [Emphasis mine]

³³¹ “Efectivamente, fui excomulgado. Pero esto carece de importancia personal y no creo que pueda tenerla orgánica. No lamento en lo más mínimo el que los indocumentados y la beccia me “excomulguen”, ya que puede decirse aquello de “los muertos que vos matáis... etc.” Más que eso, lamento los silencios de los amigos y las inhibiciones frías de los cucos, que discrepando de los “pieles-rojas”, no se atreven a enfrentarse con ellos. Por aquello de que no se les estropie el tipo. Pero lo sucedido con media docena de militantes en Inglaterra es tortas y pan pintado comparado con lo que está sucediendo en Francia. Riete tú de la crisis de “los treinta”. Ahora es de los treinta mil. Cosa grave y seria que no se puede contemplar con la indiferencia suicida que observo en muchos compañeros que, al parecer, parece que no vaya con ellos, tratándose, como se trata, de un problema de vida o muerte de la organización”. In: (JLS_990_08_03/31-Aug-1945/Brighton).

³³² “La campaña puritanista en Francia descansa sobre Federica y Esgleas, aunque desde que se apoderaron –o les nombraron- del Comité Nacional en Francia, han intentado apoyar la entrada de los comunistas en la Junta de Liberación de allí, lo que no se consiguió por la oposición terminante de los socialistas y la UGT. Estoy en estrecha relación con Juanel, que están trabajando bien; con Diezhandino, al que comuniqué que había recibido tu carta, con Dionisos, que en París hace TIEMPOS NUEVOS, y con numerosos amigos y compañeros residentes en distintos lugares de Francia que me informan y reciben y divulgan MATERIAL DE DISCUSIÓN, cada día más leído y solicitado. También lo entran en España, aunque en pequeñas dosis”. In: (JLS_990_1_37/27-Aug-1945/ Brighton).

³³³ “Lo primero que hice al saber tus señas fue mandarte el último número de MATERIAL DE DISCUSIÓN, una especie de periódico que comenzamos a hacer el pasado Diciembre un grupo de compañeros. La publicación de dicho periódico ha sido la causa de que los “libertarios” de aquí nos “expulsaran” del núcleo refugiado en este país. Posteriormente al envío del último número te he remitido otros ejemplares atrasados, un número de cada uno de los que me quedaban. Tengo algunas noticias de la forma cómo marchan las cosas de la organización en Francia y veo que todo eso se presenta muy mal. Últimamente he sabido también que han comenzado las “expulsiones”, preludio de un conflicto que considero muy grave para la organización y de consecuencias incalculables como no se consiga atajar el mal de raíz”. In: (JLS_237_8_7/14-August-1945/Brighton).

expelled because in his opinion the anarchist movement had ideologically progressed to interventionism in politics, even if that meant the collaboration with the Francoist trade union. The former Minister explained several times that the only legitimate CNT was the one in Spain and he also described the other CNT (the one in the French exile) as merely a group of conspirators.³³⁴ To simplify the issue, we could say that there were at least two political positions in exile, the position from London and the position from Toulouse. The Toulouse group expelled him from the so-called “group of London” together with other *compañeros*.³³⁵ Almost twenty years after the previous letter, Juan López Sánchez kept defending the same reasoning regarding the CNT in France. He accused this CNT of being intolerant, ultra-conservative, and impervious to social changes and, in sum, reactionary.³³⁶ Following his points, it appeared natural to him that it was the time for a deep revision of CNT tactics.³³⁷ To demonstrate the decline of this trade union and the self-interested decisions of its leaders, Juan López Sánchez invited the militants in exile to confess the resounding political failure of the CNT programme. For the former Minister, one of the biggest mistakes was the continuous dissociation or disengagement between the exile and the geographical (or real) Spain.³³⁸ That

³³⁴ “Naturalmente, esta paciencia que yo recomiendo, y que en la medida posible tengo, no reza para con los que de una forma o de otra están minimizando y minando la autoridad de las fuerzas del interior. Esa lucha entre los de fuera para imponerse a los de dentro debe hallar en nosotros una energía irreductible para no ceder ni un palmo a la conspiración del exterior. El mayor crimen que se puede cometer es el que cometan todos los que, desde posiciones “apolíticas” y “políticas”, tratan de arrebatar la soberanía que corresponda a los del interior, ya sea centrales sindicales o Alianza. Y es criminal porque tiene lugar al mismo tiempo que Franco arrecia la represión para desarticular la oposición de allí”. In: (JLS_237_9_24/27-May-1947/Brighton).

³³⁵ “Después de lo que sucedió entre los que residimos en Inglaterra, no me extrañaría que no me llegase la carta o las noticias que les mandaste a la Comisión para mí. La irresponsabilidad y la estupidez llega hasta algo más. Desde septiembre de 1943, la comisión pasó a integrarla Delso de Miguel, Pradas, Cabañas, Bendito, y Acracio Ruiz de Secretario. No hubo manera de meterles en la cabeza, a cada paso, que estaban de espaldas a la realidad, y tras de forcejeos y polémicas por correspondencia, en el mes de febrero de este año, por negarnos a dejar de publicar MATERIAL DE DISCUSIÓN, se nos expulsó. Los expulsados fuimos: Taberna, Gil Orbis, Caballos, Fermín Mateos, Salgado y yo. Rodriguez Grima se marchó asqueado de la agrupación “libertaria”, otros muchos siguen inhibidos de todo, como Falomir, y por esa razón, el grupito Delso-Polgare tiene en sus manos el “timón””. In: (JLS_990_1_37/27-Aug-1945/ Brighton).

³³⁶ In: (JLS_991_05_01/28-May-1966/Mexico). This document contains his unpublished book: *España 66*, p.17.

³³⁷ “REVISIÓN DE TÁCTICA: Sin negar nada de lo que fuimos como movimiento obrero de tendencia libertaria, debemos pensar en que los acontecimientos históricos y económicos nos imponen una rectificación de táctica que hasta el 1936 mantuvimos de una manera cerrada. Esa rectificación ha de consistir en extender nuestra actuación al intervencionismo político dentro del Estado de la nación, no como un postulado absoluto y mucho menos aceptando el sentido totalitario que los marxistas dieron a la misión del Estado. Las formas del intervencionismo en el Estado dependerán siempre de los grados de nuestra preparación y de las circunstancias, buscando la compatibilidad de nuestros intereses de clase con los de la nación, dentro de la cual aspiramos a la emancipación integral de los trabajadores. El instrumento de nuestra actuación política debe ser el Sindicato en el plano local y económico, y el Consejo Nacional de los sindicatos en el plano nacional. Esto es, no debemos pensar en la creación de ningún partido considerando nuestro único la organización sindical”. In: (JLS_237_8_6/06-April-1940/London).

³³⁸ “El fracaso político de la emigración se debe a la desvinculación de España. No hace mucho decía uno de estos tipos –y lo decía en letras de molde- … ‘cuando la República vuelva a la patria’ … Palabras elocuentes que reflejan el estado mental de que te hablo. Para estas gentes de ‘élite’ la República sigue incrustada como una flor que adorna la solapa vieja y raída del viejo y raído republicano. En los socialistas ese proceso culminó en la

was a contradiction. While the exile mentioned that they were “the real Spain”, the former Minister appealed to common sense saying that the only Spain was the one Franco ruled, that is, the one situated between France and Africa. That was the real circumstance that the exile militants seemed not to care about. As has been noted, the former Minister perceived distance as an antidote against this indifference to the circumstances. As Ortega y Gasset pinpoints: “Those who live near a cataract do not notice its roar; it is necessary for us to put some distance between our immediate surroundings and ourselves so that they may acquire meaning in our eyes”.³³⁹ In the same manner, Juan López Sánchez distanced himself from the official discourses of the political institutions in exile in order to acquire meaning in his life and to reintegrate his life within Spain. He even mentioned the “mysticism of the Civil War” as an impediment for a real coexistence among Spaniards.³⁴⁰ To same extent, this “mysticism” in the exile would be the equivalent of the Ortega y Gasset’ “roar”. How would the peaceful coexistence of all Spaniards be possible if the “mystique of the Civil War” was present in the majority of the exile? For Juan López Sánchez, by claiming moral integrity as the main objective, the CNT hid contradictions and even worse issues. For example, the serious accusations against those leaders, without going any further, implied economic interests in perpetuating the seed of the Civil War. For Fulgencio Sañudo (a friend of Juan López Sánchez) the leaders of the CNT in exile did not work, but sponged off of others:

Viven “del cuento” y del dinero sustraído a sus compatriotas del interior, procedente de socorros del mundo entero, y es este momio el que verdaderamente les preocupa, que no las ideas ni el porvenir de la nación. Con todo son tan osados, aque aún se permiten el lujo de amenazarnos con la hoguera purificadora, por traición y desviacionismo, representando, como representamos, lo más digno y escogido del sindicalismo confederal. Por eso nos ha sido permitido al cabo de años de paciente espera, un diálogo fraternal que parecía imposible, con los “enemigos” más caracterizados de la guerra civil.³⁴¹

In spite of the fact that Juan López Sánchez criticised the CNT for denying such contradictions, he himself insisted on that the acceptance of certain contradiction was among the essential exilic circumstances. For instance, when he wished to move to Mexico with his wife, he realised how expensive the trip was. Despite his precarious economic situation he refused at first to receive any subsidy from the JARE (Junta de Auxilio a los Republicanos Españoles or *Board of Aid to the Spanish Republicans*) or from the SERE (Servicio de

formación de un organismo director y ejecutivo con residencia en el exterior. ¿Y acaso no es ya vieja la historia del *lumbrerismo* confederal emplazada en Toulouse que ha repetido y agotado hasta las náuseas el ‘la CNT somos nosotros’? (Tengo datos para escribir sobre este tema un voluminoso libro que habría derramar lágrimas de sangre a todo aquél que de verdad lleva a España en el corazón’). In: (JLS_991_06_02/29-Oct-1962/Mexico?).

³³⁹ Ortega y Gasset, J. (1963). *Meditations on Quixote*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, p.44.

³⁴⁰ In: (JLS_991_05_01/28-May-1966/Mexico). This document contains his unpublished book: *España 66*, p.27.

³⁴¹ In: (JLS_991_06_06/20-Nov-1965/Madrid).

Evacuación de los Republicanos Españoles or *Evacuation Service of Spanish Republicans*). For him both institutions were corrupt because were in hands of the communists and socialists. Consequently, to ask them for help was immoral.³⁴² The contradiction came when he borrowed the money for the move from a religious institution. As he confessed in an interview once he was back in Spain (1966), the former Minister declared himself as a sort of Christian (he was baptised) with very little respect for the Catholic Church.³⁴³ As such, it is really contradictory that despite Juan López Sánchez' minor anti-clericalism, the World Council of Churches (an institution founded in 1948 that included most mainstream Christian churches) was the institution that paid Juan López Sánchez' and his wife's tickets to go to Mexico on the condition that once they got a job in Mexico they had to return the money.³⁴⁴ In light of this contradiction, he justified this act of being economically supported by a religious institution, describing his exile and the one of his wife as a “dura odisea”.³⁴⁵ Correspondingly, the circumstances of the exile worked for him as an alibi for his political conversion and return to Franco's Spain.

The second point of those “Spanish Circumstances” is the one referred to the impossibility of defeating Franco by violent action. In terms of desires, that event was present in the everyday of the exiles. On the contrary, one thing was to dream about Franco's fall but another very different thing was it happening. Juan López Sánchez described the Spanish exile's sufferings as the hardest of Europe. However, in 1941 he hoped a prompt international solution for Spain:

Indiscutiblemente, somos el pueblo de Europa que ha sufrido más, y que en la actualidad sufre más. Pero desterrados, martirizados por la esbirrocracia, encarcelados, mutilados o muertos, los españoles liberales de toda extirpe podemos estar seguros de que nuestras desgracias han de tener fin en cuanto la mano firme de la democracia combatiente acabe con los últimos reductos del poder totalitario. Por lo menos, han de tener fin si ese conjunto liberal que he nombrado se pone a la altura de las circunstancias, ya que lograda la victoria en el plano internacional sólo a ellos les incumbirá la responsabilidad de que en el campo nacional se recojan sus frutos.³⁴⁶

Among his previous lamentations, it is worth mentioning his own conception of himself as an “español liberal” or liberal Spaniard. In fact, he believed that once WWII finished with the

³⁴² “Yo no he solicitado subsidio, precisamente porque conocía el criterio de la JARE contra ese procedimiento, criterio que merece mi aplauso y por tanto mi conformidad. El subsidio, dispongas de muchos o pocos recursos económicos, es en principio una inmoralidad, y en la forma que lo estableció el SERE, una solemne inquietud y prácticamente antieconómico. Por ser ese mi convencimiento, pues, yo no podía solicitar un subsidio. Concretamente me limité a pedir “la ayuda que como refugiado político español haya establecido la JARE”. In: (JLS_237_6_3/16-Sept-1939/St. Helens).

³⁴³ In: (JLS_990_08_38/Diario SP 15/4/69 “Entrevista con Juan López” nº 497).

³⁴⁴ In: (JLS_991_01_15/23-March-1954/Brighton).

³⁴⁵ In: (JLS_237_7_20/12-Feb-1964/Mexico).

³⁴⁶ In: (JLS_990_6_11/02-Jan-41/Oxford). [Emphasis mine]

triumph of the liberal democracies of Europe, then there would be no excuses for the triumph of the Spanish liberals within Spain. Moreover, for Juan López Sánchez the exiles had to receive the banner from those liberal democracies and it was their only responsibility (together with the liberal Spaniards in the interior of Spain) to change the political situation in Spain. Those exiles had to be on the cutting edge of the national but also international circumstances. But according to him, they never were on the cutting edge of these circumstances and the exile was prolonged *sine die* as a result. From a period of autocracy, starvation, repression and international isolation, Francoism became a strong anti-Communist ally and a standard bearer for capitalist values. In consequence, if the international context was generally tolerant (if not openly condescending) towards Francoism then, was it not sufficiently clear for the exiles that the dictator would continue in his post for many years? For Juan López Sánchez, knowing this circumstance, the strategy to follow necessarily had to change. In other words, what worked more or less efficiently during the first 5 years of exile to fight Francoist repression no longer worked at all after that. Moreover, the idea of a foreign military intervention in Franco's Spain vanished after WWII. For instance, according to Isidro Guardia Abellá already during the 1950s, large groups of exiles gave up the idea of defeating Franco's:

Las circunstancias, a partir de 1950, variaron profundamente. Cuando el panorama internacional se obscureció, los militantes se dedicaron a su trabajo, a su casa, etc. Ello ha creado, sino una división, sí un cierto aislamiento, innegable, que es preciso superar.³⁴⁷

As explained earlier in the letter, most of the exiles exchanged the armed and clandestine resistance for daily routine. Most of the militants stopped working as a collective and abandoned the active networks of resistance in exile. The disillusionment gained ground. First, they have lost the war in Spain; then, already in exile, they have fought the Nazi enemy thinking of a domino effect. However, the effort was in vain; despite such a fight, Spaniards could not return to a free Spain. Furthermore, Spain was allowed to join the United Nations in 1955.

A closer look at the data indicates that together with the impossibility of defeating Franco by violent action, there was a rejection of a hypothetical foreign military intervention in Franco's Spain. For Juan López Sánchez, the former solution would leave Spain in the hands of foreign political models. For him Spain was a peculiar country that needed a unique

³⁴⁷ In: (JLS_990_6_1/29-May-1966/México).

Spanish solution for her problems as a consequence. He pointed out his resistance to adopting foreign political models even during the Second Republic:

No he pensado en nada que se parezca a las Trade Unions de Inglaterra. Yo no me oriento por los modelos extranjeros, ya que en España, en tal sentido, somos los suficientemente ricos y avanzados como para que tengamos que imitar a otros países. No. Pienso en una sola central sindical “a la española”, esto es, en la unificación orgánica del movimiento obrero y en dar al mismo un contenido político definido. Además, no improviso ni creo fantasías, sino que me atengo a las evoluciones y a las realidades más vivas conocidas en los últimos años de nuestra actuación en España.³⁴⁸

As stated before, there were, however, those who denied these “Spanish circumstances” or realities and believed in fantasy (or “infantile illusions” as José González Barberá –a friend of Juan López Sánchez living in his Argentinian exile- described in the letter below) of killing Franco. For instance, during the 1960s, a group of anarchists in exile focused their struggles on combating Franco using violence. José González Barberá and many others (including Juan López Sánchez) were against the use of violence as a way of defeating Francoism:

Quiere decirse que permanezco casi al día con todo lo acontecido en el interior; con las infamias que consciente o inconscientemente se han tejido en el exterior y con las ilusiones un poco infantiles de algunos, más bien intencionados que avisados, que creen siempre que las soluciones están a la vuelta de cualquier esquina, considerando la violencia como el sumun revolucionario y despreciando olímpicamente el trabajo diario, consciente, ininterrumpido de pequeñas conquistas materiales, espirituales, libertarias; que calen en profundidad y cambien la fisionomía de los pueblos, de su economía, sistemas de vida y medios de relación; expandiendo y redistribuyendo la riqueza en función social, y de bienes de consumo y uso, y que es, en definitiva, el desarrollo para el progreso y para el bienestar de las clases más humildes, junto con el conocimiento, el estudio, para elevar el nivel cultural de las mayorías, que al dejar de ser gregarias, se evaden de la influencia de las consignas salvadoras, de los caudillos milagrosos y de los demagogos de todos los colores que en cada hora, momento o lugar, están dispuestas a “sacrificarse” por los humildes y los desheredados.³⁴⁹

At this stage, it must be emphasised that for the former Minister the violent solution against Francoist Spain was not a solution at all. He preferred daily negotiations, slow but deep changes and, the incorporation of the labouring class into politics rather than leaving the liberation of Spain in hands of “miraculous leaders” and “populists”. In this context, in 1945 Francisco Benet Goitia (director of the Spanish journal *Península*) wrote the former Minister with a questionnaire distributed among some exiles. The questionnaire was based on several questions. The first one spoke about the necessity of both left and right wings working together in order to overthrow Franco’s Regime.³⁵⁰ Soon after that, Juan López Sánchez answered giving his opinion. He argued against the necessity of working together in these terms:

³⁴⁸ In: (JLS_990_4_15/23-Dec-1939/St. Helens).

³⁴⁹ In: (JLS_990_1_40/19-Aug-1966/La Plata). [Emphasis mine]

³⁵⁰ “¿Cree usted posible la desaparición del régimen franquista mediante la fórmula de una acción conjunta de las fuerzas monárquicas y de las fuerzas republicanas y obreras, con el objetivo fundamental de resolver el problema del interior de España y de la institución política futura mediante un plebiscito?” In: (JLS_237_7_14/09-Aug-1949/Paris).

No creo posible la desaparición del régimen franquista mediante la fórmula de una acción conjunta de las fuerzas monárquicas, republicanas y obreras, sino que a juicio mío es la única que las presentes circunstancias nos deparan. [...] Los sectores pactantes deben inspirarse mutua confianza a fin de que el apoyo del pueblo venga como resultado del convencimiento de que en las acciones concertadas se ha tenido en cuenta según el interés nacional mucho más que el de partido.³⁵¹

However, in the same letter he showed his scepticism regarding pacts between left-right wings because they did not trust each other. All political parties and groups during the Civil War had been discredited historically and later, that is, while in exile. Along similar lines, the majority of the Spanish exiles lived with a sense of disdain. For this reason, the project of the creation of a common front in exile to fight-back Franco seemed chimerical to Juan López Sánchez, at least in 1947:

Lo principal, que es un clima de confianza mutua entre derechas e izquierdas, no existe. Y sin esa confianza, todas las fórmulas que se presenten serán de difícil aplicación. Para la formación de un tal clima, desde España se ha hecho algo. Desde el exilio, nada, o casi nada.³⁵²

This previous sentence “From exile, nothing, or almost nothing” suggested that he had lost any hope of living together politically in exile. While exile leaders pushed for dialogue, the reality was that the negotiations were corrupt from the very beginning, precisely because of the climate of mutual distrust dominating different political parties and trade unions. In this situation, the former Minister became a sort of pariah in exile.

The final point of those “Spanish Circumstances” describes selfishness as the engine of the exile. For Juan López Sánchez selfishness was one of the principles among certain exiles and trying to deny that reality was a mistake:

Yo observo que las cuestiones que más pesan en sus preocupaciones diarias son las de la emigración, pero no de la emigración que mira a España sino de la emigración que solo piensa en ella misma: la solidaridad, la necesidad de ayuda, y de todas esas cuestiones, muy humanas y muy necesarias de tener en cuenta, pero en manera alguna para que oscurezcan la visión y la noción de nuestros deberes más altos.³⁵³

For the former Minister, the previous paragraph appears to suggest that the famous “exilic virtues” (see in Chapter 2, *Civil Republican virtues in exile*) were an ideal rather than an accurate description of the reality of the exile. Continuously, the absolutism of the reality smashed the ideals of those living in exile. The basic premise of this conception is that “At the limit of existence, reality poses an absolute threat to survival”.³⁵⁴ That threat did not leave

³⁵¹ In: (JLS_237_7_15/22- Aug-1949/Brighton).

³⁵² In: (JLS_237_9_29/24-July-1947/Brighton). [Emphasis mine]

³⁵³ In: (JLS_990_1_36/28-Nov-1941/Oxford).

³⁵⁴ Pavesich, V. (2008). Hans Blumenberg's Philosophical Anthropology: After Heidegger and Cassirer. *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 46(3), 431-432.

much room for militant activities but for domestic issues and, in some way, for selfishness. For Juan López Sánchez, there were two types of selfishness. First, I have described the personal or individual one, that is, selfishness produced by the harsh reality of exile and survival. Regarding these harsh conditions, he complained about the life in exile, specifically in St. Helens (England). He compared his life there as living in a prison: “Aquí se vive como en la cárcel, a causa de que no existe más círculo de vida que el de este pequeño Cottage”.³⁵⁵ Likewise, when he moved to Oxford with his wife he was tremendously disappointed. He described the house where he was going to live as a “choza” [hut] compared with the rest of houses of the neighbourhood.³⁵⁶ In these conditions, keeping alive and healthy was his main worry. Consequently, rather than trying to combat Franco he had to resolve his own survival. In this sense, a certain selfishness and several contradictions (described above) emerged among the exiles. The point is that Juan López Sánchez did not try to hide this negative side of the humankind and he did not offer any idealised discourses regarding the supposed moral rectitude of the “Spanish exile”. Second and more important, for him there was another selfishness or egoism among exiles: the one of the collectives such as political parties and trade unions. Particularly, he criticised this selfishness among the ranks of the republican and communist parties in exile and among the anarchist members of the CNT in exile. He referred to that constantly in his correspondence. For example in 1948:

Por eso me revientan los republicanos y demás elementos que, con sus egoísmos o su dogmatismo fanático, están retrasando y saboteando la única labor política positiva que es viable y representa la salvación. Porque a falta de esta fuerza, quedará solo Franco.³⁵⁷

On these grounds, he argued that Franco was going to be in power for the rest of his life. The key principle “divide and rule (or divide and conquer)” became a reality among the forces of the so-called “Spanish exile”. Juan López Sánchez was not alone in this pessimism or pragmatism. The “Spanish circumstances” of the exile seemed toxic for large numbers of people and political entities. Along similar lines, in a letter from José Pinedo addressed to Juan López Sánchez, Pinedo described the exile as an “oasis of evilness” where the letters of

³⁵⁵ In: (JLS_990_1_16/08-Feb-1940/St. Helens).

³⁵⁶ “Encontrar un bajo-techado aquí es una gran suerte. Yo la he tenido gracias a Madariaga. Tanto él como su familia son magníficas personas, es decir, genuinos españoles. (Pese a que su señora es escocesa). La casa donde vivimos radica en un antiguo caserío que hoy está dentro del término municipal de Oxford. Hace más de un siglo debería ser relativamente confortable, pero actualmente se distingue del resto de las casas de la calle como una choza. Disponemos del espacio justo para dormir, comer y carece de condiciones para que yo pueda trabajar. Como está en las afueras de Oxford, la tranquilidad es absoluta. Todo invita y huele a estudio en estos lugares.” In: (JLS_990_1_22/02-Oct-1940/Oxford). [Emphasis mine]

³⁵⁷ In: (JLS_237_8_16/12-Jan-1948/ Brighton). [Emphasis mine]

relatives and good friends were the only possible lenitive.³⁵⁸ To illustrate this “oasis of evilness” we can see the way the Spanish organisations of refugees assigned the aid. They represented the corporatism or egoism of certain political parties. Without going any further, and despite the statements that he previously presented, Juan López Sánchez, who was fully against SERE and JARE that is, against any kind of subsidy for exiles controlled by the communists, ended up asking them for money. At the beginning of the exile, he accused the communist Juan Negrín López (President of the Spanish Second Republic between 1937 and 1945) of controlling access to the necessary documents that the Spanish refugees needed in order to leave France for Mexico. The SERE, according to Juan López Sánchez, was just a fake institution because the communists had the privilege of being the first to board the boats to Mexico. In his reports, the former Minister described Negrín as a real scam artist who did not have any moral problems in stealing all the money and gold of the Republic and putting it into communist Russian hands.³⁵⁹ In 1939, the former Minister left Paris and lived in a hotel in Melun.³⁶⁰ Trying to decide the future of the Republican Government, Juan López Sánchez prepared a meeting with important political figures of the Republic to steam the communist influence.³⁶¹ In that meeting, he had harsh words for the SERE.³⁶²

Already at that moment, the former Minister was convinced about the egoism that was going to rule the “Spanish exile”. His rejection of the activities by the SERE was such that the former Minister refused –as explained before– to use this route to go to Mexico: “Yo, como ex Ministro de la República no estoy dispuesto a reconocer al SERE y por tanto a solicitar de él nada, a pesar de tener derecho a ello según las graduaciones que han establecido para cobrar subsidios”.³⁶³ Despite his words and given the hardness of his situation, the circumstances forced him to accept certain amounts of money from those

³⁵⁸ “Ni que decir tiene que te quedo sumamente agradecido por tu diligencia en este aspecto, ya que como muy bien puedes comprender, encontrándose uno en este oasis de maldad, es un gran lenitivo recibir carta de los seres en quienes tiene uno depositado todo su cariño y que son complemento de la vida.” In: (JLS_237_9_12/08-October-1946/Toulouse).

³⁵⁹ In: (JLS_237_2_8/15-April-1939/Paris).

³⁶⁰ In: (JLS_237_2_14/15-May-1939/Melun).

³⁶¹ “Hemos comenzado por ver a Largo Caballero y ponernos de acuerdo con él. En principio, se ha decidido preparar una reunión a la que asistan solamente nueve personas, siendo estas: Largo Caballero, Araquistáin y Rodolfo Llopis, socialistas: Álvaro de Albornoz, Fernando Valera y Gonzales López, republicanos; y Juan López, Santillán y Pedro Herrera, libertarios”. In: (JLS_237_2_16/21-May-1939/Melun).

³⁶² “Se necesita ser ciego de nacimiento para no ver, primero, lo que representa el SERE, y segundo, el fin que le espera. Además de ser un camelo, que solo resolverá la situación de una ínfima minoría de refugiados –al resto que los parta un rayo- es una beta constante, y quizá llegue a ser un motivo de escándalo que le permita a la opinión reaccionaria de Francia exigirle al Gobierno medidas para que todos los refugiados en masa se entreguen a Franco”. In: (JLS_237_2_17/22-May-1939/Melun).

³⁶³ In: (JLS_237_2_17/22-May-1939/Melun).

institutions, for dealing with day-to-day living expenses.³⁶⁴ Accordingly, this correspondence provides evidence confirming that to certain extent in the exile his pragmatism and the principle of “Every man for himself” reigned, not any principle of solidarity. In view of this exilic moral, the return to Franco’s Spain –as I will research in the chapter below– followed a similar line of pragmatism, and rather than putting up moral objections certain exiles considered return to be a moral obligation.

³⁶⁴ “Al terminarse la guerra y hallarme en el exilio como uno de tantos, adopté la firme resolución de no reconocer a ninguno de los organismos que de cerca o de lejos tuviesen relación con la política y administración del que fue Gobierno Negrín. El derecho a un subsistido que el SERE estableció para distintas categorías de personas que ejercieron altos cargos en la República, ni lo acepté ni lo consideré política y moralmente aceptable, y no me importaban, ni me importan, las consecuencias que ello pudiese acarrearme dadas las circunstancias en que estamos obligados a vivir fuera de nuestro país. [...] El donativo de cinco mil francos lo recibí con gran retraso de tiempo, teniendo que hacer por mi cuenta gestiones y combinaciones que la JARE no se interesaba en hacer para que recibiese la ayuda, dadas las normas restrictivas establecidas para las transacciones de dinero de un país a otro y debidas a la guerra. Vivía yo en St. Helens en la Isla de Wight. Aquél clima hizo recrudecer la bronquitis asmática que sufro, haciéndoseme bastante difícil la situación. Por esta causa, me decidí una vez más a dirigirme a la JARE, solicitando su ayuda para poder trasladarme a Londres y ponerme en tratamiento, lo que no podría hacer si ellos no me garantizaban los medios para el traslado y para poder residir allí hasta que no lograse trabajar. A esta segunda petición así expuesta, me contestaron diciendo que tenía a mi disposición otros cinco mil francos, sin más explicaciones, deduciendo yo, con cierta confianza, que tal ayuda no me faltaría en circunstancias de aquella naturaleza”. In: (JLS_990_2_11/14-May 1941/Oxford).

Chapter 6

The Patriotic Imperative to Return

The urge to go back to the lost homeland, to make the dreams of those living in exile come true, has created a trend in the academic literature on return that represents such an event as something romantic. Nevertheless, the reality was that most of the times, return implied a very negative range of elements.³⁶⁵ In this chapter, there are several elements to be analysed. For example, as in the of theorisation on “exile” discussed so far, the idea of “return” remained a dream until the potential *returnees* had found a clear way of surviving economically in case they managed to return. As I will discuss, Juan López Sánchez was not an exception in facing these domestic but vital problems. Compared to other exiles, he considered these vital domestic problems not as something to be proud of but as a constant humiliation. Therefore, the only dignified option was to return to Spain.

Return to make up for lost time

One crucial issue commonly forgotten in the life of an exile, as in the Spanish case, is the economic and financial implications of returning. Return is not only a political or personal decision; it also is mainly a problem of funding, especially for those exiles living overseas. That is to say, the daily economic problems were a huge inconvenience for returning to Spain and Juan López Sánchez (like the rest of exiles) was up-to-date in these issues. His friend José González Barberá congratulated Juan López Sánchez and his wife for receiving the money to travel to Spain (in 1966) and getting a job there:

Celebro que hayáis podido arreglar vuestra situación económica, pues sin ella es difícil sustraerse a la necesidad, a la angustia y a la incertidumbre, sobre todo cuando las fuerzas físicas nos impiden la lucha

³⁶⁵ “Hay que abandonar la idea de que la vuelta atrás, el retorno, puede suponer a nivel individual o colectivo el devolver las cosas a su estado anterior, anterior a algunos de los desmanes y degradaciones que quizás a destiempo lamentemos” In: Pascual de Sans, A. (1983). Connotaciones ideológicas en el concepto de retorno de migrantes. *Papers*, 20, p.68.

violenta para subsistir, y en este nuevo mundo hay que mantenerse vigilante para salvarse de la zancadilla, el chisme y el codazo en el hígado.³⁶⁶

Based on the evidence of the previous letter, it seems fair to suggest that the financial implications of return were even harder as the exiles became older or as the physical ailments emerged with the passing of time. Then, the question that emerges here is: Which exiles could afford to return? The answers according to Josefina Cuesta are numerous. She refers here to emigrants and not precisely to exiles. Concretely, there are five options for facing the economic costs of returning: the emigrant him or herself, the emigrant and the Customs Service, the Customs Service, the State or home country of the emigrant, or private institutions (including charities).³⁶⁷

As described above in Juan López Sánchez' biography (see Chapter 1 *Juan López Sánchez in an anarchist context*), he was able to return to Spain thanks to Francisco Royano Fernández' economic and political support. It is worth remembering, however, that Royano became something like a godfather for those CNT members who decided to return to Francoist Spain and collaborate with the Falangist *Sindicato Vertical*.³⁶⁸ The return of his *protégés* was run by the Francoist state or, using Cuesta's previous terminological tools, "por el Estado de destino" [or by *the destination State*, that is, Francoist Spain]. In this occasion, Juan López Sánchez' definitive return was pending on a job in Spain and that was resolved with a position at SALTUV (*Sociedad Anónima Laboral de Transportes Urbanos de Valencia*). This transport company was a cooperative founded with the agreement on the workers and the Francoist *Sindicato Vertical*. Despite the fact that upon his return to Spain he would have a new job position, the former Minister did not have the means to buy plane tickets for him or his wife.³⁶⁹ This necessity for funding demonstrates that the lack of economic resources while in exile had more significant weight than certain moral principles.

³⁶⁶ In: (JLS_990_1_42/31-Oct-1966/La Plata). [Emphasis mine]

³⁶⁷ "El desplazamiento de regreso de los emigrantes, bien forzado bien voluntario, podía ser costeado por diversos actores: *a*) por el propio emigrante; *b*) por el emigrante y el agente de transporte; *c*) por el agente de transporte solamente; *d*) por el Estado de origen del emigrante; *e*) por el Estado de destino; y *f*) por instituciones privadas de patronato o beneficencia". In: Cuesta Bustillo, J. (2006). Los retornos: sueño, horizonte, destino y mito. In Alted Vigil, A. & Asenjo, A. (Coord.). *De la España que emigra a la España que acoge*. Madrid: Fundación Francisco Caballero, p. 384.

³⁶⁸ Alcalde, J. (Ed.). (2008). *Los servicios secretos en España. La represión contra el Movimiento Libertario Español (1939-1995)*. E_books: UCM. [Accessed: 24/04/2012]

³⁶⁹ "Al ir a España tenía en mente pulsar las posibilidades de trasladarnos allá si encontraba un trabajo adecuado. Me hablaron de uno que me parecía ideal, pero había que esperar a trámites, que han durado algún tiempo. Pero ya está resuelto. Nos vamos a España y a radicar en Madrid. Mi trabajo será como Asesor de Relaciones Públicas de SALTUV. SALTUV es una Cooperativa del Transporte Urbano de Valencia. Se fundó en 1963, por los trabajadores de la compañía, cuando ésta se hallaba al borde de la quiebra. En poco más de tres años han realizado una obra prodigiosa, renovando líneas de tranvías por autobuses, ampliando otras, adquiriendo nuevos

Another negative range of elements surrounding the process of return indicates that the journey needed meticulous preparation. There were at least two things to do before coming back; one had to do with psychological preparation and the other –mentioned above– with economical arrangements.³⁷⁰ Referring to the first one, there is, I believe, no study on Spanish exile that has mentioned systematically the psychological costs of the idea of “exile” and by extension of “return”. I will discuss more deeply this point in Chapter 8 *The Psychosomatic Elements of Exile, Return and De-exile*. However, let us look at a starting point for addressing these psychological costs of exile and return. For instance, Noël M. Valis maintains that “[n]ostalgia and exile are not synonymous”,³⁷¹ but shortly after he admits “[t]hat exile is often a searingly painful experience of mental and emotional anguish [...].” Of particular interest, here are the fears of the *returnees* even when Franco was not anymore alive:

Al acabar la dictadura franquista, muchos de los que habían sobrevivido en el exilio, después de casi cuarenta años fuera, volvieron por fin a su tierra. [...] El retorno ya se podía efectuar sin miedo a las represalias aunque no sin temor a la desilusión o a la dificultad de adaptación.³⁷²

“Disappointment”³⁷³ and “problems of re-adaptation to the country” are symptoms of a prior obsession³⁷⁴ for returning while in exile (see in Chapter 2, *The return as a morally inconvenient decision*). An expert on the field of Hispanic Studies Maryse Bertrand de Muñoz stated that the Spanish character defined this “obsession” among exiles. The argument is that this “obsession” was a peculiarity of Spanishness: “Esta necesidad imperiosa de volver a España se hizo sentir en la mayoría de los exiliados, pues salvo raras excepciones, los

autobuses y material, y después de amortizar los créditos que se les abrieron para hacerse cargo del servicio, y de pagar a últimos del pasado año 1966 más de 15 de millones de pesetas en gratificaciones al personal, liquida con un beneficio de más de 15 millones de pesetas. Es una obra modelo. (En España hay unas 16 mil cooperativas, de producción, consumo y servicios, muchísimas de ellas en estructuraciones semejantes a las colectividades que hicimos durante la guerra). Nosotros residiremos en Madrid, teniendo que hacer yo viajes periódicos a Valencia. Y pensamos estar allí en la primera quincena de junio. Mi sueldo será de 10.000 [pesetas] mensuales, y todavía no sé con los medios que podremos contar para hacer el traslado. Todo el tiempo en el exilio hemos vivido al día, y como tú sabes, en algunas circunstancias a la última pregunta. Pero con diez mil pesetas se puede vivir en España, dos personas, y sin superfluidades, como vivimos Carmen y yo”. In: (JLS_237_7_21/21-April-1967/Mexico).

³⁷⁰ “Para que la reinserción sea lo más adecuada posible, pensamos que es necesario poner énfasis en el nivel preventivo. En primer lugar, el exiliado debe procurar prepararse psicológicamente para el regreso. Además, es conveniente que posea recursos de subsistencia para el primer tiempo de estadía, que le faciliten la autonomía respecto de sus familiares si está, por ejemplo, en calidad de ‘allegado’ ”. In: Esterio M. & Muñoz Y. & Almarza M.T. & Morales E. (1995). Exilio-Retorno. Aspectos Psicosociales. *CINTRAS*, 8, p.6.

³⁷¹ Valis, N. (2000). Nostalgia and exile, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 1:2, p.117.

³⁷² Bertrand de Muñoz, M. (1999). El ansiado retorno en la novelística española de posguerra. *Hispania*, 82 (2), p.192. [Emphasis mine]

³⁷³ Although highly yearned for, return has sentimental implications and deformations; some of those are: “[...] la idealización del país/paraíso perdido/Arcadia/España republicana unida a la apelación a la responsabilidad moral colectiva, con un propósito reforzador de la creencia de que sólo se podía volver cuando se hubiera vencido la Dictadura”. In: Férriz Roure, T. (2004). Las miradas del retorno. *Migraciones y Exilios*, 5, p.54.

³⁷⁴ For an exhaustive analysis of this obsession see: Guilhem, F. (2005). *L'obsession du retour: les républicains espagnols, 1939-1975*. Toulouse: PU Mirail.

españoles sienten un fuertísimo apego a su terruño, al rincón del mundo que los ha visto nacer".³⁷⁵ But perhaps, to prevent misunderstandings and Hispanic-centrism we must say that this sentiment of "attachment to the native land" seems to be a universal tendency among exiles, regardless their origin.

What is interesting in the case of Spanish exiles is the way in which they faced their political frustrations. Actually, Spanish exiles did not suffer so much from seeing Franco in power but rather from trying to understand the reasons behind the failure of their ideologies and their struggles. The exiles were not only tormented by the success of Franco's victory but also by the destruction of the dream of freedom for Spain. This broken dream or personal nightmare put exiles at the mercy of melancholy, particularly with the passing of time.³⁷⁶ In that context, return appeared for them as an immediate end to that melancholy. For most of the exiles, thirty years or more out of their country produced deep side effects: "Para muchos la separación fue definitiva o duró más de tres décadas y la desesperación se apoderaba de ellos".³⁷⁷ Under those circumstances, some exiles returned voluntarily, nevertheless, above all, they did it because of their failure to adapt to the host countries. They understood that their Spanish identity was at stake if they integrated totally into their host countries. That was Juan López Sánchez' case.

Problems of identity

Adapting to life in exile is what Juan López Sánchez –among many others– tried to avoid. In the first place, this was due to the fact that exiles were convinced of the imminent Franco's international defeat. The deadline for that event to happen was a little after May 1945, that is, the end of the WWII. For instance, in 1939 he predicted a maximum stay of three years in exile.³⁷⁸ Equally, in a letter from September 1945, the former Minister was quite optimistic in

³⁷⁵ Bertrand de Muñoz, M. (1999). El ansiado retorno en la novelística española de posguerra. *Hispania*, 82 (2), p.192; also the same author mentions that: "Los 'trasterrados' como los calificaría José Gaos, creyeron durante muchos años que pronto podrían pasar la próxima Navidad en su tierra, y por ello no ha de extrañar que toda su vida se orientara entonces 'en la idea de nuestra vuelta a España' como subrayó Nicolás Sánchez Albornoz" p.191.

³⁷⁶ "La melancolía, la nostalgia se adueñaron pronto de estos hombres desparramados por Europa, África y América, pues tenían la ilusión de estar de paso en suelo extraño y se eternizaba su situación". In: Bertrand de Muñoz, M. (1999). *op. cit.*, p.192.

³⁷⁷ Bertrand de Muñoz, M. (1999). *op. cit.*, p.192.

³⁷⁸ "Para ver próxima nuestra vuelta a España no hace falta ser profeta. El cómo y el cuándo sucederá tal acontecimiento es lo que yo no sé, ni lo puede saber nadie, pues no son estas cosas de las que pueden incluirse en el calendario del año. Podemos tardar seis meses, un año, dos años, tres...no me atrevo a aumentar la cifra. Pero regresaremos con toda seguridad. Repito que no estoy en el secreto de nada y que sólo me oriento por las

thinking that he was going to return to Spain soon after the war. His idea was to celebrate the return with traditional Valencia paella (see in Chapter 8, *The role of the “curative” national food in exile*):

Mi enhorabuena y a ver si se confirma pronto ese optimismo que respiran sus cartas y nos vemos para Octubre en nuestra tierra. Como soy devoto de las buenas costumbres valencianas, le prometo invitarle a comer una paella en Valencia.³⁷⁹

The previous letter demonstrates the feasibility of the return. Since the end of the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent *Retirada*, the exilic collective imagination insisted returning already by the next Christmas. “At Christmas we will meet in Spain” was a typical sentence among exiles, and Juan López Sánchez was not an exception in that way of thinking:

No me extiendo más en esta [carta], y espero seremos más frecuentes a partir de ahora en la correspondencia. Podría ser que se cumpliera tu optimismo de ir a España antes de Navidad, en cuyo caso tendremos la oportunidad y satisfacción de seguir de viva voz esta conversación.³⁸⁰

In the second place, at the beginning of his exile (1939), he feared that possible expatriation or denaturalisation so much that he was very averse to changing his exile in France by moving, for example, to America because the distance from Spain could damage his Spanishness. The former Minister refused changes and novelties while in exile. He experienced every change with anxiety and feared the passing of time both in the home-country and in exile.³⁸¹ If he had to change his place of residence while in exile, he would choose those countries surrounding Spain (France, United Kingdom, or North Africa):

España está cerca y podemos acercarnos a ella y tender los hilos de comunicación, y tirar pedradas por encima de los campanarios, y prepararse para la nueva acción de reconquista, es decir, que este es el mejor campo de trabajo por España y de observación para podernos orientar. Por todo eso yo intentaré resistir aquí, seguro de ser más provechoso a la causa que en ningún otro sitio.³⁸²

Neither Juan López Sánchez nor his partner Carmen Pastor were in favour of settling down in a foreign country. In contrast to that letter written at the beginning of his exile (May 1939), he changed his mind with the passing of time. They did not conceive of exile as a second opportunity in life but mainly as a threat and a situation full of risks. Psychoanalysts propose

pocas que sé –y que creo que todo español debe saber- y las que se ven por la marcha de los acontecimientos”. In: (JLS_991_06_12/21-Nov-1939/St. Helens).

