

Fuerza Nueva and CEDADE: Two Manifestations of the Spanish Far Right During the Transition

Fuerza Nueva y CEDADE: Dos manifestaciones de la Ultraderecha española en Transición

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Abstract

The comparison between Fuerza Nueva (FN) and CEDADE reveals two approaches to right-wing extremism in Spain. FN is rooted in a belligerent Catholic nationalism and uses nostalgia to attract youth, while CEDADE adopts a cultural and elitist perspective, drawing inspiration from thinkers like Julius Evola and avoiding violence.

Keywords

Fuerza Nueva; CEDADE; National Catholicism; Neo-Nazism.

Resumen

La comparación entre Fuerza Nueva (FN) y CEDADE muestra dos enfoques del extremismo de derecha en España. FN se basa en un nacionalismo católico beligerante y utiliza la nostalgia para atraer a la juventud, mientras que CEDADE adopta una perspectiva cultural y elitista, inspirándose en pensadores como Julius Evola y evitando la violencia.

Palabras clave

Fuerza Nueva; CEDADE; Nacionalcatolicismo; Neonazismo.

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Abbreviations Used

| | |
|----------|--|
| (AC) | Acción Católica |
| (AN) | Avanguardia Nazionale |
| (CEDADE) | Circulo Español de Amigos de Europa |
| (FNJ) | Frente Nacional de Juventud |
| (FJ) | Fuerza Joven |
| (FNT) | Fuerza Nacional del Trabajo |
| (FNP) | Frente Nacional Portugués |
| (FNF) | Front National Français |
| (FNE) | Frente Nacional Español |
| (FN) | Fuerza Nueva |
| (JE) | Jeune Europe |
| (KKK) | Ku Klus Klan |
| (MSI) | Movimiento Social Italiano |
| (ND) | Nouvelle Droite |
| (GRECE) | Groupement de Recherche et d'études pour la Civilisation Européenne |
| (ON) | Ordine Nuovo |
| (PNF) | Parti de Forces Nouvelles |
| (SECED) | Servicio Central de Documentación |

1.Introduction

The aim of this study is to analyze the differences between two far-right organizations that played a significant role during Spain's Transition to democracy. These groups are the political party Fuerza Nueva (FN) and the neo-Nazi cultural organization Círculo Español de Amigos de Europa (CEDADE).

The available bibliography on the political formation of Fuerza Nueva is limited. Despite the scarcity of research, we have José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez's 1993 doctoral thesis, *La Extrema derecha en España: Del Tardofranquismo a la consolidación de la democracia (1967-1982)*, which provides detailed information on the ideological background that shaped the Spanish far-right. Similarly, noteworthy is the work of Xavier Casals i Meseguer, *Ultrapatriotas: extrema derecha y nacionalismo de la Guerra Fría a la Era de la Globalización* (2003), in which the author introduces the existing connections between various European political formations. Additionally, his 1996 book, *¿Qué era?, ¿Qué es? El fascismo: entre el legado de Franco y la modernidad de Le Pen*, offers a comparative analysis between the French far-right political party Front National, led by Le Pen, and the Spanish political organization Fuerza Nueva.

Regarding the cultural association CEDADE, we have Xavier Casals i Meseguer's work *Neonazis en España: de las audiciones wagnerianas a los skinheads (1966-1995)* (1995), where the author examines the cultural formation of this group. He also wrote *La tentación neofascista en España* (1998), analyzing the importance of the connections established between the Spanish and European far-right, particularly with Operation Gladio. Lastly, José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez's article *Antisemitism and the Extreme Right in Spain (1962-1997)* is of interest, as it explores the origins of Spanish antisemitism.

To conclude, as primary sources, we have news articles from the archives of *El País*, several articles published in the CEDADE bulletin, a 1981 article from the Greek publication *Golden Dawn*, and, lastly, the memoirs of Blas Piñar

2. Fuerza Nueva and CEDADE: Two Far-Right Organizations during the Transition

One of the most common mistakes made when analyzing current politics is the indiscriminate application of the term "fascist" to any right-wing program, leading to a lexical inaccuracy that affects all doctrines related to the far right or neo-fascism¹. While it is true that political movements within a common ideological spectrum share several analogous features with fascism, the most evident similarity between the far right and fascism lies in the emergence of a charismatic leader who embodies the role of the nation's and citizens' savior.

Despite the various debates surrounding the term "fascist" among scholars such as Renzo De Felice, Stanley Payne, Eric Nolte, S.J. Woolf, Paul Wilkinson, and John Weiss, current research allows us to assert that fascism and the far right, in general, are distinct concepts². The confusion between these terms' stems from the fact that European far-right movements have incorporated, and still retain, elements of fascism due to the influence of a shared ideological heritage. However, referring to fascism after 1945 is historically anachronistic.

In the following pages, a historical retrospective will be developed to break down the key components of the far-right landscape. This will enable a comparative analysis between the political formation of Fuerza Nueva, led by Blas Piñar López, and the cultural association Círculo Español de Amigos de Europa (CEDADE).

2.1 Fuerza Nueva: Ideological Foundations

The political thought of the far-right originated within the traditionalist movement, which was closely tied to anti-liberal currents. Its foundations were established through Catholic traditionalism, which sought to combat liberalism

¹ RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, J.L.; *Reaccionarios y golpistas: la extrema derecha en España del tardofranquismo a la consolidación de la democracia (1967-1982)*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Madrid, 1994, pp. 30-44.

² PAYNE, S.: *El fascismo*. Alianza editorial. Madrid, 2014, pp. 15-18.

and republicanism in order to preserve a traditional order³. A key figure in this ideological development was Juan Donoso Cortés, whose 1851 work, *Essay on Catholicism, Liberalism, and Socialism*, argued that reason alone could not grasp the existence of God⁴.

During the Revolutionary Sexennium (1868-1874), the group of liberal Catholics—which included Carlists, Neo-Catholics, and Integrists—advocated for the establishment of an authoritarian corporatism. This ideology was rooted in an anti-liberal movement known as social Catholicism, which aimed to prevent the secularization of workers. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo became a prominent figure in this current, drawing from the writings of Donoso Cortés, Catholic apologists who fought against heterodox thinkers, and Jaume Balmes. Menéndez Pelayo emphasized two key elements of Spain: Catholicism, used as a tool to homogenize society, and a strong anti-liberal stance⁵.

Following the crisis of 1898, the Spanish far right adopted a critique of modernization because of the liberalism espoused by Charles Maurras' *Action Française*. However, Maurrasian thought did not fully permeate the political discourse of the Spanish far right. In Spain, racist elements did not align with reactionary thinking, largely due to the significance of the concept of Hispanidad. The prevailing belief was that race was defined by religion—in this case, Catholicism—and the Spanish language, rather than by skin color⁶. Starting in the 1930s, an ideological renewal was spearheaded by the magazine *Acción Española*, co-founded by Ramiro de Maeztu and the Integrist Eugenio Vegas Latapié. This initiative aimed to strengthen traditionalist thought after the fall of Primo de Rivera's regime, seeking to unite the various factions of the radical right. Additionally, Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, through *La Conquista del Estado*, introduced in Spain the slogans *¡Una, Grande y Libre!* (One, Great, and

³ RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, J.L. (2006). "De la vieja a la nueva derecha (pasando por la fascinación del fascismo)". *Historia Actual Online*, N°9, pp. 87-99.

⁴ RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, J.L. La extrema derecha... *op. cit.*, pp 221-224

⁵ GONZÁLEZ CUEVAS, P.D (2001). "Las tradiciones ideológicas de la extrema derecha española". *Hispania*, N° 207, pp. 99-141.

