

# SPANISH RESTORATION AND THE SECOND REPUBLIC

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UNIT 9

A black and white historical photograph showing King Alfonso XIII of Spain in a motorcade. He is wearing a military-style cap with a crest and a dark jacket, and is smoking a cigarette. He is seated in an open-top car, looking towards the camera. In the background, another person wearing a hat is visible, and the scene is set outdoors with a crowd of people.

# THE REIGN OF ALFONSO XIII

# CRISIS OF THE RESTORATION SYSTEM: REGENERATIONISM

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- In 1902, when he was 16 years old, Alfonso XIII came of age. This marked the start of the second phase of the Restoration (1874-1931). During this phase, politicians tried to reform the regime. This was called **regenerationism**. The conservative governments of **Silvela** and **Maura** and the liberal government of **Canalejas** embarked upon an extensive programme of reforms to try to solve the problems inherited from the 19th century, derived from electoral fraud, nationalist demands and the colonial disaster of 1898.

# THE CRISIS OF 1917

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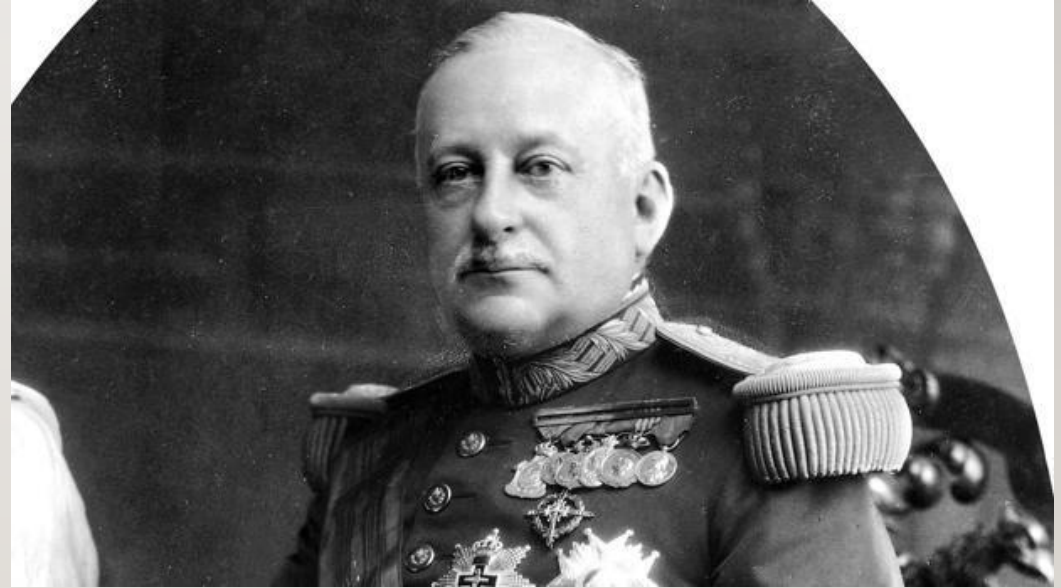
- Another problematic situation arose in 1917. During the First World War, some business sectors had benefited from Spain's neutrality and made large profits by exporting to countries involved in the conflict. However, their profits did not benefit the working class. In fact, although prices increased, workers still earned the same wages and this led to **severe social tensions**.

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- **Social crisis.** The workers' unions – the socialist UGT and anarchist CNT – called a general strike. The aim was to topple the political system of the Restoration. The army suppressed the strike and hundreds of people were killed. Social tensions were very high.
  - **Military crisis.** Soldiers joined organisations called *Juntas de Defensa Militar* and demanded higher wages. They also called for political changes and for the war in Morocco to continue. Eduardo Dato's government had been weakened and **succumbed** to military pressure. The military became more involved in politics
  - **Political crisis.** The political crisis had worsened because the government had suspended the Cortes and constitutional rights. Catalans, republicans and socialists gathered at a meeting, the *Asamblea de Parlamentarios*, and tried to impose political reform, but the assembly was dissolved by the government

# THE PRIMO DE RIVERA DICTATORSHIP

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- In **1923**, a dictatorship was established under Primo de Rivera. The dictatorship was an **authoritarian response** to the political demands of some segments of society, such as workers and intellectuals. As in other European countries during the inter-war period, the new regime was led by a charismatic dictator who **restricted political participation** and restructured society following the corporatist model imposed in Italy by Mussolini.



# THE COUP D'ÉTAT

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- General Primo de Rivera took power by launching a **military coup**. He promised to restore public order, end the war in Morocco and combat corruption. The king accepted Primo de Rivera's promises and appointed him Prime Minister. The new dictator immediately suspended the Constitution, dissolved parliament and banned political parties and trade unions. During his dictatorship, there were two types of government:

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- The **military directorate** (1923-1925). The dictator was advised by the military. During this period, Primo de Rivera successfully restored public order and resolved the problem of Morocco.
  - The **civil directorate** (1925-1930). Primo de Rivera tried to institutionalise his authoritarian corporatist regime by bringing together workers and business owners to prevent class conflict. Parliament was replaced by a **National Consultative Assembly** and a single party, the **Patriotic Union**, inspired by Mussolini's National Fascist Party, was imposed.



