

UNIT 7.- FRANCO'S DICTATORSHIP (1939-1975)

The political system ruling in Spain from 1939 to 1975 arose from the Spanish Civil War. The Second Republic was an attempt to modernise the country and to substitute the old structures of domination, based in agrarian capitalism, by a modern, democratic and industrial system more in tune with areas like Catalonia and the Basque Country. The old rural oligarchy –landowners of landed states- opposed any change and together with the army and the Church supported the reaction and the military coup leading to the war.



The civil guard was a symbol of the repression under Franco's dictatorship

Picture by Eugene Smith, 1950

http://www.masters-of-photography.com/images/full/smith/smith_guardia_civil.jpg

What these groups wanted was not to avoid the radicalisation of the Republic or a possible revolution, but to get rid of the democratic system altogether. The leaders of the reaction wanted to put back the clock of history to the 17th century, as, according to the ideology of the leaders of the dictatorial *New State* (Nuevo Estado), from the 18th century, evil agents had passed over Spain and lost its empire. From here, started a historical period called by the Francoists “in the slope of revolution”, a period including the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Then, Spain abandoned its Catholic imperial tradition, stopped being itself, in denial of itself.

The hostility towards democracy was, then, the basis of the regime. However, it was not the only one. Repression was a fundamental support to the regime, as was the competition among the represented groups in Francoism to achieve or maintain their share of power within a single party system, that is, where public expression was only possible within a particular frame. Nevertheless, within the apparent unity of this single party system, there were different groups, united to destroy the Republic, but with not always the same interests: Falange, Carlists, monarchists who wanted Alphonse XIII to recover his throne, the CEDA party, Catholic Corporativists... Some of these forces did

not want an indefinite dictatorship, but they expected to seize power once they got rid of the “red peril”, that is, the parties represented in the republic. Nevertheless, Franco managed to play among those groups to create a personal dictatorship, with a fascist imprint and close to the Spanish Catholic hierarchy. In 1947, in one other attempt to achieve international acknowledgement of his regime, he restored the monarchy, although not during his life, but after his death, as it was a monarchy without king in which he was regent. Until, in 1969, Franco officially designed as a successor after his death Juan Carlos de Borbón, ignoring his father’s rights, Juan de Borbón, who in 1945 wrote the Lausanne manifesto, in which he criticised the dictatorship. Franco thought that the prince -who was named prince of Spain instead of prince of Asturias, as is the custom in the Spanish monarchy, would follow him after his death, keeping the political regime he started.

The dictatorship lasted for 36 years –39 in the areas that first fell under control of nationalist troops. The main causes of this long duration of a dictatorial system were:

- a) The support of traditional power groups:
 - The elite of landowners and financiers.
 - The right –where many of the above were included. It was divided enough to not be able to confront the dictator but united enough to identify their interests with the dictatorial regime.
 - The Church, who had an important role in the consolidation of the Francoist regime. The regime’s identification with the Catholic Church was conclusive and the Church officially backed the regime, and justified it as a crusade, vilifying the Republic. In exchange, the Church had monopoly in the field of education.
 - The army, after purging republican ranks. With the Church and the *Movimiento* it was one of the three pillars of Francoism.
- b) Strong repressive machinery which exerted a lot of pressure over a population tired from a long three-year war. A part of the population was inculcated with traditional values by the hand of the Church and was passive. Repression was to eliminate those who disturbed this way of thinking, mostly by force, sometimes by discouragement –i.e. reducing people to silence, or by forcing people to exile.
- c) Western countries’ cooperation after World War II. First because it was considered convenient to have an anti-communist regime during the Cold War. Second because Spain, as an economically backward country, was useful as a **tax haven**, as a source of cheap labour.

Economy: From Autarky to the Stabilization Plan.

There are two main periods that distinguish the economy during Francoism:

1. **From 1939 to 1959.** The arrival of the dictatorship meant the abandonment of industrial efforts and the establishment of an autarkical economic policy based on its agrarian roots, that is, favouring the old agrarian oligarchy. Spain adopted a policy of **isolation** –which explains why, despite an American decision in favour, Spain was finally excluded from the Marshall Plan.

The levels of industrial and agrarian production decreased enormously, reaching numbers inferior to the beginning of the Republic –with a situation of

international economic depression- and even inferior to 1914. Work conditions worsened importantly, with long working hours, reaching 18 hours a day, low salaries, deficit of social services, very low standards of living, to add to a lack of political rights and the prohibition of strikes.

Nutritional levels for the popular classes worsened in quality and quantity, particularly in urban areas. Hunger was a part of daily life in Spain until the 1960s, but was extremely severe during the 1940s. Ration books existed until the mid 1950s, and meant the control of food resources by landowners and nationalists, often to their own benefit. Ration books established for women 80% of men's rations and for children 60%. In 1951 the consumption of meat was 40% inferior to the average in the republican period. In 1955 food expenses represented 70% of a family's wage, and the diet most times then did not include meat or milk.

The 1940s are called the "hunger years", as many people were in a situation of beggarliness, particularly at the second part of the decade and in the cities. People looked for food even in the rubbish, when most people did not throw out anything edible. The *Auxilio Social* did not help much but was used to exercise ideological extortion over families mainly through their children.

Under this situation the black market, called "estraperlo", flourished. It was a way for poor people to be able to survive and for people from the middle-class upwards to buy products that were rationed or difficult to find outside the black market.

