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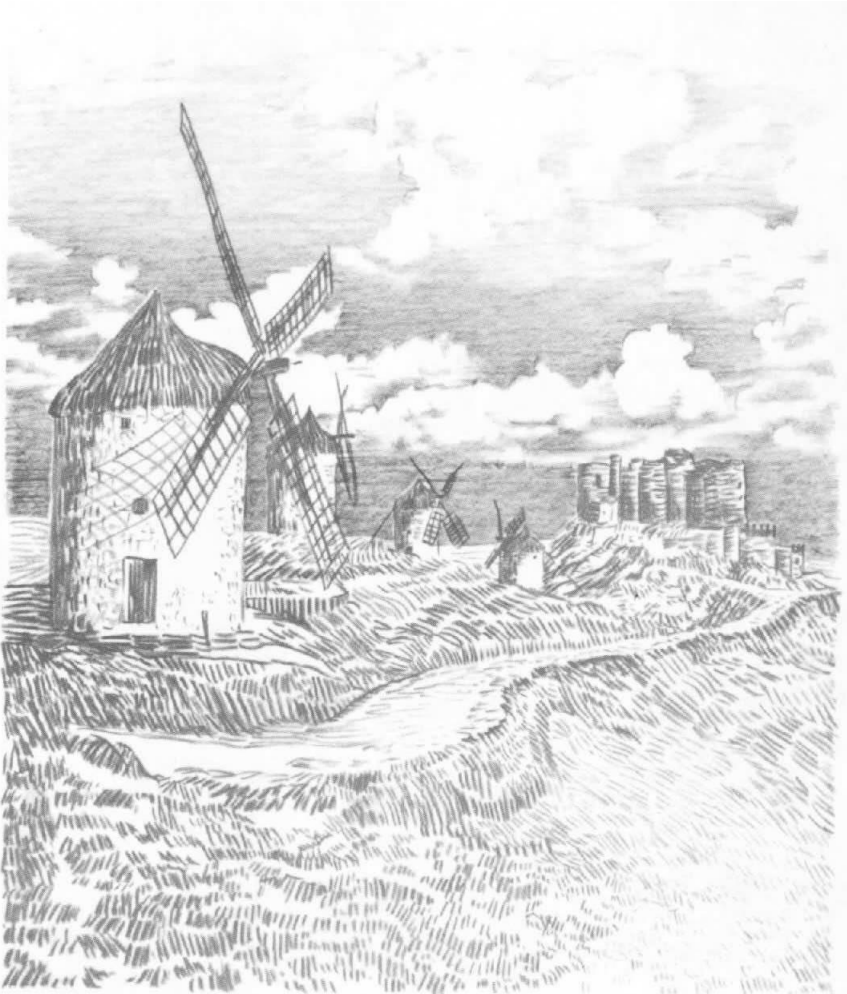
Spain

a country study



Spain a country study

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Foreword

This volume is one in a continuing series of books now being prepared by the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress under the Country Studies—Area Handbook Program. The last page of this book lists the other published studies.

Most books in the series deal with a particular foreign country, describing and analyzing its political, economic, social, and national security systems and institutions, and examining the interrelationships of those systems and the ways they are shaped by cultural factors. Each study is written by a multidisciplinary team of social scientists. The authors seek to provide a basic understanding of the observed society, striving for a dynamic rather than a static portrayal. Particular attention is devoted to the people who make up the society, their origins, dominant beliefs and values, their common interests and the issues on which they are divided, the nature and extent of their involvement with national institutions, and their attitudes toward each other and toward their social system and political order.

The books represent the analysis of the authors and should not be construed as an expression of an official United States government position, policy, or decision. The authors have sought to adhere to accepted standards of scholarly objectivity. Corrections, additions, and suggestions for changes from readers will be welcomed for use in future editions.

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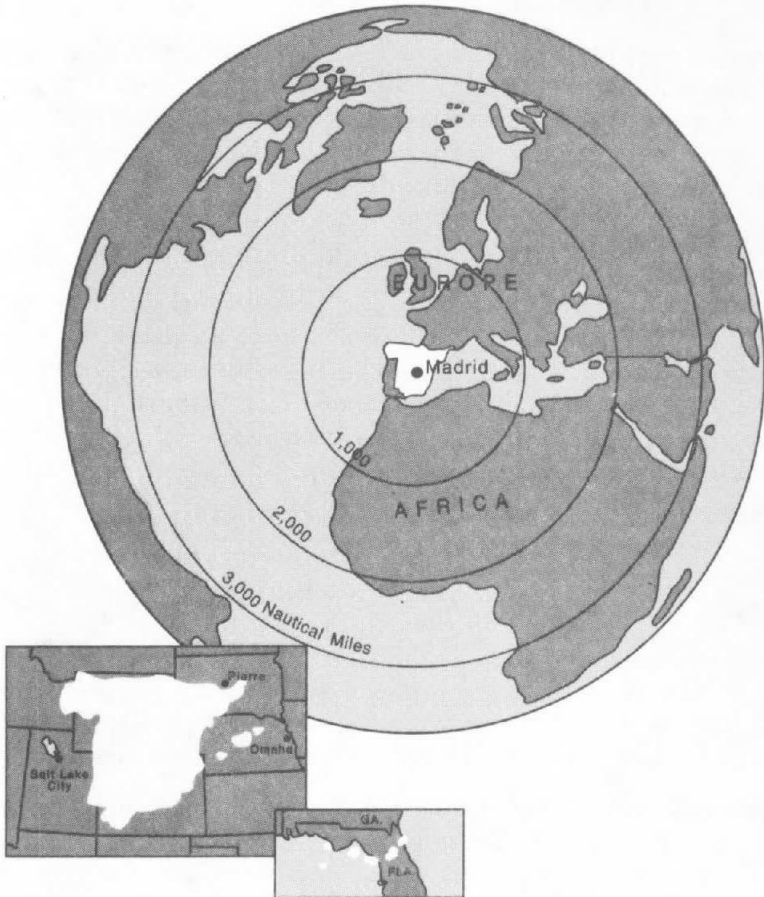
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Preface

Like its predecessor, this study is an attempt to treat in a compact and objective manner the dominant historical, social, economic, political, and military aspects of contemporary Spain. Sources of information included scholarly books, journals, and monographs, official reports of governments and international organizations, numerous periodicals, and interviews with individuals having special competence in Spanish affairs. Chapter bibliographies appear at the end of the book; brief comments on sources recommended for further reading appear at the end of each chapter. Measurements are given in the metric system; a conversion table is provided to assist readers unfamiliar with metric measurements (see table 1, Appendix). A glossary is also included.

Although there are numerous variations, Spanish surnames generally consist of two parts: the patrilineal name followed by the matrilineal. In the instance of Felipe González Márquez, for example, González is his father's surname, and Márquez, his mother's maiden name. In non-formal use, the matrilineal name is often dropped. Thus, after the first mention, we have usually referred simply to González. A minority of individuals use only the patrilineal name.

Country Profile



Country

Formal Name: Spanish State.

Short Form: Spain.

Term for Citizens: Spaniard(s).

Capital: Madrid.

Geography

Size: Peninsular Spain covers 492,503 square kilometers. Spanish

territory also encompasses the Balearic Islands (Spanish, *Islas Baleares*) in the Mediterranean Sea and the Canary Islands (Spanish, *Canarias*) in the Atlantic Ocean, as well as the city enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in North Africa.

Topography: Peninsular landmass predominantly a vast highland plateau—the Meseta Central—surrounded and dissected by mountain ranges. Major lowland areas include narrow coastal plains, Andalusian Plain in southwest, and Ebro Basin in northeast. Islands, especially Canary Islands, mountainous.

Climate: Predominantly continental climate with hot, dry summers and rather harsh, cold winters. Wide diurnal and seasonal variations in temperature and low, irregular rainfall. Maritime climate prevails in northern part of country, characterized by relatively mild winters, warm but not hot summers, and generally abundant rainfall spread throughout year. Slight diurnal and seasonal variations in temperature. Mediterranean climate experienced from Andalusian Plain along south and east coasts, characterized by irregular, inadequate rainfall, mostly in autumn and winter.

Society

Population: 38.8 million in 1986. Projected 40 million by 1990, 42 million by 2000. Rate of annual growth from 0.8 percent to 1.2 percent from 1930s to 1980s. Growth rates expected to level off or to decline slightly for remainder of twentieth century.

Education and Literacy: Primary education (age six to fourteen) free and compulsory. Insufficient number of state schools and teachers to meet this goal and rising enrollment. Gap filled by private schools subsidized by state. By early 1980s, 40 percent of all schools private. By 1965 country had achieved nearly universal enrollment in primary grades. Secondary school attendance optional, but students deciding not to attend secondary school had to attend vocational training until age sixteen. In 1985 estimated 89 percent of students did attend secondary school, and 26 percent attended university. Adult population 94–97 percent literate in late 1980s.

Health: Uneven provision of health care. Maldistribution of health care resources of state's welfare system resulted in poor service in many areas, especially working-class neighborhoods of large cities. High ratio of doctors to inhabitants, but low ratio of nurses to inhabitants and relatively low public expenditures on health care

compared with other West European countries. Tuberculosis, typhoid, and leprosy not eradicated. Infant mortality rate 10 per 1,000 in 1985. Life expectancy seventy-four years for males and eighty for females in late 1980s.

Languages: Castilian Spanish official language and dominant in usage, especially in formal settings, but estimated one of four Spanish citizens had a different mother tongue. New 1978 Constitution allows for other languages to be “co-official” within respective autonomous communities. Catalan, Galician, Euskera (the Basque language), Valencian, and Majorcan had such status by 1988.

Ethnic Groups: Spanish state encompassed numerous distinct ethnic and cultural minorities. New 1978 Constitution recognizes and guarantees autonomy of nationalities and regions making up Spanish state, and seventeen autonomous communities existed in late 1980s. Major ethnic groups: Basques, Catalans, Galicians, Andalusians, Valencians, Asturians, Navarrese, and Aragonese. Also small number of Gypsies. Ethno-nationalistic sentiment and commitment to the ethnic homeland varied among and within ethnic communities. Nationalist and separatist sentiment ran deepest among Basques.

Religion: 99 percent nominally Roman Catholic. Other 1 percent mostly other Christian faiths. Small Jewish community. Society generally becoming more secular as society and economy became more modern and developed. Religious freedom guaranteed by 1978 Constitution, which formally disestablishes Roman Catholicism as official religion. But church still enjoyed somewhat privileged status. Continuing government financial aid to church was contentious issue in late 1980s.

Economy

Gross Domestic Product (GDP): US\$340.1 billion in 1988 (US\$8,702 per capita). Economy stagnant during late 1970s and first half of 1980s, but real gross domestic product (GDP—see Glossary) growth averaged 3.3 percent in 1986 and 5.5 percent in 1987, roughly double the West European rate.

Agriculture: Made up about 5 percent of GDP in 1988 and employed about 15 percent of population. Very important producer of citrus fruits, olive oil, vegetables, and wine. Agricultural products made up more than 15 percent of country’s exports. Productive and modern farming along southern and eastern coasts able to meet foreign competition. Small antiquated farms of northwestern region threatened by Spain’s membership in European Community (EC—see Glossary).

Industry: Made up about 30 percent of GDP and employed about one-third of work force in late 1980s. Consisted of unprofitable heavy industry segment, mainly government-owned, and profitable chemical and manufacturing components that accounted for most of Spain's exports.

Services: Accounted for about half of GDP in 1988. Tourism vital to the economy, and it alone made up about a tenth of GDP. In 1987 more than 50 million foreign tourists visited Spain.

Imports: US\$49.1 billion in 1987. Because of a surging economy, approximately one-fourth of this amount consisted of capital goods and about one-fifth of consumer goods. Fuels made up approximately one-sixth.

Exports: US\$34.2 billion in 1987. Raw materials, chemicals, and unfinished goods made up about one-third of this amount, as did non-food consumer goods, most notably cars and trucks. Agricultural products and wine supplied about one-sixth of total exports.

Major Trade Partners: In 1987 63.8 percent of Spain's exports went to the EC, which supplied Spain with 54.6 of its imports. France was single biggest buyer of Spanish exports, taking 18.9 percent in 1987. Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) most important exporter to Spain, supplying 16.1 percent that year. United States accounted, respectively, for 8.3 and 8.1 of Spain's imports and exports.

Balance of Payments: Spain without a positive merchandise balance since 1960. However, large earnings from tourism and remittances from Spaniards working abroad guaranteed a positive current account balance up through 1987.

General Economic Conditions: Strong growth since mid-1980s and controlled inflation made Spain's economy one of Western Europe's healthiest. Full membership in EC posed a threat for weaker sectors of the economy, both industrial and agricultural. Spain had long had Western Europe's highest unemployment rate, more than 20 percent.

Exchange Rate: In March 1988, 113.49 pesetas (see Glossary) to US\$1.

Fiscal year: Calendar year.

Transportation and Communications

Railroads: State railroad system in late 1980s covered about 13,000 kilometers, half of which electrified. This national system used a

broad gauge. A smaller state-owned system, operating mainly in suburban areas of some northern cities, had over 1,000 kilometers of narrow-gauge track in operation. In addition, there were some small private railroads. Major modernization program for main state system began in late 1980s.

Roads: Total road network amounted to about 320,000 kilometers in 1986, of which 2,000 kilometers were super highways and about 20,000 were main roads. In 1980s roads were most important means of moving people and goods.

Ports: About 200, of which 10 largest—Cartagena, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Bilbao, Barcelona, Gijón, Avilés, Puerto de la Luz, Huelva, Valencia, and Seville (Spanish, Sevilla)—accounted for 75 percent of shipping.

Civil Airports: About forty. Half of these could receive international flights.

Telecommunications: Generally adequate facilities. Telephone system operated by government company that was in process of modernizing the network. Countrywide radio and television reception. International communication provided by numerous coaxial submarine cables and two satellite ground stations.

Government and Politics

National Government: Parliamentary monarchy with hereditary constitutional monarch as head of state. Under 1978 Constitution, power centered in bicameral legislature—the Cortes (comprising lower house, Congress of Deputies, and upper house, Senate). Both houses elected by universal suffrage every four years (unless parliament dissolved earlier by head of state), but 350-member Congress of Deputies uses proportional representation system, whereas Senate contains 208 members elected directly as well as 49 regional representatives. Congress of Deputies wields greater legislative power. Leader of dominant political party in Cortes designated prime minister and serves as head of government. Prime minister, deputy prime minister, and cabinet ministers together make up Council of Ministers, highest national executive institution with both policy-making and administrative functions. Constitution also establishes independent judiciary. Judicial system headed by Supreme Court. Also includes territorial courts, regional courts, provincial courts, courts of first instance, and municipal courts. Constitutional Court resolves constitutional questions. Twenty-member General Council of the Judiciary appoints judges and maintains ethical standards within legal profession. Constitution

also provides for public prosecutor and public defender to protect both rule of law and rights of citizens. In 1980s legal system plagued by severe shortage of funds, which resulted in persistent delays in bringing cases to trial. Major revision of Penal Code under way in late 1980s. Government staffed by professional civil service, traditionally inefficient and cumbersome. Attempts to reform and to streamline it under way since 1982 but not fully successful.

Regional Government: Traditionally rigidly centralized, unitary state; however, 1978 Constitution recognizes and guarantees right to autonomy of nationalities and regions of which state is composed. In late 1980s, national territory divided among seventeen autonomous communities, each encompassing one or more previously existing provinces. Each autonomous community governed by statute of autonomy providing for unicameral legislative assembly elected by universal suffrage. Assembly members select president from their ranks. Executive and administrative power exercised by Council of Government, headed by president and responsible to assembly. Division of powers between central government and autonomous communities imprecise and ambiguous in late 1980s, but state had ultimate responsibility for financial matters and so could exercise a significant degree of control over autonomous community activities. Another means of control provided by presence in each region of central government delegate appointed by Council of Ministers to monitor regional activities. Provincial government remained centralized in late 1980s. Headed by civil governors appointed by prime minister, usually political appointees. Provincial government administered by provincial council elected from among subordinate municipal council members and headed by president. Special provisions for Basque provinces, single-province autonomous communities, and Balearic and Canary Islands, as well as North African enclaves.

National Politics: Following death of Francisco Franco y Bahamonde in November 1975, King Juan Carlos de Borbón engineered transition to democracy that resulted in transformation of dictatorial regime into pluralistic, parliamentary democracy. Prior to advent of participatory democracy, little political involvement by citizens. Under Franco, Spanish society essentially depoliticized. But after forty years without elections, parties revived and proliferated in months following Franco's death. In elections of June 1977, party receiving largest number of votes was Union of the Democratic Center (Unión de Centro Democrático—UCD), a centrist coalition led by Adolfo Suárez González. Leading opposition party Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (Partido Socialista Obrero

Español—PSOE) led by Felipe González Márquez. Country increasingly disillusioned, however, by UCD government. UCD, essentially a pragmatic electoral coalition, never developed coherent political program. Its brief success due almost entirely to charisma of Suárez. In October 1982 elections, PSOE registered a sweeping victory. Role of opposition party went to conservative Popular Alliance (Alianza Popular—AP). PSOE able to form first majority one-party government since Civil War. Popularity of Socialist government confirmed in May 1983 municipal and regional elections. PSOE adopted generally pragmatic rather than ideological approach to pressing economic problems. Also undertook military and educational reforms, attempted to resolve problem of Basque terrorism, and sought to develop more active international role for Spain. González called for early elections in June 1986, and, although losing some seats, PSOE retained control of Cortes. Official opposition embodied in Popular Coalition (Coalición Popular—CP), which included AP, Popular Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata Popular—PDP), and Liberal Party (Partido Liberal—PL). But 1986 elections also saw significant support for Democratic and Social Center (Centro Democrático y Social—CDS) under Suárez. Many observers believed CDS had potential to develop into major opposition party, given disarray at ends of political spectrum and growing move of party politics to center. After 1986 elections, Socialists faced increasing popular discontent, and polls indicated decline in confidence in González.

Regional Politics: In addition to major national parties and their regional affiliates, political party system included numerous regional parties that participated in regional elections and, in the case of the larger parties, also in national elections. Most prominent mainstream parties were Basque Nationalist Party (Partido Nacionalista Vasco—PNV) and Convergence and Union (Convergència i Unió—CiU), a Catalan party. Catalan parties generally pragmatic and moderate, but some Basque parties regarded as extremist and leftist with ties to terrorist organizations.

Foreign Relations: Traditionally isolated from mainstream European affairs. Neutral in both world wars and ostracized during early rule of Franco because of Franco's Fascist ties and dictatorial regime. But because of strategic location at western entrance to Mediterranean, drawn into United States orbit during Cold War. Signed defense agreement with United States in 1953, subsequently renewed at regular intervals. Nevertheless, latent anti-Americanism persisted. Also permitted to join United Nations (UN). Following Franco's death in 1975, main diplomatic goal to establish closer

ties with Western Europe and to be recognized as a West European democratic society. Became member of Council of Europe (see Glossary) in 1977, EC in 1986, and Western European Union (WEU) in 1988. Had already joined North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1982, but membership controversial within Spain. Socialists initially opposed membership, but ultimately came to support limited membership, and public referendum in March 1986 confirmed Spain's membership. Other major foreign policy objectives to increase Spanish influence in Latin America, to achieve return of sovereignty over Gibraltar to Spain, and to serve as bridge between Western Europe and Arab world, in which Spain had adopted generally pro-Arab stance. Latter goal complicated somewhat by Spain's involvement with Morocco in dispute over sovereignty of Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla.

International Agreements and Memberships: Member of UN and its specialized agencies, International Monetary Fund (IMF—see Glossary), World Bank, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD—see Glossary). Within Europe, member of Council of Europe, EC, WEU, and NATO. Also member of Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and had observer status in Andean Pact and Organization of American States (OAS). Bilateral military agreements with United States begun in 1953 and subsequently renewed.

National Security

Armed Forces (1987): Total personnel on active duty, 320,300, of which about 200,000 conscripts serving for twelve months. Reserves totaled 1,085,000. Component services were army of 240,000 troops, navy of 47,300 (including 11,500 marines), and air force of 33,000.

Major Tactical Military Units: Army had five divisions comprising eleven brigades: one armored division with two brigades, one motorized division with three brigades, one mechanized division with two brigades, and two mountain divisions each consisting of two brigades. Other units included four independent brigades, two armored cavalry brigades, one airborne brigade, and one paratroop brigade—and Spanish Legion of 8,500 troops. All stationed in peninsular Spain except 19,000 troops in North African enclaves, 10,000 in Canary Islands, and 5,800 in Balearic Islands. Navy combat forces included small carrier group, submarines, and missile-armed fast attack craft. Protective forces included destroyers,

frigates, corvettes, and minesweepers. Air force had seven squadrons of fighter-bomber-interceptors in Combat Air Command (Mando Aéreo de Combate—MACOM), ten squadrons of ground support aircraft in Tactical Air Command (Mando Aéreo Táctico—NATAC), moderate airlift and refueling capacity in Air Transport Command (Mando Aéreo de Transporte—MATRA), and mixed capabilities in Canary Islands Air Command (Mando Aéreo de Canarias—MACAN).

Military Equipment (1987): Army had about 1,000 tanks, 1,200 armored personnel carriers, 650 other armored vehicles, 1,300 towed and self-propelled artillery pieces, 28 multiple rocket launchers, 1,200 mortars, 1,000 antitank and antiaircraft weapons, and 180 helicopters. Main operational units of navy were one small aircraft carrier, eight submarines, eight frigates, nine destroyers, ten corvettes, and twelve fast-attack craft. Air force had more than 200 fighter aircraft, mostly of 1960s vintage, but was in process of acquiring 72 advanced F-18 Hornets from United States.