³⁷⁹ In: (JLS_991_01_06/01-Sep-1945/Brighton). [Emphasis mine]

³⁸⁰ In: (JLS_990_1_37/27-Aug-1945/ Brighton). [Emphasis mine]

³⁸¹ “One consequence of the resulting confusion may be anxiety in the face of change, which in turn creates a need to reassure oneself than nothing has changed, that everything remains as it was. When in the throes of anxiety, some individuals do their best to avoid moving to a place where new realities reign, since change inevitability implies an incursion into the unknown, a decision to take on an unpredictable future, come what may. Anxiety leads inexorably to feeling of anguish and depression, a need to stick fast to what is familiar, and a need to resort to all kinds of justification in order to avoid change”. In: Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives On Migration And Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.59.

³⁸² In: (JLS_990_08_01/03-May-1939/Melun).

that the problem of these people focuses more in losing their identity than in having to deal with physical risks. Exiles and refugees lost their friends, their houses, their jobs and their countries. However, for them the most traumatic aspect was losing their languages, their customs, and their values, that is, their cultural and symbolic worlds.³⁸³ Certain exiles tended to perceive the host countries (the “other” countries) as a cultural imposition and as the end of their birth identities: “It is a fact that the other, because other, comes to be perceived as a danger for one’s own identity”.³⁸⁴ An important implication of these findings is that if in 1939 Juan López Sánchez’ intention was to stay in United Kingdom rather than in France,³⁸⁵ during the 1950s (after WWII)³⁸⁶ his discourse changed at the same time as the international arena tolerated Franco’s Regime,³⁸⁷ and as he realised that he could not improve his conditions in his British exile. In the end, the fourteen years they spent in United Kingdom did not work for the couple. Therefore, when they discovered that Carlos Pi y Sunyer (former Minister of Labour and Mayor of Barcelona) was trying to move from London to Caracas (Venezuela), they were quite interested in the footsteps of their friend’s migration. The

³⁸³ “Migration is a change, surely; but it is a change of such magnitude that it not only puts it at risk. One experiences a wholesale loss of one’s most meaningful and value objects: people, things, language, culture, customs, climate, sometimes profession or economic/ social milieu. To all these memories and deep affections are attached. Not only does the emigrant lose his attachments to these objects, but he is in danger of losing part of his self as well”. In: Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives On Migration And Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.26.

³⁸⁴ Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, p.81.

³⁸⁵ “Mi deseo es quedarme definitivamente en Inglaterra, para lo cual deseo me digas si vosotros tenéis facilidades para legalizar mi situación en este país conforme a los demás refugiados. A la entrada, como las otras veces, no se me puso impedimento alguno y me sellaron el pasaporte sin anotar indicación alguna, por lo cual, según la ley, creo que tengo autorización para estar tres meses sin que deba presentarme a la policía, como visitante. Ahora bien. Yo dije a la policía de aduana que venía para veinte o treinta días”. In: (JLS_990_1_15/02-Sept-1939/St. Helens).

³⁸⁶ In 1945, that is, in the context of the World War II, Juan López Sánchez was quite optimistic regarding the immediate return to Spain: “Tu paisano Irujo es muy optimista y dice que para el mes de octubre estaremos ya en España. Bueno, él no dice en España; dice en la Península. Y en general todo el mundo es optimista por lo que respecta al retorno a la tierra”. In: (JLS_237_8_9/01-Sept-1945/Brighton). Likewise, already during the first months of 1945, Juan López Sánchez considered the end of exile and the Franco’s deposition settled. However, he was not so optimistic regarding the peaceful future of Spain: “Me refiero a España y a nuestra organización. La única diferencia consiste en que, al parecer, estamos tocando al final de la campaña del exilio, ya que todo hace suponer que el régimen de Franco está presto a extinguirse. Presto o pronto, que para el caso es lo mismo. En este punto soy francamente optimista, y casi diría que aquí termina mi optimismo, pues más allá de la caída de Franco, hoy por hoy, no se vislumbra otra cosa que brumas”. In: (JLS_990_4_20/05-Jan-1945/Milford Haven).

³⁸⁷ “No tengo tanto optimismo sobre la vuelta a España como tú. Ya estás viendo cómo se trabaja para la caída de Franco. La situación internacional se está complicando cada días más con las discrepancias de los rusos y los anglo-americanos, y este, aunque no lo parezca, retrasa la solución de nuestro problema”. In: (JLS_990_1_39/25-Sep-1945/ Brighton).

couple turned aside that idea of being as closely as possible to Spain pointing out problems with the language, with the climate, and with the job market.³⁸⁸

The former Minister's case was even more complicated than the others. He did not fit into Republican Spain but neither did he into any of the host countries where he lived. He wanted to be a Spaniard all his life and for that reason, he never lost his strong identity. According to him, living in exile was an irreconcilable obstacle to maintaining this *Spanianness*. After ten years living out of Spain without any clear project to return, the only solution was reintegration. Nevertheless, this action was –as I described in other sections– a betrayal to Republican Spain. Indeed, he was not satisfied with the idea of coming back just to die but to work in re-making of the country. To return just as a pensioner or receiving a financial remuneration without working was a sort of humiliation for him.³⁸⁹ To portray the issue in Juan López Sánchez' terms, those living in exile first needed to earn their living upon returning to Spain.³⁹⁰ Even so, once this was done, why would exiles not return if they had economic guarantees in Spain? In addition to job issues, personal safety and avoiding political persecution were requirements for the former Minister to return to Franco's Spain. The former Minister formulated those questions bearing in mind that after two or three decades the situation of the "Spanish exile" remained unresolved. By contrast, the fact of even thinking about these questions angered some groups of people in exile, for whom, as I have emphasised earlier, returning to Francoist Spain was essentially an act of betrayal:

Claro que todas esas reflexiones se simultanearon con las más ortodoxas que acusaban a los retornados de débiles o cobardes, y las de quienes no podían regresar a causa del riesgo de persecución, cárcel y muerte. Las discordias, de todas formas, se irían multiplicando y cada vez se volvió más abierto el debate sobre la viabilidad del retorno.³⁹¹

³⁸⁸ "Ni un solo minuto en los quince años que llevamos aquí pasó por nuestra mente el echar raíces en este o en otro país que no fuese el nuestro. No nos hemos asimilado al idioma. Al contrario, parece que nos ha embotado un tanto y las imágenes en nuestro cerebro no se disparan sino que se "encasquillan" al clima, al idioma, las limitaciones para defenderse económicamente, valdría la pena soportarlo si no se hubiesen evaporado las esperanzas de una solución al problema de nuestro país. Pero también esto está en ruinas. Sin que tengamos que desfallecer en la lucha, la verdad es que no se va nada claro y cualquier cosa que uno haga le deja la amarga impresión de la esterilidad. Ni siquiera la tranquilidad de conciencia de haber cumplido con el deber de dejar el espíritu en paz. Y todo esto es lo que me hace pensar si no sería ventajoso el emigrar. A usted le parecerá esta una divagación tonta, habida cuenta de que usted nos ha dado un ejemplo de decisión y valor sobre lo que a estas alturas yo todavía no sé qué hacer". In: (JLS_990_2_42/06-July-1953/ Brighton). [Emphasis mine]

³⁸⁹ In: (JLS_237_8_17/23-April-1948/ Brighton).

³⁹⁰ "¿Volver a España, dices? Yo estoy completamente predisposto. Y dispuesto. No existe más inconveniente que el factor económico. Yo carezco de posibilidades económicas para ir, y menos para poder vivir con mi compañera. Si hubiera posibilidad de resolver ese problema –y esto ya lo saben nuestros amigos hace siete meses- por mi parte no habría más que facilidades. ¡Y feliz de ello! ¿Tienes tú alguna fórmula de solución?". In: (JLS_997_2_06/25-January-1966/Mexico). [Emphasis mine]

³⁹¹ Férriz Roure, T. (2004). Las miradas del retorno. *Migraciones y Exilios*, 5, p.58.

Under this pressure emerging from the *orthodox exile community*, the political *returnees* generally did not want to make their decision to live under the Francoist Regime public for at least two reasons. First, because they were afraid of their reception by the Francoist authorities and their repressive laws (see in Chapter 2, *The return from legal perspectives: The Francoist laws*). Consequently, in this research something for consideration is the analysis of the reception of those who returned. Concretely, the question: Who was expecting or waiting for Juan López Sánchez to come back? This question will be answered in Chapter 7 *De-exile and Collaboration with the “Enemy”*, meanwhile I would like to discuss how return was carried out and highlighted the discretion that surrounded the whole process of return of political *returnees*. After more than 30 years, those who returned were usually received with silence and especially with indifference. In the case of the former Minister, the anarchist press did not mention anything about his return; neither did the official Francoist one (at least at the beginning of Juan López Sánchez' return). Those who returned had to refuse to speak about politics; some of them did so voluntarily. This was not the former Minister's case because he had been preparing his return for almost two decades; he had published articles, pamphlets and brief collaborations in Francoist Spain's newspapers (e.g. *SP* and *Índice*). However, he kept feeling uncomfortable when asked to confront his controversial past. Second, potential *returnees* were reticent because they felt ashamed of the reaction from those who remained in exile, for whom return was an act of betrayal against democracy and against years of bloody political fighting. However, according to Cuesta –as we saw in Chapter 2, *Return as a morally inconvenient decision*– political return must be understood as an exception compared with economical return. If this political return was an exception, the ideological journey from the absolute integrity at the beginning of exile to the desperation, melancholy and pragmatism installed was exceptional among certain exiles after several years in exile. Summing up the different cases of exiles and different letters by López, we can conclude that –for those living in exile– there is a shared close-knit relationship between identity and ideology. In the same way: “It is in this role that ideology, as a factor of integration, can be established as the guardian of identity, offering a symbolic response to the causes affecting the fragility of this identity”.³⁹² The former Minister understood this close-knit relationship in a peculiar way: he thought that exiles could only be real Spaniards by returning to Spain (even if Franco was ruling the country).

³⁹² Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, pp.82-83.

In spite of the exception of the returns, for Juan López Sánchez –and the other exiles–, the motherland had a magnetic effect: “La patria grande y la chica tienen poder de atracción”.³⁹³ Accordingly and after all, this little motherland (the one formed by friends, family and well-known landscapes) undermined the anti-Francoist principles.³⁹⁴ Consequently, a number of ideological turns deserve notice here. First, although the majority of exiles remained in a foreign country, the former Minister and others treated pragmatism and return as a priority over moral issues. The establishment of negotiations between a minority of CNT members and the Francoist authorities was a reality hard to accept. For a large part of the CNT, those conversations were a way of underpinning a supposed moribund regime such as the Francoist one. However, for Juan López Sánchez the possibility of returning temporary to Spain was worth all the criticisms. As he remarked in 1966 (at the end of his Mexican exile) to Isidro Guardia Abellá (an anarchist from Valencia who supported Juan López Sánchez’ flexible anarchist ideology), return was his dream fulfilled, but one with high personal and political costs:

[...] El ir a España es la realización de uno de mis sueños más caros que vengo acariciando hace 27 años. Me he beneficiado inmensamente, y el riesgo a que exponía mi estado de salud es insignificante comparado con las emociones y la intensidad de vivir que esa corta estancia me han proporcionado. Créeme, yo me considero altamente beneficiado por haberme sometido a esa prueba.³⁹⁵

But then, the problem that emerges here was that *orthodox exiles* considered cases such as Juan López Sánchez as dangerously contagious; pessimism, melancholy and nostalgia were not good principles to maintain the original spirit of resistance by remaining in exile whilst Franco was in power or alive. Under those circumstances, the former Minister appears as a collaborationist influence for the exile community and within the CNT. As explained earlier, the attempt to gain access to Francoist Spain made Juan López Sánchez focus on the creation of a social network through the means of correspondence; thus, he built a social network in exile based on letters. As stated by some experts, this social network created in exile incorporated only correspondents living in exile and not the native people met in the host countries:

Muchos se integraron con desgana al país de acogida y construyeron solo lo estrictamente necesario para la sobrevivencia. Tuvieron poco contacto con los habitantes de esa sociedad y buscaron amigos (articulación de la red) solo entre los exiliados, esperando regresar [...]. Otros, en cambio, decidieron

³⁹³ In: (JLS_991_06_18/08-March-1940/St. Helens).

³⁹⁴ “El exiliado que en 1939 partía hacia Francia, Inglaterra, México, Chile o Argentina sentía profundamente el fracaso de sus ideales y llegaba a su destino vencido por completo. Abominaba a los que habían causado su derrota, al régimen imperante en el país que dejaba atrás. Pero, a la vez, echaba tanto de menos a sus parientes, a los amigos, la casa, la ciudad natal, sus calles, sus colores y olores habituales que esto pronto le iba haciendo más falta que el pan que le sustentaba”. In: Bertrand de Muñoz, M. (1999). El ansiado retorno en la novelística española de posguerra. *Hispania*, 82 (2), p.199.

³⁹⁵ In: (JLS_990_6_2/9-June-1966/ México). [Emphasis mine]

que era bueno para sí integrarse al país de acogida, aprendieron el idioma, trabajaron y se incorporaron plenamente, tratando de aprovechar las oportunidades que se les ofrecían, creando su propia red social.³⁹⁶

Similarly, in Juan López Sánchez' case, his particular ideological turn led him to articulate a social network with the aim of returning to Spain to collaborate with the Francoist Regime; an aim obviously incompatible with the official orthodox *exile community*, which was based on the idea of the Republican reconquering of Spain.³⁹⁷ In contrast, the former Minister did not come to Spain in search of settling accounts [*ajustar cuentas*] with the Francoist Regime. He was very clear that he wanted to return, and in principle he did not question the reception that he was going to get, especially because he was highly seduced by the idea of “recuperation” of those who returned.³⁹⁸

Another issue worthy of consideration is how *returnees* managed to expiate their ‘sins’. Labelled as deserters by the *official exile community* and welcomed with suspicion by the Francoist Regime, *returnees* suffered different stages of stress. This leads us to question the extent to which those who returned were ready for the Spain that they were going to face. To unravel this question, I will attempt to provide an answer using interpretive tools offered by psychology. Some authors distinguish three psychological stages in the adaptation of those who returned.³⁹⁹ Although the following analysis is based on the Chilean case and the return of exiles during and after Pinochet’s Dictatorship, I believe is a representative model applicable to the Spanish case. The first stage is the so-called *returnee honeymoon and nostalgia for what was left behind*.⁴⁰⁰ This idea has been theorised by Benedetti under the label of *de-exile* and I have analysed it in Chapter 2, *De-exile according to Mario Benedetti*. *De-exile* is a period of contradictory feelings, extreme happiness but also disillusionment. There is also a second stage in the process of return based precisely on the disillusionment

³⁹⁶ Esterio M. & Muñoz Y. & Almarza M.T. & Morales E. (1995). Exilio-Retorno. Aspectos Psicosociales. *CINTRAS*, 8, p.4.

³⁹⁷ “[...] tenían contactos entre sí con la idea de que tarde o temprano tendríamos que volver a España para combatir de nuevo, para reconquistar la República que habíamos perdido”. In: Esteva Fabregat, C. (2009). Exilio y desexilio: experiencia de una Antropología. México-Madrid-Barcelona. *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 13 (28), p.3. [Emphasis mine]

³⁹⁸ “El retornado inicialmente no se plantea la duda si será bien acogido; pero el impacto con la realidad ambivalente lo hace sentirse incomprendido; sufre, se distancia y aísla”. In: Esterio M. & Muñoz Y. & Almarza M.T. & Morales E. (1995). Exilio-Retorno. Aspectos Psicosociales. *CINTRAS*, 8, p.8.

³⁹⁹ Esterio M. & Muñoz Y. & Almarza M.T. & Morales E. (1995). *op. cit.*, p.9.

⁴⁰⁰ “*Primera etapa: La luna de miel del retorno y nostalgia de lo dejado*. En esta etapa hay una especie de *fascinación del encuentro*, entre quien llega y quien recibe. [...] Afectivamente está lleno de sentimientos encontrados: alegría, tristeza, perplejidad, cariño y sobre todo nostalgia por lo que tenía y no vuelve a encontrar, como los amigos; junto a esta nostalgia de no encontrar lo que dejó, surge otra nostalgia, la de lo dejado en el país de acogida. Benedetti denominó a este fenómeno ‘desexilio’”. In: Esterio M. & Muñoz Y. & Almarza M.T. & Morales E. (1995). *op. cit.*, p.10.

and the realistic recognition of the new situation. Psychologically, the *returnee* feels lonely and confused, physically sick and depressed.⁴⁰¹ A third stage in the *returnee*'s process reintegration is the so-called *defective or dysfunctional reinsertion*.⁴⁰² Such stages imply that the exile does not fully complete the return. Nevertheless, Juan López Sánchez' case did not fit into this classification.

As such, a question emerges here: To what extent does return entail a total break with exile? For most historians, ethnographers and theoreticians on migrations studies,⁴⁰³ once in exile, always in exile (even if the exile person returns at some point). On the contrary, for a small group of exiles, sometimes exile was conceived of as a forced "pause" or "parentheses" in the life of a person. This is how Juan López Sánchez' exile and return should be interpreted. Exile for him constituted a "pause" in his life as a Spaniard. While he was in exile for more than 30 years, he never visited Spain. However, he was certain that he was going to forget and leave exile behind as soon as he returned to Spain. For him, Spain was a sort of Garden of Eden and he confessed it to everyone who asked. As a way of illustrating the emotions that the former Minister lived during his return to Spain, we have an interview from 1969 where one journalist asked him how he felt when he landed in Spain:

-¿Qué sintió cuando llegó a España?

-Una indescriptible emoción de gozo. Lo vi todo de color de rosa (que es arriesgado). La ausencia de la tierra donde se ha nacido se idealiza por la distancia; todo se sobrevalora; lo español es siempre lo mejor, aunque no sea ese el caso; vine con una predisposición emocional intensísima. Leyendo los periódicos me parecían muchos mejores que los de México; el encuentro con la nueva realidad de España satisfizo todas las ilusiones que había acariciado durante la ausencia. Recién se había estrenado la *Ley de Prensa* y me pareció que se podía empezar a leer muchas cosas que habían estado largo tiempo vedadas. Por otra parte, desde un punto de vista meramente humano, recuerdo muchos días en los que se posesionaba de mi alma una especie de misticismo: todo me exaltaba la devoción a mi tierra,

⁴⁰¹ "[...] Segunda etapa: Reconocimiento de su nueva realidad, la desilusión. [...] El retornado se siente solo y desorientado. Todos le dicen lo que debe hacer, le dan consejos y él no sabe cómo hacerlo, apenas si sabe moverse en la ciudad. [...] Es en esta etapa cuando con más frecuencia aparece la sintomatología física y psíquica con predominio de la ansiedad y depresión. In: Esterio M. & Muñoz Y. & Almarza M.T. & Morales E. (1995). *op. cit.*, p.10.

⁴⁰² "Tercera etapa: re inserción defectuosa o disfuncional. [...] Rechaza el medio en que vive, en el que ha dado una gran batalla con sus pares para sobrevivir. Se ha tornado solitario, agresivo, su autoestima está dañada. Ya le interesa poco insertarse en la sociedad que está conociendo, no la entiende". In: Esterio M. & Muñoz Y. & Almarza M.T. & Morales E. (1995). *op. cit.*, pp.9-10.

⁴⁰³ Among those intellectuals, we find the following: Sánchez Vázquez A. (1997). *Fin del exilio y exilio sin fin*, in *Del exilio en México. Recuerdos y reflexiones*. México: Grijalbo, pp. 35-38; Cordero Olivero, I. (1997). *Los Transterrados y España: un Exilio Sin Fin*. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva. From the same author we have: (1996a). *El Exilio Permanente. Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, 7, pp. 397-418, and also (1996b). *El retorno del exiliado. Estudios de historia moderna y contemporánea de México*, 17, pp.141-162; Férriz Roure, T. (2004). *Las miradas del retorno, Migraciones y Exilios*, 5, pp. 51-62; De Hoyos Puente, J. (2011). *La Guerra Civil en los imaginarios del exilio republicano en México, 1939-1960, Amnis [Online]*, 2, pp.1-29 [Accessed 19 August 2012]; Faber, S. (June 2003). *Max Aub's Endless Exile: The Advantages of Being Out of Place. Accented Cultures*. Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis (ASCA). Amsterdam, Netherlands, [Conference].

mi amor al pueblo español, y es que, no tengo duda: somos un pueblo magnífico. Un gran pueblo, aún con la ornamentación de sus reyes y sus condes y duques que pueblan su historia.⁴⁰⁴

In this interview, he was concerned about his idealisation of Spain. Overrating Spain was a consequence of living so many years in exile. Nevertheless, in 1966, already during his first temporary visit to Spain he critically identified the risk of those who saw Spain through rose-tinted spectacles. Despite all the negative elements of the Spanish society during the 1960s, he insisted in his unpublished book *España 1966* on emphasising that in Franco's Spain the population was living in a general peaceful coexistence where one could live and breathe in freedom.⁴⁰⁵ For him, not joining this common project of coexistence was unpatriotic. As a result, he demanded that exiles promote the patriotic imperative to return. (See next section: *Juan López Sánchez: a Spanish man who loves his homeland*).

As this case study shows, return was a way for the former Minister to make up for the time lost while his *Spanishness* endured a forced “pause”. Based on this assumption, the apparent tragic dilemma between returning and staying did not exist in Juan López Sánchez' case, but before I go any further let me briefly analyse the traditional reasons stated for not returning to Francoist Spain held by Republican exiles and concretely by CNT members. The reasons for not coming back can be divided, on the one hand, into practical reasons and, on the other hand, into ethical reasons:

[...] quieren regresar y no pueden hacerlo por razones políticas o a veces por motivos de ética personal, o si lo hacen fracasan –casi todos- en su empresa: están todos poseídos de un sentimiento trágico de escisión entre el presente y el pasado y el futuro, pues el presente no representa más que una transición. El desterrado experimenta en su ser una ruptura inmensa, es por excelencia un ser descentrado que mira constantemente hacia España pero ésta lo rechaza.⁴⁰⁶

Under these circumstances of “immense rupture” even when the causes of exile started to disappear, some of those living in exile discovered (not without a certain amount of internal conflict) that they did not want to return to their countries of origin. In fact, this process happened most of the time soon after returning to their countries of origin on visits, or

⁴⁰⁴ In: (JLS_990_08_38/Diario SP 15/4/69 “Entrevista con Juan López” nº 497). [Emphasis mine]

⁴⁰⁵ “¿Quiere decir esto que en España todo es de color de rosa? ¿Que ya el lobo dejó de ser lobo, y el cordero se ha convertido en fiera? ¿Que no hay gentes que padecen hambre, aunque no tanta como se pregonó por quienes tienen ingénita predisposición a comercializar con el hombre ajeno? ¿Que desaparecieron los motivos de protesta, aunque esos motivos no sean de exclusividad española y en otras latitudes se den más y peores? ¿Qué se han “corrido” de sus puestos a cinco profesores universitarios, y que eso no es del agrado de nadie, comenzando por no serlo posiblemente de los mismos que los “corrieron”? ¿Qué existe agitación estudiantiles, y obrera, y hasta *ensotonada*? Todo eso es verdad. Y otras cosas más que no hay por qué recordar de puro conocido. Pero hay algo que es necesario decir para que nadie se llame a engaño, y es lo siguiente: la sociedad española tiene hoy suficiente solidez y espíritu de libertad para resistir todos esos problemas y resolverlos a su debido tiempo sin que se hunda el mundo; y sobre todo, sin que se hunda el mundo donde viven más de 30 millones de españoles”. In: (JLS_991_05_01/28-May-1966/Mexico) p. 47.

⁴⁰⁶ Bertrand de Muñoz, M. (1999). El ansiado retorno en la novelística española de posguerra. *Hispania*, 82 (2), p.199.

journeys of exploration or surveillance. Once there, the exiles found out with horror that the projected image of Spain and the real image of the country hardly coincided.⁴⁰⁷ The scenarios were no longer the same: the people who the exiles remembered had changed, as had the moment in which they lived. It was as if someone had put them into a time machine and led them to an unknown place and time:

Un hecho curioso se destaca también en los textos analizados: casi ningún personaje logra reintegrarse en su país, en la sociedad española que ha evolucionado y ha tomado su cariz que ellos ya no entienden, ni son capaces de asimilar. No se reconocen y tienen que admitir que han perdido sus raíces o que las han echado en el país de asilo.⁴⁰⁸ (see Chapter 7 *De-exile and Collaboration with the “Enemy”*)

Frustration or perplexity was also part of the return journey for many exiles.⁴⁰⁹ On the one hand, those living in exile suffered every day because achieving a fulfilling return was impossible. “Return” then became –as mentioned above– an obsession or painful aim to reach as soon as possible. On the other hand, once return came true the exiles described their new situation in their home countries not as satisfactory –as expected–, but quite the contrary, as disappointing, and as if exile had become something inherent to their lives, a “permante ‘ser en el exilio’”.⁴¹⁰ In contrast, as usual, Juan López Sánchez was an *ave raris* in this respect –an exception or rarity. This is due to the fact that –as we are discovering in the course of this work– the former Minister became fully integrated once he returned to Spain, if we are to judge by the available evidence. For those who stayed in exile, exile became not only a chronic geographical displacement but also a mental state. No matter how hard they tried to and longed for return, exile became an irreversible part of them.

Bearing in mind the previous explanations, those exiles had at least two options. The first option is what Mario Benedetti proposed in some of his writings,⁴¹¹ that is, *to return from the*

⁴⁰⁷ “Aunque la mayoría de los informantes tenían pensado volver –en tanto que mantenían lazos con su lugar de origen–, al regresar se pierde el sentimiento de identidad: no se sabe de dónde es uno. El emigrante se encuentra dividido entre el país en el que trabajó y el país en el que nació y el que ahora vuelve”. In: Álvarez Silvar, G. (Doctoral Dissertation) (1996). *La migración de retorno en Galicia (1970-1995)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, p.256.

⁴⁰⁸ Bertrand de Muñoz, M. (1999). *op. cit.*, p.200.

⁴⁰⁹ At this point we should remember that: “Exile is never the state of being satisfied, placid, or secure. [...] Perhaps this is another way of saying that a life of exile moves according to a different calendar, and is less seasonal and settled than life at home. Exile is life led outside habitual order. It is nomadic, decentred, contrapuntal; but no sooner does one get accustomed to it than its unsettling force erupts anew”. In: Said, E. (2000). *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays (Convergences: Inventories of the Present)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.186.

⁴¹⁰ “La imposibilidad de consumarlo es el elemento constitutivo de cualquier destierro y el final de éste suele hacerse coincidir con el final de los elementos objetivos que impedían la vuelta al país de origen, aunque quienes han vivido una situación de destierro suelen referirse a su permanente ‘ser en el exilio’ como una manera de entender y actuar en el mundo que no abandona nunca”. In: Férriz Roure, T. (2004). *Las miradas del retorno. Migraciones y Exilios*, 5, p.52.

⁴¹¹ Especially in: Benedetti, M. (1985). *El desexilio y otras conjeturas*. Editorial Nueva Imagen: México. And in: Benedetti, M. (1994). *Cuentos completos (1947-1994)*. Madrid: Alfaguara.

return, or in other words, to install themselves in *de-exile* (see Chapter 7 *De-exile and Collaboration with the “Enemy”*). The second option is that even if the exiles were going to live in a permanent situation of marginality and exclusion, they had to return to their home country hoping that the spatial, personal and temporal gap would help them recover with the passage of time. “El tiempo lo cura todo” [*time heals all*]. With this second option, *returnees* hoped that the dreamed Spain and the real Spain would manage to be synchronised before death appeared among the older exiles. Along similar lines, we can argue that the older the exiles became, the more nostalgic about their return they became. For example, José González (one of Juan López Sánchez’ friends) wrote in a letter about his long-waited return in very nostalgic terms.⁴¹²

In the case treated here, the problem became worse because the causes of exile remained unaltered for a long time, in fact close to the lifespan of the exiles themselves, since Franco was in power from 1 April 1939 with a post he held for the rest of his life until 20 November 1975. Then, the crucial argument against those exiles who claimed that Republican Spain must remain ideologically immaculate, was that they had lost any sense of reality and that in one way or another they had not changed their priorities and ideologies –even if they refused to admit it. Geographical changes and migratory movements are not just alterations of the normal space where one lives but most of the time also changes to one’s ideological principles. For the Republicans, the world and their ideas had changed while they were in exile –sometimes without their being aware of the process. On the contrary, the former Minister asserted that the Juan López Sánchez who left Spain in 1939 was no longer the Juan López Sánchez who returned (temporary) to Spain in 1966. The evidence proves the opposite. After all, we can state that geographical migrations –together with the passage of time– implied ideological migrations. Not even Benedetti denied this idea in his life and novels:

⁴¹² “En el orden personal, a medida que pasan los años siento saudades o morriña y en los largos meses que he debido permanecer en cama en reposo absoluto, he soñado con la vuelta y radicación en algún pueblecito de la provincial de Alicante, a la orilla del mar, fuera y alejado de los fríos madrileños, leyendo, escribiendo u oyendo música, a la que nos hemos aficionado y que es el mejor sedante para todos los problemas que el trabajo me crea y que no son pocos. Pero en la medida que me restablezco y teniendo en cuenta lo que los hijos demandan todavía de mí, el sueño queda reducido a sueño. No obstante, recientemente se ha firmado un convenio entre España y Argentina para reconocer los servicios prestados por los nacionales de ambos países y computarlos en el otro para obtener la jubilación. Ya he escrito a mi casa para que me envíen la dirección de la RENFE y pedir la certificación de servicios hasta el año 39; con esos años y los servicios prestados aquí, me sobran años de servicio y edad para jubilarme inmediatamente, pudiendo cobrar la jubilación aquí o en España. Ahora el último escollo es que los chicos se re reciban en sus respectivas carreras, ya que aquí es económicamente fácil estudiar y allí no lo es. Mi familia (mi hermana y muchos sobrinos de mis otros hermanos fallecidos, que ya son padres y hasta abuelos) me espera siempre con los brazos abiertos pero ya no puedo frustrar las ilusiones de los mejores hijos del mundo y el porvenir de cada uno de ellos. Lástima que ellos son demasiado jóvenes y nosotros demasiado viejos. No obstante, la posibilidad existe, ahora o dentro de pocos años, si logro vencer a la coronaria y demás zarandajas averiadas que me adornan y son bastantes”. In: (JLS_990_1_42/31-Oct-1966/ La Plata).

Nunca vamos a ser los de antes. Mejores o peores, cada uno lo sabrá. Por dentro, y a veces por fuera, nos pasó una tormenta, un vendaval, y esta calma de ahora tiene árboles caídos, techos desmoronados, azoteas sin antenas, escombros, muchos escombros. [...] Quitar los escombros, dentro de lo posible; porque también habrá escombros que nadie podrá del corazón y de la memoria.⁴¹³

This phenomenon obviously becomes clearer when we compare exile with return. Those who return are no longer the same persons as when they left their countries. In Juan López Sánchez' case even the context was not the same (Spain was a republic and when he returned it was a dictatorship): "The migrant him/herself is certainly a different person, but the context might be the same".⁴¹⁴ In fact, it is commonly accepted that new ideas comes with those who return: "Returning emigrants —even for a short period— bring new ways of life and new consumer choices to their societies".⁴¹⁵ Returning to a dictatorial regime however, involved a series of adaptations and limitations derived from the Francoist legal apparatus, which made any innovation or contribution by returnee migrants difficult, as already discussed in Chapter 2, *The return from legal perspectives: The Francoist Laws*. Accordingly, as I will analyse below in the next section, although the problem of identity of those living in exile is crucial, the nature of the Spanish circumstances, where Franco assumed even the notion of Spanish patriotism (he conceived of exiles as enemies of Spain, that is, as the anti-Spain), deserves further clarifications.

Juan López Sánchez: a Spanish man who loves his homeland

As has been noted in Chapter 1 *Juan López Sánchez in an Anarchist Context*, once back in Spain he described himself in this way: "Soy, por encima de toda consideración cronológica o generacional, un español que ama su patria. Quien me dio el derecho a nacer y a ser, me impuso igualmente la noción del deber, inherente a la obligación de servir".⁴¹⁶ In these words, the former Minister condensed a whole vision of life that, after the Civil War, would fuel the supposed moral, political and economic reconstruction of Spain. For him, being in exile was an odyssey but also a betrayal of his homeland: "Porque desde dentro se es más útil al país".⁴¹⁷ In exalting Spain, he argued that returning home was an obligation as the Civil War was nothing more than an experiment prepared by two antagonistic foreign blocs (USA and USSR) and therefore something alien to the natural kindness of Spaniards: "fuimos

⁴¹³ Benedetti, M. (2000). *Primavera con una esquina rota*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, p.164.

⁴¹⁴ Gentilesci, M.L. (2009). Immigration to Italy and return policies: provocation, a wishful thinking or an opportunity? *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica*, 53, p.20.

⁴¹⁵ Gentilesci, M.L. (2009). *op. cit.*, 53, p.23.

⁴¹⁶ López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.46.

⁴¹⁷ Quoted in: Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.79.

juguetes de potencias extranjeras; y que quede a salvo el honor de todos los españoles".⁴¹⁸ Because of that, according to him, there was no reason to justify the fact that almost one million Spanish people remained in exile. Furthermore, also in his view, not returning meant not being able to forgive or forget. Moreover, this attitude was something typical of fanatics:

Los hombres que no hayan sido capaces todavía de superar los sentimientos de enfrentamiento violento, es que llevan los gérmenes de la guerra en el corazón. Se han fanatizado. Mi reacción emocional en pro de la convivencia comenzó el mismo día que terminó la guerra. Me martilleaba el cerebro la idea de la convivencia. Y no fue una obsesión pasajera, sino una especie de constante lógica.
⁴¹⁹

This capacity to forgive, forget and seek peace also served the former Minister as a justification for his return to Franco's Spain. For him, returning was possible because in the 1950s "Comienzan en España a perfilarse el despertar de un resurgimiento de las libertades públicas".⁴²⁰ This is because for Juan López Sánchez, the only way to pacify and unite the country again was through trade unionism: "Es la piedra angular de la convivencia de los españoles".⁴²¹ In his diagnosis of the causes of the Civil War, he addressed—in addition to the intervention of foreign powers—the weaknesses and conflicts of political parties, and regionalisms such as the Basque Country and Catalonia. The solution to eliminate or prevent further internal fights, for him, was the eradication of political parties and the maximisation of trade unions as the real managers of the State. It was therefore not about eliminating the differences among classes, but about eradicating, as stated above, any "class struggle" as theorised by Marxism as a key concept of Communist ideology. In the same way, Juan López Sánchez' obsessive anti-communist zeal worked as a justification for returning. In his opinion, those communists living in exile did not have many moral objections about returning to Franco's Spain. The discipline of the party was so strict that if the communist leaders asked their members in exile to return they would do so unconditionally. This discipline did not work for CNT members. For the former Minister, communist leaders were taking advantage of returning to Spain and taking the best positions within the *Sindicato Vertical*. Therefore, he conceived returning as a strategic movement in order to stop communists (the real enemies in his eyes) from having an influential social and political role in Spain.⁴²² Using

⁴¹⁸ Quoted in: Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *op. cit.*, p.84.

⁴¹⁹ Quoted in: Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *Bullas en sus personajes*. Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Bullas, p.84.

⁴²⁰ López Sánchez, J. (05/02/1956). La Participación de los sindicatos en la Política. *CNT*: México.

⁴²¹ Quoted in: Sánchez Pérez, J. (2001). *op. cit.*, p.81.

⁴²² "Personalmente creo que debería propiciarse una repatriación general de tantos militantes como fuese posible, que estén vivos y en disposición de realizar alguna actividad. Esa es una política que hace años vienen practicando los comunistas, quienes son, en definitiva, los verdaderos enemigos a tener en cuenta". In: (JLS_997_01_14/26-Sept-1965/Mexico).

such an argument, Juan López Sánchez' discourse of return became increasingly similar to the Francoist propaganda and especially to the principles of the *Sindicato Vertical*. The aim was to avoid Spain becoming a Russian satellite. The Francoist slogan of “España Una, Grande y Libre” [Spain, One, Great and Free] echoed –if not literally at least in a similar form– in the former Minister’s correspondence.

The previous points were not the only coincidences between Juan López Sánchez and the Francoist Regime. In his justification to return, nationalism and excessive exaltation of national interest and culture was a key issue. A closer look at the data indicates that his discourse regarding this topic was even more radical as he passed more time in Spain. For example, the former Minister expressed grandiloquently his strong feelings for Spain, for the Spaniards and for *Spanishness* in a conference at the “Cátedra Libre de la Falange”. However, he did not believe that that was something dogmatic or irrational:

En mis reflexiones y en el fondo de preocupación que late en ellas, está presente y en forma muy exclusiva, España; los españoles, lo español y sus intereses, que son mi lema y mi bandera principal.

Me adelanto a decir que esto no esconde ningún concepto dogmático de nacionalismo. Primero, porque los españoles y por tanto España, a mi entender, somos los más universalistas de la Tierra y nuestra visión de la vida o del mundo no se detiene ante unas acotaciones geográficas; quien mira y siente con el espíritu y el corazón, no sabrá encontrar límites en el horizonte de aquel campo sobre el que tiende su mirada. Y, en segundo término, está en sí la entraña viva de lo que somos; nuestro pueblo y nuestra tierra, la historia que en ella se hizo, se hace y se hará; así, por muy universalistas que seamos no lo somos al extremo de olvidar nuestra españolidad ni podemos permitir que nadie la avasalle o desigure. Es por esa razón suprema que estamos prestos en todo momento a defender nuestro derecho y nuestros fueros, cosa que yo me explico como una firma actitud patriótica.⁴²³

Despite the fact that Juan López Sánchez tried to distance himself from recalcitrant nationalism, the above-mentioned patriotic attitudes appear to suggest that his discourses indirectly embraced a xenophobic tone very similar to the Francoist one. Verbally, he was against dogmatic patriotism. Nevertheless, in 1969 he seemed a little bit xenophobic using expressions like: “No creo que los rusos, los occidentales o los asiáticos tengan que venir a iniciarnos en valores que lleva nuestra sangre”.⁴²⁴ Appealing to these prejudices and issues of Spanish blood, he created a way to prevent foreign influences in re-building the Spanish nation: putting Spanish syndicalism in the centre of attention of public governance. In Juan López Sánchez’ opinion, in contrast to the parliamentary or representative systems prevailing in Europe and the USA, traditional syndicalism was the original solution for Spain. The former Minister described this Spanish syndicalism as having deep religious roots,

⁴²³ In: (JLS_990_4_1/??).

⁴²⁴ In: (JLS_990_4_1/1969/?).

humanistic principles, and above all, Spanish psychology or Iberian nature.⁴²⁵ Using the 1960s tourist slogan “Spain is different!” he defended the uniqueness of his country and his syndicalist solution to avoid foreign political manners before a Francoist audience.⁴²⁶ Correspondingly, in the private sphere the former Minister showed his nationalism and patriotism even when choosing the wine in a fraternity lunch with an old friend. For example he mentioned in a letter: “A ese efecto te invitaré a almorzar un día juntos, que servirá cumplir aquél otro compromiso: beber un vaso de vino, si puede ser de Bullas, aunque para mí da lo mismo mientras sea español”.⁴²⁷ From the research undertaken for this thesis, it is possible to conclude that both nationalisms (Franco’s and Juan López Sánchez’) were twofold. First, they said they loved Spain immensely. Second, they believed in exclusivist nationalism or, in other words, they asserted that Spanish identity (Spanishness) was true and that all other identities (e.g. Basque, Galician and Catalan) were in error, and in danger of dismembering Spanish national unity.⁴²⁸ As noted before, the shadow of the slogan of “España, Una, Grande y Libre” [Spain, One, Great and Free] hung over the former Minister’s words.

The main concern of the previous nationalistic conception was to discredit the traditional antagonistic relationship between nationalism and anarchism. In other words, “anarchists and anarchism are assumed to be antithetical to nationalism and national movements”.⁴²⁹ This

⁴²⁵ “Sin más escarceos historicistas sobre el gremialismo, que tantas enseñanzas atesora para las generaciones presente y futuras, dejo sentado que la tradición que caracteriza al Sindicalismo español, es esa: tiene una profunda raíz religiosa, humanista y recibe su impulso vigoroso de nuestra sicología, “nuestra manera de ser”, de limpia extracción ibérica. A la española”. In: (JLS_990_4_1/1969/?). [Emphasis mine]

⁴²⁶ “Ni influencia ni contagio han podido con lo que decía antes: la inalterabilidad del Sindicalismo español y de nuestro carácter; podemos asimilar, y asimilamos, todas las ideas que nos llegan del mundo exterior, especialmente si tienen un contenido universalista incluso soportamos la precisión de otros poderes, como se ha demostrado en muchos siglos; pero nosotros seguimos siendo nosotros; no quiero remediar ese decir, a lo ye-yé turístico, que “España es diferente”, porque no es necesaria la demostración”. In: (JLS_990_4_1/1969/?).

⁴²⁷ In: (JLS_237_7_4/8-Dec-1968/Madrid).