2. **From 1959 to 1975.** There was a relative economic expansion from 1953 to 1956. In 1957 there was a situation of crisis and political and social pressures made it impossible to continue with autarkic practices. There was high inflation and an energy crisis that led to power cuts with negative repercussion on the industrial sector. The economic crisis coincided with a political crisis. There was a political upheaval within Franco's supporters and as a consequence a new political government went into office with an economic team composed of Opus Dei technocrats. The outcome of this change was the triumph of the financial oligarchy over the rural oligarchy.

Opus Dei is a Catholic organisation with both clergy and lay members. It is a theologically ultra-conservative organisation founded in 1928 by José M. Escrivà de Balaguer, who supposedly wrote their guide book, *El camino* –the way, in 1938. It has been controversial, accused of secrecy, using cult-like practices and having large political interests and ambitions. They were important in Spain during Francoism and despite their decline in the 1980s, it has maintained part of its power and is considered to be an important lobby. It has the status of a personal prelature and, therefore, it is considered a separate diocese. In the 1950s, and especially in the 1960s, it became more relevant than Falange in Spain. It is against liberalism.

When the crisis reached its peak between 1958 and 1959, a new economic policy had to be adopted to cope with this crisis. This policy is the Stabilisation Plan approved in 1959. This plan meant important changes in the economy:

abandonment of autarky encouraging the liberalisation of imports and foreign investment. Exports were stimulated through the devaluation of the *peseta* and through laws facilitating the exit of industrial products. State interventionism lessens and interventionist departments are suppressed.

As a consequence, during the 60s, Spain experienced an accelerated growth in which it became an industrial country. This industrialisation occurred in spite of Francoism, because although under Francoism there was a period of industrial growth for more than a decade, it is also the darkest period of the whole industrialisation. Franco did not have an industrial project, but an agrarian one, but had to accept it in order to survive when his own project led to a crisis that could question the survival of Franco's regime. His regime was the scene of one of the darkest periods in Spanish industrial history as well as the period of growth. According to historians, these dark periods explain more than any other issues in Spanish history some of the structural backward problems of contemporary Spanish economy in comparative terms with some of the most advanced countries in Europe, and explains the backward situation of the economy in relation to these countries at the end of Francoism. It was a survival need for the regime to change its economic policy.

Industrialisation took off in a different way to its classical development. It was induced by foreign capital. In other words, industrialisation took place depending on foreign capital instead of substituting imports. This fact intensified Spanish capitalism's dependency on foreign capitalism, particularly the USA. In parallel to industries such as automobiles and textiles, the 1960s saw the boom of tourism, which was an important source of income for the country, although the lack of care and control by the government institutions, corruption and speculation provoked uncontrolled urban growth in many areas, highlighting the lack of urban planning, which resulted in urban disasters.

Despite Franco's prejudices against Catalonia and the Basque Country and despite his attempts to develop industry in other areas, these were the traditional industrial areas and where investment was concentrated. Foreign investors preferred them as a more secure investment. Differences between these two regions, on the one hand, and the rest of Spain on the other, accentuated. At first industrial restructuring meant unemployment but later, industrial growth and the creation of new companies provoked migration from mainly rural areas of Spain, such as Andalucia or Galicia, to the industrial areas in Barcelona, the Basque Country and Madrid. While in 1950 almost half of the Spanish population were working in the primary sector, this number had decreased by half by 1970 and after the dictatorship, in 1980, only 14.5% of the population worked in the primary sector.

Following the Stabilisation Plan, the Development Plans (1964, 1968, 1972) were conceived to enhance industry in other Spanish regions and balance regional differences. However, the dictator's unwillingness to attack the root problems in those areas made them practically fruitless. The "development poles" (polos de desarrollo) or regions of special action did not mean a real decentralisation.

During the 1950s a massive exodus started from the rural areas to the cities, which became much more intense during the 1960s. Populations living in small villages or rural communities went to live in Barcelona, Madrid and Bilbao, or, in smaller numbers, to their provincial capitals. Many people also migrated abroad, particularly to other countries in Europe like Germany or France. The **revenues** from these migrants to their families in Spain was a flow of money into the country that helped to revitalise the economy.



An average family in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat –a migrant area close to Barcelona- in 1968, after a girl received her Catholic first communion

Migration produced some problems in industrial areas due to lack of prevention and planning. Around the cities there was a **swelling** of *barraquismo*, shacks or huts without any hygienic social conditions, in other words, with no electricity, water, street paving, sewerage...

Industrial development had as a indirect consequence the crisis and in some areas, the collapse, of traditional agriculture. The combination of large estates and very small holdings can only work with backward techniques and at the price of having a cheap and abundant labour force. However, massive migration

to the cities and abroad deprived the country of this labour force. Many rural areas became deserted and in the long run methods of working the land had to be modernised.

From 1969 a new economic crisis started, along with the world economic crisis of 1973. A more diverse and complex economy and society cannot continue to grow within an obsolete political system.

The Political Regime

State organisation and fascism

The dictatorship meant there was an concentration of power in the person of the head of the army. Francisco Franco was not only the head of the army –with the designation of *Generalísimo*- but also controlled all political, executive and legislative power as head of State. All government bodies created by that time were mere appendix organs of the head of State, who appointed and dismissed its members at will, members that did not have decision-making power.

