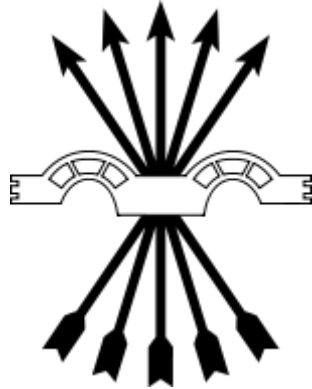




VIVA LA MUERTE !

**JOSÉ ANTONIO
PRIMO DE RIVERA**



The Falangist Oath

I swear to give myself always to the service of Spain.
I swear to have no pride other than that of the fatherland and of the Falange and to live under the Falange in obedience and joy, impetuosity and patience, gallantry and silence.
I swear fidelity and submission to our leaders, honour to the memory of our dead, and imperturbable perseverance amid all vicissitudes.
I swear, wherever I may be, in order to obey or in order to command that I shall respect our Hierarchy from the first to the last rank.
I swear to reject and give no ear to any voice of either friend or foe who might weaken the spirit of the Falange.
I swear to preserve above all the idea of unity: unity among the lands of Spain, unity among the classes of Spain, unity within the individual man and among the men of Spain.
I swear to live in holy brotherhood with all members of the Falange and to lend every assistance and eliminate every difference whenever this holy brotherhood requests that I do so.

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In November, 1934, the Falange adopted a Twenty-Seven-Point Program that was drawn up by [Ramiro Ledesma Ramos] and given a laconic style by José Antonio. As had often been the case in Mussolini's Italy, doctrines were devised to rationalise what already had been developed in practice. The manifesto set forth principles regarding national unity and empire, the latter point being left rather vague. Some Falangists implied that "empire" meant only cultural influence and diplomatic leadership, while others (including José Antonio in private conversations) expressed the hope of annexing Portugal. Point 6 proclaimed the State as the "totalitarian instrument to defend the integrity of the fatherland." The ninth paragraph called for "vertical" national syndicalism.*

Other points set forth the need for agrarian and industrial reforms, social justice and education. The most controversial item was Point 25 pertaining to the Church. Most of the Falangists of this period hoped to prevent the Church from encroaching upon the state's prerogatives.

Point 27 forbade any further modification of the movement's label; but in the summer of 1937, as will be seen, Generalissimo Francisco Franco was to insist that the movement merge with the reactionary Carlist militia forces and add the word "Tradicionalista" to the title in Point 26, so that it would read: Falange Espanola Tradicionalista y de las Juntas Ofensivas Nacional-Sindicalistas. Point 27 thereupon was dropped. This revised version of 1937 is printed below.

**In a speech at the Circulo Mercantil in Madrid on April 9, 1935, José Antonio made it clear that a single system of "vertical" national syndicates was preferable to Mussolini's "parallel syndicates of employers and workers. "Vertical" syndicates will not require so bureaucratic a structure, he declared, and "will be able to function organically- in the way the Army does, for example- without any need for forming parallel committees of soldiers and officers."... The unions of present-day Spain [1970] continue to be organised as "vertical syndicates".*

The Twenty-Six Point Program of the Falange (1937)

NATION – UNITY – EMPIRE

1. We believe in the supreme reality of Spain. The strengthening, elevating, and magnifying of this reality is the urgent collective goal of all Spaniards. Individual, group, and class interests must inexorably give way in order to achieve this goal.

2. Spain has a single destiny in the world. Every conspiracy against this common unity is repulsive. Any kind of separatism is a crime which we shall not pardon.

The existing Constitution, to the degree that it encourages disintegration, weakens this common destiny of Spain. Therefore we demand its annulment in a thundering voice.

3. We have the determination to build an Empire. We affirm that Spain's historic fulfilment lies in Empire. We claim for Spain a pre-eminent position in Europe. We can tolerate neither international isolation nor foreign interference.

As regards the countries of Hispanic America, we favour unification of their culture, economic interests and power. Spain will continue to act as the spiritual axis of the Hispanic world as a sign of her pre-eminence in worldwide enterprises.