⁴²⁸ “No quiero terminar esta sin repetirle una vez más que la CNT es una organización española y federalista, la primera gran fuerza político-sindical de España con este carácter. Nuestra política tiende a incrementar la tensión de vida interna del país, pero su federalismo no le lleva a disgregar las provincias de la península. Vertebrada nacionalmente nuestra organización no admitirá nunca este tipo de nacionalismo que respiran determinados vascos o catalanes, y créame que tenemos vitalidad suficiente para evitar que España sea desmembrada. Tampoco se nos destruirá cualquiera que sea el régimen que se establezca en España ni las circunstancias pues estamos empapados del espíritu de la tierra y del aire español, dado que la tierra y el aire lo tengan. Como fuerza nacional y social tendrá que contarse con nosotros para todo, y contra nosotros no se podrá hacer nada práctico y fecundo. Uno de los graves errores cometidos por los políticos que han gobernado la República ha sido que queremos desconocer, con lo cual es España quien lo ha pagado. Ahora que se proyecta el futuro, hay algunos políticos que son insensatos al extremos de olvidarse que en España hay una CNT y no creo que equivocarme si la digo que entre ellos está el creador del Pacto de Londres (sin pacto). Aquí esto no tiene gran importancia, mientras sea respetada la integridad del territorio español. Pero no todos lo tienen en cuenta. Nosotros sí”. In: (JLS_990_7_2/09-August-41/Oxford). [Emphasis mine]

⁴²⁹ Levy, C. (2004). Anarchism, internationalism and nationalism in Europe, 1860–1939. *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 50 (3), p. 331.

long tradition goes as far back as the 19th-century. Concretely, Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) was one of the first Christian anarchists in dealing with the problem of nationalism and patriotism. For the Russian writer both ideologies (nationalism and patriotism) were very similar. They referred to “a feeling of exclusive love for one’s own people and as a doctrine of the virtue of sacrificing of one’s tranquillity, one’s property, and even one’s life [...].”⁴³⁰ Far from this definition, for Tolstoy the idea of patriotism was originally a positive one. It was based on the Christian idea of “brotherhood” and it was an incarnation of the idea of God. Then, the only valid patriotism was the one that encouraged “brotherhood” because we are the children of God. Therefore, no nation or government should substitute God’s love.⁴³¹ Nevertheless, with the outbreak of the different colonial wars during the 19th-century,⁴³² both nationalism and patriotism acquired very negative nuances. They were a sort of public egotism and a source of hatred and violence. Tolstoy described those ideologies as “an unnatural, irrational, and harmful feeling, the cause of a great part of the ills from which mankind is suffering”.⁴³³ For him, these terms essentially became tools of the dominant classes to protect their property and privilege. These tools and artificial feelings were imparted in schools to the masses who would later become cannon fodder. In this sense, for Tolstoy the original pure feelings had acquired a violent, manipulative and warlike meaning. In conclusion, in Tolstoy’s estimation, anarchists, as well as the rest of humankind, should understand freedom as liberation from the idea of patriotism.⁴³⁴ Some Tolstoy scholars suggested that patriotism is even the principle that made every worker into a potential murderer. For example, Emma Goldman (1869-1940) described patriotism as a menace to freedom and as a killing spree.⁴³⁵ Although apparently patriotism is a virtue for some philosophers, Goldman pointed out that the idea required total obedience and allegiance to whatever a government asks its citizens, including “kill[ing one’s] father, mother, brother, sister if necessary”.⁴³⁶ Against that notion of imposing one country’s superiority to others, she proposed something very similar to Tolstoy’s project, that is, the implementation of human (if not universal) “brotherhood” and solidarity among the

⁴³⁰ Tolstoy, L. (1960). *The Kingdom of God and Peace Essays*. London: Oxford University Press, p.551.

⁴³¹ Tolstoy, L. (1960). *op. cit.*, p.563.

⁴³² See: Hobsbawm, E. J. (2012). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge University Press.

⁴³³ Tolstoy, L. (1960). *op. cit.*, p.544.

⁴³⁴ Tolstoy, L. (1960). *op. cit.*, p.574.

⁴³⁵ Goldman E., (1911). *Anarchism and Other Essays*. New York-London: Mother Earth Publishing Association, p.69.

⁴³⁶ Goldman E., (1911). *op. cit.*, p.72.

proletariat of the world instead of separation by national sentiments. For her, there was nothing more ridiculous than proletarians being patriots.⁴³⁷

After this historical contextualisation the question is, to what extent did the former Minister Juan López Sánchez neglect the previous debate on anarchism and patriotism? The answer seems obvious: Despite his resistance to recognise his ideological change, by the end of his life he had abandoned anarchism and an all-embracing patriotism. However, he tried to defend himself several times from the idea of being too sentimental about Spanish nationalism and patriotism.⁴³⁸ This patriotic attitude plays a vital role in this chapter. Despite Juan López Sánchez' personal feelings, proletarians of all countries –including anarchists– were very disappointed by that unfulfilled dream of a universal brotherhood. The decline of this universal brotherhood and of the anarchist cosmopolitanism started precisely with the end of the Spanish Civil War. Proletarians of all nations discovered that they could not fight back against nation-states such as fascist Germany and Italy, especially (and ironically) due to the passivity of other national blocs such as the Soviet Union. In other words: “[...] Fascism, Nazism, the defeat of Republican Spain and authoritarian dictatorship in South American erased an alternative syndicalist politics or culture. Syndicalism and the legacy of the First International were historical relics in 1939”.⁴³⁹ After the Spanish Civil War, European proletarian movements focused more on national and local problems. In spite of this withdrawal to nationalism, a closer look at Juan López Sánchez' correspondence indicates that the main concern in the Spanish case was that at that time and in the context of Franco's Spain to boast so openly about the greatness of Spain was interpreted by those Spaniards

⁴³⁷ Goldman E., (1911). *op. cit.*, p.77.

⁴³⁸ “¿Crees tú que siento con mucha rotundidad la cosa nacionalista derivada de España? Si se le quita el laconismo con que yo define la naturaleza de las causas y males de España, y vamos a una exposición amplia y objetiva, lo dicho por mí solo es pálido reflejo de la verdad. Yo no derivo el problema español hacia un nacionalismo montaraz y ultramontano, sino que reconozco una de las causas de los males de la nación española, procurando que una interpretación justa de los hechos históricos y de las más impotentes realidades de nuestro pueblo forme parte de la futura actuación del movimiento obrero español, al que considero “la única reserva vital que le queda a España”. Ya vez que a mí también me interesa España “como contenido” y la estimo una fuerza de primer orden en las futuras combinaciones u ordenaciones que se hagan del mundo, por lo menos en este barrio que es Europa. Pero todo eso se convertirá en puro delirio, en fantasía de Quijote, si antes no se estructura España con sus nuevas fuerzas. Es decir, que primero hay que procurar que España exista, que sea una realidad, que en ella se opere “el milagro” de su curación, sin lo cual las más grandes ilusiones convicciones se disolverán. Plantear el problema abiertamente será una audacia, si túquieres, pero no existe otro camino, como no sea del camino el aniversario y darle de cuchilladas. La tradicional técnica política de la vieja España. No, amigo González. Creo que debemos ponernos a la altura de nuestra tragedia nacional y sacar la cabeza del humo de la pasión engendrada por las contiendas del pasado, buscando una altura espiritual –y realista- digna de la empresa reconstructora. De nada, o de muy poco habría de servirnos la inmediata reconquista de España, si la reanudación de su vida había de hacerse en las actuales condiciones de encono, dispersión, desorientación y espantosa desconfianza en que vivimos todos. A esta inclinación de mi trabajo le corresponde, más que el adjetivo “audaz” el de simple caso de conciencia”. In: (JLS_990_1_18/27-Feb-1940/St. Helens).

⁴³⁹ Levy, C. (2004). Anarchism, internationalism and nationalism in Europe, 1860–1939. *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 50 (3), p.342.

living in exile as complicity with the Regime. At that point, he did not bother to refute those accusations. His dreamy and self-imposed return to Spain was fulfilled. As we will see in the next chapter, he was ready for collaboration with the “enemy”.

Chapter 7

De-exile and collaboration with the “enemy”

This chapter focuses on the concept of political concession and different levels of collaboration within the framework of Juan López Sánchez' justification for return to Franco's Spain. His principle of collaboration replaced the older principle of absolute intransigence towards Francoist authorities that broadly dominated among the Spanish exile community. If the anarchist leader Buenaventura Durruti became famous for his phrase: “We give up everything but victory”, the former Minister, in contrast, asserted that Spanish exiles had to give up almost all theirs ideals for the sake of peace. Thus, Juan López Sánchez' discourse in the fifties centred the debate on national peace: “Ahora hablamos de paz, trabajamos por la paz, queremos la paz, y hay que renunciar a todo lo que pueda obstaculizar la salvación de España y su futuro bienestar y prosperidad”.⁴⁴⁰ For him, therefore, it was not only a question of ending exile upon return but also of living and readapting without issue to the internal reality of Spain. With the intention of pleasing his former “enemy”, that is, the Francoist Regime, Juan López Sánchez called “cadavers and the junk heap of Spanish history”⁴⁴¹ to those who attempted to establish a dialogue between exile and the *Sindicato Vertical*. Against them, he proposed and “ideological rearmament” based on the incorporation of Christianity into syndicalism.⁴⁴² This discursive turn in favour of a

⁴⁴⁰ López Sánchez, J. (08/02/1953). Misión de los sindicatos II. *España Libre*, 299. The translation is mine.

⁴⁴¹ “[...] cadáveres y chatarra de la historia española”. In: (JLS_991_05_04?/-Dec-1968/Madrid).

⁴⁴² “En el rearme ideológico podemos coincidir con cristianos en las tareas orgánicas y técnicas de los sindicatos, por virtud de que nuestro sindicalismo tiene origen común con el cristianismo. Pero no podemos coincidir con socialistas ni comunistas, que vienen al mundo sociológico engendrados por el marxismo. La nueva política social de la iglesia coincide en puntos básicos con las ideas libertarias. Kropotkin está más cerca de Juan XXIII que de Carlos Marx. Y la coincidencia se explica porque el esfuerzo actual de los Papas tiende a reactualizar los principios del cristianismo como un baluarte contra la marcha del marxismo. Los esquemas de su política son la socialización, no el socialismo, y en ello se viene al principio colectivista que en España ha resurgido desde 1936. ¿Acaso no te dice nada la realización de SALTUV, ahí en Valencia? Abundando en el estudio de ese experimento que es un resultado de la revolución española, se perfila con claridad una plataforma

libertarian Christian tradition and against the foreign-sounding Marxism and communist influences in Spain pleased Francoist authorities. As a result, in certain cases –as in Juan López Sánchez’– there was a process of progressive *de-exile* that involved the return from exile, followed by a sort of political quarantine, and the start of negotiations conducive to mutual gains for both former refugees and the Francoist authorities. This process needs further analysis, which is developed in the following sections.

De-exile: a category for interpreting Juan López Sánchez’ correspondence and attitude towards exile.

The exiles’ predicament in the new country is many-faceted. They did not travel toward something but were fleeing or expelled from something, and they are bitter, resentful, frustrated.⁴⁴³

Compared to previous approaches (see in Chapter 2, *Etymological approach* and *De-exile according to Mario Benedetti*), there is also a third way to look at *de-exile* which would provide a totally different meaning. Although Benedetti would disagree with the way I am going to define *de-exile* in the next pages, the following meaning is the one that is present in Juan López Sánchez’ view of the exilic world. The concept of *de-exile* refers here to the process that takes place after the exiles return to their countries and successfully reintegrate themselves into the community where they used to live before they were thrown into exile. *De-exile* is the antonym to *exile* but it means more than just returning to one’s native country. In Juan López Sánchez’ case, *de-exile* implies collaboration, integration, sincere and public acceptance of the principles of the Francoist Regime; it also implies ideological concessions and “political conversion”. In the general context of this thesis, “*de-exile*” is a crucial term that will enable me to address the two main research questions: How did Spanish exile and former anarchist Minister Juan López Sánchez construct, justify and put into practice a discourse of return to Francoist Spain? And, to what extent do geographical migrations entail ideological migrations?

de trabajo común cuyo ámbito pueden ser los Sindicatos, las cooperativas, las empresas socializadas, como suele repetir Santillán, ‘el mundo del trabajo’”. In: (JLS_991_05_04/?-Dec-1968/Madrid). [Emphasis mine]

⁴⁴³ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.158.

On 6 June 1967 Juan López Sánchez found himself in a unique position; after almost 30 years in exile he managed to return to Spain. Since the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 he had been living in exile in three different countries (on two different continents), surviving thanks to the generosity of friends, institutions and especially to some precarious jobs that one might deem inappropriate for a former Spanish Republican Minister. The difficulties encountered throughout his exile influenced his writings and life trajectory for the rest of his days. Even though he did not produce any academic or literary works in which he directly theorised the existential problems posed by exile, his writings are dotted with words referring to the exilic world. However, there is not a single mention of the term *de-exile* (although both terms *exile* and *return* appear throughout his writings), either in his books or pamphlets or in his correspondence. The reasons that led me to frame the interpretation of the former Minister's writings around the concept of *de-exile* are linked to the idea of negation and inversion of meaning implied in the prefix *des-*. Nevertheless, in order to make the term a valid tool for analysis I would like to take it a step forward, that is, by arguing that in order for the process of *de-exile* to be completed, in addition to returning to the home country the returnee exile must achieve full integration into his or her society.

Previous studies indicate that the idea of total reintegration among *returnees* is a problematic one, as Benedetti, for example, argues when he discussed his notion of *de-exile*. Along similar lines, Inmaculada Cordero Oliveros, for example, defines "exile" as a chronic process even when the exiles return home: "Lo que empezó siendo una interrupción en su experiencia vital se había convertido en una situación crónica, un exilio permanente; el fin del exilio había demostrado que el exilio no tenía fin".⁴⁴⁴ Exile then becomes endless and return, according to her, impossible:

¿Es posible volver del exilio, o es un corte tan profundo en la experiencia vital del individuo que se convierte en una situación irreversible, porque el refugiado termina sintiéndose un exiliado permanente? ¿Es posible el fin del exilio o el exilio termina convirtiéndose habitualmente en un exilio sin fin? [...] El retorno, en pleno sentido de reintegración que tiene la palabra, es imposible. Cuando el exiliado toma conciencia de esa imposibilidad, se da cuenta de que su exilio es una ruptura total en su experiencia vital. Ese corte traumático impide tanto la reintegración a su tierra, como la asimilación total en la que lo cobija. El exilio se convierte, entonces, en una condición vital, un exilio sin fin.⁴⁴⁵

The peculiarity of Juan López Sánchez' case stems from the fact that he did not only return but also collaborated with a dictatorial regime. In the words of Cordero Oliveros, the meaning of this type of return-collaboration implied full involvement in Spain's nation-building

⁴⁴⁴ Cordero Oliveros, I. (1996). El retorno del exiliado. *Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México*, 17, p.10.

⁴⁴⁵ Cordero Oliveros, I. (1996). *op. cit.*, p.11.

project: “Regresar no era volver a vegetar, sino a trabajar en la construcción de esa nueva España [...].”⁴⁴⁶ There were different ways to return but he chose to go further than leading a passive or discreet resettled existence and got involved in the Francoist apparatus and in the social realities of day-to-day life in Spain at the time. As a *returnee* Spanish anthropologist notes:

[E]l desexilio consistía en ser coexistente con una realidad política, la del franquismo, en la que, al mismo tiempo que había diversidad de matices ideológicos entre las segundas generaciones, había discursos políticos de obediencia institucional homogénea, los del franquismo, y los diversos en evolución que surgían de las experiencias tácticas de una oposición que, por entonces, era débil y fragmentada. El desexilio no consistía, por lo tanto, en suprimir de la memoria el exilio, sino en crear otra experiencia, la del mundo propio de la realidad social que se vivía todos los días.⁴⁴⁷

Of course, one may query the extent to which he so willingly and openly collaborated with the Regime, which may be also explained by the notion of *obediencia institucional homogénea* raised in the above quote. Once in Spain, Juan López Sánchez did not live in harmony amongst the different opposition ideologies, as most non-Francoist Spaniards did, but he was an active and willing part of the Francoist bureaucratic apparatus.

The first attempt at a working definition of *de-exile* would not be complete unless I mention some of its elements. First, let me state that most Spanish exiles who experienced a process of *de-exile* faced, at some point, the instability that is brought about by a life full of contradictions, suffering and fears. This hard reality can be seen as being part of what we may call the *exilic ethos* or *exilic code of conduct*:

Una vida, hasta la más sencilla, es algo muy complejo, donde se mezclan experiencias, conductas, ideas y sentimientos, a veces en contradicción. La coherencia absoluta y la pureza son extrañas en la realidad, y si resultan sospechosas cuando aparecen en relatos históricos, tanto más cuando se trata de biografías.⁴⁴⁸

Linked to this point of the vital contradictions that dominated the exile experience (something that for some reason has been mostly absent from most contemporary studies about the “Spanish Republican Exiles”), the notion of *de-exile* entails a certain amount of historical criminalisation. In other words, the hegemonic historiography has neglected the study of those who became *de-exiles*. The reasons are complex. In certain studies, contradictory characters such as these do not fit into a discourse of Republican (or anarchist or communist) integrity. In other cases, historians guided by certain value judgments have chosen to neglect rather than to analyse the controversial or unusual cases of *de-exiles*, which constitute a

⁴⁴⁶ Cordero Oliveros, I. (1996). *op. cit.*, p.4.

⁴⁴⁷ Esteva Fabregat, C. (2009). Exilio y desexilio: experiencia de una Antropología. México-Madrid-Barcelona. *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 13 (28), pp.19-20. [Emphasis mine]

⁴⁴⁸ Ruiz Pérez, J. (2004). Reflexiones sobre posibilismo libertario. *Libre Pensamiento*, 44, p.73.

marginal area of the Spanish exile case not worthy of analysis or generalisation. As part of this controversy we may ask ourselves if this is a deliberate omission or if the absence of adequate historical sources has resulted in the scholarly neglect of *de-exiled* cases. To this, I would first say that indeed the sources for their study are scarce: “Faltan testimonios porque existió una pretensión deliberada de eliminar este fragmento del pasado y criminalizar su recuerdo”.⁴⁴⁹ Under these circumstances scarce academic historiography, to air these cases is an obligation, and an academic necessity. Second, those who manage to complete the process of *de-exile* (especially those who were public figures) needed to demonstrate their ideological change in every context (in other words, they had to demonstrate the successful *ideological migration* or “conversion” that I mentioned above). This meant conveying clearly and publicly that they had rejected republicanism and the Spanish Second Republic. To become part of the Francoist Regime as a *de-exile* was not an instant or automatic process. It was a process that began during exile by means of a procedure of *acclimation* set in place by the Francoist authorities. The procedure consisted, at least, of the following three stages.

Negotiations while in exile

In order to understand what I mean by “negotiation” within the discourse of exile expressed in the writings of Juan López Sánchez I draw on the work of Zartman.⁴⁵⁰ For him “negotiation” is a process that has three interrelated points. The first one entails an early moment of identification and diagnosis of the conflict and the elements that have created a tense situation that those involved in and affected by it want to solve via negotiation.⁴⁵¹ The second point has to deal with the establishment of minimum consensus among those in conflict or, in other words, it is necessary to find a common and shared definition of the problem in order to resolve it. This point can only be achieved once all parties involved have reached the so-called *Turning Point of Seriousness*: “Being at this point means that each side recognizes that the other is serious about the idea of finding a common solution and that the other side is willing to ‘give and take or concede and receive’”.⁴⁵² The third and last point refers here to the final process in which it is necessary to negotiate each of the elements of the

⁴⁴⁹ Ruiz Pérez, J. (2004). Reflexiones sobre posibilismo libertario. *Libre Pensamiento*, 44, p.76.

⁴⁵⁰ Zartman, W. & Berman, R. (1982). *The Practical Negotiator*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁴⁵¹ “According to Zartman and Berman, it appears that negotiation will be pertinent when a situation that is already painful will become more so in the future if negotiations are not initiated”. In: García-Iragorri, A. (2003). Negotiation in International Relations. *Colombia, Revista De Derecho*, 19, p.97.

⁴⁵² García-Iragorri, A. (2003). *op. cit.*, p.98.

conflict.⁴⁵³ “During this phase negotiators will be dealing with concessions, making this stage crucial for the negotiating process”.⁴⁵⁴ A negotiation between the disputing factions is successful when both factions come out of the process, feeling that they have gained on a more or less equal basis. Let us now turn to see how we can apply this model to the case of Spanish *de-exile*, and subsequently, to Juan López Sánchez’ own trajectory in exile.

What Francoism termed “negotiation” was most of the time only an opportunistic concession in certain realms, such as spaces, places of power and privileges, which were conceded in order to obtain propagandistic and economic gains. In many cases, certain individuals working for the Regime accepted the negotiations and verbally promised to respect cooperation and reintegration agreements entered into, but which were later broken. The Regime itself often acted arbitrarily and forgetfully regarding returnee exiles, and tried to prosecute and to imprison them (if not execute them). This was the case of many naïve exiles who thought they could negotiate with a military dictatorship.⁴⁵⁵ This was not, however, Juan López Sánchez’ case.

For the former Minister the “negotiations” were very successful thanks to his most important contact inside Francoist Spain. The Neo-Falangist Francisco Royano Fernández, with whom Juan López Sánchez maintained nine years of written correspondence (1961-1970), acted as his gatekeeper and political mediator, enabling him to return to Spain. In this context, the former Minister’s correspondence can be analysed as a special “space” of negotiation. Royano was the secretary of the interior for the CNT between May 1965 and September 1968. He also was a close friend of the Francoist José Solis, the Minister of the Secretary General of the Movement (1957-1975) and Minister of Labour (1975-1976). Royano was one of the most prominent ideologists of the so-called “*cincopuntismo*”. The idea was simple: *cincopuntistas* tried to empty the CNT of content and anarchist ideology with the idea of merging it with the Francoist *Confederación Nacional de Sindicatos* (CNS). At the end of his life, Juan López Sánchez constantly defended the dialogue with the *Sindicato Vertical* and the ‘de-ideologising’ of the CNT or –using his words– the ‘recycling’ of the anarchist trade union:

⁴⁵³Zartman, W. & Berman, R. (1982). *op. cit.*, p.171.

⁴⁵⁴García-Iragorri, A. (2003). Negotiation in International Relations. *Colombia, Revista De Derecho*, 19, p.98.

⁴⁵⁵ Some examples are: José Ortega y Gasset (a philosopher), Segismundo Casado López (a Spanish Army officer in the Second Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War), Alejandro Casona (a poet and dramatist), José Martínez Ruiz –alias Azorín (a writer) and Lluís Companys (President of Catalonia during the Spanish Civil War).

Así, los resultados que se obtuvieron con el diálogo los consideré, y los continuo considerando, como el mejor planteamiento que se ha hecho desde que terminó la guerra, no solamente como apertura que liquida los efectos negativos de la Guerra civil, sino como propuesta de solución al problema político-sindical de nuestro futuro.

Con esa noción del problema, no veo lógica, ni beneficio alguno, en hacer planes de “recuperación de la CNT.” Pues una de dos: o se aceptan las resultantes de los cinco puntos y se concentra todo nuestro esfuerzo en conseguir su materialización, o se renuncia a ellos, se niegan, y se proyecta esta recuperación y continuidad histórica de la CNT. No hay ni puede haber coherencia en pensar hacer las dos cosas a la vez, en negar con los hechos lo que se afirma con las palabras.⁴⁵⁶

Despite the date of this letter (1968), the first attempt to actually do this (dilute the CNT ideologically) took place in 1947 when the Secretary General of the interior CNT, Marcos Nadal, proposed the merger, but at that time it did not work because of the firm rejection by the CNT in exile and by grassroots militants. After that, Francisco Royano (who was at that time the representative of the National Committee of the CNT in Madrid) negotiated with the *Falangistas* and even embarked on a journey through the Spanish exile communities in France, travelling under the pseudonyms of “Pedro Mata” and “Romero”. The aim of this journey was to seek the support of the CNT in exile but he failed. In the summer of 1965 however, the CNT of the interior and the CNS reached the *cincopuntismo* pact. Needless to say, the grassroots militants of the CNT had little or nothing to do with the manoeuvres by the Franco Regime to silence the possible rebirth of a workers’ struggle.⁴⁵⁷ In any case, Juan López Sánchez was one of the most ardent supporters of this hybridisation between the CNT and the CNS. This was followed by a legitimation of the CNT in the interior of Spain. While connecting the CNT to the CNS, the former Minister described the team of the *Instituto de Estudios Sindicales* that orchestrated this ideological hybridisation. Fourteen of them (Francisco Royano was there) were former anarchists. At the same time, Juan López Sánchez mentioned that Spaniards had to be proud of them and of their ideological *flexibility* in order to reach a peaceful coexistence in Spain. His controversial words stated that they had a mission and they had managed to complete it successfully in honour of Spain.⁴⁵⁸ For him this CNT from the interior had the exclusive rights for voting and for establishing whatever strategies they considered more appropriate for the country. The CNT in exile had, if anything, just a mere opinion but not any kind of official representation within Spain. Thus, the former Minister considered that exiles (including himself) had absolutely no rights over

⁴⁵⁶ In: (JLS_991_05_04/?-Dec-1968/Madrid).

⁴⁵⁷ Alcalde, J. (Ed.). (2008). *Los servicios secretos en España. La represión contra el Movimiento Libertario Español (1939-1995)*. E_books: UCM, chapter III. [Accessed: 05/04/2011]

⁴⁵⁸ “Espero que algún día estos catorce compañeros podrán figurar en un cuadro de honor de la historia de España, no importa los defectos que puedan atribuirse a cada uno de ellos, pues el honor habría de provenir de la índole de trabajo y misión que se les ha encomendado. Y a fuerza de sincero, te diré que al otro lado del equipo, habrá que reconocérseles los mismos honores”. In: (JLS_991_02_06/09-Nov-1965/Mexico). [Emphasis mine]

the future of Spain. It seems that once they had crossed the border, those Spanish exiles lost their right to take part in the future of Spain.⁴⁵⁹

Given Juan López Sánchez' justification for returning to Spain, the moment of negotiation started very soon, concretely in 1947. At that time the main theme emerging from his correspondence was the overthrow of Franco by means of collaborating with other sectors of the left (with the exception of the Communists). He soon became very cautious about those who called for the restoration of the Republican Constitution of 1931. In fact, he was very pessimistic about a future Republican solution as alternative to Francoist Spain. In the same line of reasoning, by mid-1960s the former Minister felt the need to deeply revise the principles of anarchism, and the tactics and aims of the CNT in exile. He also suggested abandoning what he considered the dogmatic and violent ideas that, in the end, only fuelled the repressive Francoist apparatus and produced a deterioration of the constructive elements emerging within the working class movements. He used Diego Abad de Santillán as an ideologist of the new way of working within Francoist Spain to improve (and reinforce) the conditions of the working class.⁴⁶⁰ Ideological revision and change was something that he had been thinking about for more than thirty years. To be precise, after five years in exile (circa 1944) he supported the dissolution of the CNT, especially since some libertarians sectors had decided that the best Anti-Francoist strategy to follow was to seek alliances with the Communists, an option that was unthinkable for Juan López Sánchez. For him it was possible to collaborate with everyone (even with certain Francoist sectors) except the Communists.

⁴⁵⁹ “[...] El prestigio de nuestra organización ‘DENTRO DE ESPAÑA’ es enorme y lo que allí se haga lo respetará todo el mundo [...]. En vista de la situación en que están todos los grupos de la CNT en el exilio, pues, estimo que en el CN de España no solamente debe hacer todos los nombramientos, sino que debe controlar personalmente la política de la CNT en el Gobierno, todo lo más admitiendo que los que vivimos exiliados le demos nuestra opinión”. In: (JLS_990_08_05/17-Sep-1945/Brighton).

⁴⁶⁰ “Todo esfuerzo dirigido a fortalecer los núcleos militantes en el interior de la península me parece fundamental. El fortalecimiento ha de ser tanto más positivo cuanto mayor sea el énfasis que se ponga en el trabajo de revisar las ideas y planes de organización destinados al resurgimiento de una España remozada y libre. Me parecen excelentes las ideas que el amigo Santillán está exponiendo en COMUNIDAD IBÉRICA. En líneas generales creo que una actividad intelectual que partiendo de esos puntos de vista constructivos fuese examinando problemas concretos en los campos diversos que abarcan la vida del pueblo español, limpios de dogmatismo y de partidismos, prestaría un enorme servicio a la liberación de España. Serviría para orientar la juventud que está creciendo aunque sea en pequeños grupos, y que han de ser la piedra angular del mañana. Atraería el terreno militante muchos elementos que viven con el ansia de ver el fin de la presente situación, pero que no se han librado del temor, yo creo que justificado, de un recrudecimiento del pasado, poco alentador si se examina serena y objetivamente. (Ahora mismo, están a la vista hechos muy recientes que, a pretexto de “actualizar el problema español” y “probar las defensas de Franco” –la vieja y catastrófica técnica de García Oliver de nuevo en funciones- ha colocado a la organización del interior, en lo más vital de su valoración moral, en una situación difícil y peligrosa. Cualquiera podría decir, con sobrado fundamento, que eso es obra maestra de la policía franquista, siendo lo más lamentable que desgraciadamente no es así. Si eso no se detiene a tiempo, y además se entierra para siempre, ni Cristo será capaz de rehacer decorosamente nuestro movimiento)”. In: (JLS_991_01_21/07-Sept-1963/Mexico).

Juan López Sánchez argued persuasively that: “Con los comunistas ni a la GLORIA”.⁴⁶¹ In this opinion, we can see that he rejected communism putting forward two arguments. On the one hand, he disagreed with the communist ideology and its backing in the Soviet Union due to its authoritarian character (i.e. dictatorship of the proletariat) that had emerged from its conception. On the other hand, he –as a radical Spanish patriot– could not conceive of an alliance with the Communists because they proposed non-Hispanic solutions for Spain, and because, according to him, they had the secret agenda of turning Spain into a “Soviet satellite state”. In a letter in 1939 to Luis Araquistáin (a prominent member of the PSOE), he demanded a genuine Spanish solution for a future Spain after Franco:

[...] No solo debe rechazarse toda colaboración con el partido comunista mientras sea un partido al servicio de un Estado extranjero, sino que en mi entender debe rechazarse la colaboración de todos los partidos que no se supediten de forma absoluta a una política nacional española.⁴⁶²

As noted before, we can interpret his patriotism as an immutable continuous line that linked the pre-exile, exile and *de-exile* phases of his life and ideological trajectory. It was precisely this patriotic Spanish personality that drew him to the Francoist *Sindicato Vertical*. As stated above, a reduced group of former anarchists were involved in the conversations with the *Sindicato Vertical*. Diego Abad de Santillán and Juan López Sánchez were well known figures of this group. The former Minister based his collaboration on a mental attitude, in other words, on a moral disposition to serve Spain and work towards peace for all Spaniards. This type of discourse focuses on the notion of “patriotic obligations”, and emerges frequently in all of Juan López Sánchez’ letters. For example:

Una última cuestión: No sé lo que habrá de común entre Santillán y yo, si el decir eso te refieres a manera de pensar sobre las cuestiones candentes. Creo que una cosa hay de común en estas circunstancias, y es la actitud mental, la disposición moral, de considerarnos al servicio de nuestro pueblo y en reconocer el derecho que asiste a los hombres en España en tomar decisiones que favorezcan la salida del atolladero. (También creo que es esta tu actitud moral).⁴⁶³

According to the former Minister, it was necessary to approach pre-return negotiations strategically carried out on two fronts. First there was a destructive front that started in the early years of exile, whose purpose was to eliminate Franco. Second, there was a constructive front focused on the creation of a new regime (not necessarily anarchist or republican) where all democratic options prior to the Civil War would be accommodated. His most important point though, was that the second option was better than the first one. So much so that he believed that until the second option could be implemented, it would be better to leave Franco

⁴⁶¹ In: (JLS_990_4_13/09-June-1939/St. Helens).

⁴⁶² In: (JLS_990_10_05/21-May-1939/ Melun).

⁴⁶³ In: (JLS_991_02_06/09-Nov-1965/Mexico).

where he was. For Juan López Sánchez, Franco was no longer the main problem facing Spain. The former anarchist Minister believed that the obsession by certain key figures (such as Franco) was nothing compared with the idea of the “Spanish people” and the “Spanish masses”. This is not, of course, to say that he directly eulogised Franco. His priority was to work in favour of the “Spanish people” rather than fighting such a powerful entity as the Francoist leader. These were Juan López Sánchez’ aims in 1965:

[...] nada voy a decirte de personajes, ni de Solís, ni de Muñoz Grande ni de Franco. ¿Por qué? Sencillamente porque no estoy hablando de nuestro problema con la enfermiza obsesión sobre personajes, sino de la presente realidad de España, de sus pueblos, de cómo haya dado forma ese pueblo a su actitud mental en el presente periodo de silenciosa transición, de los afanes que más actúen sobre su espíritu, de sus inquietudes, de todo lo que desdeñan y olvidan por sistema el meollo político y la política de muchos con mentalidad de exilio y de guerra civil que ignoran, ellos ya muy decrepitos, al español que tenía 10 años cuando comenzó la guerra civil, a los que nacieron en los últimos 30 años, a esa generación a que se alude en “ANTE LA PROBLEMÁTICA SINDICAL ESPAÑOLA” que constituyen el nervio de una nueva España que tampoco tiene grandes motivos para conocernos a nosotros ni tendrá una idea cabal de las motivaciones sociales, políticas e históricas que promovieron la Guerra civil y la revolución, pero que a no dudar ha de llevar en su ser irrefrenables ansias de progreso, de vida y de renovados aires que la permitan cumplir su misión histórica.⁴⁶⁴

He felt this working towards creating a new “Spanish people” as a patriotic obligation. In his discourse he even justified his intention of returning home as a sort of sacrifice to Spain, so much so that in 1945 he openly declared that he wanted to return to Spain but could not. This was not because Franco was in power, but due to the impossibility of finding a good job there. In 1948 the former Minister started developing his own theories regarding syndicalism but no longer as part of a revolutionary framework (something radically incompatible with CNT principles). Soon after, in 1949 he had developed his pan-syndicalist solution for Spain. This solution was not necessarily incompatible with the Francoist Regime. Juan López Sánchez attempted to be willing to enter into discussions with some members of the Regime. Studying the possible relations between the CNT and Francoism, he arrived at the conclusion that elaborating a non-Marxist notion of the syndicate or trade union could integrate several characteristics from the two ideological frameworks. Thus, as early as 1940 this common space for negotiation immediately called for a conciliatory definition of “syndicate” or “trade union”:

La suma de los esfuerzos hay que traerla a los sindicatos, y estos, como primer escalón de la convivencia política de los trabajadores deben ser la mejor escuela democrática, y como factor de trabajo, el mejor laboratorio para fomentar la cultura y la economía nacional. Pensando así, la CNT puede llegar a ser un factor de progreso para España y la mejor salvaguardia de los intereses de clase. Sin prisas, pero sin pausas se podría ir edificando la vida obrera y la vida nacional, interviniendo en la

⁴⁶⁴ In: (JLS_991_02_06/09-Nov-1965/Mexico).

política siempre que se estimara útil, pero acostumbrando a la organización a regirse por leyes y organismos que ella misma aprobaría en los Congresos.⁴⁶⁵

Juan López Sánchez' definition of “syndicate” had the result of eliminating not only the communist but also the anarchist ideology. In other words, his idea of “trade unionism” was one that went beyond both “class straggle” and “parliament”. In doing so, he was getting ideologically closer (already in 1941) to the Francoist *Sindicato Vertical*.⁴⁶⁶ Twenty years later, he –as the *Falange* had done– still wanted to avoid the Marxist term of “class struggle”. Instead of using this term, he spoke in terms of the “liberation of mankind” and not just of the proletariat:

Yo pienso que las futuras estructuras de la vida de nuestro pueblo han de tener una base sindical, y que el instrumento director de la política –por llamarlo de alguna manera- que históricamente fue el “partido político” ha de revertir al Sindicato. Pero pensado así, estoy muy lejos de aceptar los viejos dogmas y denominaciones del sindicalismo. De estos hemos heredado una dimensión clasista, degenerada en sectaria, y los moldes del futuro sindicalismo, para ser válidos, requieren una dimensión humana. Al servicio del Hombre, no del Asalariado.⁴⁶⁷

As we can see, through his correspondence with Francisco Royano he discovered that by making certain ideological concessions to the Francoist authorities he could obtain maximum gains. It is ironic that these “concessions” were justified as an “aptitud de adaptación a los nuevos tiempos” (see the below letter), because Juan López Sánchez' letters could also be interpreted as just the opposite: an ideological regression or even reaction to social and political realities of the Franco Regime. For the former Minister it was necessary to be ideologically *flexible*, otherwise one could end up out of sync with the evolving contexts of Spain and the international arena. More explicitly, he rejected what he considered the stagnating dogmas of those who had been living in exile for more than twenty years:

Veinticinco años de estar pensando en una dirección petrifican mentalmente a los hombres, se pierde la aptitud de adaptación a los nuevos giros que la evolución de la vida determina. Y los giros que en

⁴⁶⁵ In: (JLS_990_4_19/11-May-1940/London).

⁴⁶⁶ “Pero la lucha humana por la libertad, es tan antigua como el hombre mismo. Siendo nuestros sindicatos compuestos de obreros, y la pugna más destacada de nuestros días, en el terreno político-social la del capitalismo y el proletariado, nuestros sindicatos fueron desde el punto de vista proletario, un baluarte de la clase obrera. Ahora bien, el fondo político-filosófico de los Sindicatos no es clasista, está por encima de las clases, puesto que persigue un nuevo orden de vida en el que las diferencias de clase hayan desaparecido. Tal es la imagen espiritual de los Sindicatos de la CNT expuesta sencillamente sin ir a la fuente de las doctrinas y sin intervención de citas que podríamos hacer infinitas rebuscando en la extensa bibliografía existente. La CNT, pues, como conjunto de Sindicatos obreros, no puede admitir un orden de cosas en el cual se niegue a sí misma, esto es, en el que abdique de su misión defensiva de los intereses de la clase trabajadora. Pero al mismo tiempo, la CNT, por aspirar a un fin más alto que el mero postulado de clase, es decir, por colocar la libertad del hombre y el respeto a la vida humana por encima de todas las cosas, la CNT no puede permitir que los intereses de clase se interponga o se anteponga a los intereses morales de la especie humana, de la libertad del hombre, por lo cual no puede entrar en ninguna combinación que suponga merma de las libertades humanas”. In: (JLS_990_6_11/02-Jan-41/Oxford). [Emphasis mine]

⁴⁶⁷ In: (JLS_991_06_04/05-Oct-1963/Mexico). [Emphasis mine]

España han tomado los acontecimientos de dos años a esta parte son en extremo radicales y hasta extraños a la mentalidad corriente.⁴⁶⁸

In what we might call Juan López Sánchez’ “integrative political negotiation” the disputing factions expressed their wishes to achieve mutual benefits and emphasised the need to develop a high level of cooperation. The negotiation –as we will see– was based on the idea of “la normalización de la convivencia pacífica de todos los españoles” [the normalisation of the pacific coexistence for all Spaniards] and overcoming the Civil War. Once in Spain, he disclosed this idea in an interview carried out in Spain at the end of the 1960s (15 April 1969). According to his statements, he had taken on board this idea of “coexistence” starting at the end of the war, that is, 1939:

-¿No son entonces suficientes 30 años?

-Convivir no es solo una cuestión de tiempo. Es problema moral y sicológico. La convivencia no tiene nada que ver con las ideas políticas que se tengan o se dejen de tener, ni con las que se tuvieron, claro está. Los hombres que no hayan sido capaces todavía de superar los sentimientos del enfrentamiento violento, es que llevan los gérmenes de la guerra en el corazón. Se han fanatizado. Mi reacción emocional en pro de la convivencia comenzó el mismo día que terminó la guerra. Me martilleaba el cerebro la idea de la convivencia.⁴⁶⁹

This integrating negotiation mentioned above aimed to respect the aspirations of the negotiators. Then, the objective was that the factions feel that the result was equally satisfying for both parts.⁴⁷⁰ Taking into account a definition of negotiation as “a process by virtue of which, in order to get something, each party renounces something else, and at the end everybody feels satisfied since one cannot have everything”,⁴⁷¹ we could argue that Juan López Sánchez risked everything to fulfil his dream of returning to Spain. Between living in a “morally right” exile and returning to Franco’s Spain and appearing before his old anarchist comrades as a defector, the former Minister chose the latter. In his evaluation of the economic, moral, personal, and even health costs, he opted to return given the gains that he perceived would materialise after abandoning exile forever. As stated throughout this thesis, the historiographical debate on exile has always had a very decisive moral component. One finds such a component in the different discourses of exiles and, sometimes, even in direct confrontation with the official agenda imposed by the various political parties and trade unions that composed the so-called “Spanish Republican exile”. In his case, Juan López Sánchez thought that the idea of collaborating with the *Sindicato Vertical* did not make an

⁴⁶⁸ In: (JLS_991_01_22/11-Feb-1967/Mexico). [Emphasis mine]

⁴⁶⁹ In: (JLS_990_08_38/Diario SP 15/4/69 “Entrevista con Juan López” nº 497).

⁴⁷⁰ Fisher, R. & William U. & Patton B. (2003). *Getting to Yes. Negotiating an agreement without giving in.* London: Random House Business.

⁴⁷¹ Eco, U. (2004). *Mouse or Rat: Translation as Negotiation.* London: Phoenix, p.6.

exile a better or worse person. In his justifications of the negotiations that he engaged in prior to his return, he just demanded to be frank and to avoid double standards:

Yo no puedo prejuzgar resultado ni consecuencias concretas. Tampoco pretendo decir que los que nos hemos adherido a la operación diálogo-cinco puntos seamos los buenos o los malos, los que están en la fija. Lo único que digo y afirmo, es que no es moral la mescolanza, el doble juego, el encender una vela a Dios y otra al Diablo, el pretender dialogar y comprometerse con unos hombres y a espaldas del diálogo ser desleales a nuestra propia palabra.⁴⁷²

His patience and stoicism (compared to the hurry of some exiles and the desperation of others) were rewarded by achieving that dream of returning to Spain and dying in his homeland (see in Chapter 8, *To die in Spain*). Let us now examine the second stage that Spanish exiles faced upon returning to Francoist Spain.

Putting returnees into quarantine

The second step that exiles had to take to become part of the Francoist Regime as *de-exiles* was to go into quarantine. For various reasons of propaganda and international prestige, the Franco Regime celebrated the return and even the reintegration of specific exiles. However, this celebration was subject to a loosely defined official process, which I will now analyse using the concept of ‘social and ideological quarantine’. It is important to remember that the thesis references to the word ‘anatomy’ (defined as everything that is related to the body). For this, what I have done here is to draw on medical terminology to interpret “return” and, applied it to gain an understanding of the process of ‘*de-exile*’. I will start with an exploration of the different meanings and nuances of the word ‘quarantine’:

The concept of ‘quarantine’ is radically embedded in local and global health practices and culture, attracting heightened interest during episodes of perceived or actual epidemics. The term, however, evokes a variety of emotions, such as fear, resentment, acceptance, curiosity and perplexity, reactions often to be associated with a lack of knowledge about the origins, meaning, and relevance of quarantine itself.⁴⁷³

If we leave aside its conventional medical sense, the metaphorical nuance of the term that may be relevant to us is its military use. In that context, quarantine is usually deployed due to fear and resentment against an “outsider”, “intruder” or “foreigner”, perceived in the social imaginary as someone who carries a disease. This sick person has to be removed from public life and, above all, subjected to a period of ‘isolation’ in order to avoid the spread of the

⁴⁷² In: (JLS_991_05_04/?-Dec-1968/Madrid).