⁶ GONZÁLEZ CUEVAS, P.D (2001). "Antonio Goicoechea: Político y doctrinario monárquico", *Historia y Política*, N°6, pp. 162-188

Free!) and ¡Por la Patria, el Pan y la Justicia! (For the Fatherland, Bread, and Justice!).

With the onset of the Franco dictatorship, an ideological struggle emerged between the two dominant political cultures, as noted by Ismael Sanz⁷. On one side was the fascist representation of Falange Auténtica, characterized by its rejection of liberalism and an exaltation of ultranationalism. On the other side was the national-Catholic faction, which aimed to return to a pre-liberal past rooted in a traditional monarchy, supported by the ecclesiastical sector and its corporatist branches, as well as the imperialist concept of Hispanidad. Ultimately, in 1957, the dictatorship shifted towards national-Catholicism at the expense of the fascist element, largely due to the regime's move away from fascism following the failure of Arrese's project to introduce fascist elements and the rise of Opus Dei figures to positions of power⁸. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a debate emerged between the *aperturistas* (those favoring reform) and the *inmovilistas* (those opposing change), marking a turning point in the development and eventual consolidation of the Spanish Democratic Transition. While both factions sought to maintain the dictatorial regime, the *aperturistas* emphasized the need for participation from various right-wing groups within the Movement, whereas the *inmovilistas* held a rigid stance that characterized the early years of the dictatorship. These political perspectives, rooted in national-Catholicism, influenced a prominent member of the *inmovilistas*, Blas Piñar López.

To understand the political formation of Fuerza Nueva (FN), it is crucial to consider Piñar's views on the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which aimed to renew the expression of faith in response to societal changes. This situation affected the ecclesiastical order, as conservative and traditionalist factions rejected the new ecclesiastical proposals. This post-conciliar evolution was termed *aggiornamento*. Italian scholar Nicola Buonasorte studied the global impact of the Second Vatican Council and identified three responses to it. The

⁷ SAZ, I: (2014). "Fascismo y nación en el régimen de Franco: peripecias de una cultura política". *CESP y DH*. N°3-4, pp. 61- 76.

⁸ SAZ, I: (2008). "Las culturas de los nacionalismos franquistas". *Ayer*, N° 71, pp. 153-174.

first was acceptance of the conditions set forth by the Pope. The second questioned the authority of the papacy and the authenticity of the Council. Lastly, the third identified the ultraconservative sector linked to far-right organizations and parties.

In Spain, Cardinal Vicente Enrique y Tarancón emerged as a fervent advocate of *aggiornamento*, facing criticism from the magazine *Fuerza Nueva*. One of the most vocal critics of Tarancón and the reformist process was Mariano de Zarco, who, in the section "La Iglesia y su tiempo" of *Fuerza Nueva*, condemned the post-conciliar openness and the Church's rapprochement with clandestine unions.

2.1.1 The Fuerza Nueva Response to the Spanish Democratic Transition.

2.1.1.1 Fuerza Nueva Editorial

The thought of *Fuerza Nueva*, from its inception until its dissolution, was a reflection of its leader, Blas Piñar, a prominent member of Acción Católica. While Piñar distanced himself from the military sphere, he held a deep admiration for figures like José Antonio Primo de Rivera. This admiration influenced *Fuerza Nueva*'s ideological foundations, infusing its discourse with elements of nationalist rhetoric and traditionalist values⁹ and Francisco Franco Bahamonde, as reflected in his memoirs, *Escrito para la Historia*¹⁰. Similarly, these figures were exalted in the rallies organized by *Fuerza Nueva*. Piñar not only celebrated their legacies but also defended military insurrection during the late Francoist period and throughout the Transition. He framed such actions as necessary to protect traditional Spanish values and prevent what he viewed as

⁹ He regarded Primo de Rivera as the renovator of Spanish traditionalist thought. RODRÍGUEZ JIMENEZ, J.L (1991). "Origen, desarrollo y disolución de *Fuerza Nueva*: Una aproximación al estudio de la extrema derecha española". *Revista de Estudios políticos (Nueva Época)*, N°73, pp. 261-287

¹⁰ PIÑAR, B.: *Escrito para la Historia* .FN Editorial, Madrid 2000, p.32.

the encroachment of liberalism and leftist ideologies¹¹. A few years before the dictator's death, Piñar established the weekly magazine *Fuerza Nueva* Editorial in 1966, laying the groundwork for a national project aimed at creating a centralized Catholic state. This vision was rooted in a traditional monarchy supported by the pillars of the military and the Church¹². The foundation of this magazine was the defense of the Principles of July 18 and a critique of the post-conciliar reforms¹³. The publication faced various governmental issues, with five issues confiscated due to its aggressive and militaristic language. Many articles called for a military coup to end the constitutional monarchy. Additionally, there was a strong focus on the Francoist opposition, which was deemed a greater threat to Spanish society. The magazine sought to highlight the dangers posed by any alternative that might disrupt the continuity of Francoism.

Fuerza Nueva Editorial was well-received among various factions of Falangism, Carlism, the inmovilista sector of Francoism, and among integrist groups. Following the assassination of Carrero Blanco, the magazine adopted a more radical stance, criticizing the policies of Arias Navarro and opposing the Spirit of February 12 and the project of associationalism. Undoubtedly, *Fuerza Nueva* represented an opposition to the bunker mentality¹⁴.

On the international front, the magazine closely monitored the advance of communism, particularly considering the political bipolarity established during the Cold War. It emphasized the active influence of communist ideals in Latin American countries, where guerrilla movements rejected laws imposed by the United States.

¹¹ NIETO-ALISEDA CAUSO, R.A.(2014) *El periódico El Alcázar: Del autoritarismo a la democracia*. (Tesis doctoral inédita) Universidad San Pablo CEU de Madrid Departamento de Humanidades Facultad de Humanidades y CC. de la Comunicación., p. 445

¹²In an interview, Blas Piñar made it clear that he believed the Liberal Monarchy had brought an end to the national state.<http://www.alertadigital.com/2014/02/04/entrevista-de-ad-a-blas-pinar-la-monarquia-reducida-a-la-corona-y-privada-de-su-esencia-fue-pactada-para-sustituir-el-estado-nacional-surgido-del-18-de-julio-por-el-estado-antinacional-fruto-de/> [Fecha de consulta: 05-05-2018]

¹³ GONZÁLEZ SÁEZ, JM (2012). "La publicidad en la revista *Fuerza Nueva* (1966-1974): Una aproximación a la financiación de la oposición franquista a la evolución del franquismo". *Revista Historia Autónoma*, N° 2, pp. 107-126.

¹⁴*Ibidem*, p.113.

2.1.1.2 *Fuerza Nueva as a Political Formation (1976-1982)*

Fuerza Nueva was a far-right party that, according to Italian political scientist Piero Ignazi¹⁵ belongs to the group of traditional far-right parties¹⁶ because its ideology remained anchored in the Spanish Civil War, which was viewed as a "modern Crusade" against an external threat.

Fuerza Nueva was established as a political association in 1976 with the aim of sabotaging the reformist program known as El Espíritu del 12 de Febrero¹⁷. It was born as a political party rooted in integrist national-Catholicism, with a political program that echoed the themes of its magazine. First and foremost, it emphasized Catholicism; for Blas Piñar, the role played by Primo de Rivera was very similar to that of the Romanian leader of the Iron Guard, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. From his perspective, both figures successfully unified politics and religion¹⁸. For this reason, from his perspective, Fuerza Nueva was seen as a religious and political order for contemporary times¹⁹.