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- In the medium term, the dictatorship **did not solve Spain's economic, social and political problems**, although it was quite popular amongst the wealthy upper and middle classes and the military because of its civil engineering projects and employment policies. However, it accumulated huge debts, and economic problems. This was made worse by the crisis of 1929. The regime became unsustainable.

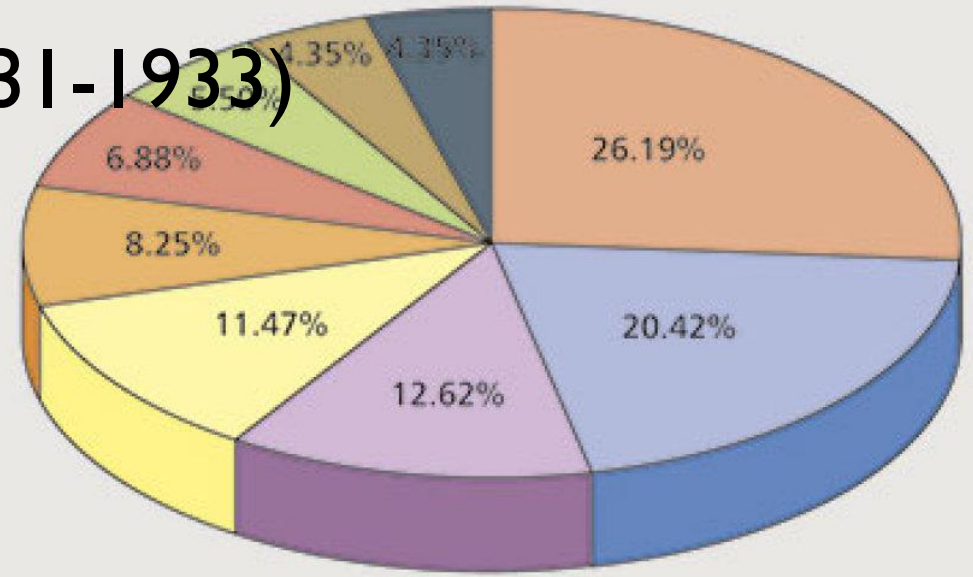
## THE SECOND SPANISH REPUBLIC

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- The **Second Spanish Republic** was declared on 14 April 1931 and a new regime was established. The **provisional republican government** undertook urgent reforms established at the Pact of San Sebastián, and called elections for the constituent Cortes, which would write the Constitution of 1931.
- The *Cortes* selected Niceto Alcalá-Zamora as the first President of the new Republic and Manuel Azaña as Prime Minister, resulting in three periods:



# THE REFORMIST BIENNIUM (1931-1933)



- During this first period, republicans and socialists formed a coalition government under Prime Minister Manuel Azaña. It was the most stable government of the Second Republic and undertook the main reforms set out in the Constitution:
- **Political system.** Spain became a Republic and regions were given the right to autonomy.
- **Parliament and suffrage.** The parliament consisted of a single chamber with legislative power. Suffrage was universal and women were allowed to vote for the first time.
- **Army.** Active military officers had to **swear** allegiance to the Republic. A police force called the *Guardia de Asalto* was created to maintain public order.
- **Agricultural reform.** Land was redistributed to get rid of latifundios and provide plots to **poor** peasants.

## CLARA CAMPOAMOR (1888-1972) AND WOMEN'S RIGHT TO VOTE

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- Clara Campoamor came from a working-class family. She became a lawyer and fought for women's rights. In particular, she fought for women's right to vote, which was achieved in 1933. She was one of the first female members of parliament in the Second Republic, along with Victoria Kent and Margarita Nelken. During the Civil War, she lived in exile in Switzerland and wrote her memoirs.





