Chapter 3
Claros del Bosque: Joaquín and Arturo's Stories

El claro del bosque es un centro en el que
no siempre es possible entrar;
Es otro reino que un alma habita y guarda.
Es la lección inmediata de los claros del
bosque:
no hay que ir a buscarlos, ni tampoco a
buscar nada de ellos.
[U]n instante de lucidez que está más allá
de la conciencia y que la inunda.
Y se recorren tambien los claros del
bosque
[C]omo se han recorrido las aulas. Cómo
los claros, las aulas son lugares vacíos,
Lugares de la voz donde se va a aprender
de oido.
la llaga que de todo ello queda en el claro
del bosque.
Y el silencio.
María Zambrano, *Claros del Bosque* (1977)[1]

1 "The clearing of the forest is a place where it is not always possible to enter;
(It is) another kingdom that a soul inhabits and keeps.
(It is) the immediate lesson of the clearings of the forest: you do not have to look for them, nor look for anything from them
[A]n instantaneous lucidity beyond consciousness which floods it.
We go through the clearings of the forest
Like we have gone through the classrooms. Like the clearings, the classrooms are also empty places,
Places of the voice where you will learn by hearing.
the wound that all this inflicts upon us remains in the forest's opening.
As well as silence." (My translation)
These lines are extracted from Zambrano's poetic prose in this essay entitled "Claros del Bosque." Written in 1977 while she was still in exile, the metaphor of the clearing in the forest speaks of the nonlocality of the exiled existence. María Zambrano, *Claros del Bosque*

The clearings in a forest may be likened to a space of refuge, an oasis bathed in sunlight or domed with stars. These clearings can also represent the mental spaces, pockets of repose, that the young, imprisoned dissidents stumbled upon in the midst of the dark and violent forces at work in the tangled forest of a prison system under the regime.

Joaquín and Arturo were both Philosophy and Letters students. The former was the head of the Communist cell in Granada, the latter a leading member of the Jesuit university organization FECUN. Their lives crossed daily in the halls and classrooms of the university, and they met in the Sindicato Democrático de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Granada (SDEUG, The Student Assembly) where different opposition factions convened in the wake of the SEU's (the right-wing Falangist Student Union) closure in 1965.

Joaquín was born in 1948 to a middle-class family from Zaragoza. The family only moved when his father found a position as a geography professor at the University of Granada. While his father taught, Joaquín's mother stayed at home and raised four children, two boys and two girls. His liberal leaning family had no sympathy for the regime, which had executed two of his uncles during the civil war, but they were not outwardly rebellious. Not particularly religious, Joaquín remembers going to mass as a matter of custom more than devotion. From early in his life, he felt sympathy for those less advantaged and understood the relative privilege he enjoyed as the son of a university professor. Granada during the 1950s was slow to recover from the effects of the civil war, and poverty and deprivation were everywhere.

In his first year of college, during the academic year 1965-1966, Joaquín joined the Juventud Estudiantil Católica (JEC). This is when he began to gain his political bearings, informed by a lifelong love of reading. "I remember being exposed to Benito Pérez Galdós's *Episodios Nacionales* and feeling transformed," he related.

If his reading of philosophy laid the groundwork for his activism, it was his experience working in a mine that called him to action. "In 1967, I was working in a coal mine in Turón, in the northern Spanish region of Asturias, for a month…as part of the Servicio Universitario del Trabajo (SUT) University Working Service.[2]

(Barcelona: Biblioteca de Bolsillo, 1986); see electronic version: http://files.bibliotecadepoesiacontemporanea.webnode.es/200000188-12de013d42/Mar%C3%ADa%20Zambrano.pdf.

2 The SUT was an initiative spearheaded in the early 1950s by José María de Llanos, a Jesuit priest identified as one of the so-called priest workers (*curas obreros*). The goal was to facilitate the encounter between university students preoccupied with the inequality and poor conditions of the working class and workers. The students would spend time working side by side with their worker counterparts in the mine, the factory, or the construction site. However, the Falangist Student Union, the only and mandatory university student association, ended up taking hold of it until its dissolution in 1965. Nonetheless, many of those college students who participated in the SUT ended up gaining insight into the oppressive labor

On August 14, a terrible accident took place on level 12 of the Santo Tomás pit, a neighboring mine. Eleven miners were killed."[3] Joaquín recalled how he and the rest of the student workers, along with the full-time miners, took to the streets to protest for safer working conditions. The police broke up the march and detained many, including Joaquín. The funeral for the miners was held a few days later, attracting more than 20,000 people, according to the newspapers of the time.[4]

"The Turón events were a shock to me," he reflected, "and reinforced my anti-Francoist beliefs. This would eventually lead me to join the Communist Party. It was the first time I had been arrested, and, as a result, I became a target every time there was a political raid against the PCE."

