

Cambridge University Press

0521392578 - Socialism and War: The Spanish Socialist Party in Power and Crisis, 1936-1939

Helen Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

This book recovers the lost history of Spanish socialism during the turbulent years of the civil war (1936–1939). Just as the energy of the socialist movement had sustained the pre-war Second Republic as an experiment in reform, so too it underwrote the Republican war effort in the crucial years of the conflict which would determine Spain's long-term future. Leading Socialist Party (PSOE) cadres formed the bedrock of the government, while thousands of Party and union militants helped bear the tremendous weight of the war effort. The role of the PSOE in the construction of Republican political unity during the civil war was pivotal. Yet, paradoxically, previous accounts of wartime Republican politics have virtually written the PSOE out of the script by concentrating exclusively on the fierce ideological dispute between anarchists and communists. But the key issues of revolution and state power marked all the forces in Republican Spain, none more so than the socialist movement. As the traditional party of the working class and the only mass party in Spain as late as 1931, PSOE militants were to be found on both sides of the revolutionary/reformist divide which split fatally the Republican forces during the civil war. The PSOE's disintegration was a function of that of the Republic itself; but the reverse was no less true. The book investigates the responses of organised socialism to the complex issues raised by the conflict, as it charts the PSOE's devastating experience of political power and desperate crisis in a war it could not win.

Cambridge University Press

0521392578 - Socialism and War: The Spanish Socialist Party in Power and Crisis, 1936-1939

Helen Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Socialism and war

Cambridge University Press

0521392578 - Socialism and War: The Spanish Socialist Party in Power and Crisis, 1936-1939

Helen Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

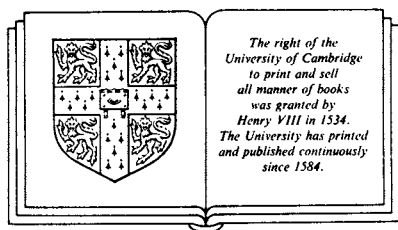
Socialism and war

THE SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY IN POWER AND CRISIS

1936 – 1939

HELEN GRAHAM

*Lecturer in the Department of Spanish,
Portuguese and Latin American Studies,
University of Southampton*



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

New York Port Chester

Melbourne Sydney

Cambridge University Press
0521392578 - Socialism and War: The Spanish Socialist Party in Power and Crisis, 1936-1939
Helen Graham
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1991

First published 1991

British Library cataloguing in publication data

Graham, Helen 1959-
Socialism and war: the Spanish socialist party in power
and crisis, 1936-1939.
1. Spanish Civil War
1. Title
946.081

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Graham, Helen, 1959-
Socialism and war: the Spanish Socialist Party in power and
crisis, 1936-1939 Helen Graham.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-521-39257-8
1. P.S.O.E. (Political party) - History. 2. Socialism - Spain -
History. 3. Spain - History - Civil War, 1936-1939. 1. Title.
JN8395.P15G73 1991
324.1'7'094609043 - dc20 90-43911 CIP

ISBN 0 521 39257 8

Transferred to digital printing 2004

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xi
Introduction	I
PART I THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE PSOE'S NATIONAL ORGANISATION 1934 – 1936	
1 Internal divisions in the Spanish socialist movement 1934–1936	15
2 The break-up of socialist unity and the coming of the civil war	34
PART II THE SOCIALIST LEFT IN POWER 1936 – 1937	
3 The appointment of the Largo Caballero government	53
4 Political realignments inside the socialist movement	69
5 The socialist left: crisis and collapse	86
PART III THE BATTLE IN THE PARTY 1937 – 1938	
6 Ramón Lamonedá confronts the PSOE left	107
7 The purge of the party left and the growing crisis in the reformist camp	126
8 The atomisation of reformist socialism	150