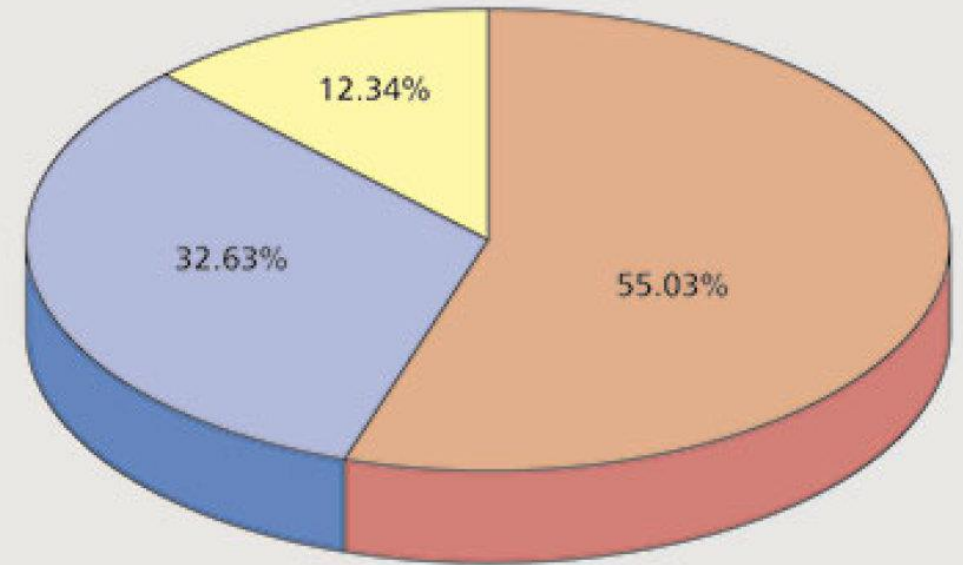
## THE BLACK BIENNIUM (1933-1936)

- **Oligarchs**, landowners, the Church and some military officers rejected the reforms. This, combined with demands from the labour movement, created a violent climate of opposition. This resulted in a massacre, the **Casas Viejas** incident. The government was discredited, Azaña was forced to resign and new elections were held.
- The **Revolution of October 1934** took place in **Asturias** and revolutionaries took control of cities and numerous mining areas. In **Catalonia**, Catalan nationalists took advantage of the general strike to establish an autonomous federal government. In the rest of Spain, the general strike failed because of lack of coordination.
- The army brutally repressed the revolutionaries, killing thousands. Asturias was suppressed, Catalonia lost its autonomy and the statutes in place were blocked. From 1934 onwards, CEDA took on a more powerful role in government.

