

The Extreme Right in Spain

Surviving in the Shadow of Franco
(1975-2014)

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The extreme right in Spain Surviving in the Shadow of Franco (1975-2014)

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Abstract

In this master thesis my aim is to investigate the extreme right in Spain after Franco, from 1975 to 2014. I will compare the three largest extreme right movements, FE de las JONS, CEDADE and Fuerza Nueva with the newly created coalition LEM. After almost 40 years of a national catholic dictatorship did Spain transform into a democracy in a couple of years. The importance of Franco's person and the lack of cooperation between the remaining Francoist secured the easy democratic transition. The Falangist tradition of José Antonio Primo de Rivera and Franco's regime have been of massive importance to the post-Franco extreme right in Spain. They claim to represent something new, but they are unable to escape the national catholic traditions of their predecessor.

Preface

This master thesis is a party of the master program at the University of Oslo, 2014. The objective with this thesis is to clarify the role of the extreme right in post-Franco Spain. There have been recent studies on the new wave of extreme right in Europe. I wanted to research the Spanish situation, mainly because of the quick democratisation after Franco's death. This is not a thesis in which I compare the situation in Spain with the situation in other European countries, although I will try to place it in a European context. Each extreme right movement is presented in its own chapter, before I compare them in one of the last chapters. I found this to be the least confusing way.

I decided to research Spain because of my knowledge of Spain and my understanding of the language. The notion of extremism, fascism and totalitarianism has always been of great interest to me, probably because I do not understand its attraction.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Øystein Sørensen, for constructive criticism and good advice. I also want to thank Senior Academic Librarian at the University of Oslo's library, José María Izquierdo, for help navigating in the vast amount of literature. Thanks to the librarians at the archive in Madrid and the old man I met there who told me about the national sentiment surrounding the attempted coup in 1981. My family, friends and co-workers deserve thanks for putting up with me during the last couple of months. Finally I would like to thank the institute for allowing me to travel to Madrid.

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1 Introduction

The theme of this master thesis is the extreme right in post-Franco Spain. My aim is to research their relationship with the Francoist heritage and the Falangist heritage. In a Europe that is seeing a resurrection of neo-fascist, extreme right movement, Spain has seen similar tendencies in recent years. I decided to study the extreme right in Spain because of the relatively new democracy. The fast and successful democratisation placed the extreme right and the remnants of the Francoist regime on the sidelines. There have been some Spanish studies on the topic, and these are my main sources. My objective is to understand the long lines in the development of the extreme right in Spain after Franco. I have considered four different groups within the category extreme right, and I will try to see these in a comparative light. How they see the new democracy and how they relate to the Francoist heritage will be important.

When one consider right on the political scale, they are conservative and traditionalistic. For most extreme right movements authoritarian and hierarchical systems are preferable. One could say that all fascist movements are extreme right, although not all extreme right movements are fascist. Fascism is revolutionary, while extreme right might not be. Many extreme right movements are opposed to change and want to preserve traditional institutions, often referring to a golden age.¹ The Spanish right is normally connected to Catholicism, and ever since the democratisation it has had a negative connotation. There has never been only one “right” in Spain; only Franco managed to unite them in his national catholic regime.

The category “extreme” is relative and not as easy to define because there is more than one way to be extreme. Most are represented within the groups in Spain. Primarily one should consider the methods: violence, terrorism and uncontrolled demonstrations are extreme methods which political groups use to either create tension or to hurt their enemies. Not only actual violent/ terrorist conduct, but also the constant threats of such actions are extreme. Secondly one should consider the goals: wanting to end the democracy and implement a new system is considered to be extreme and revolutionary.² Finally one can have extreme ideas, without doing anything radical to change the situation. Defining abortion as murder and

¹ Rodríguez Jiménez José Luis. *La extrema derecha española en el siglo XX*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1997, p. 14-15

² Sørensen and Hagtvet 2012, p. 7-8

³ Sørensen and Hagtvet 2012, p. 7-8

⁴ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 16-17

⁵ Sørensen, Øystein: Hagtvet, Bernt and Steine, Bjørn Arne. *Høyreekstremisme – Ideer og Bevegelser i Europa*. Dreyer, Oslo 2012 p. 320-324

⁶ Griffin, Roger. *The Nature of Fascism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993 p. 26

claiming that homosexuals have less worth and rights than others are such ideas. They create a negative ambiance and fear in the society. It is important to understand the difference between completely extremist groups and groups that have some extremist beliefs.

Not all of the groups presented in this thesis deserve to be categorized as extreme right. Most, if not all, have extremist traits but should be placed elsewhere on the right scale. On a scale from moderate right to extreme right, we have far right, populist right and radical right in between. There is a blurred line differentiating the groups.³ Fear of change, a clear picture of friend and enemy, anti-democratic, ultra-nationalism and a wish for a hierarchic society are all traits that define the extreme right.⁴

1.1 Objectives

Almost 40 years have passed by since the death of Francisco Franco, Spain's Caudillo and dictator for 40 years. The democracy was implemented after a few years. What happened to the remnants of the Francoist regime? Why did they fail in their attempt to preserve the national catholic authoritarian dictatorship? What was left of the Francoist tradition? How has the extreme rights relationship to the Francoist heritage changed during the last 40 years?

El Alcázar was the biggest and most influential extreme right newspaper in Spain even after Franco's death. Who did it represent? How did they see the main events in the democratic transition? What was its role in the attempted coup the 23rd of February 1981? What were the consequences of the attempted coup?

By the middle of the 1990s, many of the post-Francoist groups disappeared. What were the reasons for the extreme right failure in the middle of the 1990s?

In recent years there has been a resurgence of extreme right in Spain. Although it never completely disappeared, what were the reasons for its resurrection? What does these new groups represent? Is it a continuation of the Francoist ideology or do they feel more aligned to the Falangism of the 1930s? Do they want to recreate the Francoist regime, the semi-

³ Sørensen and Hagtvat 2012, p. 7-11

⁴ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 16-17

fascism of José Antonio or do they represent something new? How do they relate to the democracy?

In the long run, is it possible to see any trends in the development of the extreme right in Spain? Have the different groups followed the same patterns, and can they all be categorized as extreme right?

According to Bernt Hagtvet the recently appeared extreme right in Europe has a new enemy – the Muslims. The Jews are no longer an enemy, and they want to remove themselves as far as possible from the Nazi ideology.⁵ The new European extreme right are now defending a Christian Europe and its culture. How does the new Spanish extreme right fit into this trend?

1.2 Main sources

For the general Spanish history I have used Finn Fuglestad's "Spania og Portugals historie. En oversikt". For the more specific period that I have been working on I have used Stanley G Payne's "Fascism in Spain. 1923-1977", Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi's "Spain: dictatorship to democracy" and Javier Tusell's "Spain: From dictatorship to democracy". All these books have been great sources to understand Spain and the dynamic of the society and the democratisation.

"Historia de las derechas españolas. De la Ilustración a nuestros días" by Pedro Carlos González Cuevas is about the Spanish right and its traditions from the Enlightenment till today (2000). Although he does not focus on the extreme right, there are some good observations on the subject.

José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez' "Reaccionarios y Golpistas. La extrema derecha en España: del tardofranquismo a la consolidación de la democracia (1967-1982)" and "La extrema derecha en el siglo XX" were important sources to understand where the extreme right was during this period the last years of Francoism and during the transition. Xavier Casals i Meseguer's "La tentación neofascista en España" explains how the neo-fascists changed during the transition and in his "Neonazis en España" CEDADE and other neo-Nazi

⁵ Sørensen, Øystein: Hagtvet, Bernt and Steine, Bjørn Arne. *Høyreekstremisme – Ideer og Bevegelser i Europa*. Dreyer, Oslo 2012 p. 320-324

movements are described and explained. Ferran Gallego has written “Una patria imaginaria” in which he explains the relative absence of the extreme right in Spain from 1973 to 2005.

In March 2014 I went to Madrid and its Biblioteca Nacional to research *El Alcázar*, the most influential extreme right newspaper after Franco’s death. I was lucky enough to be able to read and download as much as I wanted from this newspaper. I was mostly interested in their reaction and changes during the course of the transition and also how they represented most of the extreme right groupings of the time.

In the last couple of chapters I have mostly used sources on the Internet, seeing as there is a lack of updated literature on this subject. Homepages, Facebook, YouTube, blogs and articles are good sources if one is aware of the reason for writing and who the author is. Most of the party programmes are on the party’s webpage. I have tried to use this as objective and aware as I could, having my knowledge of the Spanish society present. (Recently I made the discovery that one of the pages I had used, NPE’s homepage (esnpe.org), had been closed, the reason being malicious software. I decided to keep it as a source, since it was explanatory on the way NPE thinks.)

I have also read some of what the Spanish extreme right “ideologues” have written. José Antonio Primo de Rivera, cofounder and ideologue of FE de las JONS, is represented in “Obras completas” which was published in 1945 and consists of his discourses and writings. Jorge Mota, founder of CEDADE, published “Hacia un socialismo Europeo” in 1974, in which he discuss the possibility of a European united socialism. Blas Piñar, leader of Fuerza Nueva, has been an eager writer, and his “Escrito para la Historia (1)”, published in 2000, which he dedicated to Francisco Franco, is a history book written on his terms and remembrances.

1.3 Main theories

Rodríguez Jiménez, Casals i Meseguer and Gallego are the scholars, historians and writers that has written most specifically on the extreme right in Spain between the death of Franco and 2000. They all agree that the extreme right in Spain is a marginal power factor today, and has not been powerful since the death of Franco. The reasons for this marginality are many. Firstly, the Spanish people wanted what they had seen in other European countries, modernity and freedom. Democracy was what everybody wanted, and (extreme) right was

seen as a complete opposite. Secondly, the many different groupings within the extreme right failed to cooperate and find common ground. They saw each other more like enemies than possible allies. Third, the attempted coup of 1981 showed the weak position the extreme right had and consolidated the king's democratic stance. Forth, one must consider the international situation. These are all theories I support, although I would like to present some other viewpoints. To a certain extent I believe that the understanding of "the forgotten memory" about the civil war and the dictatorship forms the Spanish historians.

The Spanish historians seems occupied with the reasons why the extreme right failed after Franco, but does not see Franco as a reason for their failure. His dictatorship formed the extreme right, and secured "right" to have negative connotations in the Spanish society. If a group represented something similar to Franco, or if they used some of the symbolism they were placed in that category. It also seemed like the extreme right was unable to break completely from Franco's legacy. Most of the post-Franco far right groups have been inclined to the ideology of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Why they thought (and still think) that this ideology created in the 1930s is still applicable today has not been sufficiently discussed. I believe that the importance of José Antonio has been underestimated as a source of ideology and inspiration for the recent developed far right movements.

1.4 Structure

I will begin this paper with an explanation on fascism, and then I will introduce the Spanish history from the 1920s till today. Subsequently I will present El Búnker, the hard core of the remnants of Francoism. Then there are four chapters representing different groupings within the extreme right after Franco's death, FE de las JONS, Fuerza Nueva, CEDADE and LEM. After this I will compare the different groups and try to see the long lines, similarities and differences. Finally my aim is to form a summarizing conclusion.

2 Fascism

2.1 European Fascism

“Fascism is a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism.”⁶*

Although Fascism today has a negative signification, many in the 1920s and 30s welcomed it. It represented something new, a modern way of thinking, and a third way. The Italian word *fascio* means bundle, and more figuratively it means unification and integration. The negative signification is a consequence of it being used to describe and characterise Mussolini’s regime and Hitler’s Third Reich. It was Mussolini who first used the term to describe his own movement, although the left early used it in a pejorative way to define their enemy. Fascist movements were known to wear uniforms and glorify violence. They wanted to put an end to the workers syndicates and rather construct new national syndicates and corporations. According to Roger Griffin, fascism was revolutionary. It has been placed on the extreme right on the political left-right scale, although many groups that have been considered extreme right do not consider themselves fascist and vice versa. The leader-cult is apparent, especially in the cases of Hitler and Mussolini. The leader represents a mass party, whose popularity increases with rallies, meetings, propaganda and sub-organisations. Usually denying other political groupings to exist and punishing those who openly represent another viewpoint is common in fascist regimes. Some fascist movements have been defined as a political religion, based on its followers extreme feeling of affiliation.

2.1.1 Fascism in Spain during the 1930s – National syndicalism

It was José Antonio Primo de Rivera and his FE de las JONS (especially JONS, which was the more revolutionary of the two groups) that felt connected to the fascist Italian state of Mussolini. They too wanted to be a third alternative, based on national syndicalism. National syndicalism is a way of constructing the society in groups, associations and syndicates within the nation. The syndicates had to be natural, like families, municipalities and villages. It should be based on a participatory society where your skills were more important than your network. José Antonio’s FE de las JONS were the closest to a fascist party Spain ever got.

⁶ Griffin, Roger. *The Nature of Fascism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993 p. 26

* Palingenetic- “refers to the sense of a new start or a regeneration after a phase of crisis or decline” Griffin 1993 p. 33

Franco's Spain was never a fascist regime; it was rather an authoritarian regime with fascist traits.⁷ Although Franco adopted FE de las JONS, his regime was a national authoritarian, catholic regime. Fascists place the state first, but the "fascist" Spaniards put the nation first.

2.2 Neo-Fascism

Neo-Fascism is used to describe movements that appeared after the Second World War, especially from the 1970s to 90s, which were similar to the fascism of the 1930s-40s. According to Roger Griffin European fascism as a revolutionary force died in 1945, although some sub-cultures exist.⁸ Griffin categorizes the neo-fascism in 4 groups: Palingenetic ultra-nationalism, crypto-fascism, revisionism and conservative revolution.

2.2.1 Neo-Fascism in Spain

All the mentioned groups have been found in post-Franco Spain, although some have had more success than others. The least successful have been the conservative revolution, represented by the new right drawing from Alain de Benoist. The revisionism, Holocaust-denial, has been prominent in Spain. Not only in the neo-Nazi CEDADE, but also amongst many of those who could be considered to be extreme right. There is little revolution in the Spanish extreme right. Most of the extreme right/far right groups of today are political parties, putting them in the category of crypto-fascism. They are pressure groups and parties that participate in the modern democracy, although they might have other intentions.⁹ The extreme right groupings of today can hardly be characterized as fascist, or even neo-fascist. They are more than anything nostalgic, although not primarily to the Francoist heritage. Most of them are more inclined to the ideology of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, which has been considered the most fascist movement in Spain. The palingenetic ultra nationalist myth is what fuels most of the extreme rightist today in Spain. Although they would not describe themselves as such, they all fit into the same category. Since 2008 Spain has experienced an economic crisis, and the extreme rightists of today see the 1930s as a golden age in the Spanish history. The democratic governments after Franco's death are to blame, and they wish to create a new kind of society, although I feel they lack the revolutionary gene.

⁷ Thomàs, Joan María. *Los Fascismos Españoles*. Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 2011 p. 14-29

⁸ Griffin 1993 p. 161

⁹ Griffin 1993 p. 166-169

According to Roger Griffin, there are two factors that characterize the extreme right in post-war Europe: organisational complexity and ideological heterogeneity.¹⁰ The last characterization is definitely appropriate to explain the situation in Spain, and could be the most important reason for their relative marginality.

¹⁰ Griffin 1993 p. 170

3 Spain 1920-2014: From the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera to the Euro crisis.

In this chapter my aim is to try and chronologically list the main events in Spain from about 1920. I want to explain the background for Spanish extreme right, and try and see if there are consistencies in the development and formation of these groups in Spain.

Like in many other countries the conservatism and traditionalism in Spain came as a reaction to the Enlightenment. There were those who wanted to preserve the monarchy, hierarchy and the power of the church. This movement was at its most active and powerful from the 1830s until the era of Francisco Franco.

3.1 Spain between the two world wars

3.1.1 The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera

In 1923, after a military defeat in Morocco, Miguel Primo de Rivera led a *pronunciamiento*, also known as a coup. This led the king, Alfonso the 8th, to try and coup his own country by going against the government. By doing this he committed treachery, and Miguel Primo de Rivera was appointed head of government in 1923.¹¹

Military dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera ruled Spain with an iron hand from 1923 to 1930. He had a military upbringing, and his family had fought with the Carlist during the 1800s. The Carlists were one of the sides in a hereditary war during the 1800s in Spain. He thought a temporary military dictatorship could unite the country, solve its problems and implement necessary reforms.¹² Although he lacked a concrete plan to accomplish this, his regime was well received by most of the Spanish people. He claimed to represent constitutional liberalism, but at the same time he was impressed with Mussolini's seize of power in Italy.¹³ Unión Patriótica, Patriotic Union, soon became the regimes political front. Their motto was "Monarquía, Patria y Religión" – monarchy, fatherland and religion (much

¹¹ Fuglestad, Finn. *Spania og Portugals historie. En oversikt*. Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, 2009 p. 197

¹² Payne, Stanley G. *Fascism in Spain. 1923-1977*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999 p. 24-25

¹³ Payne 1999 p. 27-28

alike the Carlist slogan “Dios, Patria y Rey” – God, fatherland and king).¹⁴ The lack of an institutionalised mobilization and a defined doctrine tells us that Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship hardly could be defined as fascist. At its best it was national authoritarian. The corporative system, close relations with the Catholic Church and Primo de Rivera’s intuition were some of the regimes characteristics. Regenerationism is also a term used to define the regime. Regenerationism in Spain was an objective and scientific study of the reasons for Spain’s decline, and also trying to find a solution for its problems.¹⁵

The first five years of the regime were stable, until the economic world crisis in 1929. Primo de Rivera’s popularity sank significantly from 1928 to 1930, amongst the people and in the army. He resigned 30th of June 1930.¹⁶ According to Stanley G. Payne his dictatorship became a sort of ideological laboratory for the new extreme right groups. In many ways it became a consolidating factor, and a predecessor for the use of symbols, rhetoric and propaganda.¹⁷ The dictatorship led to modernization, urbanization and industrialization. A natural consequent was higher expectations amongst the people: socially, materialistically and politically. In 1931 the 2nd Spanish republic was announced.

3.1.2 Right during the second Spanish republic – fascism in Spain

In the second Spanish republic there was a constant conflict between right and left, at least between the extremist groups on both sides. Since the Russian revolution Spain had been divided between communists, conservatives and democrats.¹⁸ Naturally this did not only happen in Spain, but only in Spain did this conflict lead to civil war followed by a 40 years long dictatorship. Many historians have agreed that it was during the second Spanish republic fascism came into the Spanish society. The upper conservative, Catholic class felt threatened by the new regime, in which they no longer would have the same amount of power.¹⁹ At this time, fascism did not have only negative annotations. Especially during the 20s and 30s being a fascist was associated with pride and modernity.²⁰

¹⁴ Payne 1999 p. 29

¹⁵ Thomás 2011 p. 55

¹⁶ Payne 1999 p. 37

¹⁷ Payne 1999 p. 39

¹⁸ Thomás 2011 p. 24-34

¹⁹ Thomás 2011 p. 36 + s.63

²⁰ Thomás 2011 p. 13-15

There were still followers of Primo de Rivera left in Spain and in April 1930 they founded Unión Monárquica Nacional (UMN) – National Monarchic Union. The members were characterized as neo-traditionalists who glorified Spanish-Catholic identity and monarchy. Among the members was Miguel Primo de Rivera's son, José Antonio. UMN wanted to follow the Italian fascist example.²¹ During the first years of the second republic in Spain there was a growth of nationalistic movements. Many of these were fascinated by the Italian fascism. In October 1931 two of these groups got together and formed Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista (JONS) - Unions of the National-Syndicalist Offensive, led by Ramiro Ledesma Ramos and Onésimo Redondo Ortega. Their activity the first years was limited – no clear ideology was defined and their propaganda was non-existing.²² Ledesma Ramos wanted to formulate a Spanish fascist doctrine, but he lacked the charisma to successfully lead a fascist dictatorship. The only one with this ability was the son of the late dictator, José Antonio. Other than having a famous father and a well-known name, he was a lawyer with many contacts. After his father's political downfall he worked hard to defend him and his family's name. He was very active in UMN the first couple of years.

Hitler coming to power in Germany gave JONS a new impetus.²³ José Antonio and others founded a new movement called Movimiento Sindicalista Español (MES) – Spanish Syndicalist Movement during the summer of 1933. They wanted a cleaner fascism, more like the Italian than that of JONS, who had a more revolutionary base.²⁴ MES never became a consolidated group. A public meeting was held in October 1933, where José Antonio primo de Rivera spoke of their doctrine, in connection with the upcoming election.²⁵ A couple of days later, the group was renamed Falange Española (FE).²⁶ The moderate Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (CEDA) - Spanish confederation for autonomous rights was victorious in the election, and many fascists feared this to be the end of Spanish fascism.²⁷ The Falange obtained about 2000 new members during the first months, but the new members were young nationalists and monarchists without any clear fascist identity. At the beginning of 1934 there was talk about unifying FE and JONS. The leader of JONS,

²¹ Payne 2009 s. 42-43

²² Payne 1999 s. 54-65

²³ Payne 1999 s. 77

²⁴ Payne 1999 s. 83-88

²⁵ Primo de Rivera, José Antonio. *Obras completas*. Madrid: Ediciones de la Vicesecretaria de Educacion Popular de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S., 1945, p. 17-25

²⁶ Payne 1999 s. 90-92

- Falange: derives from Greek and means group or crowd

²⁷ Fuglestad 2009 s. 215

Ledesma, who had been negative to unification, realized that this would do them both a favour. So Falange Española de las Juntas Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista (F.E. de las J.O.N.S) was created.²⁸ The unification went relatively smooth – revolutionary fascism became the new doctrine. Traditionalism, syndicalism, monarchism, corporatism and conservatism were central aspects of the new movement.