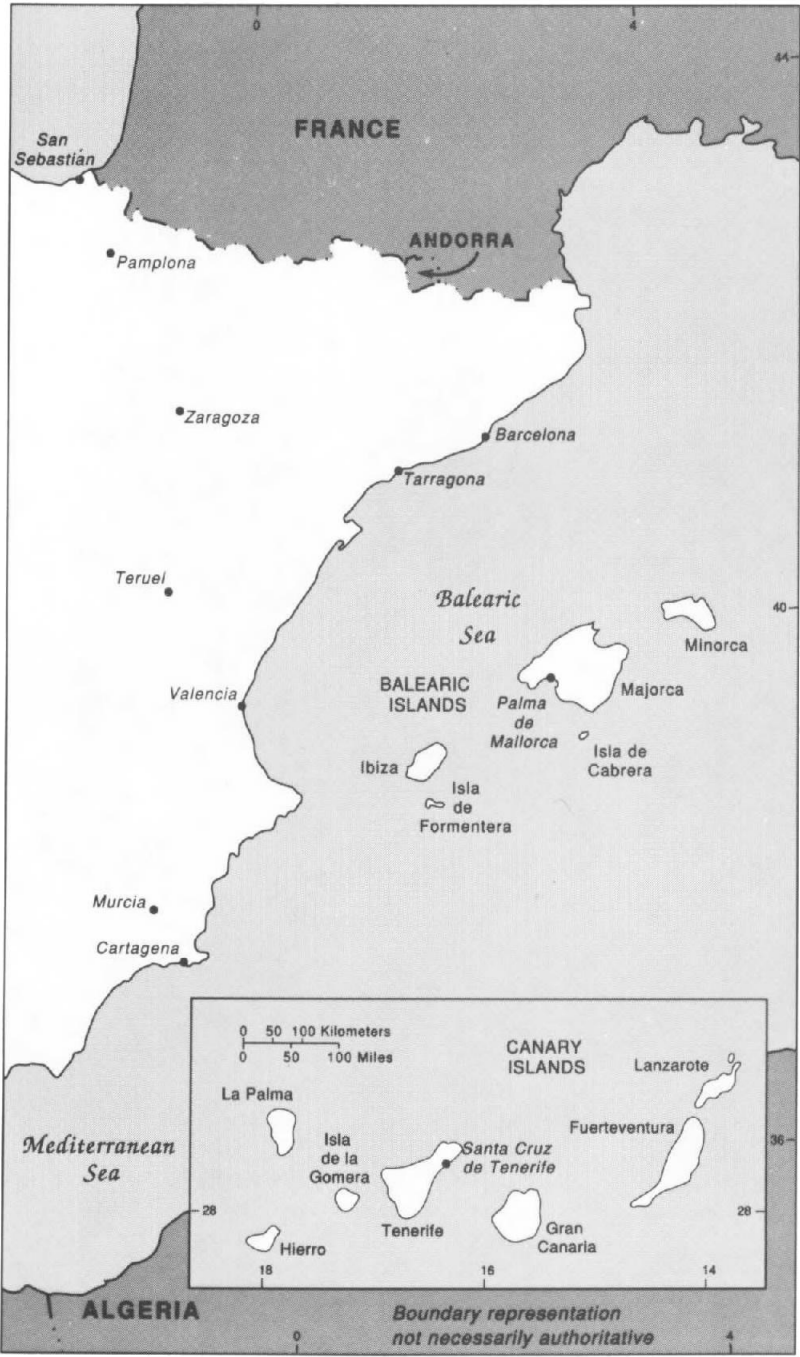
Military Budget (1988): Defense budget of US\$6.93 billion was 2 percent of GDP. Military expenditures among lowest in NATO on per capita basis and as ratio of GDP.

Foreign Military Treaties: Bilateral military agreement with United States, signed in 1953 and periodically renewed, covers United States use of four bases and several communications sites in Spain. Spain joined NATO in 1982 but rejected military integration, storage of nuclear weapons on Spanish territory, and use of Spanish forces abroad.

Internal Security Forces: Principal security agencies were Civil Guard (force of 65,000 plus 9,000 auxiliaries) policing rural areas and National Police Corps (Cuerpo Nacional de Policía) of about 50,000 uniformed and 9,000 plainclothes officers in communities of more than 20,000 inhabitants. Special Civil Guard and National Police Corps units engaged against Basque extremists and other terrorists. These national forces controlled by Ministry of Interior supplemented by locally controlled municipal police and regional police forces of three autonomous communities.



Figure 1. Spain, 1988



Introduction

SINCE THE LATE 1950s, Spain has been transformed. A stagnant, inefficient economy, with a large and backward agricultural sector, has become one of the most dynamic in Western Europe and often produces the continent's highest growth rates. This transformation brought with it tremendous changes in where Spaniards lived, in how they earned their livelihoods, and in their standard of living. It also came to mean that Spain, long sealed off from the social changes of Western Europe by a reactionary authoritarian regime, gradually opened up and, in the course of a single generation, adopted the living habits and the attitudes of its more advanced neighbors. Most striking of all were two political events. The first, the fashioning of a working democracy that most Spaniards supported, was unique in the country's history. Perhaps equally pathbreaking was the attainment of varying degrees of autonomy by the country's regions, in a radical departure from a centuries-old tradition of centralized control from Madrid.

Only since the early 1960s have the doctrines of economic liberalism been widely practiced in Spain. Traditional policy was based on high tariffs, protectionism, and a striving for economic self-sufficiency, practices which resulted in a backward Spanish economy in 1960. At that time, agriculture was still very important because slightly under half of the population earned its living working on farms. The manufacturing sector consisted mainly of small, privately owned firms, using outmoded methods of production, or of large, inefficient, state-run enterprises, specializing in heavy industry. Only the Basque Country (Spanish, País Vasco; Basque, Euskadi) and Catalonia (Spanish, Cataluña; Catalan, Catalunya) had experienced an industrial revolution, but both the former's heavy industry and the latter's textile production were dependent on the domestic market for sales and on protection from foreign competition.

Spanish industry had profited hugely from World War I, but, once peace returned, it was unable to meet the demands of free trade. Therefore, the government resorted to traditional protectionism to keep the country's businesses running. The Civil War of 1936-39 so devastated the economy that the living standards of the mid-1930s were not matched again until the early 1950s. The political regime established by the war's victor, Francisco Franco y Bahamonde, showed its essentially traditional character by embracing the principle of national economic self-sufficiency

and by codifying it into the doctrine of autarchy. Stringent import controls and extensive state participation in the industrial sector, through large state-owned and state-operated enterprises, became characteristic features of the economy. Protectionism preserved inefficient businesses, and state controls prevented agricultural innovation or made it pointless. Labor was rigidly controlled, but job security was provided in return.

While Western Europe's economies experienced a miraculous rebirth in the 1950s, Spain's economy remained dormant. Lack of growth eventually forced the Franco regime to countenance introduction of liberal economic policies in the late 1950s. The so-called Stabilization Plan of 1959 did away with many import restrictions; imposed temporary wage freezes; devalued the nation's currency, the peseta (for value of the peseta—see Glossary); tied Spain's financial and banking operations more closely to those of the rest of Europe; and encouraged foreign investment. After a painful start, the economy took off in the early 1960s, and, during the next decade, it grew at an astonishing pace. The Spanish gross national product (GNP—see Glossary) expanded at a rate twice that of the rest of Western Europe. Production per worker doubled, while wages tripled. Exports grew by 12 percent a year, and imports increased by 17 percent annually. Between 1960 and 1975, agriculture's share of the economically active population fell by almost half, while the manufacturing and service sectors' shares each rose by nearly a third. Some of this growth was caused by tourism, which brought tens of millions of Europeans to Spain each year, and by the remittances of Spaniards working abroad. Without the liberalization of the economy, however, the overall gains would not have been possible. Liberalization forced the economy to be more market-oriented, and it exposed Spanish businesses to foreign competition.

The first and the second oil crises of the 1970s ended this extraordinary boom. An excessive dependence on foreign oil, insufficient long-term investments, structural defects, and spiraling wage costs made Spain unusually susceptible to the effects of the worldwide economic slump of the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Spain's economy languished until the second half of the 1980s, and during this time the country was afflicted by an unemployment rate that often exceeded 20 percent, higher than that of any other major West European country.

The sensational victory of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE) in the national election of 1982 gave it an absolute majority in Spain's Parliament, the Cortes, and allowed it to introduce further liberal economic

measures that previous weak governments could not consider. The Socialist government, headed by the party leader and prime minister, Felipe González Márquez, opted for orthodox monetary and fiscal policies, for wage austerity, and for the scaling down of wasteful state enterprises. The government's policies began to bear fruit in the second half of the decade, when the economy once again had the fastest growth rates in Western Europe. Many large manufacturing companies and financial institutions had record-breaking profits, and inflation was kept under control.

One reason for the government's interest in reforming the economy was Spain's admission to the European Community (EC) in 1986. If the country were to benefit from EC membership, it would have to be able to meet unrestricted foreign competition. At the end of 1992, when a single EC market was to come into being, virtually all restrictions shielding Spain's economy against competition from other members of the organization would end. This change meant that Spanish firms had to be strong enough to thrive in a more rigorous commercial climate. In mid-1989 the peseta was believed to be sufficiently healthy for the country to join the European Monetary System (EMS), which tied the peseta to the other EC currencies. The country's financial institutions were undergoing a long strengthening process of reorganization and consolidation. Portions of the agricultural sector had also been modernized, and, given the advantage of Spain's Mediterranean climate, they were well poised to hold their own with the commercialized farming of other EC countries. In short, in thirty years Spain's economy had undergone a profound transformation and had joined the European mainstream.

The economic boom of the 1960s and the early 1970s had social effects that transformed Spain in a single generation. First, there was a great movement of population from the countryside to those urban areas that offered employment, mainly Madrid, Barcelona, and centers in the Basque Country. A rapid mechanization of agriculture (the number of tractors in Spain increased sixfold during the boom) made many agricultural workers redundant. The need for work and the desire for the better living standards offered in urban centers, spurred about five million Spaniards to leave the countryside during the 1960s and the early 1970s. More than one million went to other countries of Western Europe. The extent of migration was such that some areas in Extremadura and in the high Castilian plateau appeared nearly depopulated by the mid-1970s.

Urbanization in the 1960s and the 1970s caused cities to grow at an annual rate of 2.4 percent, and as early as 1970 migrants

accounted for about 26 percent of the population of Madrid and for 23 percent of that of Barcelona. After the mid-1970s, however, this mass migration slowed down appreciably, and some of the largest urban areas even registered a slight decrease in population in the 1980s.

Another result of the economic transformation was a dramatic rise in living standards. In the 1940s and the 1950s, many Spaniards were extremely poor, so much so that, for example, cigarettes could be bought singly. By the late 1980s, the country's per capita income amounted to more than US\$8,000 annually, somewhat lower than the West European average, but high enough for Spanish consumption patterns to resemble those of other EC countries. In 1960 there were 5 passenger cars per 1,000 inhabitants; in 1985, there were 240. In the same period, the number of television sets showed a similar increase, and the number of telephones per capita increased sixfold. Access to medical care was much better, and the infant mortality rate had decreased so greatly that it was lower than the EC average. In addition, many more Spaniards received higher education.

However, the economic boom was not an unmixed blessing. Housing in many urban regions was often scarce, expensive, and of poor quality. Although many new dwellings were built, the results were frequently unappealing, and there were unhealthy tracts of cramped apartment buildings with few amenities. City transportation systems never caught up with the influx of people, and the road network could not accommodate the explosion in car ownership made possible by increased incomes. An already inadequate social welfare system was also swamped by the waves of rural immigrants, often ill-prepared for life in an urban environment. Widespread unemployment among the young, usually estimated at about 40 percent in the late 1980s, caused hardship. Material need, coupled with a way of life remote from the habits and the restrictions of the rural villages from which most migrants came, often resulted in an upsurge of urban crime. The boom also had not touched all sections of the country. Some areas, for example, had twice the per capita income of others.

The material transformation of Spain was accompanied by a social transformation. The Roman Catholic Church lost, in a single generation, its role of social arbiter and monitor. Traditionally one of the most rigid and doctrinaire churches in Western Europe, the Spanish church had enjoyed a privileged role under the Franco regime. Although significant elements of the church had fought against oppressive aspects of the regime and for democracy, especially after the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), the church as

a whole had been comfortable with the regime. The church supervised the education system, supported the bans on divorce and abortion, and in general counseled submission to political authorities.

This close relationship ended after the death of Franco in 1975. The 1978 Constitution separates church and state, and it deprives Roman Catholicism of the status of official religion. Subsequent legislation brought education under secular control, liberalized press laws, permitted pornography; and, in the first half of the 1980s, both divorce and abortion became legal. More significant than these formal changes was the secularization of the Spanish people. Church attendance dropped significantly, and by the early 1980s only about 30 percent of Spaniards viewed themselves as practicing Roman Catholics, compared with 80 percent in the mid-1960s. Moreover, about 45 percent of Spaniards declared themselves indifferent, or even hostile, to religion. This attitude was reflected in the precipitous drop in the number of Spaniards choosing religious vocations, and it was evidence of the loss of religion's central place in many people's lives.

Another indication of the lessening importance of religion was the absence of any successful nationwide religious political party. Although there were impassioned debates about the legalization of divorce and about the proper role of the Roman Catholic Church in the national education system in the early 1980s, religion was no longer the highly divisive element it had so often been in Spanish politics, and the Roman Catholic Church refrained from endorsing political parties before elections. In contrast to the Second Republic (1931-36), when anticlericalism was a powerful force, many church-going members of leftist parties in the post-Franco era saw no contradiction between their political affiliations and regular church attendance.

Some secular creeds also lost the place they had once filled in public life. The anarchist movement that had been so important for most of the century up to the end of the Civil War was nearly extinct by the end of Franco's rule. Other left-wing movements that survived the years of Francoist oppression either adapted to the new economic and social circumstances or were marginalized. Old sets of political beliefs faded away in new economic and social conditions.

Social attitudes changed, too. Migration separated many people from old ways of thought. Moreover, the enormous influx of foreign tourists brought in new social and political attitudes, as did the movement of large numbers of Spanish workers back and forth between their country and the rest of Western Europe. Migration broke down the patron-client relationship that had been characteristic

of Spaniards' relationships with the government. Using informal personal networks and petitioning the well-placed to obtain desired government services became, within the space of a few decades, much less common. Persistent, but not wholly effective, reforms of the civil service also aimed at increasing the impartiality of public institutions.

Personal relations changed as well. The position of women improved as the legalization of divorce and birth control gave women more freedom than they had traditionally enjoyed. Although divorce was still not common in Spain in the 1980s, families had become smaller. The extended family continued to be more important in Spain than it was in Northern Europe, but it had lost much of its earlier significance. Legal reforms made women more equal before the law. The expanding economy of the 1960s and the late 1980s employed ever more women, although at a rate considerably below that in Northern Europe.

The social and the economic changes that occurred during the 1960s and the early 1970s convinced segments of the Franco regime that autocratic rule was no longer suitable for Spain and that a growing opposition could no longer be contained by traditional means. The death of Franco made change both imperative and possible. There was no one who could replace him. (His most likely successor had been assassinated in 1973.) Franco's absence allowed long-submerged forces to engage in open political activity. Over the course of the next three years, a new political order was put in place. A system of parliamentary democracy, rooted in a widely accepted modern constitution, was established. For the first time in Spanish history, a constitution was framed not by segments of society able to impose their will but by representatives of all significant groups, and it was approved in a referendum by the people as a whole.

Given the difficulties this process entailed, Spain was fortunate in several regards. In addition to a population ready for peaceful change, there was political leadership able to bring it about. A skilled Francoist bureaucrat, Adolfo Suárez González, guided the governmental apparatus of the Franco regime in disassembling itself and in participating peacefully in its own extinction. Another favorable circumstance was that the king, Juan Carlos de Borbón, chosen and educated by Franco to maintain the regime, worked instead for a constitutional monarchy in a democratic state. The king's role as commander in chief of the armed forces and his good personal relations with the military served to keep the military on the sidelines during the several years of intense political debate about how Spain was to be governed. Yet another stroke of good fortune

was that Spain's political leadership had learned from the terrible bloodletting of the Civil War that ideological intransigence precluded meaningful political discourse among opposing groups. The poisonous rancors of the Second Republic, Spain's last attempt at democratic government, were avoided, and the political elite that emerged during the 1970s permitted each significant sector of society a share in the final political solution. Suárez's legalization in April 1977 of the Communist Party of Spain (Partido Comunista de España—PCE), despite much conservative opposition, was the most striking example of this openness.

The first free elections in more than forty years took place in June 1977, and they put Suárez's party, the Union of the Democratic Center (Unión de Centro Democrático—UCD) in power. The UCD also won the next elections in 1979, but it disintegrated almost completely in the elections of 1982. The UCD, a coalition of moderates of varying stripes, had never coalesced into a genuine party. It had, however, been cohesive enough to be the governing party during much of an extraordinary transition from autocratic rule to democracy, and it had withstood serious threats from a violent right and left.

The UCD's successor as a governing party was Spain's socialist party, the PSOE, under the leadership of Felipe González Márquez, a charismatic young politician. González had successfully wrested control of the party away from the aging leadership that had directed it from exile during the dictatorship, and he was able to modernize it, stripping away an encrustation of Marxist doctrine. González and his followers had close ties to the West German Social Democrats and they had learned from their example how to form and to direct a dynamic and pragmatic political organization. The PSOE's victory at the polls in 1982 proved the strength of Spain's new democracy in that political power passed peacefully to a party that had been in illegal opposition during all of Franco's rule.

Once in office, González and the PSOE surprised many by initiating an economic program that many regarded as free-market and that seemed to benefit the prosperous rather than working people. The government argued that only prosperity—not poverty—could be shared, and it aimed at an expansion of the economy rather than at the creation of government social welfare agencies, however much they were needed. Many of the large and unprofitable state firms were scaled down. The Socialist government also reversed its stand on North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) membership, and it successfully urged that the voters support Spain's remaining in the alliance in a referendum in early 1986. One reason

the PSOE reversed its position was that it came to see that NATO membership could contribute to the democratization of Spain's armed forces. The government also worked toward this goal by modernizing the military, by reducing its size, by reforming its promotion procedures, and by retiring many of its older officers. Nevertheless, the government retained part of its early position on defense by insisting that the United States close some of its military bases in Spain and by placing some limits on Spain's participation in the alliance.

The governing PSOE was faithful to its origins, in that it somewhat reformed the education system, and it increased access to schooling for all. There were improvements in the country's backward social welfare system as well. Critics charged, however, that the Socialist government paid insufficient attention to the more immediate needs of ordinary Spaniards. In the second half of the 1980s, even the PSOE's own labor union, the General Union of Workers (Unión General de Trabajadores—UGT), bitterly contested the government's economic policies. In December 1988, the UGT and the communist-controlled union, the Workers' Commissions (Comisiones Obreras—CCOO), mounted a highly successful, nationwide general strike to emphasize their common contention that the government's economic and social policies hurt wage-earners. Critics within the labor movement were also incensed at the tight control González and his followers had over the PSOE, which effectively eliminated any chance of deposing them.

As the 1980s drew to an end, the PSOE, despite a steady erosion of electoral support in national elections, continued to be Spain's most powerful political party, by far. This continuing pre-eminence was confirmed by the national elections held on October 29, 1989. González had called for the elections before their originally scheduled date of June 1990, because the party leadership believed that the belt-tightening measures needed to dampen inflation and to cool an over-heated economy could only hurt the party's election chances. They thought it opportune to hold the elections before painful policies were imposed. In addition, the PSOE was encouraged by its success in the elections for the European Parliament in June 1989. The Socialists based their campaign on the premise that Spain needed the continuity of another four years of their rule in order to meet the challenges posed by the country's projected full participation in the EC's single market at the end of 1992.

In what was generally regarded as a lackluster contest, the opposition countered by pointing to the poor state of public services and to the poor living conditions of many working people; by

suggesting possible reforms of the terms of service for military conscripts; and by decrying the Socialists' arrogance, abuse of power, and cronyism after seven years in office. An important bone of contention was the government's alleged manipulation of television news to benefit the PSOE's cause, a serious issue in a country where newspaper readership was low, compared with the rest of Western Europe, and where most people got their news from television.

The PSOE was expected to suffer some losses, but probably to retain its absolute majority in the Congress of Deputies (the lower chamber of the Cortes). At first it appeared to have held its majority, but a rerun in late March 1990 in one voting district because of irregularities reduced the number of its members in the Congress of Deputies to 175, constituting exactly half that body, an appreciable drop from the 184 seats the PSOE had controlled after the 1986 national election. The most striking gains were made by the PCE-dominated coalition of leftist parties, the United Left (Izquierda Unida—IU), which, under the leadership of Julio Anguita, increased the number of its seats in the Congress of Deputies from seven to seventeen. The moderately right-wing People's Party (Partido Popular—PP), which until January 1989 bore the name Popular Alliance (Alianza Popular—AP), gained 2 seats for a total of 107—an excellent showing, considering that the group had a new leader, José María Aznar, because its long-time head, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, had stepped down just weeks before the election. One reason there was still no effective party on the right, a decade after the promulgation of the Constitution, was that Fraga had never been able to shake off his Francoist past in the eyes of many voters. A new, young, and effective leader of the PP could conceivably change this situation in the 1990s.

Another obstacle to the PP's political dominance was the existence of several moderately conservative regional parties that received support that the PP otherwise might have claimed. The largest of these parties, Convergence and Union (Convergència i Unió—CiU), was the ruling political force in Catalonia and won eighteen seats in the Chamber of Deputies, a result identical to that of 1986. Second in importance was the venerable Basque Nationalist Party (Partido Nacionalista Vasco—PNV), which won five seats, one less than in 1986. As of early 1990, the PP had been unable to come to an accommodation with the conservative nationalist movements these parties represented.

Suárez's new party, the Democratic and Social Center (Centro Democrático y Social—CDS), stumbled badly, losing a quarter of its seats for a total of fourteen. His party was believed to have been hurt by its collaboration with the PP in the previous June's

European Parliament elections, a move seen by voters as yet another indication that Suárez still had not formed a party with a distinct program.

In addition to the establishment of a democratic system of government, the other historic achievement of post-Franco Spain was a partial devolution of political power to the regional level through the formation of seventeen autonomous communities. This development was nearly as significant as the first, for it broke with the tradition of a highly centralized government in Madrid that had been a constant in Spanish history since the late Middle Ages. Despite the weight of this tradition, centrifugal forces had persisted. Various peoples within Spain remembered their former freedoms, kept their languages and traditions alive, and maintained some historical rights that distinguished them from the Castilian central government. Most notably conscious of their separate pasts were the Basques and the Catalans, both of which groups had also been affected by nationalist movements elsewhere in nineteenth-century Europe. During the Second Republic, both peoples had made some progress toward self-government, but their gains were extinguished after Franco's victory, and they were persecuted during his rule. Use of their languages in public was prohibited, leading nationalist figures were jailed or were forced into exile, and a watchful campaign to root out any signs of regional nationalism was put in place.

During the period of political transition after Franco's death, regional nationalism came into the open, most strongly in the Basque Country and in Catalonia, but also in Galicia, Navarre (Spanish, Navarra), Valencia, and other regions. Regional politicians, aware that their support was needed, were able to drive hard bargains with politicians in Madrid and realized some of their aims. The 1978 Constitution extends the right of autonomy to the regions of Spain. Within several years of its adoption, the Basques, the Catalans, the Galicians, the Andalusians, and the Navarrese had attained a degree of regional autonomy. Publications in Catalan, Galician, Basque, and other languages became commonplace; these languages were taught in schools at government expense, and they were also used in radio and television broadcasts. Dozens of regional political parties of varied leanings sprang up to participate in elections for seats in the parliaments of the newly established autonomous communities.