The ideology of the new party defining the state (Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS or Movimiento Nacional) was a mixture of elements from the more traditional right, which included carlists and monarchists and the ideology of the original Falange. They were anti-liberal, anti-socialist, used Spanish nationalism to confront Catalan and Basque nationalism, and, particularly the first two, defended a very conservative Catholicism. Falangists were closer to European fascism. Their influence on Franco's regime could be seen when adopting some policies inspired in Mussolini's Italy as the creation of the vertical union –conceived as union of workers and capitalists- where membership was compulsory (CNS). Other institutions also inspired in fascist Italy was the INI (Instituto Nacional de Industria).



Falange Española's flag

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Bandera_FE_JONS.png

It is clear that the main public figures of the New State had a destructive project in common. It is not so clear whether they had any constructive project. There were

differences among falangists, traditionalists, carlists and monarchists. As a result, there was a struggle for power among the supporters of the New State. The balance was tipped in favour of traditionalists. The New State had to restore traditional values, it had to be bitterly counter-revolutionary. On the other hand, falangists gave the New State part of its anti-liberal and antisocialist ideology, and models of political organisation such as the vertical union (CNS), youth organisations, women's organisations (*Sección Femenina*), all organised from above.

The *Movimiento Nacional* –National Movement– was how the unification of right-wing groups under FET y de las JONS was called, as a single party according to the fascist model. It was a totalitarian mechanism that was designed to be the only channel for participating in Spanish public life. The *Movimiento* comprised, besides the single-party, the vertical union, the SEU, a compulsory union for university students and organisms addressed to control different social groups: such as the *Frente de Juventudes* for young people and organised in a similar way to the Hitler Youth, or the *Sección Femenina*, for women.

The regime evolved from totalitarianism to what Franco called “organic democracy”. It was rather a mask to adopt, after being denied entry to the UN by other member states, and after condemnation of the regime by the USA and other Western countries in 1946, Franco had to give the regime a cleaner appearance. The “Fuero de los Españoles” was written with a declaration of rights that was a fallacy, as it allowed people to express their opinion, but only if they agreed with the regime. Franco also approved a referendum law that was only used twice without any guarantee or control over the voting results, but putting people under pressure instead.

Repression

Francoism vilified the *other*, that is, anyone who had anything to do with the Republic, if only their sympathy. This *other*, who did not have a voice, and denied them their rationality and their own particularities –mixing communists, socialists, centre republicans, Catalan nationalists... all together– qualifying them as criminals who had to be exterminated in their crusade for Christian civilisation against the Judeo-Masonic-Communist conspiracy.

Repression was strong against anyone who did not fit the New State ideology. About 500,000 people went into exile after the war and about half of them came back to Spain. Their living conditions were not good in refugee camps in France, and the start of World War II made things difficult for them, with Hitler seizing power in Europe, particularly in France –see unit 2. Around 10,000 republicans –men, women and children– died in nazi concentration camps during the war. Franco asked people to go back under the promise that there would not be any punishment if they had not committed any crimes of blood. Many trusted his words only to end up executed or in prison under humiliating conditions, including torture. Despite the fact that many republicans and political activists were exiled after the war, the number of people murdered by the regime was high, particularly in the first years –between 1938 and 1953, around 4000 to 5000 people were executed in Catalonia, and the will to exterminate the “red enemies” that prevailed during the Civil War, persisted until at least 1950.



Mass grave in Manresa's cemetery
<http://www.guiamanresa.com/fossa/catala/2/index.htm>

Franco's dictatorship practiced forms of repression that were to be imitated later by Latin American dictators: concentration camps, executions without trial or summary executions, mass graves, children taken away from their parents and given in adoption or taken to orphanages and treated as outcasts. Sometimes they were taken from their pregnant mothers who gave birth in prison. Women were a particular target for humiliation. Apart from suffering the same fate as men in many cases, they were raped or given castor-oil and taken on parade while they could not stop doing their needs in the street, or simply had their head shaved. According to historian Hugh Thomas, more than 100,000 people were executed after Franco arrived to power, that is, without counting deaths during the war. Many were executed in rows and without trial or after a quick council of war.

After the war there were three concentration camps still functioning for a while and 137 work camps for political prisoners. After Franco died, there were still 1,500 political prisoners in jail. During the first years of Francoism it is considered that about 200,000 people died either executed or from disease in prison camps. In 1940 there were 280,000 prisoners. Prisons lacked all kind of hygiene and there was barely food to eat. In only 15 prisons more than 4,000 people died of hunger and privations. Torture was common in prisons and police stations. The *Redención de Penas por el Trabajo* – Redemption of punishment by work– allowed Francoism from 1939 to 1970, to have free forced labour –slaves for the state as well as for private companies. Around 100,000 prisoners were used as forced labour during that period, particularly from 1939 to 1945. The *Valle de los Caídos* was built with forced labour. Also the tunnel in Vielha, in the Pyrenees, where people had no shelter from cold winters and almost no food. In 1940, the Law of Political Responsibilities (Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas), allowed Francoist followers to plunder republican assets. More than 300,000 people had to pay penalties and many lost part or all of their wealth. There were jobs

reserved for nationalists, ex-combatants or others, while many poor people were displaced from their homes. There was a purge in the administration, and particularly many teachers were a target of the repression.

In no other place in Europe was there such a brutal repression against its own population –just for political reasons. This led to great fear and passivity from the population that in some cases still persists.

People could not gather together in groups of more than three, Spanish languages other than Castilian Spanish were officially prohibited, although they still functioned at other levels. All cultural activities suffered censorship: books, films, songs...

