

Francoism and Transition

1 Francoism 1939-1975

1.1 Foundations

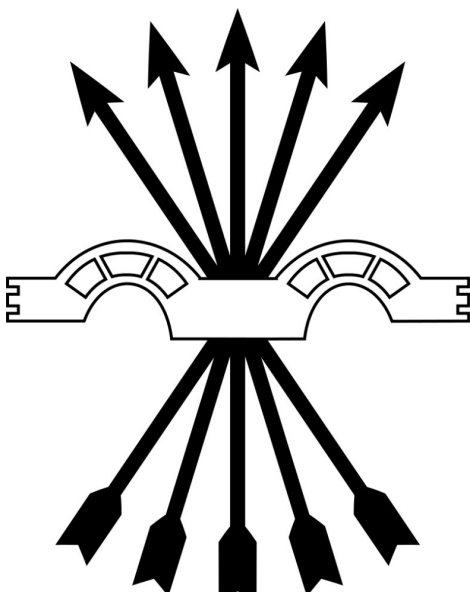
Franco became the ruler of Spain after the Civil War (1936-1939): However, Franco had already concentrated powers within the rebel side during the war:

- He was appointed *Generalísimo de los Ejércitos* (Supreme General of the Armies) in September 1936. He was also appointed as Head of the State and the Government on 1 October 1936.
- Franco was also the only leader of *Falange Española y de las JONS*.

Francoism rejected the national sovereignty and representative democracy:

- There was not any political or trade union freedom.
- There was an official Trade Union: *Sindicato Vertical*, whose members were workers and employers.

Francoist ideology was known as *Movimiento Nacional*, whose main principles were:



[Az88](#). [Yoke and arrows](#) (CC BY-SA)

Fascism:

- *Falange* was conceived as a Fascist party whose main leader was Franco.
- Franco was given the title of *Caudillo*.
- Fascist symbols were adopted, such as the salute, paramilitary uniforms, or the emblem of the yoke and the arrows.

Nationalism and centralism:

- The statutes of autonomy were abolished as well as other languages or flags other than the Spanish.
- There were military parades, hymns, and exaltation of the national flag.

National-Catholicism:

- Francoism was legitimised by the Catholic Church since the Civil War was considered a crusade against Marxist atheism.
- Catholicism was the official religion of Spain.

Traditionalism:

- The Habsburg Imperial Spain was the model Franco followed.
- Liberalism and enlightenment were blamed for the decline of Spain.

Franco had some supporters within Spain:

- The Army, the Catholic Church, and *Falange*. Initially the monarchists also supported Franco since they thought that monarchy would be re-established.
- Landowners, businessmen and bankers also supported Franco. Little by little the middle class also accepted his regime since they preferred a better standard of living

1.2 Internal policy (1939-1959)

The Post-War period was very hard for Spain, whose reconstruction was extremely slow. Franco used this period to consolidate the foundations of his new State by passing some essential laws:

- *Fuero del Trabajo* (1938): It was an act that regulated labour rights. It created the *Sindicato Vertical* as a trade union.
- *Ley de Cortes* (1942): This act created a sort of one-house Parliament whose decisions were strictly advisory.
- *Fuero de los Españoles* (1945): It speaks about the rights of the Spaniards. It involved the birth of the “organic democracy”, which was the name Franco gave to his regime.
- *Ley de Referéndum Nacional* (1945): This act allowed Franco to call a referendum in order to vote for any of his proposals.
- *Ley de Sucesión* (1947): Due to this act Spain was considered a kingdom but without a king. Hence, Franco is appointed *Caudillo de España*. Franco had the power to appoint his successor.
- *Ley de Principios Fundamentales del Movimiento* (1958): It fixed the main principles of the national organisation



[Sebastian Dubiel](#). *Valle do los Caídos. Built by republican prisoners* (CC BY)

During this period Juan Carlos de Borbón arrived in Spain after the conversations that Franco and Juan de Borbón held in 1948 on board of the *Azor yacht* .

This stage of Francoism involved a very hard repression where the followers of the defeated side in the war were executed without fair trials and many people were jailed. There were more than 30,000 executions in the early 1940s. More than 250,000 people were in prison due to their political ideas.