⁴⁷³ Gensinia, G.F. & Yacoub, M. & Conti, A. (2004). The concept of quarantine in history: from plague to SARS. *Journal of Infection*, 49, p.257.

disease s/he may be carrying among the rest of the ‘healthy’ population. In other words, “The isolation, temporary or otherwise, of sick people has thus always been extensively used as one of the approaches to limit the spread of disease”.⁴⁷⁴ Gensinia, Yacoub, and Conti state later: “[...] isolation has been implemented to separate healthy people from sick ones”.⁴⁷⁵ Francoism put into practise this measure against any outside or inside elements that could pose a threat to the Regime in order to protect itself from ‘harmful’ international influences. Hence, the Regime closed its borders not only to the exchange of goods (trade) but also to the exchange of ideas (ideologies).⁴⁷⁶

To a certain extent, we could say that in the context of Spanish exiles the Francoist Regime feared the ideological contagion that the return of exiles implied as discussed in the section on return. On the one hand, Francoism promoted the return of exiles using ambiguous decrees and laws that played on the idea of reconciliation (see in Chapter 2, *The return from legal perspectives: The Francoist Laws*). On the other hand, the Regime feared that the return of the exiles would infect the Regime’s ideology. Similarly, as I mentioned above, there was a propaganda element in the international arena that cannot be ignored. It should be noted that “[...] el talón de Aquiles del régimen [era] su imagen internacional”.⁴⁷⁷ In the same way, there were many Spanish intellectuals and former politicians and activists committed to the Spanish Second Republic who were highly respected in exile. How could they then symbolically swear loyalty to the Francoist Regime if they returned? What the Francoist authorities tried to do with the *returnees* was to study and ‘treat’ them in pathological and anatomical terms.⁴⁷⁸ The *returnee* is thus seen as mentally and ideologically ill, as well as highly suspicious and potentially contagious. Therefore he or she had to be put into quarantine as soon as possible. This ‘treatment’ was part of the strategies of political and social repression that marked early Francoism –especially from 1936 (in the areas captured by Franco’s troops) until 1945. The rationale was to stop any imported (*extranjerizante*)

⁴⁷⁴ Gensinia G.F. & Yacoub, M. & Conti, A. (2004). The concept of quarantine in history: from plague to SARS. *Journal of Infection*, 49, p.258.

⁴⁷⁵ Gensinia G.F. & Yacoub, M. & Conti, A. (2004). *op. cit.*, p.260.

⁴⁷⁶ The metaphor of quarantine also tends to refer to the problem of isolation that the regime imposed itself in order to avoid any foreign influence: “Lo importante para él era mantenerse en el poder, dejar que el correr del tiempo permitiese que la receta que había prescrito para curar los males de España hiciese su efecto: tras la purga de la guerra civil, la dieta, el reposo, el aislamiento. Someter el país a una especie de cuarentena que lo mantuviese a salvo de las turbulencias del mundo exterior, objetivo que más de una vez, durante sus casi 40 años de gobierno, llegó a proclamarse como algo plenamente alcanzado”. In: Tribuna (1986, 25 July). Aniversario de la cuarentena. *El País*.

⁴⁷⁷ Chuliá, E. (2001). *El poder y la palabra. Prensa y poder político en las dictaduras. El régimen de Franco ante la prensa y el periodismo*, Madrid: UNED, p.99.

⁴⁷⁸ Foucault, M. (1977). Historia de la medicalización. *Educación Médica y Salud*, 11 (1), p.5.

influences that those who returned from exile may carry with them. Only after getting clearance, they would become fully integrated into the machinery of the Regime.⁴⁷⁹

Soon after establishing negotiations with various Francoist contacts, Juan López Sánchez was subjected to this phase of quarantine. In fact, his case required special attention by the Franco authorities given that he had killed one person during his youth and also been a radical anarchist who had spent several years in jail. On top of this he had held a highly compromising job: that of Ministry of Commerce during the Spanish Second Republic. He was aware of the extent to which his background could influence the treatment he would receive by the Francoist Regime upon returning and even after negotiating with the Regime. He was concerned that his “quarantine” could lead him directly to jail. To test the seriousness of his pre-return Francoist negotiations, he made an exploratory short trip to Spain during the spring of 1966 after which he returned to Mexico and wrote the unpublished book *España 1966*, where he revealed that he was pleased with Francoist Spain and not so much with his former anarchist *compañeros*. Juan López Sánchez was quite aware of the controversial effect that his temporary return to Spain in 1966 was going to have among his former comrades: “Mi viaje, cuyo limitado carácter informativo es notorio, se ha convertido en la piedra de escándalo de tiros y troyanos. No me quita el sueño, y espero *desfacer* todos los entuertos que se han puesto en circulación [...].”⁴⁸⁰

It should be noted that the Franco Regime tried to monopolise all dominant ideologies within its territory through the actual physical control of individuals under suspicion who entered and left its borders. How did the Regime do that? Through the practice of house arrest, control of any public appearances by suspects, and any collaboration of returning exiles with the media by authorising or denying such collaboration, and, in some extreme cases, by placing the returnees in solitary confinement. Foucault had theorised about such confinements in the following terms:

El control de la sociedad sobre los individuos no se opera simplemente por la conciencia o por la ideología sino que se ejerce en el cuerpo, con el cuerpo. Para la sociedad capitalista lo importante era lo

⁴⁷⁹ For a detailed analysis of the issue of autarchy as a form of quarantine in Franco’s Spain see: Richards, M. (1998). *A time of silence: civil war and the culture of repression in Franco’s Spain, 1936-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Especially the part entitled “Autarky as social quarantine” pp.22-25 and the second chapter: “Purifying Spain (I): the elimination of dissent” pp.26-46.

⁴⁸⁰ In: (JLS_991_05_01/28-May-1966/Mexico).

biológico, lo somático, lo corporal antes que nada. El cuerpo es una realidad biopolítica; la medicina es una estrategia biopolítica.⁴⁸¹

During the 1960s (the former Minister returned permanently to Spain on 6 June 1967) the Franco Regime, without having been fully integrated within capitalist and democratic Europe, put in place new and relatively sophisticated models for controlling the population.⁴⁸² Some of these models had uncanny parallels with what Foucault⁴⁸³ theorised as the medical and political model of quarantine, which he explained in five steps: “1. Todas las personas debían permanecer en casa para ser localizadas en un lugar único. Cada familia en su hogar y, de ser posible, cada persona en su propio aposento. Nadie se debía mover”. Applied to those who returned to Franco’s Spain, this first step of quarantine meant that once they were back, to move entailed to be placed in the selection of suspects. Obviously an exile was, by definition, a major suspect because, compared to his or her Spanish neighbours, the person living in exile had travelled, had seen other worlds, had read other books and thought other ideas.

Second:

2. La ciudad debía dividirse en barrios a cargo de una autoridad especialmente designada. De este jefe de distrito dependían los inspectores, que debían recorrer las calles durante el día o permanecer en sus extremos para verificar si alguien salía de su vivienda. Se trataba, pues, de un sistema de vigilancia generalizada que dividía y controlaba el espacio urbano.

In the Spanish context, the figure of authority specifically designated to control the daily movements of citizens in their neighbourhoods were the traditional heads of districts and towns, historically embodied in the feared triad Civil Guard–Cacique (or Falangist)–Parish Priest. During the Spanish Civil War and especially during the ten first years of the dictatorship, militarised civilians from the *Falange* patrolled the streets, especially at night, with the mission of ‘purging’, ‘repressing’ and even shooting the ‘contaminated’ supporters of the Republic and spreading fear among them.

With regards to *returnees*, the type of quarantine they were subjected to was based on the request for reports from their former neighbours, the local priest, the Guardia Civil and *Falange* representative. However, not all *de-exiles* were treated equally so, for example, public figures (as Juan López Sánchez was) were treated with more care and subjected to

⁴⁸¹ Foucault, M. (1977). Historia de la medicalización. *Educación Médica y Salud*, 11 (1), p.5.

⁴⁸² On bio-politics in Franco’s Spain see: Cayuela Sánchez, S. (2014). *La biopolítica en la España Franquista*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

⁴⁸³ Foucault, M. (1977). *op. cit.*, p.13.

more subtle controls by Franco's secret service in order to make an efficient eventual propagandist use of their reintegration and collaboration.⁴⁸⁴ Third:

3. Estos vigilantes de calle o de barrio debían presentar todos los días al alcalde de la ciudad un informe detallado de todo lo que habían observado. Se empleaba, por lo tanto, un sistema no sólo de vigilancia sino también de registro centralizado.

In the Spanish case, these guards of the streets or 'tell-tales' (*chivatos*) were informants whose mission was to report about on neighbours' activities. Taking into account those becoming *de-exiled*, a central registry similar to that mentioned by Foucault, collected everything that *returnees* did during their daily routines, including any visits by and contacts with other people, places visited and any suggestion or evidence that such movements and contacts may offer any clue about the likelihood of the person under surveillance going back to their old ways and political activities during the Republic, which were banned and prosecuted under penalty of hard labour and even death. Once this was done: "4. Los inspectores debían pasar revista diariamente a todos los habitantes de la ciudad [...]. Se trataba, pues, de una revisión exhaustiva de los vivos y de los muertos". The Franco Regime relied on Spanish Embassies⁴⁸⁵ to manage *de-exiles* as well as on informants to uncover relevant information regarding who had returned and who had not. In addition, who was returning intermittently (which could be an indication of collaboration with the guerrillas of the *maquis*) or who had returned and stayed. And finally who had returned, but soon had gone away for lack of work, boycott and marginalisation by their neighbours or simply because their memories of Spain were a dream that had vanished forever, preferring to live in exile permanently.

The last point about this social and ideological quarantine, as theorised by Foucault, helps us understand the burden of proof that Francoism imposed on *returnees*: "5. Se procedía a la desinfección casa por casa, con la ayuda de perfumes e inciensos". Metaphorically speaking, the Regime subjected the *returnees* and *des-exiles* to a process of ideological cleansing, which at times involved the expropriation of their properties. In extreme cases, attempts were made to erase the existence of an individual person who had been against the Franco Regime from the collective memory, for example, by imposing silence when someone asked for the

⁴⁸⁴ García-Guirao, P. (2010). La prensa anarquista y el mito franquista de la 'reconciliación nacional': el uso propagandístico de los 'reintegrados a la Patria'. In: Segura, A., and Mayayo, A., (eds.). *La dictadura franquista: la institucionalización de un régimen*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, pp.129-142.

⁴⁸⁵ This task was mainly carried out by the Francoist secret services but also by the Spanish Embassies, at least according to this recent book: Guixé i Corominas, J. (2012). *Diplomacia y Represión. La persecución hispanofrancesa del exilio republicano 1937-1951*. Madrid: Luarna.

individual, avoiding mentioning certain individuals and events in textbooks, using censorship and destroying historical documents. For nearly forty years of dictatorship, the Francoist Regime ensured the continuation of the Civil War by means of archival purges or deletion from the collective memory.⁴⁸⁶ To the mountain of corpses that the Regime produced, particularly over the first decade of its existence, we must add mountains of official documents that recorded –with great rigor and efficiency– the accounting of that killing machine.⁴⁸⁷ Once the Regime had eliminated the witnesses of a peace enforced by arms, the Regime also had to eliminate the records of the witnesses.

The management of *returnees* not always entailed exclusion and expulsion (this would be “the model of leprosy” following Foucault’s reasoning). Instead, returning exiles were immersed in a quarantine situation alike to “the model of the plague” that Foucault brilliantly theorised in the following terms:

El poder político de la medicina consistía en distribuir a los individuos unos al lado de otros, aislarlos, individualizarlos, vigilarlos uno a uno, verificar su estado de salud, comprobar si vivían o habían muerto, y en mantener así a la sociedad en un espacio dividido, inspeccionado, constantemente vigilado y controlado por un registro lo más completo posible de todos los fenómenos ocurridos.⁴⁸⁸

Since then, the discipline and even the punishment of those “contagious ills” –whether real or ideological– imposed by the Francoist quarantine had little to do with medicine but everything to do with surveillance and prevention: “[...] Disease metaphors quickly lead to military metaphors and military solutions”.⁴⁸⁹ Using this metaphor of quarantine in the *de-exilic* realm, I have taken the analysis of Francoist’ management of returnees beyond a figurative language and into the military sphere: “the use of a metaphor such as disease is not just a tool of language (a discursive trick), but a kind of understanding and a way of acting”.⁴⁹⁰ Therefore, quarantine was an instrument to exclude some people from certain places. As a result, in Francoist Spain, exiles and *returnees* (not yet *de-exiles*) occupied a marginal space. Their fates depended on the use that the Regime might make of them and,

⁴⁸⁶ For this respect see: Aguilar, P. (2002). *Memory and Amnesia. The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books. Specially chapter 2: “From the Justification of the War to the Exaltation of Peace: the Development of Official Discourse During the Franco Period” pp.29-148.

⁴⁸⁷ Two reference books that analyse the regimen’s violent repression are: Casanova, J. (2002). *Morir, matar, sobrevivir: la violencia en la dictadura de Franco*. Barcelona: Crítica; and Preston, P. (2011). *El holocausto español. Odio y exterminio en la Guerra Civil y después*. Barcelona: Debate.

⁴⁸⁸ Foucault, M. (1977). Historia de la medicalización. *Educación Médica y Salud*, 11 (1), p.14.

⁴⁸⁹ Cresswell, T. (1997). Weeds, Plagues, and Bodily Secretions: A Geographical Interpretation of Metaphors of Displacement. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 87 (2), p.339.

⁴⁹⁰ Cresswell, T. (1997). *op. cit.*, p.339.

above all, as will be discussed below, on the degree of integration and collaboration that they were prepared to agree to with the Francoist apparatus.

Integration into the Francoist apparatus

The third and final component of this process of *acclimation* was the integration into the Francoist apparatus or, in other words, the change of status from *returnee* to *de-exile*. This process began by working in the regeneration or reconstruction of the *returnee*'s public image. This process tried to exploit propagandistically the image of the *returnee* as someone who regretted (and repented, in a religious sense) his or her past actions but not necessarily as someone who had forgotten his or her past life history. According to Esteva Fabregat: "El desexilio no consistía, por lo tanto, en suprimir de la memoria el exilio, sino en crear otra experiencia, la del mundo propio de la realidad social que se vivía todos los días".⁴⁹¹ Contrary to Benedetti's suggestions, according to this way of understanding *de-exile*, the *returnees* did not have to remember to forget (*acordarse de olvidar*) their lives in exile, or ignore the silence coming from forgotten memories (*recuerdos olvidados*). The Francoist Regime did not want its *returnees* to restart their lives in Spain as if nothing had happened. On the contrary, the Regime wanted them to verbalise openly that they were mistaken in their ideologies and above all, that they had been ideologically fanatical throughout their time in exile. In the case of the former Minister, he needed to reject from his past publically. He was not allowed to remain silent as other exiles (e.g. José Ortega y Gasset) were when they returned to the Francoist Spain. This did not only happen to *returnees* but also to those Spaniards who remained inside Spain during the Franco Regime but did not agree with its ideological principles. They paid the price of being silenced: "Esta gente que vivía en el exilio interior podía sobrevivir en un mundo hostil, al permanecer silenciosa respecto al pasado".⁴⁹² Moreover, those who wanted to be reintegrated needed to abandon silence and express regret.

During the first four years of *de-exile* Juan López Sánchez lived under an unofficial trial period in which the Franco Regime scrutinised the sincerity of his long-awaited return and his

⁴⁹¹ Esteva Fabregat, C. (2009). *Exilio y desexilio: experiencia de una Antropología*. México-Madrid-Barcelona. *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 13 (28), p.20.

⁴⁹² Willemse, H. (2006). *Desde los muertos hasta los vivos. Memorias casi perdidas: los anarcosindicalistas exiliados en el exterior y en el interior*. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales [edición electrónica] p.16. (Accessed: 17/12/2010).

expiation of guilt. He symbolically managed to gain his public absolution with these little actions. Even the Francoist press referred to him as a former Minister of the Republic without any negative adjectives or comments. Once in Madrid, Juan López Sánchez justified his dialogue with the *Sindicato Vertical* on the idea that Spain enjoyed a certain kind of freedom. According to him, this was even visible in the newspapers, where it was possible to read a plurality of views –some of which even expressed controversial positions towards the Francoist principles. He insisted that after the passing of the *Ley de Prensa e Imprenta* of 1966 (commonly referred to as the *Ley Fraga*) Spain lived in an almost free society:

Hoy se pueden citar testimonios recortados de la prensa para sostener las perspectivas más diversas y contradictorias, por una razón muy sencilla: que hay libertad de circulación de ideas, y que esa libertad, que algunos la niegan viéndola dentro, y los más no la reconocen desde fuera, es una libertad que ya va con el régimen. Que está en los modos de la sociedad española, sin posibilidad de erradicarla, como está en las perspectivas de desarrollo del régimen ya institucionalizado, aunque todavía no se hayan acomodado las piezas que componen el sistema.⁴⁹³

Juan López Sánchez had been arguing against about this fanaticism of exiles since the very end of the Civil War. For him, this extremism had harmed the exile community and jeopardised any chances of arriving at a political agreement with the majority of Spaniards. His political regret began with his opposition to a violent political solution for Spain and his rejection of a restored Republic. He accepted the impossibility of a violent solution for Spain. Francoism was a national and international reality. For him a revolution was just unthinkable. However, the former anarchist believed that Francoist Spain was already under an evolution and a transition toward democracy. To deny this process of change was, according to him, an attitude typical of certain groups of exiles who were always thinking (after almost 30 years) in terms of the Civil War. Juan López Sánchez verbalised this position several times throughout his life. For instance, in 1968 he wrote the following reflections when he was already in Madrid:

Quienes no reconozcan que el régimen no está en quiebra, sino que evoluciona; quienes, por motivos humanos explicables pero no justificables, continúen empecinados en actitudes de “guerra civil”; quienes por motivos ideológicos y políticos no acepten otra democracia que la del derecho a formar partidos; quienes continúen considerándose con derecho a formar su propia central sindical; quienes, por los motivos que sean, consideren que en España no se puede hacer nada sin cambiar el régimen, será muy difícil que se avengan a estudiar planes de trabajo que ya por principio niegan. Y no ya los “cinco puntos” sino hasta los mandamientos de Cristo han de rechazar.⁴⁹⁴

This picture of the supposed ideological intransigence among some elements in exile formed the background for Juan López Sánchez' early idea of discarding any nostalgic restoration of

⁴⁹³ In: (JLS_991_05_04/?-Dec-1968/Madrid).

⁴⁹⁴ In: (JLS_991_05_04/?-Dec-1968/Madrid).

the Republic. He insisted that the Republic was gone and he did not believe in the reappearance of the political parties of 1936 or even in any new post-Civil War political parties. Instead, he thought that trade unions, specifically, a unique trade union, was a democratic way of resolving the problems of Spain.⁴⁹⁵

Also central to the *de-exile* conception was the idea of expiating the “sins” of those exiles wanting to reintegrate themselves into Francoist Spain. The Franco Regime, as in an act of religious confession, asked those who returned to perform a public ‘confession’. After that, mirroring the Christian catechism, *returnees* would be asked to repent not only the acts committed in the past but also for the ideology that they had professed before and during the Civil War. At that stage, public repentance guaranteed the possibility of *de-exile*, that is, of total social and political reintegration. With this act, the *returnee* became a public supporter of the Regime, and that is when the process of *de-exile*, strictly speaking, started. The religious issue was a very delicate one for the Regime. We see the importance of this issue by looking, for instance, at what Juan López Sánchez, who was at the time living together with his partner without the blessing of the Catholic Church) stated in the Francoist media. In an interview for *SP* he declared himself as a Christian but not very attached to the Catholic Church:

-¿Usted es cristiano?
 -Fundamentalmente creo que soy cristiano, sin comulgar con la Iglesia...
 -¿...?
 -Soy amigo de muchos católicos fervientes, digamos de “Los de comunión diaria”; y hay algunos que no quieren mucho a los curas. O sea no aceptan la obediencia al sacerdote. Como todos los españoles, soy católico por inscripción en el registro de nacimiento. El cristianismo es un código de conducta moral; entraña un principio de fe que no todos los hombres alcanzan a comprenderlo de la misma forma y hondura. Quien observa y sigue ese código, creo yo, es de hecho un cristiano. Mejor o peor que otros, el cristiano lo veo a través de sus actos.⁴⁹⁶

As mentioned above, his declarations were not very conciliatory, and the Regime eventually pressured him to show more enthusiasm for the Catholic Church. Marrying his partner at the

⁴⁹⁵ “A mi modo de ver el problema de España –teniendo en la trastienda mental la imagen de un mundo en turbulenta pero inevitable transformación- ya no se puede pensar en la ‘reaparición’ de partidos políticos como gestores de la administración pública. Los sindicatos vendrán a sustituirlos, si bien la formación y estructuración tácticas y su estructuración. Por ejemplo, no se puede pensar en la continuidad de dos o más centrales sindicales, si aceptamos el punto de vista de que los sindicatos han de convertirse en eje del desarrollo de la economía y deben asumir consiguientemente funciones gestoras de la administración pública. Asimismo, el concepto clasista debe dejar paso a una concepción más amplia y humana, esto es, los sindicatos al servicio del Hombre, no del proletariado. Ya se ha comprobado, por las experiencias vividas en los últimos cuarenta años –por lo menos– que la toma del poder a nombre del proletariado se convierte inevitablemente en dictadura política de un partido. La vieja idea de la toma del poder económico por los sindicatos daría los mismos resultados. Los fines del sindicalismo según yo concibo deben tener en cuenta los valores éticos y políticos del principio democrático. (En puridad, la democracia llevada a sus lógicas consecuencias es esencialmente libertaria)”. In: (JLS_991_01_21/07-Sept-1963/Mexico).

⁴⁹⁶ In: (JLS_990_08_38/Diario SP 15/4/69 “Entrevista con Juan López” nº 497).

age of 70 (See Chapter 1 *Juan López Sánchez in an Anarchist Context*) could be seen as part of a public display of enthusiasm for the Regime's institutionalised religion.

It can be concluded that the Regime ensured first that the "political conversion" from republicanism to Francoism which Juan López Sánchez, as well as other returnee exiles, was willing to undergo was legitimate. Secondly, the Francoist apparatus provided *de-exiles* with a good job that included public and social prestige. Arguably, this entailed a sense of forgiveness and acceptance. The Regime would later use this type of reintegration as political propaganda against the exiles that remained abroad. This favouritism and full integration within the bureaucratic Francoist apparatus worked in both directions and provided mutual benefits to both *de-exiles* and the Regime. This is exemplified by an interview for the Spanish media in which a journalist asked the former Minister about his reasons for returning at the age of 66. He replied that his position at SALTUV worked for him as a form of compensation in exchange for a life of constant misfortune while in exile:

-¿Cómo que abandonó México a los 66 años, para establecerse en España?

-Para venir a España, a mis años, necesitaba tener trabajo, una vez que desaparecieran las causas políticas derivadas de la guerra que lo impedían. Se me ofreció el empleo que desempeño en Saltuv, de cuya existencia tenía vagas noticias. Y estoy ampliamente satisfecho, porque trabajar para una empresa que interpreta las ideas por las que luché toda mi vida, es de verdad una compensación. Estoy mucho más contento que incluso cuando ocupé el cargo de ministro...⁴⁹⁷

Juan López Sánchez, in his effort to show gratitude to the Franco Regime, downplayed the importance of his position as Minister of Commerce during the Spanish Second Republic. His position at SALTUV seemingly gave him more satisfaction than holding the position of Minister. Seen from this perspective, the idea of the ideological immutability that he maintained throughout his life as a shield or protection ad fallen down. Correspondingly, in his memoirs, he said flatly: "El Juan López que salió por el aeródromo de Rabasa, de Alicante, el 25 de marzo de 1939 era el mismo Juan López que aterrizó en Barajas una mañana del 6 de junio de 1967".⁴⁹⁸ As can be guessed, the Minister wrote these words as a way to fend off attacks from those who saw him as an opportunist: "No es ningún tipo de oportunismo ni conveniencia personal lo que me ha inducido a integrarme, sin reticencias, en el sindicalismo que muchos, por chochez mental, denominan 'oficial'".⁴⁹⁹

Having examined Juan López Sánchez' pre-exile period, and comparing it with his work while in exile and that of his post-exile period (or *de-exile*), one can conclude that there is at

⁴⁹⁷ (JLS_990_08_38/Diario SP 15/4/69 "Entrevista con Juan López" nº 497). [Emphasis added]

⁴⁹⁸ López Sánchez, J. (1972). *Una misión sin importancia*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, p.55.

⁴⁹⁹ López Sánchez, J. (1972). *op. cit.*, p.59.

least one point of continuity between what the former Minister defended in 1936 and what he stood for in 1967, the year of his return. He always interpreted his patriotism as an immutable continuum that linked all the phases of his ideological journey. As mentioned previously, it was his sense of Spanish nationalism that drew him to the Francoist *Sindicato Vertical*.

This chapter has focused on the ideological questions surrounding Juan López Sánchez' justification to engage with the Francois apparatus. The next chapter analyses a totally different –but also key dimension– of Juan López Sánchez' return to Spain: his belief that returning to Spain would improve his physical health.

Chapter 8

The Psychosomatic Elements of Exile, Return and *De-exile*

History is what hurts.⁵⁰⁰

Experts do not hesitate to make a direct connection between migration and mental health.⁵⁰¹ This chapter discusses a final paradigm for understanding the research question: How did the Spanish exile and anarchist former government Minister Juan López Sánchez construct, justify and put into practice a discourse of return to Francoist Spain? This paradigm is related to health, to the physical and psychological issues in exile. Described as an ‘odyssey’ and a ‘hostile’ situation, exile was for him a state that did not permit a single moment of ‘spiritual peace’. The so-called “Spanish exile” was formed – according to him – by “[...] millares de españoles que nunca podrán hallar paz espiritual en la infortunada vida del exilio”.⁵⁰² Bearing in mind this asseveration the chapter looks at the development of a discourse of sickness (in both a physical and psychological sense) in conjunction with Juan López Sánchez’ discourse of exile, return and *de-exile*. From his earliest days in England, the former Minister’s correspondences began to make constant references to asthma as the centre of his life and to the necessity of moving to another place with better weather for the treatment of his disease. Spain, or rather the final return to Spain was converted into medicine (sometimes real and sometimes imaginary) for the *exilic diseases*.

⁵⁰⁰ Jameson, F. (1981). *The Political Unconscious: Narrative As a Socially Symbolic Act*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, p.102.

⁵⁰¹ Avargues, M. L., & Orellana, M. C. (2008). Diez referencias destacadas acerca de la inmigración: abordaje desde la Psicología Clínica y de la Salud. *Anuario de Psicología Clínica y de la Salud/Annuary of Clinical & Health Psychology*, 4, 33-44.

⁵⁰² In: (JLS_990_5_4/?/London).

Therefore, I discuss how the former Minister first wanted to move to Oran (Algeria) because it seemed to have the same climate as Alicante (Spain); something that he could not do due to various problems (such as financial solvency, political strategies and cultural differences). Instead he changed his discourse and remained seemingly satisfied living on the coast of England despite the fact that his letters constantly appealed to the discourse of illness in order to justify finding a similar place to Spain. Eventually, the country that took the coveted place of Spain was Mexico. However, this country did not change his opinion about returning to Franco Spain *for therapeutic reasons*. So let us see to what extent psychosomatic issues contributed to Juan López Sánchez' “political conversion”⁵⁰³ and return to Spain.

8.1. PSYCHOSIS OF THE BODY

Longing for home exhausted the ‘vital spirits’, causing nausea, loss of appetite, pathological changes in the lungs, brain inflammation, cardiac arrests, high fever, as well as marasmus and a propensity for suicide.⁵⁰⁴

Scholars have been able to agree on exactly what is the nexus between exile and nostalgia.⁵⁰⁵ This line of thinking originally forged on the description of exile as a “[...] searingly painful experience of mental and emotional anguish”.⁵⁰⁶ Historically and theoretically, this tendency focuses on different but synonymous terms that insist on a set of mental and even psychosomatic ‘side effects’ of exile. For example, Svetlana Boym often described these symptoms as “hypochondria of the heart”.⁵⁰⁷ Meanwhile, psychoanalysts refer to it as “psychosis of the body”.⁵⁰⁸ In the context of contemporary massive migration studies, psychiatrists use a more complex and technical term and they speak about “Ulysses

⁵⁰³ I use the term “political conversion” basing my readings on the book: Kestel, L. (2010). *La conversion politique. Doriot, le PPF et la question du fascisme français*. Paris: Raisons d’agir.

⁵⁰⁴ Boym, S. (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, p.4.

⁵⁰⁵ Valis, N. (2000). Nostalgia and exile, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 1:2, pp.117-133.

⁵⁰⁶ Valis, N. (2000). *op. cit.*, p.117.

⁵⁰⁷ Boym, S. (2001). *op. cit.*, p.1.

⁵⁰⁸ “Other individuals have an apparently conflict-free period and a few years later experience general collapse, in the form, among others, of a depressive or borderline or delayed psychotic state, or a somatic illness (gastric ulcer, cancer, myocardial infarction, and so on), which we suggest could be considered a ‘psychosis of the body.’ One explanation as to why these delayed reactions appear may be that they occur when the person loses the fantasy that the migration is temporary with the hope of prompt return, and it gradually dawns on him –for some it is a wrenching realization– that the loss and separation are definitive and irreversible”. In: Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives On Migration And Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.145.

syndrome" –also called "Immigrant Syndrome with Chronic and Multiple Stress".⁵⁰⁹ From an essay point of view, the writer Paul Tabori described them using the following expression: *Bacillus Emigraticus*.⁵¹⁰ After all, no matter how these diseases are labelled, all of them are characterised by permanent nostalgia, which interferes in the normal development of the life of those living in exile, even causing serious mental and physical illnesses.

After a thorough reading of the historical origins of nostalgia, it is commonly accepted that around 1688, this word was coined to describe a set of psychosomatic problems caused by an uncontrollable desire to return to the homeland. Its origins lie with a study of a group of Swiss merchants in France and Italy. Its etymology (*nostos*–, home, and *-algia*, pain) implies a feeling of sorrow or sadness produced by the absence of the homeland or loved ones.⁵¹¹ The greater the period away, the greater the obsessions produced by the desire to return.⁵¹² Juan López Sánchez predicted that the longer he spent in exile the more difficult return and integration into Spain would be. As we will see at the end of this chapter, for Spanish exiles return became a real obsession:

Los "transterrados" como los calificara José Gaos, creyeron durante muchos años que pronto podrían pasar la próxima Navidad en su tierra, y por ello no ha de extrañar que toda su vida se orientara entonces 'en la idea de nuestra vuelta a España' como subrayó Nicolás Sánchez Albornoz.⁵¹³

This uncontrolled feeling of longing for the past was common among them "ocnophile" persons. In 1959, the psychologist Michael Balint coined the term to refer to the following features:

[...] Ocnophiles are characterized by their great attachment to people, places, and objects; they usually have a great many friends, and it is vitally important for them always to be near someone (not necessarily the same person at all times) who can offer help and understanding.⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰⁹ Atxotegui, J. (2004). Emigrar en situación extrema: el Síndrome del inmigrante con estrés crónico y múltiple (Síndrome de Ulises). *Norte de Salud mental*, 21, 39-52. An English version of the article exists: Atxotegui, J. (2004). Immigrants Living in Extreme Situation. Immigrant Syndrome with Chronic and Multiple Stress (The Ulysses Syndrome). *Journal of the Spanish Association of Neuropsychiatry*, 7 (21), 39-53.

⁵¹⁰ "Still others spoke of the psychosis dubbed 'bacillus emigraticus', the virus of nostalgia and homesickness that is so powerful that it turns the exile almost into a 'fellow-traveller'. And the virulence and frequency of this infection are apparently closely linked to the *age* at which the exile leaves his country —just as age is an important element in the general semantics of our subject". In: Tabori, P. (1972). *The Anatomy of Exile. A Semantic and Historical Study*. London: Harrap, p.33.

⁵¹¹ García-Guirao, P. (2013). 'The Ground Rots Equally Everywhere': Federica Montseny and those who Returned to Die in the Francoist Spain. In: *Coming Home? Vol. 1: Conflict and Return Migration in the Aftermath of Europe's Twentieth-Century Civil Wars*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, p.75.

⁵¹² "La melancolía, la nostalgia se adueñaron pronto de estos hombres desparramados por Europa, África y América, pues tenían la ilusión de estar de paso en suelo extraño y se eternizaba su situación". In: Bertrand de Muñoz, M. (1999). El ansiado retorno en la novelística española de posguerra. *Hispania*, 82 (2), p.192.

⁵¹³ Bertrand de Muñoz, M. (1999). *op. cit.*, 191.

⁵¹⁴ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.21.

This term invokes notions of origin and identity (see in Chapter 6, *Problems of Identity*). Nostalgia for Spain was nostalgia for the exiles' origin and past. The "good old days" were remembered nostalgically as the best days they ever had; however, that was an involuntary manipulation of reality, or in other words, they were memories they made up using an idealised past, of sceneries and events before 1936. This collective nostalgia was positive only in the way that it forged a cultural identity among them, a certain sense of group position, a cohesion based on memories and a bond among those who shared an origin.⁵¹⁵ In its negative interpretation, nostalgia directly challenged both the mental and physical health of those living in exile. It produced a set of symptoms linked to a sense of lost. For example, in 1964, coinciding with the death of one of Juan López Sánchez' friends he started to feel as a mere shadow of the past, an historical remembrance:

Pestaña, Peiró, Alfarache, Masoni, por aquella época -¿tan lejana o tan próxima?- formábamos una piña. Aquel grupo, nexo de otro más amplio, se está extinguiendo. He vivido todas las fases de su desintegración –las motivadas por causas político-ideológicas y las que nos impuso inexorablemente la Parca- y casi puedo decir aquello de "¡Qué solos se quedan los muertos!" ¿Pues acaso no estamos ya siendo recuerdo, sombra del pasado, expediente clausurado por la historia?⁵¹⁶

Related to the previous letter, psychoanalysts have also described these negative experiences under the Freudian notion of 'mourning', that is, as a situation of tension and loss. But first of all, we should look at the meaning that Freud gave to 'mourning': "Mourning is regularly the reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one's country, liberty, an ideal, and so on".⁵¹⁷ Even so, the boundaries between the normal attitude to these life events and the pathological reactions are not always very clear. Freud hold that those boundaries were the key for understanding to what extent 'mourning' and 'melancholy' are similar. To clarify this point the following are the symptoms of melancholy:

The distinguishing mental features of melancholia are a profoundly painful dejection, cessation of interest in the outside world, loss of the capacity to love, inhibition of all activity, and a lowering of the self-regarding feelings to a degree that finds utterance in self-reproaches and self-revilings, and culminates in a delusional expectation of punishment.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ "La nostalgia del origen es constitutiva de un sentimiento medular, idealizado también en la representación literaria, destinado a mantener la cohesión, las raíces, el recuerdo y el vínculo al origen." In: Bustillo, J. (2006). Los retornos: sueño, horizonte, destino y mito. In: Alted Vigil, A. & Asenjo, A. (Coord.). *De la España que emigra a la España que acoge*. Madrid: Fundación Francisco Caballero, p. 381.

⁵¹⁶ In: (JLS_991_02_04/18-March-1964, Mexico).

⁵¹⁷ Freud, S. (1957). Mourning and melancholia. In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIV (1914-1916)*. London: The Hogarth Press, p. 243.

⁵¹⁸ Freud, S. (1957). *op. cit.*, p. 244.

Given this explanation, Spain became the loved object that no longer existed for those living in exile.⁵¹⁹ Spain became an obsession or, using Freudian terminology, “a strong fixation to the loved object”.⁵²⁰ There was indeed a process of change within the psychic structure of migrants; one that produced an idealisation of Spain while in exile. This idealisation worsened feelings of nostalgia and melancholy:

Estos procesos provocan la añoranza impotente del país natal, que a veces lleva a la creación de una minicomunidad, como también a una pseudoadaptación estereotipada en base a concepciones ilusorias del lugar. En ambos casos la idealización se acompaña de intensa persecución y aislamiento de la realidad.⁵²¹

For all of these reasons, political exiles often fell to feelings of melancholy. As Freud maintained, the disappearance or real death of the loved object is not necessary (Spain, for example, remained in the same place) for melancholy to arise. That is: “The object has not perhaps actually died, but has been lost as an object of love”.⁵²² Due to this situation, the person ends up suffering psychosomatic disorders, such as sleeplessness, asthma, depression, obsessional neurosis,⁵²³ and gastric and food disorders that I will analyse in the following sections.

Concretely, in the context of migrations, Dr Joseba Atxotegui supports this previous view pointing out up to seven types of “mourning”: 1. Mourning family and friends; 2. Mourning language; 3. Mourning culture; 4. Mourning land and ground; 5. Mourning economic and social status; 6. Mourning an ethnic group; and, 7. Mourning physical risks.⁵²⁴ However, the psychosomatic and depressive problems were not necessarily generalised among political exiles. These problems emerged pathologically only among exiles who were not able to overcome every previous type of mourning. In fact, it may be said that the majority of exiles dealt with all these seven mourning in a non-pathological way, because: “[...] normal mourning overcomes [...] the loss of the object and it, too, while it lasts, absorbs all the energies of the ego”.⁵²⁵ However, Balibrea goes further in her personal interpretation of these issues. According to her, nostalgia and melancholia were a common defeated thread of a

⁵¹⁹“Reality-testing has shown that the loved object no longer exists, and it proceeds to demand that all libido shall be withdrawn from its attachments to that object”. In: Freud, S. (1957). *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁵²⁰ Freud, S. (1957). *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁵²¹ Vispo, C.A. & Podruzny, M. (2002). Cambios de la estructuración psíquica en la migración. *Psicoanálisis APdeBA*, 24, p.228.

⁵²² Freud, S. (1957). Mourning and melancholia. In: *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIV (1914-1916)*. London: The Hogarth Press, p. 245.

⁵²³ Freud, S. (1957). *op. cit.*, p. 251.

⁵²⁴ Atxotegui, J. (2000). Los duelos de la migración: una aproximación psicopatológica y psicosocial. *E Perdiguer y JM Comelles. Medicina y Cultura. Estudios entre la Antropología y la Medicina*, 5, 16-25.

⁵²⁵ Freud, S. (1957). *op. cit.*, p. 255.

national modern project –the Spanish Second Republic. Then, the previous symptoms would not be a personal or private problem, or specific to an individual but the general spirit of the “Spanish Exile”. Melancholy and nostalgia in the “Spanish Exile” formed, and form, a key element in the historiography about the Spanish Second Republic:

The Second Republic incarnates a form of modern state and a once viable path to modernity that feel irretrievably lost and dead to the present of constitutionally-monarchic Spain. And therefore, the study of Republican exile, as an intellectual and political practice, is haunted by the pathos of melancholia and the shadow of nostalgia.⁵²⁶

This description is relevant for the macro perspective, but this thesis focuses on one individual political actor. Juan López Sánchez saw exiles as only unhealthy individuals muddling [“dando tumbos por el mundo”]; he also added the physical problems as a reason for changing the country of residence while in exile:

Por razones de salud, cuyos detalles omito para no dar a esta carta un tino demasiado dramático, hace varios meses que me vi en la necesidad de pensar en hallar asilo en otro país que por sus condiciones climatológicas –y también, en gran medida, por motivos del idioma- me fuese posible intentar remedio a mi situación, física y económicamente consideraba. Un buen amigo mío, que también lo es tuyo, me sugirió Méjico, donde parece ser el clima es maravilloso para los enfermos del pecho. Después de vencer las dificultades de orden legal, que como sabes, existen en dicho país para la entrada de refugiados políticos, y sin duda gracias a la intervención del Sr. D. Félix Gordón Ordás, en fecha 22 del pasado mes se me ha concedido permiso de entrada como asilado político a mi esposa y a mí.⁵²⁷

As far as I know, the former Minister was not a reader of psychology in the least. Nevertheless, he had very accurate ideas regarding the extent to which the psychological problems of exiles ended up creating physiological problems. For him, as he mentioned in the following letter, pessimism, worries and lack of humour in front of difficulties undermined the health of those Spaniards living in exile:

Bueno, dejemos la reforma y la política. Cuida tu salud y no decaigas. No se tiene más que una vida, amigo Horacio. El estado de salud física también se debe muchas veces a que moralmente nos dejamos ganar por el pesimismo. Quiero decir que no sabemos tomar con buen humor los malos tiempos. Procura despreocuparte un poco de las cosas. Ese es un lujo que se pueden tomar todas las personas que de por sí se preocupan demasiado de todo, como nosotros. En fin, me vas a mandar al cuerno con tanto dar consejos, y para evitarlo hago punto final.⁵²⁸

While that letter from 1948 finished with “Anyway, you are going to send me to hell because of the amount of advices I am giving to you [...]” he changed his discourse just five years later. For all this time, he had been giving advice to friends but he was not able to follow his own advice. In other words, despite his clear previous diagnosis pointing out that pessimism,

⁵²⁶ Balibrea, M.P. (2005). Rethinking Spanish republican exile. An introduction. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 6 (1), p.6.

⁵²⁷ In: (JLS_991_01_15/23-March-1954/Brighton).

⁵²⁸ In: (JLS_237_8_16/12-Jan-1948/Brighton).

worries and lack of humour undermined the health of an exile, he fell into the hands of *exilic diseases*. His bad health conditions affected his mood or state of mind and vice versa:

Esa es la causa de mi silencio, querido amigo. El estado de la salud física ha repercutido en lo psíquico y mi cerebro se halla en un estado de sopor deplorable. Y como siempre llueve sobre mojado, al problema de la salud se sumó el de la casa. Tuvimos que hacer un nuevo cambio [...].⁵²⁹

This “deplorable stupor” could only be alleviated by dreaming and building hopes up for a future return to Spain. As can be read in some of his letters, at the end of Juan López Sánchez’ exile, the former Minister defined himself as a Quixotic figure, almost physically destroyed but living and fighting thanks to his dreams, illusions, hopes and memories.⁵³⁰ Far from seeing things through rose-coloured glasses, he spoke clearly at the end of his trajectory about the necessity of creating social and personal illusions and desires, as a manoeuvre to resist the harsh reality. Thus, I can reinforce my argument that the former Minister changed his rigid conception of exile for a more humane and sentimental one. If in chapters 4 to 7 I have focused on the study of Juan López Sánchez’ critique of those living in exile who had escaped from reality basing their whole lives on hopes, illusions and idealisations of Spain, an aged former Minister admitted that he could not have lived in exile without those ideals that once he had so severely criticized. By 1961, he changed his discourse about the negativity of the illusions in those living in exile. In that time, he began to think that the illusions or the mental images could cure the spirit of those in exile:

Hay muchos estados mentales tales como ‘ilusión’, ‘esperanza’, ‘sueño’, y muchos más que no se pueden valorar por meras definiciones del diccionario de la lengua. Todo lo que puede representarse en nuestra mente por efecto de la imaginación sin palpable sentido de realidad, actúa como energía en nuestro espíritu, y la fuerza del espíritu humano lo puede todo. La cura de algunas enfermedades, o al menos su alivio, ya se hace hoy echando mano de esa facultad de la mente.⁵³¹

Nevertheless, despite the positive effects of these hopes and dreams, it was not always possible to avoid a harsh life in exile. Otherwise stated, the strength of the positive attitude among exiles suffered continuous blows, which ended up undermining the health of Spanish exiles. In the following sections, I will analyse the unhealthy aspects produced by a permanent upset state of mind due to exile, nostalgia and melancholia.