The most militant group in the FE de las JONS was the students. As in other fascist parties and groupings, violence was justified. Their threat of violence made the communists vary, so they too took a violent stance. José Antonio was known for his violent personality, and disagreed with the ones who thought the group was not fascist. He was not one to shy away from a fight. However, he found organised, planned violence which resulted in death, appalling. In his discourse on the doctrine of Falangism in 1933, he asked if one should answer insults with being friendly. He did not believe so.²⁹ Needless to say, there were still others who thought different. Smaller groups were organised within the movement, called Falange de la Sangre – The Blood Falange. These groups were actively violent, and their actions led to Falangist activity being banned in many regions. Action and reaction marked the second republic. José Antonio was opposed to the violent actions, but in the end he realised it was the only way.³⁰

In the beginning of 1935 the Falange had some issues. The economic support had disappeared, they had lost many members and the disagreement between José Antonio and Ramiro was present. So much that Ramiro decided to leave the group. Soon after that José Antonio received financial support from Italy. His rhetoric became more radical, and more like the one Ramiro had represented.³¹ At the election in 1936 Frente Popular, a socialist coalition, were victorious. This turned things around for FE de las JONS. Once again the memberships were increasing. Most were disappointed in CEDA's failed attempt at success, and many feared a communist revolution. They were not strong enough to carry out a coup. When that chance appeared in 1936, they took it. A coalition of extreme rightists, monarchists, Falangists, carlists and nationalists stood against the republicans. During the civil war they managed to become a mass movement.³² Early 1936, José Antonio was

²⁸ Payne 1999 s. 98-99

²⁹ Primo de Rivera 1945 p. 24

³⁰ Payne 1999 s. 105-114

³¹ Thomás 2011 s. 110-111

³² Thomás 2011 s. 116-122

captured by the republicans and executed in Alicante later that year. This left the part of a charismatic powerful leader open.

3.1.3 From FE de las JONS to FET de las JONS

In 1937 Ramón Serrano Suñer appears in the nationalistic zone. He was a close friend of José Antonio and attracted to fascism. Quickly he became Franco's political advisor. He was in charge of unifying the different nationalistic groups. He had to unite the three most influential directions: the Alfonsin monarchists, the traditionalists and the Falangists, as well as taking the church and the army into consideration. 19th of April 1937 the FE de las JONS and Comución Tradicionalista – Traditional Community, a Carlist group³³ – merged into one nationalistic movement. This movement was now called Falange Española Tradicionalista de las JONS.³⁴ The remaining extreme right groups were either dissolved or included.

3.2 Francisco Franco

3.2.1 Francisco Franco and El Movimiento Nacional

Francisco Franco was no political general. By this I mean that he was not politically active in the years before the civil war. He had a political viewpoint, but that was not what made him a well-known and skilled general. In fact he had been opposed to participating in the coup, until he heard the well-known politician José Calvo Sotelo had been murdered. Franco knew war, and realized that it had to be the final option. He chose to participate, thinking it would be more dangerous not to. He believed in authoritarianism and regenerationalism. Franco was very nationalistic, culturally traditionalistic and last but not least catholic. Although he sought technological and economic progress, he never wanted any other form of modernisation. The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera became his ideal regime, provided a stronger state authority.³⁵ Franco took more from Calvo Sotelo's "ideology" than José Antonio's Falange. He chose to use Falangist symbolism and rhetoric, but he was more alike Calvo Sotelo in his monarchism and traditionalistic national Catholicism.³⁶ Franco felt threatened by José Antonio due to his leading role in the Falangist movement. When José Antonio was captured,

³³ http://www.carlismo.es/?page_id=1998 First read 10.12.13

³⁴ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 s. 236-240

³⁵ Payne 1999 s. 239-242

³⁶ Payne 1999 s. 132-133

Franco tried to free him. However, the execution of José Antonio ensured Franco's position and he could now form the movement as he wished.³⁷

3.2.2 Spain during the second world war

Francisco Franco took the power in Spain in the spring 1939 after three years of civil war. With this victory came the final victory over the communist left and liberalism in Spain. His personal power was consolidated and legitimated.³⁸ He was known as an extremely able general, his anti-communism was characterising. Franco was not a fascist dictator in a fascist regime.³⁹ He was sympathetic towards Mussolini and Hitler, but decided to stay neutral during the war.⁴⁰ There were three main reasons for that. First, Franco was very disappointed in Hitler's non-aggression pact with Stalin's Soviet. Second, coming out of a bloody and draining civil war, Spain was in no way ready for efficient participation in war.⁴¹ Finally Franco and Hitler had different goals for Spain participating. Franco wanted promises of territory when victorious, but Hitler wanted help monopolizing the Mediterranean and disarm England in this area. Hitler was in no way impressed with Franco and the Spaniards, but continued to put pressure upon Franco. The German Fuhrer's bullying did not work, and Spain remained neutral. They stayed completely out of the war until Germany attacked the Soviet Union. The anti-communism was strong. Then Spain sent its Blue Division to the east front to fight with the German troops. This was seen as an extension of the crusade – An anti-communist crusade. The participation awakened enthusiasm among the Spanish nationalists.

3.2.3 Consolidation and “Fascistization”

From Franco's power consolidation in April 1939 until May 1941, Spain became more fascist. During this period more and more power went to Franco, and Ramón Serrano Súñer. It was important to Franco to keep the army and the party close, and his personality made sure of that. The period was marked by the situation in Europe, and the discussion about Spain's role in the war.⁴² When Franco reorganized his government in August 1939 to make it a strong, nationalistic and authoritarian one, the majority had military background. It was

³⁷ Thomás 2011 s. 139-140

³⁸ Payne 1999 s. 310

³⁹ Thomás 2011 s. 28-29

⁴⁰ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 s. 269-270

⁴¹ Payne 1999 s. 329-330

⁴² Thomás 2011 s. 169-170

obvious that he wanted to please the entire fascist and nationalist “family”.⁴³ This was the period when Franco’s confidence was at its peak. Between 1939 and 1941 the regime built a strict economic system based on corporatism, with regulations and controls. The self-sufficiency policy impeded economic growth.⁴⁴

Franco’s regime was not totalitarian. The ideology and the party did not permeate the entire society. Most members of the FET de las JONS remained passive towards the regime. Especially the syndicalists were disappointed with the development.⁴⁵ Spain was still very much divided. There was no mass movement. The party lacked educational monopoly, although they were close through the church’s educational primacy. What hindered the total consolidation was the division within the regime and the movement. The extreme right was still a group consisting of groups with very different objectives. Although Franco assembled them, this did not mean that they agreed on everything. Even Serrano Súñer and Franco disagreed on many levels. Súñer was more fascist and radical in his ideology and rhetoric, but everybody viewed Franco as the man in power.⁴⁶ Many fascists realized that the regime did not represent revolutionary fascism, but rather an authoritarian conservative regime with fascist rhetoric. The conspiracies grew, but seeing how long the regime existed one can tell that these plans never worked.⁴⁷ From 1941 Franco wanted to substitute Serrano Súñer with Luis Carrero Blanco, a successful marine officer. His political viewpoint was more alike Franco’s, and Carrero Blanco soon became Franco’s right hand. This also was the beginning of the end of the “fascistization”. The party’s power decreased. Many wanted monarchy. Even Franco thought that totalitarian monarchy was the best solution, after he had cleaned the country up. The ideal was “los Reyes Católicos”, the Catholic monarchs Isabel and Fernando from Spain’s golden age.⁴⁸

In 1942-1943 the war changed. The axis was retreating and Franco’s doctrine became a modernized version of traditional Spanish values. The unity, authority and culture of Catholicism became central. Franco’s ideology went further and further from Nazism.⁴⁹ The allies being victorious in the war meant modification of Franco’s rhetoric. From being a semi

⁴³ Payne 1999 s. 311-312

⁴⁴ Payne 1999 s. 328

⁴⁵ Payne 1999 s. 316

⁴⁶ Thomás 2011 s. 170-171

⁴⁷ Payne 1999 s. 344-349

⁴⁸ Payne 1999 s. 363-378

⁴⁹ Payne 1999 s. 387-389

fascist dictatorship, Spain became a Catholic monarchy, with Franco as king regent. The changes were, however, cosmetic.⁵⁰ Nothing really changed. FET de las JONS was abandoned for El Movimiento, the movement.

3.2.4 After the war – Survival of the dictatorship

In August 1945 the UN decided to exclude Spain from the organization. They led a non-intervention policy, and Franco's Spain survived as a dictatorship due to its anti-communism. As the years went by, Spain became more and more liberal, in accordance with the rest of Europe. From the 1960s Franco's health was declining, and he turned to Don Juan Carlos (the son of the real king) to be his successor. In June 1973 he named Carrero Blanco prime minister instead of himself. The thought was that Carrero Blanco was to lead the nation, with Juan Carlos as a puppet king, when Franco died. That plan failed when ETA assassinated Carrero Blanco in December 1973. By doing this, ETA removed the possibility of "Francoism after Franco".⁵¹ Carlos Arias Navarro became prime minister nine days later.

As mentioned, Franco was a monarchist. The 9th of April Franco fell really sick, and between 19th of July and 2nd of September he transferred all power to Juan Carlos. Juan Carlos swore loyalty to the regime, and when Franco died 20th of November 1975, Juan Carlos replaced him. He was crowned two days later.⁵² Did Franco ensure continuity by choosing Juan Carlos as successor? This was at least what he had hoped, but democratic forces were already in play. The country had increasingly become more modern, and the people that could have continued the dictatorship had been removed.

3.3 After Franco

3.3.1 Juan Carlos "el breve" – and Carlos Arias Navarro

The expectations towards Juan Carlos were divided. The Francoists hoped for continuation, the democrats believed in his aim to change, and the communists named him "el breve" – the brief.⁵³ Few knew the king's political opinions, he had been loyal towards Franco. Juan Carlos was an intelligent man. The rest of Western Europe would never accept his monarchy unless

⁵⁰ Payne 1999 s. 401-402

⁵¹ Carr, Raymond and Fusi Aizpurua, Juan Pablo. *Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979 s. 160

⁵² Carr & Fusi 1979 s.xii-xiii

⁵³ Carr & Fusi 1979 s. 207-208

he was willing to begin a transformation. According to Javier Tusell the king was number one on the list of important people during the transition.⁵⁴ Juan Carlos had participated in the army, which helped a lot to secure the army's loyalty towards him. This also neutralized many on the extreme right wing. Juan Carlos was not and could not be directly active in the reformation. However he accepted changes and facilitated reform.

Franco had named Carlos Arias Navarro prime minister in 1973, and then Juan Carlos did so in 1975. In 1975 he formed a new government. Arias was drawn between the reformist movement and El Búnker (chapter 4) in the new government. It was decided that the transition was to happen gradually. Trying to please everybody, Arias only showed his affiliation with the Francoists. Conflicts and strikes came as a result of the government's ambiguity. Arias could not secure El Búnker's support whilst reforming the country. El Búnker was the most conservative of the Francoist remains from the regime. Arias delivered his resignation 1st of July 1976, to Juan Carlos' relief. He had started a democratic transition few believed could be started by a Francoist. The democrats could feel safer about the future.

3.3.2 Adolfo Suárez

Adolfo Suárez González was born in Cerebros in the region of Avila in 1932. He was a religious man, and a minister in El Movimiento during the Franco era. When Juan Carlos named him Arias' successor, many were surprised.⁵⁵ Relatively unknown in Spanish politics, his popularity was to be short but immense. Suárez was the regimes last prime minister, and the democracy's first. Brave and humble combined with good timing and his commonness provided the people's trust in him. He had a realistic view of the process of democratisation. Soon after he was appointed prime minister, his government began forming a political reform law. This was approved by Cortes in November 1976, and by the people in a referendum 15th of December the same year. The voting in Cortes showed 425 positive, 13 blanks and 59 in opposition. Those who voted against it were mostly representatives of the army and El Búnker.⁵⁶ This law provided a bicameral system based on universal suffrage.

⁵⁴ Tusell, Javier. *Spain: from dictatorship to democracy: 1939 to the present*. Translated by Rosemary Clark. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007 s. 274

⁵⁵ Carr & Fusi 1979 s. 217

⁵⁶ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 s. 436-437

Suárez showed great skill when it came to include all the groups in the Spanish society during the transition. Still, he was playing with fire when he decided to make the communist party legal the 9th of April 1977. The year before he had promised the military that this would not happen without their consent. The army chose to accept his decision, based on patriotism and loyalty to the cause. One of the weaknesses of Suárez government was lack of priority in the economic issues. The focus of the government lay, understandably, in securing the democratic transition.⁵⁷

It is common to blame the absence of the Francoists in the period 1973-1977 on the assassination of Carrero Blanco. They had lost the man who could have continued the regime. After Franco's death, the remaining Francoists were divided and lacked experience in being the opposition. The number of real Francoists was declining rapidly. Many of those previously loyal to the regime wanted reform in one way or another.⁵⁸ The extreme right presence was felt in the society and in the streets, but they lacked political support. They did not manage to transfer their ideology and tactics to a democratic electoral system.⁵⁹

The first democratic election in Spain since 1936 took place on the 15th of June 1977. The results showed rejection of Francoism, and the desire to further the democracy. The extreme right party Alianza Nacional 18 de Julio got less than 0,5% of the votes, whilst the neo Francoist coalition, Alianza Popular (AP) – The People's Alliance, got 8% of the votes.⁶⁰ The communists and the extreme left failed to succeed as well. Moderate politics seemed to be what Spain wanted. Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD) - Union of the Democratic Centre, with the reformist politics of Suárez became the biggest party with 34,4%. The economic problems had to be solved. Suárez tried to gather all the main political parties behind an economic reform program. In October 1977, the so-called Moncloa pact was signed. Spain was in dire need of an economic diet, and all the parties accepted. Suárez' success came due to his ability to gather the people and the politicians around the same things. With this in mind it is strange to think about how the party that led the democratization disappeared so suddenly after the next election.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Carr & Fusi 1979 s. 218-227

⁵⁸ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 s. 438-440

⁵⁹ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 s. 490-491

⁶⁰ Carr & Fusi 1979 s. 227-228

⁶¹ Carr & Fusi 1979 s. 225-235

In addition to the economical problems, Suárez struggled with the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) – Basque separatist movement, and separatist wishes in both the Basque Country and Catalonia. Also within the coalition there were problems, and his popularity sank when he could not solve these problems.⁶² Without being directly pressured into it, Suárez resigned 29th of January 1981. He realised that his time had come before the discontent became too apparent. A scarce month later, 23-24th of February, the parliament was appointing the new prime minister, when Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina et. al. tries to coup the power. The coup failed and Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo became the new prime minister, appointed by Suárez. During the first months Calvo Sotelo managed to increase the party's popularity. Unfortunately Spanish economy was affected by the increase in the oil price and the coalition was still divided. UCD's internal conflicts became conflicts in the government. By the election in 1982 their popularity had decreased immensely and they only managed 7% of the votes.⁶³

Even though Spain's extreme right were not able to be of any political importance during the elections in 1977 and 1982, their movements were active in the society. At the election in 1982 the biggest extreme right party, Fuerza Nueva (FN) – New Force, led by Blas Piñar, collapsed and was dissolved.

3.3.3 PSOE, Felipe González and GAL

Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) - Spanish Socialist Workers' Party – obtained majority in the 1982 election. With this change of government, the democracy was consolidated and stabilized. PSOE got 48% of the votes, whilst a centre-right coalition (Alianza Popular and Partido Demócrata Popular (PDP)) got 26%. Once again the political extremes got next to nothing.⁶⁴ Historian José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez has said that the election in 1982 marked the end of political extreme right in Spain, mainly as a result of the failed coup.⁶⁵ Felipe González preferred a moderate Scandinavian social democracy, and was moderate. He was idealistic, pragmatic, a skilled rhetoric and had a way of reaching the people. During González' first period reform was a keyword. Social reform, economic reform and military reform made the country more into a social democracy. Mid 1980s Spain

⁶² Tusell 2007 p. 303-305

⁶³ Tusell 2007 p. 310-314

⁶⁴ Tusell 2007 p. 321-326

⁶⁵ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 458-460

became a member of both NATO and EU. These memberships brought changes in the economic and foreign politics. Spain became more integrated in the European market, and foreign investment grew.⁶⁶

European integration did not only bring positive results. Jean Marie le Pen's extreme right and xenophobic Front National in France affected Spanish extreme right in the mid 1980s. Racism and anti immigration played an important role in many of the movements. Luckily none of these groups managed to get the same popularity as Le Pen's Front National. Blas Piñar made an attempt to create a coalition called Frente Nacional, but due to distrust and lack of a common program with the French namesake, the initiative failed.⁶⁷

Although the Prime Minister was a popular man and the Spanish society seemed stable during his time, during the late 1990s information has been revealed that puts him and his government in a different light. The final years of Franco's regime were marked by the growth of terrorist movements, the most active one being ETA. With the democratisation the actions of ETA increased, hoping that the democratic governments would be more flexible than the dictatorship. During the middle of the 1990s it appeared that González' government had created Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación (GAL) – Anti-terrorist Liberation Groups in 1983 to fight ETA. Illegal methods were used, and the authorities covered it up. According to Omar Encarnación GAL was a result of PSOE's need to show the military and the opposition that they could control ETA.⁶⁸ Some say that the relatively smooth democratisation in Spain came due to the government's ability to control the military. Simultaneously one has blamed the violent traditions from Franco's regime to explain GAL.⁶⁹ There is now doubt about the fact that members of the military participated in GAL. During the last years of Francoism the military had been responsible for the antiterrorist work. There was an obvious cooperation between GAL and violent extreme right groups like Anti-Terrorismo ETA, Grupos Armados Españoles and Alianza Apostólica Anticomunista (Antiterrorism ETA, Spanish Armed Groups and Anti-communist apostolic alliance). Even though González was acquitted for all association to GAL, some of his ministers were convicted. When José María Aznar became

⁶⁶ Tusell 2007 p. 342-344

⁶⁷ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 494-495

⁶⁸ Encarnación, Omar G. "Democracy and Dirty Wars in Spain". *Human Rights Quarterly*. Vol. 29, no. 4 (nov. 2007): p. 950-952

⁶⁹ Encarnación 2007 p. 952

prime minister in 1996 with Partido Popular he advocated finding a solution to legally fighting terrorism.⁷⁰

3.3.4 Partido Popular and José María Aznar

José María Aznar became prime minister in Spain the 4th of May 1996, after defeating an ailing PSOE. His centre government was a coalition of his Partido Popular (PP) – the People’s Party and the Catalan nationalist party. He controlled his party with satin gloves and iron hand.⁷¹ Aznar has been saluted for renovating the Spanish political right and their political culture. According to Aznar liberalism is not an ideology, but the final destination for a modern world.⁷² PP claims to embrace all nuances of right in Spain. This might be one of the reasons for the relatively weak extreme right in Spain. Still, during Aznar’s watch, the level of democracy in Spain was questioned. Especially corruption still marked the Spanish society.⁷³

In the 2004 election, PP lost to PSOE and José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. The main reason was some unfortunate statements by Aznar about the terrorist attack (where Muslim terrorists bombed the capital, killing 193 and wounding over 1400) only three days before the election. Norwegian historian Finn Fuglestad is set on that the terrorist action decided the outcome of the election. Furthermore, they got what they wanted: A new government who pulled the Spanish troops out of Iraq.⁷⁴ Javier Tusell, however, explains that neither the government nor the opposition were to blame for the attack. Rather the government’s inability to unite during this time of emergency and their reaction to it caused their popularity to sink.⁷⁵

3.4 Today

In Spain there have been changes that have led to a new outbreak of extreme rightist actions. Zapatero’s first years as prime minister 2004-2007 were marked by a relative stability, economically and socially. Laws were formed providing equalizing rights for women, gay marriage allowed and immigration regulated. In 2008 the economic crisis hit Spain, and a

⁷⁰ Encarnación 2007 p. 970-971

⁷¹ Tusell 2007 s. 411

⁷² Gonzalez Cuevas, Pedro Carlos. *Historia de las derechas españolas. De la Ilustración a nuestro días*. Madrid: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 2000 s. 478-479

⁷³ Tusell 2007 s. 449

⁷⁴ Fuglestad 2009 s. 265-266

⁷⁵ Tusell 2007 s. 453

period of recession and increasing unemployment followed. In the election of 2011, PSOE was again only the second biggest party in Spain. PP's candidate Mariano Rajoy became prime minister. During the recent years he has been dealing with the long-lasting economic crisis, immense unemployment and increasing discontent in the Spanish society. Recent events show growing activism in extremisms in Spain.

The Spanish democratisation has been idolized and used as a good example for countries that became democratic during the third wave of democratization. Regardless, Spain is no perfect example. The image of perfection has been ruined by accusations about the GAL, corruption and *El Pacto de Olvido* – the Pact of Forgetting. These things weaken the claim of consolidation of democracy during the first years after Franco's death. Besides weaknesses in the new democracy, there are agents who are inspired by the golden age of Spanish "fascism", and willing to fight for their neo-fascist principles.

4 El Búnker

During the ten years surrounding the death of Franco, there were a group of Spaniards that were called El Búnker – The Bunker. This was considered to be the hard core of the Francoist regime, those who wanted to continue the authoritarian regime. The name El Búnker is taken from the bunker where Hitler spent his last days and took his own life. Symbolically the Spanish El Búnker was the last defence towards the developing democracy. The leader of the communist party, Santiago Carrillo, made the name “El Búnker” a popular reference to the immobilistic sector of the Spanish right, although he was not the first to use it. Torcuato Luca de Tena used it in article in ABC the 7th of June 1967 to describe those who appreciated the status quo. They were sensible people, led by reason, compared to those who wanted to open the regime and were led by feeling.⁷⁶ In this chapter I will look at who they were, their main objectives, their connection to the attempted coup and El Alcázar, their editorial mouthpiece.

My main sources are El Alcázar, José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, Pedro Carlos González Cuevas, Javier Tusell and Julio Busquets. Seeing as El Alcázar was considered El Búnker’s mouthpiece, I will consider its thoughts and meanings representative to the thoughts and meanings of El Búnker.