Many conservatives regarded this blossoming of regionalism as an insidious attack on the Spanish state. Portions of the military resolved to fight decentralization at all costs, using force if necessary. Elements of the Basque nationalist movement were also

dissatisfied with the constitutional provisions for regional autonomy. In contrast to the ultraright, however, they regarded the provisions as too restrictive. They therefore decided to continue the armed struggle for an independent Basque state that they had begun in the last years of the Franco regime. They reasoned that a campaign of systematic attacks on the security forces would cause the military to retaliate against the new democratic order and, perhaps, to destroy it.

The strategy of the Basque terrorist organization, Basque Fatherland and Freedom (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*—ETA), nearly succeeded. During the late 1970s and the 1980s, the ETA assassinated hundreds, many of whom were policemen or military men. These killings were a key factor behind a number of planned military coups, nearly all of which were aborted. A large-scale coup did occur in February 1981, during which the Cortes was briefly occupied by some military men; however, the courageous and expeditious intervention of King Juan Carlos, the commander in chief of Spain's military forces, on the side of the new democratic order, ended the dangerous incident.

Many observers contend, however, that the February 1981 coup did cause a slowing of the movement toward regional autonomy. In the next two years, the remainder of Spain's regions became autonomous communities, but with a less extensive degree of independence than that argued for by many regional politicians during constitutional negotiations. The Organic Law on the Harmonization of the Autonomy Process (*Ley Orgánica de Armonización del Proceso Autonómico*—LOAPA), passed in the summer of 1981, brought the process of devolution under tighter control. In subsequent years, there were gains in political power at the regional level, but the goals of self-government set in the late 1970s were only slowly being realized.

Separatist terrorism was still a problem in Spain at the end of the 1980s, but it was no longer the potentially lethal issue for Spanish democracy that it had been in the late 1970s. The ETA continued to kill, but at a greatly reduced rate. Increased Basque political independence and the establishment of an indigenous police force in the Basque Country undercut much of the popular support the ETA had enjoyed in the last years of the Franco era and in the first years of the democratic transition. Occasional terrorist outrages that claimed the lives of ordinary citizens also eroded local support. Moreover, police successes in capturing or killing many ETA leaders took their toll on the organization, as did belated international support in fighting terrorism, particularly that provided by French authorities. A policy of granting pardons to

members of the ETA not linked to acts of violence was also effective.

Violence from the right also declined. Ultrarightist elements in the armed forces were dismissed, or they retired, and the military as a whole had come to accept the new democracy. The Spanish people's overwhelming support for democracy and the election successes of the PSOE also undercut any tendency of the military to stage a coup. Military interventions in politics had traditionally been based on the notion that the armed forces were acting on the behalf of, or at the behest of, the Spanish people, and that the military were therefore realizing the true will of Spain. The legitimacy conferred on the new political system by nearly all segments of society made such reasoning impossible.

However reduced violence had become, it was still troubling. In November 1989, two Basques elected to the Chamber of Deputies were shot in a restaurant in Madrid. One of the deputies died; the other was seriously wounded. Police believed that ultrarightist killers had attacked the two men, both of whom had ties to the ETA. The action provoked extensive public demonstrations and some street violence.

Whether or not this dark side of regional politics would continue to be significant through the 1990s was uncertain. It appeared likely, however, that regionalism would play an even greater role in the 1990s than it had since the transition to democracy. Much political energy would be needed to arrange a mutually satisfactory relationship between the Spanish state and its constituent nationalities. The degree to which the autonomous communities should gain full autonomy, or even independence, was likely to be much debated; however, the wrangling, fruitful or futile, could be done peacefully, within the context of Spain's new democracy.

April 9, 1990

Eric Solsten

Chapter 1. Historical Setting



El Escorial, northwest of Madrid, built by Philip II in the second half of the sixteenth century

THE NATIONAL HISTORY of Spain dates back to the fifth century A.D., when the Visigoths established a Germanic successor state in the former Roman diocese of Hispania. Despite a period of internal political disunity during the Middle Ages, Spain nevertheless is one of the oldest nation-states in Europe. In the late fifteenth century, Spain acquired its current borders and was united under a personal union of crowns by Ferdinand of Aragon (Spanish, Aragón) and Isabella of Castile (Spanish, Castilla). For a period in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, Portugal was part of that Iberian federation.

In the sixteenth century, Spain was the foremost European power, and it was deeply involved in European affairs from that period to the eighteenth century. Spain's kings ruled provinces scattered across Europe. The Spanish Empire was global, and the influence of Spanish culture was so pervasive, especially in the Americas, that Spanish is still the native tongue of more than 200 million people outside Spain.

Recurrent political instability, military intervention in politics, frequent breakdowns of civil order, and periods of repressive government have characterized modern Spanish history. In the nineteenth century, Spain had a constitutional framework for parliamentary government, not unlike those of Britain and France, but it was unable to develop institutions capable of surviving the social, economic, and ideological stresses of Spanish society.

The Spanish Civil War (1936–39), which claimed more than 500,000 lives, recapitulated on a larger scale and more brutally conflicts that had erupted periodically for generations. These conflicts, which centered around social and political roles of the Roman Catholic Church, class differences, and struggles for regional autonomy on the part of Basque and Catalan nationalists, were repressed but were not eliminated under the authoritarian rule of Nationalist leader Generalissimo Francisco Franco y Bahamonde (in power, 1939–75). In the closing years of the Franco regime, these conflicts flared, however, as militant demands for reform increased and mounting terrorist violence threatened the country's stability.

When Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón became king of Spain following Franco's death in November 1975, there was little indication that he would be the instrument for the democratization of Spain. Nevertheless, within three years he and his prime minister, Adolfo Suárez González (in office, 1976–81), had accomplished the

historically unprecedented feat of transforming a dictatorial regime into a pluralistic, parliamentary democracy through nonviolent means. This accomplishment made it possible to begin the process of healing Spain's historical schisms.

The success of this peaceful transition to democracy can be attributed to the young king's commitment to democratic institutions and to his prime minister's ability to maneuver within the existing political establishment in order to bring about the necessary reforms. The failure of a coup attempt in February 1981 and the peaceful transfer of power from one party to another in October 1982 revealed the extent to which democratic principles had taken root in Spanish society.

West European governments refused to cooperate with an authoritarian regime in the immediate aftermath of World War II, and, in effect, they ostracized the country from the region's political, economic, and defense organizations. With the onset of the Cold War, however, Spain's strategic importance for the defense of Western Europe outweighed other political considerations, and isolation of the Franco regime came to an end. Bilateral agreements, first negotiated in 1953, permitted the United States to maintain a chain of air and naval bases in Spain in support of the overall defense of Western Europe. Spain became a member of the United Nations in 1955 and joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1982.

Iberia

The people who were later named Iberians (or dwellers along the Río Ebro) by the Greeks, migrated to Spain in the third millennium B.C. The origin of the Iberians is not certain, but archaeological evidence of their metallurgical and agricultural skills supports a theory that they came from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The Iberians lived in small, tightly knit, sedentary tribal groups that were geographically isolated from one another. Each group developed distinct regional and political identities, and intertribal warfare was endemic. Other peoples of Mediterranean origin also settled in the peninsula during the same period and, together with the Iberians, mixed with the diverse inhabitants.

Celts crossed the Pyrenees into Spain in two major migrations in the ninth and the seventh centuries B.C. The Celts settled for the most part north of the Río Duero and the Río Ebro, where they mixed with the Iberians to form groups called Celtiberians. The Celtiberians were farmers and herders who also excelled in metalworking crafts, which the Celts had brought from their Danubian homeland by way of Italy and southern France. Celtic influence

dominated Celtiberian culture. The Celtiberians appear to have had no social or political organization larger than their matriarchal, collective, and independent clans.

Another distinct ethnic group in the western Pyrenees, the Basques, predate the arrival of the Iberians. Their pre-Indo-European language has no links with any other language, and attempts to identify it with pre-Latin Iberian have not been convincing. The Romans called them Vascones, from which Basque is derived.

The Iberians shared in the Bronze Age revival (1900 to 1600 B.C.) common throughout the Mediterranean basin. In the east and the south of the Iberian Peninsula, a system of city-states was established, possibly through the amalgamation of tribal units into urban settlements. Their governments followed the older tribal pattern, and they were despotically governed by warrior and priestly castes. A sophisticated urban society emerged with an economy based on gold and silver exports and on trade in tin and copper (which were plentiful in Spain) for bronze.

Phoenicians, Greeks, and Carthaginians competed with the Iberians for control of Spain's coastline and the resources of the interior. Merchants from Tyre may have established an outpost at Cádiz, "the walled enclosure," as early as 1100 B.C. as the westernmost link in what became a chain of settlements lining the peninsula's southern coast. If the accepted date of its founding is accurate, Cádiz is the oldest city in Western Europe, and it is even older than Carthage in North Africa. It was the most significant of the Phoenician colonies. From Cádiz, Phoenician seamen explored the west coast of Africa as far as Senegal, and they reputedly ventured far out on the Atlantic.

Greek pioneers from the island of Rhodes landed in Spain in the eighth century B.C. The Greek colony at Massilia (later Marseilles) maintained commercial ties with the Celtiberians in what is now Catalonia (Spanish, Cataluña; Catalan, Catalunya). In the sixth century B.C., Massilians founded a polis at Ampurias, the first of several established on the Mediterranean coast of the peninsula.

Hispania

After its defeat by the Romans in the First Punic War (264–41 B.C.), Carthage compensated for its loss of Sicily by rebuilding a commercial empire in Spain. The country became the staging ground for Hannibal's epic invasion of Italy during the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.). Roman armies also invaded Spain and used it as a training ground for officers and as a proving ground

for tactics during campaigns against the Carthaginians and the Iberians. Iberian resistance was fierce and prolonged, however, and it was not until 19 B.C. that the Roman emperor Augustus (r. 27 B.C.–A.D. 14) was able to complete the conquest of Spain.

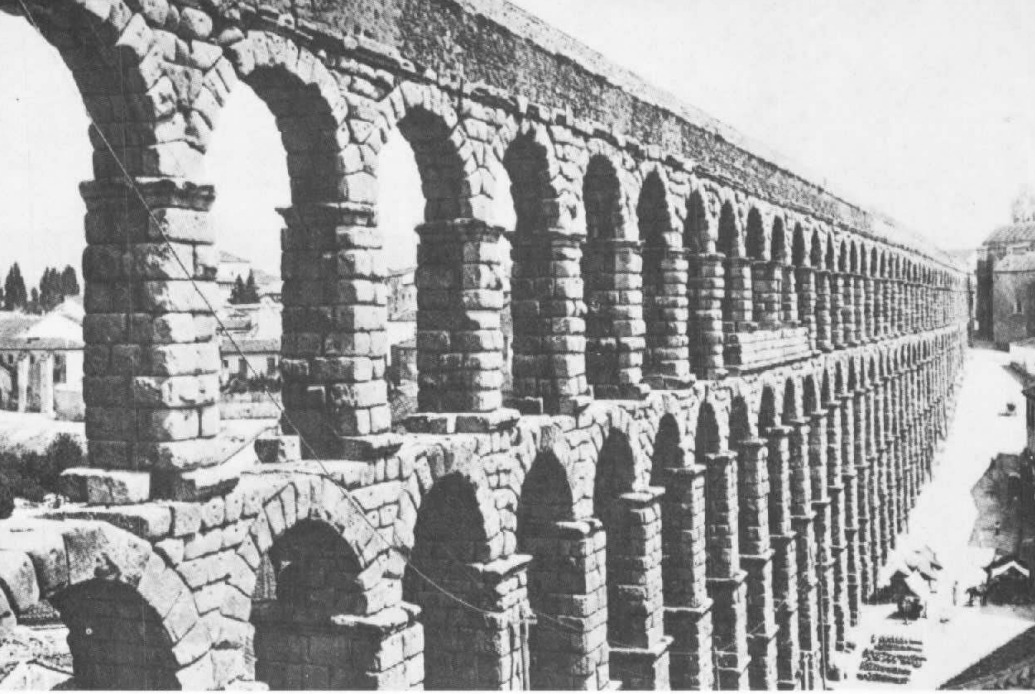
Romanization of the Iberians proceeded quickly after their conquest. Called Hispania by the Romans, Spain was not one political entity but was divided into three separately governed provinces (nine provinces by the fourth century A.D.). More important, Spain was for more than 400 years part of a cosmopolitan world empire bound together by law, language, and the Roman road.

Iberian tribal leaders and urban oligarchs were admitted into the Roman aristocratic class, and they participated in governing Spain and the empire. The latifundios (sing., latifundio), large estates controlled by the aristocracy, were superimposed on the existing Iberian landholding system.

The Romans improved existing cities, established Zaragoza, Mérida, and Valencia, and provided amenities throughout the empire. Spain's economy expanded under Roman tutelage. Spain, along with North Africa, served as a granary for the Roman market, and its harbors exported gold, wool, olive oil, and wine. Agricultural production increased with the introduction of irrigation projects, some of which remain in use. The Hispano-Romans—the romanized Iberians and the Iberian-born descendants of Roman soldiers and colonists—had all achieved the status of full Roman citizenship by the end of the first century A.D. The emperors Trajan (r. 98–117), Hadrian (r. 117–38), and Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–80) were born in Spain.

Christianity was introduced into Spain in the first century, and it became popular in the cities in the second century. Little headway was made in the countryside, however, until the late fourth century, by which time Christianity was the official religion of the Roman Empire. Some heretical sects emerged in Spain, but the Spanish church remained subordinate to the Bishop of Rome. Bishops who had official civil, as well as ecclesiastical, status in the late empire continued to exercise their authority to maintain order when civil governments broke down in Spain in the fifth century. The Council of Bishops became an important instrument of stability during the ascendancy of the Visigoths, a Germanic tribe.

In 405 two Germanic tribes, the Vandals and the Suevi, crossed the Rhine and ravaged Gaul until the Visigoths drove them into Spain. The Suevi established a kingdom in the remote northwestern corner of the Iberian Peninsula. The hardier Vandals, never exceeding 80,000, occupied the region that bears their name—Andalusia (Spanish, Andalucía).



Roman aqueduct, Segovia
Courtesy Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

Because large parts of Spain were outside his control, the western Roman emperor, Honorius (r. 395–423), commissioned his sister, Galla Placidia, and her husband Ataulf, the Visigoth king, to restore order in the Iberian Peninsula, and he gave them the rights to settle in and to govern the area in return for defending it. The highly romanized Visigoths managed to subdue the Suevi and to compel the Vandals to sail for North Africa. In 484 they established Toledo as the capital of their Spanish monarchy. The Visigothic occupation was in no sense a barbarian invasion, however. Successive Visigothic kings ruled Spain as patricians who held imperial commissions to govern in the name of the Roman emperor.

There were no more than 300,000 Germanic people in Spain, which had a population of 4 million, and their overall influence on Spanish history is generally seen as minimal. They were a privileged warrior elite, though many of them lived as herders and farmers in the valley of the Tagus and on the central plateau. Hispano-Romans continued to run the civil administration, and Latin continued to be the language of government and of commerce.

Under the Visigoths, lay culture was not so highly developed as it had been under the Romans, and the task of maintaining formal education and government shifted decisively to the church because its Hispano-Roman clergy alone were qualified to manage higher administration. As elsewhere in early medieval Europe, the

church in Spain stood as society's most cohesive institution, and it embodied the continuity of Roman order.

Religion was the most persistent source of friction between the Roman Catholic Hispano-Romans and their Arian Visigoth overlords, whom they considered heretical. At times this tension invited open rebellion, and restive factions within the Visigothic aristocracy exploited it to weaken the monarchy. In 589 Recared, a Visigoth ruler, renounced his Arianism before the Council of Bishops at Toledo and accepted Catholicism, thus assuring an alliance between the Visigothic monarchy and the Hispano-Romans. This alliance would not mark the last time in Spanish history that political unity would be sought through religious unity.

Court ceremonials—from Constantinople—that proclaimed the imperial sovereignty and unity of the Visigothic state were introduced at Toledo. Still, civil war, royal assassinations, and usurpation were commonplace, and warlords and great landholders assumed wide discretionary powers. Bloody family feuds went unchecked. The Visigoths had acquired and cultivated the apparatus of the Roman state, but not the ability to make it operate to their advantage. In the absence of a well-defined hereditary system of succession to the throne, rival factions encouraged foreign intervention by the Greeks, the Franks, and, finally, the Muslims in internal disputes and in royal elections.

Al Andalus

Early in the eighth century, armies from North Africa began probing the Visigothic defenses of Spain, and ultimately they initiated the Moorish epoch that would last for centuries. The people who became known to West Europeans as Moors were the Arabs, who had swept across North Africa from their Middle Eastern homeland, and the Berbers, inhabitants of Morocco who had been conquered by the Arabs and converted to Islam.

In 711 Tariq ibn Ziyad, a Berber governor of Tangier, crossed into Spain with an army of 12,000 (landing at a promontory that was later named, in his honor, Jabal Tariq, or Mount Tariq, from which the name, Gibraltar, is derived). They came at the invitation of a Visigothic clan to assist it in rising against King Roderic. Roderic died in battle, and Spain was left without a leader. Tariq returned to Morocco, but the next year (712) Musa ibn Nusair, the Muslim governor in North Africa, led the best of his Arab troops to Spain with the intention of staying. In three years he had subdued all but the mountainous region in the extreme north and had initiated forays into France, which were stemmed at Poitiers in 732.

Al Andalus, as Islamic Spain was called, was organized under the civil and religious leadership of the caliph of Damascus. Governors in Spain were generally Syrians, whose political frame of reference was deeply influenced by Byzantine practices.

Nevertheless, the largest contingent of Moors in Spain consisted of the North African Berbers, recent converts to Islam, who were hostile to the sophisticated Arab governors and bureaucrats and were given to a religious enthusiasm and fundamentalism that were to set the standard for the Islamic community in Spain. Berber settlers fanned out through the country and made up as much as 20 percent of the population of the occupied territory. The Arabs constituted an aristocracy in the revived cities and on the latifundios that they had inherited from the Romans and the Visigoths.

Most members of the Visigothic nobility converted to Islam, and they retained their privileged position in the new society. The countryside, only nominally Christian, was also successfully Islamized. Nevertheless, an Hispano-Roman Christian community survived in the cities. Moreover, Jews, who constituted more than 5 percent of the population, continued to play an important role in commerce, scholarship, and the professions.

The Arab-dominated Umayyad dynasty at Damascus was overthrown in 756 by the Abbasids, who moved the caliphate to Baghdad. One Umayyad prince fled to Spain and, under the name of Abd al Rahman (r. 756–88), founded a politically independent amirate, which was then the farthest extremity of the Islamic world. His dynasty flourished for 250 years. Nothing in Europe compared with the wealth, the power, and the sheer brilliance of Al Andalus during this period.

In 929 Abd al Rahman III (r. 912–61), who was half European—as were many of the ruling caste, elevated the amirate to the status of a caliphate (the Caliphate of Córdoba). This action cut Spain's last ties with Baghdad and established that thereafter Al Andalus's rulers would enjoy complete religious and political sovereignty.

When Hisham II, grandson of Abd al Rahman, inherited the throne in 976 at age twelve, the royal vizier, Ibn Abi Amir (known as Al Mansur), became regent (981–1002) and established himself as virtual dictator. For the next twenty-six years, the caliph was no more than a figurehead, and Al Mansur was the actual ruler. Al Mansur wanted the caliphate to symbolize the ideal of religious and political unity as insurance against any renewal of civil strife. Notwithstanding his employment of Christian mercenaries, Al Mansur preached jihad, or holy war, against the Christian states on the frontier, undertaking annual summer campaigns against

them, which served not only to unite Spanish Muslims in a common cause but also to extend temporary Muslim control in the north.

The Caliphate of Córdoba did not long survive Al Mānsur's dictatorship. Rival claimants to the throne, local aristocrats, and army commanders who staked out *taifas* (sing., *taifa*), or independent regional city-states, tore the caliphate apart. Some *taifas*, such as Seville (Spanish, Sevilla), Granada, Valencia, and Zaragoza, became strong amirates, but all faced frequent political upheavals, war among themselves, and long-term accommodations to emerging Christian states.

Peaceful relations among Arabs, Berbers, and Spanish converts to Islam were not easily maintained. To hold together such a heterogeneous population, Spanish Islam stressed ethics and legalism. Pressure from the puritanical Berbers also led to crackdowns on Mozarabs (name for Christians in Al Andalus: literally, Arab-like) and Jews.

Mozarabs were considered a separate caste even though there were no real differences between them and the converts to Islam except for religion and liability to taxation, which fell heavily on the Christian community. They were essentially urban merchants and artisans. Their church was permitted to exist with few restrictions, but it was prohibited from flourishing. The episcopal and monastic structure remained intact, but teaching was curbed and intellectual initiative was lost.

In the ninth century, Mozarabs in Córdoba, led by their bishop, invited martyrdom by publicly denouncing the Prophet Muhammad. Nevertheless, violence against the Mozarabs was rare until the eleventh century, when the Christian states became a serious threat to the security of Al Andalus. Many Mozarabs fled to the Christian north.

Castile and Aragon

Resistance to the Muslim invasion in the eighth century had been limited to small groups of Visigoth warriors who took refuge in the mountains of Asturias in the old Suevian kingdom, the least romanized and least Christianized region in Spain. According to tradition, Pelayo (718–37), a king of Oviedo, first rallied the natives to defend themselves, then urged them to take the offensive, beginning the 700-year Reconquest (Spanish, Reconquista), which became the dominant theme in medieval Spanish history (see fig. 2). What began as a matter of survival in Asturias became a crusade to rid Spain of the Muslims and an imperial mission to reconstruct a united monarchy in Spain.

Pelayo's successors, known as the kings of León, extended Christian control southward from Asturias, tore away bits of territory, depopulated and fortified them against the Muslims, and then resettled these areas as the frontier was pushed forward. The kingdom's political center moved in the direction of the military frontier.

In the tenth century, strongholds were built as a buffer for the kingdom of León along the upper Río Ebro, in the area that became known as Castile, the "land of castles." The region was populated by men—border warriors and free peasants—who were willing to defend it, and were granted *fueros* (special privileges and immunities) by the kings of León that made them virtually autonomous. Castile developed a distinct society with its own dialect, values, and customs shaped by the hard conditions of the frontier. Castile also produced a caste of hereditary warriors whom the frontier "democratized"; all warriors were equals, and all men were warriors.

