

REWRITING CIVIL WAR-TIME CERDAÑA

A CRITICAL COMPARISON OF POUS/SOLÉ and GASCÓN/GUILLAMÓN

1. Introduction. The field of history as a battle-field.

The writing of Cerdàña's Spanish Civil War-time history has been dominated by a prevailing narrative based on the work of Joan Pous i Porta and Josep Maria Solé i Sabaté, namely *Anarquía i República*. Published in the late 1980s, that book helped underpin a moralistic history of violence in that comarca: the CNT-FAI and in particular Antonio Martín aka "The Málaga Gimp", featured as non-political agents of chaos and terror: whereas the republican forces, be they Catalanists or communists, were portrayed as guarantors of order against the libertarian menace. That narrative – replicated uncritically by much of the subsequent historiography – was based upon a number of alleged assumptions inherited from local memory, propaganda documents and unverified oral testimonies which, with the passage of time, acquired mythical status.

The bursting on to the scene of *Nacionalistas contra anarquistas en la Cerdaña (1936-1937)*, written by Antonio Gascón and Agustín Guillamón in 2018, represents an all-out break with that tradition. On foot of a rigorously wide-ranging documentary basis – French reports, municipal minutes, court reports, correspondence, statements, name-lists of militians, economic documents – those authors dismantle every single one of the pillars of the Pous/Sabaté narrative. They do so with a frankly polemical and activist intent, but are also prompted by a concern with verification through the archives that permits a critical re-examination of episodes that were, for decades, assumed to have been unchallengeable: the manner of Antonio Martín's death, the 9 September 1936 massacre, the political set-up in Puigcerdà, the economic rivalry between Bellver and the comarcal capital, Estat Català's intrigues along the border, and the role played by the ERC and the PSUC in the counter-revolution in Catalonia.

The aim of this review is to compare these two historiographical models from an academic angle, analysing their methodologies, their use of sources and their impact upon our understanding of the Civil War in Cerdàña. The approach is going to be strictly critical: not only will we explain how Gascón and Guillamón dismantle many of the claims made by Pous and Solé, but we will also tackle how this polemic fits in with broader debates about remembrance, political mythology and the struggle for control of the past in Catalonia.

2. Two contrasting models: [Catalan] nationalist historiography and libertarian counter-history.

2.1 The Pous/Solé narrative: moralizing the conflict and the centrality of the myth

The Pous/Solé book reflects an interpretative outlook specific to the institutional Catalan nationalism that emerged during the transition to democracy. In their reconstruction of the years 1936-1937, the Cerdàña is depicted as an area torn apart by the intrusion of "anarchy" in the wake of the disintegration of republican order. Violence is portrayed as the monopoly of the CNT-FAI and Antonio Martín is turned into a demonic presence, embodying all the perversity and excesses of the times. That reading of things fits with the one peddled by Francesc Viadiu and the propaganda churned out by Bellver town council in its 1937 *Folleto* (Pamphlet) about recent events, a document that Pous and Solé used without providing any critical contextualization.

Their methodology replies upon three questionable pillars:

1. **Intensive use of unverified oral sources:** often deriving from out-and-out political adversaries of anarchism.

2. **Reliance upon partisan documents** generated in 1937 by [Catalan] nationalist circles by way of justification for their political and military meddling in the comarca.
3. **Uncritical reiteration of rumours**, denigrating labels and assertions bereft of any sound documentary basis.

The upshot is a linear interpretation in which the anarchists are held solely responsible for any violence, an outlook that proved useful in the retrospective legitimization of the public order policies driven by the ERC and the PSUC in 1937.

2.2 The Gascón-Guillamón narrative: a critical, records-based review of “hallowed history”

Gascón and Guillamón adopt a diametrically opposite contention: not only does the nationalist version misrepresent specific facts, but it is part and parcel of a memory-generating political apparatus geared to covering up the responsibility borne by the ERC, Estat Català and PSUC in any of the counter-revolutionary violence of 1936-1937. Their research is based on unpublished or underused documentation: French reports from Bourg-Madame and the Prefecture in Perpignan; minutes of the Puigcerdà Administrative Council, documents draw from the Causa General regarding the Cerdanya; municipal records; name-lists of militians; reports from the CNT and its French Section; and court records relating to killings credited to Martín.

