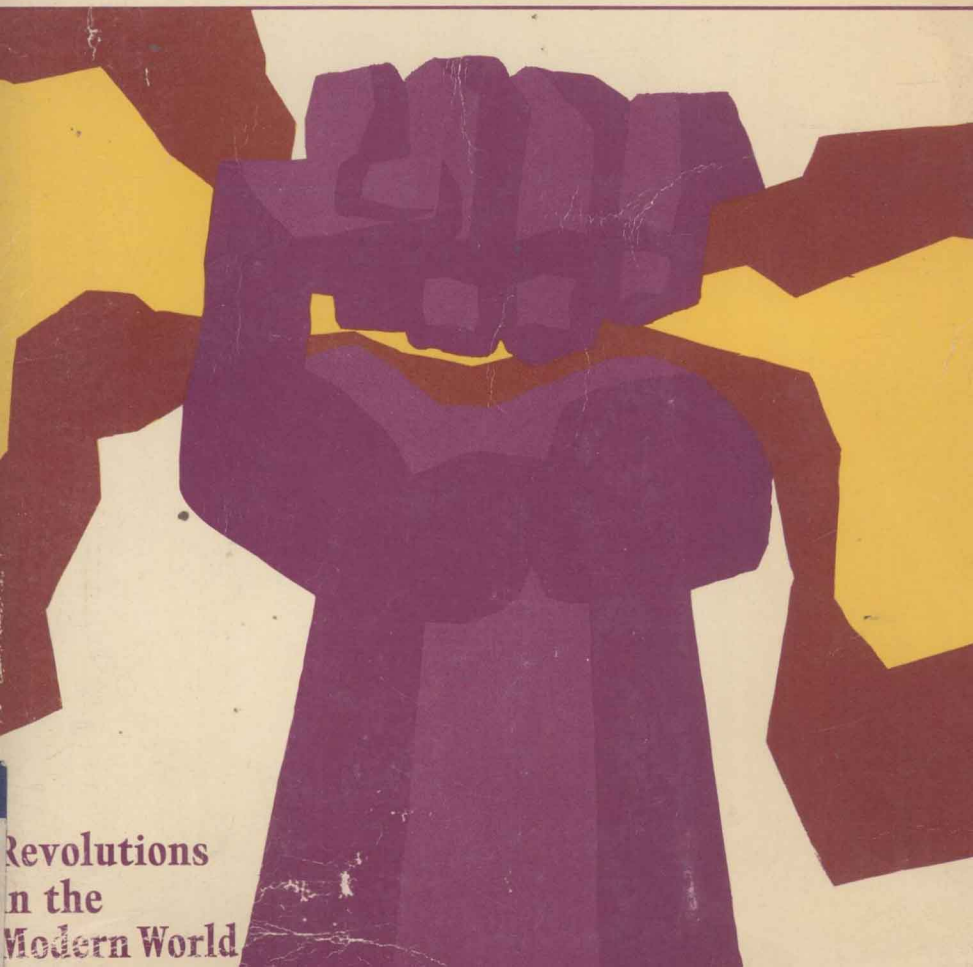


The Spanish Revolution

by Stanley G. Payne

A study of the social and political tensions
that culminated in the Civil War in Spain



Revolutions
in the
Modern World

STANLEY G. PAYNE

University of Wisconsin

*The Spanish
Revolution*



W. W. Norton & Company · Inc · NEW YORK

FIRST EDITION

Copyright © 1970 by Stanley G. Payne. All rights reserved.
Published simultaneously in Canada by George J. McLeod Limited, Toronto.
Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 73-78891.
Printed in the United States of America.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

The Spanish Revolution

REVOLUTIONS IN THE MODERN WORLD

General Editor: JACK P. GREENE, Johns Hopkins University

ROGER L. WILLIAMS · The French Revolution of 1870-1871

STANLEY G. PAYNE · The Spanish Revolution

For my mother, Margaret Payne

Preface

THIS BOOK WAS BEGUN at the invitation of Professor Jack P. Greene to prepare an account of the Spanish revolutionary experience of the 1930's for the series on "Revolutions in the Modern World." I was at first skeptical of the usefulness of such a study, but after further reflection and examination of the literature in the field came to agree that a fresh analysis of the topic was needed. This volume does not pretend to be a history of the Spanish Republic and Civil War, but is an account of the revolutionary left in modern Spain that concentrates primarily upon the convulsions of the 1930's. Hence I have not tried to treat fully the political history either of liberal moderates, or of the Spanish right in contradistinction to the left. Since much of the book is devoted to a discussion of leftist extremism, some may feel that equal emphasis should be given to the excesses of the radical right in Spain. That, however, would be another book—and one that I have already in large part composed in my *Falange* (1961) and *Politics and the Military in Modern Spain* (1967). In those volumes I have dwelt at considerable length on rightist extremism and felt no need to rewrite such material in composing a book on the left.