4.1 The “members”

Spanish Historian José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez describes it as collective of people in immobilist positions and often seated in the state’s institutions. He says, “[...] it is a political, military, economic and ecclesiastical conglomerate [...]”.⁷⁷ El Búnker was connected to the National Council, the Royal Council, the Cortes, the Syndicalist Organization and many sectors of the armed forces. Most of the representatives were affiliated with these institutions. Some of them names were Blas Piñar (president and leader of Fuerza Nueva), Raimundo Fernández-Cuesta (leader of FE de las JONS 1977-1982), José Antonio Girón de Velasco (one of the founders of JONS and president of the brotherhood of veterans), Manuel Valdés Larrañaga (former vice secretary of FET de las JONS), Juan Garcia Carrés (member of the

⁷⁶ Tena, Luca de. 07.06.1967 in ABC “Crónicas Parlamentarias XVIII: Ni una cosa ni otra” First read 24.10.2014 <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1967/06/07/067.html>

⁷⁷ Rodríguez Jiménez, José Luis. *Reaccionarios y golpistas. La extrema derecha en España: del tardofranquismo a la consolidación de la democracia(1967-1982)*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994, p. 168 (“Se trata de un conglomerato político, militar, económico and eclesiástico”)

Brotherhood of Veterans and the only civilian found guilty of participating in 23-F), generals Milans del Bosch (23-F) and García Rebull (military Falangist, died 1976), and others such as priests, bishops and syndicate presidents.⁷⁸ During the next three chapters, some of these names will appear again.

4.2 El Alcázar

El Alcázar was one of the most read extreme right periodicals during the 20th century in Spain. El Alcázar as a daily newspaper was founded during the siege of the fortress in Toledo in 1936. In 1939 it was moved to Madrid and became the mouthpiece for Franco's regime. In 1971 Antonio Gibello became the director, and the paper got more extreme. From 1968 to 1969 the paper lost many followers, but had gained many back by 1973.⁷⁹ In June 1975 El Alcázar became an informative organ for La Confederación Nacional de Ex Combatientes. José Antonio Girón led the Ex Combatientes and was an unconditional Francoist and former labour minister.⁸⁰ The newspaper became representative for the so-called Búnker, and openly criticized the opening of the regime by Arias. The 7th of July 1977 Antonio Izquierdo was named director, as Antonio Gibello had been before him. His ideology was very close that of Girón. Izquierdo increased the sale from 13000 to 76000 in 1980. Many journalists, politicians and others collaborated with El Alcázar, some even using pseudonyms. Those using pseudonyms were usually in the military. In 1977 El Movimiento's propaganda and press delegation was dissolved and its powers transferred to a communication media for the regime. In June 1979 *Arriba*, another rightist newspaper was dissolved and El Alcázar became the main representation for the militants, Falangists and the extreme right in general.⁸¹ The papers banner was "Dios, España, familia, honor, libertad" – God, Spain, family, honour, freedom.⁸² As other extreme right organisations and newspapers, the period after the attempted coup was difficult. The state was very dismissive and the economic support lacked. In 1987, El Alcázar had to end their publication. Years later a tribunal sentenced the state to pay 2,500 million pesetas for having discriminated the editorial between 1981 and 1986.⁸³

⁷⁸ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994, p. 169

⁷⁹ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 233

⁸⁰ Conzález Cuevas 2000 p. 384

⁸¹ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 233-235

⁸² González Cuevas 2000 p. 460

⁸³ González Cuevas 2000 p. 460

4.2.1 Confederación Nacional de Ex combatientes

During the 1970s the *Hermandades de ex combatientes* – brotherhood of ex-combatants saw a revival as a reaction of the opening of the regime. It began during the 60s by those who fought during the civil war. In 1972 some military and civil personalities saw the need to create a national brotherhood, initialized by José Antonio Girón. Through El Alcázar Girón and his allies expressed their feelings against the opening of the regime. In 1974 the Consejo Nacional del Movimiento approved their statutes, and in November 1974 the Confederación Nacional de las Hermandades y Asociaciones de Ex Combatientes was constituted, and Girón elected president. They wanted to create a brotherhood of veterans, the children of veterans and other military to secure the values of the 18th of July. The confederation turned into one of the most important strongholds for the extreme right and El Búnker. In June 1975 El Alcázar became the confederation's loyal publication.⁸⁴

4.2.2 “Almendros”

Almendros is known as a pseudonym used by one person or a group to post articles in El Alcázar during the late 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. It is most famous for its three articles published during the last months before the 23-F. The first article called “Political analysis of the military moment”, was published the 17th of December 1980. This article heavily criticized Suárez politics concerning the Armed Forces.⁸⁵ The second article “About the other institutions” appeared the 22nd of January 1981. This one criticized the new constitution and asked for the government to admit their mistakes. The new constitution would not work in Spain and the democracy was failing. Spain was in a state of crisis and the lack of moral showed by the politicians was apparent.⁸⁶ The third and last article “The decision of the supreme command” was published the 1st of February 1981. In this Almendros claimed that the Spanish state had reached a point of no return. The apparent crisis could not be solved by continuation and reform, only by rupture, preferably in the form of a military intervention. They wanted to create a situation like the one in which De Gaulle gained power in France in 1958.⁸⁷ The closer in time we get to the actual coup, the more it is indicated, showing us that whoever was writing under the pseudonym Almendros was connected to the main coup-makers and a representative of El Búnker.

⁸⁴ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 105-109

⁸⁵ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 s. 288 “*Análisis político del momento military*”

⁸⁶ El Alcázar 22.01.1981 “*La hora de las otras instituciones*” by Almendros, p. 2-3

⁸⁷ El Alcázar 01.02.1981 “*La decisión del mando Supremo*” by Almendros, p. 1-3

4.3 Unifiers

4.3.1 Nostalgia

During the last years of Francoism, Franco was less active in politics due to his illness. The 20th of December 1973 ETA assassinated Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, Franco's second in command. Earlier that year Franco had made him prime minister. El Búnker saw in Carrero Blanco a continuation of the regime. When he was murdered there were no one left as a natural successor after Franco.⁸⁸ The murder was described as “as vile as useless”⁸⁹, in an article called “Died for God and for Spain”.⁹⁰ The death of Carrero Blanco gathered the conservatives.

After years of worsening health, El Caudillo Francisco Franco died the 20th of November 1975, 82 years old. He died at the La Paz hospital in Madrid, but his body was soon transferred to El Pardo palace. El Alcázar informed that El Pardo would be open for those who wanted to say their last goodbyes to the diseased Spanish caudillo. As with Carrero Blanco, the salutes and praising of the passed leader were uniform and massive. This great Spaniard, a true patriot, the excellent general, the saviour of the Spanish traditions and the passionate statesman had passed. 30 days of national grief was announced, all public spectacles cancelled for three days and all schools closed for a week. Around the El Pardo palace, there were to be three days of silence.⁹¹ Franco was to be buried in El Valle de los Caidos – The Valley of the Fallen, a great monument built to salute those who fell during the Spanish civil war, ordered by Franco. The Falangist leader, José Antonio Primo de Rivera was also buried here, and coincidentally he died (was executed) the 20th of November, 39 years earlier. The extreme right in Spain have not failed to create a certain symbolism of this, creating a nationalist celebration the 20th of November every year (20-N). Franco was buried the 23rd of November, after a public tour through the city of Madrid and an enormous display of emotion at the Valley of the Fallen.

In the days after his passing El Alcázar was filled with salutes and pleas to secure the heritage of Francoism. The 21st of November the publication was filled with homages, national and

⁸⁸ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 418-421

⁸⁹ El Alcázar 21.12.1973 ”Muerto por Dios y por España” p. 2-3 (“*tan vil como inútil*”)

⁹⁰ El Alcázar 21.12.1973 ”Muerto por Dios y por España” p. 2-3

⁹¹ El Alcázar 20.11.1975 ”Durante 30 días, Luto Nacional” p. 16

international condolences and wishes and expectations for the future. It also includes a notice written by Franco only a few days before his death. In this he praise the higher power for all he has accomplished. He declares his love for Spain and God and requests continued unity and collaboration with the new King.⁹² It was no surprise that those who wrote for El Alcázar were devastated with the news, but positive towards the future with Don Juan Carlos as the new chief of state.

20-N is the 20th of November, the death day of Franco and Jose Antonio. 18-J refers to the 18th of July 1936 when the nationalist began its coup d'état against the republicans in Spain. The extreme right has celebrated especially the 20-N and many of the manifestations were announced and covered by El Alcázar. The first couple of years after Franco's death were particularly popular amongst a great number of the population. Franco had provided progress for Spain, and even though he had been a dictator in an authoritarian regime, many respected him and looked at him as a great leader. After a while the government decided to prohibit these gatherings, as they feared the repercussions. They did not use this as the reason for prohibiting it, rather they claimed manifestations like this (in public areas) disturbed the urban everyday life. It comes as no surprise that the extreme right disliked this governmental decision, calling the city hall social communist and totalitarian.⁹³ El Alcázar argued that this was a violation of the democratic principles of the modern Spanish society.⁹⁴ The days after the commemoration El Alcázar was filled with praise towards the cause, claiming that during the last years the number of participants had increased. They felt attacked by the government and the city hall, whose members insisted on making it illegal the next year. During the first weeks of 1982 the government decided to fine Fuerza Nueva and Falange Española for their participation in the celebration of 20-N.

The celebration in the centre of Madrid in 1982 was a disaster. Seeing as it had been forbidden the year before, the police took action. According to El Alcázar, the police hit people, arrested a doctor who tried to help a bleeding man and Francisco Franco was insulted. Luis Peralta España described the national police as a shameful. He found it difficult to

⁹² El Alcázar 21.11.1975 "Mantened la unidad" – Francisco Franco p. 2

⁹³ El Alcázar 19.11.1981 "Totalitaria actitud del Ayuntamiento socialcomunista de Madrid" p. 11

⁹⁴ El Alcázar 21.11.1981 "Barriónuevo: "Nosotros no podemos presumir de neutralidad" by M. Gozalo p.9

understand how the police had gone from being an important institution in Spain, to discriminate against the legacy of Franco.⁹⁵

4.3.2 El Búnker in the new regime

The fear of modernization was present amongst El Búnker. They clearly disliked the technocratic government of Arias Navarro, although he tried to please El Búnker. Desperately trying to cause tension in the society did not work. They wanted to continue the values of 18-J, the day the nationalist coup began in 1936. When Adolfo Suárez was appointed prime minister, he was a relatively unknown factor in the Spanish society. El Búnker soon realised that he was not one of them.

It is no surprise that El Alcázar and El Búnker was against communism. Throughout the years, the fear of the reds was often a topic of discussion. Especially when Suárez became prime minister and met with the Spanish socialist leader, Felipe González (PSOE) the 10th of August 1976. Not long after that he met with the leaders for the military to reassure them that he would take no liberties when it came to the communist party. However, the 9th of April 1977, the communist party was legalised. In the last months of 1976 and the first of 1977 the fear of red power grew consistently. Voting for the new law in December 76 was like giving a vote to the Marxists. Around Christmas time in 1976 Santiago Carrillo was arrested in Madrid, seeing as the communist party still was prohibited. This brought joy and a fake sense of security for El Búnker represented by El Alcázar.⁹⁶ He was released the 31st of December. In El Alcázar published the 3rd of January 1977, the first five pages were used to show how many had died from the orders of Santiago Carrillo during the civil war, and how many had been wrongfully in jail. The extensive list was meant to scare as they compare the murders of November 1936 to the Holocaust and other genocides in modern times.⁹⁷ When the party was legalised, El Alcázar called it a totalitarian sin conducted by Suárez and his government. If they were to let the cancer spread freely in the Spanish society, they had to know that this would lead to their own death.⁹⁸ As a result of the legalisation some ministers decided to resign from their position.⁹⁹ During the following days El Alcázar posted pictures of demonstrations in the streets. They claimed that legalizing the communist party would

⁹⁵ El Alcázar 23.11.1982 "¡Vergüenza!" by Luis Peralta España p. 9

⁹⁶ El Alcázar 23.12.1976 "Santiago Carrillo, detenido en Madrid" p. 4-5

⁹⁷ El Alcázar 03.01.1977 "Hoy, más que nunca, ¡Presentes!: Martires de Paracuellos de Jarama" p. 1-5

⁹⁸ El Alcázar 11.04.1977 "Suárez legalizó el PCE" p. 4

⁹⁹ El Alcázar 12.04.1977 "Los Ministros del Aire y de Marina han presentado su dimision" p. 1

endanger the unity of Spain and put further stress on the division in the country. Most of the extreme rightists agreed that this was like taking a step back 40 years.

ETA is a terrorist separatist movement from the Basque country. During the last years of Franco's regime and the transition they created a situation of fear and chaos in Spain. It comes as no surprise that El Alcázar presented ETA in a very negative way, seeing as the extreme right newspaper represented Spanish unity. El Alcázar described ETA as a Marxist-Leninist movement, but this was not one of their traits. Between the 23rd and 28th of May 1977 El Alcázar had an exposé on ETA, where they stated obviously that ETA represented the negatives in the Spanish society: separatism, communism, secularisation and terrorism.¹⁰⁰

El Alcázar and El Búnker realized their diminishing importance in the Spanish political society. During the years after Franco's death El Alcázar was filled with negativity towards the democratization, the modernization, the new governments and their actions and other political parties that did not represent their views.

4.4 23-F – The attempted coup

To say that all those who participated in the attempted coup belonged to El Búnker and vice versa might not be correct. However, El Búnker and the coup makers shared the goal of returning to Francoism. Since it failed, it could be characterized as the end of El Búnker and a hard hit for the extreme right in Spain. Julio Busquets, a socialist army general who wrote a book on the coup (published in March 1981), placed the role of the army in the new society as a reason for the attempted coup. Since the civil war and during Franco's regime, the army had been predominantly conservative. Traditionally it was considered a separate "family" in the Spanish society. When Spain was democratised, it failed to integrate the most conservative parts of the military. These members, some of them in El Búnker, were unable to see where they would fit in. Rather than embracing the change, they tried to stop it.

Monday the 23rd of February at 18.22 in the Congress of Deputies in Madrid: lieutenant colonel Antonio Tejero Molina enters the Congress with 200 armed (this number alternates) members of the Spanish civil guard. Gun in hand, he yells "al suelo" – to the floor, taking the

¹⁰⁰ El Alcázar 23.05.1977 – 28.05.1977 " ETA al desnudo" by Francisco J. de Urci

members of the congress hostage “in the king’s name”.¹⁰¹ At five o’clock in Valencia the same day, lieutenant general Jaime Milans del Bosch had tanks rolling out in the street as a reaction towards what he meant to be a power vacuum in the country. Juan García Carrés was the only civilian who was charged for participation in the coup. Seeing as he shared Tejero’s beliefs he facilitated communication between Tejero and the others. He worked for El Alcázar, and secured contact and communication between various parts of the extreme right in Spain. As he had contact with Tejero via telephone during the course of the coup, he promised him to print Tejero’s manifesto the next day in El Alcázar.¹⁰² García Carrés was sentenced to two years in prison. 32 generals and lieutenants were accused but only 21 of them were sentenced. Among these were Tejero, Del Bosch and Armada, who got 30 years in prison.¹⁰³ Most of the sentenced lost their military rank and possibility to be a part of the military system in Spain.

4.4.1 Consequences

Tejero had entered the Congress “in the name of the king”, thinking he had the king’s support. The king was nowhere near accepting a threat to the new-born democracy. He strongly pointed out that the monarchy never could tolerate anyone trying to disrupt the democratic process in Spain.¹⁰⁴ Distancing himself completely from this attempt reassured those who had been in doubt. The king’s military career secured the support from most of the army. With a concise and clear message to the people, he was seen as the saviour of the democracy.

As mentioned before, the failed coup led to an extreme downfall for the extreme right and El Búnker. Most of those who were involved were sentenced to many years in prison, leaving few to continue the conservative and traditional movement. They were forced to see the socialist forces in the society gaining more popularity, with PSOE’s electoral victory in 1982 as a peak.

¹⁰¹ Tusell 2007 p. 309

¹⁰² Busquets, Julio; A. Aguilar, Miguel; Puche, Ignacio. *El golpe. Anatomía y claves del asalto al congreso*. Barcelona, Editorial Ariel, 1981 p. 56,89 and 139

¹⁰³ El Alcázar 04.06.1982 ”23-F El Consejo Supremo de Justicia Militar dictó Sentencia” p. 7

¹⁰⁴ Busquets 1981 p. 71-72

4.5 Failure

The main reasons for failure for the extreme right and particularly El Búnker are many, some complex and others easily understood. The coup in 1981 is one of the more factual reasons. Firstly it showed Spain the relative weakness of the military and the extreme right, both in the society and with the governmental and royal authority. Secondly, many of the participants were put in prison. The members of the extreme right were shown just how little support they had in Spain.

The changing society is another important factor for failure. The Spanish society was long overdue for a democracy. Seeing how the rest of the western society was living, they wanted the same thing.

El Búnker was never a party, not even a movement, the term constituted a conglomerate of people who represented similar ideas and thoughts. The authoritarian, conservative, national Catholic state was the ideal society for many of them. Some of the members went and formed their own parties, exemplified by Blas Piñar and Raimundo Fernández-Cuesta. They seemed to believe that they represented completely different ideas, and did not see the need or the availability of political cooperation.

4.6 Conclusion

El Búnker, consisting of the leading names within the extreme right in Spain from 1970 to 1982, was never more than a term used to place these in the same category. Any attempted cooperation between these groups failed for one reason or another. This will be the topic of later chapters. However, El Búnker's representatives were central figures in the democratic transition. Represented by the most influential extreme right newspaper, El Alcázar secured their ideas and meanings being heard. El Búnker was definitely the hard core remnants of the Francoist regime, desperately wanting to return to the golden days of the Francoist regime. Some wanted in more than others. When Antonio Tejero attempted a coup in 1981, it was met with very little support in the new democracy. El Alcázar represented most of the extreme right in Spain after Franco, however it failed to unite the different groups to create one viable movement. The Búnker was an anti-democratic, anti-communist and anti-change movement. They preferred the status quo and a return to the values of 18-J.

5 FE de las JONS

«I hope all political parties disappear. No one has even been born a member of a political party; instead we are all born as members of a family; we are all neighbours in a municipality; we all strive in the exercise of work... »¹⁰⁵

- 29th of October 1933, Teatro de la Comedia – “Discurso de la fundación de Falange Española”

In this chapter my aim is to look closer at FE de las JONS in the period after Franco’s death. La Falange Española de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista was the closest to a Fascist movement Spain ever saw during the 1930s. Starting with a brief introduction, I will discuss the many groups that developed from this fascist pre civil war movement. As mentioned in chapter 3, FE de las JONS was founded by José Antonio and Ramiro Ledesma Ramos in 1934 with traditionalism, syndicalism, monarchism, corporatism and conservatism as the main aspects. As Franco won the civil war FE de las JONS was transformed into his FET de las JONS. He based his symbolism and politics on Falangism. FE de las JONS would reappear as a party after Franco’s death. During the last years of Francoism, many Falangists wanted a unified front. This would be more difficult than one thought at first. There were many groupings in 1975, not all as influential as the next. Conversations began in 1973 but it soon became obvious that their thoughts on the future differentiated.¹⁰⁶ Even today there are many groups that call themselves Falangist, although they represent very different parts of the political spectre.

5.1 Parties developed from FE de las JONS

5.1.1 Frente Español

In July 1975 the first Falangist association was formed, the Frente Español. The most recognised and pro-Francoist were included, such as Raimundo Fernández-Cuesta.

Fernández-Cuesta had been the secretary of 1930s Falange, and had occupied many posts

¹⁰⁵ Primo de Rivera, José Antonio. *Obras completas*. Madrid: Ediciones de la Vicesecretaria de Educacion Popular de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S., 1945 p. 22 (“*Que desaparezcan los partidos políticos. Nadie ha nacido nunca miembro de un partido político; en cambio nacemos todos miembros de una familia; somos todos vecinos de un municipio; nos afanamos todos en el ejercicio de un trabajo...*”)

¹⁰⁶ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 195-197

under Franco. Many other Falangist groups disliked Frente Español for its connection to El Movimiento and Franco.¹⁰⁷ During 1976 FE changed its name to Frente Nacional Español (FNE) – Spanish National Front. Soon after they were allowed to use FE de las JONS.¹⁰⁸ They wrote an open letter to all Falangist, asking them to join if they were ideologically aligned. In September 1976 a ministerial council approved and gave the name FE de las JONS to Fernández-Cuevas group. This caused a verbal war amongst the Falangist groups.