Secondly, through the concept of Hispanidad, Spain was viewed as the Great Motherland of all Spanish-speaking peoples, united by a common culture and language. Piñar was influenced in this area by readings such as *La emoción de España* by Manuel Siurot and *Defensa de la Hispanidad* by Ramiro de Maeztu²⁰.

¹⁵ CASALS, X.: (1996). *¿Qué era?, ¿qué fue? El fascismo: Entre el legado de Franco y la modernidad de Le Pen (1975-1997)*. Destino, Barcelona, p. 25.

¹⁶ I do not support using Ignazi's division in the case of Spain between traditional far-right and post-industrial far-right. The latter refers to a categorization of the far-right that incorporates renovative elements such as xenophobic and racist discourse. According to this classification, CEDADE would fall under the post-industrial far-right. However, CEDADE also includes archaic elements that will be elaborated upon later.

¹⁷ It was in 1974 that it was legalized, but as an association and not as a party, due to administrative and bureaucratic issues that postponed its formation as a party until 1976. NIETO ALISEDA, R. A(2014). *El periódico El Alcázar del autoritarismo... op., cit.,* p. 438.

¹⁸ In *Escrito para la Historia*, Blas Piñar expresses his Catholic faith when he asserts that politics sensu stricto must be linked to a theological component. PIÑAR, B. op. cit., p. 426. He also emphasizes the devotion he shows towards these two figures. Ibid., p. 575.

¹⁹ CASALS, X.; *¿qué era?, ¿qué fue? El fascismo: Entre el legado de Franco y la modernidad de Le Pen (1975-1997)*. Destino, Barcelona. 1996 p. 40.

²⁰ In his speech *Mística y Política de la Hispanidad*, delivered in 1961, Blas Piñar López emphasizes the significance of the phenomenon of unity that existed in Hispanic America and the Philippines. <http://www.beersandpolitics.com/discursos/blas-pinar/mistica-y-politica-de-la-hispanidad/1275> [Fecha de consulta: 04-04-2018]

Another ideological trait that characterized Fuerza Nueva was its rejection of antisemitic thought. This stance was inherited from Francoism, as Franco had facilitated the travel of Sephardim by providing visas during World War II. This idea is closely linked to the concept of Hispanidad, given that Sephardim, as descendants of Jews, were expelled from the Iberian territories of the Hispanic Monarchy in the 15th century ²¹. In conclusion, the discourse of Fuerza Nueva was situated within an authoritarian right characterized by three key elements that distinguished it from other far-right movements emerging in Europe during that decade. First, there was a belief in the viability of a military coup. Second, the party sought a return to the traditional values established during Franco's dictatorship, reflecting a nostalgic sentiment for Francoism. Lastly, Fuerza Nueva aimed to achieve political gain within an institutional framework that had not yet completely dismantled all Francoist institutions.

2.1.1.2 Structure and Objectives of FN

The party's headquarters was located at number 17 Velázquez Street in the Salamanca neighborhood of Madrid. With the Political Reform Law of 1976, they abandoned the idea of a continuation of the Francoist project.

The party had a presidential structure in which the Piñar family played a central role in operations, with the general secretariat held by Blas Piñar. Secondly, responsibilities were distributed among regional delegations, district, provincial, and local leaderships. A political council was established, comprising close associates of the Piñar family, such as Vicente Ortiz, who managed the party's funding received from donations by members, sales of magazines and published books, and the sale of bonds. Lastly, Blas Piñar

²¹ This fact does not indicate that he was opposed to the Nazi regime, as he also noted in his writing that during his time in Israel, he felt disgusted by the treatment being given to Eichmann during his trial. PIÑAR, B.: *Escrito para la Historia*. FN Editorial, Madrid 2000, pp. 25-26.

received financial compensation from the State for having parliamentary representation between 1979 and 1982.²²

The party's structure was tripartite, as it had a horizontal framework responsible for managing local and provincial sections. Similarly, it featured a vertical corporate structure that encompassed the members and supporters of the political organization. Lastly, it included cultural centers dedicated to providing physical activities such as athletics, skydiving, and cultural recreation.

Regarding the women's section, Maria Luisa Noriega was in charge of directing the so-called *Empire of the Panties*²³. As could be expected, the women's sector had little impact, and women remained anchored in the traditional role of the "angel of the home," reflecting the patriarchal discourse. The party also had a trade union known as the National Labor Force (Fuerza Nacional del Trabajo, FNT), whose first president was José Antonio Assiego Verdugo, who was a member of the FE of the JONS. The union, which was not particularly active, was established in Cáceres, Cartagena, Campo de Gibraltar, Huesca, Granada, Linares, Madrid, Málaga, Mérida, Oviedo, Toledo, Teruel, Valencia, and Zaragoza²⁴.

The figure of Ernest Milá stood out as a prominent member of the Fuerza Nueva youth organization, responsible for organizing the party's strategies when he presented the foundations of the party at the First Congress of Fuerza Nueva in 1976. These foundations aimed to establish a national Catholic, unitary, and doctrinal state, with the objective of putting an end to the forces of peripheral nationalisms.

²² NIETO ALISEDA, R.A. (2014). *El periódico El Alcázar ... op., cit.*, p. 439.

²³ RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, J.L.: ... o.,cit., p. 203.

²⁴ *Íbidem*, p. 210.

2.1.1.3 *The Fuerza Nueva Youth: Young Force (FJ)*

In the 1980s, the party's youth organization had 50,000 members. The militants wore a blue shirt featuring the yoke and arrows symbol. Due to the diversity within the right, some members wore red berets, and it was common to sing "Oriamendi" and "Cara al Sol." The flags of the Traditionalist Communion and the Spanish Falange were also used. Additionally, since there were frequent contacts with right-wing groups, regional leaders adopted the Carlist symbol of the lily. Unit leaders displayed the insignia of the Falangist arrows, while national leaders wore Falangist stars.

The youth were responsible for carrying out acts of violence and terrorist practices. The young members of this section, aged between fifteen and twenty-five, were known as Young Force (FJ). In the late 1970s, some members clashed with FN due to the authoritarian leadership that characterized the party. As a result, Luis María Sandoval, María del Carmen Palomares, and Eduardo Olivares were expelled. This, along with the suspension of paramilitary activities promoted by José de las Heras, led many young people to leave the party.

The growing disillusionment these arbitrary actions stirred among youth sectors, combined with the inability to adopt an ideological reform that aligned with the neofascist practices in Europe, prompted the more violent factions to leave FJ and join a Barcelona-based association established in 1977 called the National Youth Front (FNJ), which was led by two former FJ militants, Ramón Graells Bofill and Ernest Milá, who was in charge of press and propaganda²⁵. Milá confronted Piñar by denying the importance of classical discourse, and because of his connections with Italian neofascism and with the militant of the Italian Social Movement, Stefano Delle Chiaie²⁶. This association was dissolved in 1979 because it did not gain enough support from the base and due to ideological disagreements between Milá and Graells. The latter believed that for

²⁵ CASALS, X. *op.cit*, pp. 31-45.

²⁶ Delle Chiaie participated in the Montejurra Events in 1976. CASALS, X. (1998). *La tentación neofascista en España*, Plaza & Janés, Barcelona.

the association to strengthen, it was necessary to have the support of Fuerza Nueva²⁷.