1.3 Foreign policy (1939-1959)

During WWII Spain was officially neutral (non-belligerent), although relations changed as war did:



[Biblioteca Virtual de Defensa](#). *Muñoz Grandes in German Army uniform*(CC0)

- There was an initial support to the Axis: Franco met Hitler in Hendaye (France) on 23th October 1940 in order to negotiate the entry of Spain in the war. Franco demanded the north of Africa in exchange of joining the Axis. Hitler rejected ceding those territories to Franco. Spain sent the Blue Division (*División Azul*) led by Muñoz Grandes in order to fight with the Axis in the USSR.
- After the German defeat in the USSR, Franco declared the neutrality of Spain and did not support the Axis any longer.

After WWII Spain was internationally isolated since it was a regime that had been created with the assistance of the Nazi-Fascist powers: All the ambassadors left Madrid in 1946, except Portugal, Argentina, Switzerland, and Ireland's. Spain was not allowed to join the newly created UN.

Some nations supported Spain: Portugal and Spain signed the Iberian Pact (*Pacto Ibérico*) in 1942 to give mutual support. Franco signed a protocol with Perón's Argentina in 1948 so as to import Argentinean products.

The Cold War in the 1950s was extremely beneficial for Spanish international relations since the USA sought support against the spread of communism: Spain could join some international organisms thanks to this new policy: FAO (1950), UNESCO (1952), UN (1955).

There were also some international agreements that Spain signed in this period: A Concordat was signed in 1953 with the Holy See:

- Spain gained its right to present bishops for its dioceses.
- In exchange, the Church got tax exemptions, economic support for the clergy, and control over education.

An essential agreement was signed in 1953 with the USA due to Franco's anti-communist ideas:

- The USA would guarantee economic and military support to Spain.
- Some American military bases were built in Spain: Torrejón de Ardoz, Morón de la Frontera, Rota, and Zaragoza.

[Bkwillwm. Franco and Eisenhower. Madrid 1959](#)

(Dominio público)



1.4 Autarchy

Between 1939 and 1959 Franco tried to impose the so-called Autarchy, which tried to provide products that could only be produced in Spain. The State intervened in every economic matter:

- It created the INI (*Instituto Nacional de Industria*) in 1941 in order to control the national production. All the state industries were part of this institution.
- It also created the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* in 1939 to have more agricultural lands in Spain.
- Some services were also nationalised, such as the railway system, which was grouped in *RENFE*.
- The State also controlled the prices and production of wheat.

This policy had some consequences such as:

there was a decline in agricultural and industrial production, which caused economic stagnation. Ration Coupons had to be used in Spain until 1951 since there was shortage of basic products, which led to famine. Black market (*straperlo*) developed in order to get those basic products which could not be obtained with the coupons. Those goods increased their price notably.



[Falconaumann](#). [Ration Coupon](#) (CC BY-SA)

1.5 Opposition to the regime (1939-1959)

Once the Civil War ended many people were exiled and a Republican government was created in exile. It was led by Diego Martínez Barrio. This government was first in Mexico City at the beginning and subsequently in Paris.

Monarchists also opposed the regime after WWII since they supported the return of Juan de Borbón (Alfonso XIII's son) as his legitimate successor. Don Juan wrote the Manifesto of Lausanne in 1945, where he denounced Franco's totalitarianism and demanded the reestablishment of monarchy as well as democracy.

Within Spain there were also armed groups who hid in the mountains to attack the regime; they were the so-called *maquis*. They were around 10,000 guerrilla fighters. They carried out sabotage and undercover attacks to Francoist targets. They expected a popular uprising against Franco, but it never existed. Their most important campaign counted on some international help when the Aran Valley was invaded in 1944 in order to restore the Republic in Spain (*Operación Reconquista de España*).

However, this military campaign was not successful due to Franco's reaction.

1.6 Internal policy (1959-1975)

During this period there were some timid attempts of political opening-up with new acts:

- *Ley Orgánica del Estado* (1966). It created two figures on the top of the political status: Head of the State and President of the Government. It was allowed to create political associations.
- *Ley de Prensa* (1966). It was drafted by the minister of Information and Tourism, Manuel Fraga Iribarne. It relaxed censorship on press.
- *Ley de libertad religiosa* (1967). It allowed worshipping any religion apart from Catholicism.



[Carrero Blanco's car after attack](#)

The governments of this period were controlled by the so-called Technocrats, most of who belonged to the *Opus Dei*. Their main goal was to promote economic development in order to keep social stability.

