Sports in Valencia during the early years of the Franco regime (1939-1945). Political repression and control

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Summary. The city and the province of Valencia did not suffer the Francoist repression until the end of the war, being one of the last territories conquered by the armies of Franco. Thus, in April of 1939 began a campaign of repression in order to eliminate everything that might recall the situation previous to July 18, 1936. The world of sport did not escape from this brutal process, designed to put an end to any hint of dissent. The repression was applied in a systematic manner, affecting both individuals (athletes, sports administrators, teachers of physical education, journalists), and collectivities (clubs, federations and sport associations, etc.). The consequences of this process to people classified as «enemies» of the new regime were different: death sentences, internment in prison, exile, economic sanctions, political purging in the workplace. Even in sports tough sanctions were applied. Similarly, the new political authorities exercised absolute control over clubs and sports federations to prevent any form of opposition to the new regime.

Keywords: Postwar; Francoism; Repression; Sport; Valencia

L’esport a València durant els primers anys del règim franquista (1939-1945). La repressió política i el control

Resum. La ciutat i la província de València no van sofrir la repressió franquista fins al final de la guerra, en ser un dels darrers territoris a caure conquerits per les forces de Franco. Així, a l’abril del 1939, va començar una campanya de repressió per tal d’eliminar tot el que pogués recordar a la situació anterior al 18 de juliol del 1936. El món de l’esport no va escapar d’aquest procés brutal, dissenyat per posar fi a qualsevol senyal de dissidència. La repressió es va aplicar de forma sistemàtica, afectant tant individus (esportistes, administradors esportius, mestres d’educació física, periodistes) com col·lectius (clubs, federacions i associacions esportives, etc.). Les conse- Quinnències d’aquest procés per a les persones catalogades com a «enemics» del nou règim van ser diverses: condemes a mort, empresonaments, exili, multes econòmiques, depuracions laborals. Fins i tot en el món esportiu es van aplicar fortes sancions. De manera semblant, les noves autoritats polítiques van exercir un control absolut sobre els clubs i les federacions esportives per tal de prevenir qualsevol forma d’oposició al nou règim.

Paraules clau: postguerra; franquisme; repression; esport; València

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Introduction

The study of Franco’s repression has become an increasingly frequent topic among historians and other researchers. This interest has contributed to claims made from different social groups: victims, relatives of people who suffered the repression, political parties, unions, associations for the recovery of historical memory, etc. This topic has not been without controversy, and the media is divided over these claims. The city and province of Valencia have been no exception; different studies have brought to light how this repressive phenomenon developed under the Franco dictatorship. It is important to note that repression is not a phenomenon generated after the war, but because it was already used during the war by both sides because Valencia was one of the last cities of Republican Spain to fall to Franco. Francoist repression only occurred there at the end of the war.

Valencia, the third most important Spanish city, was the capital of Republican Spain between the November 7, 1936, and October 31, 1937. During this period, the Republican government created the «National Council of Physical Education and Sports» and the school of physical education and sports.

Although Franco’s repressive model was installed later in Valencia than in other Spanish territories this did not diminish their brutality and forcefulness.

The sources used for the realization of this study are varied: books, journals, papers, theses, research papers, newspapers, yearbooks, etc. Also included are different documentary sources such as the Spanish «Portal de victimas de la Guerra civil y represaliados del franquismo», the legal proceedings initiated by the military courts after the civil war and the Franco years, and documents existing in the archives of the Ministry of Defense. I have also had access to materials at the National Historical Archive, which hold a record of the disciplinary procedures in the post-war period, called the «Causa General.»

Unfortunately I could not meet the athletes who took part in this story, because all of them have died. In some cases, their families provided information about them.

With respect to methodology, the first stage focused on the collection of data, the second to the descriptive analysis of the content of this information and the third stage to the drafting of this report. The result of this analysis is an account of the Valencian clubs and athletes who suffered this repressive process.

Sport in Valencia

During the first third of the twentieth century in Spain, sport as practice and as spectacle became one of the most characteristic phenomena in the society of masses. In Valencia, the expansion of the «modern» sports was a little slower than in other areas, such as Catalonia, Madrid and the Basque Country, perhaps because of the significance of traditional sports such as ball games or horse racing and the rural and agricultural character of Valencian society. In spite of this, in the last decades of the nineteenth century the practice of sport increased, coinciding with the arrival and the implementation of «modern» sports.

Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the city of Valencia, began to have a remarkable network of clubs, teams and sports entities, highlighting three major football clubs – Valencia FC, Levante FC and Gimnástico FC – which were branches of larger organizations dedicated to a range of sports (track, hockey), the elite tennis clubs of the Sporting Club and the Algiros Tennis Club, and the no less elitist Yacht Club.

After the 1921 proclamation in Valencia of the Second Spanish Republic, there emerged workers sports clubs and the participation of women in sport. However, this process was abruptly interrupted by the Civil War and the subsequent Franco dictatorship (Otero Carvajal, 2003). Valencia and its province also suffered from this setback.

In the almost three years of the Civil War in the city and province of Valencia, it should be noted that sport was not paralyzed, although there were no national championships between the various territories of Republican Spain. The most popular sports in Valencia during this period were «pelota» (a traditional Valencian and Basque sport), greyhound racing and football, although the latter sport was banned in March 1938 by the Republican authorities because of the increase of the Francoist air strikes on Valencia.

Repression

On February 9, 1939, a few months before the end of the Civil War, the Franco government passed the «Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas». One of its features was its retroactive implementation, which clearly violated one of the basic principles of jurisprudence. This law established in its first article that physical and legal persons committing acts of subversion in Spain between October 1, 1934, and July 18, 1936, would be held responsible in the same manner as any person who opposed the National Movement after July 18, 1936. (Contradictorily, the Franco regime considered the Republicans «rebels» despite their being the defenders of the legitimate government).

This law was not the only one dictated by the Francoist authorities in order to establish penalties and promote their state model. In fact, three other laws helped to intensify this repressive process: the Law for Public Officials of February 10, 1939; the Law of Suppression of Freemasonry and Communism, of March 1, 1940; and the State Security Law of March 29, 1941.

When we refer to the repression in the immediate postwar period (1939-1945), we mean judicial proceedings with few guarantees for the accused, death sentences, long terms of imprisonment, torture, forced labor and other forms of oppression and punishment: exiles, labor purges, economic sanctions. In summary,
the Franco regime sought the elimination, dismantling and demobilization of any type of organized opposition. But we can also refer to other forms of repression, such as the absolute control of associational life, the prohibition of the public use of the regional languages, and even the repression suffered by women in the Spain of Franco.

The suppression and its consequences affected all areas of life, and sport was no exception. Therefore, this research will seek to explain how this process was controlled at the political, legislative and executive levels by the new Franco regime in the world of Valencian sport.

On March 30, 1939, General Aranda entered the city of Valencia without encountering any resistance. On April 1, 1939, this officially ended the Civil War. This had been a war with approximately 500,000 deaths, of which about 200,000 were killed off the battlefield (Preston, 2011), a similar number of exiles and where nearly 400,000 people were imprisoned by the new political regime, of which about 20,000 would be executed.

The establishment in Valencia of the Francoist state began, as happened in the rest of Spain, with an immediate, brutal, angry and forceful repression (Torres Fabra, 2009). Thus began a military dictatorship for forty years in which the suppression of the vanquished was a kind of a war trophy for the victorious (Sampedro & Torres, 2013).

**Repression in sport in Valencia**

With the end of the war, Valencian sport sought to return to normality, but unfortunately the situation prior to July 1936 would not be repeated (Mestre, 1987). If the armed conflict and the later war years changed Valencian society, they also changed Valencian sport. The consequences of the war years in Valencian sport were noticed at all levels. Many facilities were in a perilous state, many sports clubs lost much of their membership and those belonging to groups, political parties and trade unions associated with the Republican regime disappeared forever. In addition, the new authorities canceled the results of all championships in Republican territory during those years.

At the individual level, for many athletes, those three years represented an unrecoverable loss of time. After the war, most football players, «pelotaris», cyclists and boxers were able to continue their sporting careers. Others withdrew because of their age, the physical consequences of the war, exile or the Francoist repression.