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policies of the regime and joined the opposition Catholic organizations, JOC, HOAC as well as the Communist Party, as in the case of Joaquín. The SUT was inspired by the experience in the German universities in the 1950s, where workers and college students shared classroom and workshop experiences, an initiative regarded as beneficial by the Vatican. For more on the SUT history, see: Ruiz Carnicer, *El Sindicato Español Universitario*, 437-45; and Jordi Gracia, *Estado y cultura: El despertar de una conciencia crítica bajo el franquismo, 1940-1962* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2006), 85-91.

3 Eleven miners died as a result of a gas explosion in the mine of Saint Tomás on August 14, 1967. Joaquín remembers instead the twelfth. The families of those who died that tragic day congregated to remember the 50th anniversary of their loss on August 14, 2017. See: CM Basteiro, "Flores por los once de la mina Santo Tomás" *Nueva España*, August 15, 2017. http://www.lne.es/cuencas/2017/08/15/flores-once-mina-santo-tomas/2149847.html.

4 On August 14, 1967, when Joaquín was spending a month working within the SUT at the Valley of Turón, the dead included: Celestino González Pulgar (Tino Tuiza), 38 years old; Manuel Vázquez Prieto, 40 years old; José Antonio López García, 19 years old; Francisco Lobeto Dacal, 26 years old; Juan Díaz Fernández, 46 years old; Manuel Grandas López, 26 years old; Rafael Alonso García, 38 years old; Adriano Augusto Teixeira, 17 years old; Félix González López, 42 years old; José Martínez Faro, 18 years old; and Luis Flórez Lavín, 45 years old. Previously that year on February 13, there had been another accident in the Santa Bárbara Pit. Jesús Martínez Miranda, 48 years old, fell down the pit mouth while working on its deepening between the 6th to the 7th levels. On July 20, there was a coal mine collapse on the 4th level that killed 4 miners: Víctor Agustín García Fernández, 33 years old; José Antonio Álvarez Menéndez, 24 years old; Ceferino Argimiro González, 29 years old; and José María Sánchez Suárez, 46 years old. See: http://www.elvalledeturon.net/prensa/1961-1970/1967.

Figure 5: Funeral of the eleven miners killed in the Santo Tomás mine in the Valley of Turón, Asturias, August 1967

Upon his return from SUT service to the University of Zaragoza, Joaquín chose to major in Physics—since he was a young boy, astronomy had been his passion. However, his political activism made it impossible for him to pass his courses that year and led him to move to the Universidad de Granada in 1968 to pursue a degree in geography, his father's field. Juggling both politics and studies was difficult, but Joaquín felt that both were important for his future. His commitment was "to achieve a representative democracy and political freedom in Spain," he asserted, "and also lessen social inequalities." These objectives were neither simple nor easy to achieve.

"The large majority of the population was not aware of the extent of the anti-Franco sentiment. We had to struggle to make our cause known. There were a large number of people who were sympathetic to our cause, and a smaller fraction who provided actual support without directly getting involved. On the other side, many people supported the regime because they benefited and profited from it, not because they agreed with its ideology." To be part of the opposition required a greater commitment because there was a potential greater cost. Anyone caught supporting the Communists could lose his job, be socially shunned, and potentially be arrested.

"The entire population endured censorship, lack of labor protections, and constant surveillance," Joaquín continued. "Those of us who actively resisted were treated worse as a cautionary tale of what would happen if you did stand up to the regime." The college students, mostly the sons and daughters of the middle and

upper classes, were spared the worst punishment in the beginning but eventually received the same beatings as the workers in the Party.

Joaquín took a leadership role in the student resistance at the University of Granada in 1968. His involvement in the Turón events and subsequent student activism at the University of Zaragoza made him a natural leader of a Communist cell in Philosophy and Letters in Granada. For the next ten years, he helped expand recruitment and consolidate a Communist inner circle before moving to the University of Alcalá de Henares as a professor of geography in 1977.[5]

The cell originally consisted of only students from Philosophy and Letters, but after the State of Emergency in 1970 it welcomed students from Medical, Science, and Law schools. The most challenging task for the young, idealistic university Communists was to join forces with the labor movement. The year 1968 was a critical one in the Spanish student movement, as it was for student movements in the rest of Europe, the United States, and Latin America. The shift to consolidating forces for mass activism led to the predictable government backlash. This can be seen in the July 1970 construction strike in Granada and the resulting deaths of three workers at the hands of the police.

