

The Francoist persecution and repression of Galicians of Portuguese origin in Galicia (1936-1940): A transnational historical approach¹

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ABSTRACT

This work of transnational history is based on the results of the research project www.nomesevoces.net and presents the consequences that the process of political persecution and annihilation unleashed by the perpetrators of the 1936 coup against the Spanish Republic had to citizens of Portuguese origin who were resident in Galicia and the forms it has taken. The identification of this group and the discovery of its importance in such a repressive context allow a new approach to its presence as a migratory movement, to their degree of social and labor integration and also to advance in the characterization of persecutions by the Spanish golpistas in 1936. The Portuguese participation as victims is hardly indicated and even less documented and analyzed – a virtually unknown subject as a collective phenomenon and yet very significant permitting to pose several questions in an essay of transnational history: why was this an unknown issue in memory and in history until it was discovered by an in-depth investigation of the whole process? Does the invisibility of this group reflect its integration or a deliberate concealment? This persecution was suffered by them as Portuguese or as citizens or inhabitants of the Spanish territory?

KEYWORDS

Francoist persecution, Galicians of Portuguese origin, Spanish civil war

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Within the framework of transnational history, this paper is based on the results of the research project *Names and Voices* (*Nomes e Voces*- www.nomesevoces.net), which explores the consequences of the 1936 coup d'état, led by General Francisco Franco, for citizens of Portuguese origin who lived in the Galician region of Spain.² Identifying this population group and understanding its importance in the repressive context of the coup provides a new approach to studies on migration flows and the level of integration of immigrants in society and the labour market as well as a more detailed characterization of the persecution perpetrated by those responsible for the coup.

The connivance of Oliveira Salazar's regime in Portugal with the coup against the Spanish Republic has been well described in historical studies: from the involvement of the Viriatos League to the expulsion of fugitives and the extradition of persecuted peoples to rebel-held territory.³ As far as the victims are concerned, the

² In 2006, the Galician universities (Santiago, Vigo and A Coruña) began systematic research on the Francoist persecution in Galicia between 1936 and 1939 within the project *Nomes e Voces* (Names and Voices), promoted by the Department of Culture of the Government of Galicia. With the external advice of Conxita Mir and Angela Cenarro, this project benefited from the wave of research conducted from the 1980s onwards by Julián Casanova's team in Aragón and J. M.^a Solé i Sabaté, J. Villaroya and others in Catalonia. Other related projects are *A socialización na guerra contra a República e os apoios da ditadura franquista* ('Socialisation in the war against the Republic and the support of the Francoist dictatorship', 2009/PX303, Government of Galicia), *Políticas agrarias en un contexto autoritario, de la autarquía a la revolución verde (1940-1980)* ('Agricultural policies in an authoritarian context, from autarky to the green revolution (1940-1980)', HAR2010-18668, Ministry of Science and Technology) and *La fuente oral como base para el estudio de la represión. El caso de la represión colonial francesa en Túnez y franquista en Galicia* ('Oral sources as a basis for the study of repression: the case of the French colonial repression in Tunisia and the Francoist repression in Galicia', Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation [AECID] – Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

³ Among the abundant works published, the most recent reference is SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Nicolás. *Cárceles y exilios*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2012. Regarding the relations maintained during the war between Portugal and the rebels and between Salazar's and Franco's regimes, we should highlight the many works of TORRE, Hipólito de la. as well as LOFF, Manuel. "Los regímenes autoritarios". *Ayer*, no. 37, 2000. pp. 125-162; "La política cultural de los 'Estados nuevos' español y portugués (1936-1945): tradicionalismo, modernidad y confesionalización". *Revista de Occidente*, no. 223, 1999. pp. 41-62; and PENA RODRÍGUEZ, A. *El gran aliado de Franco. Portugal y la guerra civil española: prensa, radio, cine y propaganda*. Sada: Eds. do Castro, 1998; *Galicia, Franco y Salazar: La emigración gallega en Portugal y el intercambio ideológico entre el franquismo y el salazarismo (1936-1939)*. Vigo: Universidade de Vigo, 1999; and *O que parece é: Salazar, Franco e a propaganda contra a Espanha democrática*, Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2009. Consult also the following general and specific works on the Spanish Civil War and Portugal: SIMÓN LORDA, D. *Médicos ourensáns represaliados na guerra civil e na posguerra. Historias da longa noite de pedra*. Santiago: Fundación Dez de Marzo, 2002 and "La Guerra Civil española y la posguerra en el norte de Portugal (A propósito de una conferencia de José Dias Baptista en Ourense)", DEZ/EME (Revista da Fundación Dez de Marzo), 2003; ROSAS, F. ed. *Portugal e a Guerra Civil de Espanha: colóquio internacional*, Lisbon: Colibri, 1998; DELGADO, I. *Portugal e a Guerra Civil de Espanha*, Lisbon: Publicações Europa-América, 1981; and STONE, G.A. *Spain, Portugal and the Great Powers, 1931-1941*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. With regard to Galician fugitives, police actions and conflicts at the border during the war, see REIGOSA, C. "Maquis na raia galego-portuguesa". *A Trabe de Ouro*, no. 16, 1993; RODRÍGUEZ GALLARDO, A. "Entre brandas e inverneiras: Refuxiados e guerra civil na fronteira entre Ourense e Portugal". *A Trabe de Ouro*, no. 57, 2004. pp. 23-37.; SIMÕES, D. *Barrancos na encruzilhada da Guerra Civil de Espanha: Memórias e testemunhos, 1936*. Lisboa: Colibri, 2007; DIAS BAPTISTA, J. "A Guerra civil espanhola e os barrosões". In: CANEIRO, X. C. et al. *O Cambedo da Raia, 1946: Solidaridade galego-portuguesa silenciada*. Ourense: Asociación

presence of Portuguese citizens, however, has not been adequately documented and studied. This issue is almost unknown as a collective phenomenon, but very significant for an essay in transnational history, allowing us to pose several questions: why has the memory and history of this phenomenon not been remembered or studied? Does the invisibility of this social group reflect its integration or deliberate concealment? Did they suffer persecution as Portuguese people or as citizens or residents of the Spanish territory?

It took ten days for the initially failed military uprising that led to the civil war in Spain to be successful in the Galicia region. Far away from the military fronts, the perpetrators of the coup initiated intense repressive actions in a broad range of forms as a method to replace the democratic regime and in order to break down the bases of political and social power. *Nomes e Voces* has documented the persecutions, organized research databases and investigated a past that has been unveiled only fragmentarily, through the study of 2,600 dossiers of legal processes, all of the death certificates in the civil registers of Galician town councils, 515 interviews and other research. The data until now has revealed that 14,000 people suffered reprisals and 4,600 people were murdered in the Galician region. The research project has also released a vast amount of previously unpublished documentation on the subject.⁴

1. A transnational historical approach

In contrast with exclusively national historiographical practice, the transnational approach provides a broader standpoint that increases the explanatory capacity of history. It enables a less chauvinistic or, in Spanish terms, less *casticista* (traditional)

Amigos da República, 2004. pp. 123-161; ROSA, E.B. “O papel da fronteira luso-galaica na questão dos refugiados da Guerra Civil de Espanha (1936-1939)”. In: ALVAREZ, A. dir. *Xornadas sobre represión, solidariedade e resistencia antifranquista*. Celanova: Asociación Arraianos, 2008. pp. 99-110; GRANDÍO SEOANE, E. “A raia que deixou de selo: A fronteira galego-portuguesa en xullo de 1936”. In: BALBOA LÓPEZ, X. and PERNAS OROZA, H. eds. *Entre nós: Estudos de arte, xeografía e historia en homenaxe ó profesor Xosé Manuel Pose Antelo*. Santiago de Compostela: USC-SPIC, 2001. pp. 999-1022. Also consult the following on the repression of Portuguese citizens: MÉIXOME, C. “A represión sobre os portugueses no Val Miñor”. *A Peneira do Val Miñor*. no. 10, December 2008. p. 2.