# FEBRUARY 1936-JULY 1936: VICTORY OF THE POPULAR FRONT

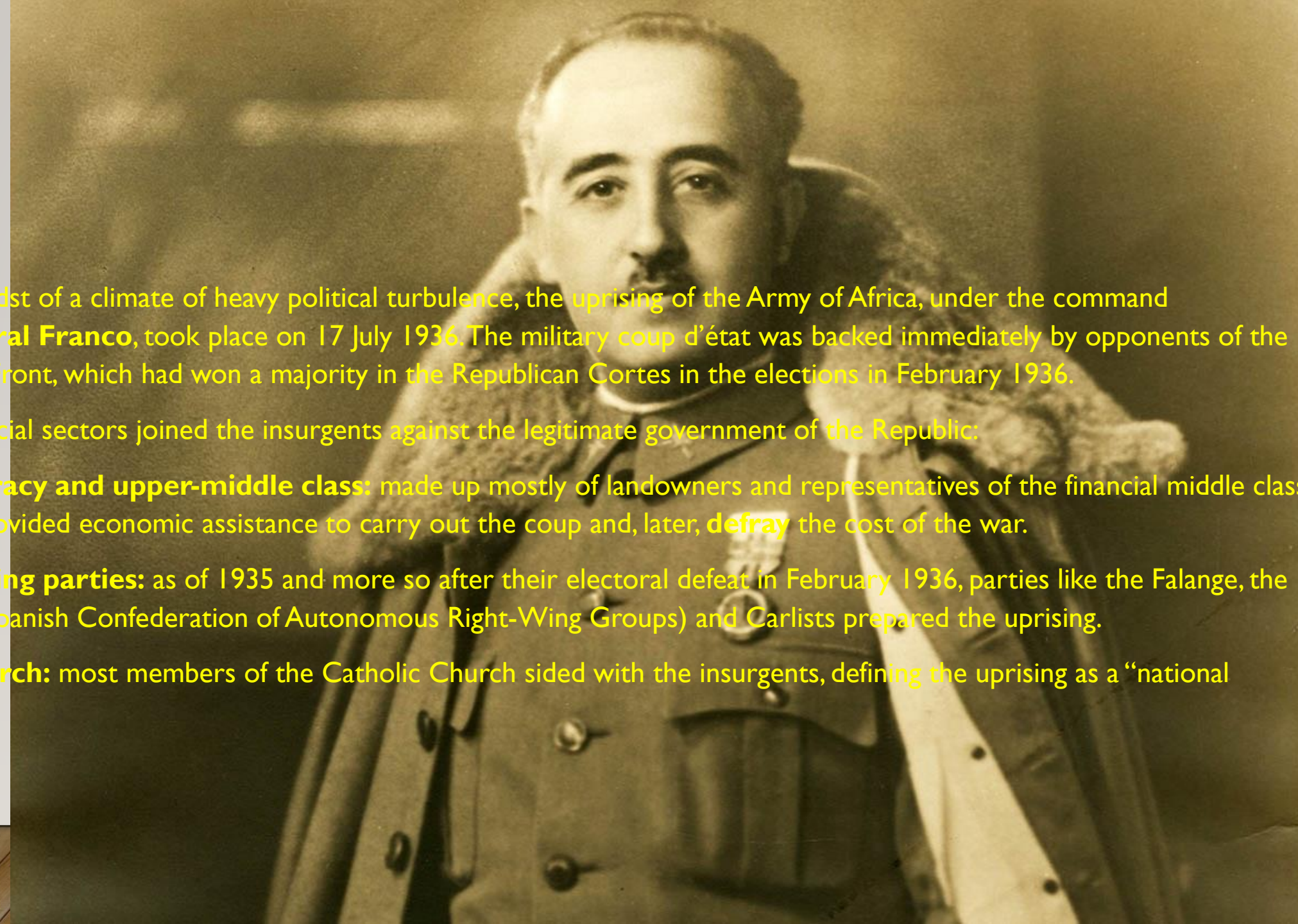
February 1936 elections

- Republicans and socialists wanted to form an alliance in order to win the elections. As a result, the **Popular Front** was created. This large group consisted of left-wing republican, nationalist, socialist and communist parties. Its primary aim was to **resume the reforms** of the first **reformist biennium** and declare an amnesty for political prisoners imprisoned during the black biennium.
- Some army members and extreme right-wing organisations were opposed to the Popular Front's reforms. With the support of large landowners and oligarchs, they began to conspire against the government, creating the climate required for a coup d'état. Disorder and violence spread throughout most of Spain. In July 1936, the assassinations of PSOE activist **Lieutenant Castillo** and conservative leader **Calvo Sotelo** in Madrid triggered the military uprising that led to the Civil War.





# THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

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- In the midst of a climate of heavy political turbulence, the uprising of the Army of Africa, under the command of **General Franco**, took place on 17 July 1936. The military coup d'état was backed immediately by opponents of the Popular Front, which had won a majority in the Republican Cortes in the elections in February 1936.
  - Broad social sectors joined the insurgents against the legitimate government of the Republic:
  - **Aristocracy and upper-middle class:** made up mostly of landowners and representatives of the financial middle class, which provided economic assistance to carry out the coup and, later, **defray** the cost of the war.
  - **Right-wing parties:** as of 1935 and more so after their electoral defeat in February 1936, parties like the Falange, the CEDA (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right-Wing Groups) and Carlists prepared the uprising.
  - **the Church:** most members of the Catholic Church sided with the insurgents, defining the uprising as a “national crusade”.



## THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR (1936)

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- In the first days of the war, the forces were balanced. The more industrial, more populous regions of the country remained faithful to the government of the Republic. The insurgents controlled the main agricultural regions.



# LATE 1936 TO 1937


- In February 1937, the insurgents failed in their attempt to isolate Madrid from the fronts of Guadalajara and Jarama. These two battles were among the bloodiest of the war, with a large number of casualties on both sides. Again, facing the resistance of the capital, the Nationalists tried to complete the conquest of the Cantabrian coast. During the first months of 1937, they also took the city of Málaga.
- On 26 April 1937, the bombing of Guernica took place. Aeroplanes from the German Condor Legion and the Italian Legionary Air Force **devastated** this town in Vizcaya, leaving numerous civilian victims.





## THE RUPTURE OF BALANCE AND THE END OF THE WAR (1938-1939)

- The final collapse of the Republican side led to the fall of Madrid and Valencia. On 1 April 1939, the rebels issued their last war **dispatch**, announcing the end of the conflict and for the victory of Nationalist Spain.
- After the end of the Spanish Civil War, General Franco was confirmed as head of state. As of that moment, the *Caudillo* imposed an authoritarian regime which was initially inspired by the principles of fascism.



## THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

- The **consequences of the Spanish Civil War** were dramatic. During the conflict, the civilian population became the objective of military strikes, especially in cities. There were more than 500 000 victims and a large number of refugees had to leave Spain. Many of them took up exile in countries like France, Mexico and Argentina.
- In the post-war period, the Franco regime systematically and fiercely repressed anyone suspected of having supported the Republican government. Executions, long prison terms and the confiscation of the prisoner's properties and **assets** took place. This repression deepened the horror and the ideological division of the country into, 'two Spains', something that lasted the duration of the Franco dictatorship.

# ACTIVITIES

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- How did the Civil War lead to the creation of a dictatorship?
- What divisions existed on the Republican side?
- List the main internal problems that the Republic faced during the war.
- Which side had a military advantage in the Civil War?
- What were the International Brigades? Which side did they fight on?

A black and white photograph of General Francisco Franco in a military uniform, saluting with his right hand. He is standing on a balcony with a decorative railing. To his right, another man in a military uniform is visible, looking towards Franco. The background features ornate architectural details and a flag with the word 'VIVA' on it. The text 'THE FRANCO DICTATORSHIP' is overlaid in white, bold, sans-serif capital letters, with a vertical white line to its left.