In contrast, in Madrid, a faction split from FJ, named the Youth Front, which was led by Juan Ignacio González. This faction remained linked to FN because it did not abandon national-Catholic thought. This section was violent, and the more violent members formed a group known as the Special Section or Section C.²⁸ In the face of the uncontrolled violence of these young people, even Piñar was unable to exert control over them²⁹. This unit was made up of fifty members who were skilled in martial arts, carried firearms and bladed weapons, and engaged in various street altercations³⁰.

In response to the numerous attacks carried out by this section, another unit was created, named the Mazinger Command or Section Z. This section was even more aggressive and was made up of twenty members selected by the provincial delegate of the party.

2.1.1.4 Electoral Failure

Due to FN's refusal to renew its political program, which, as noted, glorified the "Holy Crusade" carried out during the Civil War against communism, defended traditionalism, and emphasized the need to uphold a

²⁷Graells later created Juntas Españolas (J.J.E.E.). RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, JL. *Reaccionarios y golpistas... Op.cit.*, p. 228.

²⁸ If one supported Primorriverist policies, young people could join Fuerza Joven without any problem. SÁNCHEZ SOLER, M. (1996). *Los hijos del 20-N: Historia violenta del Fascismo Español*. Temas de hoy, pp. 96-127.

²⁹ There are several articles that can illustrate this case, but we have chosen to present two that are particularly significant. The first refers to the brutal beating received by a thirteen-year-old boy for carrying a Catalan nationalist flag or *senyera*. *El País* el día 27 de octubre de 1977.

https://elpais.com/diario/1977/10/27/opinion/246754802_850215.html [Fecha de consulta: 20-04-2018]. The other selected case is the brutal beating inflicted on an elderly man, leaving him unconscious. This article was published el 31 de mayo de 1981. https://elpais.com/diario/1981/05/31/madrid/360156260_850215.html [Fecha de consulta: 20-04-2018]

³⁰Many of the attacks on civilians or militants from other political parties, primarily targeting supporters of the PSOE, frequently involved the use of weapons by the attackers. This news appeared in the newspaper *El País* en 25 de septiembre de 1977 https://elpais.com/diario/1977/09/25/espana/243990015_850215.html [Fecha de consulta: 20-04-2018]

national Catholic state with Hispanic identity, the number of members declined. As a result, in the 1982 elections, it garnered only 0.5 percent of the votes. This was partly because the conservative legacy of neofrancoism, led by Manuel Fraga Iribarne's Popular Alliance (AP), attracted a significant portion of the right. Additionally, FN was linked to two attempted coups. The first occurred on January 23, 1981, led by Antonio Tejero Molina, head of the Spanish Solidarity party (SE). Although Blas Piñar's involvement in the coup was never proven and he had no direct ties to SE, his magazine made Piñar's coup-supporting intentions clear. The second coup attempt took place on October 27, 1982, modeled after the Greek colonels' coup of 1967. The coup was uncovered by the CESID, and while Piñar's involvement was never confirmed, the leader of the coup, General Muñoz Gutiérrez, was married to a senator from FN³¹.

Finally, FN maintained ties with the Italian far-right organizations Ordine Nuovo (ON), Avanguardia Nazionale (AN), and the Italian Social Movement (MSI). Among these, the group closest to FN was the MSI, as it was the only one of the mentioned political formations to have an impact within the parliamentary system³². Likewise, the magazine *Fuerza Nueva* consistently kept its readers informed about the political strategies of the MSI. In 1977, an alliance emerged known as Eurodestra, which brought together the Italian far-right political party MSI, led by Giorgio Almirante, the French far-right group *Parti de Forces Nouvelles* (PFN), led by Jean Louis Tixier-Vignancour, and *Fuerza Nueva*³³. However, this alliance ended in 1980, as the MSI was its central body, and when it sought to integrate the Portuguese National Front (FNP), led by General Kaúlza de Arriga, Piñar opposed this due to religious tensions with

³¹ Xavier Casals <https://xaviercasals.wordpress.com/2012/10/29/el-golpe-desconocido-del-27-o-de-1982-pudo-ser-el-mas-sangriento/> [Fecha de consulta: 25-05-2017]

³² RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, J.L. *Reaccionarios y golpistas... op., cit.*, pág 248-250

³³ This group sparked interest in Latin America, especially in Argentina. For this reason, an Argentine magazine, *Cabildo*, led by Ricardo Curutchet and aligned with national-Catholic ideals, was in contact with the movement. Today, this magazine has shifted towards xenophobia and racism. CERSÓSIMO, F (2014) *"El Proceso fue liberal". Los tradicionalistas católicos argentinos y el Proceso de Reorganización Nacional (1976-1983)*. (Tesis doctoral inédita) Universidad de Buenos Aires Facultad de Filosofía y Letras pp 301-303.

Arriga, resulting in no membership. Similarly, Piñar, loyal to national-Catholic policies, did not accept neofascist proposals.

In conclusion, Blas Piñar maintained relations with the French Front National, as Jean Marie Le Pen financed part of Piñar's new political strategy when he founded the Spanish National Front in 1986. However, the radical Spanish project failed because it was a continuation of the old Fuerza Nueva ideology.

2.2 Círculo de Amigos de Europa (CEDADE)

CEDADE was the first Spanish neo-Nazi organization, created in 1966 under the ideological influences of Charles Maurras, Alfred Rosenberg, Julius Evola, and Friedrich Nietzsche, among others. Its cultural interests focused on conveying a new form of morality that was to be transmitted by a cultured and combative elite to combat the cultural influences stemming from the American beat generation and the French yé-yé generation, which promoted drug and alcohol consumption³⁴.

For this organization, the figure of Winifred Wagner, daughter-in-law of composer Richard Wagner, was fundamental as she became the spiritual guide of the movement. Overall, this neo-Nazi organization was characterized by a pronounced Europeanism and a Wagnerian worldview aimed at re-establishing the regime of the National Socialist German Workers' Party and demonstrating the cultural superiority of Indo-Europeans³⁵.

2.2.1 CEDADE: cultural references

To develop the foundation of their thought, the leaders of CEDADE drew from elements that the Nazi Party had taken as references, particularly from Ferdinand Tönnies' 1887 work *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, emphasizing *gemeinschaft* as they believed this traditional form of community was the most suitable for implanting within society. The persistence of *gemeinschaft*, predating liberalism and communism, would lead to a return to an organic society where the family would play a decisive role. Likewise, primacy was given to religion and the home, with the maternal figure taking a prominent role in transmitting the Indo-European cultural supremacy to her offspring.

They also referenced the biological racism of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, whose research aimed to justify the supposed "superiority" of the Caucasoid race. Additionally, they drew on the contributions of Julius Evola, whose works

³⁴ CEDADE it was related to the first neofascist pan-European organization, the Swedish European Social Movement. This neofascist manifestation had international delegations.

³⁵ CASALS, X.: *Neonazis...op.,cit.*, p. 57.

laid the groundwork for the New Right. Notable among his writings are *Revolt Against the Modern World* (1934), *Men Among the Ruins* (1953), and *Riding the Tiger: Reflections on the Duality of the World* (1961), where he depicted a worldview stemming from the Middle Ages based on organicist, hierarchical, antiliberal, and antidemocratic consolidation. This led to aspirations to restore the orders of the Teutonic Knights, the Templars, and the SS, in response to the cultural decline brought about by capitalism and Marxism—both seen as products of a Jewish conspiracy. Similarly, they viewed equality and contractualism as the great threats to the West, arguing that without tradition, the organic society would ultimately collapse³⁶.