⁴ The project may be consulted at <<http://www.nomesevoces.net/gl/informes/>>. The database of victims enables individual searches according to different parameters, such as nationality: <<http://vitas.nomesevoces.net/>>. See also NOMES E VOCES. *Vítimas Galicia (1936-1939). Informe de resultados*. Santiago de Compostela: Meubook, 2010.

reflexion.⁵ Transnationalism opens a breach in the methodological stasis that has impregnated the social sciences, and more especially history, since the nineteenth century, when it was established in order to reaffirm the nation state that liberalism was constructing. The newly born transnational history was a response to the context of the new globalization that commenced with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 and challenges the efficacy of nation states as an analytical framework.⁶ By removing the difference imposed by borders, the search for a transnational approach has yielded important results recently in relation to the study of migration, the labour movement and cultural history as well as rural and environmental history.⁷

J. P. Bohórquez-Montoya⁸ suggests that transnationalism has vast meanings that may be considered in different fields to tackle cross-border social relationships, networks and flows of people, ideas and information, the reproduction of cultural processes at a global scale, the expansion of capital and social movements that articulate the local and the global in a transnational social space. It thus supersedes the previous, solely economic, approach presented by Immanuel Wallerstein in world-systems theory. By separating itself from traditional units of analysis, such as the tribe, the parish, the nation or the state, trans-state investigation allows us to focus on the processes followed by transmigrants and on the forces that they faced. Transnational labour history is a recent field of study that overcomes the traditional historical archetype of the working class, constructed by British historiography on the basis of the English empirical model, and makes it possible to study different labour processes at a global level so as to

⁵ GUARDIA HERRERO, C. and PAN-MONTOJO GONZÁLEZ, J. L. "Reflexiones sobre una historia transnacional". *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea*, no. 16, 1998. pp. 9-31.

⁶ For the space in which history is constructed and the crisis of national history, see FERNÁNDEZ PRIETO, L. "Historia local, nacional e transnacional". In: SÁ MACHADO, P. and MAIA MARQUES, J. A. coords. *Maia, História Regional e Local, Actas do Congresso*. Maia: Câmara Municipal da Maia, vol. 1, 1999. pp. 101-109. For national history, trans-state history and globalization, as well as rural history as a space of transnational history, see by the same author "Estado, sociedad rural e innovación tecnológica en la agricultura: Los cambios en torno a 1900". In: *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea*, no. 17, 1999. pp. 67-103 (specifically pp. 68-76).

⁷ THELEN, D. "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History". *The Journal of American History*, vol. 79, no. 2, 1992. pp. 432-462; "La experiencia vivida, un reto para la historia profesional moderna: Californianos del sur e historiadores científicos ante el cambio de siglo". *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea*, no. 17, 1999. pp. 145-172; "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History". *The Journal of American History*. vol. 86, no. 3, Special Issue, 1999. pp. 965-975; TYRRELL, I. "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History". *The American Historical Review*, vol. 96, no. 4, 1991. pp. 1031-1055; LINDEN, M. van der. *Historia transnacional del trabajo*, Valencia: Biblioteca de Historia Social, 2006.

⁸ BOHÓRQUEZ-MONTOYA, J.P. "Transnacionalismo e historia transnacional del trabajo: hacia una síntesis teórica". *Papel Político*. vol. 14, no. 1, 2009. pp. 273-301.

discover social facts and emerging innovative processes that otherwise would go unnoticed.⁹

In the case at hand, this perspective allows us to discover the high number of Portuguese citizens who were affected by the repressive processes of the civil war in Spain in a context of the internationalization of social and political issues during fascism.

2. Portuguese to Galicia and Galicians to Portugal: a continuous flow

While it is true that the characteristics of the emigration of Galician people in Spain to Portugal are relatively well known, this is not the case of the parallel transfer of Portuguese people to Galicia.¹⁰ This migratory movement can be seen in the movement of Portuguese stonemasons to Galicia in the seventeenth century and the spread of a large number of day labourers to the region in the following centuries. This was a persistent, diffuse movement of emigrants, who were easily integrated into the adoptive society and, precisely for this reason, are difficult to visualize and quantify.

This presence of the Portuguese in Galiza [Galicia] is not very well known due to the absence of specific studies and arises as a counter-current to the larger, mass movements of Galegos [Galicians] who immigrated to Porto or Lisbon in the same epoch. The description of the movement of workers to Galiza appears to show a random, individualized character, but also strongly suggests the facility with which they inserted themselves, boosted by their affinities with the language and customs that ultimately were very effective...it appears to be relatively common cases of teams of sawyers or masons who travelled to Galicia in search of work, some of whom ended up staying in rural areas. Even today you may find Portuguese newsagents and caretakers...raised on the farm or...young women who become prostitutes; after all, people of diverse occupations in the rural areas said they "went to Spain" (Galiza) and lost there, in a great many cases, knowledge of their origins.¹¹

Nevertheless, the presence of Portuguese labourers in the work sites of Galician cities and in the farmlands of Galician hamlets began to be significant with the urban

⁹ In fact, it has developed only in the past ten years, when Michael P. Hanagan and Marcel van der Linden began to clarify its subject and scope, helping recentralise the history of labour and working classes in historiographical discussion. HANAGAN, M. and VAN DER LINDEN, M. "New Approaches to Global Labor History". *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 66, 2004. pp. 1-11.

¹⁰ See, among others, ALVES, J. F., FERREIRA, M. F. V. and MONTEIRO, M. R. "Imigração galega na cidade do Porto (2ª metade do século XIX)". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras - História*, series II, vol. IX, Porto, 1992. pp. 215-236; FERNÁNDEZ CORTIZO, C. "La emigración gallega a la provincia portuguesa de Trás-os-Montes y Alto Douro (1700-1850)". In: *Douro: Estudos & Documentos*, year 12, 2007, no. 22. pp. 79-112; FERNANDES ALVES, J. F. "Imigração de galegos no Norte de Portugal (1500-1900)". In: EIRAS ROEL, A. and GONZÁLEZ LOPO, D. EDS. *Mobilidade e migrações internas na Europa Latina*. Santiago de Compostela: USC/Cátedra Unesco, 2002. pp. 1-11.

¹¹ MEDEIROS, A. "Discurso Nacionalista e Imagens de Portugal na Galiza". *Etnográfica: Revista do Centro de Estudos de Antropologia Social*. VII, 2, Lisbon, 2003. p. 334.

explosion in southern Galicia, around 1900, associated with the business of emigration to America, which, together with canning, were at the core of the development of maritime industries. Fialho de Almeida, a Portuguese writer and traveller passing by the city of Vigo, noticed at that time his fellow countrymen bent over their work as stonemasons or road pavers in the context of the accelerated urban development of the city.¹²

At the heart of such industrialization, Vigo's urban growth stimulated the exploitation of granite quarries in the neighbouring municipality of O Porriño for the building sector. High numbers of Portuguese worked in these quarries and were the object of special legal measures, as this report in a local newspaper shows:

The municipality sent a notice that recognised the Portuguese colony resident in this city (quite numerous, actually) obliging them inexcusably, each and every one, to list their domicile as well as present their consular identity cards for registration in the civil government...¹³

During the First World War, the combination of incessant emigration to America in Galicia as a whole with the growth of the industrial and the service sectors, as well as the progressive development of the cities and towns that were the administrative centres of their respective regions, led to an increase in the demand for a cheap labour force from the north of Portugal.¹⁴ The activity of Portuguese workers could then be detected across Galicia, in mines and quarries, in the timber sector, in building and ceramics, in the construction of railways, in agricultural work paid by the day, in crafts or in itinerant trades. The vast majority of these workers were basically economic migrants from rural areas in Portugal.