⁵²⁹ In: (JLS_990_2_42/06-July-1953, Brighton). [Emphasis mine]

⁵³⁰ José Luis Abellán (2001) enforces this symbolic connection between Quixote and those living in exile in his book: *El exilio como constante y como categoría*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva. Especifically in the chapter: “Don Quijote: un símbolo del exilio”, pp.207-221.

⁵³¹ In: (JLS_237_05_03/21-November-1961/México).

The asthma of exiles

According to Svetlana Boym's opening quote, there is a common symptomatology among those living in exile. Amongst those symptoms, in Juan López Sánchez' case, those "pathological changes in the lungs" were the most prominent. I mention this health problem because asthma is going to be present as a justification in his discourse on returning to Francoist Spain and because he devoted a lot of space in his letters to this specific problem. It is also important because from a philosophical point of view it allows us to analyse how medical anthropology becomes part of world politics, to study a paradoxical situation where the bio-political contexts created by politicians have an impact on themselves. I also consider this angle relevant because it suggests that political decisions sometimes have to do with the body and physiological state rather than with ideologies.

My argument is based on the idea that the highly stressful and emotional situation of a forced exile ends up tormenting both the body and psyche. One very convincing point to analyse to what extent psychological and emotional problems experienced by exiles were harmful to their health state is the following self-diagnosis by Juan López Sánchez: "Tengo asma bronquial, enfisema pulmonar, y otras cosas hijas de los 65 años. Y tengo, quizá en una proporción 'inmedible', un estado psíquico emocional que domina sobre todo lo demás".⁵³² This predominant emotional state and its set of corporal disorders pointed out by the former Minister started (as stated in Chapter 1 *Juan López Sánchez in an anarchist context*) coincidentally with his first migration, that is, during the 1910s, when he had to move with his parents and siblings from the village of Bullas (Murcia) to Barcelona. Over the years and especially after his political exile began (when he was 40 years old), his respiratory problems worsened.

Asthma was present for Juan López Sánchez from the very beginning of his exile in England. So much so that a few weeks after entering this country, when he had to fill out some immigration forms in a police station, he had his first asthma attack there in a foreign country. In a letter to a friend he described this episode, emphasising his wish to return home as soon as possible.⁵³³ In the same sense as Svetlana Boym's previous quote, one of the main arguments for explaining this sort of emotional asthma is that those living in exile have to

⁵³² In: (JLS_237_05_17/10-August-1965/México).

⁵³³ "Y hoy mismo, al mismo tiempo de ir con Carmen a la policía, pensé llegarme a visitarte, pero el asma me acosa ya hace días y después de comunicar a la policía nuestro nuevo domicilio no me he sentido bien, teniendo que regresar a casa". In: (JLS_990_1_20/18-March-1940/London).

deal with stressful situations that modify the normal functioning of their bodies, with *psychosomatic disturbances* emerging.⁵³⁴

Although not all exiles ended up suffering from these *exilic diseases*, the fact is that Juan López Sánchez' asthma was not an unusual or odd case. For example, the world-famous Spanish writer Ramón J. Sender (a former anarchist and later communist) lived in exile in California, where he worked at San Diego State University. He also suffered from this “asma maldita!”⁵³⁵ and his new place was ‘suffocating’ him. Consequently, he expressed the same idea as the former Minister: only a climate similar to the Spanish one would alleviate his respiratory problems. Consequently, Sender’s asthma was, according to him, one of the reasons for returning to Spain. In effect, he temporarily returned in 1969 to pick up a literary prize and his visits became more frequent from the 1970s on. Paradoxically, these visits did not have the healthy effect he was expecting because after his return to Spain, his asthma worsened and he needed to move to California again, where he found relief. It may be said that he could not bear living in Spain anymore, where his former wife Amparo Barayón was executed at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. Therefore, according to some researchers, the asthma was a psychosomatic reaction to those painful memories and Spain acted to remind him of those sad days.⁵³⁶ Another famous asthma case among exiles was Mario Benedetti. The world-famous Uruguayan writer (also a political refugee) used to travel every winter from his native Uruguay to Las Palmas (Canary Islands–Spain) because of health issues,⁵³⁷ in fact, he described his relationship with asthma with an excellent sense of humour in a story entitled “El fin de la disnea” [“The end of the dyspnea”].⁵³⁸ In the same way, he relates in another novel what seems to be an autobiographical asthmatic attack or difficulty in breathing while he was in Argentina: “Un par de años antes, en mi exilio porteño, en mi apartamento de solo en Las Heras y Pueyrredón, pasé por un trance bastante

⁵³⁴ “At time, the price of the effort to overcome a problem at the emotional level is displacement of the conflict to the body. It is then that psychosomatic disturbances appear. There may be of a diverse nature: digestive symptoms (the person cannot ‘digest’ the experience of migration, or the ‘new food’), respiratory symptoms (the new place is suffocating), circulatory symptoms (the environment and its demands produce pressure on the arteries and heart), and so on. The person may have a greater propensity to accidents, disguised suicide attempts. Instead of somatic symptoms, some immigrants display fantasies and hypochondriacal fears”. In: Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.94.

⁵³⁵ Villanueva, A. (1999). Ramón J. Sender: Travesía y regreso de un naufrago. *Trébede. Mensual aragonés de análisis, opinión y cultura*, 32, p.55.

⁵³⁶ Paúles Sánchez, S. & Ruiz Vega, F.A. (1999). El regreso del exilio de Ramón J. Sender. Estudio Hemerográfico. *Boletín Senderiano*, 9, 371-380.

⁵³⁷ Galeano, E. (2012). Benedetti, el asma y los alemanes. In: <http://contraluzcoah.blogspot.cz/2012/05/benedetti-el-asma-y-los-alemanes-por.html> [Accessed 18/03/2013].

⁵³⁸ Benedetti, M. (2001). *La muerte y otras sorpresas*. Mexico: Punto de Lectura, pp.80-90.

parecido. Durante un día entero estuve semi inconsciente, presa del llamado mal asmático”.⁵³⁹

Similarly, the exilic trajectory of Juan López Sánchez was an attempt to justify the return to Franco's Spain for health reasons. Trying to avoid asthma but also the disasters of the WWII, he dedicated himself to interrogating his correspondence network about a potential move to Oran to be closer to Spain, expecting the fall of the Franco Regime together with Hitler's Regime:

Debido a mi estado de salud –vivo bajo el efecto de constantes ataques de asma- tengo pensado hacer un cambio de clima para el próximo invierno en caso de que los acontecimientos de la guerra no nos permitan el regreso a España, y he pensado en Orán, por ser clima muy semejante al de Alicante tanto físicamente como moral. ¿Podrías informarme de las condiciones de vida de allí para que yo pueda irme haciendo una idea de si me interesa o no?⁵⁴⁰

In the same letter he excused himself by reaffirming his movements not due to ideological reasons but due to attempts to free himself from the disease: “Como puedes suponer se trata de asunto que sólo me interesa para la salud y como provisional hasta poder regresar a España en caso de que las cosas se prolonguen más de lo que es de suponer”.⁵⁴¹ Nevertheless, he was not satisfied with the replies he got and he decided to remain in the United Kingdom but far from polluted London. For this reason, he moved from London to Milford Haven (Wales) in an attempt to resolve his asthma problems:

Como puedes ver por mi nueva dirección me he cambiado de residencia. Como te decía en mi anterior vine a este pueblo para reponerme, donde estuve un mes y me sentó muy bien. Al volver a Londres experimenté la diferencia de clima volviendo a recaer, en vista de lo cual decidimos venir aquí para más larga temporada. Por lo menos hasta la llegada del próximo invierno en que podemos seguramente instalarnos en clima más adecuado para mí. Para tales efectos aun valdrá lo que me digas de las posibilidades de vida en Orán, lo que te pedía en mi última carta.⁵⁴²

Although Wales is even further from Spain, he conceived this move as a very temporary one. After the WWII he believed the final return was very close, thus the move was perceived as a transitory sacrifice or a preparation (in better health conditions) to reintegrate a hypothetical post-Francoist Spain. In his narrative account (in the form of letters), Juan López Sánchez remarked soon afterwards that neither Oran nor Milford Haven would fulfil his curative expectancies. There is growing support for the claim that he changed his opinion (and his mind) if not every week at least every month. After a short summer in Wales he then decided that rather than breathing the “sweet breeze” of Mediterranean Africa, he preferred to breathe

⁵³⁹ Benedetti, M. (2000). *Primavera con una esquina rota*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, p.85.

⁵⁴⁰ In: (JLS_237_1_02/21-April-1944/London).

⁵⁴¹ In: (JLS_237_1_02/21-April-1944/London).

⁵⁴² In: (JLS_237_1_03/15-June-1944/Milford Haven).

the “Pyrenean airs”, that is to say, to move himself to the French border, given Franco’s supposed imminent fall.⁵⁴³ This was clearly a political reason for moving; however, he insisted mainly on the therapeutic reasons for changing his places of residence so often (there are innumerable different addresses in his letters). Thus, for health reasons he needed to be very close to Pyrenees: “Como sabes, por razones de salud tengo puestas miras allí, en un clima adecuado para tratar mi asma. Creo que el mejor es en el mediodía o al borde de los Pirineos”.⁵⁴⁴ It is worth mentioning that his behaviour and constant reassessment of his residence was not based on any kind of childish whim. On the contrary, one may think, for example, of how migration and, even more, political exile imply geographic, personal, cultural, vital and even ideological disorganisation: “Migration is one of life’s emergencies that exposes the individual who experiences it to a state of disorganization and requires a subsequent reorganization that is not always achieved”.⁵⁴⁵ The Uruguayan writer Mario Benedetti expressed it even better in one of his novels: “Reorganizarse en el exilio no es, como tantas veces se dice, empezar a contar desde cero, sino menos cuatro o menos veinte o menos cien”.⁵⁴⁶ In reorganising his life he counted on the help of his wife Carmen Pastor (see in Chapter 8, *Family ties in exile as an impediment for returning*) and on a handful of friends living in different continents (and later within Spain –e.g. Francisco Royano). Nevertheless, Juan López Sánchez had serious health problems especially while in Mexico that changed his career, his relation with the CNT (he mentioned in this letter his lack of contact with his comrades was due to health problems) and his desires to move from one country to another looking for “the lost paradise”, that is, Spain.⁵⁴⁷ Whether in his immediately following exilic correspondence or in the correspondence of the end of his days, in every single letter the former Minister made references to his health state: “No me extiendo más. Estoy pasando un catarro gripal de cuidado ya hace días, y no me deja hacer nada. Mandaré algo para HOY lo antes posible”.⁵⁴⁸ Then it is not surprising that the people with whom he was in

⁵⁴³ “Ante todo agradezco cuento me dices respecto a mis propósitos del pasado mes de Abril sobre ir a Oran, propósitos que mi salud y los acontecimientos que desde entonces han sucedido obligan a diferir. De ser posible, aunque tarde algo más, prefiero los aires pirenaicos a la dulce brisa del Alicante africano”. In: (JLS_237_1_06/27-Sep-1944/Milford Haven). [Emphasis mine]

⁵⁴⁴ In: (JLS_237_1_06/27-Sep-1944/Milford Haven).

⁵⁴⁵ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.14.

⁵⁴⁶ Benedetti, M. (2000). *Primavera con una esquina rota*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, p.81.

⁵⁴⁷ “Pero la falta de salud truncó mis buenos deseos y hube de recluirme en casa por causa de fuerza mayor. Ello ha sido la causa de la mayoría de mis fallas informativas al extremos de ignorar tu nombramiento para el SI”. In: (JLS_237_1_20/07-Oct-1962/México).

⁵⁴⁸ In: (JLS_237_2_32/16-October-1945/Brighton).

correspondence, knew about his health and they asked about it also in their letters. For example, Manuel G. Marín commented:

En primer lugar lamento mucho que tu estado de salud no sea tan perfecto como yo deseo y recibiría una gran alegría si a la contestación de esta carta me comunicaras tu total restablecimiento. Yo gozo de muy buena salud.⁵⁴⁹

The research uncovered by this thesis provides convincing evidence that those living in exile are prone to suffer anxiety disorders. As a result, they live with extreme behavioural and mood changes. Receiving a letter, reading or watching news about the native country, reminiscing about a place or a situation are some of the factors, which cause an upset state of mind. Juan López Sánchez' exile is an example of this. If in his previous letters he showed his disagreement with the idea of living in United Kingdom or Africa, later –in a clear example of mood change– he described his new life in Brighton as almost idyllic:

[...] He vivido lejos de Londres. Me tuve que ir a Milford Haven en la primavera de 1944, porque cada día estaba peor del asma. Un día me dio un colapso que me duró media hora y no sé cómo me resucitaron. Ahora vivimos en este magnífico pueblo de costa, y digo magnífico porque desde que llegué, hace tres meses, he cambiado radicalmente y estoy muy bien. Como el que dice, recuperando fuerzas para emplearlas a fondo cuando suene la hora de volver a España, que creo que será muy pronto.⁵⁵⁰

However, once in Brighton his letters were soon peppered with complaints about asthmatic issues. The somewhat less than 10 years he lived in that area of England were not as positive as the previous statement predicted. He did not regain strength or return to Spain. On the contrary, he made several exploratory trips to Paris and then to Toulouse before moving to Mexico in 1957, exhausted of “longing for home”. In 1947, he had offered himself to collaborate within the CN (*Comité Nacional*) in Franco’s Spain but they refused his return. This exilic journey reinforces the idea that exiles are always in geographical but also in personal *transit*.⁵⁵¹ As expected, Mexico did not represent an improvement regarding health

⁵⁴⁹ In: (JLS_237_2_33/?/Marseille). It seems that Juan López Sánchez’ asthma was well-known among those exiles who exchanged letter with him. For example, after 26 years without correspondence, the first thing that a friend of his (José González) asked in a letter was about his asthma: “¿Y tú, cómo te encuentras, y como te trata el asma? ¿Cómo está Carmen? Nos alegraría tener noticias vuestras y saber qué hacéis por ese México, donde tantos buenos amigos han rehecho su vida”. In: (JLS_990_1_40/19-Aug-1966/La Plata).

⁵⁵⁰ In: (JLS_990_1_37/27-Aug-1945/Brighton). The same month he wrote to another friend: “Mi salud, afortunadamente, es en la actualidad buena. He pasado grandes temporadas muy mal, meses y años a base de inyecciones y de adrenalina. Y en febrero de 1944 sufrió un colapso de cuidado. Pero desde hace tres meses que me trasladé a este pueblo, estoy como nuevo. Me hacía falta y me vendrá bien para reparar las energías perdidas. Y tú, ¿cómo estás?”. In: (JLS_990_08_03/31-Aug-1945/Brighton).

⁵⁵¹ “The lack of stability in their lives, coupled with the feeling that they are just passing through (hoping for a prompt return) accounts for the dwindling interest some exiles take in trying to regain their previous social or professional status; by the same token, a lower social standing increases security and feeling of persecution. Their need to work at a variety of trades outside their chosen fields in order to survive and their excessive dependence on others, in contrast to their previous independence, make them feel depersonalized, and it

issues.⁵⁵² Far from Spain, getting older, almost without friends, dealing with precarious jobs and with the sword of Damocles of dying in exile, he was, in his own words, in poor health.⁵⁵³ After almost 10 years with minimal correspondence, he expanded by describing his medical history to a friend. Bronchitis, asthma, emphysema, prostatic problems and neurasthenia were part of his extensive medical record. He also described extensively his exilic-health journey as the following:

He tardado algunos días en escribirte, sólo por razones de salud. No te informó mal quien te dijera que andaba delicado de salud, y esa fue la razón principal por la que después de radicar quince años en Inglaterra decidimos venir a este país. Ya hace siete años y medio, lo que no deja de ser una buena propinilla para quien como yo había quedado reducido en la isla británica a un espectro en espera de pasaporte para el otro mundo. Y entre tal pasaporte y el de viaje a un país por tantas razones vinculado al nuestro, no tuvimos dudas. Además que este el nuevo mundo, siempre preferible al que nos es desconocido. La experiencia, o como se dice en términos más deportivos, los resultados no han sido del todo malos. De buenas a primeras me dediqué a traducciones del inglés al español, lo que se presentara. Recobré salud. [...] Por mi parte he estado bregando con una bronquitis asmática que no quiere jubilarse a los 46 años de vida –yo cumpliré ahora 62- y encima la dichosa bronquitis ha elaborado la muy ‘esaboría’ una cosa que los especialistas de torax llaman ‘enfisema pulmonar’. [...] Esas tres joyas, bronquitis, asma, y enfisema, no se andan solas, pues para que funcionen como un pesadito juego, tiene que unírseles la neurastenia –derivado de neurosis- lo cual unas veces te hace ver las cosas color de hormiga, y otras color rosa.⁵⁵⁴

The end of this letter demonstrates that exiles sometimes present somatisations (or *psychosis of the body*), neurosis and even bipolar disorders or bipolar affective disorders, as clearly stated by Juan López Sánchez in the last two lines of his letter. In conclusion, it can be said that exile was such a hard experience in life that some of those who suffered it were not able to cope and ended up sick. The illness conditioned their life narratives to such an extent (in

becomes difficult for them to take on any identity other than that of exile”. In: Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.160.

⁵⁵² “Por mi parte, y pese a que es verdaderamente temeridad, estoy tratando de emigrar, y después de varias indagaciones hemos pensado en México. Por un lado está el clima, que sin duda favorecería mi estado de salud. Y por otro, las posibilidades de trabajo, por razones de idioma, serían mejores que aquí. Nuestra decisión, pues, está tomada. Ahora falta que se pueda realizar. Parece que ya no se autoriza la entrada de refugiados políticos en las condiciones de antes y hay muchas cortapisas para conceder permisos de entrada y poder trabajar. En mi caso se está esperando el resultado de una gestión especial, y hace más de un mes que aguardamos saber algo”. In: (JLS_990_2_43/19-Dec-1953/ Brighton).

⁵⁵³ “No sé si te decía ya en mi anterior que el motivo de habernos decidido venir a estas tierras fue el estado de mi bronquitis. Terminada la guerra, en mayo de 1945, nos trasladamos a Brighton. Era un buen lugar para mi asma, pero los últimos cuatro años me dediqué a fabricar –por mi cuenta- cosas de ornamentación de yeso. Yo me lo hacía todo, los moldes, las moldadas, el repase, la pintura, etc., y este trabajo y las condiciones en que lo hacía me estropearon el bronquio, de tal suerte, que después de sufrir una seria pulmonía, quedé incapacitado para trabajar. Entonces, un amigo me sugirió intentar el clima de México, y gracias a una entidad que nos ayudó a pagar los pasajes, llegamos aquí hace catorce meses. Ya te conté lo de la operación de Carmen. De mí, excepto algún que otro achuchón del bronquio –como el que hace quince días estoy pasando- en general estoy bien y me prueba el clima. He trabajado traduciendo del inglés, pero eso no da para vivir decentemente, y ahora voy a dedicarme al seguro en general. (La primera obra que traduje es MISION EN ESPAÑA, del que fue embajador de EEUU en España desde 1933 hasta el final de nuestra guerra, y que se acaba de poner a la venta esta semana). En síntesis, eso es todo por lo que se refiere a mi salud, y no hace falta decir que los años dejan en nosotros profunda huella”. In: (JLS_237_7_19/ “últimos de 1955”/Mexico).

⁵⁵⁴ In: (JLS_237_05_03/21-November-1961/México).

the form of correspondence in the former Minister's case) that the sickness became a centralised part of their discourses, blurring the borders between private and public life, that is, between the personal and the political.

Sleep disorders and fatigue

Psychosis of the body includes sleep disorders⁵⁵⁵ and fatigue. In Juan López Sánchez correspondence there is no reference to the first symptom but several to the second one. However, psychoanalysts describe both as part of the same problem in the exilic context:

Sometimes prolonged sleep reflects depression and expresses a deep-seated fantasy to flee life. Sometimes the defence mechanism fails, and the same unconscious fantasies find expression in exactly the opposite direction, causing sleep problems such as insomnia or agitate dreams of persecution.⁵⁵⁶

This process of running away from the life in exile is part of the symptomatology regarding melancholia and depression. In Juan López Sánchez' case fatigue and depression gripped him. This extended to him spending at the hospital after a nervous breakdown:

Puedes estar seguro que tu carta fue recibida con verdadera satisfacción y alegría. Me llegó en la primera visita que Carmen que hizo al hospital, pues pocos días después de escribirte fui internado. Ya llevaba más de seis semanas sin salir de casa, amén del tiempo que llevo con recaídas, y el doctor consideró que era necesario un 'cambio de aires.' Estoy aquí hace veinte días. Entré con enorme depresión nerviosa y fatiga, pero a los poco días se inició la mejoría.⁵⁵⁷

According to this letter, he dealt with depression for almost two months before being hospitalised. At that time he was living in Mexico (1961), enclosed at home, suffering different illnesses but, above all, depression. His doctor's recommendation was that he needed a change of scenery [“un cambio de aires”], something that –as we are seeing throughout this thesis– he tried to follow immediately after the start of his exile until his return to the therapeutic *aire* or scenery of Spain. While these fatigue issues are relevant to the thesis, their political interpretation is crucial. Juan López Sánchez established a correlation between the concepts “fatigue” and “political immobilism”: fatigue (synonymous with tiredness, exhaustion, inability but also tedium) was equivalent to political immobilism,

⁵⁵⁵ “The sleeplessness in melancholia testifies to the rigidity of the condition, the impossibility of effecting the general drawing-in of cathexes necessary for sleep”. In: Freud, S. (1957). Mourning and melancholia. In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIV (1914-1916)*. London: The Hogarth Press, p. 253.

⁵⁵⁶ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.78.

⁵⁵⁷ In: (JLS_237_05_04/15-December-1961/México). [Emphasis mine]

that is, to political inactivity, conservative policies and, in the concrete case of the “Spanish exile”, with giving up whatever possibilities of restoring the Spanish Second Republic:

Mi recaída ha sido esta vez –todavía lo sigue siendo– “de órdago”. No he guardado cama por una especie de miedo instintivo, pero mi estado de postración ha sido equivalente a estar inmovilizado en cama. (Ahora sí que se me ha podido calificar de “inmovilista”, perteneciente al novísimo “movimiento” del inmovilismo). Creo que estoy superando la crisis. La redacción de esta carta será sin duda un ligero síntoma de que estoy venciendo a mi encarnizado enemigo “interno”. Llevo mes y medio sin redactor una sola línea de trabajo, que me encargó la compañía. Sí, amigo Royano. Esto del asma tiene mucho de ‘malange’. Pero mientras yo aliente he de tratar a “cuchilladas” a ese “malange”.⁵⁵⁸

Although he joked about this curious link between his fatigue and his political immobilism, the truth is that a large part of the CNT in exile considered the former Minister’s ideology precisely as reactionary. For the CNT the fact that 20 years had passed since the beginning of the exile was no matter. Any political activity to be made had to focus only on defeating Franco; there was no space for immobilism or accommodation with the Regime. If any anarchist in exile distanced himself or herself from this line of thinking he or she received at least a reprimand, if not direct expulsion from the trade union. Juan López Sánchez refused this orthodox argumentative line of the CNT because for him it was a sort of anachronism. He was very aware of his controversial political beliefs (mixed with fatigue, in a broad sense) and actions but he did not seem to care very much about it, at least bearing in mind his sense of humour in the above letter, and he accepted several different types of concessions in order to return to Spain.

Similarly, this “immobilism” or fatigue had a negative effect on his work activities: “Desde hace algunos meses no estoy muy bien de salud, lo que me impide que pueda atender a más ocupaciones de las que pesan sobre mí”.⁵⁵⁹ Depressed and struggling for survival was very atypical for a former Minister of Commerce, a sense of defeatism stormed into his life making him, both politically and personally, static, passive, stunned and overwhelmed. The interesting point here is that this situation did not appear immediately after he went into exile but only three or four years later. For this reason, it is very important to analyse the dates of Juan López Sánchez’ correspondence. In doing so, it is possible to reach the conclusion that he, in consonance with psychology textbooks on immigration, might have suffered from what is called “postponed depression”:

We have termed this set of symptoms the postponed depressing syndrome. It seems to occur when the manic defences used during this period to achieve and maintain compulsory adaptation become

⁵⁵⁸ In: (JLS_237_05_07/23-April-1962/ Mexico). [Emphasis mine]

⁵⁵⁹ In: (JLS_237_03_13/09-June-1943/ London).

exhausted. Occasionally, in place of postponed depression the migrations devolved somatic manifestations such as myocardial arrest or gastric ulcer, frequent symptoms in the second or third year of migration.⁵⁶⁰

Mental and physical exhaustion marked the tone of Juan López Sánchez' correspondences. This position recast the idea of somatic elements as having an important weight when it came time to return to Spain. The former Minister felt persecuted and attacked by his anarchist comrades because of his ideology. However, the discourse of sickness produced a certain understanding even among the most *orthodox* sections of the “Spanish exile”, in other words, his discourse of sickness and return to Spain for therapeutic reasons worked as a valid (and irrefutable) justification for integrating into Spain without appearing as a total Francoist convert. Knowing the health status of the former Minister, any criticism would sound unfair, gratuitous, cruel, unsupportive and, above all heartless. This also refers to his editors,⁵⁶¹ employers and other correspondents:

Me ha fastidiado un poco el que por tener ya la vista cansada, he tenido que estar casi tres meses esperando las lentes que me había encargado. Ya hace dos semanas que puedo trabajar con ellos y confío en recuperarme de los atrasos. Asma, vista cansada, frío, escisión, esto es una delicia. Aunque del asma estoy ahora bastante bien. Mejor dicho, lo que se dice bien.⁵⁶²

Such statements points individually to the same exilic diseases. Nevertheless, the subject on the relationship between fatigue and immobilism does not end here. There is a somatization of mental distress and fatigue (as inability to move) that can produce numbness, tingling, migraines or headaches and a subsequent anatomical disease, specifically, paralysis. What I want to suggest is that, at some point, Juan López Sánchez suffered a temporal and mild paralysis precisely in the only body part that he used for writing letters, that is, in the arm: “Fue en mi poder tu carta del 20 de enero. Un fuerte dolor en el brazo me ha tenido varias semanas semi-paralítico para todo quehacer epistolar, y esa es la causa del retraso en acusar recibo”.⁵⁶³ This physical immobilism happened to him when he was 63 years old, to a certain extent because of getting tired of being in exile and fed up with the permanent fighting the ideological battle of the Spanish exiles. In effect, the former Minister concluded one of his

⁵⁶⁰ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.94.

⁵⁶¹ “Por razones de salud hace algún tiempo que no he mandado colaboración, si bien tengo remitidos artículos de los cuales solamente uno he visto publicado” In: (JLS_237_03_15/14-October-1943/London).

⁵⁶² In: (JLS_237_2_36/18-January-1946/Brighton). He mentioned his asthma as an impediment to write letters and to work in different letters. For example: “Asma, trabajo, espera de nuevas y más nuevas, son las causas de mi retraso esta vez en escribirte. Lo mismo me ha sucedido con lo que le anunciaba al amigo Entralgo”. In: (JLS_990_1_36/28-Nov-1941/Oxford). Later, in 1964 he wrote: “Estimado amigo: Gracias por tu carta del 19 de los corrientes. He de ser breve. Termino de pasar unas fiebres paratifoideas y una ligera congestión pulmonar que me han tenido fuera de combate por más de dos semanas”. In: (JLS_991_06_05/30-March-1964/Mexico).

⁵⁶³ (JLS_237_05_11/20-February-1963/México). In another previous letter he complained about the same: “Un dolor en el brazo me ha paralizado durante varios días”. In: (JLS_237_05_10/15-February-1963/México).

last letters before his first exploratory trip to Spain in 1966 stressing the relevance of this weariness and fatigue in his life after almost three decades in exile: “Efectos del broncoasmaenfisemático –parece una palabra vasca– motivan mi demora en contestar tu carta fecha 26 de Junio. Lo diré con palabra más sencilla: fatiga”.⁵⁶⁴

8.2. RETURN AS A TREATMENT AND SPAIN AS A MEDICINE

Nothing compared to the return to the motherland believed to be the best remedy for nostalgia.⁵⁶⁵

Practically speaking, return generally remains taken for granted as the aim of those living in exile. In fact, while the term “return” has been interpreted as a political, economic and moral category, it can be argued, by contrast, that conceptualisations of “return” focusing on physical (anatomical) and psychological issues have been an exception. One may be surprised to find that for certain minority groups of Spanish exiles return involved or responded to the need to seek care for physical and mental illnesses commonly found in exile, for example, respiratory diseases such as asthma (see previous sections). One of the most interesting metaphors used to interpret the meaning of “exile” draws on the idea of a failed transplantation process, according to which, Spanish exiles become “transterrados” (using the terminology of José Gaos)⁵⁶⁶, and during their exile (and state of foreignness) their health fades with time during their migratory process. Building on this metaphor, to return to their native soil would reverse their withered existences through a process of rejuvenation and invigoration. If we push this thinking further, return –even if temporary– might entail a real (and abstract) process of healing of the wounds opened with departure in 1939: “These returns are also used to overcome the initial fears and hesitations surrounding the act of leaving in the first place”.⁵⁶⁷ In my view, each of the previous therapeutic elements was present in Juan López Sánchez’ return. “Hypochondria of the heart”, “Ulysses syndrome”, “psychosis of the body”, “Bacillus Emigraticus”, melancholy or just nostalgia are different names and situations for describing an uncomfortable situation for those living in exile that it

⁵⁶⁴ In: (JLS_997_01_10/24-July-1965/Mexico).

⁵⁶⁵ Boym, S. (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, p.4

⁵⁶⁶ Gaos, J. (1962). *De la filosofía*, México and Buenos Aires: FCE.

⁵⁶⁷ Long, D.L. & Oxfeld E. (2004) (Ed.). *Coming Home? Refugees, Migrants, and Those Who Stayed Behind*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, p.9.

seems to cease when coming back to their motherland. This makes Juan López Sánchez a point of reference for the analysis of return due to health reasons. In his case, at least three elements from therapeutic return stand out and I will treat them immediately.

The role of the “curative” national food in exile

In this section a general impression of Juan López Sánchez’ relationship to the role of food in exile will be provided, in order to make clearer the relation that food has to the preceding discussions. To begin with, this section does not deal with the “loss of appetite”⁵⁶⁸ or “digestive symptoms (the person cannot “digest” the experience of migration, or the ‘new food’)”⁵⁶⁹ but with a more anthropological, cultural and communal event. Despite the relevance of sicknesses related to food issues, Juan López Sánchez seems –at least reading his correspondence– as though he never suffered any of these digestive problems. Consequently, the importance of national food while in exile consists –according to psychoanalysts– in describing the process of feeding oneself in terms of “memory rite” or remembrance of “lost objects”⁵⁷⁰.

Bearing in mind the reflections on melancholia above, it is worth remembering that the most common form of mourning is not to get over the object-loss. Thus, for instance, food issues while in exile refer to the mourning for Spanish culture. Although currently it is relatively easy and cheap to have access to all kind of international foods, at that time it was not so simple to savour Spanish national food for those living, for example, in France or, even more difficult, on the American Continent. The argument is based on the idea that when one of those living in exile managed seldom to gain access to Spanish food, that moment became an event, a celebration, a parenthesis in the mourning process for the object-loss, and a social or communal good among exiles. Psychologists have argued that national food elements in exile, particularly the lack of it, are a significant source of uneasiness, as if a baby were deprived of breast milk:

⁵⁶⁸ Boym, S., (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, p.4

⁵⁶⁹ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.94.

⁵⁷⁰ “He [the person in exile] usually eats those meals in the presence of conationals –they constitute a type of memory rite. In other cases, the person may eat in solitude, and the eating may become a compulsive, frenetic search to recover lost objects”. In: Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *op. cit.*, p.79.

Everything associated with food took on extraordinary importance. Any special event was celebrated with food, and the dining table, the most important place in the house, was the central meeting place and unification of the family. Eating and other digestive functions were the main topics of conversation; behind these one could easily discern hypochondriacal fears related to persecutory anxieties caused by the loss of the idealized homeland/mother/breast that provided nourishment [...].⁵⁷¹

Far from being an imaginary or psychological problem, the body of exiles somatised those anxieties producing different stages of sickness. In addition, the former Minister incorporated this national food discourse into his correspondence. Thus, sick but with a great sense of humour Juan López Sánchez found in 1953 a peculiar explanation of the exiles' poor health. For him the reason was not eating Spanish *gazpacho*:

Antes que se me olvide. Me dijeron, hace meses, que el gordito tenía un alto cargo en el Sindicato Vertical. ¿Tienes tú alguna noticia parecida? He sabido de Navarro Beltrán que estuvo enfermo de angina de pecho con algo de miocarditis. Estuvo varios meses enfermo y ahora tienen que irse de México Ciudad a vivir a nivel del mar. Estamos todos hechos unos cascajos desde que no comemos gazpachos. Casi cae en verso.⁵⁷²

This sort of conflict became particularly important in the life of exiles with the pass of the time. The subconscious of those living in exile reflected prejudices toward the foreign food. This innocent and humorous previous letter shows to what extent national food worked, at least for him, as a medicine while the host country food would be contaminated or make Spanish exiles sick. It was a defence mechanism⁵⁷³ (in the form of "hypochondriasis"), that is, a way to "[...] protect the individual from painful emotions, ideas and drives".⁵⁷⁴ This reaffirmation of national products is very close to national pride or, in other words, to nationalism and patriotism. Juan López Sánchez, having just returned to Spain, did not hide this pride when he wrote to a friend who remained in exile: "A ese efecto te invitaré a almorzar un día juntos, que servirá para cumplir aquél otro compromiso: beber un vaso de vino, si puede ser de Bullas, aunque para mí da lo mismo mientras sea español".⁵⁷⁵

Overall, we can conclude compiling this especial relationship between national food and exile, as a triple process: Firstly, as a melancholic way of nostalgic remembering⁵⁷⁶ the "lost objects" of the Spanish culture. Secondly, this relationship with national food while in exile

⁵⁷¹ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.167.

⁵⁷² In: (JLS_991_06_16/03-July-1953, Brighton). [Emphasis mine]

⁵⁷³ Cf. Freud, A. (1993). *The Ego and the Mechanism of defence*. London: Karnac Books.

⁵⁷⁴ Vaillant, G. E. (1992). *Ego Mechanisms of Defense: A Guide for Clinicians and Researchers*. Washington: Amer Psychiatric Pub Incorporated, p.3.

⁵⁷⁵ (JLS_237_7_4/8-Dec-1968, Madrid).

⁵⁷⁶ "The nostalgic had an amazing capacity for remembering sensations, tastes, sounds, smells, the minutiae and trivia of the lost Paradise that those who remained home never noticed. Gastronomic and auditory nostalgia were of particular importance". In: Boym, S. (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, p.4.

can be explained as a reaffirmation of Spanishness in a foreign context: “Events such as migration, which cause drastic change in a person’s life, can pose threats to the sense of identity”.⁵⁷⁷ And, thirdly (and in a similar vein) this relevance of food issues denote a sort of “identitary fear”, that is, “[...] fear of being swallowed by the new culture or of being torn apart by it, leading to states of panic”.⁵⁷⁸ Once back to Spain, those former exiles stop having this “identitary fear” and they started to consume the national products as if they were served from the Holy Grail.

Family ties in exile as an impediment for returning

Although the importance of this “psychosis of the body”, the gravity of these anatomic and psyche problems depended on family ties while in exile. In the case of Juan López Sánchez his only mutual support was Carmen Pastor. In fact, psychoanalysts such as León and Rebecca Grinberg place the family group in the heart of the mental health of those living in exile, because: “Solid and stable ties to a spouse or family better enable emigrants to confront and endure the vicissitudes of change and to work through their sorrows”.⁵⁷⁹ Then to a certain extent, sometimes the absence of a family in exile is one of the reasons for coming back. Without an extensive family and without children the exile was even harder. The couple did not have children or direct relatives in any of the places where they had to live while in exile. Nevertheless, this family situation supposed for them an advantage for returning without having to leave their roots in the host countries. What makes this situation of childless couples in exile an interesting issue for this study is precisely to what extent family roots facilitate or prevent the return to the motherland.⁵⁸⁰ Surely if they had had children, Carmen Pastor and Juan López Sánchez would have changed their return plans. Even though they had brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, all of them remained in Alicante and Barcelona. The other “family” –the one formed by close friends and comrades from the CNT– was also exiled around the world or had fallen out with Juan López Sánchez because of his peculiar ideology or they held a solely epistolary relationship with them. Unfortunately, with the

⁵⁷⁷ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.129.

⁵⁷⁸ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *op. cit.*, p.132.

⁵⁷⁹ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *op. cit.*, p.94.

⁵⁸⁰ “This absence, of family and home, have been an integral component of the dynamic of diaspora, moulding the narratives and subjectivities of the migrants and their children. Families themselves foster notions of roots and exile as points of reference, explanation and survival in the host societies”. In: Chamberlain, M. (2005). *Narratives of Exile and Return*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p.113.

passing of the years both Juan López Sánchez and Carmen Pastor (a few years younger than her partner) were under stress due to their uncertain future mutual support. Then, despite the sickly tendency of the former Minister and the Carmen Pastor's care, it was irremediable that Carmen Pastor grew older and in need of family attention. Juan López Sánchez used to joke about this situation mentioning that they had a sort non-written agreement: when he was sick she was not allowed to be sick and vice versa:

Como ya tenemos establecida una norma que parece inexorable, cuando se levantó ella caí yo. (Bien podría parodiar en este caso aquella frase famosa... 'pues si ellos se levantan, yo me voy a la cama...' de funesto recuerdo.) Y he pasado siete días encamado destilando lo que me costó tres meses de conseguir. No obstante espero que no sea el comienzo de una nueva y larga recaída, y pronto me compondré.⁵⁸¹

In that letter from 1962, he showed off his sense of humour, however, this was not a constant in his correspondence. Without going any further, in the mid-1950s he felt abandoned and miserable (describing the year 1953 as "damned") when his only direct support in exile, that is, Carmen Pastor, became ill at the same time as him:

Mi caso viene ya de lejos, pero ahora hace seis meses que estoy casi para arrastre. Terminé el 1952 bastante fastidiado. A último de enero de este maldito 1953 Carmen y yo cogimos la gripe casi al mismo tiempo. Pocos días después lo mío degeneró en pulmonía. Me aplicaron intensamente penicilina y en cinco semanas quedé libre de la pulmonía. Fui al taller unos días y volví a recaer. Fiebre, sudores, agotamiento nervioso, y mi galeno, que es un perfecto matasanos, me endosó a la Clínica de enfermedades del pecho para saber lo que tengo. [...] Ahora ya desapareció la frecuencia de la fiebre, los sudores, pero carezco de sosiego mental y yo creo que todo es debido a la interminable espera en que me tiene el examen del especialista del pulmón. Creo que ya te he dado bastante la murga hablándote de mi pecho.⁵⁸²

The mental distress that he refers to in the former letter became further aggravated one year later when Carmen Pastor had surgery removing one of her kidneys. Although the operation was a success, health issues started to complicate their lives and jobs⁵⁸³ and they decided to move to Mexico waiting for an improvement of their quality of life.⁵⁸⁴ At that time, his only consolation and encouragement came from friends' letters: "Me alegro mucho de que Carmen

⁵⁸¹ In: (JLS_237_05_06/09-March-1962/México).

⁵⁸² In: (JLS_991_06_16/03-July-1953/ Brighton). [Emphasis mine]

⁵⁸³ "Creo que le comuniqué en mi anterior carta yo había calculado que terminaría mi trabajo a primeros de este mes, pero me he atrasado dos o tres semanas por la causa siguiente: hace más de un mes que no ando muy bien de mi bronquitis, y además, a primero de enero mi esposa fue operada -le extrajeron un riñón-. Todo esto me imposibilitó trabajar prácticamente durante tres semanas, que es el tiempo de atraso que llevo. Por lo demás, yo estoy ahora en el Capítulo XVIII, y tengo entendido que ya comenzaron a componer los linotipistas, es decir, que todo marcha bien". In: (JLS_990_3_14/11-Feb-1955/México).

⁵⁸⁴ "Como puede ver por esta [carta], nos decidimos a dar el salto. Llegamos aquí en Julio del año pasado, y hasta el momento no me atrevería a decir que tenemos queja, pese a que, hace un mes, Carmen fue operada y le extrajeron un riñón. Afortunadamente está muy bien de la operación. Yo he tenido alguna molestia de mi bronquitis, pero en general estoy mucho mejor que en Inglaterra, por lo que a la salud física se refiere. De trabajo, estoy haciendo traducciones del inglés al español, de momento. (Ahora estoy terminando el libro de Bowers, *MY MISSION TO SPAIN*)". In: (JLS_990_2_44/23-Feb-1955/México).

se encuentre muy bien después de su operación. Son muchas las personas, parece ser, que viven perfectamente con un riñón sólo”.⁵⁸⁵ For him the correspondence worked as a relief in such emotionally delicate moments. This already indicates how exile and correspondence are intrinsically connected with health issues. Family and friends’ correspondence can be understood as an attempt to break the lonesomeness and the segregation of living in a foreign country, especially in those cases where there is not an intention to integrate into the host country.⁵⁸⁶ Some specialists state that the issue of communication –either with native people from the host country or with compatriots–, is an escape mechanism and an indicator of mental health. Already then, a decisive element is communication while living in exile. The lack of it can produce stress among exiles.⁵⁸⁷

A good example of the importance of family correspondence while in exile is the one found in José Pinedo (a Juan López Sánchez’ friend living in Paris). One lost letter coming from his family (living in Spain) made him terribly nervous, almost inducing a panic attack:

He de advertirte, en primer lugar, que, como tú, he sido el más sorprendido al ver que la carta que me has mandado con fecha 16 de agosto no ha llegado a mi poder, siendo esta la primera vez que tal cosa sucede en nuestra correspondencia. Lamento doblemente el extravío de esta carta por traer la copia del mensaje libertario, en primer lugar, y venir acompañada de una de mi familia, la cual ansiosamente esperaba, puesto que he pasado unos días bastante desesperado, pues, como tú sabes, el amigo Ejarque ha sido detenido y llevaba sobre él la dirección de mi compañera y temía que por esta circunstancia y ante un silencio tan prolongado como han observado de esta vez pudiese haberles ocurrido algo, pero, por suerte, todo ha quedado debidamente aclarado con el recibo de la carta que ayer me has enviado [...].⁵⁸⁸

All these examples come to prove how history and psychology are closely linked. That is to say, the study of memories (in the form of correspondence in this case study) is a discipline working between Psychology and History.⁵⁸⁹ But it is not necessary to appeal to specialists in

⁵⁸⁵ In: (JLS_237_04_03/13-September-1955/Guanajuato). Also in the same letter: “Celebro infinito, pues, que su asma esté pasando a la historia y que se encuentre bien con Carmen en este país”.