The tone of the book is pugnacious, but its documentary component allows us to reconstruct a landscape that differs hugely from that portrayed by Pous/Solé. Instead of the legend of Bellver’s “heroic defence” of the Republic, the French documentation outlines a deliberate ambush set by Estat Català; instead of Martín’s being credited with every killing in the Cerdanya, Gascón and Guillamón point to the demonstrable absence of anarchists in key events and to the responsibilities shared by other political forces; instead of the notion of Puigcerdà’s Town Hall being “stormed”, they cite municipal records that give the lie to charges of intimidation.

Gascón and Guillamón read the Civil War in the Cerdanya as a microcosm of a broader process: the clash between revolution and counter-revolution, wherein Catalan nationalism and stalinism made common cause in order to stamp out the libertarian experiment.

3. Bellver (27 April 1937): heroic legend versus documented ambush

3.1 The Catalan nationalist version of Pous/Solé

Pous/Solé portray the Bellver incident as a mass assault by between 250 and 350 anarchists led by Antonio Martín hell bent on bringing the town to heel, which episode was to culminate in a heroic defence put up by the residents and in the killing of the “Málaga Gimp” in the fighting. This version of events is founded upon the *Folleto*, a propaganda text drafted by Bellver Town Council within just days of the events; its contents were meant to legitimize the intervention of police forces – Assault Guards and Carabineers – and to depict that local action as a rallying around the Republic.

That account is internally consistent, but bereft of sound documentation to back it up. There is no tactical sense to the sort of numbers of anarchists cited, because, had so many men be mobilized, Puigcerdà would have been left wide open to a counter-attack by the hostile forces based in La Molina and Ripoll. Identification of Martín as the direct leader of the deployment also lacks for corroboration.

3.2 Gascón and Guillamón and their documentation-based reconstruction

These two writers cite French reports obtained from the records in Perpignan, reports that contradict the Catalan nationalist narrative item by item. Those reports indicate:

- ° That the preceding tension between Puigcerdà and Bellver had economic motives (milk and beef prices) rather than political ones.
- ° That the Estat Català guards had set up armed checkpoints on the highway ahead of the arrival of the anarchists, suggesting that preparations were in place for a clash.

° That Martín travelled to Bellver to parley following a heated telephone conversation rather than in order to oversee an attack.

° That the shot that killed Martín was a single, clean and targeted shot, suggestive of an execution rather than a skirmish.

In addition, Gascón and Guillamón offer the independent testimony of J. Castellà-Gassol (carried in the press in 1980) who recounts how Estat Català had spent the preceding days preparing a checkpoint at the bridge and how the atmosphere during the build-up had been one of provocation rather than self-defence.

3.3 *Historiographical contrasts*

Some academic accounts of the Civil War – Hugh Thomas, Manuel Cruells, Payne, Preston, Ángel Viñas and others – accept the initial Catalan nationalist accounts uncritically: however, more recent research, such as that of Enric Ucelay-Da Cal into radical Catalanism or Pelai Pagès's investigations into the Catalan workers' movement, are better suited to the thesis that there was an ambush: Bellver was part of a power struggle over territorial control of the border area in which nationalist circles needed to remove Martín so as to ensure that their economic connections and political hegemony might survive. Jean-Louis Blanchon in his historical writings had already posited that Antonio Martín was not a murderer, but a central figure in the anarchist project in the Cerdanya and that his death in Bellver was exploited by the republican government and the PSUC in order to discredit and dismantle the libertarian experiment and criminalize the CNT-FAI in the eyes of the population.

4. **The death of Antonio Martín: political execution and the construction of a scapegoat**

4.1 *Pous/Solé and death "in battle"*

According to Pous/Solé, Martín lost his life in an open armed clash, after being struck by several shots. The alleged existence of seven wounds on his body forms part of the dramatization of the incident: in which case, Martín's death would be the natural outcome of his criminal leadership and evidence of his aggressiveness.

4.2 *Gascón and Guillamón: one wound, not seven*

Using the first-hand testimonies of those who witnessed the corpse laid out in the hospital, the authors show that Martín displayed a single fatal wound in the chest. The exaggeration of the number of wounds is part of the Catalan nationalist narrative designed to bolster the picture of an epic battle. Furthermore, they show how the statement by Joan Solé (Bellver's mayor) contains chronological inconsistencies and an element of fantasy, such as the displaying of white flag, which is refuted by a CNT report.