The Communists' organizing benefited from a national clandestine network as well as the more open Catholic grassroots groups like Catholic Action and the Jesuits' FECUN. These different factions came together after the dissolution of the Falangist SEU (Sindicato Español Universitario, Spanish University Union) in 1965. The regime sponsored the RCP (Reuniones Coordindoras Profesionales, Professional Coordinating Conventions) to monitor the self-government push from within the student movement. Students were supposed to enlist in the new official RCP through elections of representatives, but the opposition within the student movement created new and autonomous student associations conceived as multi-faction platforms known as Sindicatos Democráticos de Estudiantes or SDE (Democratic University Syndicate). Both moderate and radical elements found a forum to articulate their academic and political demands. Inspired by the University of California, Berkeley, student movement in 1964 and the 1968 French student protests, Spanish university students actively challenged the authority of conservative professors through the so-called classroom "critical trials." Groups of students would disrupt a professor's lecture and demand a more participatory pedagogy as well as the introduction of some alternative (mostly Marxist) academic readings. Joaquín remembered these "happenings" more like "negotiation" exercises rather

5 Some of the members included: Joaquín Bosque Sendra, Jesús Carreño and Socorro Robles, all of them included in this study. See also Martinez Foronda et al., *La cara al viento*, 239. This is the most exhaustive study on the student movement at the university of Granada. It is the result of ten years of research by numerous scholars who conducted archival research and 50 interviews of the participants in the anti-Francoist resistance in Granada.

than confrontational challenges. "We would propose changes to the course content," he said. "Many professors did not reject it directly, because we were neither excessively critical nor ill-intentioned. Our goal was to raise consciousness among our fellow students."[6]

They also raised awareness among the student body through a newsletter/newspaper called *Nuestra Lucha*, launched in September 1968. That same year, following other university districts across the country, the University of Granada students formed the SDEUG. Being part of the SDE provided access to printing facilities and materials supplied for the RCP. Through the SDEUG, students increasingly became more defiant, which led the regime to declare two States of Emergency (Estados de Excepción) in 1969 and 1970-71. The Francoist Supreme Court declared the Democratic Students Associations' activities illegal, making it possible for the state to crack down. The Court further declared the students' dissent as a threat to national security and authorized the police to infiltrate the previously protected sanctuary of the university.[7]

Caught up in the maelstrom of protest and backlash was another socially conscious student. Arturo was born in 1948 in the Cuesta de Gomérez, the ascending street to the Alhambra. His parents had moved to Granada from the coastal city of Motril after the civil war, fleeing persecution for being Republican. In Granada he worked many different jobs—truck driver, insurance agent, "a thousand things," Arturo remembered poignantly. He tried to hide the fact that he was a Republican and a Communist by never talking about the civil war.[8] This, in many ways, made the war even more horrible in the mind of Arturo.

Like Joaquín, Arturo initially focused on science but later moved to Philosophy and Letters. "When I enrolled, 66/67, in Pharmacy there was little [political] activity. Some SDE and RCP delegates came from Pharmacy, Sciences, Medicine…but Pharmacy lacked the student leadership of Philosophy and Letters.[9] The core group in Philosophy and Letters were: Bernabé López García;[10] Chavique, a big guy from

6 Foronda et al., *La cara al viento*, 232.

7 In January 1967 the first RCP national meeting took place in Valencia. Students from the districts of Madrid, Barcelona, Granada, Málaga, Oviedo, Salamanca, Bilbao, Zaragoza, Navarra, and Valencia signed a critical letter against the regime's repression, denouncing the persecution of the student movement and its demands for a democratic reform of the university system. Foronda et al., *La cara al viento*, 590-91.

8 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007, provided by Alfonso Martínez Foronda, Oral Interviews Collection, Archivo Historíco de Comisiones Obreras de Andalucía, AHCCOO-A.

9 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007.

10 He was referring to Bernabé López García, a member of the university communist cell the political police was after. Bernabé's maternal grandfather and Federico García Lorca's father were brothers.

Almería, who I think was Bernabé's classmate in Semitic Studies; Paulino; and a militant of the PCE from Murcia. These students organized and ran assemblies in which even known Falangists like Francisco G. and Antonio L. participated. We had a lot of heated debates."

Arturo transferred to Philosophy and Letters after his father died and money became tight. "After my father died, I could not continue studying without a scholarship. I found out I was eligible for the so-called 'salary-scholarships' from the Ministry of Labor and decided to apply. Because these funds were only for freshmen, I had to start a new major to qualify. That is why I quit Pharmacy, enrolled in Philosophy and Letters, and received the scholarship in 1968."