5.1.2 Circulos Doctrinales José Antonio (CDJA)

The José Antonio Doctrinal Study Groups came into being at the end of the 1950s as study groups to preserve the Falangist orthodox ideology. As most of its members were over 50 years, they sought to spread their message. Seeing as they were linked to the Movimiento, they were not illegal. During the 1960s however, they became increasingly critical towards the regime, and wanted to renew the Falangist tactics and ideology. From 1965 Diego Márquez Horrillo led CDJA. In January 1976 they joined Frente Nacional de Alianza Libre - FNAL (Free Alliance of the National Front) and named themselves FE de las JONS. This cooperation did not last long. Late June 1976 CDJA invited other Falangist groups to participate in the 1st National Syndicalist Congress in Madrid. The theme of the congress was “Towards unity” and included many groups who considered themselves Falangist. By the beginning of July, all the main groups except FE de las JONS(a) signed a pact.¹⁰⁹

5.1.3 FE de las JONS (Auténtica)

In May 1976 FNAL met with Central Obrera Nacional Sindicalista and Frente Sindicalista Unificado and agreed on forming a party called FE de las JONS (Auténtica). This party was to be led by Pedro Conde. When the Ministerial Council appointed the name FE de las JONS to FNE, the “authentic” reacting by putting forth a campaign to legitimize their claim to the name. Shortly after, violent clashes occurred.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 195-196

¹⁰⁸ El Alcázar – “Llamamiento a todos los Falangistas” – 23.06.1976 p. 1

¹⁰⁹ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 195-198

¹¹⁰ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 198-199

5.2 Failure

In October 1976 FE de las JONS (Fernández-Cuesta's group) invited the other groups to a celebration of the creation of the Falange 43 years earlier.¹¹¹ Seeing as the last six months had been filled with violence and disagreements between the groups, it came as no surprise that the same happened at this celebration. Fighting continued both at the celebration and in the streets, but it became evident that FE de las JONS was the main Falangist party. The Falangists were also on bad terms with the biggest extreme right party, Fuerza Nueva and its leader Blas Piñar. According to Sheelagh Ellwood, it did not matter what these groups called themselves and which group was legitimate. They were all considered remnants of an anti-democratic past, and seeing as the Spanish society was in the fast track for change, their popularity was low.¹¹² José Antonio Girón de Velasco, Falangist and member of the Búnker, said in an interview with El Alcázar that he believed in the unification of all Falangist movements. He also said that even if FE de las JONS had not been created in 1933, it would have been created in 1976. The country was in a similar situation.¹¹³

5.2.1 Elections

FE de las JONS ran for election in 1977 although they were naturally opposed to parliamentary democracy. Their cause was the same as it had been in the 1930s, as it was not clear to them that the Spanish society had changed. They denied that Franco had been a representative of the Falange. He had only used it as legitimation and a base. The election was a disaster. The lack of popularity within the extreme right sector might have been the reason for different alliances in the election of 1979. FNE entered into an alliance called Unión Nacional with Circulos Doctrinales José Antonio AND Fuerza Nueva. The union received more votes this time around, and Piñar secured a seat in Madrid. When in 1982 there was a new general election, the votes received showed a new low and Raimundo Fernández-Cuesta resigned as president of FE de las JONS four months later.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 197 -200

¹¹² Ellwood, Sheelagh. "Chapter 5. The Extreme right in Spain: A dying species?" in *The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe*. Edited by Luciano Cheles, Ronnie Ferguson and Michalina Vaughan (Second edition), London and New York: Longman, 1995 p. 91-104

¹¹³ El Alcázar 10.09.1976 "La unidad falangista – Deber inexasable" p. 5

¹¹⁴ Ellwood 1995 p. 91-104

5.2.2 Denying the Francoist heritage

Since FE de las JONS was allowed as a political party in 1976, they have refused any similarities with the Francoist regime. According to their webpage, Franco gathered all the nationalist parties in 1937 for his own benefit, and this new union was not representative of FE de las JONS. Diego Márquez Horrillo replaced Raimundo Fernández-Cuesta in 1983. He has been responsible for trying to remove all links between FE de las JONS and Franco. José Antonio once again became the founder and the main symbol for the Falangists. According to the webpage, José Antonio advised both nationalist and republicans to avoid the cruel actions that led to the civil war, knowing this would leave a deep scar in the nations history.¹¹⁵ After the Republicans executed José Antonio, he became a martyr and a symbol for peace. Diego Marquez Horrillo is the one who pushed a more democratic and applicable stance through, securing a better election result in 1986. Not all the Falangist were open to this moderation, amongst them Pilar Primo de Rivera (José Antonio's sister) and Fernández-Cuesta. Between 1995 and 1997 there were some friction in the party, especially concerning the leadership. It all ended with one of the candidates for leadership, Jesus Lopez, decided to create a new party, FE – La Falange. He brought with him many of the most radical, leaving FE de las JONS to its moderate politics. In 2000, FE de las JONS included Falange Española Independiente in their party, bringing with them Norberto Pico. He soon became national deputy, and in 2011 the new leader.¹¹⁶

5.3 Today

FE de las JONS describes themselves today as a meeting place for all Falangists. They represent the family, the Spanish people and the municipality. They want to defend and represent Spain's interest. They criticize what they believe is a two-party system constructed by PSOE and PP, and argue that they have hindered the freedom to have independent ideas and thoughts. According to their webpage, they think that Spain is the future, and not Europe. Seeing as the Falange is old, conservative, traditionalist and nationalist, this seems only normal. However, in their recent doctrine their objectives seem to have changed. Norberto Pico, the leader of FE de las JONS today, represents the national syndicalism based on a serious and honest political program, according to themselves.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ The Falange's history, first read 02.09.2014 <http://falange.es/contenido/historia/>

¹¹⁶ Extremismo Wordpress on the death of Horrillo - <http://extremismo.wordpress.com/2014/03/31/muere-diego-marquez-horrillo-lider-historico-de-fe-jons/> First read 21.09.2014

¹¹⁷ The Falange's history <http://falange.es/contenido/historia/>

5.3.1 Extreme? Right?

Could the FE de las JONS of today be considered extreme right? Not according to themselves. In a pamphlet written by David Pedraza Mañogil called “National syndicalism. Answers to the questions most asked about the Falange and its doctrine”¹¹⁸, their political and ideological beliefs are presented. Only their political opponents use this characterization to hurt them politically. For many their historical significance suggests their anti-democratic, conservative, extremist and violent stance, but they refuse to be considered like this today.

Mañogil argues that you do not have to be either left or right on the political scale. The Falangists are national syndicalists. They represent traits from both sides of the political spectrum: representing the workers and a wish for fair distribution, and defending the patriotism and the traditional values. They call it a union of the spiritual necessities with the material necessities.¹¹⁹ FE de las JONS argue that those who represent the centre in politics fails their own values only to receive more votes. When push comes to shove it seems like they are fundamentally against the political system of today, especially capitalism and the political monopoly PSOE and PP represents. They claim that capitalism is not valuable to the society. It only leads to monopolies, concentration of businesses and social differences both nationally and internationally. They advocate a national syndicalist program. In this the economy is built on vertical syndicates, where the worker is central and the capital is submissive. The economic consequences of this politics would be less power in the hands of multinational companies and big investors.¹²⁰ They want a political system where the people participate without the political parties, but rather through natural unities of coexistence like neighbourhoods, municipalities, syndicates and associations.¹²¹

5.3.2 Fascists?

José Antonio Primo de Rivera and other early Falangists were drawn to fascism in the 1930s. Mussolini was seen as a great statesman, but when this ideology was put into system, the Spanish Falangists began rejecting it. According to Mañogil, in fascist thought the state is the same as the nation. Falangists believe that these are separate entities. The state is a political

¹¹⁸ Mañogil, David Pedraza. *El Nacional Sindicalismo. Respuestas a las preguntas más frecuentes sobre la Falange y su doctrina*. Spain: Bubok Publishing S.L 2010 p. 15-16 (First read sept. 2014)
https://dl.dropboxusercontent.com/u/88631147/elnacionalsindicalismo_libro-e.pdf

¹¹⁹ Mañogil 2010 p. 18 “*union de las necesidades espirituales con las necesidades materiales*”

¹²⁰ Mañogil 2010 p. 27-33

¹²¹ Mañogil 2010 p. 41-43

instrument created to serve the historical collective that is the nation. Also the Fascist corporatism does not negate capitalistic property. Most important of all; the fascist state often is a dictatorship governed by a mass party. Since the Falangists want a society without parties (and dictators), fascism is by definition different. According to Mañogil, Falangism as an organisation only exist to conquer the power. Once in charge, they will dissolve the organisation to make room for the National syndicalist state.¹²²

5.3.3 Nationalists?

According to Mañogil and the rest of the Falangists, nationalism has negative connotations. They believe that if you are nationalist, you feel like your nation is supreme to other nations and people. A reason for refusing to use the term nationalists to describe themselves has a lot to do with how the term has been used during the last century in both Spain and Europe. In the Spanish civil war, it was the Nationalists versus the Republicans. Hitler's party was Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, NSDAP – National Socialist German Workers Party. Mussolini founded Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF) – National Fascist Party. In many European countries nationalism is used to describe extremist and excluding movements and groups. Especially from the 1920s to the 1940s, groups that considered themselves allies of Hitler and Mussolini used nationalist in their names. They do, however, describe themselves as national syndicalist.

Nationalism in Spain goes hand in hand with racism, another characterisation the Falangists refuse to accept as one that describes them. Seeing as nationalism is excluding, they prefer to call themselves patriots. Their patriotic love for Spain and its tradition is based on catholic values. The Falangists want to create one Patria (fatherland), including countries in Latin America, since they share a lot of the same history, culture and values. Patria cannot be defined by race, territory or language. They accept and welcome the plurality of language in Spain. They want to illegalize all separatist parties and movements. The separatist issue in Spain has caused clashes between extreme rightist and separationists in the recent years. Burning of flags and attacking separationist manifestations have been on the agenda for many extreme right groupings. FE de las JONS cannot be considered one of these, seeing as they have chosen a more legitimate way of protesting.

¹²² Mañogil 2010 p. 47-50

5.3.4 Totalitarian?

There are many traits used to define totalitarian societies and movements. Some of the most common traits are: their belief that they have found the recipe for the perfect society; they reject the existing society; they believe they have found the only truth; their ideology is all encompassing; only a small elite is included in the knowledge of the ideology; they are allowed to use all means necessary to reach their goals, even terror and violence; and all those in their way are considered enemies.¹²³

FE de las JONS have some totalitarian aspects. They want to create a totally new system through (democratic) revolution. Mañogil explains that the national syndicalist system will not come through a coup d'état, but rather as a natural consequence of the peoples wish. Only when enough of the Spanish population wants and helps the change, will it happen.¹²⁴ To some extent one can define the national syndicalism of FE de las JONS as a totalitarian movement, although it lacks some of the characteristics it needs to fulfil the definition.¹²⁵ The Falangism of today does not want to use all means necessary to reach their goal of the national syndicalist state. Violence and terror is frowned upon, and it rarely shows an aggressive notion towards those against them. This lack of aggression may come from the realization that it only decreases the support received.

5.4 Analyse

The pamphlet from 2010 and their political program of the recent years are manoeuvrable and easy to understand, although filled with contradictions. One of my main concerns is their view on the political system. Their position on the actual political system is complete rejection. However they do participate in the elections in a system they consider manipulated and unnatural. They explain their participation as the only legal way of reaching their goal. Their goal is not very well explained. They want to implement a national syndicalist state, but what this entails is not easy to understand. They want to create a participation democracy, where vertical syndicates replace the unnatural entities created by the capitalist two-party democracy's institutions. As with many of the patriotic, traditionalistic movements it is easier to understand what they do not want, rather than what they want.

¹²³ Sørensen, Øystein; Hagtvet, Bernt; Steine, Bjørn Arne. *Ideologi og terror. Totalitære ideer og regimer*. Oslo. Dreyer forlag, 2011 p. 21-22

¹²⁴ Mañogil 2010 p. 77-78

¹²⁵ Sørensen, Hagtvet, Steine 2011 p. 21-22

FE de las JONS seem to have an ambivalent relationship with the Catholic Church. They do not want a confessional society. The church is not a political institution in their eyes. This does not mean that they want a secular nation, according to Mañogil.¹²⁶ This seems a bit ambiguous, and another point insufficiently explained. The national syndicalist does not want a state or a statesman (this entails people of the church) that dictates what is morally good and bad. As Falangists they believe that there exists some fundamental laws that decide what is good and bad, and for most Spaniards these are drawn from Catholicism. The catholic tradition is integrated in the Spanish tradition, and the Spanish people have fought for this throughout history. Even though the values that the national syndicalism is built on stems from Catholicism, you do not have to be catholic to be Falangist. In their doctrine from 2010, Mañogil informs that you can be of whatever religion or spiritual belief. As long as one respects the catholic values since they are the traditional, Spanish values, one can chose what to believe in. Because of the previous reasons, national syndicalism will never create a society that allows abortions, euthanasia, polygamy and homosexual relations.¹²⁷

Their view on immigration is liberal for a party with that history. They refuse to be characterized as racists, and claims to be open to immigration although they do not want open borders. Open borders without any form of control will only lead to chaos and poverty, for both the immigrants and the Spaniards. The big and illegal immigration is not a security issue, it is a social injustice issue. The rich, western countries exploit the so-called “Third World”. The easiest way to solve the issue of illegal immigration is to stop exploiting the “third world” countries.¹²⁸ They openly admit racial distinction, and argue that denying this would be absurd. All of mankind is equal, and Spain is not defined by a race. The catholic tradition assures the non-racist belief of Falangism.

FE de las JONS blames Europe for the economic crisis in Spain. The European Union is not to any help to Europe, or the Spanish people. In a pamphlet created for the European Elections of 2014, they openly criticize the EU.¹²⁹ They do not want to be a colony under the hegemony of the other European powers, especially the victors of the Second World War.

¹²⁶ Mañogil 2010 p. 57-58

¹²⁷ Mañogil 2010 p. 57-61

¹²⁸ Mañogil 2010 p. 51-56

¹²⁹ FE de las JONS European Election Pamphlet Point 1 http://falange.es/contenido/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/FEJONS_europeas_2014.pdf First read 09.09.2014

The Spanish people are the ones who should decide and not be dictated by EU. FE de las JONS wants to defend the Spanish society against the homogenization of the EU. Europe is a mercantilist region driven by economic interests, rather than social and/or human interests. They dislike the position Spain has in the EU when it comes to production. FE de las JONS recognises that the Spanish companies also outsource to especially Latin American and Asian countries. They seem to believe that as much of the Spanish production as possible should be within the geographical borders of Spain. NATO has inflicted control over the Spanish military, another accomplishment that FE de las JONS is not too happy about. They want more autonomy for their armed forces. They want an army that only defends the Spanish people. FE de las JONS wants less Europe and more Spain, fearing for Spain's borders and traditions.

FE de las JONS have never been a monarchist movement, and to this day still is not. They feel like the monarchy is something that belongs in the middle ages, not in a modern society. They want to create a whole new society and the monarchy is not a representative institution worth keeping. One cannot inherit the position as chief of state like it was a property.¹³⁰ Historically they admire the monarchy, seeing as they use the yoke and arrows that symbolized the catholic monarchs, Fernando and Isabel, as their own symbol. FE de las JONS deny that this is a sign of monarchism. It is rather a sign of the catholic tradition the catholic monarchs left.¹³¹

5.5 Conclusion

The FE de las JONS of the 1930s was a fascist, conservative and nationalistic party. Franco included it in FET de las JONS, and since then it was connected to Francoism. However, most Falangists of today refuse to accept this. During the 1960s and forward they began forming their own groups that once again represented what they called the true Falangist ideology. They refused to see the corporatism and the dictatorship as traits that characterized national syndicalism. The national syndicalism in the period after Franco's death was more reactionary than it is today. It can be put in the category of extreme right, due to its participation in the dirty wars that followed the transition. After the first period of democratization and the hostility between different political groups cooled off, so did the

¹³⁰ FE de las JONS European Election Pamphlet Point 14.2

¹³¹ Mañogil 2010 p. 75-76

reactionary and revolutionary propaganda and attitude. With the change of leadership came the change in politics. Although FE de las JONS today wants to create a totally new society based on its national syndicalist principles, they want to reach this goal through the people's realization. The party is today a legitimate political party. Compared to some of the other remnants of the 20th century, they have come a long way in modernizing their doctrine and retaining their earlier aggressive manner.

During the course of time the FE de las JONS have gone from being inclined to Fascism, the main party Franco built his regime on, to being a party that refuses most of Franco's heritage. Their party is not to the left, nor the right or centre of the political scale. They represent a new society, where everybody is equally represented. The national syndicalist state consists of natural syndicates, such as municipalities, neighbourhoods and associations.

6 Neo-Nazis in Spain

Neo-Nazism was never the most popular direction in the Spanish extreme right. Nevertheless the Nazi beliefs have been consistently present since before the transition. I will begin with a short introduction to the main influences. Subsequently my objective is to discuss the neo-Nazi role in the transition, their connection with other extreme right groups, and their relationship with Franco. I will mostly use the studies by Xavier Casals' "Neonazis en España – de las audiciones wagnerianas a los skinheads (1966-1995)".

6.1 Inspiration and influence

6.1.1 Adolf Hitler (1889-1945)

I want to explain briefly how he influenced the Spanish neo-Nazism. Hitler's anti-Semitic national socialist regime was extremely influential during its time. From being one man's beliefs he gained immense support. Franco and Hitler's relationship was polite, but neither one of them were very impressed by the other. This is one reason why Nazism failed to become a popular movement in Spain. The biology based extreme anti-Semitism was a phenomenon very different from the religious anti-Semitism in Spain. What separated Hitler's Nazism and the neo-Nazism in Spain most, was religion. Although Hitler was raised catholic, he distanced himself from religious discussions and seldom used it in his politics. He was more inclined to Catholicism than paganism. The characterization of CEDADE as a catholic national socialist group therefore does not correspond with the "real" Nazism of Hitler.

6.1.2 Corneliu Zelea Codreanu

Corneliu Codreanu (1899-1937) was the leader of the Rumanian Iron Guard, one of the most unique fascist groups in Europe between the two wars. Leading a fascist mass movement made him a threat to the king in Rumania. The king had him captured and illegally executed, making Codreanu a martyr and a mystified figure. During the 1930s the Iron Guard and the Spanish Falangist movement admired each other greatly.¹³² Blas Piñar admired him. His nationalistic, religious beliefs made him compatible to the beliefs of many Spaniards. Only

¹³² Casals 1998 p. 39-42

basing his nationalism in Rumania and the degree of popularity separates the Iron Guard from the Falangist movement.¹³³

6.1.3 Leon Degrelle

Leon Degrelle (1906-1994) was one of the most famous exiles related to CEDADE, and Spanish extreme right in general. He was the leader of the Belgian Christus Rex movement and later led the Belgian contingent of Waffen SS, highly admired by Hitler. Being a political refugee he was not allowed to publicly work in politics, but there were no doubts about where his sympathies lay. He soon became a symbol of post-war fascism in Europe. His extreme Christianity, strong anti-Communism, his heroism in combat during the second world war and his effort as a publicist and writer whilst in exile made him very compatible with the beliefs of CEDADE.¹³⁴

6.2 Movements, Groups and Parties

6.2.1 Círculo Español De Amigos De Europa (CEDADE)

The biggest and most influential neo-Nazi group in Spain was CEDADE – Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe, officially established in Barcelona in 1966. This group consisted of radical Falangists, national socialists, racists and anti-communists. According to José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, the neo-Nazi groups that appeared during the 1960s were a result of the weaknesses in the Falangist institutions. This left a vacuum to be filled by FN and CEDADE. Rodríguez Jiménez explains that in Barcelona the existence of a radical Falangism expressing affiliation with Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy was strong. CEDADE was founded after numerous meetings celebrating the work of Richard Wagner. These turned more and more into political meetings. As many before them, they believed Wagner to be the precursor of Nazism.¹³⁵ The most important political influences were Adolf Hitler, León Degrelle and Cornelio Codreanu. Anti-Semitism, anti-communism, Catholicism and pan-Europeanism were characteristics of the group.¹³⁶

¹³³ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 368-369

¹³⁴ Casals 1998 p. 80-81

¹³⁵ Casals i Meseguer, Xavier. *Neonazis en España. De las audiciones wagnerianas a los skinheads (1966-1995)*. Barcelona: Grijalbo Mondadori S.A., 1995 s. 66

¹³⁶ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 s. 398-409

Ángel Ricote is said to be one of the main founders. He was a member of Franco's Guard and visited Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) – Italian Social Movement in Rome, where he obtained information about correspondence with other fascists in Europe. Many European fascists, in exile from their own countries, influenced the ideology of CEDADE. They were trying to find a third way between Soviet's communism and Western Europe and USA's capitalism.¹³⁷ Ricote was the first president, and Jorge Mota was in charge of the younger section. Jorge Mota was a young man who wanted to create a national socialist Wagnerian society. He believed that the destiny of Europe would be decided after a battle or a revolution by a socialist workers front.¹³⁸ Ricote wanted CEDADE to be a cultural circle, but the younger section (SJ – Sección Juvenil) wanted a national socialist political organisation. In 1970 the younger section assumed power and made it an organisation.

After Mota consolidated the organisation in Barcelona during 1973, a new headquarter was set up in Madrid, increasing international connections. Especially Saudi Arabian connections were important, as economic founding helped set up printing equipment.¹³⁹ During the last years of Francoism, some in the extreme right wing believed that CEDADE could help the Movement continuing the Francoist regime. Meeting with some of the most prominent people in the regime, Mota secured personal loyalty. But CEDADE's popularity sank after some unfortunate public statements. The politicians realised that including CEDADE in future plans would most definitely decrease trust and popularity.¹⁴⁰

CEDADE had an informative publication, *CEDADE*, in which the main topics were pan European fascism, racism and anti-Semitism, extreme Catholicism and a Wagnerian ideology, forming the doctrine of the organisation.¹⁴¹ *CEDADE* was translated into many languages and they received contributions from other countries and translated classic national socialist texts. In his book "The Nature of Fascism" Roger Griffin describes CEDADE as one of the most important neo-Nazi organisations in post-war Europe when it came to securing international connections.¹⁴² These connections were not only used to spread the Nazi ideology, but also to plan terrorist activities.¹⁴³ The bulletin negated the Holocaust, claiming

¹³⁷ Casals 1995 s. 37-41

¹³⁸ Mota, Jorge. *Hacia un Socialismo Europeo*. Barcelona: Ediciones Bau, 1974 p. 23

¹³⁹ Casals 1995 p. 85

¹⁴⁰ Casals 1995 p. 78-82

¹⁴¹ Casals 1995 p. 60-61

¹⁴² Griffin 1991 p. 165

¹⁴³ Griffin 1991 p. 171

it to be a part of the international Jewish complot. Their racism was spiritually based more than geopolitically. The anti-Semitism was drawn from Hitler's ideology, claiming the Jews to be masons, communists and a violent race. Being extremely catholic, this legitimized the anti-Semitism. CEDADE felt utterly threatened by the Jews in Spain, exaggerating their number. In the late 1960s, only 6000 Jews lived in Spain.¹⁴⁴ Although their anti-Semitism was extreme, it did not affect the rest of the country. Franco was never racially anti-Semitic. These tendencies only belonged to a small group. An important trait in CEDADE was their "imported" ideology. It is hard to describe CEDADE as renewed form of Spanish extreme right, seeing as they took most of their beliefs from foreigners.¹⁴⁵

In 1970 the organisation became explicitly neo-Nazi, thanks to Jorge Mota and the younger section. As many others, Mota admired Franco and his victory over the communists, but sought distance from the Falange and Franco's regime.¹⁴⁶ Criticizing heavily the traditional conservative extreme right, they wanted a national revolution based on the supremacy of the Aryan race. Initially having a good relationship with Blas Piñar's Fuerza Nueva, this came to an end in 1978 when Piñar used the term Nazi in a negative manner. After this CEDADE removed itself from the rest of the extreme right in Spain, claiming it to be the worst in Europe.¹⁴⁷ According to CEDADE, FN and Piñar were a part of the Zionist conspiracy. CEDADE refused to cooperate with other extreme right groups and failed to decide on an extra parliamentary stance.