⁵⁸⁶ “Those [migrants] who stayed sought a creative solution, finding support and sustenance in collective action. First, through building social networks, or adapting existing networks, to provide a range of support within an alien society. Many of the networks were built on kinship relationships”. In: Chamberlain, M. (2005). *Narratives of Exile and Return*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p.79.

⁵⁸⁷ “Lack of communication –one of the major factors in the onset of psychosis– becomes aggravated in cases of migration in which the subject must confront a new language and unfamiliar customs and behaviour. His separation from familiar objects of containment, together with the poor communication he has with the world around him (which limits the ‘potential’ or ‘transnational’ space he needs for ‘games’ and object relations), may permit psychotic aspects of his personality to gain the upper hand, producing severe psychosis”. In: Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.137.

⁵⁸⁸ In: (JLS_237_9_33/19-Sept-1947/ Paris).

⁵⁸⁹ “Por otro lado, en las memorias se entrelazan constantemente vivencias personales y acontecimientos políticos, lo cual supone un problema para discernir la forma en que el autor o la autora conjuga lo subjetivo y lo objetivo, o si se prefiere cómo moverse entre psicología e historia”. In: Moreno Seco, M. & Mira Abad, A. (2009). Entre el compromiso y la privacidad. Memorias de guerra y exilio de mujeres y hombres. *UNED. Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 21 (5), p.250.

psychology of migration or history to highlight the curative nature of communication. Without going any further, Juan López Sánchez diagnosed one of his friends from a series of illness produced by a lack of communication. For the former Minister, the isolation and loneliness of exile was a confirmed source of illness:

Pedro no está bien de salud. Hace días nos escribió Antonia y dice que sufre de una parálisis facial y le están dando corrientes eléctricas. Continúan viviendo en el desierto Mansfield y yo creo que sus males son de aislamiento.⁵⁹⁰

In his friend's diagnosis, he was pinpointing those "psychosis of the body" as previously mentioned. In this concrete case, the hardness of desert living in the middle of USA produced a somatization of mental distress and the subsequent anatomical disease, that is, a facial paralysis in "Pedro". For psychoanalysts this is a direct consequence of the loss of communication and more precisely, of exile and its subsequent abrupt *network disassembly*.⁵⁹¹ Whereas solitary exile has proven to be a source of mental distress, correspondence has proved to be a relief for some of those "psychoses of the body". Especially interesting in Juan López Sánchez' case is his persistence in writing his friends about his miseries. This action of airing his diseases was not mutual; his addressees rarely wrote so extensively regarding health issues. Therefore, the former Minister seemed to be under the influence of melancholia as theorised by Freud as the pathological satisfaction in self-exposure: "One might emphasize the presence in him of an almost opposite trait of insistent communicativeness which finds satisfaction in self-exposure".⁵⁹²

In the light of Juan López Sánchez' correspondence, a sort of paradox or vicious circle appears: One gets sick because of a lack of communication and as a consequence one is unavailable to maintain a "healthy" communication network due to sickness. In other words, the health problems partially destroyed the correspondence network that he created while in exile. Sometimes he spent more than a half of a year ill and his senders were worried about his apparent loss of interest in keeping a long-distance friendship or his apparent apathy towards them:

Voy a explicarle, porque explicación sí que tiene, mi tardanza en escribirle. Ya durante todo el 1952, estuve bastante mal de salud, pero las dos semanas anteriores a Navidad tuve que hacer un esfuerzo

⁵⁹⁰ In: (JLS_990_1_39/25-Sep-1945/Brighton).

⁵⁹¹ "Cuando decimos que se desarticulan redes, nos referimos a la forma abrupta en que se destruyeron las relaciones sociales de una persona que estaba incorporada a una familia, un lugar de trabajo o estudio, tenía amigos, participaba en un partido político". In: Esterio M. & Muñoz Y. & Almarza M.T. & Morales E. (1995). Exilio-Retorno. Aspectos Psicosociales. *CINTRAS*, 8, p.4.

⁵⁹² Freud, S. (1957). Mourning and melancholia. In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIV (1914-1916)*. London: The Hogarth Press, p. 247.

fueras de lo normal, y ello me quebrantó mucho. Comencé el año de la coronación, pues, enfermo. A últimos de enero se complicó la situación con la gripe se convirtió en pulmonía. [...] Así transcurrieron dos meses, y a mediados de marzo, cuando creía estar en vías de recuperación, recaí de nuevo. No con pulmonía, pero con síntomas de algo peor. Nuestro médico particular me aconsejó descanso y me mandó la clínica de enfermedades del pecho. [...] Pero en siete meses que anda todo este jaleo, la verdad es que yo no acabo de levantar cabeza, ni los médicos me dan tratamiento, fuera de lo del descanso y algún que otro jarabe que no me saca de apuros.⁵⁹³

The former Minister argued that this vicious circle caused a bad impression among his friends and publishers of his writings: “El mal estado de mi salud me está haciendo quedar mal con vosotros”.⁵⁹⁴ In other words, he did not manage to reply them on time because of health issues. As he saw it, this lack of wellbeing preoccupied him and made him even more distress, aggravating his state. All these preoccupations and distress were dispelled with the return to Spain. In his home country he got a feeling of peace because the solitude of exile was not a threat anymore. He could finally breathe easy considering that whatever happened to him or to his wife, he could count on the aid of relatives (living mainly in Alicante and Barcelona) and friends. Such relief was justified if we recall one of the obsessions of those in exile was to avoid dying in an institution far from Spain and from their families. Juan López Sánchez had not returned, he knew what would be his fate in exile: “Aquí no nos espera más que morir ignominiosamente en un asilo”.⁵⁹⁵ In line with this position, I am going to analyse in more detail the nature of this obsession that increase as those living in exiles aged.

8.3. TO DIE IN SPAIN

“Campo Afuera”

*Aquí, tan lejos, tan lejos
No me quisiera morir...
Morirme sí, como todos
Morirme pero no aquí.
Estoy tan lejos, tan lejos
Que no me quiero morir.
La muerte en el exilio
Es una muerte sin fin.
Para morir mi tierra
Imposible de vivir.⁵⁹⁶*

⁵⁹³ In: (JLS_990_2_42/06-July-1953/Brighton).

⁵⁹⁴ In: (JLS_237_05_07/23-April-1962/México). Also in: (JLS_991_02_04/18-March-1964/Mexico).

⁵⁹⁵ In: (JLS_237_05_09/29-September-1962/México).

⁵⁹⁶ Ferreras, J.I. (1994). *El libro del exilio*. Madrid: Nossa y J. Editores, p.41.

Finally, if there was something that worried exiles, it was definitely the possibility of dying without returning to their homelands. This debate surrounding the idea of return would not be complete without analysing the next paradox. We can call it the paradox of returning to die in Spain. Most of the time, the *returnees* were in such an elderly state that they could not enjoy that much what they had fought so hard for:

Para muchos otros ya era demasiado tarde. Francisco Giner de los Ríos o Francisco Giral volvieron solamente a morir a casa, haciendo realidad aquella aspiración incumplida de Diego Martínez Barrio: ‘La única débil esperanza que acariciamos es la de ver nuevamente España y, sobre la tierra amada, pasar los últimos días de la vida ¿esa esperanza se convertirá en realidad?’⁵⁹⁷

Nevertheless, it seems as if the mere act of being buried in the homeland was already a success and a reason to rest literally in peace. Then the paradox is that they returned to die without almost time to feel what they had been dreaming for decades. In any case, as suggested in the poem “Campo Afuera”: “La muerte en el exilio // es una muerte sin fin” [Death in exile // is an endless death]. Juan López Sánchez did not want to die in exile but neither to return to Spain just to live the life of a retired pensioner. In fact, one of his obsessions was to work in the places where he moved, that is, he refused to be a “parasite”⁵⁹⁸ and that was what he was trying to avoid every time he moved, even when he was ill.⁵⁹⁹ This obsession of dying in Spain was a pattern among exiles. Even Benedetti (using a character of his novel *Primavera con una esquina rota*) refers to those who died in exile as a terrible *bitter swallow* because according to his character, exiles have the right to die in the same place where they were born:

El trago es más amargo si pensamos que morir de exilio es la señal de que no sólo *Luvís*, sino a todos, nos han quitado transitoriamente ese supremo derecho a abandonar el tren en la estación donde el viaje empezara. Nos han quitado nuestra muerte que sabe de qué lado dormimos, de qué sueños se nutren las vigilias. [...] Se va sin haber regresado.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁷ Cuesta Bustillo, J. (2006). Los retornos: sueño, horizonte, destino y mito. In Alted Vigil, A. & Asenjo, A. (Coord.). *De la España que emigra a la España que acoge*. Madrid: Fundación Francisco Caballero, p. 397-398.

⁵⁹⁸ “En 1954 nos trasladamos a México por razones de salud. Allá estaba desahuciado de la ciencia médica y viviendo de lo que cosía Carmen y del Civil Service. No nos faltaba nada, pues yo todas las semanas cobraba mi cheque de 5 libras con 10 peniques, y Carmen ganaba otro tanto. Pero ya vivía como un parásito, lo que no era para mí?”. In: (JLS_990_1_41/23-Sep-1966/ México DF). [Emphasis mine]

⁵⁹⁹ “Yo hace ahora un año que no trabajo a consecuencia de mi afección bronquial, y aunque me he recuperado mucho no estoy para pensar en buscar ocupación que los médicos estiman sería fatal. Las trabas que el idioma le imponen a un hombre que se halla en mi situación son las que me hacen insistir en la necesidad de hallar una salida que me permita, además de atender decorosamente a nuestra existencia, librarme de ser un parásito. Que a esto es a lo que se reduce cuando no puede por sus propios medios ganar el pan que se come. Si yo fuese un viejo sin posibilidades de hacer nada útil y en edad de retiro, bien que me resignase a depender de lo que hoy concede a esta clase de personas la Ley de Seguro en un país tan avanzado en esa clase de leyes como es Inglaterra. No hay otro motivo, pues, detrás de mi deseo de aprovechar la oportunidad que me ofrece México y deseo aceptarla”. In: (JLS_990_6_7/6-March-1954/Brighton).

⁶⁰⁰ Benedetti, M. (2000). *Primavera con una esquina rota*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, p.94.

There is no ideology or political party (or trade union) discipline that could stop this eager desire to avoid dying in exile. As stated above, more generally, though, moral discourse has generally colonised the idea of “return”. Nevertheless, this theorisation is more academic than real. The famous sentence of Blaise Pascal: “The heart has its reasons, which reason does not know”⁶⁰¹ can help us to understand that the preceding is a debate that belongs to the realm of the subjectivity and to remote issues far from cold or scientific reasoning. The idea of returning, according to the “Spanish exile”, arose from personal reasons and had developed mainly because of irrational considerations.⁶⁰² Then, it is not surprising that, for example, George Tabori devoted an entire chapter of his book entitled “The Psychology of Exile” to analyse the emotional sicknesses of those in exile. This aspect fits very closely with the conclusions reached by Juan López Sánchez in 1961:

Puedes suponer que es mucho lo que uno lleva en el buche, pues aunque te parezca algo inexplicable, fuera de la patria no siempre ha sido posible deslindar ese estado mental de hermetismo del que no hemos sabido o podido desembarazarnos.⁶⁰³

Using this letter, my point (already mentioned earlier) is that where exile exists, the borders between private issues and public issues become blurred. For exiles, the personal is political and the political is personal, generating communications problems and a hermetic mental nature. The former Minister carried this idea into the arena of correspondence and with it he opened up the problem of living away from the motherland. Exiles lived emotionally and verbally constrained. That “es mucho lo que uno lleva en el buche” [literally “it is a lot what one person carry on his/her stomach”] shows the cautious and impenetrable nature of the refugees and their tendency to repress their thoughts and feelings. Then, this repression usually ended when those living in exile returned to their motherland. Once in Spain, the hermetic nature disappeared and they could *desembarazarse* or rid of this mental situation. But first we should revisit the issue of returning to die in Spain.

It is widely argued that the possibility or impossibility of returning is precisely the key element that defines the character of a person living in exile. Given this context, return became essential for those living in exile: “The great difference resides in the knowledge that it is possible to return. This stamps the character of the migration”.⁶⁰⁴ For those who had a real expectation of returning, the weight of exile was lighter. The eventual return was

⁶⁰¹ Pascal, B. (1909-1914). *Thoughts*. Harvard: The Harvard Classics, p.55.

⁶⁰² Tabori, P. (1972). *The Anatomy of Exile. A Semantic and Historical Study*. London: Harrap, p.30.

⁶⁰³ In: (JLS_237_05_03/21-November-1961/México). [Emphasis mine]

⁶⁰⁴ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.146.

idealised and at least in the first moments when he or she came back everything was like in a dream; everything seemed perfect (later almost all of them suffered a process of disillusionment and maladjustment). The past tensions decreased and the “danger” of dying in exile disappeared.⁶⁰⁵ This type of return was typical of elderly exiles:

The other type of migration carried out in old age is a return home by the emigrant who has lived far from his native land. This is usually a voluntary migration, a return home to die. By so doing, the older person leaves what he has done and lived in one place.⁶⁰⁶

Besides nostalgic, homesick and melancholic issues, is there an explanation for this insistence in dying in the same place where they were born? Experts and psychoanalysts maintain that there is an anthropological and ancestral interpretation for this tenacity in dying in exiles’ motherland. According to these experts, this tenacity expresses a childhood repressed desire. The return to the motherland represents a return to the safe and comfortable maternal womb:

In primitive fantasies, death is conceived as reunion with one’s ancestors. The metaphor expresses human concern over where one goes to spend the last of one’s life and represents the desire to return to the land of one’s ancestors, as an unconscious fantasy of returning to the womb. To die far away from home ‘in a foreign land’ is considered a double death because it makes the fantasized return impossible.⁶⁰⁷

This double death gathers up the essence of the poem “Campo Afuera” and something more important: the general longing of the “Spanish Exile”. By contrast, for several reasons, the return did not always take place or, in other words, there were those who were very certain of the impossibility of returning without risking their lives:

Generally return was impossible for those who fled poverty and persecution, those who had no money enabling them to return, and those who left their countries illegally or to escape extermination during the Nazi era; and it remains true that return is always out of the question for political exiles and refugees.⁶⁰⁸

Non-returning exiles or refugees faced more difficulty dealing with *exilic diseases*. In fact, the possibility or impossibility of return is normally used as a criterion for differentiating exiles

⁶⁰⁵ “If the doors are open for an eventual return, the pressure on the emigrant diminishes, and his claustrophobic anxiety decreases; he does not feel he is on a dead-end street; he can enjoy his experience. Later on, he may be plagued by doubt and ambivalence, which may just as easily induce him to flee setbacks or frustration as tempt him to stay and settle if an attractive enough offer presents itself. He may review all the alternatives he considered before leaving his native country to start his adventure”. In: Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.146.

⁶⁰⁶ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *op. cit.*, p.128.

⁶⁰⁷ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *op. cit.*, p.161.

⁶⁰⁸ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *op. cit.*, pp.146-147.

from migrants. Many critics suggest that migrants can return easier than exiles, furthermore for those departure was imposed and return impossible.⁶⁰⁹

In Juan López Sánchez' case, as the turning point of 1966 approached and he could almost touch his dreamt about return, his correspondence became infused with enthusiasm and with significant health improvement. His negotiations with the *Sindicato Vertical* had developed for almost twenty years, so he had prepared conscientiously his exploratory trip quite in advance. For example, in Mexico he started a new treatment for his asthma but —always in his opinion—the best treatment for him was to come back to Madrid:

Afortunadamente parece que está resultando beneficiosamente el tratamiento que me están dando desde hace unos cuatro meses. Es un tratamiento de Alergología. [...] Y yo estoy ya creyendo que se va a realizar la mejoría... Naturalmente, queda el enfisema pulmonar, incurable, pero eso lo voy atenuando con ejercicio respiratorio... Y la neurastenia. Esta se curaría con una larga temporada en Madrid.⁶¹⁰

Not even his asthma, his pulmonary emphysema or his nervous exhaustion (or neurasthenia) seemed to change his plans for returning as soon as possible. According to the previous letter, everything “se curaría con una larga temporada en Madrid” [“would be cured staying a long season in Madrid”]. We do not really know if that sudden improvement was totally a reality or if it was rather a way to convince —via correspondence— his correspondents in Spain, that is, the members of the *Sindicato Vertical*, of his capacity for actively collaborating in the *Sindicato*. In 1962 or, in other words, the same year as the previous letter, he described himself as perfectly recovered and ready to go back to Spain:

Repite. He mejorado y me siento bien. Mi peso es de 78 kilos en este momento. Mi respiración excelente. El corazón cien por cien normal, pese a la altura del DF de México. Procuraré que esto no se estropee de nuevo, y si no, como dicen por esta tierra: ¡Ni modo!⁶¹¹

In the same letter he begged for if not a total recovery at least for remaining as he was. Just one year later, aware of his age and his complex medical profile, as he suspected that his return was approaching, he kept repeating the idea of Madrid as a medicine:

Bueno. 47 años de padecimiento de asma bronquial dejan la herencia del enfisema pulmonar, neurosis, anomalías de orden psicológico, etc., etc. Pero si llegamos a controlar el asma, las otras cosas no podrán progresar y en cierta forma pueden mejorar. Efectos del tratamiento, no obstante, ha sido una irregularidad del sistema circulatorio con algo de presión alta, pero que desaparecerá a medida que

⁶⁰⁹ “Exiles are compelled to live far from the countries they fled for political or ideological reasons or because exile is their only means of survival. They cannot return to their homelands as long as the causes that drove them away persist. [...] For the exile, departure is imposed and return impossible”. In: Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *op. cit.*, p.157.

⁶¹⁰ In: (JLS_237_05_08/07-August-1962, México) [Emphasis mine]. Also: “Estoy como iniciando una franca mejoría, gracias al tratamiento antialérgico que me aplican. Si se afianza esta mejoría podré escribirlos con más frecuencia y mayor detenimiento. ¿Qué pasa con Royano?”. In: (JLS_991_06_03/13-Aug-1962/ Mexico).

⁶¹¹ In: (JLS_237_05_05/09-February-1962/ México).

disminuya la toma de medicamentos. Ahora sólo necesito poder vivir pronto en Madrid, que es el clima a mi medida.⁶¹²

To solve this problem, he proposed that only the weather of Madrid was made for him. None of the countries (and continents) in which he lived, had that uniqueness to heal his diseases but, on the contrary (keeping in mind his reasoning), those places worsened his situation. From being an exile in danger of death he started to be increasingly convinced that his dream of returning was going to be fulfilled. To some extent, this idea became in a short of placebo, that is to say, a substance or a situation that officially does not have any therapeutic effect. Nevertheless, this substance or situation produces a therapeutic effect in the sick person only because he or she believes that the substance or situation possesses that curative power. Given this placebo-idea of returning to Spain, in 1963 Juan López Sánchez was singularly (he uses the term “miraculously”) recovering from his own ailments once he knew he was going to travel to Madrid. Furthermore, he conceived the 60s as a period in which he was reviving. The above letter continued as following:

Como desde el punto de vista de la salud estoy reviviendo, me doy cuenta que es difícil simultanear el trabajo con la lectura y la actividad ‘literaria’. [...] Y tengo absoluta necesidad de salir a flote para asegurar la milagrosa mejoría física que tengo.⁶¹³

His “miraculous physical improvement” was very soon truncated, concretely it was in 1964 when he had to be hospitalised because of a new relapse, and as a consequence he ended up in serious condition in the pneumatology section. The medical treatment included –among other things– a long process of resting and total repose therapy.⁶¹⁴

Besides this placebo-idea, he was a cautious person and in the preparation of his first trip to Spain after so many years in exile, he insisted on the necessity of someone to guarantee him an oxygen tank (he was unsure of the provisioning of such “technology” at the Spanish hospitals of the Francoist era):

Tengo un aparato respiratorio de presiones positivas que funciona con oxígeno, y estoy muy mejorado gracias a esta maravilla. A eso le debo el haber podido volar a Madrid y con viajes a Valencia y Barcelona, regresar sano y salvo.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² In: (JLS_237_05_12/07-September-1963/ México). [Emphasis mine]

⁶¹³ In: (JLS_237_05_12/07-September-1963/ México).

⁶¹⁴ “No tuve mucha suerte al tomar la iniciativa para un intercambio de correspondencia contigo, pues apenas mientras esperaba la carta que me prometías en la nota del documento de la resolución de la SAC tuve que ser internado en el Hospital de Neumología en situación crítica [...]. La cosa fue grave, con complicaciones que todavía colean, pero afortunadamente creo hallarme en vías de recuperación, en plan de completo reposo, que me será difícil observar, pues quienes no tenemos bienes de fortuna pocas veces estamos en situación de seguir las órdenes del médico”. In: (JLS_997_01_05/11-January-1965/ México).

⁶¹⁵ In: (JLS_990_1_41/23-Sep-1966/ México DF).

In 1965 this request, he thought, would be only a preventive measure because he firmly believed in the “magical effects of the Spanish air and sun”:

Para mí, la materialización del viaje sólo estaría condicionada por el estado de mi salud. Descarto que en Madrid podría contar con servicio de oxígeno (en tanque) que me es indispensable para observar el tratamiento a que estoy sometido, pues aunque cuento con los efectos mágicos que el aire y el sol de España producirán en mi estado general, no puedo de buenas a primeras prescindir de esa ayuda. Perdona que me cuide tanto, pero yo sé que no tengo otra alternativa.⁶¹⁶

Not only Juan López Sánchez but also his Mexican doctors contributed to inflating this fantasy of Spain as a medicine for those living in exile. When in 1965 he asked his doctor about going to Spain, the doctor told him that the return would be very positive. Once again we can emphasise the influence of the psychological state in the physiological state of exiles. These psychosomatic elements were described by the doctor in a letter that the former Minister reproduced for Francisco Royano Fernández (his guardian in Spain):

Le felicito, le felicito de corazón, y puede tener la seguridad de que, no solamente no le va a pasar nada, sino que por todo lo que ello representa para usted, los efectos sicológicos –y psíquicos – que se producirán en su estado mental y general serán magníficos.⁶¹⁷

The mental elements of this return trip were going to work for him as a sort of “safety parachute” which, in Freudian terms, could be interpreted metaphorically as a defence mechanism. Once more, we have been told that return worked for exiles as a crucial incentive in the process of a speedy recovery. Nevertheless, return itself was not enough among the requirements for Juan López Sánchez’ temporary return and he kept asking over and over again for the oxygen tank, considering that it seems nobody in Spain gave him a clear answer to his first requirement one year prior:

Por supuesto la condición que apuntaba en mi carta sobre el oxígeno es cosa de elemental previsión. Es para mí una defensa necesaria para algunos casos, y hasta hay la posibilidad de que no lo usara aún y teniéndolo a mano, como sucedió durante algunos meses después de salir la última vez del hospital. Pero, ¿es que no existe ese servicio en Madrid? Si existe, pues, es todo lo que necesito y os pido, pues los medicamentos yo me los proveo y me los administro, dado que por mi larga experiencia de enfermo ‘soy muy médico’. Pero por encima de todo, mi máxima confianza como un ‘paracaídas’ radica en los efectos de tipo mental.⁶¹⁸

That was the case in 1965, but in 1966 he could not hide his sheer joy because he was coming back after 26 years in exile. His enthusiasm was so excessive that he was afraid of getting sick because of such excitement:

Debo imponer freno a mis emociones para conservar la serenidad y la energía que necesito de ahora en adelante para que nuestros propósitos salgan lo mejor posible. Pero no puedo ocultarte que estoy

⁶¹⁶ In: (JLS_237_05_16/21-July-1965/ México). [Emphasis mine]

⁶¹⁷ In: (JLS_237_05_17/10-August-1965/ México).

⁶¹⁸ In: (JLS_237_05_17/10-August-1965/ México). [Emphasis mine]

contento, contentísimo e inmensamente agradecido a ti, a vosotros, y a esos caballerosos amigos que han contribuido para encontrar la solución favorable.⁶¹⁹

As if it were a competitive sport, he used the language of fitness and coaching to refer to his return trip. For the fulfilment of his mission (to return to Spain and to collaborate with the *Sindicato Vertical*) he had to lose weight and to tone up, that is, to improve his general physical fitness:

Mi estado de salud ahora está siendo excelente. No apresuro más la salida porque todavía tengo que bajar dos quilos de peso, y tonificarme un poco. Pero si todo marcha como hasta la fecha, espero estar en la debida forma para realizar mi cometido cumplidamente.⁶²⁰

As the date of his return approached, his several illnesses stopped bothering him and some even disappeared. The return to Madrid worked, as has been noted, as an invigorating goal for those living in exile. These physical metaphors reinforce the relevance of the anatomic in the discourses of the exiles. When Juan López Sánchez described in his correspondence of 1966 that he only would be recovered once he was 700 metres (specifically 667 metres) above sea level, that is, in Madrid, he was trying to construct a discourse of self-justification:

Repito. He salido del hospital en gran forma, física y mentalmente. Solo me hace falta situarme a los 700 metros sobre el nivel del mar –Madrid– pues de las dolencias crónicas que tengo la que más resiente la altura de México es el enfisema pulmonar. Un clima más bajo es lo recomendable, según dicen los médicos amigos.⁶²¹

His behaviour and “political conversion” clashed with the general spirit of the “Spanish exile”. Then, this need to justify his actions and decisions appeared to be a way of softening conflicting loyalties. Two different strategies of self-justification stand out. First, he presented in his letters a lack of self-control, mentioning that he was not responsible for his health. And second, he self-justified his return appealing to medical pressures –“Un clima más bajo es lo recomendable según dicen los médicos amigos” [“A lower climate is recommended, according to doctor friends”]. Such a statement seems to imply that the return was a compulsory medical “treatment” rather than Juan López Sánchez’ permanent desire. This does not imply in any way that he was faking sickness in order to return to Spain, without being criticised by his former comrades.

Without going any further, after his exploratory trip –that he had to shorten because of health issues– he got seriously sick once back to Mexico. Furthermore, at the end of 1966 his prostate problems become aggravated:

⁶¹⁹ In: (JLS_237_05_19/22-March-1966/ México).

⁶²⁰ In: (JLS_237_05_19/22-March-1966/ México).

⁶²¹ In: (JLS_997_2_08/11-Feb-1966/ Mexico). [Emphasis mine]

Recibí tu carta del 14-11-66 el mismo día que me vi obligado a llamar al médico a causa de fiebre y perturbaciones ‘uréticas’. Desde ese día ando mal. He pasado diez días en el hospital, y solamente salí en espera de que me operen –de próstata- lo que será el próximo mes de enero. Por no ser de urgencia la cosa, y por coincidir con estos días de sicosis de fiesta, los médicos no han querido trabajar. Pero la verdad es que a mí me están dando la fiesta. Con todo y mi natural desgana a escribir, quiero contestar tu carta, aunque no con la extensión y meticulosidad que el caso y lo que dices requieren.⁶²²

On this occasion, he accepted with stoicism and resignation his new relapse and his surgery just because that was a process of “tuning-up” [*una puesta a punto*] before moving definitively to Spain. Similarly, he felt obligated to satisfy the work and public commitments he had made during his exploratory trip and that was only possible to carry out when healthy: “Ahora espero que hagamos algo de importancia para poder regresar a España y dar lo poco que nos quede de vida a la causa ¿Qué más se puede pedir?”.⁶²³

Having said that, once the idea of returning to Spain as a medicine has been made, did the final return of Juan López Sánchez entail a real recovery of all his *exilic diseases*? As one might expect, the “miracle” did not happen. All the same, reading his correspondence both his humour and optimism increased notably; however, the maladies of old age and a life in permanent exile gave him a brief respite of six years in Spain before dying in August 26, 1972. Already in 1969, he mentioned to a friend that he spent most of his holidays in Alicante, looking for peace and pure air. Notwithstanding, he frequently got sick: “De Alicante vine enfermo y he estado siete días en cama, y apenas comienzo a reponerme. Esta es la causa de mi demora en corresponder a tu carta”.⁶²⁴ After this attack, he described the following years and his new situation in Spain as very good: “De la parte pulmonar estoy ahora bastante bien. Esperando el próximo mes de agosto”.⁶²⁵ As if it was a premonition, this longing for the “next month of August” was one of the last actions that Juan López Sánchez managed to do because he died that same month. Even in Madrid and despite his optimism and hope for the future, he was very ill almost every six months. One of the last times he could not even fill out a simple questionnaire following medical advice:

Recibí tu carta del 30 de agosto último, cuando me encontraba hospitalizado en la Clínica Puerta de Hierro tratándome de una de mis crisis bronco-pulmonares. Es la segunda hospitalización en seis meses.

⁶²² In: (JLS_237_03_11/22-December-1966/ México). Also: “Por lo que de mí pueda depender, creo que muy pronto estaré en condiciones de reemprender la marcha. Mi operación de próstata, verificada el pasado 19 de enero, salió bien, y ahora, aunque obligado al mayor reposo para recobrar normalidad en la “zona operada”, estoy experimentando notable mejoría y vigor físico y mental. (Esta es la primera carta que escribo a máquina, después de improvisarme un tinglado que me permite hacerlo medio horizontalmente, pues sentarme como “dios manda” no lo puede hacer por ser una de las condiciones del reposo)”. In: (JLS_991_01_22/11-Feb-1967/ Mexico).

⁶²³ In: (JLS_990_1_41/23-Sep-1966/México DF).

⁶²⁴ In: (JLS_991_05_12/10-May-1969/Madrid).

⁶²⁵ In: (JLS_237_03_26/25-October-1971/ Madrid).

[...] Por mi parte no estoy en estos momentos con posibilidad de complacerte, dado mi delicado estado de salud que me obliga a un régimen de reposo.

Como supongo que ese trabajo ha de dar tiempo en virtud de las numerosas colaboraciones que solicitas, si cuando ya hayas reunido buena parte de contribuciones tienes el gusto de comunicármelo y yo me he repuesto lo suficiente, podrás contar con mi respuesta a los puntos que indica tu cuestionario.⁶²⁶

In addition to his well-known problems with asthma, he had a relapse of his prostate problems. Specifically, in November 1971 he was planning to have another prostate operation. He was worried he could not finish a biography of Juan Peiró (the anarchist former Minister of Industry). In the end, he died approximately six months later and he did not finish his last project: “Espero que mi propia vida se prolongue lo suficiente para dar cima a la obra. Ahora estoy a la espera de los preparativos para una nueva operación de próstata. Si sale bien, después vendrá otra primavera”.⁶²⁷ But a new spring did not come for him. On balance, at least it seems certain that his nostalgia, melancholy or “hypochondria of the heart” disappeared into thin air once his aim was fulfilled: to return to Spain and to become a *de-exile*.

To sum up, it would seem that geographical migrations entail ideological migrations. Juan López Sánchez’ case already shows that perhaps those who go into exile needed to be redefined not as permanent and static beings but rather as beings in constant change or, as stated above, as beings in *transit*.⁶²⁸ The process of exile indeed is not just a geographical one but also a psychological one. Recognition of these spatial variations and movements take root in the circumstances that exiles had to suffer and the level of integration or assimilation process that they managed to bear. But above all, the attitude of those in exile was crucial for such “political conversions”. This Circumstancialism and spatial determinism worked in at least two different ways. First, those for whom the war was previously not politicized, once in exile reaffirmed radically their political beliefs and behaviours. Somehow, the new context “forced them” to take to the extreme their rejection to Francoism, even if in Spain they did not actively participate in politics. Equally, exile initially was perceived as a threat to their national identity and, in reaction to that, they reinforced their identities and ideologies. Second, some of those Spanish exiles assimilated new values and ideologies, reconstructing

⁶²⁶ In: (JLS_990_6_6/16-Sept-1971/ Madrid).

⁶²⁷ In: (JLS_991_05_16/08-Nov-1971/Madrid). [Emphasis mine]

⁶²⁸ “The status of the exile, both materially and psychologically, is a dynamic one —it changes from exile to emigrant or emigrant to exile. These changes can be the results both of circumstances altering in his homeland and of the assimilation process in his new country. An essential element in this process is the attitude of the exile to the circumstances prevailing in his homeland which are bound to influence him psychologically”. In: Tabori, P. (1972). *The Anatomy of Exile. A Semantic and Historical Study*. London: Harrap, p.37.

(for good or for bad) their thinking.⁶²⁹ Exile developed in them a sort of ideological contamination and a part of the so-called “Spanish exile” changed their ideas after several years living in democratic countries. In both cases, their geographical migrations entailed ideological migrations. Without attempting to justify any behaviour or “political conversion” and trying to avoid the idea that in exile everything was allowed, it is convenient to conclude that judgement on the specific these exilic circumstances should not be abandoned in favour of preconceived ideological dogmas.

⁶²⁹ “Aun cuando el exilio posibilita, y de hecho suele conllevar, la reafirmación y fortalecimiento de la ideología de que es portador el exiliado, también supone la apertura al entorno que le acoge, con la consiguiente asimilación de nuevos valores, la revisión del propio ideario al contacto con influencias foráneas, y la proyección final de los ideales propios, más o menos revisados o modificados, tanto en el país de acogida como, especialmente, en la patria de origen si tiene lugar el retorno. En este sentido todo exilio va acompañado y seguido de un efecto renovador en todos los ámbitos del pensamiento, las ciencias y la cultura”. In: Vilar, J.B. (2006). *El exilio en la España contemporánea*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, p.17.

Conclusions: History as a Cemetery

History indeed resembles a crowded cemetery, where room must constantly be made for new tombstones.⁶³⁰

For better or for worse, it does not seem to matter that more than 75 years have passed since the official end of the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent mass exile in 1939. The ideological tensions within the academic arena continue to polarise a biased debate. Despite the enormous diversity and plurality of the so-called “Spanish Republican exile”, the general pattern of the historical analysis has focused excessively in the supposed moral rectitude, ideological immobility and unconditional anti-Franco resistance among the Spanish exiles (as a group). Taking into account the previous framework still under discussion, in this thesis I have rejected the prognosis by Juan Bautista Vilar Ramírez (among many others) that the general ethical bearing in the context of the “Spanish exile” was impeccable (i.e. full of civic republican virtues), throughout the almost 40 years of Franco’s dictatorship (See Chapter 2 *Theoretical Framework: Exile, Return and De-exile*). In contrast, basing my interpretations mainly on Mari Paz Balibrea Enriquez’ and Sebastiaan Faber’s publications, I have suggested that there is an “idealization of the Republican experience in the public domain”,⁶³¹ and an academic lack of consideration for the eclectic nature for individuals of the so-called “Spanish exile”. Broadly speaking, historiography within Spanish Exile Studies tends to excessively glorify the Spanish Civil War exiles. One of the explanations that I developed in the thesis for this glorification is a compensatory principle for counteracting four decades of Francoist propaganda against exiles. The Francoist Regime promoted a public denunciation of those exiles presenting them more or less as rats leaving a sinking ship, that is, as a large amount of deserters representing anti-Spain.

Bearing in mind these preliminary statements, I have proceeded to provide a general overview of how the confrontations and divisions among Spanish exiles (particularly between the CNT in exile and CNT in the interior) and refugee organisations (e.g., JARE and SERE) have been moralised, before presenting one specific case study: the case of Juan López Sánchez. Later, I have highlighted the connection between the return of exiles and health issues, outlining the importance of the discourses on sickness to justify (and self-justify) the

⁶³⁰ Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The collective memory*. New York: HarperCollins, p.52.

⁶³¹ Moradiellos, E. (2008). Critical historical revision and political revisionism. *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 21 (3), p. 219.

return to Franco's Spain in the eyes of those exiles who completely refused any attempt to return to Spain prior to Franco's death. For the latter exiles, returning to Franco's Spain – even if for health issues – was an act of high treason. They argued that political ideals, and the discipline and resistance of political parties and trade unions were sacred exilic imperatives. Consequently, the idea of return became into an untouchable taboo. In principle, Juan López Sánchez appears to be an exception in this rigid moralised exilic world. Under these circumstances I have answered the first research question: How did Spanish exile and former anarchist Minister Juan López Sánchez construct a discourse that justified and enabled him to return to Francoist Spain? I did this by approaching his peculiar correspondence, theorising his notion of exile in terms of a national disease (a "germen of war") that needed to be cured as soon as possible, by returning to and integrating into Franco's Spain. I have also stressed that his ardent patriotism (towards geographical Spain –even if ruled by Franco) was an obligation or imperative for returning to Spain; imperative not only for returning but for getting actively involved in the reconstruction and regeneration of a common non-violent project for all Spaniards: a Great Spain. And furthermore, announcing his time in Spain as a totally integrated Spaniard (as if he had not been affected at all by 29 years in exile). This was not a process without costs. Once in Spain, Juan López Sánchez (as many other returnees) had to go through a quarantine process of ideological purification or political conversion (even if he insisted on his unchanged ideology) and expiation of guilt. The Francoist Regime took advantage of the returnees in order not only to use them in propagandist terms but also to use some particular exiles that had extensive experience in syndicalism, in exchange for silencing the incipient working-class protests during 1960s. In any case, this thesis explores the previous research question emphasising the limits of ideological and theoretical explanations of his return and bringing physical discourses into action, as a prevailing justification for returning to Spain.

In the second research question I have explored the extent to which Juan López Sánchez' forced geographical displacement also entailed a radical ideological migration: from being a violent revolutionary anarchist in his youth to becoming a reactionary. He reinvented himself, despite announcing his ideological immutability –principally in his correspondence–, that is, in spite of insisting on being the same person in 1939 (the beginning of his exile) and in 1966 (year of his return to Spain). In relation to this, I illustrated once again how the exilic discourses of the body (anatomy, psychiatry and health issues in general) have not received much academic attention when, in fact, physical and geographical determinism is one of the

greatest factors shaping “Spanish exile”. All these findings support the previous research questions.

In this regard, my original contribution to the academic historiography on the so-called “Exile Studies” (also on forced migration and refugee studies) is threefold. Firstly, I have contributed by uncovering the plurality of exiles within the so-called “Spanish exile”. As stated in Chapter 2 *Theoretical Framework: Exile, Return, De-exile*, the polymorphic and multi-faceted personal and ideological directions of that “Spanish exile” deserves a new paradigm, one that includes academically unrecognized exile figures that did not fit the official picture of moral rectitude and uniformity within a diaspora of almost one million Spaniards. Among those exiles, the picture of Juan López Sánchez that emerges in my thesis from his writings –especially from his correspondence, is a controversial but historically interesting one.

Secondly, from a theoretical point of view, the sections of this thesis (see especially Chapters 2, 7, and 8) dedicated to the notion of *de-exile* analyse the little-explored field of those exiles who returned to their home countries and very soon thereafter they discovered, not without a huge amount of suffering, that they did not belong anymore to their home countries but to their host countries. Their host countries became their new home countries by a process that Mario Benedetti labelled as *de-exile*. Nevertheless, as I pinpointed in Chapter 7 *De-exile and Collaboration with the Enemy*, I interpreted Juan López Sánchez’ writings using *de-exile* in a totally different way. In this regard, I went further by theorising new interpretations of *de-exile* that could contribute to clarify Juan López Sánchez’ case. According to his correspondences, to integrate within the host country was an act of national betrayal. This worked as a justification not just to return but to collaborate and to fully integrate into Francoist Spain. As presented in the thesis, the idea of a complete integration after exile rejects widespread several academic theories that suggest that once in exile, always in exile, even if the refugees return to their home countries.

And thirdly, the thesis contributes to start a new anatomical turn through the introduction of bodily discourses in the context of the Spanish Civil War exile studies. For this purpose, Chapter 8 *The Psychosomatic Elements of Exile, Return and De-exile* was entirely dedicated to unravelling to what extent abstract ideas, ideologies and political dogmas had less relevance than psychosomatic issues in Juan Lopez Sánchez’ decision to return to Franco’s Spain. Something particularly innovative is presented in the section of the thesis entitle

Psychosis of the body. There, I do not limit my study to Juan López Sánchez' case but I also analyse the *exilic diseases* (especially asthma) that affected –for example— the world-famous Spanish writer Ramón J. Sender (who lived in exile in California) and the Uruguayan writer Mario Benedetti (who spent most of his life living in Spain). Their cases illustrated that returning to Franco's Spain (or to Mario Benedetti's Uruguay) was not only a personal decision based on nostalgia and melancholy but on *therapeutic reasons*, and on a sort of anatomic justification. Consequently, the body (and its anatomy) has a positive role to play in salvaging a sense of physical and even medical justification for the exiles' return. Throughout the thesis I have named this sense for returning in different ways (i.e., as a vital necessity, a treatment and a medicine). Nevertheless, it is relevant to mention one last interpretation of the return as something biological and psychosomatic that can contribute to a greater understanding of similar cases. An excellent example of this was Alejandro Casona (a Spanish poet and playwright). He returned permanently to Francoist Spain in 1963 and died only two years later. In a letter to a friend he spoke –as Juan López Sánchez did on countless occasions— about the “biological need” of returning to Spain:

We don't have any friends although there are hundreds of people who start their letters with “Dear Friend”. Sometimes I have the bitter sensation that everything of mine belongs to the past or some distance place. Would it surprise you if I said I'm going to Madrid to premiere *La Dama del Alba*? I can no longer hold out. I'm being asphyxiated and have a biological need to hear [people speaking with] my accent, sense my people around me, and see my country. I've had hundreds of better offers and I've always declined. But this time I lack the strength [...].⁶³²

In accordance with those cases, this thesis also illustrates that bringing Foucault's biopolitics (as social and political power over life but also as biology applied to political science, and as Psychohistory) into the “Spanish exile” could improve the historiography of this academic field. To a great extent, personal correspondences and autobiographies allow a better understanding of human nature and exile behaviour in limited situations.

Despite these three major contributions to knowledge, I am aware of its academically problematic implications. While writing my thesis certain limitations have emerged, especially since this is the first time Juan López Sánchez' has been used for an extensive and monographic academic work. Consequently, the first limitation of the work is the lack of published materials on Juan López Sánchez and, in the same sense, the lack of specific secondary literature on him. However, this has been a challenge that I resolved by

⁶³² Alted Vigil, A. “Repatriation or Return? The Difficult Homecoming of the Spanish Civil War Exile.” In: *Coming Home? Vol. 1: Conflict and Return Migration in the Aftermath of Europe's Twentieth-Century Civil Wars*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, p. 28. [Emphasis mine]

reconstructing the public and private contexts that marked Juan López Sánchez' life and writings (on this point see Chapters 1 to 3).

The second limitation of the thesis refers to its nature: a case study. It could be argued that the findings of my thesis cannot necessarily be generalised to the wider “Spanish Exile”, that is, that I am trying to make all the controversial exilic cases to fit into Juan López Sánchez' model. Nevertheless, rather than creating a larger theory with too many generalisations I decided to rescue, in depth and in detail, one specific voice among those Spanish exiles. For this purpose, I have conceived the so-called “Spanish Exile” as a sum of individual cases (with Juan López Sánchez as one among them). As explained in the preliminary discussion of the thesis, I have tried to implement what Peter Burke called: “The capacity to see the general in the particular [...]”,⁶³³ that is, to rescue –if relevant– the “universal” problems from the “particular” problems of one individual: Juan López Sánchez.