4. Our armed forces- on land, sea, and in the air- must be kept trained and sufficiently large to

assure to Spain at all times its complete independence and a status in the world that befits it. We shall bestow upon our Armed Forces of land, sea, and air all the dignity they merit, and we shall cause their military conception of life to infuse every aspect of Spanish life.

5. Spain shall once more seek her glory and her wealth on the sea lanes. Spain must aspire to become a great maritime power, for reasons of both defence and commerce. We demand for the fatherland equal status with others in maritime power and aerial routes.

STATE – INDIVIDUAL – LIBERTY

6. Our State will be a totalitarian instrument to defend the integrity of the fatherland. All Spaniards will participate in this through their various family, municipal, and syndical roles. There shall be no participation in it by political parties. We shall implacably abolish the system of political parties and all of their consequences- inorganic suffrage, representation of clashing groups, and a Parliament of the type that is all too well known.

7. Human dignity, integrity, and freedom are eternal, intangible values. But one is not really free unless he is a part of a strong and free nation. No one will be permitted to use his freedom against the nation, which is the bulwark of the fatherland's freedom. Rigorous discipline will prevent any attempt to envenom and disunite the Spanish people or to incite them against the destiny of the fatherland.

8. The National-Syndicalist State will permit all kinds of private initiative that are compatible with the collective interest, and it will also protect and encourage the profitable ones.

ECONOMY – LABOUR – CLASS STRUGGLE

9. Our conception of Spain in the economic realm is that of a gigantic syndicate of producers. We shall organise Spanish society corporatively through a system of vertical syndicates for the various field of production, all working toward national economic unity.

10. We repudiate the capitalistic system which shows no understanding of the needs of the people, dehumanises private property, and causes workers to be lumped together in a shapeless, miserable mass of people who are filled with desperation. Our spiritual and national conception of life also repudiates Marxism. We shall redirect the impetuosity of those working classes who today are led astray by Marxism, and we shall seek to bring them into direct participation in fulfilling the great task of the national state.

11. The National-Syndicalist State will not cruelly stand apart from man's economic struggles, nor watch impassively while the strongest class dominates the weakest. Our regime will eliminate the very roots of class struggle, because all who work together in production shall comprise one single organic entity. We reject and we shall prevent at all costs selfish interests from abusing others, and we shall halt anarchy in the field of labour relations.

12. The first duty of wealth- and our State shall so affirm- is to better the conditions of the people. It is intolerable that enormous masses of people should live wretchedly while a small

number enjoy all kinds of luxuries.

13. The State will recognise private property as a legitimate means for achieving individual, family, and social goals, and will protect it against the abuses of large-scale finance capital, speculators, and money lenders.

14. We shall support the trend toward nationalisation of banking services and, through a system of Corporations, the great public utilities.

15. All Spaniards have the right to work. Public agencies must of necessity provide support for those who find themselves in desperate straits.

As we proceed toward a totally new structure, we shall maintain and strengthen all the advantages that existing social legislation gives to workers.

16. Unless they are disabled, all Spaniards have the duty to work. The National-Syndicalist State will not give the slightest consideration to those who fail to perform some useful function and who try to live as drones at the expense of the labour of the majority of people.

LAND

17. We must, at all costs, raise the standard of living in the countryside, which is Spain's permanent source of food. To this end, we demand agreement that will bring to culmination without further delay the economic and social reforms of the agricultural sector.

18. Our program of economic reforms will enrich agricultural production by means of the following:

By assuring a minimum remuneration to all agricultural producers.

By demanding that there be restored to the countryside, in order to provide it with an adequate endowment, a portion of that which the rural population is paying to the cities for intellectual and commercial services.

By organising a truly national system of agricultural credit which will lend money to farmers at low interest against the guarantee of their property and crops, and redeem them from usury and local tyrants.

By spreading education with respect to better methods of farming and sheep raising.

By ordering the rational utilisation of lands in accordance with their suitability and with marketing possibilities.

By adjusting tariff policy in such a way as to protect agriculture and the livestock industry.

By accelerating reclamation projects. By rationalising the units of cultivation, so as to eliminate wasted latifundia and uneconomic, miniscule plots.