4.3 *Constructing an enemy within*

The demonizing of Antonio Martín – falsely charged with being a Francoist agent, a 'plant' and a criminal – is dictated by a rationale that Chris Ealham has characterized as "counter-revolutionary psychological warfare – the manufacture of an enemy on whom all the violence of the period can be pinned". Gascón and Guillamón show that even the Francoists' own Causa General, despite its hostile feelings towards anarchism, was unable to come up with any solid evidence against Martín.

5. **The 9 September 1936 slayings: shared responsibilities or anarchist monopoly**

5.1 *Pous/Solé's reading*

As far as Pous/Solé are concerned, the shooting of 21 right-wingers in Puigcerdà was the personal handiwork of Antonio Martín and his gang, an expression of the murderous intent lurking within local anarchists. This depiction backs up the image of an out-of-control CNT that had allegedly imposed terror throughout the comarca..

5.2 *Gascón's and Guillamón's re-examination of the documentary record*

These two writers adduce conclusive evidence to show:

° That Martín **was not present in Puigcerdà** at the time of the shootings.

° That **the list of victims** derived from an internal settling of scores between the ERC/Estat Català and right-wingers who had had a hand in the repression in the wake of October 1934.

° That the violence inside Catalonia was **multi-lateral**; the CNT, UGT-PSUC, ERC, POUM and Estat Català all had a hand in reprisals, arrests and executions, each of them operating according to an agenda of their own.

In addition, the authors even establish the identities of those responsible for other crimes traditionally ascribed to Martín – as in the cases of Rosario Civit and María Degollada, a court investigation in 1937 having pointed the finger of suspicion at Salvador Calvet.

6. Squabbling municipal politics: the phoney “anarchist attack” on the Town Council

6.1 The Pous/Solé version

Pous/Solé maintain that the CNT used force to impose a revolutionary Town Council in Puigcerdà, intimidating the ERC and expelling the Bloc Republicà Catalanista [BRC]. This version is based on the alleged “sworn affidavit” of Joan Solé, a document that cannot be found in any archive.

6.2 Archival documentation: minutes and correspondence

Gascón and Guillamón scrutinize the foundation charter of the Administrative Council (November 1936), the correspondence from the BRC and other sources:

- ° The BRC failed to attend the foundation meeting: it was not excluded from it.
- ° There is no evidence to show intimidation by Martín.
- ° Solé’s version is riddled with contradictions, clashing with the official documentation.
- ° The minutes show that the UGT and CNT operated the institution along regular lines.

This sort of contradiction exposes the tenuousness of the Pous/Solé narrative which is based upon the testimony of a single witness as against wide-ranging institutional record-keeping.

7. The economic squabble over milk, beef and eggs; economics versus ideology

7.1 Pous/Solé’s simplistic explanation

As the Catalan nationalist authors see it, the anarchists had their own ideological or criminal reasons for being out to capture milk and livestock production from Bellver. They charge that Segundo Jodra operated as an agent of repression and Antonio Martín being out to line his own pockets by means of arbitrary requisitioning.

7.2 Gascón’s and Guillamón’s documentation-based analysis

These two writers quote documents from the mayor of Bellver, minutes of the Comarcal Economic Delegation, reports from the Agricultural Union and other texts that show:

- ° That Bellver was out to hang on to control of its dairy cooperative which was generating sizeable private profits.
- ° The prices being demanded by Bellver exceeded the pricing levels set by the war economy.
- ° The squabble was an economic one, not a political one: the producers were opposed to centralization of milk destined for the front lines.
- ° Bellver’s complaints regarding wheat and eggs reflected similar concerns: the championing of local profit margins as against regulation.

These conclusions are borne out by Chris Ealham’s research: the resistance to collectivization was not always ideological, but could be prompted by protection of markets and economic margins.

8. Documentary appendices: a detailed scrutiny

One of the major contributions by Gascón and Guillamón is their inclusion of extensive appendices containing original documentation. Analysis of this is crucial if myths are to be dismantled.

8.1 Appendix offering a list of militants

The appendix setting out the names of 136 militians from Puigcerdà shows that the figures offered by Pous/Solé relative to the “attack” on Bellver were impossible. One need only compare this appendix alongside the numbers they allege to realize that they are incompatible.

8.2 French reports from Bourg-Madame

These reports, which Gascón and Guillamón reprint in their entirety, are a hugely valuable primary source. They set out:

- ° Eye-witness observations of movements of militians.
- ° Economic strains between Puigcerdà and Bellver.
- ° Intercepted telephone conversations.
- ° Estat Català’s coordinated activities the area.
- ° The ambush and the circumstances around Martín’s death.