The third limitation –closely connected to the previous one– reports that case studies on one person tend to be biased in data collection and this can alter the results or conclusions. As far as I am concerned, and despite the problems of subjectivity described in the section *Issues of self-reflexivity*, I would suggest that this thesis is not biased. I did not attempt to justify Juan López Sánchez' ethical behaviour or controversial opinions regarding other exiles in any way, nor did I judge his moral fabric or discursive contradictions. I have interpreted his writing in the light of the academic canon, dealing with criticism but also with the dark side of human nature: cynicism and despair. In this complex frame of reference, it must be remembered that “we are in the realm of hidden motives and interests, of fears and acts of courage that do not usually leave any irrefutable proof or can only be considered with serious provisos”.⁶³⁴ Juan López Sánchez' writings were in a sort of purgatory precisely because of those hidden motives and marginal issues. Then this thesis redeems the former Minister not because of his ethical behaviour but because it brings him into light as a relevant individual historical agent, without judging him. Similarly, my work admits that ideological purity is just an academic debate or a literary discussion but something impossible to find in reality.

The last limitation but not least, accepts that further research on different case studies will be required to fully validate if Juan López Sánchez' case was an exception, or if on the contrary, there is a new group of unnaturally quiet exiles like him, deserving an in-depth analysis and being included in the historiography. Otherwise stated, the question is if this

⁶³³ Burke, P. (1992). *History and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.5.

⁶³⁴ Gracia, J. (2008). Revisionism, a necessary evil. *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 21 (3), p. 253.

thesis is more the exception than the rule. The epigram above reveals the highly conflicting relationship between memory and academic historical analysis because, as Maurice Halbwachs noted, “History indeed resembles a crowded cemetery, where room must constantly be made for new tombstones”.⁶³⁵

With respect to the highly conflicting relationship between memory and academic historical analysis, it is important to bring to light the implications of the reception of my work in the academic context. As I mentioned in the introduction, I suspect that this thesis might face some problems in being received within Spain. From this I deduce a key question regarding my own political positioning in my attempt to rescue the former Minister from oblivion: Does research on politically incorrect historical characters imply a revisionist or historical agenda? In my case, the answer is a blunt no. There has been an influx of publications in the last 40 years regarding the “Spanish Exile” stressing –almost exclusively– the superior morality of those living in exile or, in other words, the positive history of their upright exile, something which is eminently correct. However, the most controversial cases of that “Spanish Exile” have generally been neglected or, at least, intentionally ignored because of different political agendas regarding issues of historical memory. Then, if my work is a revisionist one, it is in a critical sense: I have revised and reinterpreted the history of the “Spanish Exile” in order to fulfil what has been left out by others. In no way has this thesis denied the terrible experiences suffered by all exiles, nor has issues avoided pinpointing the specific person guilty of those sufferings: the Spanish Dictator Francisco Franco.

Finally, what I have avoided is both simplification and sectarianism while analysing those exile experiences considering that: “Simplification or sectarianism, even in the treatment of exile, is the trade mark of left-wing and right-wing revisionism, obstinately misinformed but very popular. Combating it with a job well done is yet another debt owed by academic historiography”.⁶³⁶ In this sense, in case there is still any doubt, this academic work is not a neo-Francoist interpretation of the “Spanish exiles”. It is worth remembering that “as professional historians our duty is to look again to what has been said, especially if it was said by the propaganda machine of a regime based on lies”.⁶³⁷ And that is what I have done. In light of the important new data that I gained access to (Chapter 3 *Methodology: Analysing Juan López Sánchez’ Archive*), a certain historiographical revision was necessary. In this

⁶³⁵ Halbwachs, M. (1980). *op. cit.*, p.52.

⁶³⁶ Gracia, J. (2008). *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁶³⁷ Cazorla-Sánchez, A. (2008). Revisiting the legacy of the Spanish Civil War. *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 21 (3), p. 239.

regard, this type of critical revisionism is a normal process in academic history writing. I personally feel that cases like Juan López Sánchez generate “a great deal of new evidence to provide a fuller picture of Spanish intellectual life under Franco”.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁸ Gracia, J. (2008). *op. cit.*, p. 256.

Appendix I

Contents of “Archivo de Juan López Sánchez (Líder anarquista y ministro republicano)” [Source: Personal Compilation]

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.1.	London 14/04/44	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	1
1.2.	London 21/04/44	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	1
1.3.	London 15/06/44	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	5
1.4.	Algeria 30/07/44	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	2
1.5.	Algeria 05/08/44	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	3
1.6.	Milford Haven 27/09/44	Letter from JLS to Juan Doménech	5
1.7.	Algeria <i>¿</i> 08/05/45	Handwritten letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	6
1.8.	Algeria 17/06/45	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	2
1.9.	Algeria 29/06/45	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	4
1.10.	Algeria 30/08/45	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	2
1.11.	Algeria 16/09/45	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	2
1.12.	Algeria 04/10/45	Handwritten letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	2
1.13.	Algeria <i>¿</i> 30/10/45	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	2
1.14.	San Cyprien 4/11/45	Handwritten letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	2
1.15.	Brighton 17/11/45	Letter from JLS to Juan Doménech	1
1.16.	<i>¿</i> 24/11/45	Handwritten letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	4

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-1 and 237-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages

1.17.	Brighton 25/12/45	Letter from JLS to Juan Doménech	1
1.18.	Toulouse 17/01/46	Handwritten letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	4
1.19.	Brighton 25/05/46	Letter from JLS to Juan Doménech	1
1.20.	Mexico 07/10/1962	Letter from JLS to Juan Doménech	3
1.21.	Toulouse 16/12/1962	Letter from Juan Doménech to JLS	2
2.1.	¿12/04/39	Safe-conduct for JLS	1
2.2.	Madrid 19/03/39	Safe-conduct for JLS	1
2.3.	Madrid 22/03/1939	Moving Document from JLS and Carmen	1
2.4.	Madrid 23/03/1939	Document: "Misión en el extranjero" from JLS	1
2.5.	Madrid 24/03/39	Document: "CNT y su misión el extranjero"	1
2.6.	¿?	"Consejo Nacional of Defensa: Cuentas corrientes"	1
2.7.	¿? 13/04/39	Manuscript ¿?	2
2.8.	Paris 15/04/1939	Manuscript from JLS	11
2.9.	London 19/04/1939	Letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.10.	London 24/04/39	Letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	4

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.11.	Melun (Fr) ¿?	Manuscript from JLS	3
2.12.	Melun 07/05/1939	Manuscript from JLS	6
2.13.	London 11/may/39	Letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.14.	Melun 15/05/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.15.	London 20/05/1939	Letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.16.	Melun 21/05/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	2
2.17.	Melun 22/05/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	4
2.18.	London 25/05/1939	Letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	4
2.19.	Melun 29/05/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1

2.20.	Melun 04/06/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.21.	London 22/06/39	Letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	1
2.22.	Melun 26/06/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.23.	London 23/07/39	Letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	3
2.24.	London 30/07/39	Letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	1
2.25.	Melun ?	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.26.	London 21/08/39	Letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.27.	Marseilles 07/08/45	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.28.	Brighton 25/08/45	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.29.	Marseilles 28/08/45	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.30.	Brighton ?	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.31.	Marseilles 01/10/45	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	3
2.32.	Brighton 16/09/45	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.33.	Marseilles ??	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.34.	Brighton 08/11/45	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.35.	Marseilles 10/12/45	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	4
2.36.	Brighton 18/01/46	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	2
2.37.	Marseilles 26/01/46	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	6
2.38.	Brighton 07/03/46	Handwritten letter from JLS to G. Marín	1 ?
2.39.	Marseilles 19/03/46	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	6
2.40.	Marseilles 05/04/46	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.41.	Brighton 12/04/46	Handwritten letter JLS to Manuel G. Marín	2
2.42.	Marseilles 15/05/46	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.43.	Marseilles 04/07/46	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	1
2.44.	Brighton 22/04/47	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.45.	Marseilles 12/05/47	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.46.	Brighton 02/06/47	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.47.	Brighton 23/06/47	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.48.	Marseilles i.e.	Unfinished Letter from Manuel G. Marín	2
2.49.	Marseilles 06/07/47	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	4
2.50.	Marseilles 16/07/47	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.51.	Brighton 07/08/47	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	1
2.52.	Marseilles 14/12/47	Handwritten letter from Manuel G. Marín to JLS	2
2.53.	Brighton 06/01/48	Letter from JLS to Manuel G. Marín	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.1.	Oran 07/09/46	Letter from Gonzalo Vidal to JLS	2
3.2.	Brighton 27/09/46	Letter from JLS to Gonzalo Vidal	1
3.3.	Oran 09/11/46	Letter from Gonzalo Vidal to JLS	2
3.4.	Brighton 21/11/46	Letter from JLS to Gonzalo Vidal	2
3.5.	London 13/04/40	Letter from JLS to Jacinto Toryho	1
3.6.	New York 17/05/1940	Letter from Jacinto Toryho to JLS	2
3.7.	London 12/06/40	Letter from JLS to Jacinto Toryho	2
3.8.	Oxford 02/01/41	Letter from JLS to Jacinto Toryho	1
3.9.	Mexico 20/09/1966	Letter from JLS to Jacinto Toryho	1
3.10.	Buenos Aires 14/11/66	Letter from Jacinto Toryho to JLS	3
3.11.	Mexico 12/12/1966	Letter from JLS to Jacinto Toryho	2

3.12.	London 05/08/42	Letter from JLS to José Viadiu	3
3.13.	London 09/06/43	Letter from JLS to José Viadiu	2
3.14.	London 26/06/43	Letter from JLS to José Viadiu	1
3.15.	London 14/10/43	Letter from JLS to José Viadiu	2
3.16.	Mexico, ¿?	Notes from Emilio Maldonado to JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.17.	Brighton 28/05/46	Letter from JLS to Emilio Vivas	1
3.18.	Brighton 14/06/46	Letter from JLS to Emilio Vivas	1
3.19.	Madrid 18/03/68	Letter from JLS to Juan Velarde	2
3.20.	Madrid 01/06/71	Letter from JLS to Juan Velarde	2
3.21.	Madrid 08/07/71	Letter from JLS to Juan Velarde	1
3.22.	Madrid 30/07/71	Letter from JLS to Juan Velarde	1
3.23.	Madrid 29/10/71	Letter from JLS to Juan Velarde	1
3.24.	Madrid 08/05/70	Letter from JLS to Francisco Zaragoza	1
3.25.	Madrid 18/09/70	Letter from JLS to Francisco Zaragoza	2
3.26.	Madrid 25/10/70	Letter from JLS to Francisco Zaragoza	2
3.27.	¿=?=?	Handwritten letter from Julián Zomeño Merino	5

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-4 and 237-5)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
4.1.	London 10/02/45	Suceso Portales' Manuscript to JLS	4
4.2.	Milford Haven 13/02/1945	Letter from JLS to Suceso Portales	2
4.3.	Guanajuato(Mex) 13/09/65	Letter from ¿? to JLS	2
4.4.	Mexico DF 14/01/64	Letter from JLS to José Pages Llergo	5
4.5.	Barcelona 1918	Book: Rafael Fernández de Castro, <i>El descanso dominical. Ley de 03/03/1904</i>	79
4.6.	¿? Madrid	Book: <i>Tribunal de cuentas de la República: Memoria relativa a la cuenta general del Estado del Año Académico de 1933</i>	49

5.1.	¿?	Handwritten notes from JLS	2
5.2.	30/11/1955 ¿?	JLS' text to "Pleno de Regionales"	5
5.3.	Mexico DF 21/11/61	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	2
5.4.	Mexico DF 15/12/61	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	5
5.5.	Mexico DF 09/02/62	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	5
5.6.	Mexico DF 09/03/62	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	4
5.7.	Mexico DF 23/05/62	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	2
5.8.	Mexico DF 07/08/62	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	2
5.9.	Mexico DF 29/09/62	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	4

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-5)

5.10.	Mexico DF 15/02/63	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	3
5.11.	Mexico DF 20/02/63	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	4
5.12.	Mexico DF 07/09/63	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	5
5.13.	Mexico DF 29/11/63	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	1
5.14.	Mexico DF 31/03/65	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	1
5.15.	Mexico DF 25/06/65	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	5
5.16.	Mexico DF 21/07/65	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	2
5.17.	Mexico DF 10/08/65	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	2
5.18.	Mexico DF 01/02/66	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	1
5.19.	Mexico DF 22/03/66	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	2
5.20.	Mexico DF 24/03/66	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	2
5.21.	Madrid 25/05/1970	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	1
5.22.	Madrid 01/07/1961	Letter from Francisco Royano Fernández to JLS	2
5.23.	Madrid 23/07/1970	Letter from JLS to Francisco Royano Fernández	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-6)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages

6.1.	England 9/09/39	Letter from Carlos Esplá to JLS	1
6.2.	England 11/09/39	Letter from Carlos Esplá to JLS	1
6.3.	St. Helens 16/09/39	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	2
6.4.	England 23/09/39	Letter from Carlos Esplá to JLS	1
6.5.	St. Helens 18/10/39	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.6.	England 28/10/39	Letter from Carlos Esplá to JLS	1
6.7.	St. Helens 04/11/39	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.8.	Harrow 13/11/39	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	3
6.9.	England 21/11/39	Letter from Carlos Esplá to JLS	1
6.10.	St. Helens 22/11/39	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.11.	St. Helens 13/12/39	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.12.	England 20/12/39	Letter from Carlos Esplá to JLS	1
6.13.	St. Helens 29/12/39	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-6 and 237-7)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
6.14.	St. Helens 27/01/40	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.15.	England 04/02/1940	Letter from Carlos Esplá to JLS	1
6.16.	St. Helens 14/02/40	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.17.	St. Helens 14/02/40	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.18.	England 27/02/1940	Letter from Carlos Esplá to JLS	1
6.19.	St. Helens 14/03/40	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.20.	London 21/03/1940	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.21.	London 10/04/1940	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.22.	London 24/04/1940	Letter from JLS to Carlos Esplá	1
6.23.	¿ 29/04/40	Letter from Carlos Esplá to JLS	1
7.1.	San Miguel de Allende	Letter from Onofre García Tirador to D. García C.	2

	25/08/67		
7.2.	Madrid 12/10/1968	Letter from JLS to Cristóbal Páez	2
7.3.	Madrid 12/11/68	Letter from Cristóbal Páez to JLS	1
7.4.	Madrid 08/12/68	Letter from JLS to Cristóbal Páez	1
7.5.	Madrid 19/01/69	Letter from JLS to Cristóbal Páez	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-7)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
7.6.	Madrid 07/03/69	Letter from Cristóbal Páez to JLS	1
7.7.	Madrid 12/03/69	Letter from JLS to Cristóbal Páez	1
7.8.	Madrid 12/04/69	Letter from Cristóbal Páez to JLS	1
7.9.	Madrid 11/10/68 ?	Letter from JLS to Cristóbal Páez	1
7.10.	Madrid 22/11/68	Letter from Vicente Rojo to JLS	1
7.11.	Madrid ?	Text from JLS: "Del momento sindical"	8
7.12.	Madrid 11/10/68	Letter from JLS to José Solís Ruiz	1
7.13.	Madrid ?	Text from JLS: "Dialogocracia"	2
7.14.	Paris 9/08/49	Letter from Francisco Benet Goitia to JLS	2
7.15.	Brighton 22/08/49	Letter from JLS to Francisco Benet Goitia	7
7.16.	Madrid 18/11/1972	Letter from Pedro Pascual to JLS	1
7.17.	London 14/05/40	Letter from JLS to A.G. Entrialgo	2
7.18.	Oxford 8/10/40	Letter from JLS to A.G. Entrialgo	2
7.19.	Mexico "últimos del 55"	Letter from JLS to A.G. Entrialgo	2
7.20.	Mexico 12/02/1964	Letter from JLS to A.G. Entrialgo	2
7.21.	Mexico 21/04/1967	Letter from JLS to A.G. Entrialgo	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-8)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
8.1.	St. Helens 06/02/40	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	2
8.2.	Orléans	Letter from Horacio Martinez Prieto to	2

	(Fr) 27/02/1940	JLS	
8.3.	St. Helens 02/03/40	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	15
8.4.	Orléáns (Fr) 21/03/1940	Letter from Horacio Martinez Prieto to JLS	4
8.5.	London 21/03/1940	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	1
8.6.	London 06/04/1940	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	7
8.7.	Brighton 14/08/1945	Letter from to JLS Horacio Martinez Prieto	1
8.8.	Orléáns (Fr) 19/08/1945	Letter from Horacio Martinez Prieto to JLS	10
8.9.	Brighton 01/09/45	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	2
8.10.	Orléáns (Fr) 09/09/1945	Letter from Horacio Martinez Prieto to JLS	9
8.11.	Brighton 09/10/45	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	1
8.12.	Orléáns (Fr) 15/10/1945	Letter from Horacio Martinez Prieto to JLS	4
8.13.	Brighton 24/10/45	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	1
8.14.	Orléáns (Fr) 29/10/1945	Letter from Horacio Martinez Prieto to JLS	4
8.15.	Brighton ? 07/02/46	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	2
8.16.	Brighton 12/01/48	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	3

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-8 and 237-9)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
8.17.	Brighton 23/04/48	Letter from JLS to Horacio Martinez Prieto	1
9.1.	England ? ?	Letter from José Pinedo (CNT-MLA) to the British PM	4
9.2.	Toulouse 03/05/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.3.	Toulouse 13/05/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	1
9.4.	Brighton 21/05/46	Letter from JLS to José Pinedo	1
9.5.	Toulouse 29/05/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2

9.6.	Brighton 01/06/46	Letter from JLS to José Pinedo	1
9.7.	Toulouse 12/06/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.8.	Toulouse 28/08/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.9.	Toulouse 07/09/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.10.	Toulouse 09/09/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.11.	Brighton 22/10/46	Letter from JLS to José Pinedo	1
9.12.	Toulouse 08/10/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	1
9.13.	Toulouse 01/11/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.14.	Toulouse 30/11/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-9)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
9.15.	Toulouse 31/12/46	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.16.	Toulouse 20/02/47	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.17.	Brighton 24/02/47	Letter from JLS to José Pinedo	1
9.18.	Toulouse 07/03/47	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.19.	Paris 20/03/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.20.	Paris 02/05/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	3
9.21.	Paris 10/05/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.22.	Brighton 17/05/47	Letter from JLS to José Pinedo	2
9.23.	Paris 21/05/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.24.	Brighton 27/05/47	Letter from JLS to José Pinedo	1
9.25.	Paris 04/06/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.26.	Paris 24/06/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	3
9.27.	Brighton 30/06/47	Letter from JLS to José Pinedo	1
9.28.	Paris 04/07/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.29.	Brighton 24/07/47	Letter from JLS to José Pinedo	2
9.30.	Paris	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2

	29/07/1947		
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JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (237-9)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
9.31.	Brighton 16/08/47	Letter from JLS to José Pinedo	1
9.32.	Paris 06/09/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	2
9.33.	Paris 19/09/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	4
9.34.	Paris 28/09/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	1
9.35.	Paris 10/10/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	3
9.36.	Paris 30/10/1947	Letter from José Pinedo to JLS	3

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.1.	London 6/02/40	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	1
1.2.	UK ¿?	Notice to all Spanish libertarians living in the UK	1
1.3.	Paris ¿?	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	2
1.4.	London 11/05/39	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	1
1.5.	London 13/05/39	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	1
1.6.	Melun 15/05/1939	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	1
1.7.	London 19/05/39	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	1
1.8.	London 26/05/39	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	3
1.9.	London 30/05/39	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	1
1.10.	London 01/06/39	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	5
1.11.	Melun 04/06/1939	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	2
1.12.	London 08/06/39	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	1
1.13.	London 02/08/39	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	2
1.14.	Melun 19/08/1939	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	1
1.15.	St. Helens 02/09/39	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	1

1.16.	St. Helens 08/02/40	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	2
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JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.17.	London 24/02/40	Letter from J. G. Barberá to JLS	2
1.18.	St. Helens 27/02/40	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	3
1.19.	St. Helens 29/02/40	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	1
1.20.	London 18/03/40	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	1
1.21.	¿? 8/09/40	Letter from Pablo Polgare to JLS	2
1.22.	Oxford 02/10/40	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	1
1.23.	Oxford 08/10/40	Letter from JLS to J.G. Barberá	2
1.24.	London 24/10/40	Letter from José González to JLS	2
1.25.	Oxford 27/10/40	Letter from JLS to José González	1
1.26.	London 29/10/40	Letter from José González to JLS	4
1.27.	Oxford 31/10/40	Letter from JLS to José González	2
1.28.	London 07/11/40	Letter from José González to JLS	4
1.29.	London 11/11/40	Letter from José González to JLS	2
1.30.	London 18/11/40	Letter from José González to JLS	1
1.31.	Oxford 25/11/40	Letter from JLS to José González	2
1.32.	London 29/11/40	Letter from José González to JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-1 and 990-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.33.	London 21/12/40	Letter from José González to JLS	2
1.34.	La Paz 20/03/41	Letter from José González to JLS	1
1.35.	Oxford 16/05/41	Letter from JLS to José González	2
1.36.	Oxford 28/11/41	Letter from JLS to José González	2
1.37.	Brighton 27/08/45	Letter from JLS to José González	2
1.38.	Buenos Aires	Letter from José González to JLS	2

	12/09/45		
1.39.	Brighton 25/09/45	Letter from JLS to José González	2
1.40.	La Plata 19/08/66	Letter from José González to JLS	2
1.41.	Mexico DF 23/09/66	Letter from JLS to José González	1
1.42.	La Plata 31/10/66	Letter from José González to JLS	2
1.43.	Mexico DF 28/12/66	Letter from JLS to José González	1
2.1.	Oxford 12/04/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.2.	London 15/04/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.3.	Oxford 16/04/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.4.	London 23/04/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.5.	Oxford 23/04/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.6.	Oxford 25/04/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.7.	London 29/04/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.8.	Oxford 05/05/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	4
2.9.	London 10/05/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.10.	Oxford 14/05/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.11.	Oxford 14/05/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.12.	London 17/05/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.13.	Oxford 21/05/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.14.	Oxford 03/06/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.15.	Oxford 10/06/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.16.	London 14/06/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.17.	Oxford 25/06/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.18.	London 28/06/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2

2.19.	Kent 30/06/41	Letter from R. Perera to JLS	1
2.20.	Oxford 01/07/41	Letter from JLS to R. Perera	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.21.	London 09/07/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.22.	Oxford 12/07/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.23.	Oxford 18/07/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.24.	Oxford 16/08/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.25.	London 18/09/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.26.	London 18/09/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.27.	Oxford 20/09/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.28.	London 07/10/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.29.	Oxford 11/10/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.30.	Oxford 20/11/41	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.31.	London 21/11/41	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.32.	London 19/05/42	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.33.	London 15/01/45	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.34.	London 25/01/45	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.35.	London 29/01/45	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	3
2.36.	London 02/04/45	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-2 and 990-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.37.	London 27/04/45	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.38.	London 29/04/45	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	1
2.39.	London 30/06/45	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.40.	London 30/05/44	Letter from Pi y Sunyer to JLS	2
2.41.	Brighton	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1

	15/06/45		
2.42.	Brighton 06/07/53	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	2
2.43.	Brighton 19/12/53	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
2.44.	Mexico DF 23/02/55	Letter from JLS to Carlos Pi y Sunyer	1
3.1.	Mexico DF ¿?	Letter [in English] from JLS to Claude G. Bowers	1
3.2.	New York 12/08/54	Letter from Claude G. Bowers to JLS	1
3.3.	Mexico DF ¿?	Letter from JLS to Claude G. Bowers	1
3.4.	Mexico DF 30/09/54	Letter from JLS to Claude G. Bowers	1
3.5.	New York 06/10/54	Letter from Claude G. Bowers to JLS	1
3.6.	Mexico DF 13/10/54	Letter from JLS to Claude G. Bowers	1
3.7.	New York 25/10/54	Letter from Claude G. Bowers to JLS	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.8.	Mexico DF 01/12/54	Letter from JLS to Claude G. Bowers	1
3.9.	New York 01/12/54	Letter from Claude G. Bowers to JLS	1
3.10.	New York 03/12/54	Letter from Claude G. Bowers to JLS	1
3.11.	New York 22/12/54	Letter from Claude G. Bowers to JLS	1
3.12.	Mexico DF 25/12/54	Letter from JLS to Claude G. Bowers	1
3.13.	New York 07/02/55	Letter from Claude G. Bowers to JLS	1
3.14.	Mexico DF 11/02/55	Letter from JLS to Claude G. Bowers	1
3.15.	New York 25/03/55	Letter from Claude G. Bowers to JLS	1
3.16.	Mexico DF 02/04/55	Letter from JLS to Claude G. Bowers	1
3.17.	¿?	“Sobre sindicalismo y juventud” JLS’ text	7

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
4.1.	Salos de Provence	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	4

	5/05/39		
4.2.	Montpellier 16/05/39	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	1
4.3.	Melun 20/05/39	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.4.	Montpellier 02/06/39	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	2
4.5.	Melun 06/06/39	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.6.	Montpellier 24/06/39	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	2
4.7.	Melun 26/06/39	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	3
4.8.	Montpellier 24/07/39	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	2
4.9.	London 31/07/1939	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.10.	Montpellier 04/08/39	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	2
4.11.	London 12/08/1939	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	4
4.12.	Montpellier 23/08/39	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	2
4.13.	St. Helens 09/06/39	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.14.	Montpellier 27/11/39	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	1
4.15.	St. Helens 23/12/39	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.16.	Amélie Les Bains 24/4/40	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
4.17.	London 27/04/40	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.18.	Amélie Les Bains 5/5/40	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	2
4.19.	London 11/05/40	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.20.	Milford Haven 5/1/45	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.21.	Toulouse 25/01/45	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	2
4.22.	Milford Haven 13/2/45	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.23.	Toulouse 17/02/45	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	1

4.24.	Milford Haven 17/2/45	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	1
4.25.	Milford Haven 24/2/45	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	1
4.26.	Milford Haven 10/3/45	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	1
4.27.	Toulouse 17/03/45	Letter from Domingo Torres to JLS	2
4.28.	Milford Haven 18/3/45	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	1
4.29.	Milford Haven 25/3/45	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	1
4.30.	Milford Haven 1/4/45	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	1
4.31.	Milford Haven 11/4/45	Letter from JLS to Domingo Torres	2
4.32.	Melun 8/5/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel Uriarry	8

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
4.33.	Havana 23/05/39	Letter from Manuel Uriarry to JLS	2
4.34.	Melun 31/05/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel Uriarry	6
4.35.	London 24/06/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel Uriarry	2
4.36.	London 15/07/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel Uriarry	7
4.37.	London 14/08/39	Letter from JLS to Manuel Uriarry	2
4.38.	Havana 21/08/45	Letter from Manuel Uriarry to JLS	1
4.39.	Brighton 24/10/45	Letter from JLS to Manuel Uriarry	1
4.40.	Havana 1/11/45	Letter from Manuel Uriarry to JLS	2
4.41.	Havana 1/01/46	Letter from Manuel Uriarry to JLS	1
4.42.	Havana ¿?	Letter from Manuel Uriarry to JLS	4
4.43.	Brighton 23/09/46	Letter from JLS to Manuel Uriarry	1
4.44.	Mexico ¿?	Letter from JLS to Manuel Uriarry	1

4.45.	Havana 20/07/53	Letter from Manuel Uribarry to JLS	1
4.46.	Mexico 13/09/54	Letter from JLS to Manuel Uribarry	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-5 and 990-6)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
5.1.	London 31/08/36	Text: “A todos los militantes del movimiento libertario español en Inglaterra”	1
5.2.	¿? 5/11/39	Letter from De Miguel to JLS	1
5.3.	London 5/11/39	Text: “Comisión de ML en Inglaterra”	4
5.4.	UK ¿?	Text JLS et al.: “Al pleno extraordinario de la CNT en Francia”	1
5.5.	Toulouse 14/07/47	Text: “Circular nº 61”	2
5.6.	Toulouse 16/05/52	Notice from Helios Sánchez	1
5.7.	¿? ¿?	Draft from JLS: “Al CNT-MLE en Francia”	5
5.8.	¿? ¿?	Text: “La subdelegación de la CNT”	2
6.1.	Mexico 29/5/66	Letter from Isidro Guardia Abellá to JLS	7
6.2.	Mexico 9/6/66	Letter from JLS to Isidro Guardia Abellá	2
6.3.	Mexico 4/7/66	Letter from Isidro Guardia Abellá to JLS	2
6.4.	Mexico 23/8/66	Letter from JLS to Isidro Guardia Abellá	1
6.5.	Valencia 30/8/71	Letter from Isidro Guardia Abellá to JLS	4
6.6.	Madrid 16/09/71	Letter from JLS to Isidro Guardia Abellá	1
6.7.	Brighton 6/03/54	Letter from JLS to Félix Gordón Ordá	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-6)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
6.8.	Mexico 20/3/54	Letter from Félix Gordón Ordá to JLS	2
6.9.	Brighton 26/03/54	Letter from JLS to Félix Gordón Ordá	1
6.10.	Mexico 06/4/54	Letter from Félix Gordón Ordá to JLS	1
6.11.	Oxford 2/01/41	Letter from JLS to Félix Gordón Ordá	4
6.12.	Melun ¿?	Letter from JLS to Marcelino González	2

6.13.	Melun 30/08/39	Letter from JLS to Marcelino González	1
6.14.	St. Helens 1/09/39	Letter from JLS to Marcelino González	1
6.15.	St. Helens 18/09/39	Letter from JLS to Marcelino González	2
6.16.	London 21/09/39	Letter from Marcelino González to JLS	2
6.17.	St. Helens 02/10/39	Letter from JLS to Marcelino González	2
6.18.	St. Helens 02/11/39	Letter from JLS to Marcelino González	2
6.19.	St. Helens 30/11/39	Letter from JLS to Marcelino González	2
6.20.	London 4/12/39	Letter from Marcelino González to JLS	2
6.21.	St. Helens 28/02/40	Letter from JLS to Marcelino González	2
6.22.	London 3/07/40	Letter from JLS to Marcelino González	3

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-7 and 990-8)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
7.1.	St. Helens 18/11/39	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
7.2.	Oxford 09/8/41	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	5
7.3.	London 10/8/41	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	6
7.4.	Oxford 17/8/41	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	5
8.1.	Melun 3/5/39	Letter from JLS to "Cultura Proletaria"	1
8.2.	Veracruz 20/05/45	Letter from Joaquín Cortés to JLS	4
8.3.	Brighton 31/08/45	Letter from JLS to Joaquín Cortés	1
8.4.	Mexico 6/09/45	Letter from Joaquín Cortés to JLS	4
8.5.	Brighton 17/09/45	Letter from JLS to Joaquín Cortés	3
8.6.	Mexico 25/09/45	Letter from Joaquín Cortés to JLS	4
8.7.	Brighton 17/11/45	Letter from JLS to Joaquín Cortés	1
8.8.	Brighton 20/11/45	Letter from JLS to Joaquín Cortés	2
8.9.	Brighton 05/12/45	Letter from JLS to Joaquín Cortés	1
8.10	Mexico 20/12/45	Letter from Joaquín Cortés to JLS	1

8.11.	Brighton 25/05/45	Letter from JLS to Joaquín Cortés	2
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JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-8)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
8.12.	Mexico 3/6/54	Letter from Joaquín Cortés to JLS	2
8.13.	Brighton 5/12/45	Letter from JLS to the UGT in exile (UK)	1
8.14.	London 14/2/40	Letter from Wenceslao Carrillo to JLS	1
8.15.	St. Helens 15/2/40	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	2
8.16.	London 19/02/40	Letter from Wenceslao Carrillo to JLS	2
8.17.	St. Helens 20/02/40	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1
8.18.	London 24/2/40	Letter from Wenceslao Carrillo to JLS	1
8.19.	St. Helens 26/02/40	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1
8.20.	London 28/02/40	Letter from Wenceslao Carrillo to JLS	1
8.21.	St. Helens 29/02/40	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	2
8.22.	London 4/03/40	Letter from Wenceslao Carrillo to JLS	1
8.23.	St. Helens 5/03/1940	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1
8.24.	London 07/03/40	Letter from Wenceslao Carrillo to JLS	1
8.25.	St. Helens 9/03/1940	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1
8.26.	London 12/03/40	Letter from Wenceslao Carrillo to JLS	1
8.27.	St. Helens 14/03/1940	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-8)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
8.28.	London 19/03/40	Letter from Wenceslao Carrillo to JLS	2
8.29.	London 21/03/40	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1
8.30.	Oxford 15/09/41	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1
8.31.	London 23/09/41	Letter from Wenceslao Carrillo to JLS	1
8.32.	Oxford 23/09/41	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1
8.33.	Oxford	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1

	26/09/41		
8.34.	London 19/5/42	Letter from JLS to Wenceslao Carrillo	1
8.35.	¿? ¿?	Text from JLS: "Triste y lamentable"	3
8.36.	¿? ¿?	Text from JLS: "Dos tendencias dentro de nuestra revolución"	2
8.37.	¿? ¿?	"La conferencia del Camarada Juan López Sánchez"	29
8.38.	Diario SP 15/4/69	"Entrevista con Juan López" No. 497	4
8.39.	Diario SP 17/4/69	"S.A. y cooperativa" No. 499	1
8.40.	Diario SP 18/4/69	"Los principios de la cooperación" No. 500	1
8.41.	Diario SP 19/4/69	"SALTUV: Resultados espectaculares" No. 501	1
8.42.	Diario SP 20/4/69	"Los vínculos del sindicalismo con la empresa" No. 502	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-9 and 990-10)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
9.1.	Melun 18/3/39	Letter from JLS to Álvaro de Albornoz	3
9.2.	Paris 27/5/39	Letter from Álvaro de Albornoz to JLS	1
9.3.	Melun 30/5/39	Letter from JLS to Álvaro de Albornoz	1
10.1.	¿? ¿?	Text from JLS: "Sobre sindicalismo"	25
10.2.	¿? ¿?	Text from JLS: "Capitalismo, violencia, proletariado"	12
10.3.	¿? ¿?	Presentation card from Luis Araquistáin	1
10.4.	Melun 19/5/39	Letter from JLS to Luis Araquistáin	1
10.5.	Melun 21/5/39	Letter from JLS to Luis Araquistáin	2
10.6.	London 22/6/39	Letter from JLS to Luis Araquistáin	1
10.7.	Queensway 24/6/39	Letter from Luis Araquistáin to JLS	1
10.8.	London 01/8/39	Letter from JLS to Luis Araquistáin	1
10.9.	St. Helens 9/9/39	Letter from JLS to Luis Araquistáin	1
10.10	St. Helens 20/10/39	Letter from JLS to Luis Araquistáin	1
10.11.	London 19/3/40	Letter from Luis Araquistáin to JLS	1

10.12.	London 19/3/40	Handwritten letter from Luis Araquistáin to JLS	1
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JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-10)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document y sender	No. of pages
10.13.	London 20/3/40	Letter from JLS to Luis Araquistáin	1
10.14.	London 21/5/40	Handwritten letter from Luis Araquistáin to JLS	1
10.15.	London 19/5/42	Letter from JLS to Luis Araquistáin	1
10.16.	Brighton 4/9/45	Letter from JLS to Luis Araquistáin	1
10.17.	Guadalaja- Jalisco 26/6/59	Letter from JLS to Conchita de Albornoz	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (991-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.1.	London 4/7/45	Letter from Manuel Irujo (The Basque House) to JLS	2
1.2.	Brighton 23/7/45	Letter from JLS to Manuel Irujo	1
1.3.	London 13/8/45	Letter from Manuel Irujo to JLS	1
1.4.	Brighton 31/8/45	Letter from JLS to Manuel Irujo	1
1.5.	London 29/8/45 ?	Letter from Manuel Irujo to JLS	1
1.6.	Brighton 1/9/45	Letter from JLS to Manuel Irujo	1
1.7.	London 04/9/45	Letter from Manuel Irujo to JLS	1
1.8.	? 22/01/46	Letter from JLS to Manuel Irujo	2
1.9.	London 18/2/46	Letter from Manuel Irujo to JLS	1
1.10.	London 27/3/46	Letter from Manuel Irujo to JLS	1
1.11.	Brighton ?	Letter from JLS to Manuel Irujo	1
1.12.	London 19/03/40	Letter from JLS to Julio Just	1
1.13.	Paris 3/4/40	Letter from Julio Just to JLS	2
1.14.	London 10/04/40	Letter from JLS to Julio Just	2
1.15.	Brighton 23/3/54	Letter from JLS to Julio Just	2

1.16.	Brighton 24/3/54	Letter from JLS to Julio Just	1
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JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (990-1 and 990-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.17.	Paris 25/3/54	Letter from Julio Just to JLS	2
1.18.	Brighton 26/4/54	Letter from JLS to Julio Just	1
1.19.	Paris 05/5/54	Letter from Julio Just to JLS	1
1.20.	Buenos Aires 21/7/63	Letter from Pedro Herrera to JLS	1
1.21.	Mexico DF 7/9/63	Letter from JLS to Pedro Herrera	3
1.22.	Mexico DF 11/2/67	Letter from JLS to Lorenzo Iñigo	2
2.1.	London 29/6/56	Letter from J. García Pradas to JLS	2
2.2.	Mexico 15/12/63	Letter from JLS to J. García Pradas	1
2.3.	London 23/12/63	Letter from J. García Pradas to JLS	16
2.4.	Mexico 18/03/64	Letter from JLS to J. García Pradas	5
2.5.	London 19/09/65	Letter from J. García Pradas to JLS	3
2.6.	Mexico 09/11/65	Letter from JLS to J. García Pradas	16

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (991-3 and 991-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.1.	??	Notice: "Comisión de Refugiados Españoles de la CNT en Inglaterra: A todos los militantes"	21
3.2.	Fragua Social 11/01/38	Text from JLS	12
3.3.	London January 1939	"Subdelegación de la CNT-MLE en Gran Bretaña: A los militantes Libertarios"	21
4.1.	?1969?	Conference: "JLS ante la Cátedra Libre de la Falange"	18

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (991-5)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages

5.1.	Mexico DF 28/05/66	Letter from JLS to Sigifredo Catalá Tineo	1
5.2.	Valencia 12/11/67	Letter from Sigifredo Catalá Tineo to JLS	5
5.3.	Madrid 14/11/67	Letter from JLS to Sigifredo Catalá Tineo	1
5.4.	Madrid ¿/12/68	Letter from JLS to Sigifredo Catalá Tineo	23
5.5.	Madrid 11/01/68	Letter from JLS to Sigifredo Catalá Tineo	1
5.6.	Valencia 15/1/68	Letter from Sigifredo Catalá Tineo to JLS	1
5.7.	Madrid 19/01/68	Letter from JLS to Sigifredo Catalá Tineo	1
5.8.	Valencia 20/1/68	Letter from Sigifredo Catalá Tineo to JLS	4
5.9.	Madrid 14/03/68	Letter from JLS to Sigifredo Catalá Tineo	1
5.10.	Valencia 28/03/69	Letter from Sigifredo Catalá Tineo to JLS	1
5.11.	Valencia 22/4/69	Letter from Sigifredo Catalá Tineo to JLS	1
5.12.	Madrid 10/05/69	Letter from JLS to Sigifredo Catalá Tineo	1
5.13	Valencia 19/9/71	Letter from Sigifredo Catalá Tineo to JLS	2
5.14.	Madrid 25/09/71	Letter from JLS to Sigifredo Catalá Tineo	1
5.15.	Valencia 4/11/71	Letter from Sigifredo Catalá Tineo to JLS	1
5.16.	Madrid 8/11/71	Letter from JLS to Sigifredo Catalá Tineo	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (991-6)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
6.1.	Brighton 16/7/46	Letter from JLS to Víctor Sanz	4
6.2.	¿ 29/10/62	Letter from JLS to ¿?	2
6.3.	Mexico 13/8/62	Letter from JLS to Fulgencio Sañudo	1
6.4.	Mexico 5/10/63	Letter from JLS to Fulgencio Sañudo	2
6.5.	Mexico 30/3/64	Letter from JLS to ¿?	2
6.6.	Madrid 20/11/65	Letter from Fulgencio Sañudo to JLS	3
6.7.	Mexico 16/12/65	Letter from JLS to Fulgencio Sañudo	1
6.8.	Madrid 22/3/69	Letter from JLS to Fulgencio Sañudo	2
6.9.	Madrid 1/12/70	Letter from JLS to Carlos Seco Serrano	3

6.10.	Melun 20/5/39	Letter from JLS to Alberto Serraut	1
6.11.	London 3/8/39	Letter from JLS to Perpetuo Serrano	2
6.12.	St. Helens 21/11/39	Letter from JLS to Perpetuo Serrano	2
6.13.	St. Helens 19/2/40	Letter from JLS to Perpetuo Serrano	3
6.14.	London 21/3/40	Letter from JLS to Perpetuo Serrano	2
6.15.	Milford Haven 25/5/45	Letter from JLS to Perpetuo Serrano	1
6.16.	Brighton 3/7/53	Letter from JLS to Perpetuo Serrano	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (991-6)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
6.17.	St. Helens 15/10/39	Letter from JLS to Pedro Sierra	2
6.18.	St. Helens 8/3/40	Letter from JLS to Pedro Sierra	3
6.19.	London 10/7/40	Letter from JLS to Pedro Sierra	1
6.20.	London 7/9/40	Letter from JLS to Pedro Sierra	2
6.21.	Oxford 19/10/40	Letter from JLS to Pedro Sierra	4
6.22.	Oxford 13/12/40	Letter from JLS to Pedro Sierra	3
6.23.	Mexico 5/8/41	Letter from Pedro Sierra to JLS	2
6.24.	London 14/10/42	Letter from JLS to Pedro Sierra	2
6.25.	Paris 3/4/39	Letter from Mario Soler to JLS	2
6.26.	Melun 31/5/39	Letter from JLS to Mario Soler	1
6.27.	London 10/8/39	Letter from JLS to Mario Soler	2
6.28.	Algeria 31/8/43	Letter from G. de Sousa to JLS	4
6.29.	London 1/11/43	Letter from JLS to G. de Sousa	4
6.30.	Roma 28/2/69	Letter from Ismael Medina to JLS	1
6.31.	Madrid 5/3/69	Letter from JLS to Ismael Medina	2
6.32.	Newspaper “El Levante” 14/11/69	Text from Ismael Medina and JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (991-7 and 991-8)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
7.1.	Barcelona 11/67	Letter from José Costa Font to JLS	6
7.2.	Madrid 21/12/67	Letter from JLS to José Costa Font	1
7.3.	Barcelona 30/12/67	Letter from José Costa Font a JLS	2
7.4.	Barcelona 14/01/68	Letter from José Costa Font a JLS	3
7.5.	Barcelona 20/01/68	Letter from José Costa Font a JLS	2
7.6.	Madrid 27/01/68	Letter from JLS a José Costa Font	2
7.7.	Barcelona 01/02/68	Letter from José Costa Font a JLS	1
7.8.	Madrid 5/02/68	Letter from JLS a José Costa Font	2
7.9.	Barcelona 08/02/68	Letter from José Costa Font to JLS	2
7.10.	“Noticiero Universal” 9/2/68	“Han continuado las conversaciones...”	1
7.11.	Badalona 01/68	Notice from the CNS	6
7.12.	Barcelona 05/05/68	Letter from José Costa Font to JLS	2
8.1.	¿? ¿?	Manuscript of JLS’ book: “España 66”	129