International Order, Cold War, and Franco's Dictatorship



<http://perso.mediaserv.net/sunny/fran1100.jpg>

An anti-communist regime became convenient to Western powers during the Cold War. The regime was condemned in 1946 but afterwards relations eased. At the start of the Cold War the Western powers' attitude was that of tolerance but isolation, but later developed to collaborationism. It was the beginning of foreign investment, particularly American and the installation of American bases in Spanish territory. Washington became willing to enter into a series of controversial agreements with fascist Spain in return for strategic military bases. Large sections of the Spanish political establishment as well as the left-wing opposition have criticized Franco for having bought these agreements at the cost of national sovereignty.

Opposition to Franco: Parties, Workers, Students and Social Movements

After the war, the defeat of the Republic and the exile of its political figures left the country in a situation of exhaustion. Half a million casualties without counting those who died from malnutrition, hunger or war related wounds and diseases, together with exhaustion, war psychological and social wounds, persecution and repression led to the depoliticization of society. When World War II was won by the allies, some significant political figures in exile thought that international powers would help to restore the

democratic and legitimate republican government, but with the Cold War anticommunist Spain turned out to be convenient. Also, Spanish people within the country did not want to risk even considering the possibility of another civil war.

During the first years of the post-war period some republican men and a few women joined guerrilla groups, hiding particularly in the mountains, called “maquis”, and within the cities. They were anarchists and communists but they were not interconnected or connected with illegal unions growing underground. These guerrillas completely disappeared around 1960.

The Anarchist union, CNT, was still a numerous organisation after the war, despite strong repression. They had 60,000 members in Catalonia and 20,000 in the rest of Spain. Nonetheless, after suffering a constant and heavy persecution and infiltration, it almost disintegrated at the end of the 1950s. It would never again have the strength that it had had before the war. In addition to persecution, there were scissions between political and apolitical factions and the formation of the “Movimiento Español de Liberación”, with many of its members taking part as guerrillas and quickly exterminated.

Some kind of opposition re-started from 1947 to 1948 within the factories, with strikes in the textile sector in Catalonia. New generations that had not lived the war organised actions asking for improvements in workers' labour conditions. These events took the police by surprise, as they were used to CNT planned actions. Later, in 1951 and 1956 there were important tram strikes due to the rise in the price of the tram tickets. People did not use the trams on the days of the strike.

The opposition reappeared at the end of the 1950s although it became more relevant during the 1960s and 1970s. Historians agree that the rebirth of the opposition was due to the regime's inability to adapt its political structure to the new social reality of the country more than to an international reorganisation of the opposition organisations inherited from the Republic and the Civil War. Instead, new organisations were created.

The opposition focused on workers' and students' movements, leading to the founding of new parties and increased activity of already existing parties. What became important, particularly at the end of the period, was the organisation of opposition networks with the presence of different parties, unions and other popular organisations, such as neighbours' organisations –the last being particularly important in Barcelona.

The communist (PCE) and the socialist (PSOE) parties survived, with a substitution of the directive team in exile with younger internal leaders, such as Felipe González for the socialist party.

During the 1950s workers linked to left-wing organisations started the strategy of occupying positions as union representatives within the compulsory and only legal union, CNS (Central Nacional Sindicalista). In 1957 there was a miners' strike in Asturias, and this was the start of a new union organisation, Comisiones Obreras, CCOO, then illegal. In 1964 several recently created unions joined CCOO. This union, linked to the communist party at that time, was to become the most important union in

Spain together with the already existing Unión General de Trabajadores, UGT, linked to the socialist party.

There were a number of strikes, led particularly by CCOO, which forced the government to dictate the first Law of Collective Bargaining in 1958, and the second one in 1973. Despite the prohibition of any union excepting the official one, and despite the repression against unionists, mobilization increased, reaching a turning point between 1974 and 1975, with general strikes in areas around Barcelona and in large companies like SEAT. These strikes were already confronting the issue of union freedom.

Another factor that helped to weaken the regime was the students' movement. It also turned out to be the political school for many of the current leaders of mainstream political parties, such as the socialist party. In those days, students were mostly from the upper-middle class. In many cases, their parents were Francoists or, at least, conservatives. Nevertheless, it was not just a generational conflict. Francoism was becoming a problem for being part of the rest of Europe and this is one main reason why the future leading class could no longer subscribe to Francoism and became opposition. This was also a moment in which universities grew, and young people from lower status, particularly the lower-middle class (*petit bourgeoisie*), started having much more access to university. For this reason, Marxist ideology, which had appeal for these social classes, entered the university and students organised in what is called the New Left.

Following the war, university students had to compulsorily be members of the one legal compulsory students' organisation, Sindicato de Estudiantes Universitarios, SEU. Although students' opposition started after World War II, particularly in Catalonia, with the Front Universitari de Catalunya, it did not have any impact until the tram strike in 1951, and did not really take off until the end of the 1950s, when public actions started and reached its highest level of conflict from 1964 to 1973, when agitation in universities was endemic and most of them were closed at some point due to students' actions and police repression. In 1964 and 1965 incidents were particularly serious in Madrid and Barcelona. Students who had to compulsorily join the students' union, called for the democratisation of the university with the establishment of democratic students' unions. The incidents started in Madrid and caused the dismissal of two ministers, one of them the Education Minister.