Considerable emphasis has been given to the development of the revolutionary movements in Catalonia, while Andalusian peasant anarchism has received considerably less attention despite

the romantic appeal which the latter topic apparently has for readers in the English-speaking world. The reason for this is the much greater importance achieved by the working-class movement in industrial areas, particularly Catalonia, compared with the ultimate ineffectiveness of rural peasant anarchism. The latter has sometimes been stressed out of all importance to its genuine impact on the affairs of Spain, which were shaken by the industrial strike of 1917 and subsequent disorders in the industrial areas, but very little by the rural Andalusian *trienio bolchevique* of 1918-20. Rural agitation only acquired major importance after the growth of the Socialist UGT in the south-central and southwestern provinces in the early 1930's. In the treatment of the social and economic revolution during the Civil War, emphasis is placed on Catalonia because the revolution there was more thorough than in any other region of the Republican zone, and because the data for it are more complete and accessible. The rural revolution in the south-central provinces was also important, but since it has been extremely difficult to obtain data on this I have had to give it less attention than it perhaps deserves.

I want to thank my colleagues Juan J. Linz of Yale University and Edward E. Malefakis of Northwestern University for their criticism of the manuscript, and am also grateful to the editor of this series, Jack P. Greene of the Johns Hopkins University, and to Donald S. Lamm of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. for their helpful editorial suggestions. It should scarcely be necessary to add that I am solely responsible for any shortcomings of style or interpretation.

STANLEY G. PAYNE

Madison, Wisconsin
March, 1969

Principal Personages

AGUIRRE Y LECUBE, José Antonio (1904-60). Leader of the Basque Nationalist party and president of the autonomous government of Euzkadi (the Basque provinces) created in October 1936.

ALCALÁ ZAMORA, Niceto (1877-1949). Wealthy Andalusian landowner and Liberal politician under the constitutional monarchy. Chairman of the Republican Committee in 1930-31 and first president of the Second Republic from 1931 until deposed by the Popular Front in April 1936.

ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, Julio (b. 1891). Socialist intellectual who became one of the most influential agents of the Comintern within the Spanish Socialist party. During the Civil War served as commissar-general of the People's Army and also as Republican foreign minister under Negrín. Eventually expelled from the Socialist party.

ARAQUISTAIN QUEVEDO, Luis (1886-1959). Perhaps the leading theorist of the revolutionary wing of the Spanish Socialist party. Served as Republican ambassador to France under Largo Caballero in 1936-37, and became profoundly disillusioned by the Bolshevization of Spanish socialism.

AZAÑA Y DÍAZ, Manuel (1880-1940). Outstanding prose stylist and principal leader of the Republican left in Spain. Served as prime minister from 1931 to 1933 and again in

1936, then became president of the Republic from 1936 to 1939.

BADIA, MIQUEL (1907–36). Sometime terrorist and leader of the militia of the protofascist Estat Català group under the Republic. Murdered in Barcelona in 1936, presumably by the anarchists.

BESTEIRO FERNÁNDEZ, Julián (1870–1940). Professor of logic at the University of Madrid and the outstanding intellectual of the Spanish Socialist party. Devoted to the social democratic principles of pre-Leninist Maxism, he was swept aside by the Bolshevizing trend of 1933–36. Helped lead the anti-Communist Republican revolt of March 1939 and was the only major leftist leader who did not flee from the country. After he died in prison in 1940, he became perhaps the only political figure in Spain whose moral stature was admitted by both sides.

CALVO SOTELO, José (1893–1936). Political leader of the monarchist opposition under the Second Republic. His murder by leftist Republican police in July 1936 was the final spark that set off the Civil War.

CAMBÓ BATLLE, Francesc (1876–1947). Millionaire Catalan financier and politician who was head of the moderate liberal Lliga Catalana that represented much of the Catalan middle and upper classes. Largely swept aside by the rise of left Catalanism after 1931.