From the 1960s, they drew ideological inspiration from two international neofascist organizations. First, there was the Belgian organization Jeune Europe (JE), founded in 1962 by Jean Thiriart, whose ideas were transmitted to some members of FET-JONS when they hosted delegates from JE in Spain. The second influence was the Nouvelle Droite (ND) led by Alain de Benoist. In 1968, Benoist established the Groupement de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne (GRECE), which aimed to scientifically demonstrate that the origins of Europe came from an organic community rooted in the Indo-Europeans, the Greeks, and the Celts. The main characteristic that this group exalted about these peoples was their paganism³⁷. This approach was connected to the thinking of Jean Thiriart, who viewed it as a movement that had transcended both fascism and communism. This association influenced CEDADE, particularly in its symbolism. Both groups criticized American imperialism, and as Roger Griffin has pointed out³⁸, they related to fascism because they sought to regenerate four aspects of it. First, the alliance among ethnically and culturally hegemonic communities within a Euro-federalist

³⁶ ANTON, J.(2007). *Julius Evola 1898-1974 ideólogo de la derecha radical europea contemporánea en La extrema derecha en Europa desde 1945 a nuestros días* edit. Miguel Ángel Simón. Madrid, Tecnos, pp. 205-222.

³⁷LARRALDE VELTEN, B (2009) *La extrema derecha como fenómeno transnacional: la elección racional y las necesidades insatisfechas*. (Tesis doctoral) Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

³⁸ GRIFFIN, R. (2007). "Plus ça change! El pedigrí fascista de la Nueva derecha". en *La extrema derecha en Europa desde 1945 a nuestros días* edit. Miguel Ángel Simón. Tecnos, Madrid, pp. 67-103.

empire. Second, the reimplementation of an authoritarian state at the expense of the democratic system. Lastly, to address the Zionist threat, which they blamed for the decline of the Aryan race, asserting that it had propagated multiculturalism and multiethnicity, thereby facilitating the development of globalization and undermining the cultural identity of people³⁹.

Lastly, it is important to consider the influences that neo-Nazi organizations had in Barcelona and throughout the peninsula as a consequence of the Fascist International founded in Madrid by Nazi and neo-Nazi refugees in Spain, and even from Latin America. This phenomenon has been well studied by Xavier Cassals. They were influenced by Degrelle, who united Catholic youth in a corporatist movement known as *Christus Rex*, more commonly referred to as rexism. Similarly, figures like the Croatian Ante Pavelić, the Romanian Horia Sima, and the Austrian Otto Skorzeny were also present. Notably, Degrelle was significant both for the strategies he provided to CEDADE and for his close friendship with the leaders of this association⁴⁰.

2.2.1 Phases

Within the movement, two stages can be delineated. The first stage lasted from its founding in 1966 until 1970, characterized by the presidency of Ángel Ricote for four months, followed by Pedro Aparicio from 1966 to 1970, and finally by Jorge Mota, whose leadership began in 1970, marking the start of the second stage of the movement. The second stage extended from 1970 to 1993. During these twenty-three years, the presidency was held by Mota from 1970 to 1978, by Pedro Varela from 1978 to 1992, and finally, from 1992 to 1993, the association was presided over by José María Ruiz Puerta, a member of the far-

³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 72-75.

⁴⁰ The relationship between Degrelle and the president of CEDADE, Pedro Varela Geiss, is evident in a letter he published on May 8, 1994, titled *León Degrelle: An Exemplary Fighter*, written upon Degrelle's death. In this letter, he made it clear that the rexist had been a role model for the defense of national socialist and Catholic values.

<http://wau14.com/WAUArgentina/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/IDA11.pdf> [Fecha de consulta: 10-04-2018] p.20.

right group Partido Por la Libertad (PXL), linked to the association Manos Limpias⁴¹.

2.2.1.1 First Stage (1966-1970)

From its origins, CEDADE was an association that prioritized cultural aspects over political ones. Unlike other far-right groups such as the Spanish National Socialist Party (PENS), the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), or the Spanish Social Movement (MSE), it avoided involvement in violent altercations, although it did have contacts with far-right terrorist groups in Spain and Italy. The organization was founded by Ángel Ricote, a member of Franco's Guard, in Barcelona, and organized the first meetings in venues provided by the Movement to members of the Iron Guard⁴². During the initial months, it was presided over by Ángel Ricote, but under Pedro Aparicio, the foundations of the movement were established, characterized by its anti-Semitic and racist components⁴³ and its "social cleansing" against Roma people and individuals with physical disabilities. During this first stage, the X Congress of *Nouvel Ordre Européen* was organized in 1969, a gathering of neofascists held in Barcelona that was attended by delegations from seven countries.

Similarly, in 1970, a new component was added to their program: Europeanism. Although the Franco regime obstructed some of these measures, CEDADE received assistance from the Central Documentation Service (SECED), which provided educational workshops for its members, who were typically

⁴¹ The division of CEDADE into two stages has been a distinctive feature.

⁴² Similarly, it is important to highlight Barcelona as one of the fundamental centers of the Spanish far right, as there were many contacts between Italian neofascists and Spanish neo-Nazis, as noted by Bruno Larralde. LARRALDE VELTEN, B (2009) *La extrema derecha, op., cit.*, pp 50-55. In Barcelona, which was home to several radical Falangists who had served in the Blue Division. RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, J.L *Antisemitism and the Extreme Right in Spain (1962-1997)*, p.3.

⁴³ This hatred towards the Black population continued into the 1980s, as can be seen in the 1985 article written by Joaquín Bochaca, where he claimed that the Zulus were clandestinely leading the Communist Party of South Africa and that the Hottentots were responsible for perpetuating "Black terrorism." (sic). CEDADE: *La juventud Hitleriana* (1985), ¿el fin de Sudáfrica? De Joaquín Bochaca, N°135, pp. 6-7. Similarly, CEDADE legitimized apartheid on humanitarian grounds and even maintained relationships with some members of the KKK. CASALS, X.: *Neonazis en España: de las audiciones wagnerianas a los skinheads (1966-1995)*. Grijalbo, Barcelona, 1995 p. 66.

between fifteen and twenty-five years old, often coming from disorganized families with precarious socioeconomic conditions or from the lower middle class.

Additionally, the only organizational chart found for CEDADE was established during this time, as starting from Mota's presidency, it underwent several modifications, and it is not clear who served in administrative roles after 1970. Ángel Ricote Sumalla was the president, with Pedro Aparicio Aguilar serving as vice president. Carmelo Abellán Hernández held the secretary position, while Julio Garduño Calvo served as treasurer. Esteban Darvas Nemeht was responsible for foreign affairs. Jorge Mota Aras took on the task of “educating” the youth in Germanic culture, while Salvador Ginesta Marta coordinated cultural activities. Agustín Vargas was in charge of press writing, Ángel Clavero handled public relations, and lastly, Pablo Martín Caballero served as a juror⁴⁴.

This first phase concluded in 1970 with the election of Jorge Mota as president, resulting from a dispute he had with Ricote, who chose to steer the association toward fascist positions, sidelining cultural initiatives. In contrast, Mota favored establishing a model like the Nazi regime, taking Hitler as a reference. He even adopted several of Hitler's lifestyle choices, such as becoming vegetarian, abstaining from alcohol, and remaining single until he left office.

2.2.1.2 Second Stage (1970-1993)

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, under Jorge Mota's presidency, the ideological foundations of this organization shifted towards Nazism. For this reason, in CEDADE's bulletin, Jews were consistently portrayed alongside Freemasons as the great world conspirators. One of the prominent representatives of traditionalism was J. Vázquez de Mella, who claimed that

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 58-59.