# THE FRANCO DICTATORSHIP

# THE STABILITY OF THE DICTATORSHIP: TOTALITARIANISM AND AUTARKY

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- Franco came to unlawfully hold **executive and legislative power**. In 1942, a representative body, *Las Cortes*, was created, but it did not possess decision making powers. Its only function was to approve those laws that the *Caudillo* presented to it. Its members, representatives, far from being voted in by universal suffrage, were appointed or chosen by official organisations. They represented economic and professional institutions, as well as the three **corporate classes** of the state: trade unions, municipalities and families.
- AUTARKY. During this period, the Franco regime tried to be self-sufficient without having to resort to imports or external aid from other countries or entities.

# IDEOLOGY AND SYMBOLS

- Especially in its initial period, the Franco regime adopted the symbols of the Falange: the fascist salute, the hymn *Cara al sol* and the paramilitary blue shirt. For spreading propaganda the Falangists had the daily paper *Arriba* - founded by José Antonio Primo de Rivera in 1935 - which was incorporated into the Press of the Movement.
- In 1937, all political groups were unified in a new party: *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS* (Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx of the Committees of the National Syndicalist Offensive). During the dictatorship, this party came to be called the National Movement. Its organisations – the Youth Front, the Women's Section, the Spanish University Union and Social Assistance – became institutions of the state.



**CARA AL SOL**

**CANTO NACIONAL**

**IMNO OFICIAL DE FALANGE ESPAÑOLA  
TRADICIONALISTA Y DE LAS JONS**

CASA EDITORIAL DE MÚSICA  
**BOILEAU**  
Paseo de... 101 y 107  
BARCELONA - Teléfono 78 084



# IN WHAT WAYS WAS THE FRANCO REGIME A DICTATORSHIP?

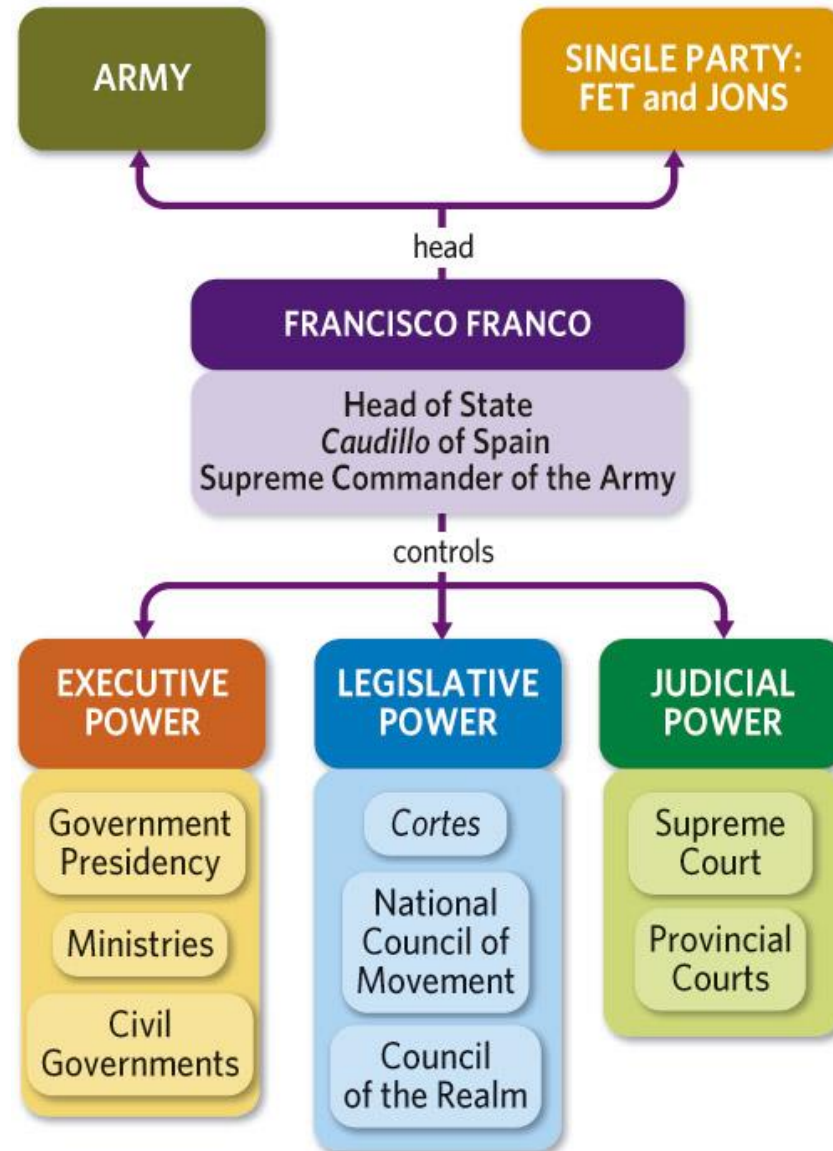
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- The Nationalist victory in the Civil War resulted in an authoritarian regime that lasted until Franco's death in 1975. During those years any vestige of democracy was eliminated, and public and private freedoms were severely restricted.
- The demographic, economic, social and ideological consequences of the Civil War caused suffering throughout the country for many years.
- After a long period of international isolation, the regime was finally recognised by the outside world and benefited from western economic growth. However, increased demands for freedom and a severe economic crisis made the regime untenable after Franco's death.