Arturo's first encounter with student activism was with FECUN, the Jesuit student organization.[11] According to Arturo, "the liberal wing of the [Catholic] Church tried to change with the times. They were often at odds with the more established ecclesiastical hierarchy which remained committed to the regime's national-Catholic agenda. The generational gap between the young Catholic Action Movements like JEC and the old guard led to their dissolution by Monsignor José Guerra Campos. As a result, many of us found our way into FECUN."[12] The Catholic Action organizations like HOAC (Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica, or Catholic Action Labor Fraternity), JOC (Juventud Obrera Católica, or Catholic Workers' Union), and JEC were committed to grassroots Christian activism, following the principles of liberation theology. Many in the organizations regarded themselves as Christian socialists. All of these movements were closely associated with the workers' oppo-

11 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007.

12 José Guerra Campos (1920-1997) was ordained in 1944 and became head in 1946 of the Catholic Action University Youth. "On June 15, 1964, he was appointed titular bishop of Mutia and auxiliary to the archbishop of Madrid-Alcalá. That same year he took charge of the secretariat of the Spanish episcopate upon the constitution of the Episcopal Conference. In 1973 he was appointed bishop of the Diocese of Cuenca, where he remained until June 26, 1996. In 1967, Franco appointed him *procurador* in Cortes. In 1972 he supported priests gathering in Zaragoza with a clear right-wing nuance, but Pope Paul VI prohibited him from attending. Between 1966 and 1974 he was president of the advisory commission of religious programs of Spanish Television TVE. As *procurador* of the Francoist Cortes, he opposed the political reform after the dictator's death. He was also against the divorce law, against which he published a pastoral in 1978. In 1980 he denounced the progressive 'Protestantization' of the Spanish Catholic Church in an article entitled 'Strange Things in the Spanish Church.' In 1983 he attacked the decree of decriminalization of abortion. See "José Guerro Campos, obispo emérito de Cuenca," *El Pais*, July 16, 1997 https://elpais.com/diario/1997/07/16/agenda/869004001_850215.html.

sition movement within the Communist trade union, CCOO,[13] and many priests and their followers in these Catholic movements later became union leaders.

The students within the Christian student movements became more radicalized once they joined up with the Communists. "We ended up joining different political factions," Arturo explained. "Some enlisted in the FLP, others in the PCE and others, especially in Granada, joined FECUN. Father Arrupe promoted the Latin American theology of liberation, and almost all Jesuit seminars focused on following a path of social engagement with the poor. A number of democratic and radical students found these principles appealing, while others used the Christian organizations as a legal front for dissension."[14] Many young priests helped to produce and hide propaganda in their own priory cells. "We had a duplicating machine in one storage room with a small window in the College of Theology. On many occasions we would enter through that window at night to make copies."[15]

The relationship between FECUN and the Communist Party was cordial but distant. "We were always careful…," said Arturo. "We all were working together in the SDE, so, obviously, we knew who was who, but we never acknowledged it openly. I was in charge of academic activities while another guy from the PCE ran the cinema club and organized various cultural events. We were acutely aware of our competing loyalties. This meant that we would not ask sensitive questions to avoid possible betrayal in case we were arrested."

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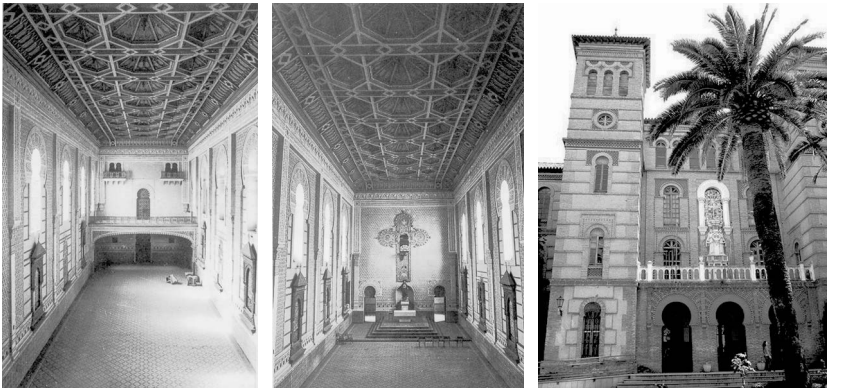
13 The CCOO started in the 1950s as a spontaneous movement. These first spontaneous Workers Commissions were promoted by the PCE, Christian workers movements, and other collectives opposed to the regime. One of the first Workers' Commissions to be remembered is the one formed in Asturias at the La Camocha mine (Gijón), in 1957, on the occasion of a strike. It was in 1964 when CCOO turned into an organized movement of the Spanish workers under the Franco's regime. CCOO achieved a great triumph in the union elections of 1966, which represented a serious blow to the regime's corporatist union and allowed the consolidation of CCOO. The first national meeting of the CCOO took place in June 1967, in Madrid. The Supreme Court, in November 1967, declared the organization subversive and illicit. Therefore, CCOO went from a semi-legal movement to being persecuted systematically. The repression against CCOO was brutal: an immense majority of 9,000 convicted between 1963 and 1977 by the Court of Public Order (TOP), which replaced the Military Courts as a repressive instrument, were militants of CCOO. In 1968, Marcelino Camacho, Julián Ariza, and other union leaders were imprisoned and prosecuted for belonging to CCOO. The regime responded to the rise of the workers' movement by declaring successive states of emergency, highlighting the one of 1969 and the one of 1970-71, which caused numerous detentions and torture of labor leaders. See: "Historia de CCOO," https://www.uv.es/ccoo/documents/historia_de_ccoo.html.