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (991-9 and 991-10)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
9.1.	London 24/11/44	Letter from Frances L. Kayne to JLS (with a questionary)	2
9.2.	Milford Haven 30/11/44	Letter from JLS to Frances L. Kayne (with a questionary)	4
9.3.	¿? ¿?	Manifesto from Don Juan (in English)	2
9.4.	Zaragoza 4/5/36	Text: “Dictámenes del Congreso de 1936”	40
10.1.	Mexico 15/1/68	Letter from JLS to the CNT committee in Mexico	30
10.2.	¿? ¿?	Proposal for the creation of “Fundación para el concierto Social de España: Bosquejo”	37
10.3.	¿? ¿?	Rejoinder from JLS to CNT in Spain	9

10.4.	¿? ¿?	Proposal for the creation of "Españoles Unidos"	4
10.5.	¿? ¿?	"Criterios de desarrollo económico-social..."	3
10.6.	5/5/62 ¿?	Meeting : "Comisión II: Regulación de las condiciones de trabajo"	25

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document y sender	No. of pages
1.1.	Sweden 1/4/56	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	6
1.2.	Sweden 10/8/56	Text-draft from Helmut Rudiger	4
1.3.	Sweden 22/10/64	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	2
1.4.	Sweden 12/11/64	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	2
1.5.	Mexico 11/1/65	Letter from JLS to Helmut Rudiger	3
1.6.	Sweden 16/1/65	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	1
1.7.	Mexico 27/1/65	Letter from JLS to Helmut Rudiger	3
1.8.	Mexico 20/5/65	Letter from JLS to Helmut Rudiger	1
1.9.	Sweden 26/6/65	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	1
1.10	Mexico 24/7/65	Letter from JLS to Helmut Rudiger	1
1.11.	Sweden ¿?	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	1
1.12.	Mexico 12/9/65	Letter from JLS to Helmut Rudiger	1
1.13.	Sweden 18/9/65	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	1
1.14.	Mexico 26/9/65	Letter from JLS to Helmut Rudiger	1
1.15.	Mexico 16/11/65	Letter from JLS to Helmut Rudiger	2
1.16.	Sweden 22/11/65	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	3

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-1 and 997-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.17.	Sweden 29/11/65	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	1
1.18.	Mexico 10/12/65	Letter from JLS to Helmut Rudiger	1
1.19.	Sweden 15/12/65	Letter from Helmut Rudiger to JLS	4
1.20	Mexico 3/1/66	Letter from JLS to Helmut Rudiger	1

2.1.	Mexico 16/01/65	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	1
2.2.	Mexico 12/07/65	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	1
2.3.	¿? 16/7/65	Letter from ¿? to JLS	1
2.4.	Buenos Aires 16/12/65	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.5.	Buenos Aires 7/1/66	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.6.	Mexico 25/1/66	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	3
2.7.	Buenos Aires 6/2/66	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.8.	Mexico 11/2/66	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	1
2.9.	Mexico 24/2/66	Handwritten letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	3
2.10.	Mexico 19/3/66	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.11.	Mexico 28/02/66	Handwritten letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	1
2.13.	Buenos Aires 22/4/66	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to Carmen (JLS)	1
2.14.	Buenos Aires 9/7/66	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.15.	Buenos Aires 5/2/67	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	2
2.16.	Buenos Aires 18/2/67	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.17.	Buenos Aires 25/2/67	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.18.	Mexico 2/3/67	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	2
2.19.	Buenos Aires 27/11/67	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	7
2.20.	Buenos Aires 10/12/67	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	2

2.21.	¿? 29/1/68	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	5
2.22.	Madrid 7/2/68	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	32
2.23.	Buenos Aires 5/3/68	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	3
2.24.	Madrid 19/3/68	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	2
2.25.	Buenos Aires 20/3/68	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	2
2.26.	Madrid 19/7/68	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	2
2.27.	Buenos Aires 12/8/68	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.28.	Madrid 31/8/68	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	1
2.29.	Buenos Aires 6/11/68	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.30.	Madrid 12/12/68	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	1
2.31.	Buenos Aires 17/1/69	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	2
2.32.	Madrid 3/3/69	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	2
2.33.	Buenos Aires 26/2/70	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.34.	Madrid 30/3/70	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	1
2.35.	Buenos Aires 4/4/70	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	2
2.36.	Madrid 12/5/70	Letter from JLS (partially broken)	1
2.37.	Buenos Aires 26/5/70	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	2
2.38.	Buenos Aires 6/6/70	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.39.	Buenos Aires 25/7/70	Letter from Diego Abad de Santillán to JLS	1
2.40.	San Juan (Alicante)	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	2

	20/8/70		
2.41.	Madrid 8/11/71	Letter from JLS to Diego Abad de Santillán	1
2.42.	Mexico 2/6/66	Letter from JLS to Paco, Lorenzo et al.	4
2.43.	Buenos Aires 10/2/68	Letter from P. Herrera to CNT	4

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-2 and 997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.44	Buenos Aires- Valencia ?	Text from Santillán, "El transporte urbano de pasajeros"	2
3.1.	? 20/3/46	Letter from JLS to Austadillo (Izquierda Republicana -IR)	1
3.2.	London 28/3/46	Letter from Izquierda Republicana to JLS	1
3.3.	? 8/4/46	Letter from JLS to Austadillo	1
3.4.	London 26/5/46	Letter from Izquierda Republicana to JLS	1
3.5.	Brighton 13/6/46	Letter from Canales to JLS	1
3.6.	? ?	Text from JLS: "Lecturas Alientadoras: Los triunfadores (Goethe)"	2
3.7.	? 29/3/46	Letter from JLS a Manuel Irujo	1
3.8.	Brighton 1/4/46	Letter from JLS to Manuel Irujo	1
3.9.	London 5/4/46	Letter from Manuel Irujo to JLS	1
3.10.	Brighton 16/4/46	Letter from JLS to Manuel Irujo	1
3.11.	Brighton 6/5/46	Letter from JLS to José Giral	1
3.12.	Brighton 16/6/46	Letter from JLS to Gobierno Republicano	2
3.13.	Brighton 18/6/46	Letter from JLS to Gobierno Republicano	1
3.14.	Brighton 18/6/46	Letter from JLS to José Giral	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.15.	Paris 6/7/46	Letter from José Giral to JLS and to W. Carrillo	1
3.16.	London 9/7/46	Letter from Manuel Irujo to JLS	1

3.17.	Paris 7/7/46	Letter partially broken ¿?	1
3.18.	Brighton 16/7/46	Letter from JLS [in English] to C.N. Gallie	1
3.19.	Brighton 27/7/46	Text from JLS [in English]	2
3.20.	Brighton 20/8/46	Letter from JLS [in English] to Francis Noel-Baker	1
3.21.	Brighton 5/9/46	Letter from JLS to ERC	1
3.22.	London 27/4/46	Letter from Francisco Peralta to JLS	1
3.23.	London 30/9/46	Letter from Francisco Peralta to JLS	1
3.24.	Brighton 4/10/46	Letter from JLS to Pi y Sunyer	1
3.25.	Brighton 4/10/46	Letter from JLS to Pi y Sunyer	1
3.26.	Brighton 2/4/47	Letter from JLS to José Penido	4
3.27.	Paris 7/7/46	Text from Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas	2
3.28.	¿? 30/9/47	Letter from JLS to José Penido	2
3.29.	Mexico DF 3/10/64	Letter from JLS to Ramón Álvarez	1
3.30.	¿? ¿?	Letter from JLS (partially broken)	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.31.	London 18/3/46	Letter from W. Carrillo to JLS	1
3.32.	Brighton 19/3/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	1
3.33.	Brighton 23/3/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	1
3.34.	London 25/3/46	Letter from W. Carrillo to JLS	1
3.35.	Brighton 26/3/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	2
3.36.	London 27/3/46	Letter from W. Carrillo to JLS	1
3.37.	Brighton 28/3/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	1
3.38.	Brighton 5/4/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	1
3.39.	Brighton 8/4/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	1
3.40.	Brighton 15/4/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	1
3.41.	London 16/4/46	Letter from W. Carrillo to JLS	1

3.42.	Brighton 24/4/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	1
3.43.	Brighton 29/4/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	1
3.44.	London 30/4/46	Letter from W. Carrillo to JLS	1
3.45.	Brighton 02/5/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	1
3.46.	London 6/5/46	Letter from W. Carrillo to JLS	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.47.	London 7/6/46	Letter from W. Carrillo to JLS	2
3.48.	London ?	Letter from W. Carrillo to JLS	1
3.49.	Brighton 22/10/46	Letter from JLS to W. Carrillo	2
3.50.	Brighton 24/10/46	Letter from JLS to Clemente García	1
3.51.	Brighton 27/7/46	Letter from JLS to Clemente García	1
3.52.	London 1/9/46	Letter from Clemente García to JLS	1
3.53.	Brighton 2/8/46	Letter from JLS to Clemente García	1
3.54.	Brighton 5/8/46	Letter from JLS to Clemente García	1
3.55.	London 29/10/46	Postcard from Clemente García to JLS	2
3.56.	Brighton 11/2/47	Letter from JLS to Clemente García	1
3.57.	Brighton 12/2/47	Letter from Clemente García to JLS	1
3.58.	Brighton 21/2/47	Letter from JLS to Clemente García	1
3.59.	London 25/6/46	Letter from Justo Moreno to JLS	1
3.60.	Brighton 16/7/46	Letter from JLS to Justo Moreno	1
3.61.	Brighton 23/7/46	Letter from JLS to Justo Moreno	1
3.62.	Brighton 12/8/46	Letter from JLS to Justo Moreno	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.63.	London 13/8/46	Letter from Justo Moreno to JLS	1
3.64.	Brighton 15/8/46	Letter from JLS to Justo Moreno	1

3.65.	London 3/10/46	Letter from Justo Moreno to JLS	1
3.66.	Brighton 18/11/46	Letter from JLS to Justo Moreno	1
3.67.	London 19/11/46	Letter from Justo Moreno to JLS	1
3.68.	Brighton 23/11/46	Letter from JLS to Justo Moreno	1
3.69.	Brighton 11/2/47	Letter from JLS to Justo Moreno	1
3.70.	Brighton 20/3/47	Letter from JLS to Justo Moreno	1
3.71.	Brighton 25/11/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	3
3.72.	Brighton 20/5/46	Factura from JLS to Roque Victoria	2
3.73.	Brighton 20/5/46	Factura from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.74.	Brighton 18/8/46	Factura from JLS to Roque Victoria	2
3.75.	London 27/8/46	Budget to JLS	2
3.76.	Romforf 11/9/46	Receipt to JLS	2
3.77.	Brighton 25/9/46	Letter from JLS a Roque Victoria	1
3.78.	Brighton 28/9/46	Receipt from JLS a Roque Victoria	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.79.	Brighton 25/11/46	Receipt from JLS to Roque Victoria	2
3.80	London 10/3/46	Minutes from Alianza Nacional	9
3.81.	Brighton 8/4/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.82.	London 9/4/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	2
3.83.	London 10/4/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.84.	London 11/4/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.85.	Brighton 24/4/46	Letter from JLS to Astudillo	1
3.86.	Brighton 24/4/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.87.	London 25/4/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.88.	Brighton 29/4/46	Letter from JLS to Astudillo	1
3.89.	London	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1

	03/5/46		
3.90.	London 03/5/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	2
3.91.	London 12/6/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.92.	London 11/7/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to Carmen (JLS)	1
3.93.	Brighton 12/7/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.94.	Brighton 16/7/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.95.	Brighton 26/7/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.96.	London 26/7/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.97.	Brighton 27/7/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	2
3.98.	London 26/7/46 ;?	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	2
3.99.	Brighton 1/8/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.100	Brighton 5/8/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.101.	London 7/8/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.102.	Brighton 12/8/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.103.	London 13/8/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.104.	Brighton 15/8/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.105.	Brighton 20/8/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.106.	Brighton 27/8/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.107.	London 28/8/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.108.	Brighton 31/8/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.109.	London 2/9/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.110.	Brighton 3/9/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages

3.111.	London 4/9/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	2
3.112.	Brighton 9/9/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.113.	Brighton 11/9/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.114.	Brighton 18/9/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.115.	London 24/9/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.116.	Brighton 2/10/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.117.	London 14/10/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.118.	Brighton 19/10/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.119.	Brighton 21/10/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.120.	Brighton 22/10/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.121.	Brighton 24/10/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.122.	London 15/11/46	Letter from Roque Victoria a JLS	1
3.123.	Brighton 18/11/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.124.	Brighton 23/11/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.125.	London 25/11/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.126.	Brighton 27/11/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.127.	London 28/11/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.128.	Brighton 3/12/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.129.	London 4/12/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.130.	Brighton 5/12/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.131.	London 6/12/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	2
3.132.	Brighton 7/12/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.133.	London 9/12/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	2
3.134.	London 10/12/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.135.	Brighton	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1

	12/12/46		
3.136.	London 27/12/46	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.137.	Brighton 29/12/46	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.138.	London 2/1/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.139.	Brighton 6/1/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.140.	London 17/1/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.141.	London 22/1/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.142.	Brighton 23/1/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.143.	Brighton 25/1/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.144.	London 27/1/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	2
3.145.	Brighton 2/2/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.146.	London 3/2/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	2
3.147.	Brighton 4/2/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.148.	Brighton 11/2/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.149.	London 12/2/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.150.	Brighton 13/2/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.151.	London 14/2/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.152.	Brighton 21/2/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.153.	Brighton 4/3/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.154.	Brighton 12/3/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.155.	London 13/3/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.156.	Brighton 14/3/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.157.	Brighton 19/3/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.158.	Brighton 25/3/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (997-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.159.	London 25/3/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.160.	London 27/3/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.161.	Brighton 3/4/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1
3.162.	London 9/4/47	Letter from Roque Victoria to JLS	1
3.163.	Brighton 17/4/47	Letter from JLS to Roque Victoria	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.1.	¿?	“Guión para la construcción de un Gobierno provisional”	2
1.2.	¿?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.3.	Melun 3/5/39	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	3
1.4.	St. Helens 25/9/39	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.5.	St. Helens 24/12/39	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.6.	St. Helens 31/1/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	3
1.7.	London 12/2/40	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.8.	St. Helens 13/2/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.9.	St. Helens 18/2/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.10.	London 25/2/40	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.11.	St. Helens 28/2/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.12.	London 2/2/40	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.13.	St. Helens 4/3/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.14.	St. Helens 6/3/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.15.	Oxford 2/9/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.16.	London Saturday	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.17.	Oxford	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1

	8/10/40		
1.18.	Oxford 10/10/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.19.	London 11/10/40	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.20.	Oxford 15/10/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.21.	London 17/10/40	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.22.	Oxford 18/10/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.23.	Oxford 21/10/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.24.	London Tuesday	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.25.	Oxford 27/10/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.26.	London 30/10/40	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.27.	Oxford 6/11/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.28.	London Saturday	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.29.	Oxford 12/11/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.30.	Oxford 14/11/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.31.	London 15/11/40	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.32.	Oxford 21/11/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.33.	London Thursday	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.34.	London Wednesday	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.35.	Oxford 29/11/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.36.	London 4/12/40	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.37.	Oxford 5/12/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.38.	Oxford 7/12/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.39.	London 17/12/40	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.40.	Oxford 21/12/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.41.	London 25/12/40	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1

1.42.	Oxford 28/12/40	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.43.	London 2/1/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.44.	Oxford 21/1/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.45.	London 31/1/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.46.	Oxford 5/2/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.47.	London 11/2/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.48.	Oxford 17/2/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.49.	Oxford 1/3/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	4
1.50.	London 03/3/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.51.	Oxford 5/3/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.52.	London 09/3/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.53.	Oxford 12/3/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.54.	Oxford 13/3/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.55.	London 20/3/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.56.	Oxford 22/3/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.57.	Oxford 31/3/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.58.	London 5/4/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	3
1.59.	Oxford 8/3/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.60	London 9/4/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.61.	Oxford 12/4/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	4
1.62.	Oxford 26/4/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.63.	London Friday	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.64.	Oxford 30/4/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.65.	Oxford 4/5/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.66.	London 6/5/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.67.	Oxford 22/5/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.68.	Oxford 27/5/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.69.	Oxford 3/6/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.70.	Oxford 14/6/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.71.	London 16/6/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.72.	Oxford 18/6/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.73.	London 22/6/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.74.	Oxford 24/6/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.75.	London 30/6/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.76.	Oxford 3/7/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.77.	London 21/7/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.78.	Oxford 25/7/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.79.	London 26/7/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.80.	Oxford 7/8/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.81.	London 9/8/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.82.	Oxford 14/8/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.83.	Oxford 16/8/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.84.	London 17/8/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.85.	Oxford 24/8/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.86.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.87.	Oxford 1/9/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.88.	London 4/9/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1

1.89.	Oxford 11/9/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.90.	London Saturday	Postcard from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.91.	Oxford 17/9/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.92.	London 24/9/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.93.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.94.	Oxford 8/10/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.95.	? 10/10/41	Telegram of Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.96.	London 8/10/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.97.	Oxford 16/10/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.98.	London 18/10/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.99.	Oxford 20/10/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.100.	London 23/10/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.101.	Oxford 31/10/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.102.	London 3/11/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.103.	Oxford 12/11/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.104.	Oxford 26/11/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.105.	London 3/12/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.106.	Oxford 11/12/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.107.	London 17/12/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.108.	Oxford 20/12/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	4
1.109.	London 27/12/41	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.110.	Oxford 29/12/41	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.111.	Oxford 7/1/42	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.112.	Milford Haven 11/3/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.113.	London 17/3/44	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.114.	Milford Haven 22/3/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.115.	London 3/4/44	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.116.	Milford Haven 4/4/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.117.	Milford Haven 14/5/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.118.	London 19/5/44	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.119.	Milford Haven 1/6/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.120.	London 9/6/44	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.121.	Milford Haven 14/6/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.122.	Milford Haven 10/7/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.123.	London 1/8/44	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.124.	Milford Haven 15/8/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.125.	London 31/8/44	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.126.	Milford Haven 5/9/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.127.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.128.	Milford Haven 25/9/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.129.	Milford Haven 1/12/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.130.	London 5/12/44	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1

1.131.	Milford Haven 11/12/44	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.132.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.133.	London 8/1/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.134.	Milford Haven 9/1/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.135.	Milford Haven 21/1/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.136.	London 23/1/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.137.	Milford Haven 30/1/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.138.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.139.	Milford Haven 27/2/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.140.	Milford Haven 11/3/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.141.	London 19/3/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.142.	Milford Haven 1/4/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.143.	Milford Haven 24/4/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.144.	London 13/5/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.145.	Milford Haven 22/5/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.146.	Milford Haven 25/5/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.147.	London 8/6/45	Letter from Norah -Segismundo Casado- to JLS	2
1.148.	Brighton 14/6/45	Letter from JLS a Segismundo Casado	1
1.149.	Brighton 14/6/45	Letter from JLS to Norah -Segismundo Casado-	1
1.150.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2

1.151.	Brighton 29/6/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.152.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.153.	Brighton 6/7/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.154.	Brighton ? ?	Letter from JLS a Segismundo Casado	1
1.155.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado a JLS	2
1.156.	Brighton 27/7/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.157.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.158.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.159.	Brighton 29/8/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.160.	London 2/9/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.161.	Brighton 5/9/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.162.	London 20/9/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.163.	Brighton 12/10/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	2
1.164.	London 18/10/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.165.	Brighton 24/10/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.166	Brighton 5/11/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.167.	London 7/11/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.168.	London 15/11/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.169.	Brighton 16/11/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.170.	London Lunes	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.171.	Brighton 27/11/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.172.	London 5/11/45	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	3
1.173.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.174.	Brighton 22/12/45	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.175.	London ?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.176.	Brighton	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	3

	15/1/46		
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JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.177.	London 26/1/46	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.178.	Brighton 6/3/46	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	4
1.179.	London 12/3/46	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.180.	Brighton 2/4/46	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.181.	London 8/5/46	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	2
1.182.	Brighton 23/5/46	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.183.	Brighton 2/8/46	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.184.	Brighton 6/8/46	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.185.	Brighton 15/8/46	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.186.	London Monday	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.187.	London 23/9/46	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.188.	Brighton 25/9/46	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.189.	London 16/10/46	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.190.	Brighton 4/11/46	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.191.	Brighton 6/1/47	Letter from JLS to Segismundo Casado	1
1.192.	London ¿?	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-1 and 998-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.193.	London 9/1/68	Letter from Segismundo Casado to JLS	1
1.194.	London 25/2/45	Letter from Norah –Casado- to Carmen – JLS-	1
2.1.	Cardiff 1/12/39	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	1
2.2.	St. Helens 2/12/39	Letter from JLS to Avelino G. Entrialgo	1
2.3.	St. Helens 23/2/39	Letter from JLS to Avelino G. Entrialgo	3

2.4.	Cardiff 4/3/40	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo a JLS	2
2.5.	St. Helens 14/3/40	Letter from JLS to Avelino G. Entrialgo	3
2.6.	Cardiff 15/3/40	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	2
2.7.	London 17/4/40	Letter from JLS to Avelino G. Entrialgo	2
2.8.	Amelie Les Bains 30/4/40	Letter from D. Torres to Avelino G. Entrialgo	2
2.9.	La Paz 22/10/41	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	4
2.10.	London 4/8/42	Letter from JLS to Avelino G. Entrialgo	2
2.11.	La Paz 19/8/42	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	6
2.12.	Santiago 25/9/55	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	2
2.13.	Mexico 28/2/65	Letter from JLS to Avelino G. Entrialgo	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-2 y 998-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.14.	Mérida 12/10/65	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	1
2.15.	Mexico 25/10/65	Letter from JLS to Avelino G. Entrialgo	3
2.16.	Mérida 22/11/65	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	1
2.17.	Mexico 16/2/66	Letter from JLS to Avelino G. Entrialgo	1
2.18.	Mérida 10/3/66	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	2
2.19.	Mérida 14/5/66	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	2
2.20.	Madrid ¿? 14/1/68	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	2
2.21.	Mérida 4/3/68	Letter from Avelino G. Entrialgo to JLS	1
3.1.	Mallorca 1972	Telegram from Jaime Molla to Carmen: JLS Death	1
3.2.	Marseilles 12/8/72	Letter from Paquita to Carmen	2
3.3.	Valencia 23/8/72	Letter from "la viuda de Verdeguer" to Carmen	2
3.4.	Marbella 1972	Telegram from Amparo and Jesús to Carmen	1
3.5.	Mexico 26/8/72	Telegram from Martín Moreno to Carmen	1

3.6.	Bilbao 27/8/72	Letter from Manolo to Carmen	2
3.7.	Madrid 29/8/72	Telegram from Merche and Miguel Zaragoza to Carmen	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.8.	Melilla ¿?	Telegram from Juan and M ^a Victoria to Carmen	1
3.9.	Valencia 28/8/72	Letter from Marina to Carmen	2
3.10.	Buenos Aires 28/8/72	Letter from Abad de Santillán to Carmen	1
3.11.	London 28/8/72	Letter from Clemente García to Carmen	1
3.12.	Madrid 28/8/72	Letter from José M ^a Ponce del León to Carmen	1
3.13.	Madrid 29/8/72	Breve Letter from José León Suárez to Carmen	2
3.14.	Buenos Aires 30/8/72	Letter from Pedro Lamata Megías to Carmen	1
3.15.	Madrid 31/8/72	Letter from director of ISDIBER to Carmen	2
3.16.	Madrid 2/9/72	Letter from Juan Fernández (director of Índice) to Carmen	1
3.17.	Valencia 1/9/72	Letter from J. Blasco Argilés to Carmen	1
3.18.	Madrid 6/9/72	Letter from Carmen to Blasco Argilés	1
3.19.	Madrid 7/9/72	Letter from Fº Gimenez Torres to Carmen	1
3.20.	Mexico 26/9/72	Letter from Daniel García and Fredo Arias to Carmen	1
3.21.	San Sebastián ¿?	Telegram from Taberna to Carmen	1
3.22.	Sussex 16/9/72	Letter en inglés from Bárbera to Carmen	2
3.23.	Madrid 18/9/72	Letter from Fº Hidalgo Peñalver to Carmen	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.24.	Mexico 20/9/72	Letter from Jorge Yarza to Carmen	2
3.25.	Barcelona 27/9/72	Letter from Carmen to Carmen	2
3.26.	Barcelona	Letter from Joaquín Borbonés to Carmen	1

	30/9/72		
3.27.	Badalona 8/10/72	Letter from José to Carmen	2
3.28.	Mexico 23/10/72	Letter from Late to Carmen	1
3.29.	Mexico 24/10/72	Letter from Jorge Yarza to Carmen	3
3.30.	Carcavelos (Portugal) 12/9/72	Letter from Carmen to Carmen	1
3.31.	Monte Estoril 14/9/72	Letter from Carlos to Carmen Repetition	1
3.32.	Monte Estoril 28/9/72	Letter from Carlos to Carmen Repetition	1
3.33.	Monte Estoril 28/9/72	Letter from Carlos to Carmen Repetition	1
3.34.	¿? 7/9/72	Letter from ¿? to Carmen	2
3.35.	San Sebastián 16/10/72	Letter from Manuel Taberna to Carmen	2
3.36.	Barcelona 25/10/72	Letter from Fructuoso Garcés to Carmen	1
3.37.	Alicante 16/11/72	Letter from Carmen to Fructuoso Garcés	1
3.38.	Mexico 15/11/62	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	3
3.39.	Buenos Aires 25/11/62	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	9

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.40.	¿? ¿?	Text: “Declaración común UGT-CNT”	1
3.41.	Mexico 8/1/63	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	2
3.42.	Buenos Aires 23/1/63	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	3
3.43.	Buenos Aires 1/3/63	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	1
3.44.	Mexico 5/3/63	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.45.	Mexico 3/5/63	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	7
3.46.	Buenos Aires 9/3/63	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	1

3.47.	Mexico 17/6/63	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.48.	Buenos Aires 9/6/63	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	1
3.49.	Mexico 29/7/63	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.50.	Mexico 2/12/63	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.51.	Mexico 21/2/64	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.52.	Buenos Aires 27/2/64	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	1
3.53.	Mexico 12/3/64	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.54.	Buenos Aires 1/6/64	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	1
3.55.	Mexico 28/6/64	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (998-3)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
3.56.	Buenos Aires 26/7/64	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	1
3.57.	Mexico 10/9/64	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.58.	Buenos Aires 14/11/64	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	1
3.59.	Mexico 26/1/65	Letter from JLS a Manuel Villar	2
3.60.	Mar de Plata 16/2/65	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	2
3.61.	Mexico 31/3/65	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	2
3.62.	Buenos Aires 15/4/65	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	3
3.63.	Mexico 21/7/65	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.64.	Buenos Aires 23/7/66	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	2
3.65.	Mexico 31/8/66	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	2
3.66.	Buenos Aires 17/9/66	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	1

3.67.	Mexico 25/9/66	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.68.	Buenos Aires 16/10/66	Letter from Manuel Villar to JLS	1
3.69.	Mexico 15/11/66	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	1
3.70.	Madrid 4/6/67	Letter from JLS to Manuel Villar	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.1.	¿?	JLS' Mini autobiography	4
1.2.	¿? ¿?	Newspaper clipping about JLS (illegible)	1
1.3.	New York Times 20/12/40	Newspaper clipping: "Los derechistas españoles"	4
1.4.	¿? ¿?	Text from JLS: "Información confidencial"	2
1.5.	La Paz 18/6/41	Letter from Z. Murillo to Bolivian's consul	1
1.6.	Mexico 3/3/43	Letter from Emilio Maldonado to JLS	1
1.7.	Mexico 20/2/43	Letter from Emilio Maldonado to JLS	1
1.8.	Amsterdam 27/3/71	Letter from Rudolf De Jong to JLS	1
1.9.	Madrid 23/3/41; ?	Letter from JLS to Rudolf De Jong	1
1.10.	Melun 3/5/39	Letter from JLS to Mariano R. Vázquez	1
1.11.	Paris 5/5/39	Letter from Mariano R. Vázquez to JLS	8
1.12.	Melun 15/5/39	Letter from JLS to Celedonio Pérez	1
1.13.	Paris 22/5/39	Letter from Mariano R. Vázquez to JLS	1
1.14.	Paris 30/5/39	Telegram from Mariano R. Vázquez to JLS	2
1.15.	Paris 30/5/39	Letter from Mariano R. Vázquez to JLS	1
1.16.	Paris 13/6/39	Letter from Mariano R. Vázquez to JLS	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.17.	London 20/6/39	Letter from Mariano R. Vázquez to JLS	2
1.18.	Amelie Les Bains	Letter from Tritón Gómez to JLS	1

	30/4/39		
1.19.	Melun 2/5/39	Letter from JLS to Tritón Gómez	2
1.20.	Amelie Les Bains 4/5/39	Letter from Tritón Gómez to JLS	2
1.21.	Milford Haven 6/9/44	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.22.	Brighton 9/10/46	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.23.	Brighton 12/11/46	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.24.	Brighton 14/12/46	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.25.	Brighton 26/2/47	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.26.	Brighton 28/1/48	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.27.	London 29/1/48	Letter from Salgado to JLS	1
1.28.	Brighton 24/6/48	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.29.	Brighton 30/6/48	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.30.	Brighton 20/7/48	Letter partially destroyed from JLS to ?	1
1.31.	Brighton 14/12/48	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.32.	? ? 24/1/49	Letter partially destroyed	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.33.	Brighton 13/8/49	Letter mutilada from JLS to Salgado	1
1.34.	Brighton 10/9/49	Letter mutilada from JLS to Salgado	1
1.35.	Brighton 14/9/49	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.36.	Brighton 1/12/49	Letter from JLS to Salgado	2
1.37.	Brighton 5/1/50	Letter from JLS to Salgado	2
1.38.	Brighton 10/7/50	Letter ilegible from JLS to Salgado	1
1.39.	Brighton 17/12/50	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.40.	Brighton 11/1/51	Letter from JLS to Salgado	2

1.41.	Brighton 16/3/51	Letter from JLS to Salgado	2
1.42.	Brighton 11/6/51	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.43.	Brighton 19/6/51	Letter from JLS to Salgado	2
1.44.	London 15/7/51	Letter from Salgado to JLS	2
1.45.	London 25/12/51	Letter from Salgado to JLS	2
1.46.	¿?	Letter partially destroyed from JLS to Salgado	1
1.47.	Brighton 7/4/52	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.48.	Brighton 21/5/52	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-1)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
1.49.	London 1/6/52	Letter from Salgado to JLS	1
1.50.	London 28/6/52	Letter from Salgado to JLS	1
1.51.	Brighton 10/7/52	Letter from JLS to Salgado	2
1.52.	Brighton 5/10/52	Letter from JLS to Salgado	4
1.53.	Brighton ?	Letter partially destroyed from JLS to Salgado	1
1.54.	Brighton 26/2/53	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.55.	Brighton 30/7/53	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.56.	Brighton 25/8/53	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.57.	Mexico 12/7/54	Letter from JLS to Salgado	2
1.58.	Mexico 6/2/55	Letter from JLS to Salgado	1
1.59.	Mexico 17/4/64	Letter from JLS to Fº Vélez Nieto	1
1.60.	Frankfurt 13/6/64	Letter from Fº Vélez Nieto to JLS	2
1.61.	Mexico 14/7/64	Letter from JLS to Fº Vélez Nieto	2
1.62.	Buenos Aires 30/4/67	Letter from Fº Vélez Nieto to JLS	3
1.63.	Madrid 11/6/68	Letter from JLS to Juan Rueda Ortiz	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-2)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.1.	Brighton 26/1/49	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	1
2.2.	Brighton 15/2/49	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	1
2.3.	Oxford 18/2/49	Letter from Madariaga to JLS	1
2.4.	Oxford 5/3/49	Letter from Madariaga to JLS	1
2.5.	London 9/4/49	Newspaper clipping about Marcos Nadal	1
2.6.	¿? ¿?	Illegible Letter	1
2.7.	Brighton 10/2/52	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	2
2.8.	Brighton 26/2/53	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	1
2.9.	Brighton 14/4/53	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	1
2.10.	Brighton 15/7/53	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	1
2.11.	Oxford 17/7/53	Letter from Madariaga to JLS	1
2.12.	Brighton 6/12/53	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	1
2.13.	Brighton 8/3/54	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	2
2.14.	“En ruta” 26/6/54	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	2
2.15.	Mexico 1/12/54	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	2
2.16.	¿? ¿?	Fragment of a letter of 3 lines	1

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-2 and 999-3 and 999-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
2.17.	Mexico 17/12/65	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	2
2.18.	Madrid 14/2/69	Letter from JLS to Madariaga	2
2.19.	Switzerland ¿? 25/8/70	Letter from Madariaga to JLS	1
2.20.	Switzerland ¿? 30/11/70	Letter from Madariaga to JLS	2
2.21.	Oxford 7/9/72	Letter death notice from Madariaga to Carmen	2
2.22.	Oxford 1949	Draft of a JLS' book	37
2.23.	¿? ¿?	Draft of a JLS' text	17

3.1.	¿? ¿?	JLS' text: "Anecdotario Político-Sindical: Mis relaciones con Largo Caballero en el exilio"	75
3.2.	Toulouse 1967	JLS' text: "Comprobaciones y advertencias: De la Unidad Sindical"	3
3.3.	3/7/70 No.272	Text réplica de JLS: "Al Ciudadano E. Conde"	1
3.4.	¿? ¿?	JLS' text: "Triste y lamentable"	3
3.5.	¿? ¿?	JLS' text: "Dos tendencias dentro de nuestra revolución"	2
4.1.	¿? ¿?	JLS' text: "Acerca de la plutocracia"	3
4.2.	¿? ¿?	JLS' text: "Sigue creciendo el poder de la RAF"	3

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
4.3.	¿? 30/6/40	JLS' text: "¿Puede ser invadida América por Hitler?"	2
4.4.	¿? 30/6/40	JLS' text: "Paso a la juventud"	3
4.5.	¿? 7/7/40	JLS' text: "La inhibición es el suicidio"	3
4.6.	¿? 8/7/40	JLS' text: "Dardos contra la barbarie"	2
4.7.	¿? 10/7/40	JLS' text: "Revolucioncitas en Puerta"	2
4.8.	¿? 12/7/40	JLS' text: "A propósito de las Razas"	3
4.9.	¿? 18/7/40	JLS' text: "Una teoría y una posición contradictorias"	3
4.10.	¿? 19/7/40	JLS' text: "La tempestad y la calma"	2
4.11.	¿? 22/7/40	JLS' text: "La paz de los sepulcros"	3
4.12.	¿? 23/7/40	JLS' text: "Cruzada libertadora"	2
4.13.	¿? 30/9/40	JLS' text: "El furioso Mastodonte Alemán"	2
4.14.	¿? 7/8/40	JLS' text: "América puede ser invadida"	3
4.15.	¿? 13/8/40	JLS' text: "Quien a hierro mata..."	3
4.16.	¿? 19/8/40	JLS' text: "El humor británico"	2
4.17.	¿? 21/8/40	JLS' text: "La palabra del <i>Leader</i> de la Victoria"	2
4.18.	¿? 25/8/40	JLS' text: "La mentira infame"	2

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages

4.19.	¿? 1/9/40	JLS' text: "Subasta de Gaulatiers"	3
4.20.	¿? 8/9/40	JLS' text: "¿Cristianos?"	3
4.21.	¿? ¿?	JLS' text: "Hacia el descalabro nazi"	2
4.22.	¿? ¿?	JLS' text: "Objetivo militar"	3
4.23.	¿? 23/9/40	JLS' text: "Preocupaciones obscurantistas"	3
4.24.	¿? 24/9/40	JLS' text: "En el mismo manantial de los hechos"	3
4.25.	¿? 24/4/40	JLS' text: "La gentileza nazi"	3
4.26.	¿? 28/9/40	JLS' text: "Por Gala partido en dos"	3
4.27.	¿? 2/9/40	JLS' text: "Soporte de Lacayos"	2
4.28.	¿? 3/10/40	JLS' text: "La guerra sin límites"	5
4.29.	¿? 5/10/40	JLS' text: "Flirteo Macabro"	3
4.30.	¿? 12/10/40	JLS' text: "La Tentación"	3
4.31.	¿? 12/10/40	JLS' text: "Francia sigue siendo un problema para Hitler"	3
4.32.	¿? 19/10/40	JLS' text: "El gigante americano en Marcha"	2
4.33.	¿? 28/10/40	JLS' text: "La noche y el Alba"	3
4.34.	¿? 27/10/40	JLS' text: "Muerto con todos los honores"	3

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
4.35.	¿? 29/10/40	JLS' text: "El protocolo de las invasiones"	3
4.36.	¿? 9/11/40	JLS' text: "Pequeños detalles de las grandes batallas"	2
4.37.	¿? 19/11/40	JLS' text: "La guerra no es cosa de teatro"	3
4.38.	¿? 19/11/40	JLS' text: "El espíritu vital"	3
4.39.	¿? 29/11/40	JLS' text: "Distinto estilo en la oratoria bélica"	3
4.40.	¿? 5/12/40	JLS' text: "Confraternidad de la democracia mundial"	3
4.41.	¿? 8/12/40	JLS' text: "Calvario de Europa"	3
4.42.	¿? 10/12/40	JLS' text: "Cuando las barbas de tu vecino veas rapar..."	3
4.43.	¿? 4/1/41	JLS' text: "Francia resurge"	3
4.44.	¿? 12/1/41	JLS' text: "La realidad y la retórica"	3
4.45.	¿? 19/1/41	JLS' text: "A sesenta días vista"	3

4.46.	¿? 26/1/41	JLS' text: "La vuelta del Negus"	3
4.47.	¿? 25/2/41	JLS' text: "Peligro cierto"	3
4.48.	¿? 9/3/41	JLS' text: "Estímulos de victoria"	3
4.49.	¿? 16/3/41	JLS' text: "La Guerra, mal menor"	3
4.50.	¿? 22/3/41	JLS' text: "El derecho al pataleo"	3

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
4.51.	¿? 22/3/41	JLS' text: "Las consecuencias"	3
4.52.	¿? 30/3/41	JLS' text: "La propaganda y los hechos"	1
4.53.	¿? 15/4/41	JLS' text: "Papeles, papeles"	3
4.54.	¿? 22/4/41	JLS' text: "El bloqueo"	2
4.55.	¿? 16/2/42	JLS' text: "La movilización del mundo anglosajón"	6
4.56.	¿? 23/2/42	JLS' text: "Objetivos indivisibles"	4
4.57.	¿? 5/4/42	JLS' text: "La guerra se ganará en el Atlántico"	4
4.58.	¿? 7/3/42	JLS' text: "Lo económico en la post-guerra"	4
4.59.	¿? 17/2/42	JLS' text: "¿Hacia la unificación internacional de los trabajadores?"	4
4.60.	¿? 26/3/42	JLS' text: "Lo que importa es ganar la guerra"	5
4.61.	¿? 6/4/42	JLS' text: "El sabotaje como arma de guerra"	4
4.62.	¿? 29/6/42	JLS' text: "El difícil papel de algunos neutrales"	4
4.63.	¿? 3/7/42	JLS' text: "La fuerza de reserva"	5
4.64.	¿? 7/9/42	JLS' text: "Mirando el porvenir"	6
4.65.	¿? 15/7/42	JLS' text: "La economía y el orden político"	5
4.66.	¿? 23/7/42	JLS' text: "El salario mínimo y la aviación"	23/7/42

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
4.67.	¿? 30/7/42	JLS' text: "Martirio en Polonia"	5
4.68.	¿? 6/8/42	JLS' text: "La propaganda y el segundo frente"	4
4.69.	¿? 20/8/42	JLS' text: "De Lofoden A Dieppe"	4
4.70.	¿? 29/8/42	JLS' text: "El nacionalismo y los	4

		trabajadores”	
4.71.	¿? 6/9/42	JLS’ text: “A propósito de la última crisis”	5
4.72.	¿? ¿?	JLS’ text: “Empresa privada y planificación estatal”	3
4.73.	¿? 16/6/42	JLS’ text: “La democracia sintética”	5
4.74.	¿? 5/6/49	JLS’ text: “Checoslovaquia”	5
4.75.	18/5/39	JLS’ text: “Sobre la invasión en los países ocupados”	5
4.76.	¿? 29/5/42	JLS’ text: “La opinión y la estrategia”	5
4.77.	¿? 12/6/42	JLS’ text: “Las pequeñas grandes naciones”	4
4.78.	¿? ¿?	JLS’ text: “Leonardo Valentín: atención al disco amarillo”	6
4.79.	¿? 20/6/42	JLS’ text: “Datos e impresiones”	4
4.80.	¿? 29/12/42	JLS’ text: “¿Hacia una política de término medio?”	4
4.81.	¿? 26/4/42	JLS’ text: “El racionamiento de la calefacción”	4
4.82.	6/5/42	JLS’ text: “¿Responderá Francia en la hora presente?”	6

JUAN LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (999-4)

No. of document	Place/Date	Type of Document and sender	No. of pages
4.83.	¿? 13/10/42	JLS’ text: “Los viajes de Wendell Lewis Wilkie”	5
4.84.	¿? ¿?	JLS’ text: “Con la visión el mañana. La guerra y la paz”	4
4.85.	¿? 18/2/43	JLS’ text: “Comentarios intrascendentes”	5
4.86.	¿? 17/2/43	JLS’ text: “Malta, la isla brava”	3
4.87.	¿? 5/3/43	JLS’ text: “La salud en Europa”	3
4.88.	¿? ¿?	JLS’ text: “De la vida rural: Factor de resistencia británica”	7
4.89.	¿? ¿?	JLS’ text: “Los trabajadores en el Japón”	5
4.90.	¿? ¿?	JLS’ text: “Tres hipótesis y una realidad”	7
4.91.	¿? ¿?	JLS’ text: “Sindicalismo y poder”	18
4.92.	Paris 1940	Francisco Caballero’s book: <i>¿Qué se puede hacer?</i>	29
4.93.	¿? ¿?	Adolfo Muñoz-Alonso: “El encuentro de JLS con Dios”	1

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