The students' movement contributed to the establishment of united platforms of opposition to the dictatorship, particularly in Barcelona, where they started to function in 1966, when lecturers and students gathered together in one of the city's monasteries after a protest against the expelling of a left-wing lecturer. This was the precedent for an important opposition platform in Catalonia, the Assembly of Catalonia, created in 1971. Neighbours' associations were also a distinctive, community-based, people's organisation, usually led by men and women active in unions and parties. They were particularly relevant in Barcelona.

In 1959 the terrorist group ETA appeared –see unit 9 for more information. During its first years their ideology was taking shape within radical Basque nationalism but their actions did not include murders: putting *ikurriñas* –the Basque flag- in some places, the derailment of a train in 1961, armed robberies, and finally spectacular

kidnappings. At first, ETA did not have much credit among the Basque population, but indiscriminate repression against the Basque people attracted sympathies and awoke the national consciousness of the Basque population.

Their first attributed murder was that of Melitón Manzanas, head of the *Brigada Político-Social*, a political police feared because of their ruthless use of torture. He was known as a sadistic torturer, and was particularly cruel with women. This murder led to the Burgos trial, where some supposed members of ETA were arrested at random and tried with no evidence or guarantee of a fair trial. This trial caused a big protest by other Western countries and the credibility of ETA increased in the Basque country. ETA actions reached a height in 1973, when they killed admiral Carrero Blanco, who was to be Franco's successor. ETA and other organisations of nationalist character led to the *Ley de Bandidaje y Terrorismo* in 1968.

During the last years of Franco there were several executions such as the one of Salvador Puig Antich in 1974 and three members of FRAP and two of ETA in 1975.

The Role of Women



From the textbook *Formación Político Social* by the Sección Femenina of the Falange. This is a good expression of Franco's sexist politics: "Throughout her life, a woman's mission is to serve others. When God made the first man, he thought: "It is not good that man is alone" and made the woman to help him and keep him company, and to be used as a mother. God's first idea was "man". He thought of woman later, as his complement, that is as something useful". And ends: united in the ardent feeling of service to the Fatherland... and our husbands. Texts like this and even worse were common those days.

Francoism represented an important step backwards for women in all aspects of their lives. All the achievements of the Republic, such as the right to divorce, civil marriage, the right to abortion in Catalonia, and a more independent life, were lost. During Francoism, women could be condemned for adultery, while men were not and they were penalised if they left the household –abandonment of household, not allowing them to see their children. Many times, they left due to domestic violence, that was tolerated by the regime. They were under their husbands' tutorship and authority and they were not legal tutors with full custody of their children unless their husbands', who were, had passed away. Single mothers were marginalized and violence against women

was allowed by the regime. Domestic violence during Francoism was rampant but was not considered a crime. Against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, they stated that a woman was her husband's property and he could do with her as he wished. Women could not report violence from her husband as she could be blamed herself. Unfortunately, the remains of this kind of thinking have had disastrous consequences that have lasted until today.

Several regulations, among them the *Fuero del Trabajo*, made it difficult for women to have access to the labour market. They practically had to leave work when they got married for a small subsidy that did not disappear until 1962. There were a number of jobs that women were not allowed to perform, their salaries were 80% of male salaries or less, they needed their husbands' approval for anything official or any commercial deal they wanted to do, or even to work.

An organisation for women was established, the *Sección Femenina*, which was in charge of facilitating women doing a course that included how to sew or domestic work, called "servicio social". Single women needed it to be able to work or have a passport. They were also in charge of instructing women within the regime's ideology.

The Law on Work Contracts of 1944, said that married women needed their husband's permission to sign a work contract. There was also a clause by which to be able to work in the industrial or trade sectors, a woman had to prove she had had immunisation and she did not suffer from any contagious illnesses, a requirement that was not asked of men. The female working population decreased dramatically, concentrating in ages 15 to 25, that is, before getting married. Most women worked in domestic service and trade sectors. An important number of women classified as "housewives" worked at home, hard and badly-paid work. In the industrial sector they predominated in textiles and in the service sector as primary school teachers, with precarious conditions at the time.

SOURCES AND ACTIVITIES

The Nature of Francoist Regime: Ideology

THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1940



(Copyright in All Countries.)

Cartoon by David Low representing Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Stalin, published by *Evening Standard*, 2 May 1940

<http://opal.kent.ac.uk/cartoonx-cgi/ccp.py?mode=summary&search=world+war+2+the+harmony+boys>

“The liberal world, in giving adult suffrage, made them conscious of their own strength. Then the revolutionary process, accelerated by various crises, started. During the last war Russian demobilization led to a situation in which communism seized power and established a barbarian dictatorship of the proletariat. A similar phenomenon manifested itself in Italy after the war, but Mussolini's genius instilled all just and human elements interested in the Italian revolution into the Fascists' aims.

Mussolini welded the two elements closely and united his own heart into the synthesis of the fascist revolution—a social urge and a national idea. Later, Germany found a new solution for the popular yearnings in national socialism, which unites the national and social idea for the second time in Europe with the special peculiarities of race thirsting for international justice.(...)

Those are mistaken who dream of the establishment of democratic liberal systems in Western Europe, bordering on Russian communism. Those err who speculate on liberal peace agreements or a bourgeois solution.(...)”.

Francisco Franco's speech to the Falangist party council praising German, Italian, and Spanish fascism. Madrid, December 8, 1942 (*New York Times*, December 9, 1942)

- I. “Spain is a unity of destiny in the universal. The service to the unity, greatness and liberty of the Fatherland is a sacred duty and collective task for all Spanish people.
- II. The Spanish nation considers as a question of honour the observance of the Laws of God, according to the doctrine of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, one and only faith inseparable from the national consciousness, and inspiration for its legislation.