Yet socio-political reasons also help explain the presence of the Portuguese who lived in pre-war Galicia: there were multiple desertions from the army to avoid service in the First World War as well as Portuguese exiles across Spain after the failed attempts to overthrow the Portuguese military dictatorship in 1926 and from the Portuguese dictatorial regime of Salazar, which was consolidated as the New State in

¹² FIALHO DE ALMEIDA. *Galiza, 1905*, Santiago: Laiovento, 1996.

¹³ An account by the correspondent of the journal *Faro de Vigo*, 2 August 1906, in IGLESIAS VEIGA, J. R. "Crónica dos escenarios das nosas antigas fotos". In: RODRÍGUEZ SÍO, F. and IGLESIAS VEIGA, J. R. *Unha ollada no tempo: Achegamento ao patrimonio fotográfico do Porriño*, O Porriño: AMI/Concello do Porriño, 2007.

¹⁴ PEREIRA, D. "Proletariado e loita de clases na Galiza de anteguerra". In: CONSTENLA BERGUEIRO, G. and DOMÍNGUEZ CASTRO, L. eds., *Tempo de sermos: Galicia nos séculos contemporáneos*. Vigo: Servicio de Publicacións da Universidade de Vigo, 2002.

1933. These included such important figures as the former president of the Republic, Bernardino Machado, and the writer Aquilino Ribeiro, who dwelled in the Galician territory for some time.¹⁵ There were even organizations of exiles: in 1932, the *Federação dos Anarquistas Portugueses Exilados* (Federation of Portuguese Anarchists in Exile, FAPE) was created in Paris, which had a number of organised groups in Galicia allied to the *Federación Anarquista Ibérica* (Iberian Anarchist Federation, FAI) such as *Os Intransigentes* (The Intransigents) and *Os Inadaptáveis* (The Unadapted) in the region of A Coruña and *Os Conquistadores Modernos* (The Modern Conquerors) in Lousame.¹⁶

3. Portuguese workers in the Galician Republican era (1931-1936)

During the Second Republic, the Portuguese colony in Galicia was formed mostly by thousands of workers scattered across the territory and devoted to multiple trades: workers in stone quarries or construction sites; road pavers (*calceteiros*) in the construction of roads and streets in towns and cities; itinerant or permanent sawyers; wolfram or tin miners in San Finx (Lousame) and Carbia (Vila de Cruces); slaters (*cabaqueiros*) in Neda's tile and brick factories; itinerant traders; sailors in the Rías Baixas; or railway workers (*carrilanos*) in the construction of the Zamora-Madrid line.¹⁷

An interesting case was that of the stone quarries in the province of Pontevedra. In the quarries of Portas or O Porriño, which produced paving stones for city streets or for exportation to the Netherlands and England, Portuguese quarry workers were subjected in the 1920s and 1930s to long day and night shifts, lit only by tallow lamps. This was also the case in the stone quarries of Moaña and Domaio, in the Vigo inlet, which were heavily used for the development of the city and harbour of Vigo. By 1926, among the companies that exploited the quarries, two Basque-held businesses stood out: the *Sociedad General de Obras y Construcciones de Bilbao* (Bilbao General Work and Construction Society) and *Eraso, Dávila y Cía.* (Eraso, Dávila and Co.), which

¹⁵ NÚÑEZ, J. "Portugal en la Conspiración del 18 de Julio de 1936 y el apoyo luso a través del Archivo del General Varela". Undated. Available at <www.historiaymilicia.com>.

¹⁶ PEREIRA, D. *A CNT en Galicia, 1922-1936*. Santiago de Compostela: Laivento, 1994.

¹⁷ In the A Canda-A Gudiña stretch, for example, there were hundreds of Portuguese workers. By 1931, they represented half of all railway workers. See PEREIRA, D. "Alzamento fascista e represión no camiño de ferro Zamora-Ourense: Bisbarras de Monterrei, As Frieiras, A Portela e Seabra". *A Trabe de Ouro*, no. 73, January-March, 2008.

employed hundreds of workers in conditions characterized by a great lack of workplace safety. Among them were many Portuguese from Esposende, Viana and Guimarães, who had formed a large colony and also worked in fishing, farming, the lumber industry and, in the case of women, canning. They had built a “tin neighbourhood” near the stone quarries with houses of this material, which took the name of *O Latão* (the big tin can), and also invented a jargon, *entendereço*, which somehow or other has reached our times. Sometimes suffering extremely serious work accidents, such as the one that occurred in the Eraso stone quarry in 1933, resulting in the death of five Portuguese labourers, this group represented approximately 7 percent of the population in the coastal strip of the town council of Moaña.¹⁸

As to the sawyers, the presence of Portuguese workers was well known in many towns in the interior of Galicia, such as Carballo, Cabo Vilaño (A Laracha) and Teo. These were places where workers of Portuguese origin had settled in the 1920s, simultaneously with the expansion of forest exploitation and the boom of the transformation of wood into boards.¹⁹

In conclusion, the colony of Portuguese workers in the Second Republic included thousands of people, whose concentration in the southwest of the province of Pontevedra resulted in the formation of the city of Vigo (1927) and in three of the towns on the shores of the Miño (O Porriño, Tomiño and Tui). Each of these cities had a Portuguese community centre that helped give cohesion to the group and deal with the problems that arose from their life together in a different state. Proof of the colony’s growing importance was the creation of a network of consular agencies by the Portuguese state, most of them in the province of Pontevedra. In the first third of the twentieth century, there were consuls or vice-consuls in the cities of Vigo, A Guarda, Tui, Pontevedra, Vilagarcía de Arousa, Verín, Ourense, Ferrol and A Coruña.

Portuguese immigrant workers were also involved as well in the social and labour conflicts that took place in the country, but employers initially used them to drive

¹⁸ GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, X. M. and VILLAVERDE ROMÁN, X. C. *Moaña nos anos vermellos: Conflictividade social e política nun concello agrario e marneiro*. Sada: Eds. do Castro, 1999.