Franco's last years were marked by his succession: The *Cortes* appointed Juan Carlos de Borbón as Franco's successor as King

of Spain on 22nd July 1969. Franco also appointed Luis Carrero Blanco as President of the Government in 1973 but he was assassinated by ETA on 20th December 1973. After Carrero's assassination, Carlos Arias Navarro was appointed as the new President, who promised some timid political opening-up

Francisco Franco died on 20th November 1975 and was succeeded by Juan Carlos I, who was crowned as King of Spain on 22th November.

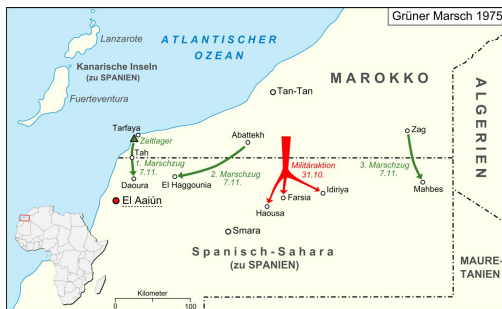


[Ecorepublicano](#). *Franco and the Prince of Spain* (CC BY-SA)

1.7 Foreign policy (1959-1975)

Due to the Cold War the regime of Franco was internationally accepted. There were negotiations to join the European Economic Community in 1962. However, it was not possible since it was not a democratic regime. In 1970 Spain reached a commercial agreement that granted a reduction in customs duties for trade with the EEC members.

During this period Spain lost its last colonies:



[Lencer. Green March map \(CC BY-SA\)](#)

- Spanish Morocco was given back to Morocco in 1956 after the independence of the French protectorate.
- Due to historical reasons Spain kept Ceuta, Melilla, the Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, the Peñón de Alhucemas, the Chafarinas Islands, as well as the Islet of Perejil.
- Cape Juby (next to the Spanish Sahara) was given back to Morocco in 1958.
- Ifni was eventually given back to Morocco in 1963 after a war.
- Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Po, Annobon, and Río Muni) was granted autonomy in 1967 and it gained its independence in 1968.

Spanish Sahara was occupied by Morocco during the Green March in October 1975.

The Green March was organised by Hassan II, who sent 350,000 civilians and 25,000 soldiers to occupy the Spanish Sahara. Morocco tried to avoid the UN's resolution of self-determination for Western Sahara. As a consequence, in the Agreements of Madrid

Spain divided the territory between Morocco and Mauritania to avoid a war. However, the latter relinquished its part in 1979. The Saharan conflict is still unfinished.

1.8 Opposition to the regime (1959-1975)

There were some major strikes at the *Universidad Complutense* in 1956, where many students and professors were subsequently judge

There was a very important meeting of opponents in Munich in 1962, the so-called Contubernio de Muchich. These opponents agreed on some points to develop in Spain:

- Freedom of trade unions, press, association, and expression.
- Acknowledgment of regional feelings.
- Development of human rights.
- They agreed on developing democracy.

During the 1960s strikes became common in the industrial areas. In addition, the trade union *Comisiones Obreras* was founded in 1962. It was created by the PCE. Shortly after the PSOE and UGT also reorganised themselves.



[CCOO activists condemned at 1001 process \(1972\)](#)

After the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) the Catholic Church was more critical against the Francoist regime. Many Catholic organisations opposed the regime, mostly at University.

Terrorism grew to attack the regime in some parts of Spain: ETA (*Euskadi ta Askatasuna*) was created in 1959 in order to get the independence of the Basque Provinces.

Meanwhile all the clandestine political parties coordinated the establishment of a democracy in Spain once Franco died.

1.9 Desarrollismo

Between 1959 and 1975 the new economic period is the so-called *Desarrollismo* due to the approval of the

Plan de Estabilización Económica, which was passed in 1959 and involved the end of the Autarchy:

- The government tried to get the economic balance and to reduce the national debt.
- Prices and production were deregulated.
 - The Spanish peseta was strongly devaluated in order to attract foreign investment.
 - Salaries were frozen in order to get a competitive workforce. It made many people migrate to other European countries, who sent back foreign currencies to Spain, which reactivated the Spanish economy.