19. Our program of social reforms in the field of agriculture will be achieved:

By redistributing arable land in such a way as to revive family farms and give energetic encouragement to the syndicalisation of farm labourers.

By redeeming from misery those masses of people who presently are barely eking out a living on sterile land, and by transferring such people to new and arable lands.

20. We shall undertake a relentless campaign of reforestation and livestock breeding, and we shall punish severely those who resist it. We shall support the compulsory, temporary mobilisation of all Spanish youth for this historic goal of rebuilding the national commonwealth.

21. The State may expropriate without indemnity lands of those owners who either acquired them or exploited them illegally.

22. It will be the primary goal of the National-Syndicalist State to rebuild the communal patrimonies of the towns.

NATIONAL EDUCATION – RELIGION

23. It shall be the essential mission of the State to attain by means of rigorous disciplining of education a strong, united national spirit, and to instil in the souls of future generations a sense of rejoicing and pride in the fatherland.

All men shall receive premilitary training to prepare them for the honour of being enlisted in the National and Popular Army of Spain.

24. Cultural life shall be organised so that no talent will be undeveloped because of insufficient economic means. All who merit it shall be assured ready access to a higher education.

25. Our Movement incorporates the Catholic meaning- of glorious tradition, and especially in Spain- of national reconstruction.

The Church and the State will co-ordinate their respective powers so as to permit no interference or activity that may impair the dignity of the State or national integrity.

NATIONAL REVOLUTION

26. The Falange Espanola Tradicionalista y de las JONS demands a new order, as set forth in the foregoing principles. In the face of the resistance from the present order, it calls for a revolution to implant this new order. Its method of procedure will be direct, bold, and combative. Life signifies the art and science of warfare (*milicia*) and must be lived with a spirit that is purified by service and sacrifice.

What the Falange Wants - José Antonio Primo de Rivera

Finally, the liberal state came to offer us economic slavery, saying to the workers, with tragic sarcasm: "You are free to work as you wish; no one can compel you to accept specified conditions. Since we are the rich, we offer you the conditions that please us; as free citizens, you are not obliged to accept them if you do not want to; but as poor citizens, if you do not accept them you will die of hunger, surrounded of course by the utmost liberal dignity." ...

Therefore socialism had to appear, and its coming was just (for we do not deny any evident truth). The workers had to defend themselves against a system that only promised them right and did not strive to give them a just life. However, socialism, which was a legitimate reaction against liberal slavery, went astray because it resulted, first, in the materialist interpretation of life and history; second, in a sense of reprisal; and third, in the proclamation of the dogma of class struggle...

The Patria is a total unity, in which all individuals and classes are integrated; the Patria cannot be in the hands of the strongest class or of the best organised party. The Patria is a transcendent synthesis, an indivisible synthesis, with its own goals to fulfil; and we want this movement of today, and the state which it creates, to be an efficient, authoritarian instrument at the service of an indisputable unity, of that permanent unity, of that irrevocable unity that is the Patria.

And we already have the principle for our future acts and our present conduct, for we would be just another party if we came to announce a program of concrete solutions. Such programs have the advantage of never being fulfilled.

Here is what is required by our total sense of the Patria and the state which is to serve it: That all the people of Spain, however diverse they may be, feel in harmony with an irrevocable unity of destiny. That the political parties disappear. No one was ever born a member of a political party; on the other hand, we are all born members of a family; we are all neighbours in a municipality; we all labour in the exercise of a profession... We want less liberal word-mongering and more respect for the deeper liberty of man. For one respects the liberty of man when he is esteemed, as we esteem him, the bearer of eternal values; when he is esteemed as the corporal substance of a soul capable of being damned and of being saved. Only when man is considered thus can it truly be said that his liberty is respected, and more especially if that liberty is joined, as we aspire to join it, to a system of authority, of hierarchy, and of order. ... Finally, we desire that if on some occasion this must be achieved by violence, there be no shrinking from violence. Because who has said- while speaking of "everything save violence"- that the supreme value in the hierarchy of values is amiability? Who has said that when our sentiments are insulted we are obliged to be accommodating instead of reacting like men? It is very correct indeed that dialectic is the first instrument of communication. But no other dialectic is admissible save the dialectic of fists and pistols when justice or the Patria is offended. ...