In historiographical terms, their importance cannot be over-estimated: they constitute the first neutral, outsider view of events.

8.3 Municipal minutes and Administrative Council documents

These documents show:

- ° That the local administration was operating normally up until 1937.
- ° That the CNT was represented on the institution but wielded no dictatorship.
- ° That decisions were reached on the basis of consensus between the UGT and the CNT.

8.4 Court reports on murders

The records on Civit and Degollada, as well as on other cases, show:

- ° That the perpetrators identified were not Martín.
- ° That the republican authorities were investigating the crimes.
- ° That the crediting of the blame to Antonio Martín came later and was prompted by propaganda considerations.

8.5 Economic documentation

The economic documentation discloses that:

- ° Segundo Jodra was operating consistently in accordance with Generalidad rules.
- ° Collectivizations abided by legal procedures.
- ° The opposition coming from Bellver had to do with private interests.

Overall, the appendices offered by Gascón and Guillamón constitute a key to reconstruction of a historically sound picture.

Conclusion: two histories, two memories, two political camps

The conflict between Pous/Solé and Gascón/Guillamón goes beyond a historiographical squabble: it represents a clash between two ventures into historical memory. Whereas the former stand by an interpretation of the past that provides legitimacy to institutional Catalan nationalism and criminalizes the libertarian experience,

the latter lobby for a reading based upon the archival record, one that restores the political complexity to the 1936-1937 period.

This book by Gascón and Guillamón compels a critical re-examination of decades of local mythology, demonstrating that:

- ° Bellver was a Catalan nationalist political stunt rather than a heroic defence.
- ° Antonio Martín was executed, and not killed in battle.
- ° The violence came from many quarters and the anarchists had no monopoly on it.
- ° The ERC, PSUC and Estat Català were actively engaged in counter-revolution.
- ° The economic bickering over milk and beef and livestock were the real engines driving the quarrel.

Catalan nationalist historiography resorted to untrustworthy sources and rhetorical strategies in order to demonize anarchism.

This review has attempted to reconstruct the nature of this historiographical clash, by placing it in the context of wider-ranging debates regarding myth, memory and ideology.

From *Cuadernos de historia Balance*, Barcelona, 11 December 2025

AFTERWORD REGARDING A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENTS AFTER PUBLICATION OF *Nacionalistas contra anarquistas* in 2018 AS THEY RELATE TO THE KILLERS OF ANTONIO MARTÍN

Between the publication of *Nacionalistas contra anarquistas* and the present, a few new titbits have come to light. Agustín Guillamón has condensed these in his article “Catalan anarchism’s dark legend” published on the website of Ser Histórico; this is a verbatim extract from that:

On 10 June 1937 six CNT members were murdered in La Serradora; some of them had served as members of the Puigcerdà Revolutionary Committee. That was their crime and the reason they were executed: they were anarchists and revolutionaries. This mass murder, planned by the Generalidad’s Public Order Delegate in the Cerdanya, one Gerónimo Fernández, was an exercise in violence and power that reasserted the all-powerful existence of a Cerdanya Executive Committee, made up of an alliance of the PSUC, ERC and Estat Català; as its chief purpose, it sought to criminalize and crush CNT militants, to the point of utterly annihilating them in the Cerdanya.

The Cerdanya Executive Committee, headed by Gerónimo Fernández, was made up of the people chiefly responsible for the murder of the anarchist leader Antonio Martín, to wit, the mayor of Bellver, Joan Solé Cristòfol (whose brother Emili had been part of the gang that laid the ambush for Antonio Martín Escudero on 27 April 1937 on the bridge over the Segre river), Juan Bazán Castro (aka Juan Bayran Clasli), general secretary of the UGT in the Cerdanya, and Vicente Climent Pastor (the PSUC’s political secretary in the Cerdanya). Bazán was part of the gang that ambushed Martín and both of those involved with it served in the patrol that carried out the La Serradora killings on the orders of Gerónimo Fernández, along with leading ERC and Estat Català activists in the Cerdanya like Benet Samper Grande, an officer of the Watch operating under instructions from Artemi Aguader.