¹⁹ DOMÍNGUEZ ALMANSA, A. *Asociacionismo agrario e poder local en Teo, 1890-1940: A formación da sociedade civil na Galicia rural*. Teo: Concello de Teo, 1997; GONZÁLEZ PROBADOS, M. *Crise económica, movemento obreiro e socialismo na Galiza republicana, 1931-36*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1988; PEREIRA, D. (1998): “Empresarios, fábricas e traballadores: o sector da madeira (1920-1936)”. In: PEREIRA, D. *Sindicalistas e rebeldes: Anacos da historia do movemento obreiro na Galiza*. Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 1998.

down wages and working conditions. The figure of the strikebreaker of Portuguese origin was a constant in the evolution of Galician labour ideology and even led to the creation of the *Unión Galaico-Portuguesa* (Galician-Portuguese Union)²⁰ articulated by socialist militants from both sides of the border in the first five years of the twentieth century. Later on, in the early times of the Second Republic, the railway works in the area of A Canda in Ourense²¹ and the building sector in Vigo and Redondela, were the scene of conflicts between workers in branches of the *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT, General Union of Workers) and contractors, as the latter preferred to contract a cheaper, more submissive workforce from Portugal rather than union members. In those days, the labour crisis resulted into attitudes distant from proletarian internationalism in some construction unions in Vigo, which defended restrictions on the hiring of Portuguese workers, alleging a lack of jobs²² that provoked the protests of the Portuguese Centre of Vigo, which acted as representative for the Portuguese workers. The *Sociedad de Canteros, Marmolistas and Similares* (Society of Stonemasons, Marble Masons and Similar Trades, which belonged to the UGT) declared at that time: “We don’t forget, since it still hurts us, the anti-social and anti-proletarian behaviour of the Portuguese who always, in Vigo and all of Galicia, come to strangle our social conflicts and provoke salary cuts in our profession”.²³

As the Republic progressed, employees of Portuguese origin joined locals of the major trade unions, the anarcho-syndicalist *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT; National Confederation of Labour) and the socialist UGT.²⁴ Even in urban and town areas that were distant from the *raia* or border between Galicia and Portugal, we are aware of cases of Portuguese workers that were politically and socially involved in, among others, the CNT unions of the lumber, mining, fishing and building sectors in different towns such as A Coruña and Lugo.²⁵ Also left-wing parties, such as the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (PSOE) and the Communist Party (PC) as well as their

²⁰ BREY, G. *Economie et mouvement syndical en Galice, 1840-1911*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Lille: Atelier national de reproduction des theses, 1990.

²¹ PEREIRA, D. *Sindicalistas e rebeldes: Anacos do movemento obreiro na Galiza*. Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 1998; “A represión franquista contra os cidadáns portugueses radicados na Galiza (1936-1939)”. In: ÁLVAREZ CÁCCAMO, X. M. *et al.* *O Miño, unha corrente de memoria. Actas das xornadas sobre a represión franquista no Baixo Miño (2006-2007)*. Ponteareas: Edicións Alén Miño, 2008.

²² GONZÁLEZ PROBADOS, M. *Op.Cit.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ There are many examples in rural and town areas of Pontevedra adjoining Portugal, such as Tui, or in the province of Ourense such as in Entrimo, Albarellos de Monterrei or Campobeceros (Castrelo do Val), in the sphere of anarcho-syndicalist unions, and Verín, in the case of unions belonging to the UGT.

²⁵ Cabo Vilaño (A Laracha), San Finx (Lousame), O Barqueiro and Lugo, respectively.

youth wings had Portuguese members.²⁶ The anarchist FAI of A Coruña itself included notable Portuguese-born activists. Some workers even stood out in the groups to which they belonged, such as certain sawyers, railway workers or miners in the anarcho-syndicalist sphere,²⁷ or prominent socialist and communist leaders.²⁸ Again, the example of Moaña, in the Vigo inlet, is an illustrative one: the *Sociedad de Canteros y Oficios Varios de Moaña y sus contornos “La Internacional”* (The International Society of Stonemasons and Miscellaneous Trades of Moaña and Its Surroundings) included a high number of Portuguese quarry workers among its militants and even its directors. In fact, the society was chaired by Manuel da Conceção from 1930 and 1934, and another two Portuguese workers, Manuel Gomes de Oliveira and Laurindo Ribeiro Pereira, were members of its board of directors.

Because of their activities in workers' organisations and their involvement in social and labour conflicts, some of these Portuguese union members suffered reprisals in Galicia during Republican times. Anarchist Avelino García Teixeira, a prominent participant in the great strikes of 1933 and 1934,²⁹ was arrested on several occasions at his home in Albarellos (Monterrei) and, in April 1936, was the subject of another attempt at deportation to his country of origin through the use of the *Ley de Vagos y*

²⁶ We know many details about members of the JJSS, JSU (the youth groups of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party, respectively), the PSOE, the PCE and the UGT in Vigo, Cangas, Moaña, San Clodio de Ribas de Sil, Teo, Santiago, Fontao (Vila de Cruces) and Ferrol.

²⁷ The sawyer, Joaquim Carlos Álvarez Ribeiro, was chairman of the *Sindicato de Agricultores y Profesiones Varias* (Union of Farmers and Miscellaneous Trades, belonging to the CNT) of Cabo Vilaño (A Laracha); the railroad worker (*carrilano*) Antonio Ribeiro, was on the executive of the *Sindicato de Oficios Varios* (Union of Miscellaneous Trades, belonging to the CNT) of Campobeceros (Castrelo do Val); Julio Azevedo Veiga was a contributor to the journal *Solidaridad Obrera* and militant of the FAI of A Coruña; the miners, Manuel Paiva Martínez, Manuel dos Santos da Conceção and José Díaz N., were members of the *Sindicato Minero* (Union of Mineworkers, belonging to the CNT) of San Finx; and day labourers Avelino García Teixeira and José Barreira, were militants of the *Sindicato de Agricultores y Profesiones Varias* (Union of Farmers and Miscellaneous Professions, belonging to the CNT) of Albarellos (Monterrei).

²⁸ Among them were communists Luis Soares Certal, a cinema operator in Ferrol; day labourer Francisco Ferreira Gago, in O Barqueiro; the sawyer from Cangas, Adonis Teixeira Alonso, from the UGT and the JSU, just as his neighbour the blacksmith Manuel González Dantas; socialist stonemason Perfecto Magariños Novegil, also from Cangas; in Calo (Teo), labourer José Gómez de Jesús, was a member of the *Sociedad de Oficios Varios* (Society of Miscellaneous Trades, belonging to the UGT), led by the Liste brothers and a sawyer of Portuguese descent and communist ideology whose surname was Paradela. See DOMÍNGUEZ ALMANSA, A. *Asociacionismo agrario e poder local en Teo, 1890-1940: A formación da sociedade civil na Galicia rural*. Teo: Concello de Teo, 1997. Román Ramos, was chairman of the *Sindicato Minero de Fontao* (Fontao Union of Mineworkers); day labourer from Verín, José Dobarrio Lorenzo, was a leader of the *Fronte Popular* (Popular Front) and militant of the PCE and the *Sociedad de Oficios Varios* (UGT); and stonemason Telmo Freitas Lima, from the Sindicato de San Pedro da Ramallosa (San Pedro da Ramallosa Union), was very active in the area of Nigrán. Consult MÉIXOME, C. *Op.Cit.*

²⁹ These were the general strikes called by the CNT across the state to protest against the right-wing government that had resulted from the election of November 1933, and the failed Revolution of October 1934.