14 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007.

15 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007.

Figure 6: College of Theology today houses the Odontology and Library of Sciences colleges at the University of Granada Campus in the district of Cartuja. From right to left: Façade, and two views of the main Chapel in 1968 (from the entrance and from the altar)



The University of Granada's unrest was part of the national outcry brought on by the tragic news of Enrique Ruano's death while in police custody. Ruano, a 21-year-old law student at the University of Madrid, had been arrested for handing out anti-Francoist leaflets. The regime's version was that Ruano had committed suicide, jumping from a second story window,[16] a claim no reasonable person believed. In addition to the disturbing news of Ruano's death, there were incidents of the police trespassing onto the supposedly autonomous university to confiscate personal and academic files on student activists. The student leadership in Philosophy and Letters demanded action from Dean Gallego Morell but only received excuses. Things took an even darker turn in January 1969 when the regime, facing mounting labor and student protests throughout Spain, declared a State of Emergency.

Joaquín was arrested on February 4 and taken to his hometown of Zaragoza. "They gave me a couple of good beatings while in custody to push me to name my comrades in the PCE. Then they sent me to the prison in Torrero, all on the charge of distributing propaganda," Joaquin remembered. He remained in Torrero until May 1969, after which he was transferred to the Carabanchel Prison in Madrid, known for holding political prisoners. The experience did not lessen his rebelliousness as he joined his fellow inmates protesting their conditions. "Those of us who

16 The case re-opened in 1996 and a second autopsy revealed Ruano was tortured for four days and then shot; from his corpse the bone of the clavicle was sawed to hide the hole of the bullet. Miguel Angel Marfull, "La muerte que levantó a los estudiantes contra la dictadura," Público, January 18, 2009. http://www.publico.es/espana/muerte-levanto-estudiantes-dictadura.html.

did not attend mass," he recalled, "had to go to a classroom of sorts where we had to read aloud a book of the warden's choosing. We refused to read one day and were put in solitary confinement. That led to a hunger strike." The hunger strike lasted only a week, ending when the government lifted the State of Emergency. Those arrested from Zaragoza were released under "provisional freedom." The Public Order Tribunal later absolved Joaquín of all charges in a trial held that September.

Arturo also remembers vividly 1969's State of Emergency. "On December 10, 1968, the student movement in Granada reached its high point. From SDE we called an assembly to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the United Nation's declaration of Universal Human Rights. We decided that we would invite the public to attend the assembly at the College of Medicine and spread the word through leaflets to the various neighborhoods. The celebration was a thinly disguised protest of the lack of human rights in Spain. The police, having learned of our plan, arrested two medical students, Antonio Nadal and Mohamed Abdelkáder. Nadal and Abdelkáder gave the police my name under interrogation, so I was picked up as well."

At the time of his arrest Arturo was living with his mother and brothers. The family was having lunch at his home in Cuesta de Gomérez when the telephone rang. "There was no answer on the other end, but I could hear someone breathing. Telephones were tapped very clumsily back then. I hung up and tried calling other people, but the line had been cut. I made the decision not to flee. After all, I had done nothing wrong. I wasn't even a member of the Communist Party. I would explain all this to the authorities when they brought me in, I told myself. So, we sat wordlessly around the dining table, my mother crying and holding her head in her hands, while I pretended to be calm. After about half an hour, there was a loud knock at the door. As I slowly opened it, I saw Don Paco, El Jirafa, the notorious captain of the secret police, grinning at me from the other side."