During the transition CEDADE did not have a clear method on how they would reach government and power in Spain. They refused to transform themselves into a political party. First and foremost it was a cultural circle. Lacking tactics and strategy they would not be able to gain any form of political importance as the transition went forward.

What happened with the other extreme right movements in Spain during the early 1980s also happened to CEDADE. After the failed coup d'état the 23rd of February 1981, the extreme right lost many supporters. Not only had the Spanish people had enough of the extremism in political Spain, these extremist groups failed to unite. CEDADE struggled with internal

¹⁴⁴ Casals 1995 p. 64

¹⁴⁵ Casals 1995 p. 72

¹⁴⁶ Casals 1995 p. 60

¹⁴⁷ Casals i Meseguer, Xavier. *La tentación neofascista en España. La evolución de la extrema derecha española durante la transición, así como sus espejos y referentes europeos*. Barcelona: Plaza & Janés Editores S.A., 1998 p. 118-119 " *la peor de Europa* "

division. The “old” Wagnerian belief was up against a more Nietscherian sector. The racism went from a purely divine foundation to a scientifically proved foundation.¹⁴⁸ The division was apparent as some of the more important members of CEDADE left the movement. This only increased the crisis, and eventually led to the dissolution in 1993. By mid 1980s the movement had lost most of its branches, which led Jorge Mota to the conclusion that the isolation was more strengthening than weakening.¹⁴⁹ By 1986 most of the militant, radical and orthodox members had left, leaving the group to be a rather mellow one. Their main focus was to get rid of the neo paganism in the group, affirming the correlation between Nazism and Christianity. CEDADE took part in the revisionist movement that appeared in Europe after the Second World War. The crisis increased with economic problems. *CEDADE* was published more rarely. The last meeting took place 27th of November 1993, without any imminent threat of renewal or reappearance. Leon Degrelle died in 1994 and this is said to be the event that ended the era of neo-Nazism (and neo-fascism) in Spain.¹⁵⁰

Having imported most of its political and cultural thoughts, it’s not strange that their ideology was easily exported as well. Having representatives all over Spain, CEDADE claimed to have more than 2500 members. The reality was quite different, between 1000 and 1200 prescribed for *CEDADE*. During the last half of the 1970s CEDADE obtained international delegations. France and Latin America were the main collaborators.¹⁵¹

6.2.2 Partido Español Nacional Socialista (PENS)

PENS, the Spanish National Socialist Party, was formed by a small group of young neo-Nazis. They would have been close to anonymous if it had not been for their connection with SECED, Stefano Delle Chiaie (Italian extra parliamentary neo-fascist) and their violent activity towards libraries and public spaces. SECED was a governmental organisation created to handle extremist organisations.¹⁵² They used extreme right groups to handle extreme left groups, before they turned on the extreme right groups.¹⁵³ PENS became a more active alternative to the cultural CEDADE.¹⁵⁴ It wanted to fight the regime’s opposition more actively than CEDADE, mainly through terrorist actions (mainly in Barcelona between 1968

¹⁴⁸ Casals 1995 p. 157-162

¹⁴⁹ Casals 1995 p. 175-177

¹⁵⁰ Casals 1995 p. 190

¹⁵¹ Casals 1995 p. 129-130

¹⁵² <http://www.cni.es/es/queescni/historia/elseced/> First read 23.05.14

¹⁵³ Casals 1995 p. 107

¹⁵⁴ Casals 1995 p. 97-99

and 1973).¹⁵⁵ Their radical anti-Communism was the most prominent trait, and they would describe themselves as national revolutionaries. PENS claimed that there were no regional differences in Spain. It was Ernesto Milá who introduced PENS to Delle Chiaie. He rearranged the group and was soon in charge. PENS was one of the groups accountable for the majority of terrorist actions until mid-1970s. Most other extreme/radical right groups supported and instigated their actions.¹⁵⁶ By the middle of 1974 PENS had to collaborate more and more with SECED and started to lose their independence. Together with the lack of political unity, this caused the dissolution of PENS. The only neo Nazi alternative to CEDADE was now gone, and its members now sought other groups.¹⁵⁷

6.2.3 Nuevo Socialismo (NS)

Nuevo Socialismo (NS) – New Socialism, led by Ramón Bau, former member of CEDADE, appeared in April 1984 with its magazine *Mundo NS*. Although they denied any similarities with CEDADE, they were an alternative to this organisation. The Nazism, their distance from the traditional extreme right in Spain and the historic revisionism showed similarities. But their aim to be a political party and their more neo pagan stance differentiated them from CEDADE.¹⁵⁸ Racism in NS was based on science and culture. They did not claim one race to be better than any other, only that the races were different and should not be mixed. Being denied a status as a political party, their wish to be a national socialist political powerhouse in Spain disintegrated. This neo Nazi alternative was not long-lived, only until 1988. NS considered themselves national revolutionary, an alternative to the traditional extreme right, which they considered nostalgic and immobilistic.¹⁵⁹

6.2.4 Bases Autónomas (BB.AA.)

BB.AA., Autonomous Bases, was created in Madrid during the fall of 1983, by a group of university students. According to *Mundo NS*, the BB.AA. wanted to wake the revolutionary thoughts in the university. In 1986 BB.AA. expanded by reaching out to other marginalized groups in the society. Skinheads, football hooligans, punkers, bikers and such took part in this very heterogenic group. Their characteristics were their break with the traditional right, their street activity and spontaneity. Lacking a united ideology made the group very

¹⁵⁵ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 408-409

¹⁵⁶ Casals 1995 p. 105

¹⁵⁷ Casals 1995 p. 110-111

¹⁵⁸ Casals 1995 p. 197-199

¹⁵⁹ Casals 1995 p. 207

vulnerable. Being seen as a problem for the public order and not being able to put forward a political alternative eventually led to the dissolution in 1995. They tried to loose many of the most radical skinheads because of their xenophobia and vandalism, making the movement even less attractive.¹⁶⁰

6.2.5 Skinheads and hooligans

For skinheads racism and violence are their most important traits, combined with their physical appearance of military boots and shaved heads. Most of them lack a political ideology, but some are members of political parties.

The skinheads started appearing in Spain by mid 1980s, many as radical supporters for Spanish football teams. The most prominent being Ultras Sur, the hooligans belonging to Real Madrid. By the beginning of the 1990s the brutal violence was obvious as some incidences caused death. Defining these groups ideologically is close to impossible. Even though some skinheads were members of other neo-Nazi groups, what characterized them were the spontaneity and aggression. Wanting to spread fear, some of them saw themselves as the last fighters for the “white Europe”.¹⁶¹ It was the racism, the anti-Semitism, anti immigration and the xenophobia that drove them. During the 1980s and 90s the skinhead propaganda came trough skinzines, Oi-music and football matches. The skinzines are skinhead magazines of propaganda, where a certain type of graphic is used. Nordic runes and gothic writings combined with imagery of the Third Reich makes them distinct. The Oi-music is an international music genre often related to the skinhead movement. During the last 20 years the neo-Nazi propaganda, as well as all propaganda, has taken to the Internet. Web sites, blogs and forums have increased the reachability of these groups.

The relationship between the extreme right movements and the neo-Nazi skinheads was ambiguous. As mentioned, there were crossings of membership. But the parties were no place for the military activism the skinheads portrayed, and the serious political groups did not want the undisciplined militancy of the skinheads.

¹⁶⁰ Casals 1995 p. 213-227

¹⁶¹ Casals 1995 p. 269-276

6.2.6 Nueva Derecha

Nueva Derecha (ND) – New Right – got its impetus from Nouvelle Droite in France. It was a movement fighting a cultural fight rather than a political one and came to life as a reaction to the decolonization of Algeria. Alain de Benoist was this movement's main ideologist, advocating the western race and fronting neo-racism. Racism was genetically predetermined, according to Jorge Verstryngne. Verstryngne was French-Spanish political ideologist, who became general secretary of AP.¹⁶² He based his book "Entre la cultura y el hombre" on biology and the fundamentality that formed human and animal behaviour. Many neo fascists of the time were interested and cooperated with this group. However, it never managed to become a powerful movement.¹⁶³

6.3 Anti-Semitism in Spain

During the course of history in Spain the Jews have played a role similar to that in other countries. Residing in the Iberic peninsula since year 100 ac. the Jews were target for forced Christianisation implemented by the monarchy more than once. Evidence shows lack of completion. There was no apparent anti-Semitism amongst the people. The reason for the monarchy's aim to Christianize the Jews or force them into slavery had a lot to do with their land and wanting one singular religion in the country. As Islam grew bigger and closer to the Iberic peninsula, the persecution of the Jews increased. When the Muslims crossed Gibraltar and conquered Spanish territory in the 700s, the three religions coexisted relatively peacefully, thanks to the acceptance of other religions in the Quran. Their position in the society gradually worsened as their economic prowess became apparent. The *convivencia* – peaceful coexistence, broke down in 1391. Persecution, forced conversion and slavery became the destiny for most of the Jews.¹⁶⁴

This lay ground for what one would normally call anti-Semitism, but the Spanish anti-Semitism was not based on race or the Jewish people. It was the religion they wanted to eradicate. This is still the reason for anti-Semitism in Spain. Francisco Franco was no anti-Semitic. Adolf Hitler was, based on biology and racial studies. The neo-Nazi groups that appeared in Spain in the 1960s and 70s tried to adopt this ideology into the Spanish society. I think this might be one of the reasons for its failure. Trying to implement a racially based

¹⁶² Casals 1995 p. 235

¹⁶³ Casals 1995 p. 231-248

¹⁶⁴ Fuglestad 2009 p. 28-29, 68-69, 87-88, 99-100

anti-Semitism in a country without any such tradition, as well as being a very racially and culturally mixed society was not viable.

6.4 Renovated extreme right

6.4.1 Similarities

There are some similarities between the mentioned movements/groups. The most obvious was their distancing from the traditional conservative right in Spain. The lack of cooperation between these groups boiled down to difference in ideology. The conservative, catholic and traditional right that stemmed from the days of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship and José Antonio's doctrine was not in accordance with the new neo-Nazi, sectarian and national socialist direction. One might say that the difference in origins is what made the two sectors different. The traditional catholic extreme right was rooted in the Spanish traditions. The neo-Nazi fascism built on German (and British fascism). After CEDADE broke their connection to FN, they were left with few partners.

All the neo-Nazi movements that appeared had relative similar values. All of them were built on National Socialism, anti-Semitism and anti-communism. Many of the neo-Nazis were revisionists, claiming the Holocaust to be an invention by the Jewish conspiracy.

6.4.2 Differences

Blind violence and activism is a trait that goes well with the description of Nazi movements, and also the Spanish neo-Nazi movements. PENS, BB.AA. and the skinheads are known for their acts of violence. The victims of these actions have been politicians, communists, members of ETA, socialists, Jews and immigrants in general. Some of these extreme right groups were active in gaining enemies, especially during the transition. During these years there were ferocious street fights and attacks between right wing and left wing extremists and between nationalists and separatists. This circle of constant fighting between extreme left and right is called The Dirty Wars – La Guerra Sucia. CEDADE refused to participate in extremist actions. They wanted to be a cultural circle celebrating the work of Wagner and other ideologists.

Another difference between the two branches of the neo-Nazism was their religious belief. CEDADE was a catholic movement and discussions within the group caused some to leave

and form their own pagan movements. This was one of the things separating these movements the most. CEDADE criticised the pagan groups for being pagan and claiming the religiosity of national socialism, whilst the pagan groups claimed that there were no compliance between Christianity and national socialism.

How they saw the separatist notions in the society also differentiated the groups.

Traditionally Madrid had been the birthplace of most of the right wing movements in Spain, but most of the neo-Nazi groupings came to life in Barcelona. Casals blames this on the need for an alternative to the Catalan regionalists who wanted autonomy. Barcelona was the birthplace for most of the new, renovated extreme right groups. But how did the neo-Nazi extreme rightists see the separatist and regionalist tendencies in the Spanish society?

CEDADE recognized that the Spanish state was not culturally uniform, but stressed the difference between regionalism and separatism. Being Spanish meant accepting the different cultures of the country, but still securing the unity of Spain.¹⁶⁵ Most of the other groups denied the multiculturalism in the Spanish society. The Catalan wish for autonomy was an act of communism and seen as an attack on the Spanish integrity. CEDADE's stand on the regionalism was ambiguous. They did not see the incoherency between being nationalists and regionalists. Only some regions were approved as real, and they preferred the term ethnic before regionalist.¹⁶⁶

6.5 Today

The neo-Nazi groupings in Spain were created during the last years of Francoism and after his death. CEDADE as the biggest was dissolved in 1993, and Leon Degrelle died in 1994. This marked the end of neo-Nazism as a big and important movement in Spain. However some of the main actors are still active and present in the Spanish society. Amongst them are Ernesto Mila and Pedro Varela.

6.5.1 Ernesto Mila

Ernesto Mila (born in Barcelona 1952) has been involved in the extreme right since the 1970s. He has been affiliated with most of the extreme rightist groups of the era; he began his career in PENS (1966-1974) and moved on to Fuerza Nueva in 1975, from which movement

¹⁶⁵ Casals 1995 p. 82-83

¹⁶⁶ Casals 1995 p. 139-153

he was evicted for being too radical, racist and militant. For some years he was an important figure for FNJ and FJ, but these too were dissolved. He spent some time in prison, arrested for planning a terrorist attack. When released from prison, he spent much time on publishing. In 2000 he joined Democracia Nacional (DN) – National Democracy, but resigned from the party due to ideological disagreements. Today he is an active blogger, using this media to advocate his ideas.¹⁶⁷ He is also affiliated with the extreme right España2000, one of the parties that has cooperated with the new coalition La España en Marcha (LEM) – Spain Marching Forward. Mila has produced some articles in this forum, but is more active on his personal blog, INFOKRISIS.¹⁶⁸

España2000 was registered as a political party in 2002, and describes themselves as social and patriotic. They want to defend the rights of the Spanish people. They are not against immigration, but want it to be controlled and legal. España 2000 defends the national unity of Spain, and therefore rejects separatism. Their motto says that they are not to the right, nor to the left: they are Spaniards.¹⁶⁹ They want to change the state by fighting corruption and globalization. Removing themselves from the major international organisations, like the EU and NATO, and controlling immigration are some of the changes they want to make in Spain. All in all, they want to move the attention to Spain and the Spanish people.¹⁷⁰ In their political program, they blame the situation in Spain on the uncontrolled immigration and the politics of Zapatero. They clearly dislike the power implemented by the USA in Spain and Europe in general, and would rather form strategic alliances with Russia. They are cultural and religious racists, refusing to allow mixing with any other culture/religion than the European Catholicism. They fear Islam.¹⁷¹

6.5.2 Pedro Varela and Libreria Europa

Pedro Varela Geiss was born in Barcelona in 1957 and was from early ages a member of CEDADE. He became president of the movement at the age of 17, in 1974, a position that he held until the dissolution in 1994. Since then he has been active in publishing, writing and translating national socialist works. He owns the Libreria Europa in Barcelona, a bookshop

¹⁶⁷ Metapedia on Ernesto Mila - http://es.metapedia.org/wiki/Ernesto_Mil%C3%A1 First read 10.09.2014

¹⁶⁸ Ernesto Mila's personal blog INFOKRISIS - <http://infokrisis.blogia.com/> First read 10.09.2014

¹⁶⁹ España2000 – <http://espana2000.org/> First read 10.09.2014 (“Ni de izquierdas, ni de derechas. Somos Españoles”)

¹⁷⁰ España2000 – 10 puntos para ser un gran nación y salir de la crisis. http://espana2000.org/?page_id=2 First read 10.09.2014.

¹⁷¹ España2000 Homepage – Programa Político http://espana2000.org/?page_id=39 First read 10.09.2014

that advertises and sells national socialist works, like Mein Kampf. More than once he has been arrested for propagating National Socialism and denying and/or questioning the Holocaust. He has spent time in jail and been economically fined for advocating genocide and racial hatred. A judge in Barcelona ordered the destruction of over 20 000 books, which led to a drastic economical decline. Varela is still active, although he has taken a step back from the public. He firmly believes in revisionism, a historic viewpoint that denies or seriously questions the reality of Holocaust.¹⁷² According to an anti-Semitic blog, Varela is a very eloquent man who does not approve of the neo Nazi skinheads of today's society. He believes that they tarnish the Hitlerian tradition. However he is an anti-Semite who questions Holocaust and keeps company with other revisionists such as David Irving. To the people behind this blog, Varela is an "Anti-Jewish warrior and hero".¹⁷³ The Libreria Europa still exists, although it has suffered some anti-fascist attacks during the last years. It is not clear if Varela belongs to any political party today, but he has been affiliated with La España en Marcha.

6.6 Conclusion - The reasons for failure

The neo-Nazi movements in Spain had little political importance. Culturally, they were more significant. CEDADE was the most comprehensive movement, with many branches spread across Spain, southern Europe and Latin America. They never reached any dangerous level of importance in Spain, but they were an important organisation in the international neo-Nazi network. The lack of success in Spain could be explained by their disinterest in political power.

When talking about the failure of the neo-Nazi extreme right movements in general, there are a couple of things worth mentioning. First: the lack of cooperation between the distinct groups made sure none of them were big enough to be of any real threat. Even if they had wanted to cooperate, their different ideology would have made it difficult. As CEDADE seemed happy being a cultural circle, PENS and BB.AA. seemed pleased being activist organisations. This leads us to the second point. There was no real interest in being a viable

¹⁷² Antonio Salas on Pedro Varela - <http://www.antoniosalas.org/libro/el-palestino/galeria-personaje/varela-geiss-pedro> First read 11.09.2014

¹⁷³ JewishProblem.com - <http://www.jewishproblem.com/pedro-varela-geiss-anti-jewish-warrior-and-hero/> First read 11.09.2014

alternative for the electorate. CEDADE was happy being a cultural circle, and most of the smaller groups played the part of activist or terrorist groups.

It is worth mentioning the absence of any real leader. Jorge Mota was the most prominent of the neo-Nazis in Spain, but he was no political leader and rhetoric. Some of the mentioned exiles that lived in Spain could have played that role, but a part of the exile agreement was their absence from participating actively in politics.

The neo-Nazi movements were different, and negatively inclined to the traditional extreme right in Spain. They only shared their catholic values. By representing something different from José Antonio, Franco and the rest of the extreme right, one would think they managed to create a viable extreme right alternative. But as the other groups, they remained on the outskirts of society.

7 Fuerza Nueva, Blas Piñar and The last crusade.

Blas Piñar (22nd of November 1918 – 28th of January 2014) was one of the most influential people of the extreme right in Spain for a long period of time. In this chapter I will discuss his political life, his place in the Spanish society and possibly understand why he did not succeed in his crusade. Piñar founded and led Fuerza Nueva and later Frente Nacional, conservative, traditionalistic, nationalistic and catholic parties from 1976 to 1993. My aim is to explain his ups and downs in the post-Franco transitional Spain.

My main sources in this chapter are books by Xavier Casals, José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez and Pedro Carlos González Cuevas. There are several interviews of Piñar from the last 15 years of his life. Some made by objective journalists, others by rightist newspapers and Internet pages.

7.1 Blas Piñar

7.1.1 Early life and politics during Franco's regime

Piñar was born in Toledo in 1918, son of a career military. He was influenced by this, but decided to become a civil law notary himself. Whilst completing his studies, he became very politically active in the catholic community. Combining the thoughts of Antonio Primo de Rivera, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu and Antonio Rivera (a young Spaniard dedicated to the lay apostolate), he formed his *Piñarism*. Xavier Casals i Meseguer explains this as an ultra catholic fascism, rural but not anti urban. Piñar said that communism was of satanic origin.¹⁷⁴ He disliked the modernization and the opening of the regime. According to Piñar, the catholic fascism of the 1930s in Spain was what he wanted. With this doctrine it was difficult to legitimize a religious political party in the new democratic Spain.¹⁷⁵ The post-Franco extreme right in Spain was nostalgic and difficulties appeared when it came to adapting their politics and reforming their ideology to suit the modern society.

Piñar was early a part of the militant Acción Católica (AC) – Catholic Action. This was his entry into politics in Spain. He became a national councillor directly under Franco, probably

¹⁷⁴ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 344

¹⁷⁵ Casals 1998 p. 37-42

because of Luis Carrero Blanco's sympathies for him.¹⁷⁶ Although he had respect for Franco, he never became a member of El Movimiento and he refused to be a part of Franco's inner circle. Franco and Piñar showed respect for one another, although they had different beliefs. Piñar was not afraid to express his opinions to Franco.¹⁷⁷ That might have been the reason why he never became minister. According to Piñar himself, Carrero Blanco wanted him as a minister of justice. Franco dismissed the idea, probably because Piñar refused to moderate his catholic politics.¹⁷⁸ Piñar made a name for himself in 1962 when his article "Hipócritas" – "Hypocrites" was published in ABC, a right-wing newspaper. In this article he criticized the hypocrisy expressed by the western powers after the Second World War. He criticized the liberalism of the time and explained the so-called anti colonialism as a hoax. This clear criticism was one of the reasons why he never made minister during the regime.¹⁷⁹

In an interview by Bernardo Gil Mugarza on Blas Piñar made for *Fuerza Nueva* in 1995, Piñar commented on his relationship with el Caudillo and his regime. He described Franco as a practicing catholic, an exceptional Spaniard, a skilled statesman and a professional military who won the battle against the communists.¹⁸⁰ Piñar listed the main failures of the Regime. He disliked how El Movimiento got more and more technocratic, and would have wanted the Regime to be stricter when dealing with opposition.