Laws of the *Movimiento Nacional*, 17 May 1958

“We can define the Spanish trade union as an association of all producers (employers, skilled workers and workers) within the same branch or sector of production, politically and technically organised under a single authority, in order to achieve the full development of the social and economic premises of the Spanish state...”

From *Breves Nociones de Organización Sindical*, in *Doctrina del Movimiento*, Editorial Tecnibán, Madrid, 1970

“Article 1: It is a legal crime to be part of masonry, communism or other clandestine societies referred in the following articles, and will be punished according to this law’s resolutions...
Article 2: Dissolved the named organizations, which are prohibited and outlawed, we declare their properties confiscated and put at disposal of the Political Responsibilities jurisdiction.”

Law of Political Responsibilities, 1940

“The military rebels and their civilian supporters were thus redefining 'the enemy' as entire sectors of society that were perceived as out of control because they were beyond the control of traditional forms of discipline and order. And I mention here "the new woman" because a pathological fear and loathing of emancipated women was a very powerful motive force among the rebels.”

Helen Graham, *The Return of Republican Memory in Spain*

Activities:

1. Define what a dictatorship is.
2. Go to unit 2 and consult the definition of fascism and its main characteristics. How do they apply to the Francoist period?
3. Compare differences and similarities between Francoism and the political systems installed in Germany and Italy by Hitler and Mussolini.
4. Explain the meaning of David Low’s cartoon above. Why is Stalin together with Franco, Hitler and Mussolini?
5. What is the significance of the *crusade* concept in Francoism?
6. Give an account of the economic, social and ideological support of Franco.
7. What was the “organic democracy”?
8. Why did Franco choose to restore the monarchy? By when he decided to do that? He referred to this fact as installing, not restoring the monarchy, Why do you think?
9. Why did Franco not want to restore the monarchy following the dynastic line, in Don Juan de Borbón? Why did he select his son Juan Carlos de Borbón to be the monarch?
10. , Who is the “enemy” for Francoist ideology? Why was liberal democracy criticised by Franco in the speech above?
11. What is masonry? Why is it in the text and why does Franco relate it with liberalism and communism? Why does he relate liberalism with communism?
12. What were the consequences of the Law of Political Responsibilities?

13. Who is the “new woman”? Why did Francoists loathe them? Why is this woman more akin to the republic?
14. What was women’s role in Francoism? What was the *Sección Femenina*? How did women face a legal backlash during Francoism?
15. Explain the differences between monarchy and republic, and between democracy and dictatorship.
16. Do you think a democracy can back a dictatorship? Why?

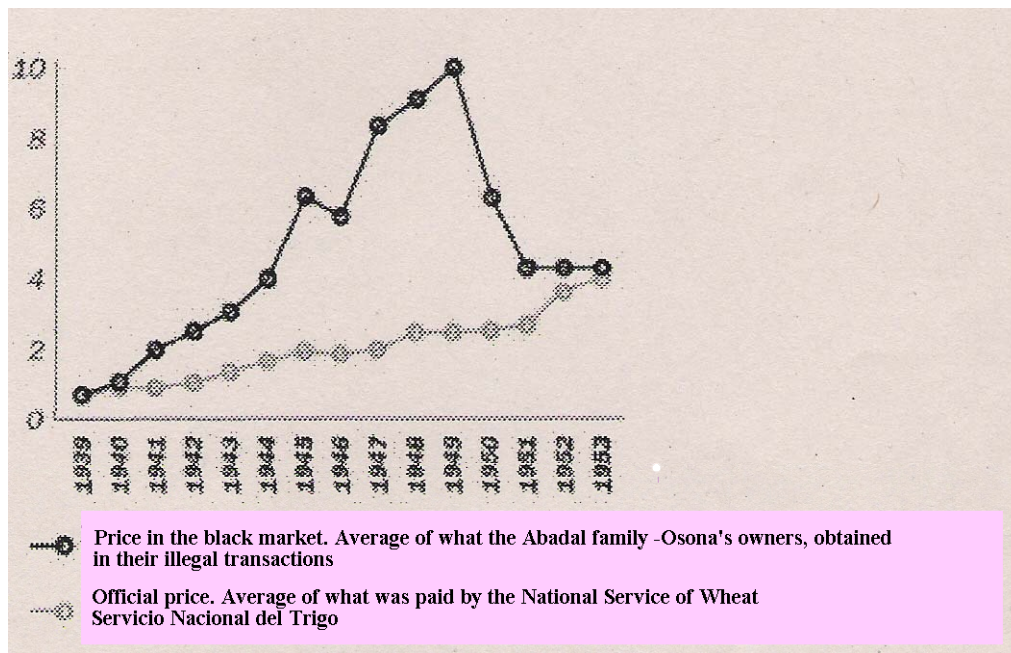
Economy

BARCELONA 1940				
	Needs of a family of 5 people	Needs by person/year	Consumption by person/year	Food deficit by year
Milk	155,6 l	31,1 l	19,7 l	11,4 l
Pulses	85,3 kg	17,0 kg	6,8 kg	10,2 kg
Rice	69,6 kg	13,9 kg	7,0 kg	6,9 kg
Potatoes	1.061,2 kg	212,2 kg	87,1 kg	125,1 kg