Everyone in the movement knew Don Paco, as much for his tall, gangly physique as for his reputation for cruelty. "He said 'Hey pretty boy! We're coming for you, and we also have a search warrant.' I went into the kitchen to tell my mother, and she immediately started pulling her hair and slapping her face. She mumbled something like 'again, again,' probably remembering the arrest of my father and his brothers during the civil war. They searched the desks and the bookcases, throwing things everywhere, and putting some random papers in boxes. It was all a show. I had already taken any compromising papers to the young Jesuits' priory in the Colegio Máximo."

Although they did not find anything in the search, Arturo was arrested and walked, handcuffed, down the street. They took him down Gomérez Hill, where a *Z* car, a FIAT 124 with its little blue light on top, waited for them in Cuchilleros

Square.[17] From the Niño hostel across the street, Antonio Nadal and some other students watched as the car drove away. Word quickly got out that they had arrested Arturo.

The police took him directly to the infamous Plaza de los Lobos police station on Duquesa street. He was alone in the Z car but had plenty of company once he got to his jail cell. "It was like a reunion for the SDE, but we were not there to plan our next march. A policeman punched me with his finger, and laughed, 'You think you're pretty smart. What a disgrace you are to your parents.' More students were brought in during the night. José María L., Antonio D; Abdelkáder, Miguel Ángel who was from Cartagena, José María, we were all together in the same leaky boat."

"One student started to have a panic attack. Miguel Ángel, a medical student, called for a doctor. After a long wait, Dr. Francisco Morata arrived, gave the panicking student a cursory look and pronounced him healthy. Then he warned Miguel Ángel not to diagnose any more patients."[18]

They crammed the students into one small cell. It was the middle of winter, but they didn't bother to heat the basement where they kept the prisoners. "As you entered the police station in Duquesa street," Arturo recalled, "you went down the stairs into a rectangular anteroom, no more than 2 meters square. At one end there was a WC without a toilet, only a hole on the ground and a place to put your feet. There were two or three cells with tiled walls and a cold tiled bench to sleep on. There must have been twelve of us in a space no bigger than two and half by three meters. We stayed there all night, leaving the cell only when we were taken for interrogation. The next-door cell was occupied by a gypsy woman who kept screaming, 'Tell the *payo*[19] to come and fuck me.' An officer came down from time to time to tell her to shut up or they would beat her. In hindsight, we were treated better than most because we were students and had some social standing…. Certainly we were treated better than Joaquín in Zaragoza. I don't remember how long we were there…one or maybe two nights. I do remember vividly the shock of that first night. We all had thoughts of Enrique Ruano flying out the window…."[20]

The interrogations took place in a small, bare room. The police confronted each student one by one, hoping to catch them in a lie. At the time, Arturo recalled, "I had a fractured tibia because of a car accident, so I walked with a limp. The policeman began by taking his gun out of his holster and putting it on the table. He then left the room for a few minutes before coming back. This was common practice at the time,

17 The urban police car was known as Z vehicle in the 1960s. Z was the initial that referred to the name of the vehicle "zonal" or urban district vehicle. The particular model FIAT 124 Berlina that Arturo remembers here was utilized between 1963 and 1973.

18 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007.

19 *Payo* is the term used by the Roma people to refer to those racially outside their culture.

20 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007.

a form of psychological terror. The gun must have been unloaded, but you were alone with it. After one officer threatened you, they would send in another one, a good cop who assured you he was on your side. They were not very sophisticated, but still managed to break some of the students, many of whom had never in their lives been in trouble with the law."

"We never revealed anything that the police did not already know. They had every piece of information about us." Arturo remembered one offhand remark he made that almost led to disaster. "Don Paco, El Jirafa, said, 'You know that Bernabé is a faggot?' 'No, I do not know anything,' I replied. 'Well, he's a faggot,' El Jirafa repeated as he was about to leave the room. 'If you say so…you would know,' I blurted out, not realizing until too late how the remark must have sounded. Suddenly, he turned around and threatened, 'Are you calling me a faggot?' Then shoved me against a metal cabinet, took out his gun, and started pressing the mouth of the gun into my neck while screaming 'Are you saying I am a faggot?!' I could have easily been the next Enrique Ruano."[21]

After a couple of days in the precinct, the students were sent to the Granada prison. "They put us in the infirmary. I remember vaguely having been photographed and my fingerprints taken. At the reception, they removed our shoelaces, watches, everything that could serve to injure ourselves. The place was disgustingly filthy: the mattresses smelled of urine; the pillows were covered in yellowish sweat circles. They gave us some torn sheets, and we threw them on top of the mattresses. Imagine, the infirmary was the 'good' part of the jail. As political prisoners we had certain privileges that the general population lacked. We could buy food from the commissary and got our own dining room."[22]