Maleantes (Vagrancy Law). Something similar happened to Isolina Celeste Sousa Castro, partner of a member of the CNT, José Aldán Rivas, from Tui. She was arrested after the general strike of June 1932 that was called in sympathy with the workers of the Arsenal of Ferrol and also after a strike in December 1933. She was expelled to Portugal on both occasions.³⁰

The Revolution of October 1934 was joined by Portuguese workers as well. In this case, the ideology of most of them was socialism. Among them were, for example, a handful of militants of the farming and workers' societies of the region of San Clodio and Quiroga, who had to return to the area of Viana do Castelo to escape the persecution of the Spanish authorities. Moreover, Arturo Suárez "O Portugués" (Portuguese) was arrested in the surrounding area for the same reasons, charged with shooting at a train, placing bombs and attempted murder.³¹ In the libertarian sphere, the chairman of the *Federación Obrera* (Workers' Federation, belonging to the CNT) of A Guarda, David Álvarez Paz, son of Portuguese parents who had dual nationality, was imprisoned.³²

4. The Francoist persecution and the Portuguese

Insofar as they participated in social conflicts, these Portuguese citizens suffered a fate similar to that of their Galician comrades. Although still incompletely, we know the cases of 159 Portuguese people living in different places of Galicia who suffered reprisals after the coup of 1936. Some of those who had participated in the resistance to the military coup in the early days died or were arrested after armed conflicts in A Coruña, Lousame, Vigo-Lavadores, Baixo Miño or the region of As Frieiras, in Ourense.³³ Others, who had been able to flee to Asturias by sea, or by land crossing

³⁰ PEREIRA, D. and FERNÁNDEZ, E. *O movemento libertario en Galiza (1936-1976)*. Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 2006.

³¹ REDONDO ABAL, F. X. *Memorias de Marcelino Fernández Prada: Un alcalde socialista e revolucionario*. Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 2007.

³² Other Portuguese citizens in Galicia were known by their left-wing, secular ideology, as was the case of the resident of Cangas, Manuel Alves Ribeiro. See SANTOS CASTROVIEJO, I. and NORES SOLIÑO, A. *Historia de Cangas, 1900-1936: Unha ribeira de pescadores*. Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 2005.

³³ María Bello and Manuel Paiva in A Coruña and Lousame, respectively; Manuel Barbosa, José da Silva and José Silva in Salvaterra and Pontearreas; Enrique Acuña Barciela and Manuel Correa de Carvalho in Lavadores. We should also mention the murder of a group of Portuguese *carrilanos* who lived in the town of Campobeceros (Castelo do Val), in Ourense. They were summarily executed or shot by a firing squad in application of the edict of war during the clashes that took place at the railway on the last days of July 1936. See PEREIRA, D. and FERNÁNDEZ, E. Op.Cit.; PEREIRA, D. "Alzamento fascista e represión

Portugal towards the central area controlled by the Republic, died later when fighting on the loyal side or spent years in concentration camps, penal colonies and jails in Galicia or outside it, having fallen into the hands of the Francoists. Most of them stayed in Galicia – some even took part in clandestine activities, as was the case of FAI militant Julio Azevedo in A Coruña – and were taken away and executed (*paseados*) after being court-martialled. Others, tried by military tribunals, were deprived of their civil rights, their properties were seized, and they were fined or given prison sentences, which they served in different prisons, where the weakest of them died.³⁴

There were also some who had to flee to their own country in order to escape persecution in Galicia.³⁵ And even some who were expelled at the Portuguese border by the Spanish authorities for being “hostile” to the new regime. There they were awaited by the newly created *Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado* (State Vigilance and Defence Police, PVDE) in Portugal. For example, in late July 1936, the *Companhia da Guarda Fiscal* (Fiscal War Company) of Chaves sent fifteen Galician citizens and seven Portuguese ones who had been detained in the headquarters of the Company in a train from Galicia to the Porto Police Delegation, under the surveillance of a PVDE officer.³⁶ Among the many deported were the former Portuguese consul in A Coruña, the musician Anthero Dias de Alte da Veiga, expelled by the Francoists at the advanced age of 70 for belonging to the Freemasons.³⁷

Our investigation has unveiled the other side of the coin as well, that is, Portuguese citizens who joined the *Falange* (Spanish Fascist Party) and left a mark on the country. These was the lumber contractor Francisco López dos Santos, murdered in 1938 at his home in Priegue (Nigrán) by a group of fugitives, owing to his activities as informer;³⁸ the resident of Saceda-Palmés (Ourense) Antonio Ferreira Suárez, a well-known

no camiño de ferro Zamora-Ourense: Bisbarras de Monterrei, As Frieiras, A Portela e Seabra”. *A Trabe de Ouro*, no. 73, January-March, 2008.

³⁴SIERRA, F. and ALFORJA, I. *Fuerte de San Cristóbal, 1938: La gran fuga de las cárceles franquistas*. Pamplona: Pamiela Ediciones, 2005.

³⁵ This was the case of anarchist and itinerant trader from A Coruña, Arnaldo Teixeira; of the member of the International Red Aid of Lavadores, Fernando de Almeida, who had already been arrested during the Revolution of October 1934; the resident of Samieira (Poio), Augusto Anes; *carrilanos* from the southeast of Ourense, such as José Antonio Rodríguez, Joaquín Alonso Alonso, José da Silva Vides and Jacinto Álvarez Álvarez, and at least four Portuguese-born residents of Verín: Francisco Manuel Baptista, Néstor, Lima Rosa Ribeiro and Duarte Fernandes.

³⁶ RODRÍGUEZ GALLARDO, A. *O ruído da morte: A represión franquista en Pontearreas (1936-39)*. Sada: Eds. do Castro, 2006.

³⁷ VELASCO SOUTO, C. “Xullo 1936 - Agosto 1937: A pegada da represión na Coruña”. In FERNÁNDEZ, E. ed. *A fuxida do Portiño: Historia, memoria e vítimas*. Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 2009.

³⁸ GONZÁLEZ, J. A. *Nigrán: Memoria de una guerra. 1936-39*. Vigo: Eds. do Cumio, 1998.

paseador (executioner) killed in a clash in late 1936;³⁹ the Falangist from O Barco de Valdeorras, José da Silva Meirales, executed by a firing squad in Ourense in 1942, convicted of the robbery and murder of a right-wing married couple;⁴⁰ the Falangist sawyer born in Leiría and resident in Zas, Carlos Antonio Leal; and the brothers Ramón and Manuel Fernández, who lived in Portor, Negreira.⁴¹ Other Portuguese citizens, such as Luis Nogueira Pintos, a resident of Ourense, acted as informants and revealed the location of the many fugitives who were hiding in the Portuguese hamlets at the border, liaising between the Portuguese PVDE and the Ourense Border Inspection Delegation.⁴² Specific research on this topic would provide more clues about this different, and sombre, form of integration of Portuguese citizens in Galician society.

Portuguese citizens persecuted after the coup of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)⁴³

TABLE 1: DEATHS

	A Coruña	Lugo	Ourense	Pontevedra	Outside Galicia	TOTAL
- Murdered	1	3	10	18	1	33
- Executed	-	1	2	9	1	13
- Armed operat.	2	-	-	7	-	9
- Death in prison	-	-	-	5	3	8
- Others	1	-	1	-	-	2
TOTAL	4	4	13	39	5	65

DEATHS

TABLE 2: INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED AND PROSECUTED

- Imprisoned						
under sentence	6	2	4	21	2	35
- In prison (*)						
without sentence	8	2	20	29	-	59
TOTAL	14	4	24	50	2	94

(*) Court martialled and detainees held without trial, sometimes for a long time.

TOTAL (1 and 2) 18 8 37 89 7 159

³⁹ PRADA, J. *Ourense, 1936-1939: Alzamento, guerra e represión*. Sada: Eds. do Castro, 2004.

⁴⁰ GARCÍA YÁÑEZ, F. *O Barco e a Terra de Valdeorras durante a II República e o Franquismo (1931-1977)*. Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 2005.

⁴¹ LIÑARES GIRAUT, A. *Negreira na Guerra do 36*. Sada: Eds. do Castro, 1993.

⁴² DASAIRAS, X. *Crónicas rexiomontanas: O territorio e a historia na comarca de Monterrei*. Monterrei: Mancomunidade de Concellos da Comarca de Monterrei, 1999.