With the end of the war, the new political regime established itself in Spain and began a purge at all levels of society. The victims of this process suffered various punishments: death sentences (in the province of Valencia alone, 3,338 people were killed [Gavarda, 2007]), internment in prison or labor camp (including countless life sentences), imprisonment, exile, economic sanctions and purging from state civil service and the rest of the government. In addition, sanctions and fines could be applied to the same person in different jurisdictions: military, civil, labor, and even sports.

Therefore, sport did not escape this systematic repression established by the new political regime. One of the first decisions of the Spanish Olympic Committee was depuration of athletes and leaders of clubs and federations.

If we analyze the casuistry of the depuration process suffered by athletes, officials and people linked to Valencian sport we find examples of different degrees of repression applied.

**Death sentence**

Capital punishments by the Francoist courts were abundant in the early years of the postwar. Fortunately, in some cases these sentences were commuted to sentences of thirty or twenty years in prison. Among the many sentenced to the death penalty who did not see their sentences reduced, I have only found one case of a Valencian athlete: Cayetano Uribe Moreno, member of the sports sections of the Federación Universitaria Española (FUE) and the Communist Party (PCE). He was condemned to death and executed after the war (García Candau, 2007).

**Imprisonment**

Internment in prisons, concentration or work camps was a retaliatory punishment suffered by many. Among the thousands of prisoners there were people closely related to Valencian sport. The sanctions imposed and the experiences of victims varied; here we will detail some of these cases:

Francisco Montañés Moltó, player of the football (soccer) teams in Castellon, Valencia, Murcia, and Gimnástico de Valencia. As a result of his political ideas and participation in the confiscation of property and in repression against people of conservative ideology in Valencia during the war, he was sent to the Porta Coeli prison, where he was tortured and died under mysterious circumstances.

Another player who fell victim to retaliation was Antonio Conde Aja, player of the Valencia FC and left-wing militant. After the war, he was accused of seizing a home and was imprisoned in the prison of San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia. Conde was released and played on the team of the Hercules of Alicante, although within a few months, he was imprisoned again. Again he was released but was punished with a suspension that did not allow him to play football for two-and-a-half years. Fortunately, this punishment was reduced by an amnesty, but Conde was forced to live outside of the Valencian community and in exile abroad (García Candau, 2007).

Victor Ballestor Gozalvo was a football player, referee and founder of the Levante FC and the Valencian Federation of Football. During the Second Republic he
held important positions within the educational system. After the war, he was imprisoned for years, which damaged his health and led to his death in 1956 (Bens, Garcia Nieves & March, 2009).

Josep Rodríguez Tortajada was a prominent member of the Valencia CF, in addition to being a member of the Partit Valencianista d’Esquerres (PVE). He became city councilor in Valencia in 1936, and later became deputy mayor and acting mayor of the city. At the beginning of the war, he participated in the depuration of municipal employees, although he tried to not hurt anyone, despite being aware of the ideological differences of some of them. He also used his influence and position to facilitate the release of Ricardo Zamora, the goalkeeper for Real Madrid CF and help other people who were persecuted for their political or religious beliefs.

With regard to sport, in spite of his political activities, in the early days of August 1936, he was appointed chairman of the committee that took over the management of the Valencia CF. In addition, as a representative of the city he participated in different sporting events and personally took charge of the organization of the most important football competitions held during those years in Spain: «La Liga del Mediterráneo» and the «Copa de la España Libre», which were played between teams from Valencia and Catalonia.

After Franco’s victory, Rodríguez Tortajada was imprisoned and tried. On September 5, 1939, he was sentenced to death by a military tribunal as the perpetrator of a crime of treason. In spite of this sentence, the Francoist authorities continued to search for reasons to increase his punishment. The death sentence was commuted to thirty years in prison, a sentence that was subsequently reduced to twenty. A large number of citizens, city officials, and members of the local aristocracy testified on his behalf on January 27, 1944, and he was granted parole. On May 12, 1959, his sentence was definitively suspended. In addition, his work and his position as president of the Valencia CF were expunged from the history of the club. This shameful and insulting erasure that started shortly after the end of the war was repeated in the historiography of the Valencia CF until January 2011. Rodríguez Tortajada died in 1982 without recognition of his work as president of the Valencia CF.

Football was not the only sport that suffered this repressive process. Thus, for example, the athlete Manuel Lora – the protagonist of great feats in track and field – was imprisoned for being militant of the socialist union UGT and defending their ideals as a member of the police of the Republic since October 1937.