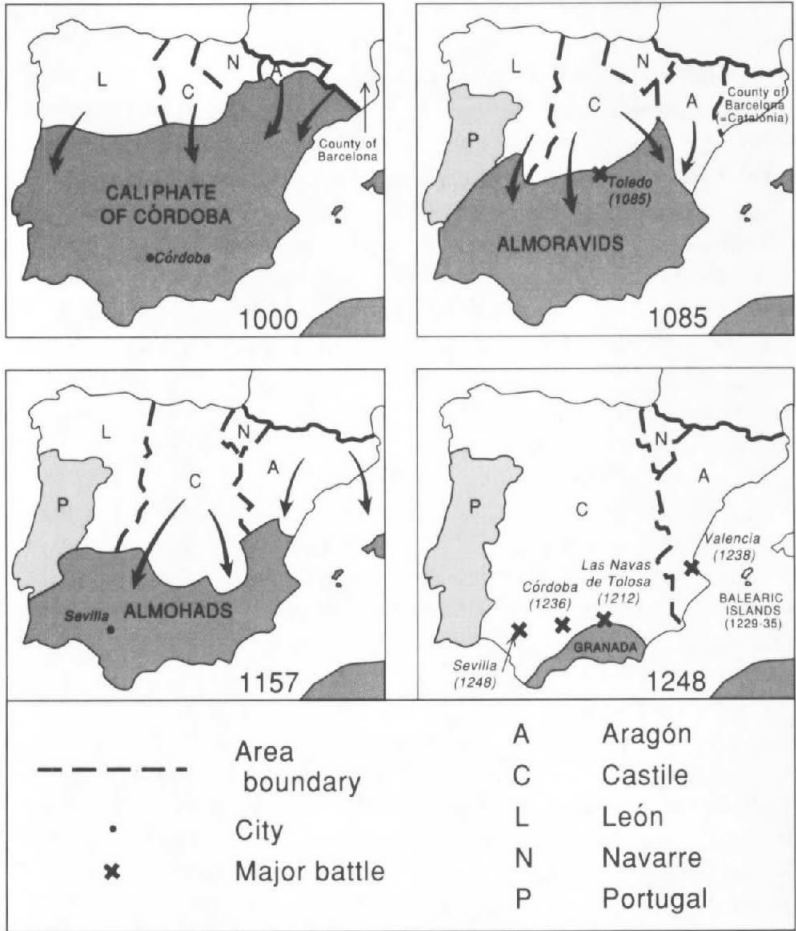
In 981 Castile became an independent county, and in 1004 it was raised to the dignity of a kingdom. Castile and León were reunited periodically through royal marriages, but their kings had no better plan than to divide their lands again among their heirs. The two kingdoms were, however, permanently joined as a single state in 1230 by Ferdinand III of Castile (d. 1252).

Under the tutelage of the neighboring Franks, a barrier of pocket states formed along the range of the Pyrenees and on the coast of Catalonia to hold the frontier of France against Islamic Spain. Out of this region, called the Spanish March, emerged the kingdom of Aragon and the counties of Catalonia, all of which expanded, as did León-Castile, at the expense of the Muslims. (Andorra is the last independent survivor of the March states.)

The most significant of the counties in Catalonia was that held by the counts of Barcelona. They were descendants of Wilfrid the Hairy (874–98), who at the end of the ninth century declared his fief free of the French crown, monopolized lay and ecclesiastical offices on both sides of the Pyrenees, and divided them—according to Frankish custom—among members of the family. By 1100 Barcelona had dominion over all of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands (Spanish, *Islas Baleares*). Aragon and the Catalan counties were federated in 1137 through the marriage of Ramón Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona, and Petronilla, heiress to the Aragonese throne. Berenguer assumed the title of king of Aragon, but he continued to rule as count in Catalonia. Berenguer and his successors thus ruled over two realms, each with its own government, legal code, currency, and political orientation.

Valencia, seized from its Muslim amir, became federated with Aragon and Catalonia in 1238. With the union of the three crowns,

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Source: Based on information from Pierre Vidal-Naquet (ed.), *The Harper Atlas of World History*, New York, 1987, 93.

Figure 2. The Reconquest: Reconquering Spain from the Moors

Aragon (the term most commonly used to describe the federation) rivaled Venice and Genoa for control of Mediterranean trade. Aragonese commercial interests extended to the Black Sea, and the ports of Barcelona and Valencia prospered from traffic in textiles, drugs, spices, and slaves.

Weakened by their disunity, the eleventh-century *taifas* fell piecemeal to the Castilians, who had reason to anticipate the completion of the Reconquest. When Toledo was lost in 1085, the alarmed amirs appealed for aid to the Almoravids, a militant Berber party of strict Muslims, who in a few years had won control of the

Maghreb (northwest Africa). The Almoravids incorporated all of Al Andalus, except Zaragoza, into their North African empire. They attempted to stimulate a religious revival based on their own evangelical brand of Islam. In Spain, however, their movement soon lost its missionary fervor. The Almoravid state fell apart by the mid-twelfth century under pressure from another religious group, the Almohads, who extended their control from Morocco to Spain and made Seville their capital. The Almohads shared the crusading instincts of the Almoravids and posed an even greater military threat to the Christian states, but their expansion was stopped decisively in the epic battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), a watershed in the history of the Reconquest. Muslim strength ebbed thereafter. Ferdinand III took Seville in 1248, reducing Al Andalus to the amirate of Granada, which had bought its safety by betraying the Almohads' Spanish capital. Granada remained a Muslim state, but as a dependency of Castile.

Aragon fulfilled its territorial aims in the thirteenth century when it annexed Valencia. The Catalans, however, looked for further expansion abroad, and their economic views prevailed over those of the parochial Aragonese nobility, who were not enthusiastic about foreign entanglements. Peter III, king of Aragon from 1276 until 1285, had been elected to the throne of Sicily when the French Angevins (House of Anjou) were expelled from the island kingdom during an uprising in 1282. Sicily, and later Naples, became part of the federation of Spanish crowns, and Aragon became embroiled in Italian politics, which continued to affect Spain into the eighteenth century.

Castile, which had traditionally turned away from intervention in European affairs, developed a merchant marine in the Atlantic that successfully challenged the Hanseatic League (a peaceful league of merchants of various free German cities) for dominance in the coastal trade with France, England, and the Netherlands. The economic climate necessary for sustained economic development was notably lacking, however, in Castile. The reasons for this situation appear to have been rooted both in the structure of the economy and in the attitude of the Castilians. Restrictive corporations closely regulated all aspects of the economy—production, trade, and even transport. The most powerful of these corporations, the Mesta, controlled the production of wool, Castile's chief export. Perhaps a greater obstacle for economic development was that commercial activity enjoyed little social esteem. Noblemen saw business as beneath their station and derived their incomes and prestige from landownership. Successful bourgeois entrepreneurs, who aspired

to the petty nobility, invested in land rather than in other sectors of the economy because of the social status attached to owning land. This attitude deprived the economy of needed investments and engendered stagnation rather than growth.

Feudalism, which bound nobles to the king-counts both economically and socially, as tenants to landlords, had been introduced into Aragon and Catalonia from France. It produced a more clearly stratified social structure than that found in Castile, and consequently it generated greater tension among classes. Castilian society was less competitive, more cohesive, and more egalitarian. Castile attempted to compensate through political means, however, for the binding feudal arrangements between crown and nobility that it lacked. The guiding theory behind the Castilian monarchy was that political centralism could be won at the expense of local *fueros*, but the kings of Castile never succeeded in creating a unitary state. Aragon-Catalonia accepted and developed—not without conflict—the federal principle, and it made no concerted attempt to establish a political union of the Spanish and Italian principalities outside of their personal union under the Aragonese crown. The principal regions of Spain were divided not only by conflicting local loyalties, but also by their political, economic, and social orientations. Catalonia particularly stood apart from the rest of the country.

Both Castile and Aragon suffered from political instability in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The House of Trastámara acquired the Castilian throne in 1369 and created a new aristocracy to which it granted significant authority. Court favorites, or *validos* (sing., *valido*), often dominated their Castilian kings, and, because the kings were weak, nobles competed for control of the government. Important government offices, formerly held by members of the professional class of civil servants who had urban, and frequently Jewish, backgrounds, came into the possession of aristocratic families who eventually held them by hereditary right. The social disruption and the decay of institutions common to much of Europe in the late Middle Ages also affected Aragon, where another branch of the Trastámaras succeeded to the throne in 1416. For long periods, the overextended Aragonese kings resided in Naples, leaving their Spanish realms with weak, vulnerable governments. Economic dislocation, caused by recurring plagues and by the commercial decline of Catalonia, was the occasion for repeated revolts by regional nobility, town corporations, peasants, and, in Barcelona, by the urban proletariat.

The Golden Age

Ferdinand and Isabella

The marriage in 1469 of royal cousins, Ferdinand of Aragon (1452–1516) and Isabella of Castile (1451–1504), eventually brought stability to both kingdoms. Isabella's niece, Juana, had bloodily disputed her succession to the throne in a conflict in which the rival claimants were given assistance by outside powers—Isabella by Aragon and Juana by her suitor, the king of Portugal. The Treaty of Alcaçovas ended the war in September 1479, and as Ferdinand had succeeded his father in Aragon earlier in the same year, it was possible to link Castile with Aragon. Both Isabella and Ferdinand understood the importance of unity; together they effected institutional reform in Castile and left Spain one of the best administered countries in Europe.

Even with the personal union of the Castilian and the Aragonese crowns, Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia remained constitutionally distinct political entities, and they retained separate councils of state and parliaments. Ferdinand, who had received his political education in federalist Aragon, brought a new emphasis on constitutionalism and a respect for local *fueros* to Castile, where he was king consort (1479–1504) and continued as regent after Isabella's death in 1504. Greatly admired by Italian political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), Ferdinand was one of the most skillful diplomats in an age of great diplomats, and he assigned to Castile its predominant role in the dual monarchy.

Ferdinand and Isabella resumed the Reconquest, dormant for more than 200 years, and in 1492 they captured Granada, earning for themselves the title of Catholic Kings. Once Islamic Spain had ceased to exist, attention turned to the internal threat posed by hundreds of thousands of Muslims living in the recently incorporated Granada. "Spanish society drove itself," historian J.H. Elliot writes, "on a ruthless, ultimately self-defeating quest for an unattainable purity."

Everywhere in sixteenth-century Europe, it was assumed that religious unity was necessary for political unity, but only in Spain was there such a sense of urgency in enforcing religious conformity. Spain's population was more heterogeneous than that of any other European nation, and it contained significant non-Christian communities. Several of these communities, including in particular some in Granada, harbored a significant element of doubtful loyalty. Moriscos (Granadan Muslims) were given the choice of voluntary exile or conversion to Christianity. Many Jews converted to Christianity, and some of these *conversos* filled important government

and ecclesiastical posts in Castile and in Aragon for more than 100 years. Many married or purchased their way into the nobility. Muslims in reconquered territory, called Mudejars, also lived quietly for generations as peasant farmers and skilled craftsmen.

After 1525 all residents of Spain were officially Christian, but forced conversion and nominal orthodoxy were not sufficient for complete integration into Spanish society. Purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) regulations were imposed on candidates for positions in the government and the church, to prevent Moriscos from becoming a force again in Spain and to eliminate participation by *conversos* whose families might have been Christian for generations. Many of Spain's oldest and finest families scrambled to reconstruct family trees.

The Inquisition, a state-controlled Castilian tribunal, authorized by papal bull in 1478, that soon extended throughout Spain, had the task of enforcing uniformity of religious practice. It was originally intended to investigate the sincerity of *conversos*, especially those in the clergy, who had been accused of being crypto-Jews. Tomás de Torquemada, a descendant of *conversos*, was the most effective and notorious of the Inquisition's prosecutors.

For years religious laws were laxly enforced, particularly in Aragon, and converted Jews and Moriscos continued to observe their previous religions in private. In 1568, however, a serious rebellion broke out among the Moriscos of Andalusia, who sealed their fate by appealing to the Ottoman Empire for aid. The incident led to mass expulsions throughout Spain and to the eventual exodus of hundreds of thousands of *conversos* and Moriscos, even those who had apparently become devout Christians.

In the exploration and exploitation of the New World, Spain found an outlet for the crusading energies that the war against the Muslims had stimulated. In the fifteenth century, Portuguese mariners were opening a route around Africa to the East. At the same time as the Castilians, they had planted colonies in the Azores and in the Canary Islands (also Canaries; Spanish, Canarias), the latter of which had been assigned to Spain by papal decree. The conquest of Granada allowed the Catholic Kings to divert their attention to exploration, although Christopher Columbus's first voyage in 1492 was financed by foreign bankers. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia, a Catalan) formally approved the division of the unexplored world between Spain and Portugal. The Treaty of Tordesillas, which Spain and Portugal signed one year later, moved the line of division westward and allowed Portugal to claim Brazil.

New discoveries and conquests came in quick succession. Vasco Núñez de Balboa reached the Pacific in 1513, and the survivors of Ferdinand Magellan's expedition completed the circumnavigation of the globe in 1522. In 1519 the conquistador Hernando Cortés subdued the Aztecs in Mexico with a handful of followers, and between 1531 and 1533 Francisco Pizarro overthrew the empire of the Incas and established Spanish dominion over Peru.

In 1493, when Columbus brought 1,500 colonists with him on his second voyage, a royal administrator had already been appointed for the Indies. The Council of the Indies (Consejo de Indias), established in 1524, acted as an advisory board to the crown on colonial affairs, and the House of Trade (Casa de Contratación) regulated trade with the colonies. The newly established colonies were not Spanish but Castilian. They were administered as appendages of Castile, and the Aragonese were prohibited from trading or settling there.

Charles V and Philip II

Ferdinand and Isabella were the last of the Trastamaras, and a native dynasty would never again rule Spain. When their sole male heir, John, who was to have inherited all his parents' crowns, died in 1497, the succession to the throne passed to Juana, John's sister. But Juana had become the wife of Philip the Handsome, heir through his father, Emperor Maximilian I, to the Habsburg patrimony. On Ferdinand's death in 1516, Charles of Ghent, the son of Juana and Philip, inherited Spain (which he ruled as Charles I, r. 1516-56), its colonies, and Naples. (Juana, called Juana la Loca or Joanna the Mad, lived until 1555 but was judged incompetent to rule.) When Maximilian I died in 1519, Charles also inherited the Habsburg domains in Germany. Shortly afterward he was selected Holy Roman emperor, a title that he held as Charles V (r. 1519-56), to succeed his grandfather. Charles, in only a few years, was able to bring together the world's most diverse empire since Rome (see fig. 3).

Charles's closest attachment was to his birthplace, Flanders; he surrounded himself with Flemish advisers who were not appreciated in Spain. His duties as both Holy Roman emperor and king of Spain, moreover, never allowed him to tarry in one place. As the years of his long reign passed, however, Charles moved closer to Spain and called upon its manpower and colonial wealth to maintain the Hapsburg empire.

When he abdicated in 1556 to retire to a Spanish monastery, Charles divided his empire. His son, Philip II (r. 1556-98), inherited Spain, the Italian possessions, and the Netherlands (the industrial

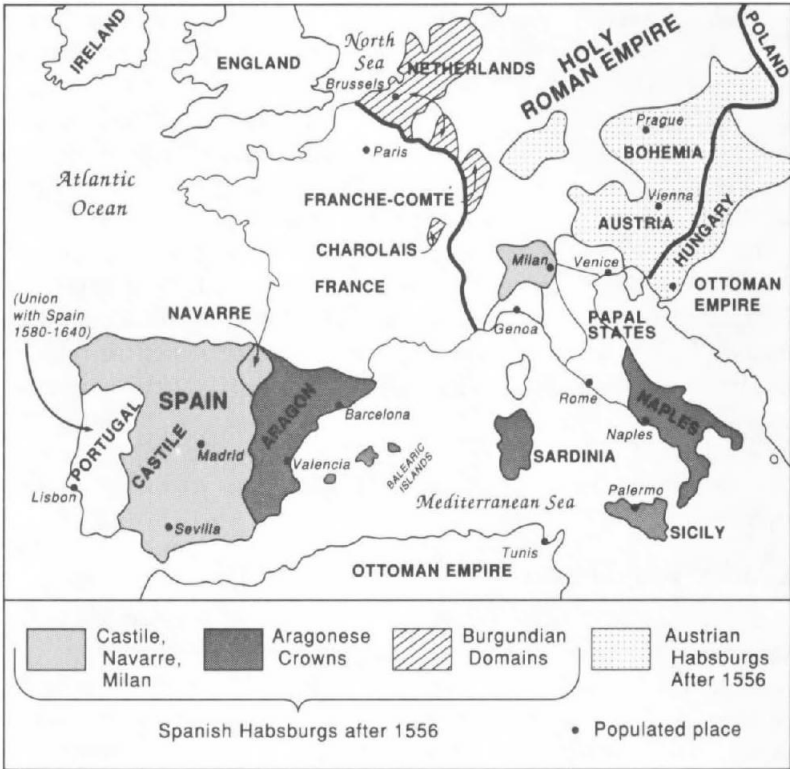


Figure 3. Europe in the Sixteenth Century

heartland of Europe in the mid-sixteenth century). For a brief period (1554–58), Philip was also king of England as the husband of Mary Tudor (Mary I). In 1580 Philip inherited the throne of Portugal through his mother, and the Iberian Peninsula had a single monarch for the next sixty years.

Philip II was a Castilian by education and temperament. He was seldom out of Spain, and he spoke only Spanish. He governed his scattered dominions through a system of councils, such as the Council of the Indies, which were staffed by professional civil servants whose activities were coordinated by the Council of State, which was responsible to Philip. The Council of State's function was only advisory. Every decision was Philip's; every question required his answer; every document needed his signature. His father had been a peripatetic emperor, but Philip, a royal bureaucrat, administered every detail of his empire from El Escorial, the forbidding palace-monastery-mausoleum on the barren plain outside Madrid.

By marrying Ferdinand, Isabella had united Spain; however, she had also inevitably involved Castile in Aragon's wars in Italy against France, which had formerly been Castile's ally. The motivation in each of their children's marriages had been to circle France with Spanish allies—Habsburg, Burgundian, and English. The succession to the Spanish crown of the Habsburg dynasty, which had broader continental interests and commitments, drew Spain onto the center stage of European dynastic wars for 200 years.

Well into the seventeenth century, music, art, literature, theater, dress, and manners from Spain's Golden Age were admired and imitated; they set a standard by which the rest of Europe measured its culture. Spain was also Europe's preeminent military power, with occasion to exercise its strength on many fronts—on land in Italy, Germany, North Africa, and the Netherlands, and at sea against the Dutch, French, Turks, and English. Spain was the military and diplomatic standard-bearer of the Counter-Reformation. Spanish fleets defeated the Turks at Malta (1565) and at Lepanto (1572)—events celebrated even in hostile England. These victories prevented the Mediterranean from becoming an Ottoman lake. The defeat of the Grand Armada in 1588 averted the planned invasion of England but was not a permanent setback for the Spanish fleet, which recovered and continued to be an effective naval force in European waters.

Sixteenth-century Spain was ultimately the victim of its own wealth. Military expenditure did not stimulate domestic production. Bullion from American mines passed through Spain like water through a sieve to pay for troops in the Netherlands and Italy, to maintain the emperor's forces in Germany and ships at sea, and to satisfy conspicuous consumption at home. The glut of precious metal brought from America and spent on Spain's military establishment quickened inflation throughout Europe, left Spaniards without sufficient specie to pay debts, and caused Spanish goods to become too overpriced to compete in international markets.

American bullion alone could not satisfy the demands of military expenditure. Domestic production was heavily taxed, driving up prices for Spanish-made goods. The sale of titles to entrepreneurs who bought their way up the social ladder, removing themselves from the productive sector of the economy and padding an increasingly parasitic aristocracy, provided additional funds. Potential profit from the sale of property served as an incentive for further confiscations from *conversos* and Moriscos.

Spain's apparent prosperity in the sixteenth century was not based on actual economic growth. As its bullion supply decreased in the seventeenth century, Spain was neither able to meet the cost

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of its military commitments nor to pay for imports of manufactured goods that could not be produced efficiently at home. The overall effect of plague and emigration reduced Spain's population from 8 million in the early sixteenth century to 7 million by the mid-seventeenth century. Land was taken out of production for lack of labor and the incentive to develop it, and Spain, although predominantly agrarian, depended on imports of foodstuffs.

Spain in Decline

The seventeenth century was a period of unremitting political, military, economic, and social decline. Neither Philip III (r. 1598–1621) nor Philip IV (r. 1621–65) was competent to give the kind of clear direction that Philip II had provided. Responsibility passed to aristocratic advisers. Gaspar de Guzmán, count-duke of Olivares, attempted and failed to establish the centralized administration that his famous contemporary, Cardinal Richelieu, had introduced in France. In reaction to Guzmán's bureaucratic absolutism, Catalonia revolted and was virtually annexed by France. Portugal, with English aid, reasserted its independence in 1640, and an attempt was made to separate Andalusia from Spain. In 1648, at the Peace of Westphalia, Spain assented to the emperor's accommodation with the German Protestants, and in 1654 it recognized the independence of the northern Netherlands.

During the long regency for Charles II (1665–1700), the last of the Spanish Habsburgs, *validos* milked Spain's treasury, and Spain's government operated principally as a dispenser of patronage. Plague, famine, floods, drought, and renewed war with France wasted the country. The Peace of the Pyrenees (1659) ended fifty years of warfare with France, whose king, Louis XIV, found the temptation to exploit weakened Spain too great. As part of the peace settlement, the Spanish infanta María Teresa, had become the wife of Louis XIV. Using Spain's failure to pay her dowry as a pretext, Louis instigated the War of Devolution (1667–68) to acquire the Spanish Netherlands in lieu of the dowry. Most of the European powers were ultimately involved in the wars that Louis fought in the Netherlands.

Bourbon Spain

Charles II, the product of generations of inbreeding, was unable to rule and remained childless. The line of Spanish Habsburgs came to an end at his death. Habsburg partisans argued for allocating succession to the Austrian branch of the Habsburg dynasty, but Charles II, in one of his last official acts, left Spain to his nephew, Philip of Anjou, a Bourbon and the grandson of Louis XIV. This

solution appealed to Castilian legitimists because it complied with the principle of succession to the next in the bloodline. Spanish officials had been concerned with providing for the succession in such a way as to guarantee an integral, independent Spanish state that, along with its possessions in the Netherlands and in Italy, would not become part of either a pan-Bourbon or a pan-Habsburg empire. "The Pyrenees are no more," Louis XIV rejoiced at his grandson's accession as Philip V (r. 1700–46). The prospect of the Spanish Netherlands falling into French hands, however, alarmed the British and the Dutch.

War of the Spanish Succession

The acceptance of the Spanish crown by Philip V in the face of counterclaims by Archduke Charles of Austria, who was supported by Britain and the Netherlands, was the proximate cause of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–14), the first "world war" fought by European powers. In 1705 an Anglo-Austrian force landed in Spain. A Franco-Castilian army halted its advance on Madrid, but the invaders occupied Catalonia. Castile enthusiastically received the Bourbon dynasty, but the Catalans opposed it, not so much out of loyalty to the Habsburgs as in defense of their *fueros* against the feared imposition of French-style centralization by a Castilian regime.