But our movement would not be understood at all if it were believed to be only a manner of thinking. It is not a manner of thinking; it is a manner of being. We ought not merely to propose to ourselves a formal construction, a political architecture. Before life in its entirety, in each one of our acts, we must adopt a complete, profound, and human attitude. This attitude is the spirit of sacrifice and service, the ascetic and military sense of life. Henceforth

let no one think that we recruit men in order to offer rewards; let no one imagine that we join together in the defense of privileges. I should like to have this microphone before me carry my voice into every last working-class home to say: Yes, we wear a tie; yes, you may say of us that we are *senoritos*. But we urge a spirit of struggle for things that cannot concern us as *senoritos*; we come to fight so that hard and just sacrifices may be imposed on many of our own class, and we come to struggle for a totalitarian state that can reach the humble as well as the powerful with its benefits. We are thus, for so always in our history have been the *senoritos* of Spain. In this manner they have achieved the true status of *senores*, because in distant lands, and in our very *Patria*, they have learned to suffer death and to carry out hard missions precisely for reasons in which, as *senoritos*, they had no interest at all.

I believe the banner is raised. Now we are going to defend it gaily, poetically. There are some who think that in order to unite men's wills against the march of the revolution it is proper to offer superficially gratifying solutions; they think it is necessary to hide everything in their propaganda which could awaken an emotion or signify energetic or extreme action. What equivocation! The peoples have never been moved by anyone save the poets, and woe to him who, before the poetry which destroys, does not know how to raise the poetry which promises!

In a poetic movement we shall raise this fervent feeling for Spain; we shall sacrifice ourselves; we shall renounce ourselves, and the triumph will be ours, a triumph- why need I say it?- that we are not going to win in the next elections. In those elections vote for whoever seems to you least undesirable. But our Spain will not emerge from [the Cortes], nor is our goal there. The atmosphere there is tired and murky, like a tavern at the end of a night of dissipation. That is not our place. Yes, I know that I am a candidate; but I am one without faith and without respect. I say this now, when it can mean that I lose votes. That matters not at all. We are not going to argue with habitués over the disordered remains of a dirty banquet. Our place is outside, though we may occasionally have to pass a few transient minutes within. Our place is in the fresh air, under the cloudless heavens, weapons in our hands, with the stars above us. Let the others go on with their merrymaking. We outside, in tense, fervent, and certain vigilance, already feel the dawn breaking in the joy of our hearts.

Madrid speech October 29, 1933, José Antonio Primo de Rivera. 'Varieties of Fascism' Eugen Weber, Stanley G. Payne 'Falange' (Stanford: 1961).

The Spanish Revolution - Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera

I know that a few of my friends are quite afraid of the fact that I am employing the word “revolution” evermore often in my political declarations. It will not be unuseful to draw profit from the holiday which has been imposed on all spoken and written propaganda - thanks to the delightful state of emergency – to explain what it is that I mean by the word ‘revolution’. I think that it will not occur to anyone that the idea of revolution which I entertain is some kind of ‘revolt’, extreme street disorders, and the satisfaction of the wish to submit the higher senses to the lower ones as is sometimes felt amongst peoples as much as amongst individuals. Nothing could be further from my aesthetic tastes, or from my sense of political. Politics is a massive work of construction, and the best method of building is not to mix up materials and then throw them into the air so that they fall where they will. He who wants revolution has, as a rule, a new edifice in mind and precisely, because he wants to build it, he needs to be in charge at all times, without the least concession to hysteria or intoxication, of all the tools of construction. That is to say, the revolution well made, that which truly overthrows things profoundly, has as a formal characteristic, that of ‘order’.