⁴³ Prepared by drawing on sources listed in the Primary Sources at the end of this paper.

Tables 1 and 2 show the various modes of Francoist persecution of Portuguese citizens who were involved in political, social and union activities in republican Galicia.⁴⁴ Some considerations should be made in relation to these modes of deadly repression. While in the Galician case as a whole, the volume of people executed after being court-martialled represents a third of the total number of victims, the percentage of Portuguese victims does not exceed 20 percent.⁴⁵ One might think that repressors resorted even more rarely to enforcing the “law” that the victors imposed by military force for the benefit of their criminal practices when the victims were Portuguese nationals, perhaps owing to the potential difficulties that might arise in the relationships with Portugal. However, in the case of the thirteen citizens of Portuguese origin executed by shooting in Galicia under military jurisdiction, there is no evidence that the Portuguese authorities started any action or made any protest whatsoever. Nothing seems to suggest that the Portuguese authorities attempted to prevent any deaths of Portuguese in Galicia during this period as a whole; on the contrary, there is evidence to believe that Portuguese consuls were, in general, enthusiastic spokesmen of the Francoist military coup of July 18, 1936.⁴⁶

From a gender perspective, we found that the repression affected women as well. We have registered twelve cases (8 percent of the total), six in the province of Ourense, five in the province of Pontevedra, and one in A Coruña province. At least two women were taken away and executed, and another one died during the shootings that occurred in A Coruña on the first days of the military coup.

The Francoist repression did not discriminate by age either. There were 68 year-old victims and others who had barely turned 17. Regarding professions, the black list mentions those that were the most frequent among the Portuguese who worked in Galicia: *carrilanos*, miners, stonemasons and quarry workers, day labourers, sawyers, carpenters or peasants. One fact stands out: all the Portuguese who were prosecuted and killed were workers and manual employees, unlike the Galicians who were persecuted,

⁴⁴ **Murdered:** indiscriminate killings, named *paseos* (cases of individuals taken away and executed), *sacas* (mass removals of inmates from the prison for the purpose of executing them); **Executions** by shooting following a court-martial; **Armed operations:** deaths that resulted from armed clashes after the military coup, punishment and cleansing operations; **Deaths in prison,** detention centres or in prisons due to escape, physical abuse, disease...; **Others:** 1 killed in the Republican Army and 1 undetermined.

⁴⁵ L. Fernández Prieto (ed.) *Informe de resultados. Víctimas Galicia (1936-1939)* (‘Results Report: Victims in Galicia, 1936-1939’), Inter-University Research Project Nomes e Voces, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2010.

⁴⁶ Such was, for example, the attitude of the Portuguese consul in Verín, Tomás Rocha dos Santos. See DASAIRAS, X. *Op.Cit.*

whose data show a division into three unequal thirds in the following order: 1) manual employees; 2) middle and professional classes; 3) farmworkers, artisans and fishermen.

Two aspects should be highlighted in relation to the territorial profile. First, the origin of the Portuguese citizens who were subjected to reprisals: on many occasions, their records just show a generic “Portugal” as place of birth; as a result, we only have reliable information about approximately a third of these citizens. Second, the vast majority of them were from the five northern districts of Portugal (particularly Viana do Castelo, followed, in this order, by Bragança, Porto, Vila Real and Braga); less than 20 percent came from the central or southern districts of Portugal.

With regard to the cartographic distribution of the repression of the Portuguese in Galicia, we should highlight the concentration of repressive actions in the provinces of Pontevedra and Ourense (see maps 1 to 4), and more specifically in the southwest of the province of Pontevedra (Baixo Miño, O Condado, area of Vigo), where most Portuguese citizens lived (46 percent of the dead and 41 percent of those affected by other modes of repression), as well as in the southeast of Ourense (Verín, Viana, Valdeorras) along the route of the railway under construction (15.4 percent and 16 percent, respectively).⁴⁷ The reasons for this are the high concentration of Portuguese workers in these regions, their integration into unions and left-wing parties, and their active involvement in the armed clashes of the first days.

Regarding the cartographic distribution of the forms of persecution, there are registers of the death of residents of Portuguese origin in twenty-one town councils (maps 1 and 2), but other forms of persecution (arrests or legal proceedings) that did not result into killings occurred in forty-one town councils (maps 3 and 4). While the former were concentrated in the south, the latter spread out across the territory. As to the percentages that could correlate the number of Portuguese victims and that of Galician victims, the details that we have been able to obtain are not very significant, but are enough for us to state that the Portuguese suffered reprisals to the same extent as the Galicians (maps 2 and 4). We still do not have information that could define the patterns underlying such data.

⁴⁷ The number of Portuguese citizens who suffered repression along the route of the railway could even increase if we take into account those who were executed by shooting in the border territories of As Portelas and A Seabra. We know from the Lubián Civil Register that near the hamlet of Acibeiros, in the townlet of Caserna, two itinerant traders of Portuguese origin who lived in A Pobra de Seabra were killed on August 21, 1936: Francisco Cardoso Souza and Manuel José Gerónimo. They were buried in the Acibeiros cemetery.

In any event, it should be remembered once again, that this figure of victims of reprisals is considered “minimum”, bearing in mind the low visibility of Portuguese emigrants in Galicia due to the country’s long tradition of emigration to Galicia, as well as the fact that both regions shared a cultural identity. In addition, it turns out that Portuguese names were adapted to Spanish and, therefore, we are dealing with lists of Galician men and women who suffered reprisals that are very likely to contain an even higher number of Portuguese citizens. Furthermore, the vast number of “unknown” individuals in these lists (particularly in the province of Ourense) may well include Portuguese nationals whose national affiliation was not known and who had not been claimed by their families, as these had always ignored their whereabouts. We have not considered here the verified presence of Portuguese people among the fugitive guerrilla fighters that were active at the border of Ourense and Portugal after the war. We do know, however, that reprisals by Francoist authorities were common and resulted from the important cooperation of the residents at the border with the guerrillas that had been acting in the area from as early as the end of the war in 1939. A significant case was, for instance, the arrest in 1940 of five Portuguese women who lived in the town of Verín. Thereafter, during the Second World War, Portuguese republican fighters born in border towns such as Sernande, Pinheiro Novo, Vinhais, Chaves or Melgaço and the guerrilla liaisons on both sides of the border, suffered the same fate as their Galician comrades or those in the rest of the Spanish state.⁴⁸

Lastly, we may draw some conclusions. The hypothesis that the killing and persecution of Portuguese citizens in Galicia might be linked to the identification of the “other” as the most convenient scapegoat on which the punishment could be focused does not seem plausible in view of the data. In the case of Spain, the “other” was anti-Spain, Marxism or the republican democratic power, and the Portuguese who were persecuted or exterminated were included in this same package. Nevertheless, the presence of a high number of Portuguese citizens among the neighbours who were slaughtered in some towns (nearly a half of the dead in Castrelo do Val and Oímbra), together with the fact that these Portuguese workers were linked to the constantly itinerant construction of the railway network, may be significant from a local point of view if we attempt to find, in the different nationality and the poor social inclusion of the Portuguese in a given territorial space, some macabre incentives for the killers.