Freemasonry was a strategy orchestrated by the Jews⁴⁵. The work of Mota, and later Pedro Varela, was praised by the Greek neo-Nazi group Χρυσή Αυγή (Golden Dawn) in one of the articles (ANNEX I) published in its eponymous magazine in 1983⁴⁶.

This phase was marked by Mota's presidency until 1978, followed by the election of Pedro Varela Geiss, who moved away from the ideological thinking of José Antonio Primo de Rivera to adopt the more characteristic traits of Adolf Hitler⁴⁷, León Degrelle, Corneliu Codreanu, and Jean Thiriart were central references. Similarly, Wagner's musical works were taken as a central reference, as he was considered a defender of "Aryan supremacy" because his music was viewed by the organization as an artistic way to combat Jewish music. With the increase in their membership, CEDADE nuclei were established in Alicante, Barcelona, Badalona, Madrid, Málaga, Murcia, Seville, Valladolid, and Zaragoza, thanks to the subsidies provided by Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. Subsequently, various offices were set up from which they were able to publish their bulletins⁴⁸.

Regarding the fundamental points of this phase, it should be emphasized that CEDADE presented itself as an ecological organization concerned with nature and animals. It attempted to prohibit hunting activities and bullfighting, and particularly advocated for rural values⁴⁹. Although it did not present itself as a national socialist organization, it did identify as a racist, anti-Semitic, Christian, and pan-European movement⁵⁰. On the other hand, this organization fought to maintain a united Europe through the concept of "ethnic Europe," which referred to the idea of a Federal Europe similar to that envisioned by the Nazi regime. This Federal Europe, or rather, Europe of the Ethnicities, was an

⁴⁵ RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, J.L. *Antisemitism and the Extreme Right in Spain (1962-1997)*, p.2.

⁴⁶ Χρυσή Αυγή, 1983. <https://xaviercasals.files.wordpress.com/2012/08/portada-amanecer-dorado.jpg> [Fecha de consulta: 20-03-2018]

⁴⁷ Adolf Hitler was a constant reference in the articles written by Pedro Varela Geiss, as reflected in the 1981 article "¿Quién era Hitler?" In this piece, Varela justified Hitler's actions while criticizing those of the Allies. *CEDADE: ¿Quién era Hitler?, ¿quién era Hitler?*, Pedro Varela Geiss (1981), N°96, pp. 2-8.

⁴⁸ RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, J.L. *Antisemitism and the op.cit*, p. 4.

⁴⁹ CASALS, X.: *Neonazis...op.cit*, p.124.

⁵⁰, X.: *Neonazis...op.cit*, pág 65

inherently ambiguous project, as they advocated for the principles of xenophilia; that is, they believed in the necessity of a union of peoples that maintained their particular characteristics—language, culture—so long as they upheld the Christian religion, a way of life linked to *gemeinschaft*, a national socialist ideology, and a Wagnerian worldview⁵¹. The concept of “ethnic Europe” was first employed by German nationalists in the late 18th and early 20th centuries. To support their theories, they prioritized Scandinavian mythology, adopting its symbolism, manipulating its content, and glorifying its features to discredit Africans through ethnoracist theories that justified the enslavement of Black people as a moral good.

Similarly, a new map was devised that divided the Iberian Peninsula into seven ethnic regions [Annex II]: the first was the region of Catalonia, which would encompass the autonomous communities of Catalonia and Aragón, with Barcelona as its capital. Second, there was the Levant region, resulting from the union of Valencia and Murcia, with Valencia city as its capital. Additionally, the region of Baetica would include all of Andalusia, with Seville as its capital. There was also the region of Extremadura, with Badajoz as its capital, and the Duero region, with Valladolid as its capital, as well as the Galician-Asturian region. Regarding Portugal, they also decided to split it into two ethnic regions to integrate it into their project for Spain: the North Portugal region with Porto as its capital, and finally, South Portugal with Lisbon as its capital⁵². This emphasized the importance of the *völkisch* or the popular traditions of each Spanish region, a direct inheritance from Nazism, as Himmler and Göring had occasionally worn regional costumes as a way to exalt the traditional values of their respective communities. For Catalan culture, they took as models the nationalist political thought of Francesc Macià and Enric Prat de la Riba to advocate for the Països Catalans and to highlight the importance of the rural

⁵¹ Conversely, if peoples adhered to different religions or did not agree with their worldview, they displayed xenophobic attitudes, and if those peoples had different skin colors, they were openly racist. However, they never considered themselves xenophobic or racist. Instead, they justified their discourse as a means to keep each culture “pure,” arguing that ethnic, cultural, and religious pluralism was trivial and threatened civilization.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 146.

world. The Catalan component did not lead them to reject Spanish unity; rather, they saw an opportunity to achieve a union between Catalan and Castilian language and culture.

While they defended the identity sentiment of all ethnic regions, especially in support of Galician nationalism, they opposed the idea of Euskadi as a political, territorial, and cultural concept, as Basque nationalism questioned the process of Castilianization. However, there were several errors in their territorial approach, as it made no reference to the Canary Islands or the Balearic Islands, nor to Ceuta or Melilla. Lastly, they did not differentiate between state, people, or nation.

Another issue to address was marginalized groups, which included homosexuals, women, and vagrants. First of all, homosexuals were categorized as "dangerous social agents." Secondly, the role of women was similar to that envisioned in the female section of the *Fuerza Nueva*. For this reason, the archetype of femininity for women in CEDADE corresponded to a traditional role in which women were confined to the home, where they were to fulfill their duties as wives and mothers, as they were responsible for transmitting that "Aryan racial supremacy." This led to CEDADE translating a text from the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in 1977 that condemned abortion practices in response to the feminist mobilization for pro-abortion rights and campaigns in favor of contraceptive sales. Lastly, vagrants were severely judged by Pedro Varela and the entire movement, being considered despicable beings that threatened the "solid man," who was the perfect man, the German man. A man of abilities, neatness, whose purpose was to push others toward the light and eradicate the mediocrity of humanity.

With Pedro Varela, the Holocaust denial component was added, as well as the denial of the bombing of the city of Guernica. Furthermore, a biologically and scientifically oriented racism was adopted, shifting away from the theological racism promoted by Mota⁵³. The denialist authors modeled their work on the texts written in the 1950s by Salvador Borrego. However, the first

⁵³ CASALS, X.: *Neonazis..op.,cit.,* pág 160

denialist nucleus developed in France ⁵⁴ This idea was supported in Spain under the core of integrist Catholicism that developed in the province of Barcelona ⁵⁵. With the first denialist publications, it was justified that the Holocaust had been an invention of the Allies and the Jews, aimed at justifying the creation of the State of Israel. Within the organization, there were several influential denialists, such as Pedro Varela himself, Enrique Aynat, and Joaquín Bochaca⁵⁶. These ideas began to spread through Edición Acervo, which belonged to a former Falangist, José Antonio Llorens Borrás. He published in the organ *Juanpérez*, where he disseminated anti-communist, anti-Zionist, and denialist material. These three components attracted new young people, and the networks of this neo-Nazi cultural movement expanded across various Spanish cities, including Cádiz, Cartagena, Ciudad Real, and many others, as well as internationally in regions like Aix-en-Provence in France and parts of Argentina.

Varela intended to create the European National Revolutionary Party, based on the same principles as CEDADE, to gain access to the parliamentary system. He met with the elite of the movement; however, this project did not materialize due to the association's limited impact. One reason for this was the movement's obsession with attacking the state of Israel and its constant focus on the supposed Jewish conspiracy to control the world through drugs, prostitution, democracy, and Marxism.