The War of the Spanish Succession was also a Spanish civil war. Britain agreed to a separate peace with France, and the allies withdrew from Catalonia, but the Catalans continued their resistance under the banner "Privilegis o Mort" (Liberty or Death). Catalonia was devastated, and Barcelona fell to Philip V after a prolonged siege (1713–14).

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) brought the war to a close and recognized the Bourbon succession in Spain on the condition that Spain and France would never be united under the same crown. The Spanish Netherlands (which become known as the Austrian Netherlands and later as Belgium) and Spain's Italian possessions, however, reverted to the Austrian Habsburgs. Britain retained Gibraltar and Minorca, seized during the war, and received trade concessions in Spanish America. Spain emerged from the war with its internal unity and colonial empire intact, but with its political position in Europe weakened.

Philip V undertook to modernize Spanish government through his French and Italian advisers. Centralized government was institutionalized, local *fueros* were abrogated, regional parliaments were abolished, and the aristocracy's independent influence on the councils of state was destroyed.

The Enlightenment

Charles III (r. 1759–88), Spain's enlightened despot par excellence, served his royal apprenticeship as king of Naples. He was one of Europe's most active patrons of the Enlightenment, a period during which attempts were made to reform society through the application of reason to political, social, and economic problems. Despite Charles's attempt to reform the economy, the impact of the Enlightenment was essentially negative. Anticlericalism was an integral part of Enlightenment ideology, but it was carried to greater lengths in Spain than elsewhere in Europe because of government sponsorship. Public charities financed by the church were considered antisocial because they were thought to discourage initiative, and they were therefore abolished. The state suppressed monasteries and confiscated their property. The Jesuits, outspoken opponents of regalism, were expelled. Their expulsion virtually crippled higher education in Spain. The state also banned the teachings of medieval philosophers and of the sixteenth-century Jesuit political theorists who had argued for the "divine right of the people" over their kings. The government employed the Inquisition to discipline antiregalist clerics.

Economic recovery was noticeable, and government efficiency was greatly improved at the higher levels during Charles III's reign. The Bourbon reforms, however, resulted in no basic changes in the pattern of property holding. Neither land reform nor increased land use occurred. The rudimentary nature of bourgeois class consciousness in Spain hindered the creation of a middle-class movement. Despite the development of a national bureaucracy in Madrid, government programs foundered because of the lethargy of administrators at lower levels and because of a backward rural population. The reform movement could not be sustained without the patronage of Charles III, and it did not survive him.

The Napoleonic Era

Charles IV (r. 1788–1807) retained the trappings of his father's enlightened despotism, but he was dominated by his wife's favorite, a guards officer, Manuel de Godoy, who at the age of twenty-five was chief minister and virtual dictator of Spain. When the French National Assembly declared war in 1793, Godoy rode the popular wave of reaction building in Spain against the French Revolution and joined the coalition against France. Spanish arms suffered repeated setbacks, and in 1796 Godoy shifted allies and joined the French against Britain. Godoy, having been promised half of Portugal as his personal reward, became Napoleon Bonaparte's willing

*The Giralda,
symbol of the city
of Sevilla, in the
late nineteenth century
Courtesy Prints and
Photographs Division,
Library of Congress*



puppet. Louisiana, Spanish since 1763, was restored to France. A regular subsidy was paid to France from the Spanish treasury, and 15,000 Spanish troops were assigned to garrisons in northern Europe.

Military reverses and economic misery caused a popular uprising in March 1808 that forced the dismissal of Godoy and the abdication of Charles IV. The king was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand VII (r. 1808; 1814–33). The French forced Ferdinand to abdicate almost immediately, however, and Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, was named king of Spain. A large French army was moved in to support the new government and to invade Britain's ally, Portugal, from Spanish soil. The *afrancesados*, a small but influential group of Spaniards who favored reconstructing their country on the French model, welcomed the Bonapartist regime.

To ingratiate himself with the *afrancesados*, Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed the dissolution of religious houses. The defense of the Roman Catholic Church, which had long been attacked by successive Spanish governments, now became the test of Spanish patriotism and the cause around which resistance to the French rallied. The citizens of Zaragoza held out against superior French forces for more than a year. In Asturias, local forces took back control of their province, and an army of Valencians temporarily forced the French out of Madrid. The War of Independence (1808–14), as the Iberian phase of the Napoleonic wars is known in Spanish

historiography, attained the status of a popular crusade that united all classes, parties, and regions in a common struggle. It was a war fought without rules or regular battlelines. The Spanish painter, Goya, depicted the brutality practiced on both sides.

The British dispatched an expeditionary force, originally intended to occupy part of Spanish America, to the Iberian Peninsula in 1808. In the next year, a larger contingent under Arthur Wellesley, later duke of Wellington, followed. Elements of the Spanish army held Cádiz, the only major city not taken by the French, but the countryside belonged to the guerrillas, who held down 250,000 of Napoleon's best troops under Marshal Nicholas Soult, while Wellington waited to launch the offensive that was to cause the defeat of the French at Vitoria (1813).

The Liberal Ascendancy

The Cádiz Cortes

From the first days of the War of Independence, juntas, established by army commanders, guerrilla leaders, or local civilian groups, appeared in areas outside French control. They also existed underground as alternatives to the French-imposed government. Unity extended only to fighting the French, however. Coups were frequent, and there was sometimes bloody competition among military, partisan, and civilian groups for control of the juntas. A central junta sat in Cádiz. It had little authority, except as surrogate for the absent royal government. It succeeded, however, in calling together representatives from local juntas in 1810, with the vague notion of creating the Cortes of All the Spains, so called because it would be the single legislative body for the empire and its colonies. Many of the overseas provinces had by that time already declared their independence. Some saw the Cortes at Cádiz as an interim government until the Desired One, as Ferdinand VII was called by his supporters, could return to the throne. Many regalists could not admit that a parliamentary body could legislate in the absence of a king.

The delegates at the Cortes at Cádiz formed into two main currents, liberal and conservative. The liberals carried on the reformist philosophy of Charles III and added to it many of the new ideals of the French Revolution. They wanted equality before the law, a centralized government, an efficient modern civil service, a reform of the tax system, the replacement of feudal privileges by freedom of contract, and the recognition of the property owner's right to use his property as he saw fit. As the liberals were the majority, they were able to transform the assembly from interim government

to constitutional convention. The product of the Cortes's deliberations reflected the liberals' dominance, for the constitution of 1812 came to be the "sacred codex" of liberalism, and during the nineteenth century it served as a model for liberal constitutions of Latin nations.

As the principal aim of the new constitution was the prevention of arbitrary and corrupt royal rule, it provided for a limited monarchy which governed through ministers subject to parliamentary control. Suffrage, determined by property qualifications, favored the position of the commercial class in the new parliament, in which there was no special provision for the church or the nobility. The constitution set up a rational and efficient centralized administrative system based on newly formed provinces and municipalities rather than on the historic provinces. Repeal of traditional property restrictions gave the liberals the freer economy they wanted.

The 1812 Constitution marked the initiation of the Spanish tradition of liberalism; by the country's standards, however, it was a revolutionary document, and when Ferdinand VII was restored to the throne in 1814 he refused to recognize it. He dismissed the Cádiz Cortes and was determined to rule as an absolute monarch.

Spain's American colonies took advantage of the postwar chaos to proclaim their independence, and most established republican governments. By 1825 only Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under the Spanish flag in the New World. When Ferdinand was restored to the throne in Madrid, he expended wealth and manpower in a vain effort to reassert control over the colonies. The move was unpopular among liberal officers assigned to the American wars.

Rule by Pronunciamiento

In 1820 Major Rafael de Riego led a revolt among troops quartered in Cádiz while awaiting embarkation to America. Garrison mutinies were not unusual, but Riego issued a *pronunciamiento*, or declaration of principles, to the troops, which was directed against the government and which called for the army to support adoption of the 1812 constitution. Support for Riego spread from garrison to garrison, toppling the regalist government and forcing Ferdinand to accept the liberal constitution. The *pronunciamiento*, distributed by barracks politicians among underpaid members of an overstuffed officer corps, became a regular feature of Spanish politics. An officer or group of officers would seek a consensus among fellow officers in opposing or supporting a particular policy or in calling for a change in government. If any government were to survive, it needed the support of the army. If a *pronunciamiento* received sufficient backing, the government was well advised to

defer to it. This “referendum in blood” was considered within the army to be the purest form of election because the soldiers supporting a *pronunciamiento*—at least in theory—were expressing their willingness to shed blood to make their point. A *pronunciamiento* was judged to have succeeded only if the government gave in to it without a fight. If it did not represent a consensus within the army and there was resistance to it, the *pronunciamiento* was considered a failure, and the officers who had proposed it dutifully went into exile.

French intervention, ordered by Louis XVIII on an appeal from Ferdinand and with the assent of his conservative officers, brought the three years of liberal government under the 1812 constitution—called the Constitutional Triennium (1820–23)—to an abrupt close. The arrival of the French was welcomed in many sectors. Ferdinand, restored as absolute monarch, chose his ministers from the ranks of the old *afrancesados*.

Ferdinand VII, a widower, was childless, and Don Carlos, his popular, traditionalist brother, was heir presumptive. In 1829, however, Ferdinand married his Neapolitan cousin, María Cristina, who gave birth to a daughter, an event followed closely by the revocation of provisions prohibiting female succession. Ferdinand died in 1833, leaving María Cristina as regent for their daughter, Isabella II (r. 1833–68).

Don Carlos contested his niece’s succession, and he won the fanatical support of the traditionalists of Aragon and of Basque Navarre (Spanish, Navarra). The Carlists (supporters of Don Carlos) held that legitimate succession was possible only through the male line. Comprising agrarians, regionalists, and Catholics, the Carlists also opposed the middle class—centralist, anticlerical liberals who flocked to support the regency. The Carlists fielded an army that held off government attempts to suppress them for six years (1833–39), during which time María Cristina received British aid in arms and volunteers. A Carlist offensive against Madrid in 1837 failed, but in the mountains, the Basques continued to resist until a compromise peace in 1839 recognized their ancient *fueros*. Sentiment for Don Carlos and for his successor remained strong in Navarre, and the Carlists continued as a serious political force. Carlist uprisings occurred in 1847 and again from 1872 to 1876.

Liberal Rule

The regency had come to depend on liberal support within the army during the first Carlist war, but after the end of the war against the traditionalists, both the liberals and the army tired of María

Cristina. They forced her to resign in 1840, and a liberal government assumed responsibility for the regency.

The liberals were a narrowly based elite. Their abstract idealism and concern for individual liberties contrasted sharply with the paternalistic attitudes of Spain's rural society. There was no monolithic liberal movement in Spain, but anticlericalism, the touchstone of liberalism, unified the factions. They theorized that the state was the sum of the individuals living within it and that it could recognize and protect only the rights of individuals, not the rights of corporate institutions, such as the church or universities, or the rights of the regions as separate entities with distinct customs and interests. Because only individuals were subject to the law, only individuals could hold title to land. As nothing should impede the development of the individual, so nothing should impede the state in guaranteeing the rights of the individual.

Liberals also agreed on the necessity of a written constitution, a parliamentary government, and a centralized administration, as well as the need for laissez-faire economics. All factions found a voice in the army and drew leadership from its ranks. All had confidence that progress would follow naturally from the application of liberal principles. They differed, however, on the methods to be used in applying these principles.

The Moderates saw economic development within a free market as the cure for political revolution. They argued for a strong constitution that would spell out guaranteed liberties. The Progressives, like the Moderates, were members of the upper and the middle classes, but they drew support from the urban masses and favored creation of a more broadly based electorate. They argued that greater participation in the political process would ensure economic development and an equitable distribution of its fruits. Both factions favored constitutional monarchy. The more radical Democrats, however, believed that political freedom and economic liberalism could only be achieved in a republic.

The army backed the Moderates, who dominated the new regency in coalition with supporters of Isabella's succession. Local political leaders, called *caciques*, regularly delivered the vote for government candidates in return for patronage and assured the Moderates of parliamentary majorities. The Progressives courted the Democrats enough to be certain of regular inclusion in the government. State relations with the church continued to be the most sensitive issue confronting the government and the most divisive issue throughout the country. Despite their anticlericalism, the Moderates concluded a rapprochement with the church, which agreed to surrender its claim to confiscated property in return for

official recognition by the state and a role in education. Reconciliation with the church did not, however, win the Moderates conservative rural support.

Modest economic gains were made during the administration of General Leopoldo O'Donnell, an advocate of laissez-faire policies, who came to power in 1856 through a *pronunciamento*. O'Donnell had encouraged foreign investors to provide Spain with a railroad system, and he had also sponsored Spain's overseas expansion, particularly in Africa. Little economic growth was stimulated, however, except in Catalonia and the Basque region, both of which had already possessed an industrial base. Promises for land reform were broken.

O'Donnell was one of a number of political and military figures around whom personalist political parties formed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most of these parties failed to survive their leaders' active political careers. O'Donnell, for example, formed the Liberal Union as a fusion party broad enough to hold most liberals and to counter the drift of left-wing Progressives to the Democrats. After several years of cooperating with the one-party parliamentary regime, the Progressives withdrew their support, and in 1866 a military coup toppled O'Donnell.

In 1868 an army revolt, led by exiled officers determined to force Isabella from the throne, brought General Juan Prim, an army hero and popular Progressive leader, to power. Isabella's abdication inaugurated a period of experimentation with a liberal monarchy, a federal republic, and finally a military dictatorship.

As prime minister, Prim canvased Europe for a ruler to replace Isabella. A tentative offer made to a Hohenzollern prince was sufficient spark to set off the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71). Prim found a likely royal candidate in Amadeo of Savoy, son of the Italian king, Victor Emmanuel II. Shortly after Amadeo's arrival in Spain, Prim was assassinated, leaving the new king, without a mentor, at the mercy of hostile politicians. The constitution bequeathed to the new monarchy did not leave Amadeo sufficient power to supervise the formation of a stable government. Mistrustful of Prim's foreign prince, factional leaders refused to cooperate with, or to advise, Amadeo. Deserted finally by the army, Amadeo abdicated, leaving a rump parliament to proclaim Spain a federal republic.

The constitution of the First Republic (1873-74) provided for internally self-governing provinces that were bound to the federal government by voluntary agreement. Jurisdiction over foreign and colonial affairs and defense was reserved for Madrid. In its eight-month life, the federal republic had four presidents, none of whom could find a prime minister to form a stable cabinet. The



*Early-twentieth-century stereoscope card showing Madrid's Puerta del Sol
Courtesy Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress*

government could not decentralize quickly enough to satisfy local radicals. Cities and provinces made unilateral declarations of autonomy. Madrid lost control of the country, and once again the army stepped in to rescue the “national honor.” A national government in the form of a unitary republic served briefly as the transparent disguise for an interim military dictatorship.

The Constitutional Monarchy

A brigadier's *pronunciamiento* that called Isabella's son, the able, British-educated Alfonso XII (r. 1875–85), to the throne was sufficient to restore the Bourbon monarchy. Alfonso identified himself as “Spaniard, Catholic, and Liberal,” and his succession was greeted with a degree of relief, even by supporters of the republic. He cultivated good relations with the army (Alfonso was a cadet at Sandhurst, the British military academy, when summoned to Spain), which had removed itself from politics because it was content with the stable, popular civilian government. Alfonso insisted that the official status of the church be confirmed constitutionally, thus assuring the restored monarchy of conservative support.

British practices served as the model for the new constitution's political provisions. The new government used electoral manipulation to construct and to maintain a two-party system in parliament, but the result was more a parody than an imitation. Conservatives and liberals, who differed in very little except name, exchanged control of the government at regular intervals after

general elections. Once again, *caciques* delivered the vote to one party or the other as directed—in return for the assurance of patronage from whichever was scheduled to win, thus controlling the elections at the constituency level. The tendency toward party fracturing and personalism remained a threat to the system, but the restoration monarchy's artificial two-party system gave Spain a generation of relative quiet.

Alfonso XIII (r. 1886–1931) was the posthumous son of Alfonso XII. The mother of Alfonso XIII, another María Cristina, acted as regent until her son came of age officially in 1902. Alfonso XIII abdicated in 1931.

The Cuban Disaster and the “Generation of 1898”

Emigration to Cuba from Spain was heavy in the nineteenth century, and the Cuban middle class, which had close ties to the mother country, favored keeping Cuba Spanish. Cuba had experienced periodic uprisings by independence movements since 1868. Successive governments in Madrid were committed to maintaining whatever armed forces were necessary to combat insurgency. Hostilities broke out again in 1895. The United States clandestinely supported these hostilities, which required Spain to send substantial reinforcements under General Valerio Weyler. Reports of Weyler's suppression of the independence movement, and the mysterious explosion of the battleship U.S.S. *Maine* in Havana harbor, stirred public opinion in the United States and led to a declaration of war by the United States in April 1898. The United States destroyed antiquated Spanish naval units at Santiago de Cuba and in Manila Bay. Despite a pledge by Madrid to defend Cuba “to the last peseta,” the Spanish army surrendered after a few weeks of hostilities against an American expeditionary force. In Paris that September, Spain gave up Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

The suddenness and the totality of Spain's defeat as well as the country's realization of its lack of European support during the war with the United States (only Germany had offered diplomatic backing) threw Spain into despair. The disaster called forth an intellectual reevaluation of Spain's position in the world by the so-called “Generation of 1898,” who confronted Spaniards with the propositions that Spain had long since ceased to be a country of consequence, that its society was archaic, and that its institutions were outworn and incapable of moving into the twentieth century. These words were painful for the proud nation.

The traumatic events of 1898 and the inability of the government to deal with them prompted political reevaluation. A plethora of new, often short-lived, personalist parties and regional groups

on both the left and the right (that broke the hegemony of the two-party system and ultimately left the parliamentary structure in disarray) sought solutions to the country's problems. By 1915 it was virtually impossible to form a coalition government that could command the support of a parliamentary majority.

Some politicians on the right, like the conservative, Antonio Maura, argued for a return to traditional authoritarianism, and they blamed the parliamentary regimes (kept in power by *caciques*) for corrupting the country. Maura failed in his attempt to form a national Catholic party, but he inspired a number of right-wing groups with his political philosophy.

Regionalist movements were organized to free progressive Catalonia, the Basque areas, and Galicia from the "Castilian corpse." Whether on the left or on the right, residents of these regions stressed their distinct character and history. An electoral coalition of Catalan parties regularly sent strong parliamentary contingents to Madrid to barter their votes for concessions to Catalonian regionalism.

Alejandro Lerroux was an effective, but demagogical, political organizer who took his liberal splinter group into the antimonarchist camp. He formed the Radical Republicans on a national, middle-class base that frequently allied itself with the Catalans.

The democratic, Marxist-oriented Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE), founded in 1879, grew rapidly in the north, especially in Asturias, where a trade union, the General Union of Workers (Unión General de Trabajadores—UGT), had most effectively organized the working class.

The Federation of Iberian Anarchists (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) was well organized in Catalonia and Andalusia and had many members, but in keeping with anarchist philosophy, they remained aloof from participation in the electoral process. Their abstention, however, had a telling effect. They practiced terrorism, and the anarchist trade union, the National Confederation of Labor (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo—CNT), was able on several occasions to shut down Barcelona. The aim of the anarchists was not to take control of the government, but to make government impossible.

The African War and the Authoritarian Regime of Miguel Primo de Rivera

Spain was neutral in World War I, but the Spanish army was constantly engaged from 1909 to 1926 against Abd al Krim's Riff Berbers in Morocco, where Spain had joined France in proclaiming

a protectorate. Successive civilian governments in Spain allowed the war to continue, but they refused to supply the army with the means to win it. Spanish losses were heavy to their fierce and skillful enemy, who was equipped with superior weapons. Riots against conscription for the African war spread disorder throughout the country, and opposition to the war was often expressed in church burnings. Officers, who often had served in Morocco, formed juntas to register complaints that were just short of *pronunciamientos* against wartime inflation, low fixed salaries for the military, alleged civilian corruption, and inadequate and scarce equipment.

Conditions in Morocco, increased anarchist and communist terrorism, industrial unrest, and the effects of the postwar economic slump prompted the *pronunciamiento* that brought a general officer, Miguel Primo de Rivera (in power, 1923–30), into office. His authoritarian regime originally enjoyed wide support in much of the country and had the confidence of the king and the loyalty of the army. The government lacked an ideological foundation, however; its mandate was based on general disillusionment with both the parliamentary government and the extreme partisan politics of the previous period.

Once in power, Primo de Rivera dissolved parliament and ruled through directorates and the aid of the military until 1930. His regime sponsored public works to curb unemployment. Protectionism and state control of the economy led to a temporary economic recovery. A better led and better supplied army brought the African war to a successful conclusion in 1926.

The precipitous economic decline in 1930 undercut support for the government from special-interest groups. For seven years, Primo de Rivera remained a man on horseback. He established no new system to replace parliamentary government. Criticism from academics mounted. Bankers expressed disappointment at the state loans that his government had tried to float. An attempt to reform the promotion system cost him the support of the army. This loss of army support caused him to lose the support of the king. Primo de Rivera resigned and died shortly afterward in exile.

Republican Spain

Antimonarchist parties won a substantial vote in the 1931 municipal elections. Alfonso XIII interpreted the outcome of the elections and the riots that followed as an indication of imminent civil war. He left the country with his family and appealed to the army for support in upholding the monarchy. When General José Sanjurjo, army chief of staff, replied that the armed forces would not support the king against the will of the people, Alfonso abdicated.

A multiparty coalition in which regional parties held the balance met at a constitutional convention at San Sebastián, the summer capital, to proclaim the Second Republic. The goals of the new republic, set forth at the convention, included reform of the army, the granting of regional autonomy, social reform and economic redistribution, the separation of church and state, and depriving the church of a role in education. Niceto Alcalá Zamora, a non-party conservative, became president and called elections for June.

The first general election of the Second Republic gave a majority to a coalition of the Republican Left (Izquierda Republicana—IR)—a middle-class radical party led by Manuel Azaña, who became prime minister—and labor leader Francisco Largo Caballero's PSOE, backed by the UGT. Azaña pledged that his government would gradually introduce socialism through the democratic process. His gradualism alienated the political left; his socialism, the right.

Azaña's republicanism, like nineteenth-century liberalism and Bourbon regalism before it, was inevitably associated with anticlericalism. His government proposed to carry out the constitutional convention's recommendations for complete state control of education.