Jose Bonet Sanjuan, track and field athlete in the sports sections of the FUE, secretary general of the Socialist Youth (JSU) of Valencia and one of the members of the steering committee of the Yacht Club in Valencia during the war, was imprisoned in the concentration camp of Albatera (Alicante) and then in the Model prison in Valencia.

The Porta Coeli prison was the destination of the track and field athlete Manolo Torres; his wife, the track and field athlete Juana Reynés also went through different Francoist prisons.

Not only athletes suffered the repression. The sports journalist Rafael Hernández «Zafirilla» was imprisoned and torturied after the war. Upon release from prison, he managed to continue his journalistic work under the pseudonym «El duende de las casetas».

Exile

For the Republicans, a defeat even bigger than the loss of the war was in many cases the exile of many of the vanquished.

Nieto and Sirio – players of the Gimnástico FC during the war – fled to France. Nieto returned to Spain, where he continued playing football; Sirio played football in Racing of Paris.

France was also the destination of Salvador Artigas, Levante FC player and Republican Air Force pilot during the war. Once in France, he was interned in the concentration camp at Gurs. From there he went on to play in the FC Girondins de Bordeaux, where Paco Mateos and Domingo Torredelot – players of the Valencia FC –, were also exiled. The player of Gimnástico FC, Félix de los Heros «Tache», was signed by FC Barcelona to play some football matches in Mexico, where he remained, never coming back to Spain.

The boxer Jose Martinez Valero, «El tigre de Alfara», had been European heavyweight champion in 1934. In the early months of the conflict, he joined the Republican militia and supported the revolutionary committee of his city, Alfara del Patriarca. Martinez also actively participated in the reorganization of the Valencian Federation of boxing starting in September of 1936. Subsequently, Martinez, began to participate in boxing matches in Europe and South America. He traveled to Argentina in March 1938, where he lived until the end of its life on October 13, 1963. José Martinez never returned to his homeland.

Argentina was also the destination of Pepe Lacombo. The best track and field athlete in the history of Valencia, he was several times champion of Spain in high, long and triple jump, in addition to being a physical education teacher and sports journalist. During the war he participated actively in the defense of the Republic. In addition, during these years he was responsible for the activities of the «Frente Popular Deportivo» of Valencia and continued to participate in track and field championships. He represented Spain in the International Workers’ Olympiad in Antwerp, in the summer of 1937; he was also instructor of physical education in the Republican army.

Another famous Valencian exile closely linked with Valencian sport was Jose Ballester Gozalvo, professor, lawyer, journalist, and founding president of Levante FC. In 1928, he moved to Toledo, where he was professor, deputy mayor and later parliamentarian in the Constituent Assembly of the Second Spanish Republic.
He was Director General of Primary Education, military auditor general of Catalonia during the war, and legal counsel to the President of the Council of Ministers. The Republican defeat forced him into exile; he died in Paris in 1970 (Bens et al., 2009).

Also we should mention Manuel Usano Martín, athlete, president of different sports federations, teacher of physical education, and brilliant researcher in medicine and the science of physical activity and sport. He is the best example of the generation lost after the Civil War in the science of physical activity and sport in Valencia (Martínez Gorroño, 2003). Usano participated in the health services of the Republican Army during the war. Later he lived in France, Colombia and the United States.

Alejandra Soler, track and field athlete and communist militant, went into exile in the Soviet Union after the Spanish Civil War. In July 1942 he accompanied the Spanish «children of war» evacuees to the USSR, where he lived through the siege and the battle of Stalingrad. In 1971, he was able to return to Valencia, where still lives.

Disqualifications

In another form of repression, people with ideas contrary to the new political model were disqualified from holding positions of responsibility or public jobs. José Llorca Rodríguez, founding partner of Valencia FC, sports journalist and employee of the City of Valencia, lost his job because of his membership in Freemasonry.

The Ballester Gozalvo family, very closely linked to the origins of football in Valencia, suffered the depuration that the Francoist authorities implemented among the teachers of public schools to eliminate any progressive influence in the classroom. For that reason six members of this family were purged from the school system: Enrique, Desamparados, Elvira, Juan Bautista, Enriqueta and Julia.