⁴⁸ The episode that occurred in the hamlet of Cambedo in late 1946, after which around 50 local people were arrested in different towns at the border of Chaves is well known. See Caneiro *et al.*, *Op.Cit.*

However, the global data obtained in Galicia seem to suggest precisely the full integration of most workers from the other side of the river Miño – even when it came to persecution. There was significant transnational integration, in spite of the power of the different state structures that granted Spanish or Portuguese citizenship on one or the other side of the border. This was also the case in the union and political forces associated to the respective nation states. Our research findings allow us to argue precisely for the centrality of the logic of integration, and even continuity. The immense majority of these people may have been emigrant workers, but the patterns and behaviours indicated above (including those of the Falangist Portuguese who turned into the executors of repression) demonstrate their significant integration into Galician society.

5. Coda

The overall data for Galicia indicate that the number of Portuguese nationals subjected to *paseos* and executions amounts to 1.4 percent of the total number of victims; approximately 15 percent of *paseados* and 10 percent of those executed who were not of Galician origin; and less than a half of the foreigners who were killed in Galicia in those times. If we bear in mind that theirs was a community larger than others, Portuguese natives represented a small part of the victims of repression. Except in certain isolated cases (as occurred with Gypsies), xenophobia against the Portuguese cannot be considered as a determining factor. In this regard, people's origin appears to be less important than the circumstances in which power was consolidated and asserted after the military coup, and the strategy of terror followed in the first months and used to reinforce the new hegemony. Being a foreigner may have played a certain role in the repression, not really as a result of xenophobia, but because the victors took advantage of foreigners' lack of consolidated social and affective networks and their scarcer chances of being helped. Thus being a foreigner might make people less socially protected and more vulnerable to perpetrators. The case of Vigo is a significant one. The modernization and prosperity of the city attracted people from other territories who integrated, became militants or acted in a social and political way. As a result, they fell into the net of repression, but here also the proportion of Portuguese citizens affected followed the same parameters owing to, among other reasons, their capacity to integrate into the adoptive society.

The Portuguese were invisible in the repressive process of the coup d'état of 1936 in Spain, both in popular memory and in history, until our thorough investigation of the entire process found them. Their invisibility forms part of the whole of an unknown and inconvenient past, and is one of several new aspects that systematic research has unveiled. In any event, what may be taken as a conclusion is the social and cultural integration of those Portuguese workers as well as their families who suffered repression in the following decades. There does not seem to be a specific and deliberate concealment. They did not suffer persecution for being Portuguese or for their different nationality since the process itself reflected their integration as Galicians who were citizens or residents of the Spanish territory.

The transnational perspective allows us to draw conclusions that, in this case, reach beyond borders, just as these Portuguese themselves crossed the limits between two states and proved the capacity for relationships between cultural and linguistic worlds that were very similar at a domestic and social level. These deaths and repression show that the emigrants from south of the Miño were fully integrated in spite of and above state structures, attaining some sort of transnationality that overcame even the trade union and political structures associated to the different states.

Lastly, here are some of the many questions that we have been unable to answer:

- To what extent were the circumstances described above (common work, class struggles and shared persecution, among others) behind the sympathetic support that a large part of the Portuguese population of the border lent to Galician fugitives after the military coup first, and to guerrilla groups, later? It should be borne in mind that such support is, in general, attributed exclusively to the humanitarianism that characterised small rural communities and even to Christian charity, according to anthropological and theological, rather than historical justifications.⁴⁹
- To what extent did their common experiences previous to July 18, 1936 and the subsequent repression influence the situation of conflict that prevailed in the district of Viana do Castelo in 1936⁵⁰ or the presence of guerrilla groups at the Portuguese border with Ourense, with many Portuguese members in their ranks? (This was the case of, for instance, the brothers Dos Santos Fernández

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ RODRÍGUEZ GALLARDO, A. *Op.Cit.* 2006.

“Os Cucos” [The Cuckoos] or Albino Gómez Rodríguez “O Albino” [The Albino].⁵¹

- With regard to the aforementioned mode of persecution in the rearward during the Spanish War, to what extent does it not confirm the absence of a border in ancient Roman Gallaecia between the states of Spain and Portugal, a border called Miño in the places where the river is present, and *raia* where it is not? Does this not confirm the cross-border nature of two territories that the states, even ignoring people’s will and needs, were unable to segregate?

We have unveiled and wanted to give visibility to these people from south of the Miño who along with their neighbours from the region as a whole paid the price of searching for a better life. We have unveiled them in order to integrate them in today’s Europe, in a common collective memory that was denied by Franco’s and Salazar’s regimes. This is not only a duty of justice, even if it is fulfilled at the wrong time, but also a new vital space shared between the citizens of both countries.

Primary Sources

- 1) IV Territorial Military Court⁵²
Cases 122/36 Ourense, 305/36 Ourense, 1021/36 Ourense, 226/36 Coruña, 295/36 Coruña, 376/36, 445/36 Coruña, 705/36 Coruña, 1195/36 Coruña, 1212/36 Coruña, 992/37 Coruña, 1002/37 Coruña, 1113/36 Vigo, 868/37 Vigo.
- 2) Pontevedra Provincial Historical Archive:
 - Political Responsibility Disciplinary Proceedings against Antonio Fernández Barbosa (Ponteareas) and 35 more, Collection of the Provincial Court, Box 20329.
 - Political Responsibility Disciplinary Proceedings 104/47, Collection of the Tui Court of Instruction, Box 1676.
- 3) Interviews
Carlos Méixome (Val Miñor, Pontevedra)
Lucila Núñez (Campobecerros-Castrelo do Val, Ourense)
Xosé Ramón Paz Antón (O Porriño, Pontevedra)
Ángel Rodríguez Gallardo (Ponteareas, Pontevedra)
Margarita Teijeiro (Vilagarcía de Arousa, Pontevedra)
- 4) Internet sources

⁵¹ HEINE, H. *A guerrilla antifranquista en Galicia*. Vigo: Xerais; REIGOSA. *Op.Cit.*