In Barcelona on 16 June, policemen specially drafted in from Madrid rounded up the POUM Central Committee, the party having been outlawed that same day on the far-fetched accusation that it was part of a fascist spy network. A brutal crackdown on the POUM and revolutionary circles inside the CNT then began; furthermore

the character and nature of revolutionary ‘uncontrollables’ were demonized, misrepresented and defamed. This was the first time in history that a campaign of lies, slanders and calumnies was orchestrated in replacement of the social and historical facts. For those beaten in May, repression and taunts awaited. POUMists were accused of being Trotskyists/fascists, high-ranking CNT Public Order officials or officials from the erstwhile Courts Office were insulted, discredited and nonsensically misrepresented, being turned into monstrous serial killers and greedy thieves, and were taken out of the historical, social and revolutionary contexts from which they had emerged.

It was an extravagant, grotesque and strange ploy, but a highly effective one as it hid the role of the Stalinists, Catalan nationalists and republicans involved in the very same repressive endeavours as the anarchists and POUMists. Nonsensically and arbitrarily, all of the “barbarisms”, repressive actions and “government and public order” decisions made during the revolutionary period in Barcelona, were chalked up to and made incarnate into a handful of stigmatized, demonized characters like Manuel Escorza del Val, Dionisio Eroles Batlle, Aurelio Fernández Sánchez, Josep Asens Giol, Eduardo Barriobero Herrán, Justo Bueno Pérez, Antonio Ordaz and many another, which might well have included, or omitted, Durruti and García Oliver, except that on occasion their notoriety and legendary status spared them from the widespread blackguarding. At the same time, the title of ‘uncontrollable’ or ‘revolutionary’ was awarded in each area, one after another, to Antonio Martín, dehumanized by hanging the tag of “Málaga Gimp’ on him, up in Pugicerdà; in Sabadell it was the turn of Lino and “his boys”; in Tarrasa it was Pedro Alcocer and “his lads”; in Badalona it was Aubí “el Gordo”; in Molins it was Marín; in Falset it was Pascual Fresquet and his ‘coach of death’; and there were many other examples throughout Catalonia. Andreu Nin and the POUM’s Executive Committee were arrested and charged with being fascist spies working for Franco and then held, tortured and imprisoned or murdered and disappeared.”

APPENDIX: a synoptic presentation, chronology and comparative breakdown

1. OVERALL SYNOPTIC BREAKDOWN

Pous/Solé versus Gascón/Guillamón: two models of history writing

| BASIS FOR COMPARISON | POUS I PORTA/SOLÉ I SABATÉ | GASCÓN/GUILLAMÓN |
|--|---|---|
| NATURE OF THE CONFLICT IN THE CERDANA | CLASH OF REPUBLIC AGAINST ANARCHY | BATTLE BETWEEN REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION |
| ANTONIO MARTÍN | CRIMINAL GANG-LEADER AND SOURCE OF CHAOS | DEMONIZED CNT ACTIVIST; SCAPEGOAT |
| VIOLENCE 1936-1937 | DERIVED SOLELY FROM THE CNT | MULTI-LATERAL - CNT, ERC, PSUC, POUM AND ESTAT CATALÀ |
| BELLVER (27 APRIL 1937) | MASSIVE ONSLAUGHT BY ANARCHISTS: HEROIC DEFENCE | AMBUSH LAID BY ESTAT CATALÀ: POLITICAL ASSASSINATION |
| DEATH OF ANTONIO MARTÍN | "KILLED IN BATTLE"; MULTIPLE WOUNDS | JUST ONE WOUND: CLOSE-QUARTER EXECUTION |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| 9 SEPTEMBER 1936 MASSACRE | MARTÍN WAS PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE | ERC/ESTAT CATALÀ INTERNAL "HOUSE-KEEPING". MARTÍN NOT PRESENT |
| ECONOMY AND REQUISITIONING | ANARCHIST ABUSE AND BLACKMAIL | ECONOMIC SQUABBLE OVER PRIVATE PROFIT (IN MILK AND BEEF) |
| HISTORIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH | UNVERIFIED ORAL SOURCES; PROPAGANDA DOCUMENTS | ARCHIVES; FRENCH REPORTS, MUNICIPAL RECORDS, COURT REPORTS |
| USE OF NICKNAMES | FREQUENT: IDEOLOGICALLY LOADED | SINGLED OUT AS A METHOD OF CRIMINALIZATION |
| ROLE OF ERC/PSUC | UPHOLDERS OF ORDER | COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ACTORS OUT TO ERADICATE THE CNT |
| | | |