[Pujanak](#). *Seat 600. Symbol of Desarrollismo and the new middle class*. (Dominio público)

The *Planes de Desarrollo* began in 1964 and let create industrial hubs across Spain. They involved the development of leading sectors of economy. Foreign investment was essential. All economic sectors improved in this period thanks to these policy:

- Agricultural lands grew thanks to the colonization of new areas and the use of new techniques, such as irrigation, machinery, fertilizers...
- These measures made tourism become a basic pillar of the Spanish economy. The Spanish GDP grew between 4 and 7% annually.
- Spanish economy modernised during this period and a middle class grew thanks to these improvements:

However, the growth was not even and made regional imbalances appear. Industry was mostly concentrated in Madrid and around the coast. Inland Spain remained agrarian and many people migrated to the industrial areas; it is the so-called rural exodus.

1.10 Society

Between 1939 and 1975 Spanish population grew a lot: from 26 million up to 35.5 million inhabitants.

Nonetheless, during the Post-War years there was a severe decrease of the birthrate. There were many migration movements in Spain and outside Spain.

There was a massive internal migration movement in the 1950s and 1960s: the rural exodus. More than 4 million people left their homes and moved to the most industrial or tourist areas. Some cities grew so quickly that did not have enough housing and services. Hence, some slums were created on the outskirts of these cities.

External migration took many Spaniards to other European countries in the 1960s and early 1970s. They mostly emigrated to West Germany, France, Belgium, and Switzerland, where they did the hardest jobs.

A new social structure developed after the 1950s once there was economic development:

- The upper class was now held by the bankers and businessmen, not by the landowners.
- A new middle class grew in this period and most of the Spaniards belonged to this group. Most of them worked in the tertiary sector.
- Working class was composed of farmers (who were fewer than before) and industrial workers, who improved their conditions and had access to buy their own properties.

Compared with 1939s society, spanish society had chaged completely in 1975



[Rodrigoillo. Spanish population 1950-1981](#)(Dominio público)

2 Transition to democracy



[SemolaSeminola.](#)
[Adolfo Suárez \(CC BY-SA\)](#)

After Franco's death, Juan Carlos I was crowned as King of Spain, who worked to establish a parliamentary monarchy in Spain. Meanwhile, the opposition parties grouped together in 1976 in an association called *Coordinación Democrática* (so-called *Platajunta* since it merged both *Plataforma* and *Junta Democrática*), which demanded the dissolution of the Francoist *Cortes* and elections for new Constituent *Cortes*.

The first president was Carlos Arias Navarro, who began some opening-up but he did not break up with Francoist laws. There were some social conflicts (strikes, terrorism, Montejurra)

When Arias Navarro renounced, the new president was Adolfo Suárez, who was directly appointed by the King in July 1976. He declared the general amnesty of political prisoners. He drafted a plan to reform the Spanish politics, whose final act was the *Ley para la Reforma Política*, which was ratified in referendum on 15th December 1976 by 94% of the voters:

- It established a democratic system where national sovereignty was essential.
- Universal suffrage was established.
- The new *Cortes* should have two houses which should draft a Constitution.

All the political parties were legal, but the PCE (*Partido Comunista de España*), which was eventually legalised on Good Saturday of 1977. The most conservative sectors opposed to this decision since they considered the PCE the worst enemy of the previous regime. Some other decisions were taken in order to make a real democracy.

But there were some major problems:

- Violence: ETA terrorism and Francoist opposition, who massacred the Atocha labour lawyers on 24th January 1977.
- The Spanish economy was suffering a major crisis:
 - Unemployment grew rapidly.
 - The economic growth stopped.
 - Inflation was really high, since it reached 20-30%.

After all Suárez's reforms the first democratic elections were held on 15th June 1977, when his political party won (UCD: *Unión de Centro Democrático*). Hence, he became the first democratic president after 40 years.



[Jorge Suárez Borrajo. 1977 elections](#)

During this government there were also social and economic agreements due to economic crisis caused by the oil price rise and the high unemployment. The result was the signing of the *Pactos de La Moncloa* (25th October 1977) They fixed the principles of the economic transition, such as wage moderation, employment flexibility, tax reforms, public spending controls or increase of unemployment benefits. They also acknowledged common rights and liberties in a democratic system.

2.1 The Constitution of 1978

The Constitution of 1978 was drafted by a commission of seven deputies of different political parties in order to make a lasting constitution:

- UCD members: Miguel Herrero de Miñón, Gabriel Cisneros, and José Pedro Pérez-Llorca.
- PSOE member: Gregorio Peces Barba.
- PCE member: Jordi Solé Tura.
- AP member: Manuel Fraga Iribarne.
- Catalan minority member: Miquel Roca Junyent.