7.1.2 The Last Crusade

Piñar attracted a lot of Falangists and those loyal to Franco. Some say he was a great public speaker, others claim he was only a weak imitation of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. The Carlists and the Falangists did not have anyone as magnetic and public as Piñar. That might have been the reason why his ultra catholic traditionalistic right was the most noticeable during the transition.¹⁸¹ After Franco's death he led *Fuerza Nueva* in the new state, fighting the transition and modernisation. He claimed Spain's best option was the semi-fascism of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, whom he greatly admired. He saw himself as half monk, half

¹⁷⁶ Gonzáles Cuevas 2000 p. 370

¹⁷⁷ Casals 1998 p. 44.46

¹⁷⁸ Casals 1998 p. 47-48

¹⁷⁹ Piñar in ABC 19.01.1962 p. 3

<http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1962/01/19/003.html> (First read: 08.08.2014)

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Piñar Sept. 1995 i Revista *Fuerza Nueva*

<http://www.generalisimofranco.com/noticias2/entrevista.htm> "Un católico practicante, un español excepcional, un estadista hábil y un militar preparado profesionalmente que consiguió la primera victoria contra el comunismo y sus cómplices."

¹⁸¹ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 367-71

solider.¹⁸² Piñar was very outspoken, which placed him in uncomfortable situations. He managed to make enemies of possible allies with some statements that separated him from their ideology. In 1979 he said he wanted a republic governed by a president, insulting both the monarchists and the moderate conservatives. He had received a lot of support during the last years of Francoism, especially from Falangist and men of the Movement, but as the transition went forward many transformed with it. Piñar managed to get a seat in the 1979 election.

7.2 Fuerza Nueva – Dios, Patria y Justicia

7.2.1 The origins

Fuerza Nueva was created in 1966 after a religious celebration. They wanted to create a plan to renovate the regime religiously. So the 2nd of May Fuerza Nueva Editorial Sociedad Anónima was established as a weekly periodical. Fuerza Nueva unified many of the people who were against the modernization of the regime in El Búnker. According to Piñar Spain was still fighting a civil war against anti-Spain. He called it a permanent crusade. It was a hard blow for him when the international Catholic Church sought distance from the national Catholicism of Franco's regime and Spain became more and more secularized.¹⁸³ In the period before Franco's death, FN published articles explaining their ideology, criticizing the regime and the modernization. In 1969 there was talk about legalizing political associations. Even though this did not happen, the members started an important process of organization towards becoming a political party.¹⁸⁴ In a programmatic declaration they claimed to represent the values of the 18th of July 1936 in memory of Franco and his work and the traditional, catholic monarchy.¹⁸⁵

Between 1978 and 1981 Fuerza Nueva created a web of international delegations, assuring relationships with ultra national parties and organisations. Most of these groups were found in Latin America, the south of the USA and in the European countries close to Spain. Their main reason for cooperation was to spread the writings of Fuerza Nueva and being kept updated on the communist and socialist situation in the world. During the same period, Fuerza Nueva established close connections with Italian Giorgio Almirante and his

¹⁸² González Cuevas 2000 p. 458 "Mitad monje, mitad soldado"

¹⁸³ Casals 1998 p. 34

¹⁸⁴ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 367

¹⁸⁵ Rodríguez Jimènez 1994 p. 203

Movimiento Social Italiano and the French Forces Nouvelles. This alliance was referred to as Euroderecha.¹⁸⁶

7.2.2 The party

When Cortes approved the Law of Associations in 1976, all parties except the Communist party were allowed.¹⁸⁷ Fuerza Nueva was structured in regional and territorial sections with “God, Fatherland and Justice” as their motto.¹⁸⁸ The leadership of the party were wealthy middle class and the management consisted of independent professionals. The militants were those who were more than sympathetic towards the ideology. They could be separated into two groups: those younger than 25 and those older than 50, and the young group was more active.¹⁸⁹

According to Rodríguez Jiménez, Piñar was the leader of the extreme right in Spain in 1978.¹⁹⁰ In the elections in 1977 and 1979, the extreme right coalitions – Alianza Nacional 18 de Julio and Unión Nacional – failed in obtaining votes and to unite the extreme right electorate. In the 1979 election FN was left as the leading party of the extreme right in Spain. Unfortunately for them the electorate realized that the useful vote would be for AP – Alianza Popular. AP represented a more moderate right. However, Piñar managed to get a seat, representing Madrid. He did not have a lot of power, being the only extreme rightist elected. During the first years of the democracy the discontent rose and the activism followed suit. Especially the younger members practised a more active solution to the changes.

Most people thought FN would be an important political factor in the years after the dictator’s death. Both socialists and others feared for the democracy.¹⁹¹ During 1978 FN was a very active political party. Blas Piñar held many manifestations, based on nostalgia and the fear of consequences of change. Particularly important were the celebration of 20-N, the death day of both Franco and José Antonio, the 20th of November. The 20-N attracted many Spaniards, not only the extreme rightists, at least before the attempted coup. When FN and

¹⁸⁶ Rodríguez Jiménez 1991 p. 279

¹⁸⁷ Carr and Fusi 1979 p. xiii

¹⁸⁸ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 211 (*Dios, Patria y Justicia*)

¹⁸⁹ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 213-214

¹⁹⁰ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 446

¹⁹¹ González Cuevas p. 459

FE celebrated 20-N in 1981, the government sanctioned them.¹⁹² In 1979 Piñar implemented a new, very patriotic, national holiday, which achieved success in Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia. This new celebration was “The day of the Flag/ of the Spanish country”.¹⁹³

7.2.3 Estrategia de tensión – tension strategy

The phenomenon of the tension strategy was known during the 30s in Spain, the 60s in Italy and during the last decades in many Latin American countries. The objective is to put so much strain on the democratic institutions that they fail, and a change of government is needed. The first aim is to create an uncertain situation where the existing institutions are questioned. When this situation is secured, the majority of the people will realise the need for military intervention, either by a power transfer or a coup d'état. In Spain, the leading representatives of the extreme right and the extreme right newspapers, such as El Alcázar, El Imparcial and Fuerza Nueva, led this strategy.¹⁹⁴

7.2.4 Fuerza Joven

Fuerza Joven (FJ) – Young Force was, as the name implies, the youth organisation belonging to Fuerza Nueva. This grouping was created in 1969. A characteristic of youth organisations, especially of the more extremist sort, is their activism. Fuerza Joven was a militant group whose members enjoyed wearing uniforms. A typical member was young, good physical form, aggressive, trained in martial arts and weaponry. They were aggressive and attacked universities which in some cases led to homicides.¹⁹⁵ The militant extremism had its precursor in the 1930s in Spain, and both times the universities were one of the main playgrounds. During the 70s and the 80s however, violence was not as acceptable as during the 30s. This form of extremism was usually masculine, but FJ had their own group for the women; Juventudes Femeninas – Young Females.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² ”El Gobierno multa con cinco millones de pesetas a Falange Española y Fuerza Nueva” in El Alcázar 16.01.1982 p.7

¹⁹³ González Cuevas 2000 p. 463 (*El Día de la bandera/ de la Patria Española*)

¹⁹⁴ Rodríguez Jiménez 1991 p. 283-285

¹⁹⁵ Conzález Cuevas 2000 p. 459

¹⁹⁶ Rodríguez Jiménez 1994 p. 211

7.2.5 Failure

The election in 1982 resulted in a big loss for FN and Piñar decided to dissolve the party. Fuerza Nueva as a weekly periodical was still at large.¹⁹⁷ Piñar explained the dissolution as a combination of four factors: lack of moral help from big institutions (such as the church, the army and the educational system); the contrast between public support and the electoral support; FN was not helpful and big enough for those who were against socialism; and they had an enormous debt.¹⁹⁸

The issues within the party were decisive: especially between the militants of FJ and the more conservative among the leaders of FN. Differences in methods and goals split the party more than once.

It is impossible not to include the attempted coup as another reason for the dissolution. Many historians claim the coup to mark the end of the traditional conservative extreme right in Spain. FN had not been included in the planning of the coup. Even though Piñar often expressed his wish for military leadership, the military did not share his wish to cooperate. This led to increased discontent within the activist sectors of FN. In many interviews Piñar admits the damage the 23-F caused his party. This event symbolizes the end of the political extreme right. Piñar himself was in the congress that day, and were shocked by the attempt, but not worried. In the interview from 2005 he says that he knew that their intentions were good, but still an error.¹⁹⁹

Some blame Piñar, claiming he got tired of the party. Others blame the international situation. The Piñarism was ultra catholic, nostalgic and traditional. The extreme right in other countries, such as France and Italy was a different kind. Their ideology built more on xenophobia, anti-immigration and pan-Europeism. They had however managed to adapt their politics into the modern society.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ González Cuevas 2000 p. 462-63

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Piñar Sept. 1995 i Revista Fuerza Nueva
<http://www.generalisimofranco.com/noticias2/entrevista.htm>

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Piñar Sept. 1995 i Revista Fuerza Nueva
<http://www.generalisimofranco.com/noticias2/entrevista.htm>

²⁰⁰ Casals 1998 p. 57-58

Piñar blames the internal situation in Spain. After the transition and the attempted coup the situation was different in Spain. The major parties were attacking FN and many of the main institutions in Spain boycotted both the party and the publication. According to Piñar the postal service refused to mail the periodical. They felt asphyxiated in the society, both from economical issues and the constant surveillance from the government. Piñar said that the party was dissolved with a better future in sight, both for the periodical and possibly for a new party.²⁰¹ The discord between the popular and the electoral support was decisive. Piñar's meetings and rallies were met with applause and support, but when it came to the elections the people disappointed. Alianza Popular, AP, led by Fraga Iribarne, could be said to be the reason for this. The "useful vote" went to AP. Many people realised that voting for Fuerza Nueva was useless; they would never receive enough votes. AP was a more moderate rightist party that covered many sections of the right in Spain. Piñar claims this theory of the "useful vote" was very damaging for his party. He said it was a vote of fear, and his motto "your applause, one vote" was not heard.²⁰²

With this dissolution the extreme right was left without important political groups in Spain. That does not mean that the extreme right disappeared, only that it became more of an underground street movement. There were still newspapers representing the far right of politics, and Piñar did not disappear. Fuerza Nueva transformed itself into CESPE, Centro de Estudios Sociales, Políticos y Económicos – a centre for economic, political and social studies.²⁰³ The editorial Fuerza Nueva kept on going, and is still publishing.

7.3 Piñar after the dissolution

7.3.1 Frente Nacional

Fuerza Nueva was dissolved after the disastrous election in 1982. In 1986 Piñar decided to create Frente Nacional, inspired by Jean Marie Le Pen's Front National in France. Both Piñar and Le Pen realised the ideological differences between them. Le Pen's national populism did not correlate with the conservative national Catholicism of Piñar, but he supported him. In the election in 1987 Frente Nacional obtained only a few more votes than Fuerza Nueva had

²⁰¹ Interview with Piñar sept. 2005 in Revista Fuerza Nueva
<http://www.generalisimofranco.com/noticias2/entrevista.htm>

²⁰² Interview with Piñar sept. 2005 in Revista Fuerza Nueva (*Tu aplauso, un voto*)
<http://www.generalisimofranco.com/noticias2/entrevista.htm>

²⁰³ Casals 1995 p. 157

in 1982. Piñar refusing any form of doctrinal renewal was one of the main reasons. During the European election the result was no better.²⁰⁴ Frente Nacional sought to create the pre-civil war period and ideology, so basically it was only a prolongation of Fuerza Nueva that lasted until 1994.²⁰⁵

7.3.2 After the politics

After the dissolution of Frente Nacional, Blas Piñar retired from politics. He was still a publicly active person in the Spanish community, appearing in many interviews and commenting on recent affairs. In an interview from 2005 he seems convinced that Felipe never would be crowned king of Spain. He talks about the decadence of Europe; a consequence of the secularisation of the society and the loss of soul both in people and in nation.²⁰⁶

In another interview made by María del Pilar Amparo Pérez García and José Alfredo García Fernández del Viso for Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco they discuss the anti-memory of Spain. Piñar criticises the government for not teaching the youth the history as it was by hiding stories and information from the second republic, the civil war and the Francoist regime. He is worried about the censorship in the society.²⁰⁷ In an interview of Piñar by Juan Carlos Rodríguez for El Mundo Piñar confirms his beliefs in the mantra of Fuerza Nueva and 18th of July. He also explains how homosexuals are inferior to other human beings, like handicapped and unborn children. Piñar says that he doubts the Holocaust and reassures the reader that the diary of Anne Frank is a falsification.²⁰⁸ These recent interviews put Piñar in the category of extreme to radical far right. Denying Holocaust, heavily criticizing the recent governments and the modern society combined with his conservative national Catholicism made him an extreme right representative. He decided to use urns rather than arms to reach power, which is not extreme.

²⁰⁴ Gallego, Ferran. *Una Patria Imaginaria. La extrema derecha española (1973-2005)*. Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2006 p. 288-306

²⁰⁵ Rodríguez Jiménez 1997 p. 498

²⁰⁶ Interview with Piñar sept. 2005 in Revista Fuerza Nueva

<http://www.generalisimofranco.com/noticias2/entrevista.htm>

²⁰⁷ Interview with Piñar early 2011 for FNFF http://www.fnff.es/Entrevista_a_Blas_Pinar_Lopez_146_c.htm

²⁰⁸ Interview with Piñar 2003, Published 02.02.2014 in El Mundo
<http://www.elmundo.es/cronica/2014/02/02/52ecf352268e3ec24f8b456d.html>

7.4 Alternativa Española (AES)

In 2003 Alternativa Española (AES) – Spanish Alternative saw the light of day as a catholic, conservative party. The founders feared the downfall of Spain, and wanted to create a project of national reconstruction. They want to focus on the social catholic values and traditions to regain the Spanish greatness. AES believe in a modern Spanish society that keeps its traditional catholic values. Considering themselves a new alternative to the traditional left and right in politics, they want to emphasise the family, Spain, life and the Christian roots. Their motto is “the possible alternative” (*la alternativa posible*). As most other smaller political parties in Spain they dislike the two-party system consisting of PP and PSOE, claiming this to be the reason for their own mediocre support. They want to be an alternative for the “voters with values”, and these values being the catholic ones. To them separatism and autonomy is unconstitutional. Abortion should be illegal and the democratic system needs a change.²⁰⁹ Rafael López-Diéguez is their leader, and Blas Piñar was honorary president from the day of creation till his death in January 2014.

7.5 Conclusion

Blas Piñar was a man with firm beliefs, even till the day he died. Creating and leading one of the most important extreme right parties after Franco’s death, place him as the frontrunner of most influential extreme right politicians in Spain. Although being describes as a weak imitation of José Antonio, he received support from many in the Spanish society, not only the catholic nationalists. The reasons why he and FN did not succeed are many. The attempted coup 23-F was considered a massive hit for the extreme right. Also the new democratic society hindered their existence, according to Piñar. Economic problems and the issue with the “useful vote” made sure many of those who were inclined to vote for FN decided to vote for AP. Piñar’s conservatism was another reason for the lack of success. The Spanish people wanted modernization. Returning to the values of 18-J was not what the majority of the Spanish people wanted as they saw it as a prolongation of Franco’s regime. The lack of cooperation between the many extreme right groups led to the downfall of most of them.

²⁰⁹ AES’s homepage – Introduccion <http://www.alternativaespanola.com/programa.php> First read 19.09.2014

8 LEM – La España en Marcha

In this chapter I will discuss the new extreme right coalition La España en Marcha (LEM) – Spain marching forward. The parties in the coalition are FE-La Falange – the Falange (not to be confused with FE de las JONS), Alianza Nacional (AN) – National Alliance, Nudo Patriota Español (NPE) – Spanish Patriot Group and Movimiento Católico Español (MCE) – Spanish Catholic Movement. According to their Facebook-page they represent a unity of the Spanish patriots. Some other groups cooperate with the coalition, like España2000, Democracia Nacional and Juventudes de la Falange. Most of the sources to this chapter are web pages, blogs and social media like Facebook. The reason for writing this chapter is to try and see if there are some remnants of the historical extreme right and create a picture of their ideology and how they intend to reach their goals. I will begin with a brief introduction of the different groups, and then try and form a united ideology and position.

8.1 The groups

8.1.1 FE-La Falange

According to their home page, FE-La Falange is the real national syndicalist organisation hereditary of the 1930s Falange. Since the name FE de las JONS already was appointed to another movement, they registered their name in March 1999 and are a legitimate political party. They have organized actions in many Spanish cities, and protest the actual situation in Spain. One of their main battles is against the separatism in Catalonia. They are against uncontrolled immigration, separatism and abortion, much like all the other patriot groups. Creating a better life for Spaniards is a main concern; they want to increase the public health service and make it free, the educational level has to rise and the Spanish people has to be protected.²¹⁰ Manuel Andrino Lobo is their leader.

²¹⁰ Home page FE-La Falange "Somos quien somos" - http://lafalange.com.es/?page_id=161 First read 11.09.2014

8.1.2 Alianza Nacional (AN)

“Nr. 15. – SOCIALISM. We find socialism, anti liberal anti democratic and anti pacific, as the way of moral regeneration of the nation.”²¹¹

This quote is taken from AN’s program on their webpage. It honestly admits that AN would take an antidemocratic way to reach a moral regeneration of Spain, through Socialism. AN could be considered to one of the more extreme groupings in Spain. Their ideology is very honest and quite extreme. They do have many traits that put them in the category of extreme right, National Socialism and neo Nazi. Their nationalism (patriotism) is one of them. As many other groups in this genre they believe in the greatness of the Spanish nation. They want to decrease the cooperation with the USA and increase their focus on their own country and its inhabitants. Nationalisation of industry, to be more self-sufficient and to redistribute the land is some of their main objectives. They feel like every Spaniard should own a small piece of land so that they feel like they own a piece of their nation.²¹² Some aspects of their politics are conservative. They want to ruralise the society, because they feel like the cities are dehumanizing. Participation in the armed forces should be obligatory and a part of the education. Their view on immigration is radical. They believe in “ius sanguinis” – which means the right of blood; a very racist stance. They feel like multiculturalism is an attack on the Spanish national identity. Believing this means that they would want a country without any immigration. If immigration showed itself to be necessary, they would consider immigrants from countries with the same catholic tradition. Their motto is “Nación, Raza y Socialismo” – Nation, Race and Socialism”.²¹³ Their view on religion is not mentioned in their Ideario, but they seem inclined to follow some of the classic catholic values that are a historical tradition in Spain. They are against abortion and gay marriages. The family is the pillar of the Spanish society and the marriage (between man and wife) is what makes a family. Pedro Pablo Peña is their leader. The party, founded in 2005, is considered to be neo Nazi and extreme right.

²¹¹ Alianza Nacional’s Ideario - <http://anlostuyos.wordpress.com/nosotros/ideario/> First read 12.09.2014 “15°.- SOCIALISMO. Concebimos el Socialismo, antiliberal, antidemocrático y antipacifista, como un camino de regeneración moral de la Nación.”