Source: Jaume Fabré, *La contrarrevolució de 1939 a Barcelona*. PhD thesis, UAB

MONTHLY FAMILY BUDGET FOR A WORKING FAMILY OF FOUR IN SABADELL (given in pesetas)			
	1936	1940	1950
Rent	50	50	100
Food	200,7	593,2	1.316,1
Clothing	40,17	97,86	289,6
Others	64,8	111,2	326
Total expenses	355,67	852,31	2.032,2
Monthly income	428	443	1.595,9
Income – expenses	+72,33	-409,3	-453,3

C. MOLINERO, P. YSAS, “*Patria, justicia y pan*”, *Nivell de vida i condicions de treball a Catalunya (1939-1951)*, Barcelona, 1985 (in Dursi)



Source: Dursi (from Pere Ysàs)

“...and when I was 20 –in 1952- I thought I would try to go to Catalonia because there –in Andalusia- I couldn’t live. Well, I lived... I had food and a bed and one *duro* every day as wages, 5 pesetas... and I worked 18 hours every day (...) They thought about setting a border in the *Estación de Francia* –in Barcelona. As Murcians, Andalusians, Castilians, Galicians arrived, if there was not there anyone, such as a relative, responding for them, they were taken to Montjuic, and when they had an expedition, they put all of them in the train and bound for their land of origin... (...) If there was no one responding for them, saying, no, no, he has a job here, then, to Montjuic.”

Oral witness no. 2 from *Republican Memory during and after the Spanish Civil War* by I. Pérez Molina

Activities:

1. Write a definition of autarchy, rationing, Assembly of Catalonia, the Movement (Movimiento Nacional), legal arbitrariness.
2. Define the main periods of Francoism and their main characteristics.
3. Describe economy and day to day life in Spain during the stagnation of the 1940s and 1950s.
4. Describe the two charts above and set them in their historical context. Relate one to the other.
5. Explain the graph on the black market. What was *estraperlo*? When were the ration books established and how were they distributed? Who benefited from this system?
6. What were the consequences of the economic policy in the first period of Francoism?
7. Describe what the oral witness is talking about. Why do you think there was a border in Barcelona to stop incoming migrants from other parts of the state?
8. In which period did the industrial development of Spain occur during Francoism? Explain its main characteristics.
9. Explain the evolution of the Spanish economy between 1960 and 1975 and relate it to the industrial development in Catalonia. Which were the consequences regarding the working population and social and demographic changes?

Repression

“Contrary to what is usual at the end of a war, the end of the Spanish Civil War in April 1939 did not go together with the end of hardship and suffering for the defeated Spain, and instead there was a policy of revenge. This policy of revenge breached the most elementary principles of Law and their victims were not only republican combatants and leaders, but also their relatives, friends, acquaintances, or fellows at work. They were excluded from the New State with a kind of cultural racism against modern man –and woman, who was seen to be progressive, secular, liberal or Marxist...”

One of the focal points of the repression in Francoist Spain was the mass imprisonment of all of those considered to be part of the anti-Spain...

Within the organisation of prisons, the role of the Church was to be very important, as they were in charge of the ideological, moral and religious “cleansing” of inmates.”

Taken from Daniel Gatica Cote, *Una cárcel de posguerra*

“As many Republican women were imprisoned with their babies or young children both during and after the war in massively overcrowded and unsanitary conditions such deaths –of children– were not an unusual occurrence (whether inside jails or in the transportations to or between jails). Indeed this seems to have been part of the punishment for their gender transgression. (...) There were also cases of women imprisoned in an advanced state of pregnancy whose executions were delayed until after their confinement. For the older child survivors too, the price of nourishment (via Francoist social welfare organizations) often involved what Fidalgo herself has described (in the 1939 memoir) as "moral suffering: obliging orphans to sing the songs of the murderers of their father; to wear the uniform of those who have executed him; and to curse the dead and blaspheme his memory."

If we can think past the sheer horror of these events, as historians, eventually, always have to do, we must ask what was going on here, what did these things mean? To answer that question we clearly need to focus on the purpose of the habitual physical and psychological torture. Why was there such a need to humiliate or to break the enemy, publicly or otherwise? Well, all these forms of violence (in which I include the humiliation and moral suffering inflicted on Republican children who came under the tutelage of the Francoist state) were functioning as rituals through which social and political control could be re-enacted. And significant here too is the manner in which the 'enemy' so often met his or her death at rebel hands: at the start of the civil war, the mass public executions followed by the exhibition of **corpses** in the streets; (...) or the uncanny mixture of terror and fiesta (executions followed by village fetes and dances, both of which the local population was obliged to attend). (..) When they murder the 'enemy,' they're murdering change, or the threat of change. (...) In the same way, the widespread complicity of priests throughout Spain in the mass process of denunciation, killing and torture of those deemed opponents has to be understood in these terms, as a reassertion of control, rather than solely as an avenging response to the phenomenon of popular anticlerical violence in Republican territory.”