Up to this point we have referred to the sanctions applied by the civil and military authorities, but these were not the only sanctions. Francoist sports authorities also imposed their own punishments. The process of ideological cleansing of all individuals associated with the vanquished, and the enemies of the «New Spain», was directed by the Francoist authorities. They reviewed every social stratum and sport was not an exception.

Onofre Lerma Rodilla, footballer of the Valencia FC, was sanctioned for two-and-a-half years for having fled from Spain during the war. Curiously, this player was also punished by the Republican sports authorities for the same reason, when he failed to return to Spain after his participation in the International Workers’ Olympiad in Antwerp, in 1937.

Other athletes were luckier and were considered «exempt from punishment». This was the case of the players of Valencia FC, Carlos Iturraspe Cuevas (who was one of the members of the steering committee of the club during the war), Juan Melenchón Pérez, and Simon Lecue Andrade (who belonged to Real Madrid CF but played with Valencia FC during those years and also joined the Republican Army).

As a result of these purges, for example, of the 60 Valencian Federation football referees that existed before the war, only 28 continued in the postwar era.

Another collective involved in the depuration process was the teachers and assistant teachers of physical education, created in Valencia in July of 1937. These studies were not officially recognized by the government of General Franco. The task of overseeing education and sports training was put in the hands of people related to the new regime – especially combatants – many of them without adequate training in sport and physical activity.

Sporting sanctions

This ideological cleansing also affected the championships contested during the war, as well as transfers and assignments of players made during the war years. Not only in football were results and championships annulled; in other sports, such as track and field, records achieved in those years were not taken into account. This was the case of track and field athletes Valencians José Lacomba (long jump) and José Martí (javelin), whose regional records were not validated by the new sports authorities (Agulló, 2008). With these decisions, the regime tried to bring to an end the practice of sport in Republican Spain during the war.

Similarly, after the war, the football teams of the regional federations that belonged to Republican Spain were unable to participate in the first state championship organized by the Spanish Football Federation because they were immersed in their respective bugging processes. In one way or another, these clubs were directly or indirectly sanctioned, although the sporting authorities did not mention this term. The possibility that a football team from Republican Spain could win the first official competition after the war was something that the Francoist authorities could not accept; for that reason, they were not allowed to participate.

Repression of women

The repression suffered by female athletes, regardless of their political ideology, has traditionally been little discussed in the various studies that have been done on sport after the Civil War.

Before addressing this point, we must bear in mind the fact that in Valencia it was during the years of the Second Republic that women began to extricate themselves from «traditional» patterns and stereotypes of feminine behavior. Women began to have a greater capacity for action and participation in society, which was a novelty in comparison with the previous period, and even more for what came after the war. In this social context, female sport began to be more common and more visible, despite the fact that the number of
practitioners was still very small and almost in its entirety belonged to the highest classes of society. In Valencia, the first serious attempt to promote sport among women in other social classes—mainly members of the petty bourgeoisie and workers—occurred during the years of the Civil War.

The right of women to participate in sport was defended by different political and union organizations. Socialists, communists and anarchists acted decisively in favor of the women’s sports movement. Not only political organizations but also, at the institutional level, the Government of the Republic favored women’s sport. The result of this work was, for example, the organization in the city of Valencia of gymnastics groups and women’s basketball championships during these years.

Unfortunately, all the effort made in favor of the normalization of female sport was truncated with Franco’s victory and with the imposition of a model of society based on, among other aspects, the traditional role of women, away from the world of sport and consequently of its practice. In Valencia, it would not be until 1963 when Falange, the single party of the Franco regime, through its Women’s Section, again authorized sport in school and university age, on condition that it be practiced with «decency» (Agulló & Agulló, 2013).

The new political control of the sport

With the end of the war, the life of the country developed in a manner very different from the years prior to the conflict. Sport did not escape the directives of the new regime, which was structured in the political, social and ideological context borne of the ideas of the victorious side. Within the strict control system, designed by the Franco regime, was the «Delegación Nacional de Deportes», framed in the structure of the single party, the «Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS», which assumed all powers related to sport and physical education in Spain. The organization and control of sport by the Francoist authorities was an important novelty with respect to previous political systems, since neither during the period of the monarchy nor in the Second Republic, had there been a state agency to coordinate Spanish sport.