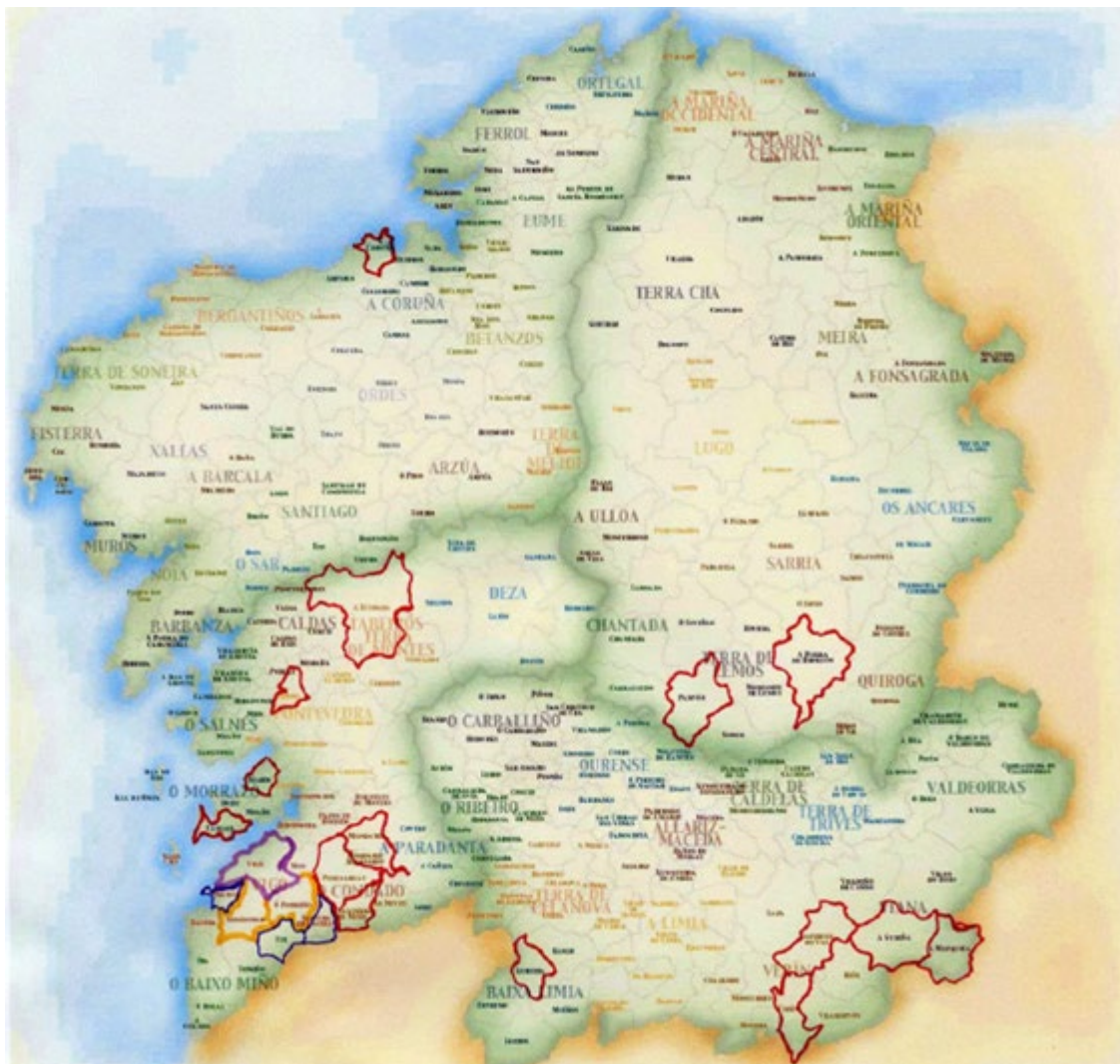
⁵² The IV Territorial Military Court has its central offices in A Coruña, Santo Domingo Square, 18. The main offices of the archive, including both its land and sea departments, are in Ferrol.

<www.nomesevoces.net>
<www.asturiasrepublicana.com>
<www.todoslosnombres.es>
<www.historiaymilicia.com>
<www.lugo.es/cs/represion/listado.jsp>

Annex: Maps

MAP 1

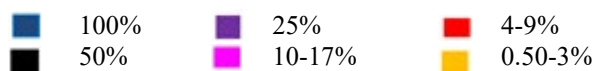
Portuguese-born residents of Galician municipalities killed by political repression



Source: prepared by the authors from the data available at <http://www.nomesevoces.net/gl>.

MAP 2

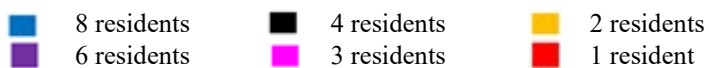
Portuguese-born residents of Galician municipalities killed due to political repression. Percentage of the total number of people subjected to reprisals in each municipality



Source: prepared by the authors from the data available at <<http://www.nomesevoces.net/gl>>.

MAP 3

Portuguese-born residents of Galician municipalities who were subjected to reprisals not resulting in death

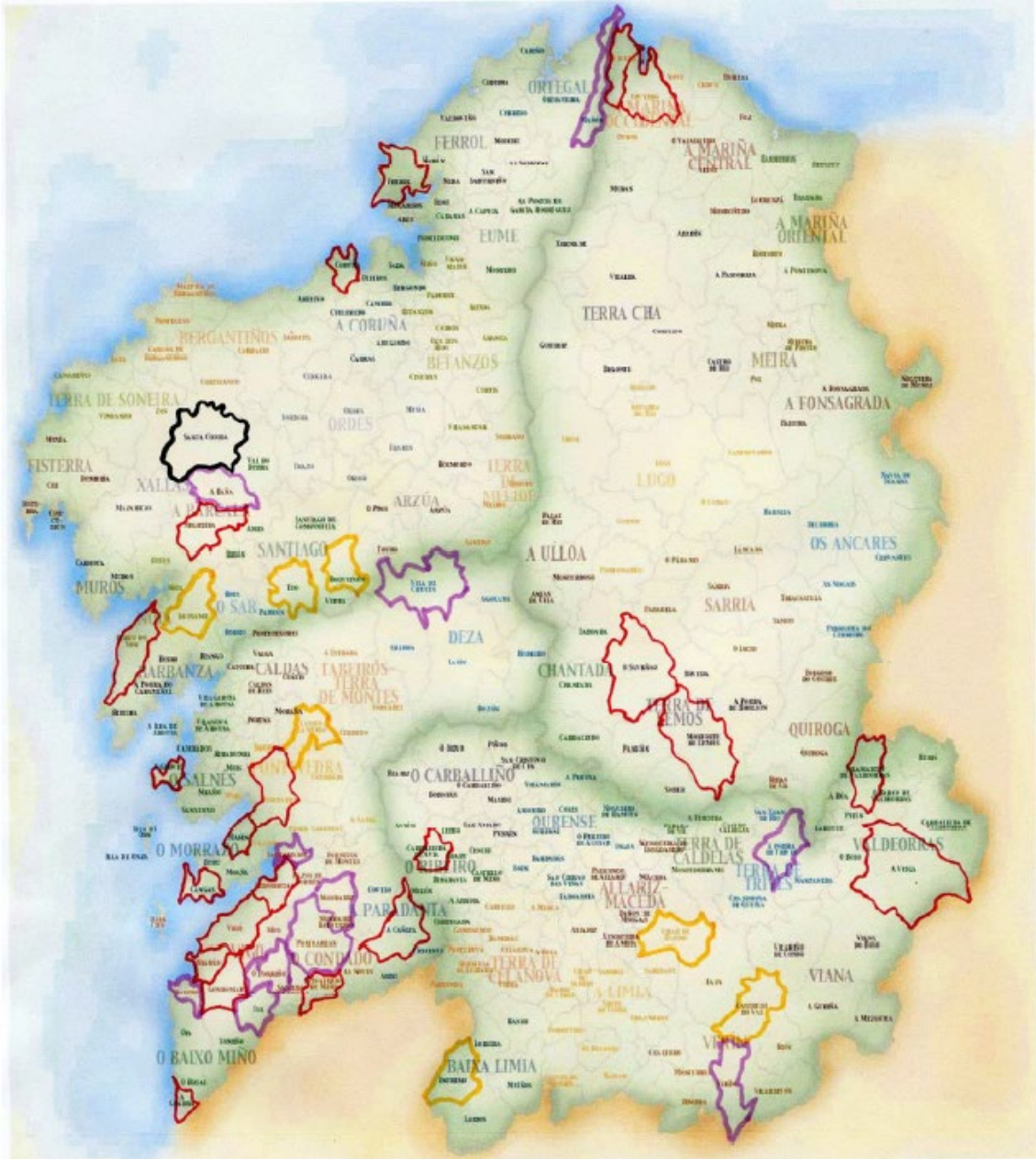


Source: prepared by the authors from the data available at <http://www.nomesevoces.net/gl/>.

MAP 4

Portuguese-born residents of Galician municipalities who were subjected to reprisals not resulting in death. Percentage of the total number of people subjected to reprisals in each municipality

- 50% of the residents
- 4.50-8.50% of the residents
- 10-17% of the residents
- 0.15-3.50% of the residents



Source: prepared by the authors from the data available at <<http://www.nomesevoces.net/gl>>.