But order in itself is not enough to inspire a generation. Our generation wants a “New Order”. It is not in agreement with the established order. This is why this generation is revolutionary. Spain in recent years has been searching for her revolution because, instinctively, she feels herself trapped between two crushing slabs: from above by historical pessimism, from below by social injustice. Above, the life of Spain has been cut back in a cruel way. Ten years ago, Spain appeared reluctantly resigned to her demise as a great power. No undertaking brought forth Spanish ambition. There was almost no burst of pride when some Muslims were beating us. Below, the life of Spain is bleeding from the injustice which is forcing millions of our brothers to live in conditions not fit for animals.

Our generation cannot be contented if it does not see these two slabs broken: that is to say, on the one hand, it cannot regain for Spain an historical mission, or at least the chance to accomplish historical objectives and, on the hand, if it does not succeed in building a new socio economic foundation which will facilitate human fraternity between us all. Spain believed that her revolution had come on September 1st 1923. This is why she aligned herself with General Primo de Rivera. It was because of omission and errors that the revolution failed, although this was already enough to disrupt the historical pessimism by a military victory, and to break the social injustice by much progress. On another occasion, it seemed as if the revolution had come on April 14th, 1931. And again, it seems to be on the point of collapse; initially because of two futile years of party politics, now because of a policy which does not allow us to see any measure of real social transformation.

This revolution, wished for, for so long and still not accomplished – will it be stolen, will it be fudged, as it appears Popular Action and the recently converted radicals are proposing? This is absurd: the revolution already exists and there is no other course but to line up with it. We are living in a revolutionary state, and this revolutionary momentum can only have two endings: either it will burst, poisoned by resentment, where it is expected and sweeps everything away, or it will channel itself in the direction of the whole, national interest, dangerous to all that is important but pregnant with possibilities.

Other peoples have this carries out their ‘revolutions’, not their reactions, but their ‘revolutions’ have changed a great many things and have dragged along what had to be dragged along. This is the kind of revolution that I want for Spain. My friends who, at the

moment, are frightened of a word no doubt prefer to place their confidence in the stupid politics of diversion during the incomplete revolution, as if nothing were happening, or wish to suffocate it with thousands more police. But they will admit that I am right when we meet in the next world after having been executed en masse by the firebrigade, if we do our best to prop up an unjust system plastered with election posters.

We are neither with the monarchist reactionaries, nor with the populist reactionaries. Confronted by the frustration of April 14th, confronted by the evasions of April 14th, we cannot work with any group which is concealing, more or less a reactionary plan or a plan for counter-revolution, because we, to be clear, we reproach April 14th not for having been violent or for having been awkward, but for having been sterile, for having stifled yet again the Spanish revolution which still remains to be accomplished. And this is why, in spite of the abuse, in spite of the misrepresentation, what we are doing is picking up from the street – abandoned by those who do not want to pick it up – the direction, the Spanish revolutionary spirit which, sooner or later, like it or not, will give us that society borne of our historical destiny, and that profound social justice which is lacking. This is why our system which will have in common with all revolutionary systems that it will have been born from discontent, from protest, from the bitter love of country will be a system wholly national, without chauvinism, without intrigue, and centred upon the real Spain, hard and eternal, which hides the source of real Spanish tradition. This system will be deeply social but not demagogic – for it will have no reason to be – but it will be unrelentingly hostile to capitalism and communism.

The time has passed when one could remain a simple student, poet, or artist. Our period of history is dragging us along, will not allow us to shut ourselves up in ivory towers. That was the hallmark of stagnant periods in history where, the feelings of unity amongst the people being broken, each thought to build his own little world. Our generation, recovering from one such period in history, must rebuild the unity of the people. For those of us here we have as our first task the unity of Spain. The nineteenth century passed by in a process of disintegration; no one believed in the universal values: the Faith, Empire ...and even metaphysics were scorned thanks to the influence of positivism. It was in this way that relative values, mere means, were elevated to the rank of absolute values: freedom which previously had only been respected when it led to - Good, - the popular will, - which was understood to be always endowed with reason whatever it sought after, progress – understood only as the growth of technical refinement.