Arturo remained in jail for approximately one month. "Not all of us were released the same day. When we got out, we were relocated, what was called 'destierro' or exile." The authorities sent the prisoners to live with relatives outside of Granada. "When I got out of jail, they took me back to the Duquesa Street precinct. There, I met with Don Ángel Mestanza, the chief of police. I was being sent to Sevilla to be under the supervision of my oldest brother, Antonio. Antonio was then second lieutenant in the Air Force. He had agreed to take me in and make sure I reported daily to the police station in Sevilla. I got the not-so-subtle message that my brother's career opportunities were tied to my continued good behavior." The regime often used the students' families to pressure them into leaving the movement.

After the meeting, Arturo returned home, packed his suitcase, and took the bus to Sevilla where his brother Antonio was waiting for him. "The next day at the Tablada air base, my brother introduced me to his superior officers, explaining to them why I was there. From the first day we didn't hide my situation. I think my

21 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007.

22 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007.

brother was somewhat sympathetic to me, even though I had put him in a tough spot. Every day, I walked from Tablada to the police station, limping in my dirty cast the whole way."

The police station was behind the Duque Square. It was the site of some of the worst abuses of the secret police. "I remember hearing horrible screams from the interrogation rooms down the hall from the registration desk where I had to report. They didn't make the least effort to hide what was going on. I had to stay in Sevilla until the Civil Governor lifted the deportation order in February.[23] After that I returned to Granada. The city was all abuzz with the announcement that the city of Granada had been picked by the regime as one of the 'development poles' in the new technocratic economic plans."[24] The festive mood of the city contrasted with the somber reality of the university students.

Arturo quietly resumed his studies. He did not, however, stop his political activism. It would have been like telling him to stop eating. The repression slowed down after the 1969 State of Emergency was lifted in June, and there was hope among the students that the worst had passed. But it was not to be. A second State of Emergency was declared in December 1970.

Upon his return to Granada from Carabanchel, Joaquín resumed his political activities in the Philosophy and Letters Communist cell. During the next year, 1969-1970, he steered the student group toward a close synchronization with the labor movement in Granada. Some of the activities organized under his leadership included a protest in solidarity with the construction workers' strike in July 1970 that ended in the tragic assassination of three workers and massive arrests in the following months. More demonstrations followed to protest the detention of the student opposition. The regime responded with the second State of Emergency on 14 December 1970. While some members of the cell fled, many were detained for the six months of martial law.

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23 Arturo González Arcas, interview transcript, July 2, 2007.

24 In February of 1969, Granada joyfully received the decree that granted the creation of a "Development Pole" that would help stimulate the stunted industrial sector in the town. The project consisted of the construction of a designated industrial area called "polígono" and the granting of important aid (such as tax reduction) to companies that wanted to settle in it. On January 14, 1972, the first company protected by this business plan was inaugurated in Maracena. It was a factory of fishing rods and sporting goods jointly founded by a company with French capital and the Bank of Granada. The propaganda machinery of the Franco regime was launched, and the factory was opened in style, with the presence of the most important provincial authorities and the Falange Movement. The Caudillo, Franco himself, received the directors of the factory in the Palace of El Pardo in Madrid. Strateurop S.A., the name of the company, was the first of a few. But the Development Pole failed. Professor Gil Bracero points out that only 665 of the 3,288 planned jobs were created and that, in 1974, only nine companies had been created under the Development Pole. "*Se inaugura la primera industria del Polo de Desarrollo*," 9 January 2012. http://granadablogs.com/terecuerdo?s=gil+bracero.

Joaquín remained in hiding for the next two weeks, moving to different safe houses to avoid capture. Tired of being inside, though, he and some of the others got careless. One of the few times they ventured outside, an undercover vehicle of the Political Brigade recognized them. They ducked into the narrow, maze-like streets of the Albaycin, Granada's historic old neighborhood. While his companions narrowly escaped, an exhausted Joaquín tripped on the stairs leading to the San Ildefonso church on the Calle Real de Cartuja near the Barriocuelo and was captured. It was back to the precinct of the Zaidín district where his old friend, Don Paco, supervised a fresh round of beatings with rubber hoses. "They made me do what was called the bicycle, which consisted in making you walk while handcuffed with your arms behind your knees, sort of half seating," he recounted. The beatings were so severe this time that when he was finally transferred to Granada Provincial prison, the doctor had to write up his bruises in the admission's medical report.[25] "This report allowed my father to seek legal support from a Madrid lawyer, José Jiménez de Parga,[26] who filed a complaint for ill-treatment under police custody. But people were so afraid of the police that no lawyer would take my case. The case was filed and closed without anyone ever being charged."[27]