Alongside the denialist line, Ramón Bau Pradera emerged as a member of the Center for Indo-European Studies, writing *Nuestras Ideas*, in which he denied the Holocaust and advocated for neo-Nazi violence as a means to overthrow the system. Bau's perspective differed significantly from CEDADE's

⁵⁴ YVES CAMUS, J. : El negacionismo en el mundo occidental ...op.,cit, pág 223

⁵⁵ These ideals were disseminated through the publication *Juanpérez*, which emerged from a meeting at Castell d'Orpí in 1965, where the decision was made to create a Wagnerian listening experience with a proselytizing vision. This served as a precursor to CEDADE. RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, J.L. Antisemitism and the op.,cit pp. 8-12.

⁵⁶ Of these three figures, Aynat currently collaborates with the Institute for Historical Review (IHR). Today, information about him can be found on the AAARGH SOLVAYA website. FERRERA FÉLIX, D. Uma análise do negacionismo espanhol em Pedro Varela, Anais Do XV Encontro Regional de História Da Anpuh-Rio Pág 5

Wagnerian worldview established during the first and second phases, leading to a crisis within the organization between 1980 and 1984.

CEDADE's major issue was its lack of a specific political goal, unlike other groups. This resulted in two ideological branches developing within the movement: the orthodox neo-Wagnerian and neo-Catholic wing led by Mota and Varela, and the Nietzschean and neo-pagan faction represented by Aynat and Bau. The neo-Wagnerian branch continued to be CEDADE's focus until the crisis occurred. The neo-Nietzscheans rejected the importance of *Mein Kampf* and Wagner's works, seeking instead inspiration from Nietzsche's critique of Judeo-Christian culture. They also adopted elements from the American neo-Nazi Matthias Koehl, whose ideology centered on Nazi esotericism.

In 1981, this group denied the influence of Catholicism, viewing it as no longer a worthwhile goal. Varela, the leader of the CEDADE orthodoxy, rejected the possibility of creating a council to discuss points that could threaten their cultural framework. In response to this undemocratic hierarchical structure, Bau decided to leave CEDADE.

Despite these differences, many neo-pagans chose to stay within the group because they shared elitist elements, a critique of democratic decay as a product of a party system, and a medieval worldview rooted in the theological pillars of Christianity: body, soul, and spirit. To avoid discontent between the two factions, they decided to blend Christianity with esotericism. They also adopted the teachings of the Cathars as a source of purity and promoted Viking legends, leading to the establishment of the Thule Society in Spain in 1982.

Regarding international neofascist connections, CEDADE considered the possibility of a fascist Mediterranean region comprising Spain, Greece, Italy, and Portugal. However, this plan was abandoned after the fall of the dictatorial regimes. In Spain, there were also "gladiators" from Operation Gladio, an anti-communist repressive strategy coordinated by NATO, financed by the CIA, and supported by the British intelligence service MI6. One notable event involving these "gladiators" was the Montejurra processes, where Italian neofascist

Stefano Delle Chiaie was in contact with the National Youth Front and CEDADE.

Nevertheless, the neo-Nazi project lacked financial and social support. As José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez noted, the group's magazine ceased publication and began to decline by the late 1980s, only appearing annually starting in 1992.

3. Final Remarks

The comparison between Fuerza Nueva (FN) and CEDADE reveals two distinct approaches to right-wing extremism in Spain. FN is anchored in a belligerent national Catholicism, relying on figures from Spanish conservatism and using historical nostalgia to attract youth. In contrast, CEDADE adopts a cultural and elitist perspective, drawing inspiration from European thinkers like Julius Evola and rejecting traditional politics.

While FN employs commemorative events and a nostalgic aesthetic to appeal to young people, CEDADE presents itself as a cultural movement that avoids violence. This difference in strategies is also reflected in FN's lack of modernization, as it failed to adapt to changing political contexts, unlike some European neofascist organizations.

Although CEDADE does not overtly present itself as racist, its discourse includes anti-Semitic attitudes and promotes the segregation of various communities, indicating a racist undertone in its ideology. Furthermore, under the presidency of Pedro Varela, CEDADE introduces Holocaust denial, marking an evolution in neo-Nazi ideologies in Spain.


Annexes

Annexe I

The translation of the document into English is my original work.
Consequently, any errors present in it are my sole responsibility..

CEDADE

Τό CEDADE ('Ισπανικός Κύκλος Φίλων τῆς Εὐρωπαϊκῆς Ἰδέας), ἰδρύθηκε τό 1970 στήν Βαρκελώνη καί ἐξαπλώθηκε σιγά - σιγά σέ ἀρκετές Ἰσπανικές, Εὐρωπαϊκές καί Ἀμερικανικές πόλεις. Σάν ἰδέα ὑπῆρχε ἀπό τό 1965, ὅταν μιά ομάδα νεαρῶν ἀπεφάσισαν νά συστηματοποιήσουν τόν ἀγῶνα τους ἐναντίον τῆς πνευματικῆς καί ὁλικῆς παρακμῆς τοῦ Εὐρωπαϊκοῦ πολιτισμοῦ. Ἀπό τό 1970, πρόεδρος του ἦταν ὁ Jorge Motta, πού τόν διαδέχθηκε κατὰ τό 1978 ὁ Pedro Varela. Χάρis στήν δύναμη, τίς συνεισφορές καί τήν συνεχή ἐργασία τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν του, τό CEDADE μετετράπη ἀπό μία ἀσημῆ ὀργάνωση σ' ἕναν ισχυρό ὀργανισμό.



ΟΙ ΣΤΟΧΟΙ:

Τό CEDADE ἔχει δημιουργηθῆ καί καθοδηγεῖται ἀπό νεαρούς ἀνθρώπους πού ἀποσκοποῦν στό νά δώσουν μία ἀπάντηση, κατὰ πλήρη καί ὁλοκληρωμένο τρόπο, σέ ὅλα τά προβλήματα τῆς ἐποχῆς μας, εἴτε εἶναι φιλοσοφικά, καλλιτεχνικά, ἠθικά, πολιτικά, κοινωνικά καί οὕτω καθ' ἑξῆς, μέσω τῆς δημιουργίας ἐνός νέου τύπου ἀνθρώπου, βασισμένου στήν φυσική, πνευματική καί ψυχική ἁρμονία. Πρόκειται γιά μιά ἐπανάσταση πού μπορεῖ νά μεταμορφώσῃ τόν κόσμο μας. Ἡ ἀποστολή τοῦ CEDADE εἶναι νά συντονίσῃ, νά ὀργανώσῃ, νά ἐπιλέξῃ καί νά ἐκπαιδεύσῃ κατὰ τόν καλύτερο τρόπο τήν νεολαία καί τήν κοινωνία προσφέροντας τά ἀναγκαῖα μέσα γιά δράσι.