²¹² Alianza Nacional – ¿Que queremos? - <http://anlostuyos.wordpress.com/nosotros/que-queremos/> First read 12.09.2014

²¹³ Alianza Nacional’s Ideario - <http://anlostuyos.wordpress.com/nosotros/ideario/>

AN wants to replace the state's security organisations with an armed force. The Spanish laws need to be totally reformed and death penalty allowed. Carrying weapons should be allowed to protect one's family and nation. The Spanish army is the nation's saviour and the inheritors of the glorious and heroic tradition based on the crusade.²¹⁴

8.1.3 Nudo Patriota Español (NPE)

NPE, led by Eduardo Arias, seems less extreme than Alianza Nacional, at least in methods albeit not in goals. They want to defend all those who consider themselves integrated in the Spanish nationalism. They defend the unity of Spain, both against the interior separatism and the exterior threat that the EU poses on the Spanish sovereignty. To remove the threat of separatism, they want to implement an educational system that teaches the Spanish people about their common history, tradition and language. The teachings of the regional languages should be optional. Separatism in general should be illegal. NPE wants to replace "autonomy" with "regional", decreasing the level of self-governing some of the regions have. The Spanish Army should be ready to defend the national unity. The liberal conservative right of PP is not the solution to the problem, as their politics have opposed the national unity in Spain. It has to be the patriots that recreate a Spanish nationalism.²¹⁵

NPE are not satisfied with the national economy of Spain. The moderate right's liberalism creates a productive economy, but it lacks fair distribution. The left's economic socialism fails to create a productive economy and fails to secure fair distribution. The third and best option is a national syndicalist economy, the only option that creates production and distributes fairly. They want to implement more control on the economy and immigration.²¹⁶

As the other groupings they are against abortion for many reasons, first and foremost they want to defend the rights of the unborn child. The Catholic values of the Spanish society are not applicable to abortion. Only if the woman's life is in danger, can abortion be considered. Abortion is eliminating an innocent life and this should be punishable both for the woman and the medic that performs the crime. Rather than aborting, one should consider adoption

²¹⁴ Alianza Nacional's Ideario - <http://anlostuyos.wordpress.com/nosotros/ideario/>

²¹⁵ NPE's homepage – Declaración del NPE contra el separatismo. La solución nacional no está en la derecha. <http://esnpe.org/> First read 16.09.2014

²¹⁶ NPE's homepage - Declaración del NPE contra la crisis económica. La solución social no está en la izquierda. First read 16.09.2014

and the state should grant economic help for those who need it. The right to abort a child is not a human right.²¹⁷

NPE is in opposition to the Spanish society of today, and want a national political model combined with a social economic one. They salute those who fought and won in the Spanish civil war, as they were protecting the nation, although the society of today want to satanize this important historical memory. To reach their goal, they are willing to implement street activity – guerrillas without arms, as they call it.²¹⁸ One of their main concerns in the Spanish society of today is the political and institutionalized corruption. The corruption is generalized and systematized, and covers close to all parts of the society, even the judges. That explains why so few are sentenced for corruption. The only way to end the corruption is to end the democracy, and create a national dictatorship. In a national dictatorship there is close to no corruption, and it will be punished.²¹⁹

8.1.4 Movimiento Católico Español (MCE)

José Luis Corral Fernandez founded MCE in Madrid in 1982 after he left Fuerza Nueva due to internal issues and discussions with the leadership. The party was most active during the 80s, and they were known for their street activity. Most of the members were rather militant, and as FN they failed in elections. As the name implies, they are a catholic, patriotic party. In 1989 they decided to put more effort into their youth section, Acción Juvenil Española (AJE) – Spanish Youth Action. During the 1990s they were a marginal party, even within the extreme right movement, although they participated in the planning of 20-N. They were involved in some alliances, and the latest (September 2014) is LEM. Albeit small, they are one of the longest-lasting parties within the extreme right sector.²²⁰ According to their own webpage (which they share with AJE) their fundamental principals are: Catholic confesionality; the defending of Spain and the Spanish tradition; and national syndicalism. They are openly admitting to be Francoists. MCE wants to create a national syndicalist state that is built on José Antonio's doctrine and one similar to the one Franco implemented. The

²¹⁷ NPE's homepage - Declaración del NPE contra el aborto. <http://esnpe.org/> First read 16.09.2014

²¹⁸ NPE's homepage - ¿Qué es ser NPE? <http://esnpe.org/> First read 16.09.2014

²¹⁹ NPE's homepage – Declaración del NPE contra la corrupción democratica de la politica. First read 16.09.2014

²²⁰ About MCE - http://es.partidos-politicos.wikia.com/wiki/Movimiento_Cat%C3%B3lico_Espa%C3%B1ol First read 16.09.2014

Catholic principles are God's voice and therefore undisputable. They want to defend the existence, unity, greatness and freedom of the Patria.²²¹

8.1.5 Democracia Nacional (DN)

Democracia Nacional was created in 1994 after the failing of most of the other extreme right movements. Many of those who had formerly participated in other extreme right movements, such as CEDADE, FN and BB.AA., joined DN. They wanted to bring upon Spain a new golden era, and to preserve the Spanish tradition. Exiting NATO and transforming EU into a European Confederation would be valuable. The major political parties should lose their monopoly, and the economy should work in favour of the workers. Security for Spaniards is an important principle. To ensure this, immigration needs to be controlled, delinquency and drug trade punished and terrorism ended.²²²

8.2 Creating the coalition

In January 2010, NPE sent a letter to all patriots in Spain, asking for a possible unification. In the letter, they admitted that a coalition would not be easy, but there were some common traits they could build a platform on. Although they knew that coalitions of this kind had been known to fail, they were willing to give it a try. If they found common ground, the coalition might bear fruits. NPE believed that the common inclination towards Catholicism and Christianity was a gathering momentum. The religion is an important part of the patriotism and tradition in Spain, and most patriotic groups are either openly Catholic or follow the Catholic principles. For most patriots creating a society consisting of the best of mankind is important, where traits like honour, freedom, loyalty, generosity and honesty are valuable. The Patria and social justice is crucial, as well as an economy that serves the people. There are some ideas that can create a common terrain for propaganda, such as: national unity, immigration control and opposition to abortion.

NPE believed that conversation and discussion would reveal more similarities and agreements than discrepancies. They did not believe that it would be rewarding to dissolve all the groups to create one new party. In their eyes this would not work. The alternative would

²²¹ MCE and AJE's webpage – “Así pensamos”- <http://mceaje.blogspot.com.es/p/nuestra-razon-de-ser-accion-juvenil.html> First read 16.09.2014

²²² DN's homepage – Nuestro Decálogo - http://democracianacional.org/dn/decalogo_dn/index.htm First read 17.09.2014

be an organisation consisting of other organisations, what they would call a confederation, a confederation with a collegiate of spokespersons. NPE wanted the confederation not only to be active in times of election, but in the Spanish society all the time. NPE feared the biggest problem is the strategy, but they wanted to create a strategy of unity. The unification did not mean that the individual groups would lose their identity. It would provide the different groups a bigger base of support and a bigger chance for actually participating in the politics.²²³

It took three years for the coalition to be a reality. In the beginning La Falange, AN, NPE and MCE were joined by Democracia Nacional (DN) – National Democracy. However DN were thrown out of the group when LEM chose to run for the European Parliament in 2014. The other groups feared DN might take complete control of the platform.

8.2.1 Similarities

As NPE mentioned in their open letter to all the patriots there are some principles and common ground for them to agree upon. Catholicism and/or the catholic values are a unifier. Although they are not all confessional Catholics, they are patriotic traditionalists. In Spain this implies that they follow the catholic values that has characterized Spain for many centuries. The modernization of the society has caused the patriots to react. They are firmly against abortion, gay marriages, transsexuality and divorce. All of these are actions that hurt the institution of family, which is important in Spain.

The economic crisis hit Spain hard, and the unemployment is big. The patriots blame the government and their immigration policy. The uncontrolled and illegal immigration is one of the biggest problems of the country. One cannot accept immigration when those who already live there is out of work. The only foreigners that can be accepted are the ones who share the catholic and cultural values of Spain. This is a nicer way of saying that they do not want immigration from Africa and third world countries that belong to a different religion and culture than themselves. LEM try to soften their xenophobia and racism in arguing that immigration is damaging the Spanish national identity. Wanting to keep Spain Spanish is nothing new in the Spain. LEM portray it as a defence, rather than a racist attack.

²²³ NPE's homepage – "Documento del NPE. La unidad posible" - <http://www.esnpe.org/> First read 16.09.2014

The groups in LEM are on the same terms when it comes to the national syndicalist construction of the society. The two-party system of today is not working, and is penetrated by corruption. Although they have different thoughts on how the national syndicalist nation should be, they all draw their inspiration from José Antonio and Franco. Both PSOE and PP are working against the wellbeing of the Spanish people, and LEM thinks they are traitors for letting the EU and NATO (USA) dictate their role in the world. LEM blames the existing government for most of the flaws in the Spanish society. Feeding the economic crisis with massive immigration is one issue. Permitting the separatism to exist is another. Most recently the government has been blamed for letting Ebola into the country.

According to LEM separatism needs to be seen as a crime, as it hurts the national unity of Spain. One of the first times one heard about LEM, was when they attacked a celebration of Cataluña's national day in Madrid 2013. 12 members were arrested for discrimination, public disorder, damages and threatening behaviour.²²⁴ In today's Spain, the separatism is their biggest battle. In this battle their main enemy is Artur Mas, President of the *Generalitat de Catalunya*. He is a liberal politician, open to abortion, gay rights and separating Catalonia from the rest of Spain. Summarized, he represents all that the patriots/extreme rightists are against. The 12th of October is the national day of Spain, a day that LEM uses to propagate their anti-separatism. The day is called "el día de la Hispanidad" – the Hispanic day, also known as Columbus Day. LEM emphasizes the factor of unity this day portrays, and uses this opportunity to protest against the separatism in Barcelona. In an interview from 9.10.2014, Pedro Pablo Peña admits that LEM is outside the system, because they cannot support or participate in a system that has allowed Spain to be in this situation.²²⁵

8.2.2 Differences/analysis

LEM has no webpage, although the different sections have. NPE had some fears going into an extreme right confederation. They knew that there were programmatic and ideological differences. If it had not been, they would already be one party/movement. Their biggest fear was strategy. The different groups have different ideas on how to reach power, and what this

²²⁴ El Diario – "La España en marcha": la extrema derecha busca reorganizarse.

http://www.eldiario.es/politica/frentenacional-ultraderecha-Cataluna-diada-blanquerna_0_174633346.html First read 20.09.2013

²²⁵ Interview with Pedro Pablo Peña by Francisco Lanzas -

<http://sierranortedigital.com/portada/2014/10/09/pedro-pablo-pena-la-espana-en-marcha-si-el-gobierno-de-la-nacion-no-impide-la-celebracion-del-9n-recurriremos-a-la-accion-directa-para-actuar-en-los-ilegales-colegios-electorales/> First read 10.10.2014

power entails. Most of them believe that most can be done from street activity. NPE promotes guerrilla without weapons. A national dictatorship will be the most beneficiary governance. All the parties have drawn from José Antonio and his national syndicalism, but most of them fail to propose a reasonable program. MCE/AJE also idolises the Francoist regime, claiming everything to have been better then. Their relationship to the past in Spain seem to alternate from group to group, but not enough to end the cooperation. The reason for kicking out DN was the fear that they would monopolize the European elections in 2014, leaving the other groups on the side line. They would rather receive fewer votes than one of the groups being more dominant. Except excluding Democracia Nacional, the coalition is still active. There is much focus on working against the separationists, immigration, PP, PSOE and the moral decline in Spain.

LEM received close to 17 000²²⁶ votes in the European election of 2014 (and DN received about 13 000²²⁷). This is less than a half per cent of the Spanish population, and reveals how weak the extreme right is in Spain.

Amongst the programs and ideology there is little to no position taken concerning the monarchy. LEM are critical towards the present government and the democracy that has existed since Franco's death. The monarchy of Juan Carlos, the one who allowed democracy to find its path, has not been popular in recent years. But that is not a purely extreme right/ neo-fascist thought. Being patriots and Catholics in Spain, they are bound to feel some sort of connection to the monarchy. It was the catholic monarchs that united Spain and opened up the world across the ocean. However, the kings of the Bourbon dynasty represent one disappointment after another. They want to implement a republican national syndicalist state. There is no doubt that they respect former kings and are able to coexist (obviously) with the monarchy, it is not an ideal situation for LEM. Some members of La Falange calls the new king, Felipe "the prepared", and they have no belief in him creating a Spain of their choosing.²²⁸

²²⁶ ABC on LEM: Elecciones Europeas 2014 - <http://www.abc.es/elecciones/europeas/partidos/lem/>

²²⁷ ABC on DN: Elecciones Europeas 2014 - <http://www.abc.es/elecciones/europeas/partidos/dn/>

²²⁸ La Falange – "Ni está ni se le espera" <http://lafalange.com.es/?p=4737> First read 18.09.2014

8.3 Conclusion

La España en Marcha was founded in the beginning of 2013, as a new coalition/platform representing the Falangism, fascism and extreme right. La Falange, AN, NPE, MCE/AJE and DN were the original parties, but before the European election DN was excluded. The main points in LEM's program deals with the uncontrolled immigration, abortion (and the decline in Spain's moral), and national unity. Their biggest enemies are the two-party system of PP and PSOE, corruption, immigrants from other cultures and separationists. Their marginality can be explained by their lack of a common program. LEM as a coalition has no webpage, only the different parties do. It is difficult to figure out exactly what they stand for and how they wish to reach this goal. What is clear is that they are all traditionalists, patriots and nationalist. A Francoist-like state, built on the principles of FE de las JONS and José Antonio Primo de Rivera would be ideal.

9 Comparison

In this chapter my aim is to compare FE de las JONS, Fuerza Nueva/ Frente Nacional and CEDADE seeing as these have been the most influential groups after the death of Franco. My objective is to survey the differences and similarities. Considering that only one of the parties is still active, I will try to explain why. I will begin with the origins, because I consider it to be important to know in what environment the movements appeared. Continuing I will look at their relationship with Franco and the Francoist regime as well as their relationship with the new democratic system. The relationship between the different groups will be considered. FN and CEDADE were dissolved during the middle of the 1990s, whilst FE de las JONS still is a functioning party. I will try to place the new coalition LEM in this comparison, and see if it is a continuation of the former groups or if it is something new.

9.1 Origins and ideology

José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Ramiro Ledesma Ramos and Onésimo Redondo Ortega created FE de las JONS in 1934. They were considered the first and only fascist party in Spain, and wanted to create a national syndicalist state. All of the founders died during 1936, either in combat or executed by the enemy. In 1937 Franco included FE de las JONS in his own Traditionalist movement. During the 1960s some of the national syndicalist movements re-emerged as a reaction to Franco's opening of the regime. It was during the same time both FN and CEDADE began their organisation as well. Franco and his technocrats were modernizing the Spanish society, which these groups saw as a betrayal of the values of 18-J. CEDADE was always set on being a cultural circle of peers. When parties were allowed in 1976, both FN and FE de las JONS were legally established. As mentioned, FN was a conservative, traditionalistic and catholic party led by Blas Piñar, one of the most influential men within the post-Franco extreme right in Spain. CEDADE was a neo-Nazi, national revolutionary alternative that drew most from national socialists in other European countries, first led by Jorge Mota, then Pedro Varela Geiss.

While FN and FE de las JONS drew from a traditional Spanish nostalgia, CEDADE had a more international origin. José Antonio founded FE de las JONS, and was a great source of inspiration to Blas Piñar's FN. CEDADE's main influences came from Adolf Hitler, León Degrelle and Cornelio Codreanu, all national socialists from other countries. The anti-

Semitism of CEDADE, however, was more religiously based than ethnical. The three groups were all more or less catholic, which created a common fear and dislike of Jews. Still, the anti-Semitism in Spain was never of any real threat to the few Jews living there.

9.2 Relations to Franco and “El Movimiento”

FE de las JONS had been swallowed by the Francoist regime in the 1930s, and Franco had used their name, ideology and base to legitimise and create his regime. Since all of its founders and ideologues were killed in 1936, there were no one left to argue or compete with his leadership. In the 60s however, the national syndicalist movement saw an awakening, and began reorganisation. They were increasingly negative to the regime, and disliked how their organisation had been used. Although they looked up to Franco as El Caudillo and a national hero, they would rather that their organisation was not affiliated with him and his politics. Franco would remain as a symbol for future Spain for all those who believed in the values of the nation.

Blas Piñar had been a part of the Francoist political regime for the last 20 years before Franco’s death. He was never in an important political position, for which he blamed his radical Catholicism. Openly criticising the regime hindered him ever reaching full potential in the modernizing regime. He did not like the modernization, and was also implying the need to go back to the Fascism of the 30s. Piñar did not blame Franco, but rather El Movimiento, which was more and more technocratically influenced. Franco was an exceptional Spaniard in his eyes. After Franco’s death, Piñar commented in El Alcázar. He saluted Franco as the victor in the national crusade against the communists. The symbol that Franco represented lives on.²²⁹

CEDADE was not a typical Spanish extreme right group. Except their catholic views, few of their traits were traditionally Spanish. Jorge Mota admired Franco as the victor of the civil war, as the one who defeated the communists, masons and Jews. He did not share his ideological and political visions.²³⁰ Some Falangists believed that CEDADE would be the party to begin cooperating with the Movement to create a new military government after

²²⁹ El Alcázar – Piñar on Franco 21.11.1975 p.11

²³⁰ Casals 1995 p. 60

Franco. Other than seeing Franco as a great Spaniard, they did not build their tradition and ideology based on him.

9.3 Internal relations

As mentioned earlier, one of the main reasons for the failure of the extreme right was their lack of cooperation. Due to difference in ideology and personal pride the groups failed to unite. Adding to their need to be seen as different groups was the outspoken Blas Piñar, whose comments increased hostility between the extreme right movements. In 1978 Piñar talked negatively about Nazism. After this CEDADE argued that he was a part of the Zionist conspiracy. Piñar refused to see any connection between Nazism and Catholicism. In 1979 he denounced the Bourbon monarchy, opting for a presidential governed republic, getting all the monarchists on his bad side. Considering the similarities between FE de las JONS and FN one would think they attempted cooperation. According to Sheelagh Ellwood there were underlying animosity between them. FE de las JONS accused FN of wrongfully using the blue Falangist uniform, whilst FN considered the Falangists to be closer to the left of the political scale than right. FE de las JONS wanted to create a national syndicalist state, and FN wanted a presidential republic. There were obvious ideological and structural differences that stopped any close alliances, especially between CEDADE and the others. FE de las JONS and FN were actually in coalition when Piñar got a seat in Madrid.

Blas Piñar was the closest one could get to a charismatic leader. However he failed to be a gathering point. According to Sheelagh Ellwood this was more due to historical rather than ideological reasons. Piñar did not participate in the civil war, which was seen as a weakness for a future caudillo/leader.²³¹ Not being able to look past their pride, the post-Franco extreme right continued as marginal groups. Many of the extreme rightists admired Piñar, but his honest statements hindered any close alliances.

9.4 Dissolution

CEDADE was never a political party; they were content with being a cultural circle. This makes it hard to measure their popularity and reachability. Ellwood claims they had about 2500 members in 1985. However CEDADE opened affiliations in other countries, mainly in the south of France and Latin America. Their international importance is unclear, but (due to

²³¹ Ellwood 1995 p. 97

a relatively stable economy) they have been accused of being involved in planning terrorist attack especially in Italy.²³² CEDADE was clearly more interested in creating a pan-Hispanic/European collective of neo-Nazism, than a political party trying to gain political importance in Spain.

FN's popularity was at its prime in 1979 when Blas Piñar obtained a seat in Madrid. Being the only extreme rightist made him weak, as he had no chance of having any real significance. It was through the coalition Unión Nacional, consisting of FN, FE de las JONS and Circulos Doctrinales José Antonio, that he received enough votes to get a seat. When it was time for elections in 1982, the extreme right reached a new low. The leader of FE de las JONS, Fernández-Cuesta, resigned. Piñar decided to dissolve Fuerza Nueva. He transformed the remnants into a study centre and kept the publication *Fuerza Nueva* going. For the election in 1986 Piñar decided to recreate Fuerza Nueva in the shape of Frente Nacional. Once again the result was disappointing, but the party was active until 1994. This was the year in which CEDADE was dissolved too. The reason why FE de las JONS survived this area of extreme right dissolution could be their moderation. With the change of leadership in the party came a transformation towards democracy. Distancing themselves from Franco's regime, and aligning to the ideology of José Antonio, secured a relative good election for the party in 1986 (50 000 votes).²³³

International and national events, plus internal issues led to the end of these movements. International structures changed in disfavour for the extreme right during the 1980s-90s. The end of the Soviet Union and communism removed an enemy for the extreme right, making their existence less needed. All through the 80s had the Soviet regime opened up more and more, until it finally came to an end in 1989. With this, a new democratic wave entered Europe, making extremism less attractive.

Nationally the main event that changed everything for the extreme right was the attempted coup in 1981. Although this happened 13 years before the dissolution, they could only survive marginally for so long. After this the unpopularity of the former regime and all remnants of it secured the continued democratic transformation. For both movements the

²³² Ellwood 1995 p. 98

²³³ Extremismo Wordpress on the death of Horrillo - <http://extremismo.wordpress.com/2014/03/31/muere-diego-marquez-horrillo-lider-historico-de-fe-jons/> First read 21.09.2014

economic situation was a central reason for their dissolution. It was hard for them to receive both electoral and economic support in the national climate, and Piñar have accused the governments of the time to work against them. By attacking FN publicly and other more hidden methods of discrimination, the main political parties obtained what they wanted. CEDADE never became a political party, and their disappearance can be explained by a decreasing interest by those involved. Not really seeing the movement going anywhere, because of their lack of political interest, and the death of Leon Degrelle can explain the disintegration. For FN, being a political party, Piñar blamed the lack of electoral support on the notion of “useful vote”. Although he received much applause at his rallies and meetings, the applause did not turn into votes. Most decided to vote for the conservative alternative they saw as viable, which was Alianza Popular. Seeing as most of those who were political active in the extreme right groupings had their convictions from the Franco days, they were beginning to reach a certain age. This might explain the gradual disappearance.

9.5 Today

Although both FN and CEDADE were dissolved in 1994, the members did not completely disappear from the public life. Especially Blas Piñar has been a central figure, advocating his catholic ideology and being honorary president of Alternativa Española (AES). AES could be seen as a continuation of FN, but lack any connection to Franco. The last leader of CEDADE, Pedro Varela, has been involved with Democracia Nacional (DN) and is the owner of Libreria Europa in Barcelona. They sell, amongst many things, Nazi books and memorabilia, regenerationist and national socialist literature. The leader of DN is Manuel Canduela, former leader of the neo-Nazi musical group División 250 and has been in jail for armed assault. FE de las JONS is the only movement that is still a party, led by Norberto Pico. Although Piñar died early in 2014, AES is still active. Democracia Nacional, Alternativa Española and FE de las JONS have similar ideology, background and issues with the society of today. They do differentiate in method and thought on the ideal society. Their degree of radicalism and extremism varies. FE de las JONS have managed to moderate their politics, although they are still associated with fascism and Francoism. DN is the only group associated with LEM. AES has emphasised their catholic beliefs, which makes them prone to being categorized as sympathetic to Franco. However, they are positive to democracy and anti-racist. On their web page they are present themselves as Christian democrats. But in recent years they have been in electoral coalitions with DN.

9.5.1 Catholicism

One can blame their common background on their similar thoughts on today's society. Firstly, the Catholicism of the Spanish society is very much a big part of the patriot movements. The Catholicism in Spain became very strong in the time of the Christian crusades. Especially after the Muslims invaded the Iberian Peninsula did the Christians feel like they had to protect their country and people towards another culture and religion. It grew stronger as they faced a common enemy. As the world was more and more modernized, the Pope and the Catholic Church saw Spain as one of the last strongholds. It even supported Franco's regime until mid 1960s, seeing as Franco's victory secured them religious and educational monopoly. In 1962 the international Catholic Church began fighting for human rights and political and religious freedom. The Spanish church was not aligned to this new doctrine, seeing as they enjoyed a strong political position in Spain. The Catholicism is still strong amongst those who consider themselves patriots and wants a rebirth of the values of 18-J. In today's Spain, the main issues are abortion, gay marriages, divorce and transsexuality. All of the groups want to prohibit abortion. To them, abortion is an unjust ending of an innocent life. All life is valuable. The only reason for abortion is if the woman's life is in danger, and even then both parents have to accept the procedure. Instead of using abortion as the only option, the Spanish government should make it easier for young couples/parents to start a family, or facilitate adoption. Another reason for their anti-abortionism could stem from the 1936. In this year, during the Second Republic, Spain's first female minister, Federica Montseny, decriminalized abortion. Montseny was an anarchist, appointed health and social minister in 1936 to 1937, for the socialist government.²³⁴ Some extreme rightists, seeing as they are very anti-anarchism, sees abortion as an anarchist and communist threat.