2. OVERALL ANALYSIS OF HISTORIOGRAPHICAL METHODOLOGY

| METHODOLOGY | POUS/SOLÉ | GASCÓN/GUILLAMÓN |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| TYPES OF SOURCES | LOCAL MEMORIES, 1937 PAMPHLETS, TESTIMONIES | UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE, FRENCH RECORDS, OFFICIAL RECORDS |
| INTERNAL CRITIQUING OF SOURCES | MINIMAL: ACCEPT PARTISAN ACCOUNTS | HIGH-LEVEL: ACCOUNTS COMPARED AND CONTRASTED |
| EXTERNAL CRITIQUE | SLIGHT VERIFICATION OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE | EVERY DOCUMENT SET IN ITS PRECISE POLITICAL CONTEXT |
| QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS | NUMBERS NOT COMPARED AGAINST REGISTERS OR LISTS | MAKE USE OF NAME LISTS AND VERIFY NUMBERS |
| NARRATIVE APPROACH | MANICHAEAN: HEROES VERSUS VILLAINS | COMPLEX: MULTIPLE ACTORS |

| | | |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| HANDLING OF MYTH | STRAIGHTFORWARD REPLICATION | MYTH SYSTEMATICALLY DISMANTLED |
| INTENT | TO LEGITIMIZE CATALAN NATIONALIST MEMORY | TO RECOVER REVOLUTIONARY MEMORY AND DISMANTLE PROPAGANDA |
| | | |

OVERALL CHRONOLOGY

Pre-war:

October 1934 – In the wake of a [Catalan nationalist] uprising there is a crackdown in the Cerdàña; this is the source of the resentment between the local right-wingers and the ERC/Estat Català.

1935 – The trade unions begin to reorganize and the CNT gains an increasing foothold in Puigcerdà

1936

February – Popular Front election victory: reallocation of public offices.

July – The Civil War breaks out: CNT defence committees are set up

August – Consolidation of collectives and of the Administrative Council

9 September – Shootings carried out in Puigcerdà: there are conflicting constructions placed upon this.

1937 – Rising Tensions

February-March – Economic squabbling between Bellver and Puigcerdà over milk and beef production

April – A build-up in the presence of Carabineers and Estat Català groups

27 April – Antonio Martín ambushed and killed in Bellver

May – The May Events, a counter-revolutionary offensive across Catalonia

Post-civil war

1939-1975 – Consolidation of mythical accounts: demonization of anarchism.

1980s – Pous/Solé publish *Anarquía y República*

2018 – Gascón and Guillamón publish their revised version based upon the documentary evidence.

4 COMPARATIVE TABLE OF COMPARISONS BY TOPIC

4.1 BELLVER 27
APRIL 1937

| TOPIC | POUS/SOLÉ | GASCÓN/GUILLAMÓN |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| NUMBER OF ANARCHISTS | 250-350 | PHONEY SOURCE: ONLY 10-14 MILITIANS |
| PURPOSE | ATTACK MEANT TO BRING THE TOWN TO HEEL | PARLEY IN THE WAKE OF A PROVOCATION: AMBUSH LAID |
| BELLVER'S PERFORMANCE | HEROIC DEFENDERS | PROVOCATION COORDINATED WITH ESTAT CATALA |
| ANTONIO MARTIN'S DEATH | IN BATTLE | CLOSE-QUARTER EXECUTION |
| | | |
| 4.2 VIOLENCE IN CERDAÑA | | |
| ASPECT | POUS/SOLÉ | GASCÓN/GUILLAMÓN |
| RESPONSIBILITY | THE CNT'S ALONE | CNT+ERC+PSUC+ESTAT CATALÀ +POUM |
| 9 SEPTEMBER INCIDENT | MARTÍN TO BLAME | MARTÍN WAS AWAY: MULTIPLE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES |
| CRIMINALITY | "UNCONTROLLABLES" | INTERSECTING REPRESSION FROM ALL QUARTERS |
| MILK/BEEF SUPPLY | "ANARCHIST CONFISCATION" | BELLVER WAS DEFENDING PRIVATE PROFITS |

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Segundo JODRA | ABUSIVE COMMISSIONER | ABIDED BY THE GENERALIDAD'S REGULATIONS |
| COLLECTIVIZAT IONS | FORCIBLE | FOR THE MOST PART, CONSENSUAL: SOME ECONOMIC BUT NON-IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE |
| | | |

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