In 1932 the Catalan Generalitat gained recognition as the autonomous regional government for Catalonia. The region remained part of the Spanish republic and was tied more closely to it because of Madrid's grant of autonomy. Representatives from Catalonia to the Madrid parliament played an active role in national affairs. Efforts to reform the army and to eliminate its political power provoked a *pronunciamiento* against the government by Sanjurjo. The *pronunciamiento*, though unsuccessful, forced Azaña to back down from dealing with the military establishment for the time being.

Azaña's greatest difficulties derived from doctrinal differences within the government between his non-Marxist, bourgeois IR and the PSOE, which, after an initial period of cooperation, obstructed Azaña at every step. Opposition from the UGT blocked attempts at labor legislation. The PSOE complained that Azaña's reforms were inadequate to produce meaningful social change, though there was no parliamentary majority that would have approved Largo Caballero's far-reaching proposals to improve conditions for working people. Azaña's legislative program may not have satisfied his ally, but it did rally moderate and conservative opinion against the coalition on the eve of the second general election in November 1932.

Azaña's principal parliamentary opposition came from the two largest parties that could claim a national constituency, Lerroux's

moderate, middle-class Radical Republicans and a right-wing Catholic organization, the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right (Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas—CEDA). Lerroxx, who had grown more conservative and tolerant since his days as an antimonarchist firebrand, capitalized on the left's failures to reach a compromise with the church and to deal with industrial unrest and with the extragovernmental power of the UGT and the CNT. He appealed for conservative support by showing that Azaña was at the mercy of the unions—as he was when in coalition with Largo Caballero.

CEDA was a coalition of groups under the leadership of José María Gil Robles, a law professor from Salamanca who had headed Popular Action (Acción Popular), an influential Catholic political youth movement. As a broadly based fusion party, CEDA could not afford a doctrinaire political stance, and its flexibility was part of its strength. Some elements in the party, however, favored a Christian social democracy, and they took the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII as their guide. CEDA never succeeded in establishing a working-class base. Its electoral strength lay in the Catholic middle class and in the rural population. Gil Robles was primarily interested in 1932 in working for a settlement favorable to the church within the constitutional structure of the republic.

In the November election, the IR and the PSOE ran separately rather than placing candidates on a common slate. Combined electoral lists, permitted under the constitution, encouraged coalitions; they were intended to prevent parliamentary fragmentation in the multiparty system.

The government parties lost seats, and CEDA emerged as the largest single party in parliament. CEDA's showing at the polls was taken as a sign of conservative Spain's disenchantment with the Republic and its anticlericalism. But there was no question that the Catholic right was being called on to form a government. President Zamora was hostile to CEDA, and he urged Lerroxx to head a minority government. Lerroxx agreed, but he entered into a parliamentary alliance with CEDA a little more than a year later. Lerroxx did not welcome the center-right coalition; however, he knew the coalition presented the only means by which a parliamentary majority that included his party could be obtained. Gil Robles was appointed minister for war, with a role in maintaining public order, in the new government.

Unions used strikes as political weapons, much as the army had used the *pronunciamiento*. Industrial disorder climaxed in a miners' strike in Asturias, which Azaña openly and actively supported. The police and the army commanded by Franco crushed the miners.

The strike confirmed to the right that the left could not be trusted to abide by constitutional processes, and the suppression of the strike proved to the left that the right was "fascist." Azaña accused Gil Robles of using republican institutions to destroy the republic.

The Lerroux-Gil Robles government had as its first priority the restoration of order, although the government's existence was the chief cause of the disorder. Action on labor's legitimate grievances was postponed until order was restored. The most controversial of Gil Robles's programs, however, was finding the means to effect a reconciliation with the church. In the context of the coalition with Lerroux, he also attempted to expand his political base by courting the support of antirepublican elements. The government resigned in November 1935 over a minor issue. Zamora refused to sanction the formation of a new government by CEDA, without the cooperation of which no moderate government could be put together. On the advice of the left, Zamora called a new general election for February 1936.

The Asturian miners' strike had polarized public opinion and had led to the consolidation of parties on the left from Azaña's IR to the Communist Party of Spain (Partido Comunista de España—PCE). The PSOE had been increasingly "bolshevized," and it was difficult for a social democrat, such as Largo Caballero, to control his party, which drifted leftward. In 1935 Soviet leader Joseph Stalin had sanctioned communist participation in popular front governments with bourgeois and democratic socialist parties. The Left Republicans, the PSOE, the Republican Left of Catalonia (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya), the communists, a number of smaller regional and left-wing parties, and the anarchists, who had boycotted previous elections as a matter of principle, joined to present a single leftist slate to the electorate.

The Spanish Popular Front was to be only an electoral coalition. Its goal was not to form a government but to defeat the right. Largo Caballero made it clear that the Socialists would not cooperate in any government that did not adopt their program for nationalization, a policy as much guaranteed to break Spain in two and to provoke a civil war as the appointment of the CEDA-dominated government that Zamora had worked to prevent.

The general election produced a number of irregularities that led the left, the right, and the center to claim massive voting fraud. Two subsequent runoff votes, recounts, and an electoral commission controlled by the left provided the Popular Front with an impressive number of parliamentary seats. Azaña formed his minority government, but the front's victory was taken as the signal for the start of the left's long-awaited revolution, already

anticipated by street riots, church burnings, and strikes. Workers' councils, which undertook to circumvent the slow-grinding wheels of the constitutional process, set up governments parallel to the traditional bodies. Zamora was removed from office on the grounds that he had gone beyond his constitutional authority in calling the general election. Azaña was named to replace him, depriving the IR of his strong leadership.

The Spanish Civil War

Gil Robles's influence, as a spokesman for the right in the new parliament, waned. The National Block, a smaller coalition of monarchists and fascists led by José Calvo Sotelo, who had sought the army's cooperation in restoring Alfonso XIII, assumed CEDA's role. Calvo Sotelo was murdered in July 1936, supposedly in retaliation for the killing of a police officer by fascists. Calvo Sotelo's death was a signal to the army to act on the pretext that the civilian government had allowed the country to fall into disorder. The army issued a *pronunciamiento*. A coup was expected, however, and the urban police and the workers' militia loyal to the government put down revolts by army garrisons in Madrid and Barcelona. Navy crews spontaneously purged their ships of officers. The army and the left rejected the eleventh-hour efforts of Indalecio Prieto (who had succeeded Azaña as prime minister) to arrive at a compromise.

The army was most successful in the north, where General Emilio Mola had established his headquarters at Burgos (see fig. 4). North-central Spain and the Carlist strongholds in Navarre and Aragon rallied to the army. In Morocco, elite units seized control under Franco, Spain's youngest general and hero. Transport supplied by Germany and Italy ferried Franco's African army, including Moorish auxiliaries, to Andalusia. Franco occupied the major cities in the south before turning toward Madrid to link up with Mola, who was advancing from Burgos. The relief of the army garrison besieged at Toledo, however, delayed the attack on Madrid and allowed time for preparation of the capital's defense. Army units penetrated the city limits, but they were driven back, and the Nationalists were able to retain the city.

A junta of generals, including Franco, formed a government at Burgos, which Germany and Italy immediately recognized. Sanjurjo, who had been expected to lead the army movement, was killed in a plane crash during the first days of the uprising. In October 1936, Franco was named head of state, with the rank of generalissimo and the title *el caudillo* (the leader).

When he assumed leadership of the Nationalist forces, Franco had a reputation as a highly professional, career-oriented, combat

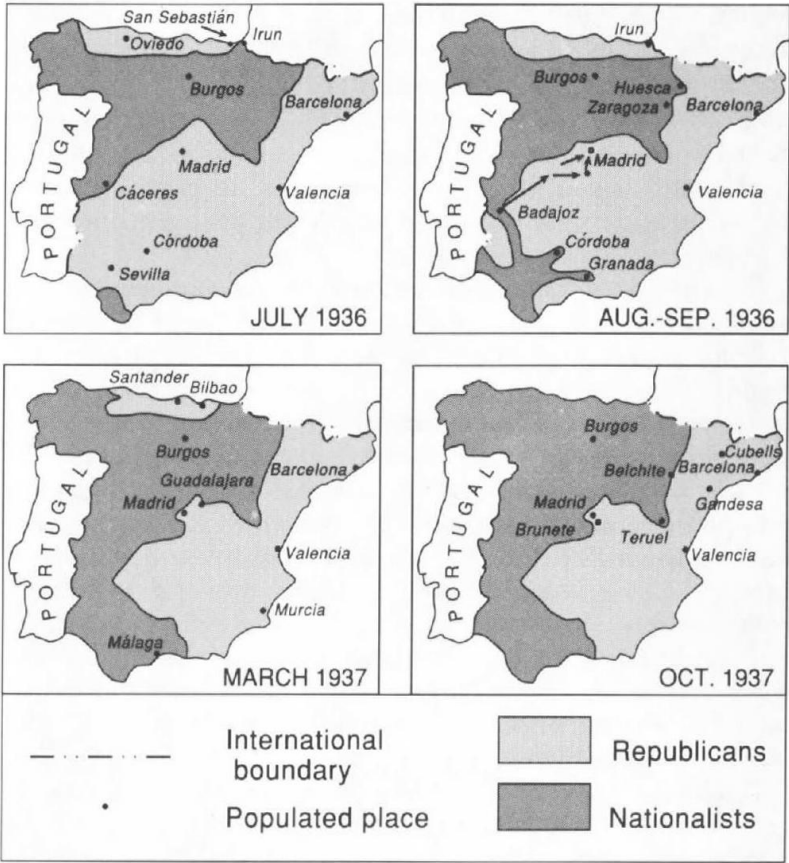
soldier, who had developed into a first-rate officer. Commissioned in the army at the age of eighteen, he had volunteered for service in Morocco, where he had distinguished himself as a courageous leader. Serious, studious, humorless, withdrawn, and abstemious, he had won the respect and the confidence of his subordinates more readily than he had won the comradeship of his brother officers. At the age of thirty-three, he had become the youngest general in Europe since Napoleon Bonaparte.

Franco opposed Sanjurjo in 1932; still, Azaña considered Franco unreliable and made him captain general of the Canaries, a virtual exile for an ambitious officer. Though by nature a conservative, Franco did not wed himself to any particular political creed. On taking power, he set about to reconcile all right-wing, antirepublican groups in one Nationalist organization. The Falange, a fascist party founded by José Antonio Primo de Rivera (the dictator's son), provided the catalyst. The Carlists, revived after 1931, merged with the Falange in 1937, but the association was never harmonious. José Antonio's execution by the Republicans provided the Falange with a martyr. The more radical of the early Falange programs were pushed aside by more moderate elements, and the Nationalists' trade unionism was only a shadow of what José Antonio had intended. The Nationalist organization did keep its fascist facade, but Franco's strength lay in the army.

Nationalist strategy called for separating Madrid from Catalonia (which was firmly Republican), Valencia, and Murcia (which the republic also controlled). The Republicans stabilized the front around Madrid, defending it against the Nationalists for three years. Isolated Asturias and Vizcaya, where the newly organized Basque Republic fought to defend its autonomy without assistance from Madrid, fell to Franco in October 1937. Otherwise the battlelines were static until July 1938, when Nationalist forces broke through to the Mediterranean Sea south of Barcelona. Throughout the Civil War, the industrial areas—except Asturias and the Basque provinces—remained in Republican hands, while the chief food-producing areas were under Nationalist control.

The republic lacked a regular trained army, though a number of armed forces cadres had remained loyal, especially in the air force and the navy. Many of the loyal officers were either purged or were not trusted to hold command positions. The workers' militia and independently organized armed political units like those of the Trotskyite Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—POUM) bore the brunt of the fighting in the early months of the Civil War. For example, the anarchist

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Source: Based on information from Raymond Carr, *Spain 1908-1975*; Oxford, 1982, 777.

Figure 4. Territorial Control During the Spanish Civil War, 1936-37

UGT militia and the Assault Guards (the urban police corps established by the Republic to counterbalance the Civil Guard—Guardia Civil—the paramilitary rural police who were generally considered reactionary) crushed the army garrison in Barcelona. Moscow provided advisers, logistics experts, and some field-grade officers. Foreign volunteers, including more than 2,000 from the United States, formed the International Brigade. The communists pressed for, and won, approval for the creation of a national, conscript Republican army.

The Soviet Union supplied arms and munitions to the republic from the opening days of the Civil War. France provided some aircraft and artillery. The republic's only other conduit for arms supply was through Mexico. The so-called spontaneous revolutions

that plagued the industrial centers hampered arms production within Spain.

Nationalist strength was based on the regular army, which included large contingents of Moroccan troops and battalions of the Foreign Legion, which Franco had commanded in Africa. The Carlists, who had always maintained a clandestine militia (*requetés*), were among Franco's most effective troops, and they were employed, together with the Moroccans, as a shock corps. Italian dictator Benito Mussolini (fascist premier, 1922–45) dispatched more than 50,000 Italian "volunteers" (most of them army conscripts) to Spain, along with air and naval units. The German Condor Legion, made infamous by the bombing of Guernica, provided air support for the Nationalists and tested the tactics and the equipment used a few years later by the Luftwaffe (German air force). Germany and Italy also supplied large quantities of artillery and armor, as well as the personnel to use this weaponry.

A nonintervention commission, including representatives from France, Britain, Germany, and Italy, was established at the Lyon Conference in 1936 to stem the flow of supplies to both sides. France and Britain were concerned that escalating foreign intervention could turn Spain's Civil War into a European war. The commission and coastal patrols supplied by the signatory powers were to enforce an embargo. The net effect of the nonintervention agreement was to cut off French and British aid to the republic. Germany and Italy did not observe the agreement. The Soviet Union was not a signatory. By 1938, however, Stalin had lost interest in Spain.

While the Republicans resisted the Nationalists by all available means, another struggle was going on within their own ranks. A majority fought essentially to protect Republican institutions. Others, including the communists, were committed to finishing the Civil War before beginning their anticipated revolution. They were, however, resisted by comrades-in-arms—the Trotskyites and anarchists—who were intent on completing the social and political revolution while waging war against the Nationalists.

Largo Caballero, who became prime minister in September 1936, had the support of the socialists and of the communists, who were becoming the most important political factor in the Republican government. The communists, after successfully arguing for a national conscript army that could be directed by the government, pressed for elimination of the militia units. They also argued for postponing the revolution until the fascists had been defeated and encouraged greater participation by the bourgeois parties in the Popular Front. The UGT, increasingly under communist influence,

entered into the government, and the more militant elements within it were purged. POUM, which had resisted disbanding its independent military units and merging with the communist-controlled national army, was ruthlessly suppressed as the communists undertook to eliminate competing leftist organizations. Anarchists were dealt with in similar fashion, and in Catalonia a civil war raged within a civil war.

Fearing the growth of Soviet influence in Spain, Largo Caballero attempted to negotiate a compromise that would end the Civil War. He was removed from office and replaced by Juan Negrín, a procommunist socialist with little previous political experience.

The Republican army, its attention diverted by internal political battles, was never able to mount a sustained counteroffensive or to exploit a breakthrough such as that on the Río Ebro in 1938. Negrín realized that Spaniards in Spain could not win the war, but he hoped to prolong the fighting until the outbreak of a European war, which he thought was imminent.

Barcelona fell to the Nationalists in January 1939, and Valencia, the temporary capital, fell in March. When factional fighting broke out in Madrid among the city's defenders, the Republican army commander seized control of what remained of the government and surrendered to the Nationalists on the last day of March, thus ending the Civil War.

There is as much controversy over the number of casualties of the Spanish Civil War as there is about the results of the 1936 election, but even conservative estimates are high. The most consistent estimate is 600,000 dead from all causes, including combat, bombing, and executions. In the Republican sector, tens of thousands died of starvation, and several hundred thousand more fled from Spain.

The Franco Years

Franco's Political System

The leader of the Nationalist forces, General Franco, headed the authoritarian regime that came to power in the aftermath of the Civil War. Until his death in November 1975, Franco ruled Spain as "Caudillo by the grace of God," as his coins proclaimed. In addition to being generalissimo of the armed forces, he was both chief of state and head of government, the ultimate source of legitimate authority. He retained the power to appoint and to dismiss ministers and other decision makers. Even after he grew older, began to lose his health, and became less actively involved in policy making, Franco still had the final word on every major political decision.



*Civilians observing an aerial dogfight during the Civil War
Courtesy Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress*

Ideology or political theories were not the primary motivators in Franco's developing of the institutions that came to be identified with his name. Franco had spent his life as a professional soldier, and his conception of society was along military lines. Known for his iron political nerve, Franco saw himself as the one designated to save Spain from the chaos and instability visited upon the country by the evils of parliamentary democracy and political parties, which he blamed for destroying the unity of Spain. His pragmatic goal was to maintain power in order to keep what he termed the "anti-Spain" forces from gaining ascendancy.

The political structures established under Franco's rule represented this pragmatic approach. Because he never formulated a true, comprehensive, constitutional system, Franco had great flexibility in dealing with changing domestic and international situations. Seven fundamental laws decreed during his rule provided the regime with a semblance of constitutionalism, but they were developed after the fact, usually to legitimize an existing situation or distribution of power.

The first of these fundamental laws was the Labor Charter, promulgated on March 9, 1938. It set forth the social policy of the regime, and it stressed the mutual obligations of the state and its citizens: all Spaniards had the duty to work, and the state was to assure them the right to work. Although the decree called for

adequate wages, paid vacations, and a limit to working hours, it ensured labor's compliance with the new regime by labeling strikes as treason. Later legislation required Spanish workers to join vertical syndicates in which both owners and employees were supposed to cooperate for the good of the nation.

Another fundamental law, the Constituent Law of the Cortes (1942), provided the trappings of constitutionalism. This Cortes (Spanish Parliament), was purely an advisory body, and it had little in common with democratic legislatures. Most of its members were indirectly elected or appointed, and many were already part of the administration. The Cortes did not have the right to initiate legislation or to vote against the government; it could only approve laws presented by the executive. There was no vestige of power attached to this function because the law permitted Franco to legislate by decree without consulting the Cortes. The Council of Ministers, the members of which were appointed by, and presided over, by Franco, exercised executive authority. Franco had the right to dismiss these ministers.

Following the Allied victories in 1945, Franco sought to impress the world's democratic powers with Spain's "liberal" credentials by issuing a fundamental law that was ostensibly a bill of rights—the Charter of Rights. The rights granted by this charter were more cosmetic than democratic, because the government bestowed them and could suspend them without justification; furthermore, the charter placed more emphasis on the duty of all Spaniards to serve their country and to obey its laws than on their basic rights as citizens. Thus, for example, the charter guaranteed all Spaniards the right to express their opinions freely, but they were not to attack the fundamental principles of the state.

The Law on Referenda, also issued in 1945, was a further attempt by Franco to make his regime appear less arbitrary. It provided that issues of national concern would be submitted for the consideration of Spanish citizens by means of popular referenda. Franco decreed this law without having consulted the Cortes, however, and he retained the sole right to determine whether a referendum would be called. The law stipulated that after 1947, a referendum would have to be called in order to alter any fundamental law; Franco retained the right to decree such laws, however—a right which he exercised in 1958.

Additional measures that were taken in the immediate postwar years to provide the Franco regime with a facade of democracy included pardons and reduced terms for prisoners convicted of Civil War crimes and a guarantee that refugees who returned would not be prosecuted if they did not engage in political activities. The

regime announced new elections for municipal councils; council members were to be selected indirectly by syndicates and heads of "families." The government retained the right to appoint all mayors directly.

The Law of Succession (1947) was the first of the fundamental laws to be submitted to popular referendum. It proclaimed that Spain would be a "Catholic, social, and representative monarchy" and that Franco would be regent for life (unless incapacitated). Franco had the authority to name the next king when he thought the time was appropriate and also to revoke his choice at a later date if he so desired. The law also provided for a Council of the Realm to assist Franco in the exercise of executive power and for a three-member Regency Council to be in charge of the government during the period of transition to the Caudillo's successor. When the plebiscite was held, over 90 percent of the 15 million voters approved the measures. Although the Law of Succession ostensibly reestablished the monarchy, it actually solidified Franco's rule and legitimized his position as head of state by popular suffrage.

The sixth fundamental law, the Law on the Principles of the National Movement—which Franco decreed unilaterally in 1958—further defined the institutions of Franco's government. The National Movement—a coalition of right-wing groups referred to as political "families"—termed a "communion" rather than a party, was designated as the sole forum for political participation. The law reaffirmed the nature of Spain as a traditional, Catholic monarchy. All top government officials, as well as all possible future successors to Franco, were required to pledge their loyalty to the principles embodied in this law (which was presented as a synthesis of all previous fundamental laws).

The final fundamental law, the Organic Law of the State, was presented in 1966. It incorporated no major changes, but was designed to codify and to clarify existing practices, while allowing for some degree of reform. It established a separation between the functions of the president of government (prime minister) and the head of state, and it outlined the procedures for the selection of top government officials. It included other measures designed to modernize the Spanish system and to eliminate vestiges of fascist terminology. Although presented as a move toward democratization, it nevertheless retained the basic structure of an authoritarian system.

Franco initially derived his authority from his victory in the Civil War. The armed forces gave his regime security; the Roman Catholic Church and the National Movement gave it legitimacy. The National Movement was the only recognized political organization

in Franco's Spain. It was not a political party, and it did not have an overt ideological basis. Its membership included monarchists, Falangists, conservative Catholics, members of the armed forces, as well as business groups (with vested interests in continuity), technocrats, and civil servants. Although there was some overlap among these groups, they had distinct, and often contradictory, interests. The force that fused them together was their common loyalty to Franco. Franco was particularly skillful in manipulating each of these "families," giving each a taste of power, but not allowing any group or individual to create an independent base from which to challenge his authority.

Franco's political system was virtually the antithesis of the final government of the Republican era—the Popular Front government. In contrast to the anticlericalism of the Popular Front, the Francoist regime established policies that were highly favorable to the Catholic Church, which was restored to its previous status as the official religion of Spain. In addition to receiving government subsidies, the church regained its dominant position in the education system, and laws conformed to Catholic dogma. Gains in regional autonomy were reversed under Franco, and Spain reverted to being a highly centralized state. The regime abolished regional governmental bodies and enacted measures against the use of the Basque and the Catalan languages. Further contrast between the Popular Front government and the Franco regime was apparent in their bases of support. Whereas the liberal leftists and the working-class elements of society had supported the Popular Front, the conservative upper classes were the mainstay of Franco's government.

Above all, Franco endeavored to remove all vestiges of parliamentary democracy, which he perceived to be alien to Spanish political traditions. He outlawed political parties, blaming them for the chaotic conditions that had preceded the Civil War. He eliminated universal suffrage and severely limited the freedoms of expression and association; he viewed criticism of the regime as treason.