In the view of the patriots, marriage is a traditional institution in which a man and a woman are joined together. Gay marriages are a disgrace and wrong according to the Bible. In the case of divorce, it should be illegal. Once entered into holy matrimony, it should be forever. The last issue based on the catholic tradition is about transsexuality. This is far from normal and does not have any base in the Christian religious texts. Another reason for these issues is the traditionalism of the institution of family. The roles of the members of the family are clear, with the man being in charge and the woman preferably cleaning, giving birth and

²³⁴ Biography Montseny - <http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/m/montseny.htm> First read 16.10.2014

caring for the family. These conservative and traditional ideas secure a rather anti-feminism stance in the ideal patriotic society.

Because Catholicism is so closely connected to the traditional extreme right, LEM cannot escape these traditions. They see the moral decline in Spain related to the modernisation that has happened since Franco's death. The secularisation is partly to blame for the immoral tendencies in the country.

9.5.2 The political system

When FE de las JONS, AES and DN talk about the major issues of the society, the party system led by PP and PSOE are to blame. The extreme amount of corruption is a big concern. They dislike what they perceive as an electoral monopoly for the two parties. Both PSOE and PP are big parties, controlling the society and making it hard for smaller parties to participate in the democracy. One can also blame the Spanish system and constitution for this. The patriots blame the parties and the system for the on-going economic crisis. Many patriots and nationalist believes that the constitution of 1976 is not legitimate, seeing as a government that never was elected by the public constructed it. LEM are critical to the political system of today. They see a national dictatorship as a good solution. The government of today are blamed for all the problems in Spain, and LEM are hostile towards the "generalitat" in Barcelona.

9.5.3 Immigration, separatism and nationalism

The patriots feel like the governing parties are being disloyal towards their country, especially when it comes to the immigration issue. Accepting immigrants from third world countries is absurd when so many Spaniards are unemployed. They are, to different degrees, all racist and believe Spain should be for Spaniards. The groups have different perspective on this matter. Whilst FE de las JONS and AES argue that they are not racist, DN seems less worried about this characterization. Earlier this year (2014) DN attempted to attack the headquarters of SOS Racism in Madrid.²³⁵ All of the movements argue in their public catalogues that they only object to the massive, uncontrolled and illegal immigration. There is a lack of consistency between their practice and theory on this point, albeit some are more

²³⁵ Democracia Nacional reivindica el ataque contra la sede de SOS Racismo en Madrid – La Marea <http://www.lamarea.com/2014/02/21/ataque-con-bengalas-contra-la-sede-de-sos-racismo-en-madrid/> First read 25.09.2014

aggressive than others. The Spanish patriots have been worried about the immigration since it began after Franco's death. This xenophobia has religious and social roots. They want to preserve the uniqueness of Spain. More recently with LEM, the immigrants have indirectly been blamed for the massive unemployment and fuelling the economic crisis. LEM blames the previous governments for the increased immigration in an attempt to hide the racism and xenophobia.

The patriots are against separatism and believe that the separatist movements should be illegal. That PSOE and PP have allowed these to exist is seen as a betrayal of Spain's integrity. Spain is a unity, not a country consisting of separate autonomies. Although there are different languages and cultures in Spain, they have been united as a country and a nation for over 500 years. The patriots fail to see any kind of reason for the separationist movements that have appeared in Spain, especially after the death of Franco. The majority of the Spanish people and patriots consider the British Gibraltar to be Spanish. It being British is an unfortunate remnant of the colonial days. Gibraltar is a part of the Spanish mainland and an important harbour. FE de las JONS dislike that Great Britain, thought of as a friend and an ally, are occupying and taking advantage of what should be Spanish territory. They are threatening with exiting NATO and search for other allies who could possibly be damaging for the UN, NATO and EU.²³⁶

9.5.4 The monarchy

The monarchy is another institution they dislike. Although the traditional, historical monarchy represents the golden age of Spain, they do not find the Bourbon dynasty of Juan Carlos and Felipe to be representative. They feel like the monarchy is nothing but a source of expenditures, particularly when it comes to the last years of Juan Carlos' reign. They would rather have a national syndicalist republic than a socialist monarchy. The majority of the patriots believe that one should not inherit any position of power. Although Felipe (and earlier Juan Carlos) does not have any real power, he is influential, both in politics and publicly. Many, not only the patriots, believe that the monarchy is a waste of money, especially now that the country struggles with an economic crisis.

²³⁶ FE JONS pide medidas efectivas para acabar con la situación colonial de Gibraltar – Hispaniainfo - <http://www.hispaniainfo.es/web/2013/08/08/fe-jons-pide-medidas-efectivas-para-acabar-acabar-con-la-situacion-colonial-de-gibraltar/> First read 25.09.2014

9.5.5 How to reach the perfect society

Considering FE de las JONS' political program, it is difficult to decide whether or not to define them as extreme right. They clearly lack the violent part, and dislike being called left or right. However they want a national syndicalist state where all fake syndicates are removed and the natural syndicates such as family, community and municipality are implemented. They want to implement a completely different system. They dislike the political system of today, in particular the electoral system, they know the necessity of it. If they want to be the leading movement, they need to obtain the most votes, so that they can introduce the national syndicalist state. FE de las JONS believe that the Spanish people soon will realise the supremacy of their politics and ideology, and begin to support it. To reach their wanted society through violence or a coup d'état would be unnecessary and damaging. Their methods are not extreme, but their goal is.

Alternativa Española advocates a big change in the Spanish society, preferably in the form of a second or even a third transition. As FE de las JONS they does not consider themselves neither left nor right on the political scale. They are a transversal movement, which means that they have parts from the different political movements. They want to change the political system to allow smaller parties to have any significance. The system of today favours the biggest parties and a new redistribution of the political representation is necessary.

For the remnants of CEDADE, represented by Manuel Canduela and his Democracia Nacional, have a similar approach to AES when it comes to the political system. They clearly dislike the power of the two biggest parties, and want to reform that system. In addition they would like to implement stricter and more efficient judgement on illegal political activities. How they want to obtain any kind of power is not clear, other than publishing negative propaganda on the system and parties of today. DN is one of the more extreme right groups in Spain.

LEM's ideal society is a national dictatorship, but they are willing to achieve this through democratic election. What this means, is that it probably will not happen ever. They clearly dislike the two-party system of PSOE and PP, but except some threatening demonstrations they do not place any real stress and tension on the Spanish democracy. Their methods have not been successful.

9.5.6 Living in Franco's shadow

All the extreme right groups of today's Spain have an ambivalent relationship to Franco and his memory. They salute him and his role in the civil war. Removing the communists, masons and socialist from power made him a national hero for the nationalists. But even if they do salute him and celebrate the 20-N, not all want to be associated with Franco and his regime. The first couple of years, during the Second World War, were the most fascist and totalitarian the Francoist regime ever got. After this, the international pressure and Franco's aging gradually turned the authoritarian dictatorship into a technocratic semi-dictatorship. This weakness and modernization was not welcomed in the ranks of the extremists. Most of the extreme rightists of today feel closer to the ideas and theories that José Antonio represented. Since the Republicans assassinated him he has been seen as a martyr and a hero. Counterfactually speaking, had he not been assassinated, he might not have had the importance in the post civil war Spain that he has had. I base this statement on the relatively low support FE de las JONS received during the 1930s.

Most of the extreme right movement in Spain today do not associate themselves with Franco's legacy. However, they seem to be unable to distance themselves from this heritage in the eyes of others. The label of patriotic Catholicism and national syndicalism will always be related to the Francoist regime. After all, he was Spain's dictator for almost 40 years. I believe that it is the catholic tradition, the party names and their national syndicalist ideology that makes people place them in the same category as Franco. The groups that have been considered extreme right seem to be unable to reinvent themselves and their ideology. Although they believe they represent something new, holding on to the conservative catholic tradition only reassures the society of their previous representatives. In Spain "right" on the political scale have negative connotations. This might be the reason why they avoid being placed on the political scale. For FE de las JONS to claim that they represent something new and different from Franco would be more believable if they decided to change their name to something with less compounds to Franco and his FET de las JONS.

9.6 Conclusion

FE de las JONS is one of the longest lasting parties in Spain, if you count the Francoist era. From being created in the 1930s as a reaction to the second republic, then being the party adopted by Franco, they ended up as a relatively democratic party. They have been able to adapt during the course of time, using the national syndicalist ideology to their own advantage. This cannot be said about CEDADE and FN. They failed to see the need to renewing their ideology, method and propaganda. Piñar blamed FN's failure on the lack of correlation between support in the streets and electoral support. Alternativa Española claims that they try to show that the catholic values are adaptable in the modern society. They have not received a big amount of votes, but they are an alternative for the conservative catholic. CEDADE was never a political party. It seems like it faded into nothing during the 1990s. Some of them members founded Democracia Nacional. DN was radicalized by Manuel Canduela, and is now considered to be a neo-Nazi, xenophobic movement.

From the post-Francoist period, only one party remains and it is the one that has been able to adapt to the changes of the society. They do not count a big number of followers, but it exists. Their need to radically change the society does not mean that they want to use radical methods. Only DN and LEM seem to be willing to use extraordinary methods, but as long as they are as marginal as they are, they cannot be considered a big threat. The newly created coalition LEM shares viewpoints with most of the movements that has existed since the transition. There is common ground for most of the groups, which shows a lack of regeneration of ideas.

All of the movements mentioned in this chapter want the same things: to prohibit abortion, gay marriages, divorce and transsexuality. They wish to put an end to immigration and separatism. A Spain united, patriotic and catholic is the way to go to once again reach prosperity and wealth. It is important to emphasise that it is not only extreme rightists who have these values. They are common in a country like Spain, due to its traditions, culture and present situation. I will return to this in the following conclusion.

10 Conclusion

The extreme right in Spain was never a homogeneous movement. In 1936 most nationalist groups had gathered under Franco's banner, but as the years went on the dissimilarities started to reappear. When Franco died, there was not *one* prominent group that could secure the continuation of the regime. El Movimiento was nothing but a forced conglomeration that did not work without its leader. This is easily explained by the arrival of the new groups.

10.1 From dictatorship to democracy

Amongst the most important were Fuerza Nueva, CEDADE and FE de las JONS. Neither of these managed to be an important political factor. CEDADE never wanted to be a political party. It was a cultural circle, influenced by Wagner and Hitler, which worked more on spreading neo-Nazi thoughts in Latin America and Southern Europe than on their political importance in Spain. CEDADE is one of the only groups in Spain that managed to remove itself from the Francoist heritage and the traditional Spanish extreme right.

FE de las JONS struggled the first years to gain the rights to the name, and when they got it they soon turned more and more moderate. They were a continuation of the pre-Francoist national syndicalist party of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, trying to remove the connection to Franco.

Fuerza Nueva, led by Blas Piñar, was the most important extreme right movement in post-Franco Spain. Although he managed to get a seat in the 1979 elections, the lack of electoral support was blamed on the notion of the useful vote, meaning that the people voted for the alternative they thought could make a difference. The support and applause Piñar received in his rallies did not translate into electoral votes. FN was the closest to a continuation of the Francoist regime. Piñar and his accomplices wanted a return to the values of 18-J, a national syndicalist, authoritarian, traditional and catholic system. What the new parties lacked was a leading figure. The closest they got was Piñar, but he lacked army background and had never participated in war. All of the mentioned groups felt loyalty towards Franco, but did not want to recreate the regime, at least not the last 20 years of it. Their loyalty was founded in his victory over the communists and masons, and his ability to unite the different strands of extreme right. In the first five years after Franco's death, a return to an early Francoist regime

was the only form of regime the extreme right could imagine. As time went on, they realised the low degree of support this form of regime had and tried to change what they saw as an ideal regime.

By the middle of the 1990s, most extreme right groups were dissolved. Frente Nacional, the new edition of Fuerza Nueva, was completely dissolved and CEDADE slowly disappeared. One of the only parties to survive was FE de las JONS, mainly because of their long history and their ability to moderate their politics. Both national and international events led to the extreme rights decreasing popularity. When the Berlin Wall fell and the Soviet Union ended, the extreme rights biggest enemy, the communists, were no longer a big threat. Nationally the governments tried to suppress the extreme right. They were exhausted, economically and psychologically. They did not longer see any possibility for them to make a change. Not being able to renew their politics and rhetoric made them look old fashioned and too similar the Francoist regime. Their everlasting lack of cooperation only brought weakness to the movements. The attempted coup of 1981 left the extreme right to experience a new low, which was disheartening.

The lines between what one would consider extreme right, radical right and far right are blurred. And I believe they are more blurred in Spain than other places because of their plurality in the conservative right. Right has a negative connotation, and many of the groups considered to extreme right, denies this categorization. In Spain, all of the groups I have mentioned are considered extreme right. But in Spain, the Norwegian Fremskrittspartiet (FRP) is also considered extreme right. As mentioned in the introduction, there are different ways of being extreme. In the years after Franco's death, CEDADE, FN and FE de las JONS would be placed in the extreme right category. They wanted a different governing system, their ideas were radical and their methods were extreme. As time went by, the radicalness and extremity of actions was downplayed, as they (at least FN and FE de las JONS) tried to find their place in the new democracy. CEDADE was never a political party, but both their thoughts and methods were extreme. However, they were never interested in inserting a Spanish Third Reich.

10.2 An extreme right resurgence

In recent years there has been a new awakening in the extreme right community. Partly to blame is the 2008 economic crisis that led to massive unemployment and dissatisfaction in the society. The extreme rightist blames the government for allowing immigration in times like these. They see a major moral decline with the allowance of abortion, gay rights and the separatist movements. Although they see Franco as a nationalist hero, most of them feel more aligned with José Antonio and his national syndicalist ideology. I believe that they find it easier to associate themselves with José Antonio because they believe his semi-fascist national syndicalism never was practised. However, one must see Franco's regime as a national syndicalist attempt. He too was impressed with both Primo de Riveras. Most of the neo-fascists and far right movements think that Franco's regime failed, and see José Antonio's ideology and semi-fascist Falangism as an ideal way of governing.

Movimiento Católico Español sees the Francoist regime as a realization of José Antonio's doctrine. They are openly admitting to be Francoists. All of the parties mentioned in this thesis could be called "symbolical Francoists" – no one completely rejects his importance. They have not managed to escape the Spanish conservative tradition. Franco is still an important figure in Spain, both for the extreme right and for many others. The celebration of 20-N (his and José Antonio's death day) is still an annual occurrence, although it is smaller in size than it has been. The extreme right of today see him as a national hero and saviour, but only a few salute him as a great politician and leader for the country. His values; Catholicism, traditionalism and nationalism are what he is celebrated for – the values of 18-J. I believe that many of the extreme right groups fail to recognise their similarities with Franco, because it brings them more grief than joy. Most of them have chose to downplay the nationalism, defining it as patriotism instead. Few of the movements are confessional Catholics, but they cannot escape the Catholic tradition in Spain. Trying to hide their ideology by using other words is an attempt at an easy way out, and it does not work.

Some of the recently created groups have entered in to a coalition called Spain Marching Forward (LEM), but they seem more interested in displaying what they are against than what they actually want. They lack a clear ideology, but it is obvious that they would prefer the values of 18-J. The movements in LEM are extreme right due to their goals, ideas and

methods. They are extremely nationalistic, traditionalistic and xenophobic. Some of them see a national dictatorship as the best solution.

FE de las JONS are not a part of the new coalition, LEM. They do not consider themselves extreme and not even right. They have moderated their language and methods, but they still want to create a new kind of society. A national syndicalist society built on the ideas of José Antonio would be their ideal society. Only when they got the support of the nation could this be implemented. I would consider their wish to create a new society quite extreme, although they want to reach their goal through democratic means.

Others are not afraid to participate in demonstrations and threatening actions. LEM are opposed to how the country is run. They blame PP and PSOE for running an undemocratic two-party system, filled with corruption. They are not impressed with the way separatism is dealt with and fear the third world immigration. All of this is a threat to the national unity of Spain, which is what they are trying to rescue. The moral decline of the Spanish people is the governments and the globalisations fault. Spain would be better of left alone, in a catholic national dictatorship, not unlike the one that ended 40 years ago.

Although the recent developments in European extreme right have taken a more anti-Muslim, pro-Israel stance, this description does not fit Spain. Perhaps because Spain's neo-fascist and extreme right movements have a different history. The Spanish movements are not thrilled with the Muslim immigration, but they for once they have no wish for a new Christian crusade towards Islam. The Spanish extreme right are preoccupied with the unity of Spain, rather than the unity of Europe. They are not against a united Christian Europe, but for the time being the unity of Spain and defending Spain's national integrity is their first priority. The extreme right movement has not realised the lack of attraction people feel towards movements that represent xenophobia, ultra nationalism, militarism and corporative economy. In many ways this is just a prolongation of the Francoist regime.

10.3 Surviving in the Shadow of Franco

As the new extreme right movements in Europe have tried to remove themselves from the national socialist doctrine of Hitler and claiming to represent something new, so has the new extreme right in Spain. They argue that they represent something new and something

different from Franco. However, I believe this argument is invalid. They are unable to disassociate themselves completely from Franco – maybe because of the longevity of his regime, or because the traditional, catholic and nationalistic values are inserted in the Spanish extreme right. Close to all of the extreme right movements base their ideology on José Antonio Primo de Rivera, but they fail to recognise that Franco also based his regime on this ideology. Only CEDADE managed to create something different, but this alternative failed as well. The traditions that surround José Antonio, his national syndicalism and the national catholic regime of Franco, are the same that the extreme right of today is built on. They seem unable to escape the traditions, although new aspects have been introduced. The extreme right of today do not represent something new, they have only had to relate to new issues. They cannot be placed in the same category as other new extreme right European movements. And although they are categorised as extreme right, they pose no serious threat to the Spanish democracy today.

11 ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AAA	Alianza Apostólica Anticomunista	Anti-communist Apostolic Alliance
AC	Acción Católica	Catholic Action
AES	Alternativa Española	Spanish Alternative
AJE	Acción Juvenil Española	Spanish Youth Action
AN	Alianza Nacional	National Alliance
AN 18 de Julio	Alianza Nacional 18 de Julio	National Alliance of 18th of July
AP	Alianza Popular	The People's Alliance
ATE	Anti-Terrorismo ETA	Anti-Terrorism ETA
BB.AA.	Bases Autónomas	Autonomous Bases
BVE	Batallón Vasco Español	Basque Spanish Battalion
CDJA	Círculos Doctrinales José Antonio	José Antonio Doctrinal Circles
CEDA	Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas	Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right-wing Groups
CEDADE	Círculo Español de Amigos de Europa	Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe
CECID	Centro Superior de Información de la Defensa	Superior Centre of Information of Defence
CESPE	Centro de Estudios Sociales , Políticos y Económicos	Centre of Social, Political and Economic Studies
CNEC	Confederación Nacional de Hermandad y Asociaciones de Excombatientes	National Confederation of Brotherhood and Associations of Veterans
CR (Belguim)	Cristus Rex	Rexist Party
CT	Comunión Tradicionalista	Traditionalist Communion
DN	Democracia Nacional	National Democracy
DYRSA	Diarios y Revistas S.A.	Dailies and Newspapers S.A
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna	Basque Homeland and Freedom
EU (European)		European Union
E-2000	España2000	Spain2000
FE	Frente Español	Spanish Front
FE de las JONS	Falange Española de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista	Spanish Falange of the Assemblies of the National Syndicalist Offensive
FE de las JONS (a)	FE de las JONS (auténtica)	Spanish Falange of the Assemblies of the National Syndicalist Offensive (Authentic)
FE	FE- La Falange	The Falange
FET de las JONS	Falange Española Tradicionalista de las JONS	Spanish Traditionalist Phalanx of the Assemblies of the National Syndicalist Offensive
FJ	Fuerza Joven	Youth Force
FN	Fuerza Nueva /Frente Nacional	New Force/ National Front
FN (France)	Front National	National Front
FNE	Frente Nacional Español	Spanish National Front

FNJ	Frente Nacional de la Juventud	National Youth Front
FP	Frente Popular	Popular Front
FuJ	Fuerza Joven	Youth Force
GAE	Grupos Armados Españoles	Spanish Armed Groups
GAL	Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación	Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups
GCR	Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey	Warriors of Christ the King
GRAPO	Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre	Anti-Fascist Groups of Resistance First of October
HdEC	Hermandades de Ex-Combatientes	Brotherhood of Veterans
JJ.EE.	Juntas Españolas	Spanish Assembly
JONS	Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista	Unions of the National-Syndicalist Offensive
LEM	La España en Marcha	Spain Marching Forward
MCE	Movimiento Católico Español	Spanish Catholic Movement
MES	Movimiento Sindicalista Español	Spanish Syndicalist Movement
MSI (Italia)	Movimiento Sociale Italiano	Italian Syndicalist Movement
NATO (International)		North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
ND	Nuevo Derecha	New Right
NPE	Nudo Patriota Español	Spanish Patriot Group
NS	Nuevo Socialismo	new Socialism
NSDAP (Germany)	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei	National Socialist German Workers' Party
PCE	Partido Comunista de España	Spanish Communist Party
PENS	Partido Español Nacionalsocialista	Spanish National Socialist Party
PESA	Prensa y Ediciones S.A.	Press and Editions S.A
PNF (Italy)	Partito Nazionale Fascista	National Fascist Party
PP	Partido Popular	Popular Party
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	Spanish Socialist Workers Party
SE	Solidaridad Española	Spanish Solidarity
SJ	Sección Juvenil	Youth Section
TPT (Rumania)	Totul Pentru Țară -	Iron Guard/ All for the motherland
UCD	Unión Centro Democrático	Centre Democratic Union
UMN	Unión Monárquica Nacional	National Monarchy Union
UN	Unión Nacional	National Union
UN (International)		United Nations
UP	Unión Patriótica	Patriotic Union

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