After suffering beatings and torture in the various police station cellars around town, the students were almost relieved to be transferred to the prison. Once in the prison, their lives settled down into a more benign monotony where they could carve out space for contemplation. Joaquín pointed out, "The second worst thing that happened to me was being put in isolation. While depressing and lonely, it was better than getting beaten with rubber hoses."[28]

"Life in prison was very monotonous. To pass the time we organized activities: readings, classes, sports etc." These were their clearings in the forest. "We even studied, and I passed several exams that spring. The prison food was terrible, but we supplemented it with what our families brought to us from outside. You could not drink wine or beer; you could not read newspapers, not even the regime's; the director and the teacher authorized books and sometimes in a very arbitrary and absurd way they did allow certain works. Diversion had to be concealed from the eyes of the wardens. Any communication with our families was carried out in booths under officials' surveillance." This went on for months, until Martial Law

25 Joaquín Bosque Sendra interview, June 1989 (transcript provided by Joaquín Bosque Sendra himself), Oral Histories Collection, Archivo Histórico de Comisiones Obreras de Andalucía, AHCCOO-A.

26 Born in Granada in 1929, José Jiménez de Parga was a prestigious jurist, Minister of Labor (1977-78) and President of the Tribunal Constitucional (2001-2004). He defended many political prisoners before the TOP. Jiménez de Parga died in Madrid in 2014.

27 Joaquín Bosque Sendra, interview, June 1989.

28 Joaquín Bosque Sendra, interview, June 1989.

ended. The regime's crackdown had fragmented the student opposition and suppressed much of its most public resistance, but it did not end it. Much of the organizing went on, unseen by the public. The crackdown and the transparent attempts by the regime to distract the public with bogus economic initiatives turned public sentiment against the regime. The valiant young students confronting the decrepit old regime were ultimately seen as sympathetic underdogs. After the second State of Emergency, the regime had lost its taste for blood. The students and all the other opposition factions would ultimately declare victory with the death of Franco and the transition to democracy signaled by the ratification of the new constitution on December 6, 1978.

Joaquín left the Communist party in 1980 as a result of the internal struggle between *renovadores* and *oficialistas*,[29] precipitated by a series of unfortunate circumstances: a severe criticism of General Secretary Santiago Carrillo's centralizing leadership style, the economic crisis in the second half of the 1970s, and the political miscalculations derived from the failure in Spain's transition of the Euro-Communist formula and the PSOE's political move towards the moderate left, which resulted in its absolute parliamentary majority in the 1982 elections.

Arturo joined the more moderate Partido Socialista de Andalucía, one of the many political parties that emerged after the Constitution of 1978 established the new autonomous regional system. This particular development negatively affected the PCE at the national level and its rigid "democratic centralization" structure as each region saw the opportunity to implement policies closer to the needs of their constituencies without renouncing their mass activism in the labor, intellectual, and neighborhood realms.

In the end, both Joaquín and Arturo found their clearings in the forest but were still not out of the woods. There is always the danger that the canopy might reclaim that one sunny aperture. You can still sense wariness in both men, a hypersensitivity to the political swaying in the air, when they talk about the past. Like soldiers returning from combat, they are forever tied to the battlefield.

You make time stand still
You make time stand still
And I can deal with that
'Cause I got time to kill
I'll breathe when I have to
And I'll leave when you say so
I'll burn in the meantime
But only on the inside

29 Carme Molinero and Pere Ysàs, "La Crisis," in *De la Hegemonía a la autodestrucción: El Partido Comunista de España (1956-1982)* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 2017).

We have an oath to keep
And we rise while the rest sleep
There's no going back
At least not for me
I'm dying for answers
Things that I used to know
But that was years ago
I'm biting my tongue now
Some things can't be said aloud
From my lips to your ears
You'd only see through me
See into the true me
Yeah!
You know that time's a wheel
And if we stand right here
You can see for miles
You could even see for years
I'll bleed if I have to
But I'm never letting go
Oh no!
I'm biting my tongue now
Some things can't be said aloud
From my lips to your ears
You'd only hear screaming
While I whisper the meaning
To you [30]

30 Iron Chic, "Spooky Action at a Distance," 2013, track 1, on *Spooky Action*, digital album.