Cambridge University Press
0521392578 - Socialism and War: The Spanish Socialist Party in Power and Crisis, 1936-1939
Helen Graham
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

viii	<i>Contents</i>
PART IV THE DISPUTE IN THE UGT	
9	The battle for control of the union and the eclipse of the socialist left 1937–1938 167
10	The <i>caballerista</i> old guard: entrenchment and resurgence 198
PART V SOCIALIST – COMMUNIST RUPTURE	
11	The Casado coup and the end of the war 223
<i>Appendices</i>	
1	Wartime executive committees 245
2	<i>Dramatis personae</i> 249
3	Organisational structure PSOE/UGT 255
<i>Notes</i> 257	
<i>Bibliography</i> 302	
<i>Index</i> 321	

Cambridge University Press

0521392578 - Socialism and War: The Spanish Socialist Party in Power and Crisis, 1936-1939

Helen Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgements

This book is based on my doctoral research which was carried out in Oxford and Spain during the 1980s. In the course of researching and writing I contracted debts of gratitude to friends and colleagues in Britain and Spain who are too numerous to mention here individually. But their help was highly valued and is well remembered. At Oxford my doctoral supervisor, Raymond Carr, offered support and constructive criticism and Frances Lannon was generous with her time and effort, especially at the crucial stage of writing-up. Additional research for this book was carried out in Spain in the spring and summer of 1989 and I would like to acknowledge the financial assistance of the British Academy whose funding facilitated a problem-free sabbatical term. I was also greatly assisted by awards from the Advanced Studies Committee and Arts Faculty of the University of Southampton. In my search for the jacket photographs I had advice and help from Sheelagh Ellwood, from Dave Morgan (International Brigade Archive, Marx Memorial Library), from the staff of the Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, and from Manuel Cerdá (Publications Department, Diputació Provincial de Valencia). Mike Richards produced the index with speed and efficiency. A number of friends provided invaluable help with proof reading, but the hero of labour is incontestably Penny Green. Above all here, I want to thank Paul Preston for years of unfailing support and encouragement as a friend and teacher.

Finally, as an academic study, what follows is often highly critical of the protagonists. I would like therefore to dedicate it to the men and women of the Spanish labour movement who fought for three years against overwhelming odds to defend the Republican cause. As historians we still have much to learn about the dynamics of victory and defeat. But nothing diminishes the magnitude of their example.

Abbreviations

ASM	Agrupación Socialista Madrileña – the Madrid section of the PSOE.
CEDA	Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas – the largest political grouping of the parliamentary right under the Republic.
CGTU	Confederación General de Trabajo Unitaria – the communist trade union organisation which rejoined the UGT in December 1935.
CNT	Confederación Nacional del Trabajo – anarcho-syndicalist trade union.
Esquerra	Catalan nationalist equivalent of the Republican Left.
FAI	Federación Anarquista Ibérica – the purist insurrectionary vanguard of the anarchist movement.
FIJL	Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias – anarchist youth federation.
FJS	Federación de Juventudes Socialistas – PSOE youth movement which amalgamated with its communist counterpart in April 1936 to form the JSU.
FNTT	Federación Nacional de Trabajadores de la Tierra – landworkers’ section of the UGT.
Generalitat	the Catalan government.
GOSR	Grupos de la Oposición Sindical Revolucionaria – communist trade union groups inside the UGT.
GSS	Grupos Sindicales Socialistas – socialist trade union groups inside the UGT.
Izquierda Republicana	– centre-left republican party.
JAP	Juventudes de Acción Popular – CEDA youth movement.
JSU	Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas – the joint

xii	<i>List of abbreviations</i>
	socialist–communist youth movement controlled by the PCE.
PCE	Partido Comunista de España – the mainstream/Moscow-oriented Communist Party.
PNV	Partido Nacional Vasco – the Basque Nationalist Party.
POUM	Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista – a dissident revolutionary communist party, created in December 1935 by the fusion of the left communists of the <i>Bloc Obrer i Camperol</i> and the <i>Izquierda Comunista</i> .
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español – the Spanish Socialist Party.
PSUC	Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña – founded in July 1936 by the amalgamation of socialists and communists in Cataluña, it was effectively the Catalan Communist Party.
SIM	Servicio de Investigación Militar – the Republican counter-intelligence service during the war.
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores – the socialist-led trade union organisation.
UJC	Unión de Juventudes Comunistas – the communist youth movement prior to the April 1936 unification.
Unión Republicana	– centre-right republican party.