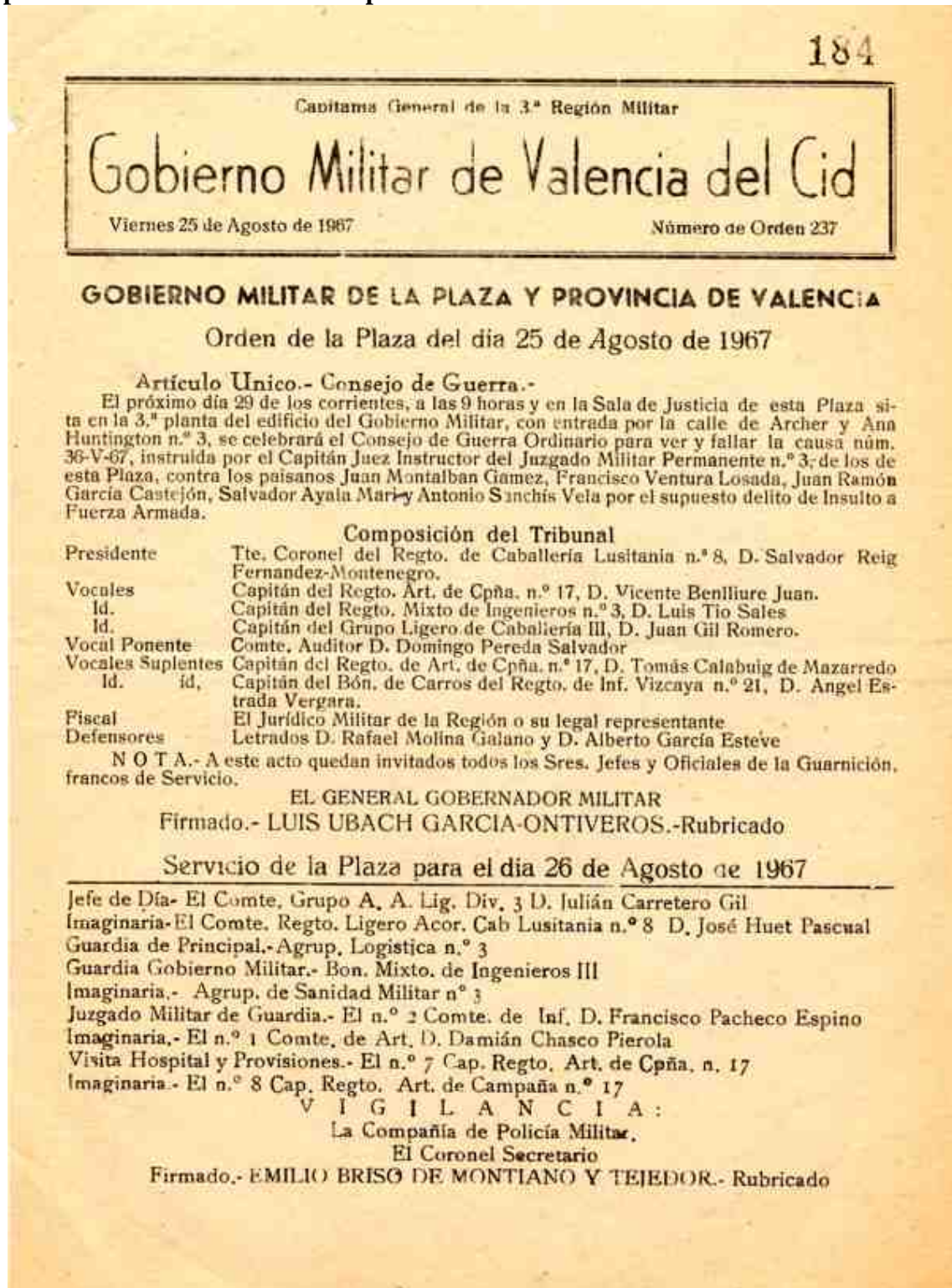
Helen Graham, *The Return of Republican Memory in Spain*

Activities:

1. Why, according to Daniel Gatica, did Francoism adopt a policy of revenge?
2. Define “cultural racism against the modern man and woman”.
3. What was the anti-Spain according to Francoism?
4. What was the role of the Church in Francoism from the start of the Spanish Civil War?

5. Why was repression so fundamental in the Francoist state?
6. Explain the basic ideas of Helen Graham's text and make a text appreciation.
7. What were the characteristics of prisons? And concentration camps? Until when were concentration camps functioning?
8. How did women suffer from repression in a different way to men? How did children suffer from it?

Opposition to Franco's Dictatorship



Council of war for people arrested in the demonstration of 1st of May 1967, called by CCOO

Activities:

1. What is a council of war? Why was it used to try civilians?
2. What were the *Comisiones Obreras*? How did they start?
3. Explain how unions developed during Francoism.
4. Which were the first relevant signs of opposition to Francoism? Why did they not happen earlier?
5. Explain the political and social evolution during Francoism from 1960 and 1975.

Other activities:

The Pan's Labyrinth. Directed by Guillermo del Toro, 2006. It is a story set against the background of Francoist Spain, in a rural area in 1944. A disturbing, violent and brutal period mixed with a fairytale in the mind of a young girl.

Or

The Thirteen Roses. Directed by Emilio Martínez Lázaro, 2007. Thirteen young women, most of them underage, were arrested, sentenced to death and executed, shortly after the end of the Spanish Civil War, for being republicans.



Monument dedicated to the *Thirteen Roses* in the cemetery of “La Almudena” in Madrid
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6e/Las_Trece_Rosas.jpeg

Summarise the story in the film, and:

In the first one: What is the plot of the film? Is Ofelia's fairytale world imagined or real? Why do you think it is? Why did her mother marry a fascist Captain from Falange when Ofelia's father seemed to be republican? How does the captain treat her mother? Who were the maquis? Why were they fighting and how did they end? In the second one: Make a list of the credits for the movie? Who were the *Thirteen Roses*? What was their crime? How did they live their before they were arrested? Look for information about the real role of the prison governess.