But unlimited freedom launched men, and then nations, into bloody struggle, overemphasised nationalism and provoked the European war. The popular will forced politicians to produce crass versions of their political programmes in order to win votes, leading to the loss of honest politicians and continuity. And the idolatry of unlimited progress led to over industrialisation, to capitalism – required by the economic necessity inherent in the free market – to dehumanisation of private property and its replacement by the awful power of impersonal capital, to the destruction of small enterprise, to the ill formed proletarianisation of the masses and, finally, to the horrific crisis of recent years.

Socialism, the adversary of capitalism, knew how to criticise, but it provided no alternative since it treated the idea of Man as a spiritual entity as unreal; thus it is in the Russia of inhumanity, that state capitalism has not passed away, and each day makes it ever more likely that Communism will never begin.

Thus was the world when our time came. How could we take no interest in her tragedy? Be good students, but also active members in the tragedy of our people. Like Matias Montero, a brilliant scholar who was cowardly murdered, falling. His soul and his eyes full of the light of our Spain, of the Spain of Catholic Kings, of the Spain of which our yoke and our arrows are the symbol.

The solution to the problems of disintegration were to be found once again in unity of thought, in viewing Spain once again as a unity, a happy synthesis beyond the struggles of region, class, or party. We are not with the Right so, in building their politics, forget the hunger of the people; nor are we with the left who. To redeem the people, separate them from their national destiny. We want to regain as on, our national destiny and true social justice. And since in order to have them, we are going to come into collision with opposition, we must be resolutely revolutionary in order to destroy them.

Do not forget that this task of bringing about unity demands that we too be unbreakingly united. We regard life as a form of service; every burden is a task and every task has equal dignity, from the easiest, which is simply to be, to the most difficult which is to lead. To be in charge is the heaviest burden since it demands every sacrifice, including the loss of private life it demands every single day that affairs, which follow no pattern be judged and which carry the awesome responsibility to act. This is why it is vital to understand in humanity that authority is like a position of service, which by itself and whatever may occur, one can never desert because of impatience, because of discouragement, because of cowardice.

Yesterday and Tomorrow, the Tradition of Nationalist Revolution.

Bread and Justice - Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera

Well then: if communism puts an end to many good things, such as family attachments and national sentiment; if it provides neither bread nor freedom and makes us subservient to a foreign country, what is to be done? We are not going to resign ourselves to the continuation to the capitalist regime. One thing today is painfully obvious: the crisis of the capitalist system and its devastating consequences which communism is doing nothing to attenuate. What is to be done, then? Are we in a cul-de-sac? Is there no way of placating the hunger of the masses for bread and justice? Do we have to choose between the desperation of the bourgeois regime and the slavery of Russia?

No. The National Syndicalist Movement is convinced that it has found the right way out: neither capitalist nor communist. Faced by the individualist economy of the bourgeoisie, the socialist one arose, which handed over the fruits of production to the State, enslaving the individual. Neither of them have resolved the tragedy of the producer. To address this issue let us erect the syndicalist economy, which neither absorbs the individual personality into the State, nor turns the worker into a dehumanized cog in the machinery of bourgeois production. The national syndicalist solution is the one which promises to bear the most fruit. It will do away once and for all with political go-betweens and parasites. It will free production from the financial burdens with which finance capital overwhelms it. It will overcome the anarchy it causes by putting order into it. It will prevent speculation with commodities, guaranteeing a profitable price. And, above all, it will pass on the surplus value not to the capitalist, not to the State, but to the producer as a member of his trade union. And this economic system will make a thing of the past the depressing spectacle of unemployment, slum housing, and misery.[...]

Workers! Comrades! Decisive moments are approaching. No one can stand back with his arms folded. The fate of everyone is in the balance. Either the workers, forcefully, implacably, will put an end to the capital and join the National Syndicalist Movement to impose a regime of national solidarity, or internationalism will turn us into stooges of some foreign great power.

The National Syndicalist Movement, conscious that it has strength and reason on its side, will keep up the assault on all its enemies: the right, the left, communism, capitalism. For Fatherland, Bread, and Justice. We are sure to win. It is essential in interest of both the producers and the nation. We will impose a new order of things, without people starving, without professional politicians, without bosses, without usurers, without speculators.

Neither right, nor left! Neither communism nor capitalism! A national regime. The National Syndicalist regime!

Long live Spain!