CASADO LÓPEZ, Col. Segismundo (1893–1967). Professional army officer who supported the moderate left and held various important posts in the People's Army. Military leader of the anti-Communist Madrid revolt of March 1939 that ended the Civil War.

CASARES QUIROGA, Santiago (1884–1950). A leader of the Galicianist left and one of the most trusted lieutenants of Manuel Azaña. Minister of the interior from 1931 to 1933 and minister of war in 1936, he replaced Azaña as prime minister from May to July 1936.

CASTRO DELGADO, Enrique. Leading young Spanish Communist troubleshooter. Was an editor of *Mundo Obrero* (the official Communist daily), first commander of the Communist Fifth

Regiment, and also served as head of the Institute of Agrarian Reform. Later resigned from and bitterly denounced the Communist party.

COMORERA, JUAN. Before the war a leader of the *Unió Socialista de Catalunya* and after July 1936 the most prominent figure in the Communist party of Catalonia (PSUC).

COMPANYS JOVER, LUIS (1883–1940). Lawyer and politician who succeeded Macià as leader of the *Esquerra* (the Catalanist left). President of the *Catalan Generalitat* from 1933 to 1939.

DENCÀS, JOSEP. Catalan physician who became the main leader of *Estat Català* in 1933 and 1934 and was the principal planner of the abortive Barcelona revolt of October 1934. Later expelled from *Estat Català*.

DÍAZ RAMOS, José. Onetime baker and CNT activist from Seville who switched to the Spanish Communist party and served as secretary general of the latter from 1932 until after the close of the Civil War. Apparently committed suicide in Baku in 1944.

DURRUTI, Buenaventura (1896–1936). One of the key leaders of the anarchist FAI and probably the best-known terrorist and insurrectionist in Spain. Killed leading anarchist militia on the Madrid front in November 1936.

FÀBREGAS, Juan. Economic theorist and writer of the CNT who became councillor of economics in the first regular Catalan government after the Civil War began and was the principal author of the Catalan collectivization decree of October 1936.

GARCÍA OLIVER, Juan (b. 1901). One of the most influential and capable anarchist leaders in Spain who served as minister of justice under Largo Caballero in 1936–37.

GIL ROBLES Y QUIÑONES, José María (b. 1898). Leader of the conservative Catholic CEDA, the largest middle-class party in Spain, and the outstanding conservative politician of the Republican period.

GIRAL Y PEREIRA, José (1880–1962). Professor of chemistry at the University of Madrid and political lieutenant of Manuel

Azaña. Served as wartime Republican prime minister from July to September 1936.

GONZÁLEZ PENA, Ramón. A leader of the UGT in Asturias and one of the directors of the insurrection of 1934. When released from prison in 1936, he opposed the Bolshevizing trend in the Socialist party and supported Prieto against Largo Caballero. He became president of the executive commission of the UGT in 1937.

HERNÁNDEZ TOMÁS, Jesús. One of the most active and important young Communist leaders in Spain. Served as minister of information in the Republican government during the Civil War.

IBARRURI, Dolores, known as "La Pasionaria" (b. 1895). Most powerful female politician in modern Spanish history. Member of the central committee of the Spanish Communist party since 1932 and during the Civil War perhaps the most influential single Communist leader because of the confidence placed in her by the Comintern.

IGLESIAS POSSE, Pablo (1850-1925). More than any other single man may be called the founder of the Spanish Socialist party, of which he was by far the most influential leader until his death.

LARGO CABALLERO, Francisco (1869-1946). Lifetime militant of the UGT and under the Republic became both president of the executive commission of the Socialist party and secretary general of the UGT. After 1933 became the leader of the revolutionary wing of the Socialist party and was hailed as "the Spanish Lenin." Served as minister of labor from 1931 to 1933 and as prime minister from September 1936 to May 1937. Ostracized from politics in the Republican zone after May 1937.

LERROUX GARCÍA, Alejandro (1864-1949). Leader of the Radical Republican party. In the early years of the century was the leading anticlerical demagogue in Spain but by the time of the Republic had become the representative of moderate middle-class liberalism. Served several brief terms as prime minister between 1933 and 1935.

MACIÀ Y LLUSÀ, Francesc (1859-1933). Professional army colonel

who retired to become the leader of left Catalan nationalism. Founded the Catalan Esquerra and helped negotiated the Catalan autonomy statute of 1932, then became the first president of the Catalan Generalitat from 1932 to 1933.