The text of the Constitution was passed by the *Cortes Generales* on 31st October 1978. Spanish people ratified the text on 6th December 1978 in a referendum. 87.9% of the people who voted (67.1%) said yes to this constitution. It was sanctioned by the King Juan Carlos I on 27 December 1978.

The principles of the Spanish Constitution are:

- National sovereignty resides in Spanish people, who delegate their power to those representatives elected through universal suffrage.
- Division of powers: Executive, which is held by the President of the Government (who is appointed by the Congress of the Deputies). Legislative. It is composed of the Cortes (Congress of Deputies and Senate). Judicial Power
- The form of the State is the parliamentary monarchy.
- Rights (both civil and social) and liberties are acknowledged.
- There is political pluralism.
- There is not any official religion, although it acknowledges that there is a Catholic majority.
- There is a new national organisation based on municipalities, provinces, and autonomous regions.
- Spanish is the common official language. However, it also acknowledges co-official languages in several parts of Spain:
- After the approval of the Constitution the *Cortes* were dissolved and new elections were called.

2.2 UCD government (1979-1982)

The second democratic elections were held on 1 March 1979, whose results were: UCD won it. But Suárez's party (UCD) suffered a major internal decomposition. These internal problems and the political situation made Adolfo Suárez resign on 29th January 1981.

When Calvo Sotelo was to be elected president by the Congress of the Deputies on 23th February 1981 there was an attempted coup d'état. Antonio Tejero entered the Congress and kidnapped the deputies for one night. Some major officers supported the coup d'état, such as Armada or Milans del Bosch. The coup d'état was thwarted and made democracy consolidate.

EL PAIS
DIARIO INDEPENDIENTE DE LA MAÑANA
DIRECTOR: JUAN LUIS CEBRIAN
Redacción, Administración y Talleres: Plaza de España, 15. Madrid 17. Teléfono: 241.30.00. Precio: 25 céntimos. Abono: 1.400.
MADRID, MARTES 24 DE FEBRERO DE 1981
EDICIÓN DE LAS CUATRO DE LA MADRUGADA

El general Milans del Bosch retiró las tropas de las calles de Valencia tras el mensaje del Rey

El intento de golpe de Estado, en vías de fracaso

El golpe de Estado protagonizado ayer tarde por un destacamento compuesto por 120 guardias civiles, al mando del coronel Antonio Tejero —compañero de la agencia Galea—, provocó en toda España un gran alboroto. En la ciudad de Valencia, donde se encontraba el cuartel de la Guardia Civil, se escuchó el ruido de las armas y se vieron disparos. Los rebeldes se hicieron fuertes en el Congreso de los Diputados y en el Palacio de la Corona, sede del Gobierno. El general Milans del Bosch, jefe de la Guardia Civil, se comprometió a mantener como rehenes al Gobierno y al Parlamento. El Rey, que se encontraba en Valencia, dirigió un mensaje a los rebeldes para que se retiraran de las calles y se restableciera la normalidad. El mensaje del Rey fue recibido con satisfacción por los rebeldes, que se retiraron de las calles de Valencia. El Rey, que se encontraba en Valencia, dirigió un mensaje a los rebeldes para que se retiraran de las calles y se restableciera la normalidad. El mensaje del Rey fue recibido con satisfacción por los rebeldes, que se retiraron de las calles de Valencia.



La Corona defiende la Constitución

Guardias civiles rebeldes se hacen fuertes en el Congreso y mantienen como rehenes al Gobierno y al Parlamento

[El Pais front page 24th february 1981](#)

The government of Calvo Sotelo (February 1981-October 1982) took some important decisions:

- Approval of the Divorce Law in June 1981, which was the first law that allowed people to divorce in more than 40 years.
- All the statutes of autonomy were eventually passed: Galicia on 6th April 1981.
- Spain also joined the NATO on 30th May 1982.
- A major sport event took place in June 1982 when the Football World Cup was held in Spain, which opened the country to the world.

On October 1982 PSOE won the elections and Felipe González became president.

Webgrafía

"Prof. Jorge E. de la Peña" "History I. From Enlightenment to WWI.pdf", *Google Docs*, fecha de consulta 18 octubre 2016, en https://drive.google.com/file/d/0Bwe1dU-54DkeZXRIVVI0X19xdkk/edit?pli=1&usp=embed_facebook.

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