# A STRICT MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

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- After his victory in the Civil War, Franco imposed a military dictatorship in which all democratic freedoms were eliminated (freedom of expression, association, protest, religion and the press).
- The 1931 Constitution was annulled, elections were banned and Republican institutions, such as Parliament, were dismantled. The Statutes of Autonomy were abolished and any expression of Catalan, Basque or Galician regional identity was prohibited.
- Franco held the title of *Caudillo* and had absolute power. He was head of state and head of the military, he ruled by decree, his office was for life, and he reserved the right to appoint his successor.





## THE SUPPORT OF TRADITIONAL SOCIAL GROUPS

- Members of the army, strengthened after the military victory, had many privileges and were given important positions in government.
- Falange members maintained social control and held strategic positions, e.g. in justice and labour, in Franco's government.
- The Catholic Church regained its prominence and greatly influenced the new state's social ideology, called national Catholicism. A confessional state was established, the budget for worship and clergy was reestablished and privileges for the clergy (Concordat) were restored in 1953. Divorce was abolished and religious education was reintroduced.
- The landowning and industrial bourgeoisie held great economic power. All Republican land and labour reforms were overturned.

# A SYSTEM OF REPRESSION

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- The Franco regime maintained the system of repression it began during the Civil War, which was based on the persecution of Republican supporters and the elimination of all political opposition.
- To this end, the new state developed a network of repressive laws (Political Responsibilities, State Security, Repression of Freemasonry and Communism, Public Order) and tried to give itself the appearance of legality by using military courts, prosecutors and the Social Investigation Brigade.
- Those who opposed the regime were punished with labour purges, detention in concentration camps, forced labour, torture, imprisonment or execution.
- During the post-war period, it is estimated that 50 000 people were executed for political reasons. In 1940, there were 270 719 people (including 23 232 women) in prison.



## ADAPTING TO THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE

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- During the Second World War, Franco supported the Axis powers (Mussolini and Hitler), who had contributed decisively to his victory in the Civil War. In fact, Franco sent a battalion of volunteers, called the Blue Division, to support the Nazi army in Russia.
- After the defeat of the Axis powers, international organisations demanded the return of democracy to Spain, including an explicit condemnation of Franco's regime by the United Nations (1946).
- To ensure his survival, Franco intensified relations with the Vatican and the United States. In 1953, he signed a Concordat with the Holy See guaranteeing the primacy of the Catholic Church in Spain as well as some bilateral agreements with the United States that made him a loyal ally against the Soviet Union.



# ACTIVITIES

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- What was Franco's role in the new regime?
- Who supported the Franco regime?
- How did the Franco regime try to restore social order after the Civil War?
- How did Francoism adapt to changes in international politics?

## A WOMAN'S DESTINY

- A woman's destiny is to become a man's wife and companion, create a family and look after and raise her children well. The place where a woman carries out her duties is the home, as that is where her family lives.
- But her mission is not only physical; her duty is not only to look after her children and husband in body. She must also be a companion to her husband and the primary educator of her children. For this reason, she must prepare morally and practically, to be able to do what is expected of her.
- *Women's Section Elemental Encyclopedia, 1957.*



# LEGAL INEQUALITY

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- Article 57. A husband has to protect his wife and she has to obey her husband.
- Article 58. A wife is obliged to follow her husband wherever he establishes his residence.
- Article 59. A husband is the administrator of the property of the conjugal union.
- Article 60. A husband is the legal representative of his wife.

*Civil Code, 1958.*

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- The Franco regime abolished coeducation, i.e. mixed education for boys and girls. This was because women were destined to have a domestic role, so they were given a different education to men, considered more suitable for their needs.
  - As a result, women received an education with less scientific and humanistic content. Their academic training focused on teaching them practical household skills and proper social behaviour in public. The majority of women only had access to low levels of education and very few did the baccalaureate or went to university.



## THE WOMEN'S RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

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- Despite their unequal legal situation and propaganda about their role as wife and mother, many women worked during the Franco era. For many, this was due to economic necessity, but for others it was also an affirmation of their capacity and their right to work.
- Many women also either participated in or supported the work of guerrillas and fought with the anti-Franco opposition, where they introduced their demands for equality between the sexes.
- These women also began to denounce their situation of oppression, thus laying the foundations for the early feminism that would spread in the 1970s.



# La mujer ideal

de Pilar Primo de Rivera (1907-1991).