MARTÍNEZ BARRIO, Diego (1883-1965). Former lieutenant of Leroux who broke with the Radicals in 1934 to found his own Republican Union party that allied itself with Azaña's Republican Left. The most moderate of the Popular Front leaders, he failed in a tragic effort to form a compromise coalition government on July 19, 1936. Succeeded Azaña as president of the Republic in 1939.

MAURA Y GAMAZO, Miguel (b. 1887). First minister of the interior of the Second Republic and leader of a small liberal party. Urged restoration of order and formation of a "liberal Republican dictatorship" in June 1936.

MAURÍN JULIÀ, JOAQUÍN (b. 1896). A young leader of the CNT in Barcelona early in the 1920's. Subsequently worked with the Comintern. Broke with Spanish communism in 1930 and formed a separate Catalan Marxist party (BOC) that was later merged with Nin's Communist left to form the POUM in 1935. Captured by the Nationalists soon after the Civil War began.

MIAJA MENANT, Gen. José (1878-1958). Professional officer who commanded the Madrid front of the People's Army and became the most famous of the Republican military leaders.

NEGRÍN LÓPEZ, Juan (1889-1956). Professor of physiology at the University of Madrid and Socialist leader. Served as Republican prime minister from May 1937 until the end of the Civil War, relying heavily on the Communists.

NIN, Andrés. Founder of the small Trotskyist Communist Left group in 1930-31 that later merged with the BOC to form the POUM. After the start of the Civil War was the principal leader of the POUM, which opposed Stalinist communism and urged all-out revolution. Kidnapped and murdered by the NKVD in 1937.

ORLOV, Alexander. High-ranking NKVD officer who served as chief of Soviet security and counterintelligence in Spain from September 1936 until his defection in July 1938.

PEIRÓ, Juan (1887–1942). The leading theoretician of anarchosyndicalism in Spain during the 1930's. Served as minister of industry under Largo Caballero in 1936–37.

PESTAÑA, Angel (1881–1937). One of the most influential leaders of the CNT from 1917 to 1933. Founded a less inflammatory Syndicalist party in 1933 that engaged in normal political activity.

PRIETO, Horacio. Secretary of the national committee of the CNT in 1936 and opposed anarchist incendiarism.

PRIETO Y TUERO, Indalecio (1883–1962). Leader of the moderate nonrevolutionary wing of the Spanish Socialist party. Served as minister of public works from 1931 to 1933, minister of the navy from 1936 to 1937, and minister of defense from 1937 to 1938.

ROJO LLUCH, Col. Vicente (1894–1967). Professional officer who served as chief of staff of the People's Army from 1937 to 1939.

SÁNCHEZ ROMÁN Y GALLIFA, Felipe (1893–1956). Eminent jurist and leader of the small National Republican party. Though ultraliberal, a strict constitutionalist who refused to join the Popular Front and failed in his efforts to encourage moderation and compromise between May and July 1936.

SEGUÍ, Salvador. One of the principal leaders of the CNT between 1917 and 1923 and the most influential trade-union chief in Barcelona during that period. Opposed anarchist terrorism. Murdered in March 1923.

The Spanish Revolution

Contents

PREFACE	<i>ix</i>
PRINCIPAL PERSONAGES	<i>xi</i>
1. Social Tensions in Spanish History	<i>1</i>
2. Origins of the Anarchosyndicalist Movement	<i>16</i>
3. The Social Struggle in Barcelona, 1917-23	<i>37</i>
4. Spanish Socialism to 1930	<i>62</i>
5. The Republican Left and the Socialists, 1931-33	<i>82</i>
6. The Left in Catalonia, 1931-34	<i>112</i>
7. The Revolutionary Insurrection of 1934	<i>130</i>
8. Formation of the Popular Front	<i>157</i>
9. The Ominous Spring of 1936	<i>185</i>
10. The Political Revolution of 1936	<i>215</i>
11. The Social and Economic Revolution	<i>236</i>
12. International Response	<i>262</i>
13. Internal Politics of the Spanish People's Republic	<i>277</i>
14. The Republican People's Army	<i>314</i>
15. The Defeat	<i>355</i>
16. Conclusion	<i>369</i>
BIBLIOGRAPHY	<i>375</i>
INDEX	<i>390</i>