In spite of the regime's strong degree of control, Franco did not pursue totalitarian domination of all social, cultural, and religious institutions, or of the economy as a whole. The Franco regime also lacked the ideological impetus characteristic of totalitarian governments. Furthermore, for those willing to work within the system, there was a limited form of pluralism. Thus, Franco's rule has been characterized as authoritarian rather than totalitarian.

Whereas there is generally consensus among analysts in designating the regime as authoritarian, there is less agreement concerning the fascist component of Franco's Spain. In its early period, the Francoist state was considered, outside Spain, to be fascist. The

Falangist program of national syndicalism reflected the pattern of fascism prevalent in Europe during those years; nevertheless, core Falangists never played a major role in the new state. Most of the key leaders of the Falange did not survive the Civil War, and Franco moved quickly to subordinate the fascist party, merging it as well as more conservative and traditional political forces into the broader and vaguer National Movement under his direct control. The links between Franco's regime and the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the course of international developments, further mitigated the fascist component. Thus, while there was a definite fascist element during the first decade of Franco's rule, most analysts have concluded that early Francoism can more accurately be described as semifascist.

Policies, Programs, and Growing Popular Unrest

Severe repression marked the early years of the regime, as Franco sought to impose absolute political control and to institutionalize the Nationalist victory in the Civil War. The schisms that had preceded and precipitated the war were maintained as the vanquished were excluded from political participation. Franco restricted individual liberties and suppressed challenges to his authority. The regime imposed prison terms for "revolutionary activity," and executions were carried out through 1944, albeit at a decreasing rate. These repressive measures engendered an atmosphere of fear. In addition, the traumatic effect of years of internecine violence, widespread deprivations, suffering, and disillusionment had left most of the Spanish population acquiescent, willing to accept any system that could restore peace and stability.

During the first phase of the regime, the military played a major role. The state of martial law that was declared in July 1936 remained in effect until 1948. With the backing of the armed forces, Franco used his extensive powers to invalidate all laws of the Second Republic that offended his political and ethical beliefs. He banned civil marriage, made divorce illegal, and made religious education compulsory in the schools. Publications were subject to prior censorship, and public meetings required official permission. He returned most of the land nationalized under the republic's agrarian program to its original owners. The state destroyed trade unions, confiscating their funds and property. Vertical syndicates replaced the unions.

In 1939 Franco initiated a program of reconstruction based on the concept of economic self-sufficiency or autarchy (see *The Franco Era, 1939-75*, ch. 3). The program, aimed at increasing national economic production, favored the established industrial and

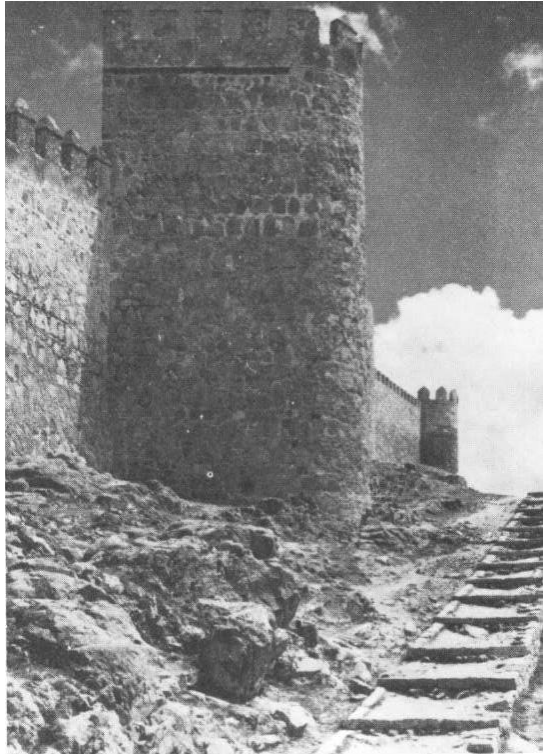
financial interests at the expense of the lower classes and the agricultural regions. Acute shortages and starvation wages were widespread in the early 1940s, a period which saw the worst inflation in Spain's history. By the end of the decade, Spain's level of economic development was among the lowest in southern Europe. Furthermore, the ostracism that Spain experienced because of Franco's collaboration with the Axis powers during World War II and because of the dictatorial nature of his regime deprived the country of the benefits of the Marshall Plan, which was a major factor in the rebuilding of Europe's postwar economy (see Foreign Policy under Franco, this ch.).

As the 1940s drew to a close, agricultural imbalances, labor unrest, and a growing pressure for industrial development forced the regime to begin to modify its autarchic policies. Spain's need for food, raw materials, energy, and credit made it necessary for the country to establish some link to the international economy. Spain achieved this goal when the United States decided to seek the political and strategic advantages of Spanish friendship in the face of an increasingly aggressive Soviet Union. With the infusion of American capital, Spain's economy revived, and living standards began to improve. There was a degree of economic liberalization, and industrial production increased significantly in the 1950s. Economic liberalization did not result in a relaxation of authoritarian control, however. The regime swiftly repressed workers' demonstrations in the spring of 1951 and student protests in 1956.

The regime's "families" did not agree unanimously on the new economic policies, and there were clashes between the progressive and the reactionary forces. The Falange resisted the opening of the regime to capitalistic influences, while the technocrats of the powerful Catholic pressure group, Opus Dei, de-emphasized the role of the syndicates and favored increased competition as a means of achieving rapid economic growth. The technocrats prevailed, and members of Opus Dei assumed significant posts in Franco's 1957 cabinet (see Political Interest Groups, ch. 4). Although Opus Dei did not explicitly support political liberalization, it aspired to economic integration with Europe, which meant that Spain would be exposed to democratic influences.

Measures proposed by these technocrats to curb inflation, to reduce government economic controls, and to bring Spanish economic policies and procedures in line with European standards were incorporated in the Stabilization Plan of 1959. The plan laid the basis for Spain's remarkable economic transformation in the 1960s. During that decade, Spain's industrial production and standard of living increased dramatically.

*Medieval walls of Ávila
Courtesy National
Tourist Office of Spain*



Rapid economic development had political and social consequences, however. Economic expansion resulted in a larger and better educated middle class than had ever existed in Spain, as well as in a new urban working class. Furthermore, the unprecedented degree of foreign cultural influence had a marked impact on Spanish society (see Social Values and Attitudes, ch. 2). All of these factors contributed to an increasing level of dissatisfaction with the restrictions that Franco had imposed. These restrictions were seen as impediments to further growth and modernization.

The technocrats had hoped that greater economic prosperity would eliminate hostility toward Francoism, but tension between an increasingly dynamic Spanish society and the oppressive regime that governed it resulted in growing domestic opposition throughout the 1960s. The expanding industrial labor force became increasingly militant. Workers organized clandestine commissions, and recurrent strikes and bombings were indications that Franco would not be able to maintain his repressive grip on the labor force indefinitely.

In addition, regional discontent was giving rise to escalating violent protests in the Basque region and in Catalonia. Agitation was also growing among university students who resented the strictures of Franco's regime. There was even opposition among the members of one of Franco's former bastions of support, the clergy. The younger liberal priests in the Catholic Church in Spain had

responded with enthusiasm to the Second Vatican Council, which emphasized individual liberties and progressive social policies. The priests were also increasingly vocal in their attacks on the oppressive aspects of Francoism.

The unrest of the mid-1960s did not seriously threaten Spain's stability, however, and Franco—after twenty-five years in power—felt the regime was sufficiently secure and economically booming for a slight loosening of his authoritarian control. The Organic Law of the State, which had been approved by referendum in 1966, provided this modicum of liberalization while it solidified Franco's political system (see Franco's Political System, this ch.). The Law on Religious Freedom, approved in June 1967, eased restrictions on non-Catholics. In the same year, the regime modified censorship laws, and a considerably wider expression of opinion followed. In July 1969, Franco provided his regime with a greater degree of legitimacy and continuity by naming as his successor a legitimate heir to the throne, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón.

The closing years of Franco's regime were marked by increasing violence and unrest. The anticipation of the dictator's demise and his increasing incapacity destabilized the country, and there was ongoing conflict between those who sought to liberalize the regime in order to secure its survival and those of the bunker mentality who resisted reforms. As a recession in the late 1960s overtook rapid economic expansion, labor agitation heightened. An unprecedented wave of strikes and increasing rebellion in the universities moved Franco to proclaim a state of exception throughout Spain in the early months of 1969. Freedom of expression and assembly were among the constitutional rights that were suspended, and Spain appeared to be returning to the repressive conditions of the 1940s. The revival of dictatorial policies had international repercussions and threatened negotiations with the United States for renewal of an agreement on United States military bases. Franco lifted the state of exception in March 1969, but the government's efforts to achieve legitimacy had been seriously undermined. The remaining years of Franco's rule saw periods of intensified opposition to which the government responded with harshly repressive measures that merely served to broaden and to inflame the resistance, leaving the regime in a state of constant turmoil.

The most virulent opposition to the Franco regime in the late 1960s and the early 1970s came from the revolutionary Basque nationalist group, Basque Fatherland and Freedom (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*—ETA; see *Threats to Internal Security*, ch. 5). This extremist group used terror tactics and assassinations to gain recognition of its demands for regional autonomy. The ETA's most

daring act was the assassination in December 1973 of Luis Carrero Blanco, whom Franco had appointed as his first prime minister. Carrero Blanco had embodied hard-line Francoism, and he was seen as the one who would carry on the Caudillo's policies. His assassination precipitated the regime's most serious governmental crisis and interrupted the continuity that Franco had planned.

The tensions that had been mounting within the regime since the late 1960s would have made a continuation of Franco's system untenable even without Carrero Blanco's death. Conflicts between the reactionary elements of the regime and those who were willing to open the door to reform had plagued Carrero Blanco. These conflicts continued under his successor, Carlos Arias Navarro. In his first speech to the Cortes on February 12, 1974, the new prime minister promised liberalizing reforms, including the right to form political associations; however, diehard Francoists on the right, who equated any change with chaos, and radical reformers on the left, who were not content with anything less than a total break with the past, condemned Arias Navarro.

Both camps were dissatisfied with the political associations bill that eventually became law in December 1974. The law required that political participation be in accord with the principles of the National Movement and placed associations under its jurisdiction. The law offered no significant departure from Francoism. Would-be reformers saw it as a sham; reactionaries criticized it as the beginning of a limited political party system.

Opposition to the regime mounted on all sides in 1974 and 1975. Labor strikes, in which even actors participated, spread across the country. Universities were in a state of turmoil, as the popular clamor for democracy grew more strident. Terrorist activity reached such a level that the government placed the Basque region under martial law in April 1975. By the time of Franco's death on November 20, 1975, Spain was in a chronic state of crisis.

Franco's legacy had been an unprecedented era of peace and order, undergirded by his authoritarian grip on the country. While forced political stability enabled Spain to share in the remarkable period of economic development experienced by Europe in the 1960s, it suppressed, but did not eliminate, longstanding sources of conflict in Spanish society. The economic and social transformation that Spain experienced in the last decades of Francoist rule complicated these tensions, which were exacerbated as the regime drew to a close. At the time of Franco's death, change appeared inevitable. The form that the change would take and the extent to which it could be controlled were less certain.

Foreign Policy under Franco

The overriding need to strengthen the regime determined foreign policy in the first phase of Franco's rule. Weakened by the devastation of civil war, the country could not afford to become involved in a protracted European conflict. Although Franco was deeply indebted to Germany and to Italy for their decisive contribution to his victory over the Republicans, he declared Spain's neutrality in the opening days of World War II. His sympathies, nevertheless, were openly with the Axis powers; he had, in fact, already joined the Anti-Comintern Pact and had signed a secret treaty of friendship with Germany in March 1939. There was genuine enthusiasm for the fascist cause among important elements of the Franco regime, especially the Falange.

Spain altered its policy of neutrality following the lightning success of Germany's 1940 spring offensive. The German armies appeared invincible, and Franco was eager to assure Spain a voice in the postwar settlement. In June 1940, the Spanish government adopted a policy of nonbelligerency, which permitted German submarines to be provisioned in Spanish ports and German airplanes to use Spanish landing strips. This stance was widely interpreted as foreshadowing Spain's entry on the side of the Axis powers; the German Nazi leader, Adolf Hitler, and Franco discussed this move on more than one occasion. The two dictators could never come to terms, however. The German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 presented Franco with a unique opportunity to participate in the conflict without a declaration of war and to get revenge for the Soviet Union's aid to the Republicans. Franco agreed to a Falangist request for the official formation of a Blue Division of volunteers—which reached a maximum strength of 18,000 men—to fight on the eastern front. Franco still believed that the Axis powers would win the war, and he considered the intervention of Spanish volunteers to be an inexpensive way of assuring recognition of Spain's colonial claims after the war was over.

The war turned in favor of the Allies with the entry of the United States in December 1941 and the Allied landing in Casablanca in November 1942. At that time, Spain replaced its pro-Axis policy with a genuinely neutral stance. Spain withdrew the Blue Division from the eastern front in November 1943, thus ending Franco's major collaboration with Nazi Germany. In May 1944, Spain and the Allies concluded an agreement. The Spanish government agreed to end wolfram shipments to Germany, to close the German consulate in Tangier, and to expel German espionage agents. In

exchange for these actions, the Allies were to ship petroleum and other necessary supplies to Spain.

By the end of 1944, Spain had entered into a period of “benevolent neutrality” toward the Allies. Spain allowed Allied aircraft to land inside its borders and permitted Allied intelligence agents to operate in Madrid. In spite of this opportunistic policy shift, Spain was ostracized at the end of the war by the victorious powers. Although the United States president, Harry S Truman, and the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, successfully resisted Stalin’s proposals at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 for Allied intervention against Franco, Spain was denied membership in the United Nations (UN) because its government had come to power with the assistance of the Axis powers and had collaborated with them during the war.

A resolution adopted by the second meeting of the UN General Assembly in December 1946 expressed the most severe postwar censure of the Franco regime. According to this resolution, Spain would be banned from the UN and would not be allowed to participate in any of its specialized agencies, as long as Franco remained in power. Franco did not appear seriously concerned by this censure, nor by the subsequent exclusion of Spain from the Marshall Plan. In fact, he used the international ostracism to strengthen his hold over the Spanish government. During this period of isolation, the Argentine government of Juan Perón (president, 1946–55) provided Spain with crucial economic support.

Franco was convinced that attacks on his regime were the work of communist forces, and he felt certain that the Western powers would someday recognize Spain’s contribution in maintaining its solitary vigil against bolshevism. As events evolved, Spain’s anti-communist stance proved to be a significant factor in the United States decision to revise its policy toward Spain in view of the Cold War.

As the United States became increasingly concerned with the Soviet threat following the fall of Czechoslovakia, the Berlin blockade in 1948, and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, United States policy makers also began to recognize the strategic importance of the Iberian Peninsula; furthermore, they realized that ostracism had failed and that the Franco regime was stronger than ever. The United States government took steps to normalize its political and economic relations with Spain in the years 1948–50. In September 1950, President Truman signed a bill that appropriated US\$62.5 million for aid to Spain. In the same year, the United States supported a UN resolution lifting the boycott on Franco’s regime and resumed full diplomatic relations with Spain in 1951.

As Spain became an increasingly important link in the overall defense system of the United States against the Soviet Union, the period of isolation came to an end.

Two major agreements signed in 1953 strengthened the Franco regime: the Concordat with the Vatican and the Pact of Madrid. The Concordat, signed in August 1953, was to replace the 1851 document that the republic had abrogated. The new agreement provided full church recognition of Franco's government. At the same time, it reaffirmed the confessional nature of the Spanish state; the public practice of other religions was not permitted. The agreement was more favorable to the Vatican than to Franco; it included measures that significantly increased the independence of the church within the Spanish system. The Concordat served, nevertheless, to legitimize the regime in the eyes of many Spaniards, and it was instrumental in strengthening Franco's hold over the country.

The Pact of Madrid, signed shortly after the Concordat, further symbolized the Spanish regime's rehabilitation. It also marked the end of Spanish neutrality. The Pact consisted of three separate, but interdependent, agreements between Spain and the United States. It provided for mutual defense, for military aid to Spain, and for the construction of bases there. The United States was to use these bases for a renewable ten-year period, but the bases remained under Spanish sovereignty. Although the pact did not constitute a full-fledged military alliance, it did commit the United States to support Spain's defense efforts; furthermore, it provided Spain with much-needed economic assistance. During the first ten years of the Pact of Madrid, the United States sent approximately US\$1.5 billion in all kinds of aid to Spain.

Two years later, in 1955, the UN approved Spain's membership. In a visit by the United States president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, to the Spanish capital in 1959, the two generals received warm public welcomes as they toured the city together. The visit further emphasized Franco's acceptance and the end of Spain's ostracism. Franco placed a high value on Spain's relationship with the United States, for the prestige it conferred as well as for strategic reasons. This relationship continued to be a dominant factor in the development of the country's foreign policy.

Spain's European neighbors were less willing than the United States to modify their aversion to Franco's authoritarian rule. The West European members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) vetoed efforts to include Spain. Spain's applications for association with the European Community (EC—see Glossary) were also repeatedly rejected. Although a Trade Preference Treaty between Spain and the EC signed in 1970 seemed to herald a thaw

*Francisco Franco y Bahamonde
meeting with
Dwight D. Eisenhower
in Madrid, 1959
Courtesy National Archives*



in relations, Spain's entry into the EC continued to be a political issue throughout Franco's lifetime. Spanish membership in the Community, considered by Spanish economists and businessmen as crucial for Spain's economic development, had to await the democratization of the regime (see Spain and the European Community, ch. 4).

A more intractable problem than Spain's entry into the EC was the fate of Gibraltar, a sore point in Anglo-Spanish relations since 1713, when Spain ceded the area to Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (see War of the Spanish Succession, this ch.). The question of sovereignty, which had been dormant during the years of the Second Republic, revived in the 1960s and jeopardized otherwise friendly relations between Britain and Spain. Spain has never relinquished its claim to Gibraltar, while the British have maintained that the inhabitants of the area should determine Gibraltar's fate. The heterogeneous population of Gibraltar enjoyed local democratic self-government and an increasingly higher standard of living than that prevailing in Spain; therefore, it was not a surprise when they voted almost unanimously in a referendum held in 1967 to remain under British rule. The UN repeatedly condemned the "colonial situation" and demanded—to no avail—its termination. In 1969 Spain took steps to seal off Gibraltar from the mainland and to accelerate the economic development program for the area surrounding it, known as Campo de Gibraltar. The

situation continued in stalemate throughout the remainder of the Franco regime.

Franco may have been frustrated with the problem of Gibraltar, but he was optimistic about his potential for maintaining a powerful position for Spain in North Africa. As a former commanding officer of Spanish colonial garrisons in Morocco, Franco had developed close ties to the area, and during the postwar period, he placed great emphasis on maintaining Spain's position in the Arab world. Appealing to historical, cultural, and political ties, Franco endeavored to act as self-appointed protector of Arab interests and to portray Spain as an essential bridge, or mediator, between Europe and the Arab countries.

Despite the regime's position as a colonial power in northwest Africa, relations between Spain and the Arab countries became closer in the late 1940s, in part because of Spain's nonrecognition of Israel. A visit by Spain's foreign minister to the Middle East resulted in a variety of economic and cultural agreements, and the Arab states assumed a benevolent attitude toward Spain's position in Morocco. Nevertheless, France's decision to withdraw from Morocco in early 1956, following the successful struggle waged by Moroccan nationalists against French control, left little prospect of Spain's retaining its zone. (In the spring of the same year, France relinquished the protectorate.)

In the following decades, Spain's position in North Africa eroded further. A long series of conflicts with Morocco resulted in the abandonment of much of Spain's colonial territory in the 1960s. When Morocco's Mohammed V made it clear in 1958 that he had designs on the Spanish Sahara, Spain opposed any change of status for the area. In 1975, however, Spain reversed its policy and declared its readiness to grant full independence to the Spanish Sahara under UN supervision. Following the march of 300,000 unarmed Moroccans into the territory in November 1975, Spain agreed to cede the Spanish Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania. At the time of Franco's death, Spain's only remaining presence in North Africa consisted of the Spanish-inhabited enclave cities of Ceuta and Melilla and the small garrison spot called Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, all on Morocco's Mediterranean coast (see Gibraltar, Ceuta, and Melilla, ch. 4).

The Post-Franco Era

Transition to Democracy

The democratization that Franco's chosen heir, Juan Carlos, and his collaborators peacefully and legally brought to Spain over a

three-year period was unprecedented. Never before had a dictatorial regime been transformed into a pluralistic, parliamentary democracy without civil war, revolutionary overthrow, or defeat by a foreign power. The transition is all the more remarkable because the institutional mechanisms designed to maintain Franco's authoritarian system made it possible to legislate a democratic constitutional monarchy into existence.

When Prince Juan Carlos took the oath as king of Spain on November 22, 1975, there was little reason to foresee that he would be the architect of such a dramatic transformation. Franco had hand-picked Juan Carlos and had overseen his education. He was considered an enigma, having publicly sworn loyalty to the principles of Franco's National Movement while privately giving vague indications of sympathy for democratic institutions. More was known of his athletic skills than of his political opinions, and observers predicted that he would be known as "Juan the Brief."

Juan Carlos confirmed Arias Navarro's continuation in office as prime minister, disappointing those who were hoping for liberal reforms. Arias Navarro had served as minister of interior under Carrero Blanco, and he was a loyal Francoist. His policy speech of January 28, 1976, was vague—devoid of concrete plans for political reform. The hopes and expectations aroused by the long-awaited demise of Franco were frustrated in the initial months of the monarchy, and a wave of demonstrations, industrial strikes, and terrorist activity challenged the country's stability. The government responded with repressive measures to restore law and order. These measures inflamed and united the liberal opposition. At the same time, the cautious reforms that the Arias Navarro government proposed met with hostile reaction from orthodox Francoists, who pledged resistance to any form of change.

It was in this volatile atmosphere that Juan Carlos, increasingly dissatisfied with the prime minister's ability (or willingness) to handle the immobilists as well as with his skill in dealing with the opposition, asked for Arias Navarro's resignation. Arias Navarro submitted his resignation on July 1, 1976. Proponents of reform were both surprised and disappointed when the king chose, as Arias Navarro's successor, Adolfo Suárez González, who had served under Franco and who had been designated secretary general of the National Movement in the first government of the monarchy. The new prime minister's Francoist links made it appear unlikely that he would promote major evolutionary change in Spain, but it was these links with the political establishment that made it possible for him to maneuver with the existing institutions to bring about the reforms that Juan Carlos desired.

Throughout the rapid democratization that followed the appointment of Suárez, the collaboration between the king and his prime minister was crucial in assuaging opposition from both the immobilists of the old regime and those who agitated for a more radical break with the past. Whereas Suárez's political expertise and pragmatic approach enabled him to manipulate the bureaucratic machinery, Juan Carlos's ability to maintain the allegiance of the armed forces made a peaceful transition to democracy possible during these precarious months.