*Gracias a Falange, las mujeres van a ser más limpias, los niños más sanos, los pueblos más alegres y las casas más claras.*

*Todos los días deberíamos de dar gracias a Dios por habernos privado a la mayoría de las mujeres del don de la palabra, porque si lo tuviéramos, quién sabe si caeríamos en la vanidad de exhibirlo en las plazas.*

*Las mujeres nunca descubren nada; les falta el talento creador reservado por Dios para inteligencias varoniles.*

*La vida de toda mujer, a pesar de cuanto ella quiera simular -o disimular-, no es más que un eterno deseo de encontrar a quien someterse.*



Pilar Primo de Rivera y Sáenz de Heredia hija de Miguel Primo de Rivera, dictador español de la década de 1920 y hermana de José Antonio Primo de Rivera, fundador de la **Falange Española**.

Pilar nunca se casó ni tuvo hijos.

# THE OPENING OF THE REGIME TO THE OUTSIDE

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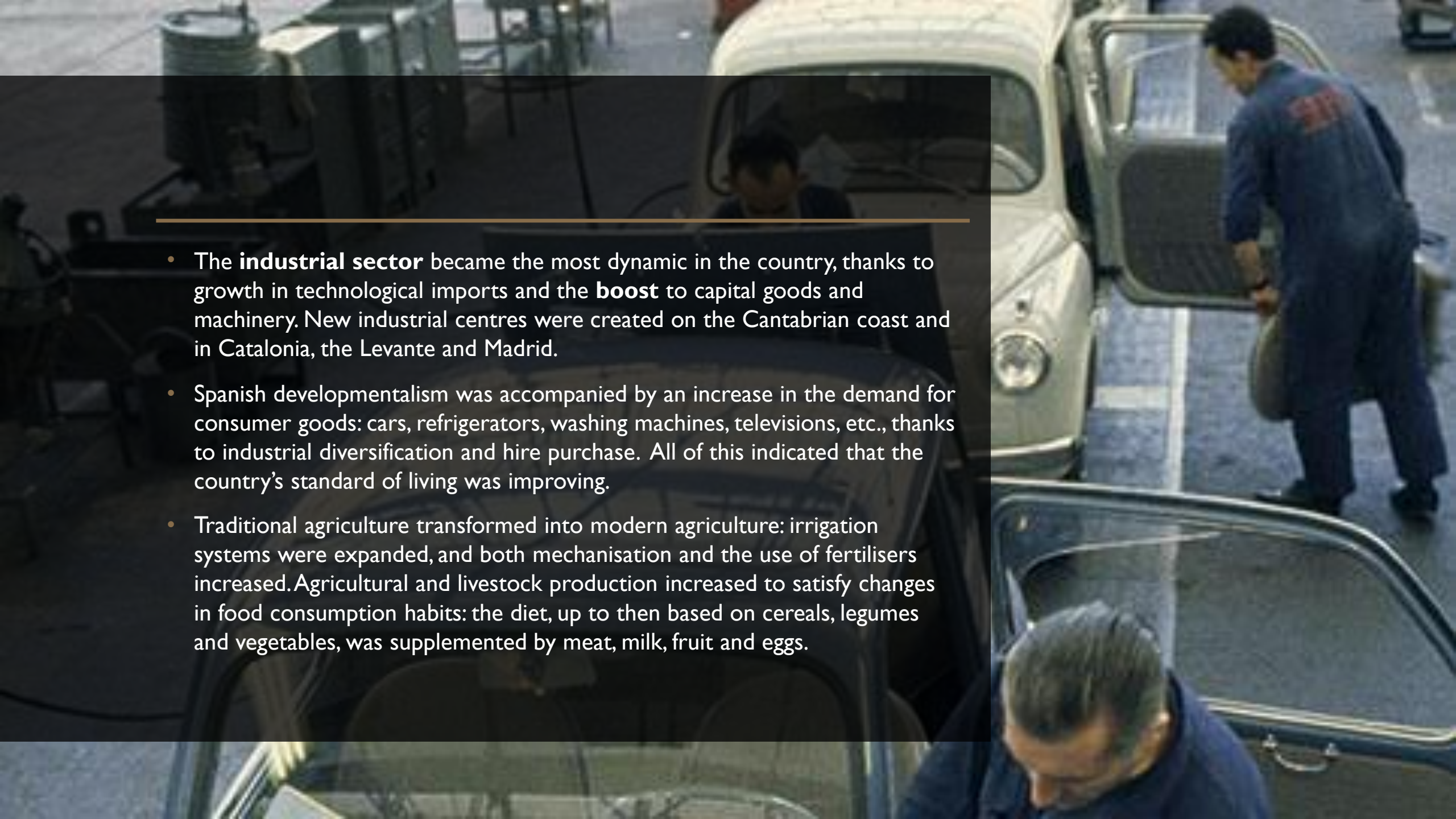
- After the end of the Second World War, the dictatorship implemented **certain changes** to soften its image abroad: some fascist symbols were abolished and the government ceased to rely exclusively on the Falangists. This is how members of different Catholic movements rose to power, initiating the era of **National Catholicism**.