Γιά τήν ἐξάπλωσι τῆς ἰδεολογίας, τό CEDADE διαθέτει δικό του ἐκδοτικό τμήμα μέσω τοῦ ὁποίου κυκλοφορεῖ συνεχῶς βιβλία καί κάθε εἶδους ἐντύπια πού προάγουν τήν ἰδεολογία. Δέν ἐξαρτᾶται οἰκονομικῶς ἡ πολιτικῶς ἀπό καμία -ομάδα πιέσεως- καί κατὰ συνέπεια ὅλες του οἱ προσπάθειες ὀφείλονται στούς ἀγωνιστές του. Τά μέλη του εἶναι κυρίως νέοι καί ἔχουν ἤδη σχηματοποιήσει μιά ἠθική καί ἕνα τρόπο ἀγῶνος ἐναντίον τῶν πολιτικολόγων, τῶν ἐπαγγελματιῶν, τῶν ἀλλήλων καί ὅλων ὧν ἐργονται σέ ἀντίθεσι μέ τίς ἀρχές του. Ἀντίθετα μέ ὅλους αὐτούς ὁ ἀγωνιστής τοῦ CEDADE ὀφείλει νά διακρίνεται γιά τή δύναμη τοῦ πολιτιστικοῦ καί ἰδεολογικοῦ προσηλωτισμοῦ, καί νά ἀποκτᾷ συνεχῶς δυνάμεις ἀπό τήν γνώσι τοῦ γιατί καί πότε πρέπει νά ἀγωνίζεται.



ΤΑ ΜΕΛΗ:

Μέλη εἶναι ὅλοι ἐκεῖνοι πού ἀποστολή τους εἶναι ἡ ἐκπλήρωσις τοῦ κοινοῦ σκοποῦ, κατὰ τό μέτρο τῶν ἀτομικῶν βεβαίως δυνατοτήτων τους. Τά μέλη ἐπιπλέον διαθέτουν εἰδική κάρτα καί ὑποχρεοῦνται σέ τακτική συνδρομή. Ἐκεῖνοι πού δέν διαθέτουν κάρτα δέν εἶναι καί μέλη τοῦ CEDADE.

Ο ΕΘΝΙΚΟΣΟΣΙΑΛΙΣΜΟΣ:

Οἱ ἀγωνιστές τοῦ CEDADE ἀποδέχονται μέ ὑπερφάνεια τήν τιμή νά θεωροῦνται διάδοχοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πού πραγματοποιήσαν τήν Ἐπανάστασι τοῦ XX αἰῶνος. Ἐάν εἶναι ἀληθές τό γεγονός ὅτι ἡ πραγματική ἰδεολογία τοῦ CEDADE βασίζεται σ' αὐτήν πού ἐδημιούργησαν οἱ Ἐπαναστάτες τοῦ XX αἰῶνος, τότε εἶναι ἐπίσης ἀληθές τό γεγονός ὅτι τελειοποιήθηκε καί ἐξελίχθηκε. Οἱ ἱστορικές προκαταλήψεις καί οἱ ἀδυναμίες τῆς ἐποχῆς μας δέν μας ἀφοροῦν. Αὐτό σημαίνει πᾶς ἀποδεχόμεθα καθ' ὁλοκληρίαν ὅλα ὅσα ἔκαναν τήν Ἐθνικοσοσιαλιστική Ἐπανάστασι τήν μοναδική ἀληθινή ἐπανάστασι τοῦ αἰῶνος μας, δηλαδή:

- Ἀγῶνα γιά τήν ἀπελευθέρωσι ἀπό τήν τυραννία τοῦ Χρήματος καί τῶν μεγάλων Κεφαλαίων.



λύτερο καί εὐγενέστερο ἔχει νά ἐπιδείξῃ ἡ Εὐρωπαϊκή παράδοσις.

- Προαγωγή τῆς Τέχνης σέ κάθε τῆς μορφῆς, σάν ἀνάταξι ἀνθρώπινη ἐκφρασις.
- Προσπеси τῶν ἀξιών τῆς προσωπικότητος καί τοῦ χαρακτήρος, τῆς ἀξιοπερίεας καί τῆς εὐγενείας τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καί τῆς ὑγιούς, φυσικῆς καί πνευματικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῆς νεολαίας.
- Σοσιαλιστική πολιτική, πού ἀποσκοπεῖ στό νά ἐξαφανίσῃ τό κοινωνικό χάος, τήν ἀναταραχή, τίς ἀδικίες καί τίς ἀνευθυνότητες πού ἐδημιούργησε ἡ ἀστική νοοτροπία καί οἱ καπιταλιστικές ἡ κομμουνιστικές «δημοκρατίες».
- Ἀρνησι τῆς πάλῃς τῶν τάξεων διά τῆς ἀντιπαράθεσως τῆς ἀνωτέρας ἰδέας τῆς λαϊκῆς κοινότητος.
- Θεμελίωσι μιᾶς κοινωνίας βασιζομένης στήν ἀνθρώπινη ἀξία, στήν ἐργασία, τήν ἰσχυρή θέλησι καί τήν ἀφοσίωσι τοῦ ἀτόμου καί δχι στήν ταξική ἀντίληψι τοῦ Χρήματος, τῆς κοινωνικῆς θέσεως καί οὕτω καθ' ἑξῆς.
- Δημιουργία μιᾶς πραγματικῆς Εὐρωπαϊκῆς Πολιτείας πού θά στοχεύῃ στίς ὑψηλότερες σφαῖρες τῆς Ὑπάρξεως, σέ ἀντιπαράθεσι μέ τό σύγχρονο καί παντοδύναμο δημοκρατικό, μαρξιστικό καί ἀστικό κόσμο.

Ἐπιμέλεια: Γ. Ἡλιόπουλος

Overview

CEDADE (Círculo Español de Amigos de las Ideas Europeas) was established in 1970 in Barcelona and grew slowly over time. It lacked significant support in Spain initially, originating from an idea in 1965 when a group of young individuals sought to address the intellectual and material decline of European civilization. From 1970, Jorge Motta served as its president until he was

succeeded by Pedro Varela in 1978, who enjoyed significant influence and made notable contributions.

Objectives

CEDADE was created and guided by young men with the goal of addressing the various problems of our time—be they philosophical, ethical, political, social, or artificial. Their aim was to cultivate a new type of individual, grounded in spiritual physics and harmony, leading to a revolutionary transformation of the world. CEDADE's mission focused on organizing, educating, and empowering youth and the community with the necessary means for action. To disseminate its ideology, CEDADE has its own publishing department that continuously circulates books and materials promoting its views, including works like the Bible. Financially and politically independent, its efforts rely solely on its members. CEDADE's members are primarily young individuals who actively oppose politicians contradicting their principles, engaging in cultural and ideological proselytism.

Membership

Members are expected to meet individual objectives and must possess a spiritual card that verifies their affiliation with the organization.

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Notable | National | Points |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------|

CEDADE members proudly identify as heirs of the 20th-century revolution, believing their ideological foundation is rooted in the ideas created by that era's revolutionaries, which they seek to refine and evolve. They hold no historical prejudices, acknowledging the positive aspects of their past (implicitly referring to the Third Reich). They assert that the national socialist revolution is the only path to liberation in this century. Key points of emphasis include:

1. The struggle for liberation from the tyranny of capital.
2. Creating a community free from Jewish materialism.
3. Upholding the ideals of socialism, nationalism, and racism.
4. Replacing gold-based ideals dominating national economies with labor.

5. Protecting and enhancing cultural industries rooted in European traditions.
6. Promoting art in all its forms as the highest expression of humanity.
7. Advocating for values of personality and proper naming, along with the physical, mental, and healthy education of youth.
8. The socialist agenda aims to eliminate social laxity by dismantling injustices created by urban and capitalist or communist state mentalities.
9. Denying class age through the supremacy of the popular community idea.
10. Centering society on the human value of willful work rather than traditional monetary perceptions based on social position.
11. Establishing a true and new European state to dismantle the modern, chaotic Marxist democratic urban world.

SIGNED F. Iliopoulos.

Annexe II

Distribución de la Península Ibérica según CEDADE



Own Elaboration

4. Literature.

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