The «National Delegation of Sports» exercised almost total control; for example, it was responsible for drafting the statutes of the sports federations and appointing the national federative chairman and vice-chairman. These in turn appointed the presidents and vice-presidents of the regional federations, contrary to what had happened until 1936. Likewise, the statutes of sports clubs were only approved if they explicitly accepted the authority of the «Delegación Nacional de Deportes» (Santacana, 2006). In Valencia, the «Delegación Provincial de Deportes» started its activities in May 1939, just a month after the war ended.

Many teams and sports federations had among their new chairmen military or sympathizers of the Franco regime, sometimes imposed by the national federations and sometimes by the free will of the clubs. Clubs often pursued this strategy to win legitimacy and, at the same time, cleanse their Republican pasts. Prominent members of the army and Falange presided over the sports clubs and federations. This was the case of Commander Giménez Buesa (president of the Valencia FC and provincial delegate for boxing), captain Federico Ingles Selles (president of the Valencia Federation of track and field Athletics), and Enrique Molina (Falangist and former player of the Valencia FC, who was president of the Valencian Federation of Basque Pelota).

This was another form of repression, more subtle than the previous, but it was a way to eliminate any form of democracy in response to the totalitarian nature of the new regime. With this measure, governance of the sport clubs varied substantially depending on their situation before the war, and due to the disappearance of annual meetings and elections in sports organizations.

Another consequence of the repression was the change in the names of sports clubs and entities ordered by the Spanish Olympic Committee, which affected all clubs with foreign names or with names containing foreign terms. An example of this was the name changes of the Sporting Club, which became the Club de Tenis Valencia, and Valencia Foot-ball Club, which became the more Spanish Valencia Club de Fútbol. Not only clubs with foreign names were forced to alter their names. Also names in Valencian were replaced by names in Spanish; thus the Olímpico Xàtiva became Olímpico de Játiva.

Repression after 1945

Coinciding with the end of the Second World War and the defeat of totalitarian regimes in Germany and Italy (allies of Franco during the Spanish civil war), this systematic repression and brutal gradually lost intensity, as a way to win the sympathy of the USA and Great Britain, the two great powers of the Western world.

In Valencia, repression, along with factors such as the poor state of sports facilities and poverty, reduced significantly the number of athletes. This in turn limited any individual athlete’s chances of success as well as reducing the popularity of sports among the population. This situation would not be rectified until the final decades of the Franco regime and the first years of the democracy.

Conclusions

The Civil War marked the life of Valencia in all aspects and sport was no exception. We can say that there is a «before» and an «after» the armed conflict.

Many sportsmen in Valencia defended the Republic. At the end of the war, some were exiled and those who remained in Spain were punished.

The Franco regime prevented any disagreement or opposition and any memory of the deposed Republican
Sports in Valencia during the early years of the Franco regime (1939-1945). Political repression and control


El deporte en Valencia durante los primeros años del régimen franquista (1939-1945). La represión política y el control

Resumen. La ciudad y la provincia de Valencia no sufrieron la represión franquista hasta el fin de la guerra, ya que fue uno de los últimos territorios en ser conquistados por las fuerzas de Franco. Así, en abril de 1939, empezó una campaña de represión para eliminar cualquier cosa que pudiera recordar a la situación previa al 18 de julio de 1936. El mundo del deporte no escapó de este brutal proceso, diseñado para poner fin a cualquier atisbo de disidencia. La represión se aplicó de forma sistemática, afectando tanto a individuos (deportistas, administradores deportivos, maestros de educación física, periodistas) como a colectivos (clubes, federaciones y asociaciones deportivas, etc.). Las consecuencias de tal proceso para las personas clasificadas como «enemigos» del nuevo régimen fueron diversas: condenas a muerte, prisión, exilio, multas económicas, depuraciones laborales. Incluso se aplicaron fuertes sanciones en el deporte. Del mismo modo, las nuevas autoridades políticas ejercieron un control absoluto sobre los clubes y las federaciones deportivas con el fin de prevenir cualquier forma de oposición al nuevo régimen.

Palabras clave: posguerra; franquismo; represión; deporte; Valencia

References