# DEVELOPMENTALISM: ECONOMIC ADVANCES

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- Autarky gave way to a new period marked by the gradual opening to foreign trade. The **Stabilisation Plan** in 1959 and different **development plans** from 1964 would convert Spain into a developed, urban and industrial country.
- **Economic strategy** was focused on allowing imports of goods and capital, devaluating the peseta and controlling public spending and fiscal revenue. The improvement in the economy was not noticeable immediately, and as a result, **more than a million Spaniards emigrated** to other developed European countries in search of work. However, soon there was an economic **boom** founded on three pillars: the arrival of foreign capital, tourism and money transfers from emigrants. The **investment of this capital** allowed the economy to grow, which was reflected in the following areas:

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- What was the Women's Section? What was its role?
  - How did Francoist laws reflect the legal inequality of women?
  - Why were girls educated separately during the Franco dictatorship?
  - How did some women resist the regime?

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- The **industrial sector** became the most dynamic in the country, thanks to growth in technological imports and the **boost** to capital goods and machinery. New industrial centres were created on the Cantabrian coast and in Catalonia, the Levante and Madrid.
  - Spanish developmentalism was accompanied by an increase in the demand for consumer goods: cars, refrigerators, washing machines, televisions, etc., thanks to industrial diversification and hire purchase. All of this indicated that the country's standard of living was improving.
  - Traditional agriculture transformed into modern agriculture: irrigation systems were expanded, and both mechanisation and the use of fertilisers increased. Agricultural and livestock production increased to satisfy changes in food consumption habits: the diet, up to then based on cereals, legumes and vegetables, was supplemented by meat, milk, fruit and eggs.



# THE IMPORTANCE OF TOURISM IN THE ECONOMY

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- As of the mid-1950s, the number of tourists in Spain began to increase. In 1955, 1.5 million tourists visited the country. In 1965, there were over 14 million visitors, and in 1975, over 32 million. Tourism thus became a fundamental part of the Spanish Gross Domestic Product.
- The **working class** and workers from the service sectors increased significantly as a result of the rural exodus. The **middle classes** expanded, given the increase in the number of technical jobs and positions in the tertiary sector.

# REPRESSION, RESISTANCE AND EXILE

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- The Franco regime was characterised by the persecution and repression of all opponents of the dictatorship.
- After the war, more than 200 000 Republicans were held in Spanish prisons, subject to various sentences. Other Republicans went into exile, and many never returned.
- Internal opposition to the dictatorship took some time to regroup, at first opting for armed resistance (maquis). It was not until the 1960s that new opposition movements formed, composed of different social groups.
- What happened to the people who went into exile? How were they involved in the creation of opposition parties and movements? Why was it necessary to recover the historical memory of Spain?

# THE EXILED

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- About 400 000 Spaniards chose exile at the end of the Civil War for fear of reprisals by the Franco regime. Many fled on foot across the French border in Catalonia, living in terrible conditions in the concentration camps set up for them in France. Others left the country from Alicante only hours before the arrival of Franco's troops in 1939.
- After the outbreak of the Second World War, many became involved in resistance against the Nazis and some ended up in Nazi concentration or extermination camps.
- Thousands of exiles emigrated to Latin America, where countries like Mexico and the Dominican Republic agreed to receive them. Among them were Republican senior officials, intellectuals, military officials and politicians, as well as professionals and many other workers in different trades.



## THE RESISTANCE: FROM MAQUIS TO AN UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

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- Between 1939 and 1944, groups of Republican guerrillas known as the maquis stayed hidden in mountainous areas, from where they undertook armed resistance with the hope that the defeat of the Axis powers would cause the fall of Franco's regime. In 1944, they launched their most ambitious armed action, a failed attempt to advance through the Pyrenees via the Aran Valley (Lleida). Although their activities declined, guerrilla groups remained active until the early 1950s.
- From 1945, a number of opposition parties (PSOE, CNT, UGT and PCE) reorganised themselves in secret, although their activity was limited. The first public collective action against the regime took place in the 1950s: the general strike in Biscay (1947), the tram strike in Barcelona (1951) and the Asturian miners strike (1962), all of which were harshly repressed by the regime.



# ACTIVITIES

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- How many Republicans went into exile at the end of the Civil War?
- Who were the maquis?

# THE CRISIS OF THE FRANCO REGIME

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- The economic growth of the 1960s gradually changed the socioeconomic reality of the country. In contrast, **politics did not progress** and Franco took political measures to attempt to guarantee the continuation of the regime after his death: **the Organic Law of the State (1967)**.
- However, the dictatorship was not as stable as it wished to appear: The Franco-era political class was divided between **liberalisers**, who wanted the regime to evolve toward liberalism and a multi-party system, and **ultraconservatives** of the far right - also called “the bunker” - who rejected changes on the grounds that they would destroy Franco’s legacy. From 1969 until the dictator’s death, two successive **ultra-conservative governments** deepened the regime’s political crisis. Along with internal division within the regime itself, it had to deal with growing social unrest as a result of the struggle for democracy.