In July 1976, the government declared a partial amnesty that freed approximately 400 political prisoners. On September 10, Suárez announced a program of political reform, calling for a bicameral legislature based on universal suffrage. With skillful maneuvering, he was able to persuade members of the Cortes to approve the law, thereby voting their own corporatist institution out of existence, in November. The reforms were then submitted to a national referendum in December 1976, in accordance with Franco's 1945 Law on Referenda. The Spanish people voted overwhelmingly in favor of reform: about 94 percent of the voters (78 percent of the electorate took part in the referendum) gave their approval. The results of the referendum strengthened the position of the Suárez government and of the king and represented a vindication for those who favored reform from above rather than revolution.

In the first six months of 1977, significant reforms were enacted in rapid succession. There were further pardons for political prisoners in March; independent trade unions replaced vertical and labor syndicates; and the right to strike was restored. In April the National Movement was disbanded.

Suárez and the king began to prepare the Spanish people for the first free elections—to be held on June 15, 1977—since the Civil War. The legalization of political parties began in February, and an electoral law outlining the rules for electoral competition was negotiated with opposition political forces and went into effect in March. The government adopted the d'Hondt system of proportional representation, which favored the formation of large parties or coalitions (see Electoral System, ch. 4).

A major crisis appeared to be in the offing over the issue of legalizing the Communist Party of Spain (Partido Comunista de España—PCE). Parties of the left and the center-left demanded legal recognition, refusing to participate in the elections otherwise. Suárez feared a strong reaction from military leaders, however, if such a step were taken. Members of the armed forces had been dedicated to the suppression of Marxism since the time of the Civil

War; moreover, Suárez had assured them the previous September that the PCE would never be legalized.

In a bold but necessary move, Suárez legalized the PCE on April 9, 1977. Military leaders were upset by the decision and publicly expressed their dissatisfaction with the measure, but they grudgingly accepted it out of patriotism. Juan Carlos's close relations with senior military officers were a factor in defusing a potentially explosive state of affairs. His earlier efforts to replace ultraconservative commanders of the armed forces with more liberal ones also benefited him when he took this controversial step. The moderation that the communists exercised in accepting the monarchy in spite of their avowed republicanism also helped to normalize the political situation.

As the country prepared for elections, a large number of diverse political parties began to form. Only a few of these parties gained parliamentary representation following the June 15, 1977, elections, however, and none achieved an absolute majority. The Union of the Democratic Center (*Unión de Centro Democrático—UCD*), a centrist coalition of several groups, including Francoist reformists and moderate opposition democrats, led by Suárez, emerged from the election as the largest party, winning 34.6 percent of the vote (see table 2, Appendix).

The leading opposition party was the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE*), which received 29.3 percent of the vote. Having been in existence since 1879, the PSOE was Spain's oldest political party. A group of dynamic young activists, led by a Seville lawyer, Felipe González Márquez, had taken control of the party from the exiles in 1972, and their revolutionary idealism, combined with pragmatic policies, enabled the PSOE to appeal to a broader spectrum of the electorate. Both the neo-Francoist right, embodied in the Popular Alliance (*Alianza Popular—AP*), and the PCE were disappointed with the election results, which gave them each less than 10 percent of the popular vote (see *Political Parties*, ch. 4). Catalan and Basque regional parties accounted for most of the remaining votes.

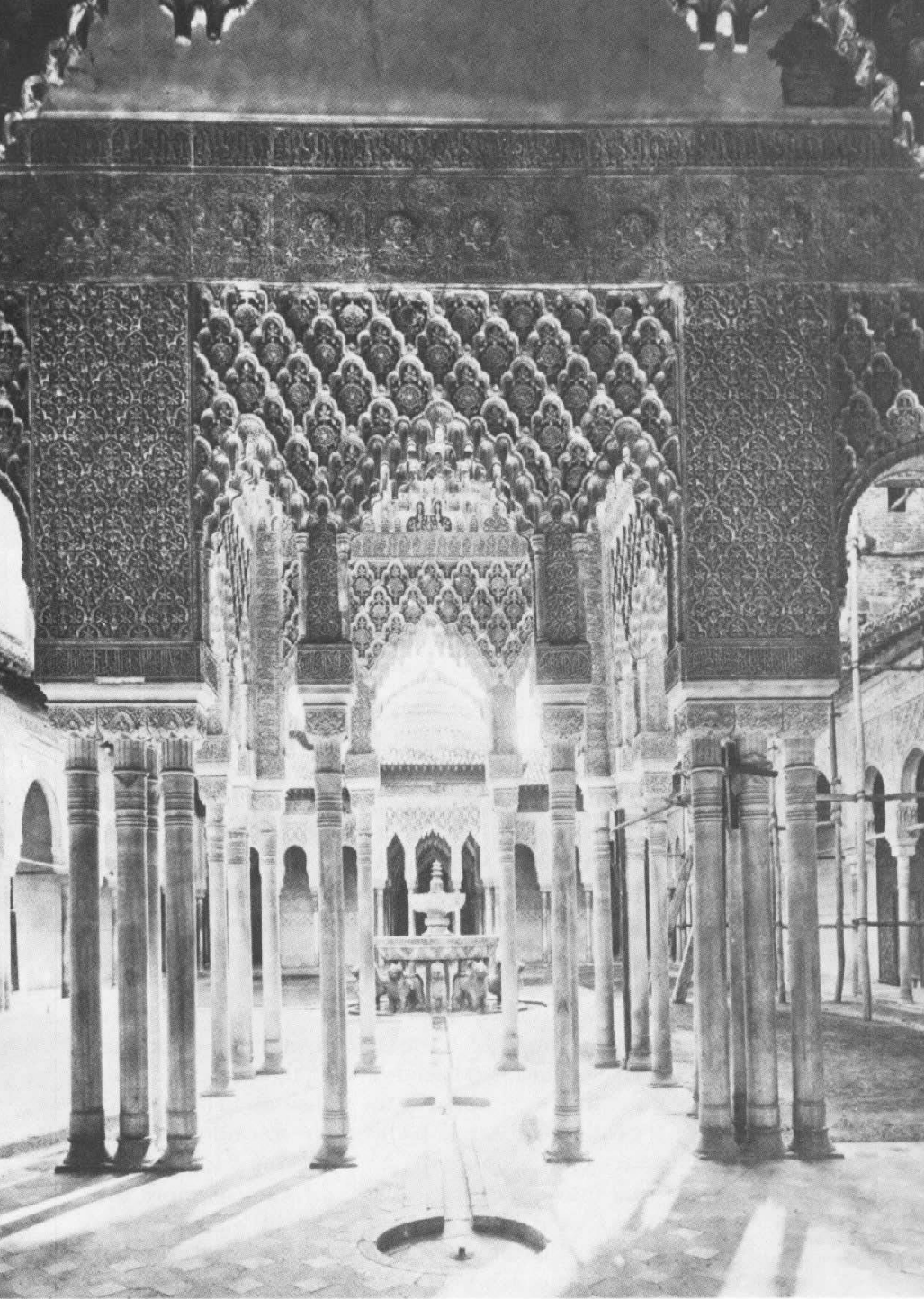
The election results were a victory for both moderation and the desire for change. They boded well for the development of democracy in Spain. The domination of Spain's party system by two relatively moderate political groups marked an end to the polarization that had plagued the country since the days of the Second Republic. The political skill of Suárez, the courage and determination of Juan Carlos, and the willingness of opposition leaders to sacrifice their hopes for more radical social change to the more immediate goal of securing political democracy helped to end the polarization.

The deferral of these hopes led to eventual disenchantment with the Suárez government, but in 1977 it was a key factor in the peaceful transition to democracy.

A formidable array of problems, including a growing economic crisis, Basque terrorism, and the threat of military subversion, confronted the new Suárez government. Long-range solutions could not be devised until after the new constitution had been approved, but in the interim, the socioeconomic difficulties had to be faced. It was apparent that austerity measures would have to be taken, and Suárez knew he needed to gain support for a national economic recovery program. This was achieved in October 1977 in the Moncloa Pacts, named for the prime minister's official residence where leaders of Spain's major political parties met and agreed to share the costs of, and the responsibility for, economic reforms. The parties of the left were promised an increase in unemployment benefits, the creation of new jobs, and other reforms; in return they agreed to further tax increases, credit restrictions, reductions in public expenditures, and a 20 percent ceiling on wage increases.

The new government set forth a provisional solution to demands for regional autonomy. Preautonomy decrees were issued for Catalonia in September and for three of the Basque provinces in December, 1977. The significance of these decrees was primarily symbolic, but the decrees helped to avoid potentially disruptive conflict for the time being by recognizing the distinctive political character of the regions and by promising autonomy when the constitution was ratified. The regional issue nevertheless continued to be the government's most intractable problem, and it became even more complicated as autonomist demands proliferated throughout the country. During the early months of the Suárez government, there were disturbing indications that the army's toleration of political pluralism was limited. Military unrest also boded ill for the regime's future stability.

The major task facing the government during this transitional period was the drafting of a new constitution. Since previous constitutions had failed in Spain because they had usually been imposed by one particular group and were not the expression of the popular will, it was imperative that the new constitution be based on consensus. To this end, the Constitutional Committee of the Cortes in August 1977 elected a parliamentary commission representing all the major national parties and the more important regional ones. This group began its deliberations in an atmosphere of compromise and cooperation. Although members of the group disagreed over issues of education, abortion, lock-outs, and regionalism, they made



*Court of the Lions in the Alhambra, Granada
Courtesy Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress*

steady progress. The Cortes passed the document they produced—with amendments—in October 1978.

The new 1978 Constitution is long and detailed, because of its framers' desire to gain acceptance for the document by including something for everyone. It proclaims Spain to be a parliamentary monarchy and guarantees its citizens equality before the law and a full range of individual liberties, including religious freedom. While recognizing the autonomy of the regions, it stresses the indivisibility of the Spanish state. The Constitution was submitted to popular referendum on December 6, 1978, and it was approved by 87.8 of the 67.7 percent of the eligible voters who went to the polls (see *The 1978 Constitution*, ch. 4).

After the king had signed the new Constitution, Suárez dissolved the Cortes and called another general election for March. It was widely predicted that the results would show an erosion of support for Suárez and the UCD (which had begun to show signs of fragmentation) and a gain for the PSOE. The PSOE was experiencing its own internal crisis, however. The party's official definition of itself as Marxist hampered González's efforts to project an image of moderation and statesmanship. At the same time, the party's more radical members were increasingly resentful of González's ideological moderation. Contrary to expectations, the PSOE did not improve its position when Spaniards went to the polls on March 1, 1979. The election results were not significantly different from those of 1977, and they were seen as a reaffirmation and a consolidation of the basic power structure.

Disenchantment with UCD Leadership

Political change was under way. The UCD was a coalition that encompassed a wide range of frequently incompatible political aspirations. Internal conflict had been muted in the interest of maintaining party unity in order to protect the transition to democracy. When the 1979 elections appeared to affirm this transition, the centrifugal tendencies broke loose. In the succeeding months, the center-right UCD moved farther to the right, and its more conservative members were increasingly critical of Suárez's compromises with the PSOE opposition on political and economic issues. At the same time, large segments of the population were frustrated that Suárez did not produce a more thorough reform program to eliminate the vestiges of authoritarian institutions and practices.

Suárez's failure to deal decisively with the regional problem further eroded his popularity. Repressive police measures met increasingly virulent outbreaks of Basque terrorism, and the ongoing spiral

of repression and terror contributed to a growing impression that the government was incompetent. The mounting violence further exacerbated Suárez's relations with the military, which were already strained because of his legalization of the PCE. Army leaders, who had only grudgingly accepted political reforms out of loyalty to Juan Carlos, grew increasingly hostile to the democratic regime as ETA terrorism intensified. A coup plot had been uncovered in the fall of 1978, and the possibility of military subversion continued to be a threat.

As discontent with his leadership grew, Suárez realized that he had lost his effectiveness, and on January 29, 1981, he announced his resignation as prime minister. The king appointed conservative centrist Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo to replace him. Before the new prime minister could be confirmed, a group of Civil Guards, led by Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina, marched onto the floor of the Cortes and held the representatives hostage in an attempted coup. The plan of the rebellious military leaders was to set up an authoritarian monarchy under the protection of the armed forces. That the coup failed was primarily due to the decisive action of Juan Carlos, who ordered the conspirators to desist and persuaded other military officers to back him in defending the Constitution. Juan Carlos then appeared on television and reassured the Spanish people of his commitment to democracy. The foiled coup was over by the next day, but it demonstrated the fragility of Spain's democracy and the importance of Juan Carlos to its continued survival. On February 27, more than 3 million people demonstrated in favor of democracy in the capital and elsewhere throughout Spain, showing the extent of popular support for democratic government.

Growth of the PSOE and the 1982 Elections

In the immediate aftermath of the coup, the various sectors within the UCD closed ranks briefly around their new prime minister, Calvo Sotelo, but internal cleavages prevented the formation of a coherent centrist party. Clashes between the moderate and the rightist elements within the UCD, particularly over the divorce bill, resulted in resignations of dissenting groups and the formation of new splinter parties and coalitions. These developments in turn led to a series of election defeats in 1981 and 1982, and by the time a general election was called in August for October 1982, the UCD's representation in the Cortes was down by one-third.

As the UCD continued to disintegrate, the PSOE gained strength; it was considered more likely than the increasingly conservative UCD to bring about the sweeping social and economic

reforms that the Spanish people desired. Moreover, party leader González had been successful in his efforts to direct the PSOE toward a more centrist-left position, as seen in his successful persuasion of PSOE delegates in 1979 to drop the term "Marxist" from the party's definition of itself. The PSOE was thereby able to project an image of greater moderation and reliability, and it became a viable governmental alternative. The PSOE also benefited from the decline of the PCE. The heavy-handed management style of PCE leader Santiago Carrillo had aggravated the dissension in the party over whether to follow a more revolutionary line or to adopt more moderate policies. As was the case with the UCD, internecine disputes within the PCE resulted in defections from the party. With the PCE apparently on the point of collapse, the PSOE became the only feasible option for left-wing voters.

When Spaniards went to the polls in record numbers in October 1982, they gave a sweeping victory to the PSOE, which received the largest plurality (48.4 percent) in the post-1977 period. The party enlarged its share of the 350 seats in the Chamber of Deputies to 202, while the UCD, with only 6.8 percent of the vote, won only 11 seats. The conservative AP took on the role of opposition party (see *Political Developments, 1982-88*, ch. 4). The most significant implication of the October elections for the future of democracy in Spain was the transfer of power from one party to another without military intervention or bloodshed. The transition to democracy appeared to be complete.

Spanish Foreign Policy in the Post-Franco Period

Spain's political system underwent dramatic transformations after the death of Franco, but there was nevertheless some degree of continuity in Spanish foreign policy. The return of Gibraltar to Spanish sovereignty continued to be a foreign policy goal, as did greater integration of Spain into Western Europe. In spite of frequent ongoing negotiations, neither of these goals had been accomplished by the time González came to power in 1982. Foreign policy makers also endeavored to maintain an influential role for Spain in its relations with Latin American nations.

Spanish opinion was more ambivalent with regard to membership in NATO and relations with the United States, although defense agreements, allowing the United States to continue using its naval and air bases in Spain, were signed periodically. When Spain joined NATO in May 1982, under Calvo Sotelo's government, the PSOE leadership strongly opposed such a commitment and called for withdrawal from the Alliance. One of González's campaign promises was a national referendum on Spain's NATO

membership. In 1982 the role the new Socialist government envisioned for Spain in the West's economic, political, and security arrangements remained to be seen.

* * *

Stanley G. Payne presents a comprehensive general introduction to the history of the Iberian Peninsula in his two-volume study, *A History of Spain and Portugal*. Henry Kamen's clearly written and amply illustrated *Concise History of Spain* provides a briefer treatment. The late Spanish historian Jaime Vicens Vives dealt with the dominant questions of Spanish historiography and analyzed the major interpretations in *Approaches to the History of Spain*. Whereas Vicens Vives emphasized the pre-1500 period in his work, Richard Herr's *Historical Essay on Modern Spain* gives more attention to the country's evolution in recent centuries.

An excellent introduction to the Spanish Middle Ages can be found in Gabriel Jackson's *The Making of Medieval Spain*. Angus MacKay's *Spain in the Middle Ages* emphasizes the continuity between medieval and early modern Spain. J. H. Elliott's *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* is an insightful account of Spain at the apogee of its empire as well as of the transition into the modern period. For a balanced study of eighteenth-century Spanish reformism and the impact of the French Revolution on Spain, see Richard Herr's *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*. Raymond Carr's *Spain, 1808-1975* contains a definitive treatment of nineteenth-century Spain.

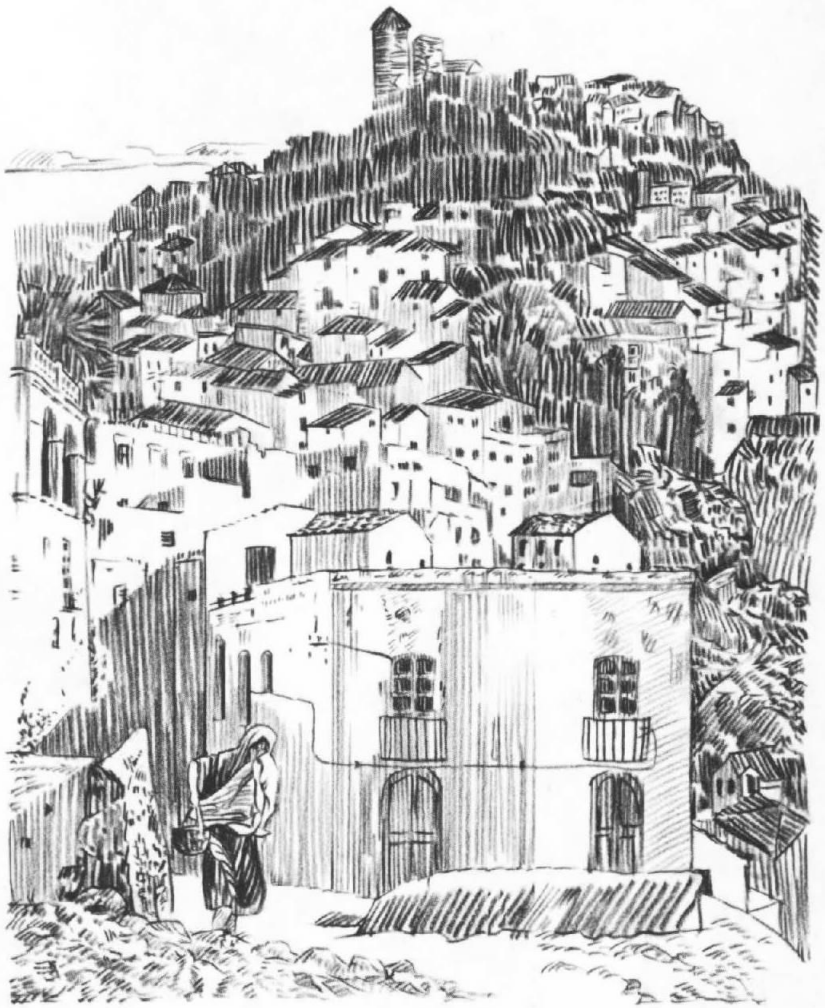
There is an extensive, if not always balanced, literature on the Spanish Civil War. An excellent introduction to the subject is Gerald Brenan's *The Spanish Labyrinth*, which offers a lucid account of the social and political conflicts that divided the country. Hugh Thomas's comprehensive and thoroughly researched study, *The Spanish Civil War*, is considered the standard work on the subject. The evolution of the Nationalist side receives thorough treatment in Stanley G. Payne's *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism*.

J. W. D. Tryhall's biography of Franco, *El Caudillo*, provides an illuminating description of the regime's politics, while Brian Crozier's *Franco* deals more extensively with its wartime diplomacy. A more recent biography by Juan Pablo Fusi, *Franco*, presents the most balanced portrayal of Francoism to date. Another recent publication, Stanley G. Payne's authoritative and detailed analysis entitled *The Franco Regime: 1936-1975*, is likely to remain the major treatise on the political history of Francoist Spain.

Spain: A Country Study

A concise, clearly written account of the transformation of Francoist structures into a democratic regime, with an emphasis on social and economic developments, appears in *Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy* by Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi. Paul Preston's *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain* and E. Ramón Arango's *Spain: From Repression to Renewal* also provide penetrating accounts of the transition period. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Chapter 2. The Society and Its Environment



The town of Casares in Málaga Province

IN THE DECADE after the death of Francisco Francó y Bahamonde (in power, 1939–75) in 1975, Spain experienced several powerful transformations. The political transition from a rigid dictatorship to an active parliamentary democracy was widely acknowledged as a highly significant event in West European history. Much more subtle, but equally significant in the long run, was Spain's social and economic transition, described as Spain's "economic miracle," which brought a relatively isolated, conservative social order to the threshold of an advanced industrial democracy. In the decades after the 1930s' Civil War, Spain still possessed the social structures and values of a traditional, less developed country. By the late 1980s, Spanish society had already taken on most of the principal characteristics of postindustrial Europe, including a declining rate of births and of population growth generally, an erosion of the nuclear family, a drop in the proportion of the work force in agriculture, and changes in the role of women in society.

Changes in Spain's population reflected this transition quite clearly. Falling birth rates and increased life expectancy combined to produce a rapidly aging population that grew at an extremely slow pace. Spain also experienced massive shifts in the location of its people. Between 1951 and 1981, more than 5 million individuals left the poverty of rural and small-town Spain. Many headed for the more prosperous countries of Western Europe, but the more significant flow was from farm and village to Spain's exploding cities, especially Madrid, Barcelona, and Bilbao (see fig. 1, frontispiece).

Spain's diverse ethnic and linguistic groups have existed for centuries, and they have presented Spanish governments with severe challenges since the nineteenth century. In the late 1980s, about one citizen in four spoke a mother tongue other than Castilian Spanish (primarily Catalan or one of its variants; the Basque language, Euskera; or Galician), but Castilian continued to be the dominant language throughout the country. Indeed, after nearly 150 years of industrial development and the migration of millions of nonethnic Spaniards to the ethnic homelands, particularly Barcelona and Bilbao, the non-Castilian languages were in danger of disappearing. Although the Franco regime began to liberalize its approach to the minority languages late in the 1960s, the overall effect of the dictatorship on these languages was very nearly disastrous. The 1978 Constitution made possible the establishment of regional

autonomous governments with the requisite powers and resources to salvage their respective cultures and to make their languages co-official with Castilian in their own regions. Whether this experiment in regional bilingualism would succeed, however, remained to be seen.

In social values, Spain began to resemble its West European neighbors to the north. The status of women, for example, was one of the most notable of these changes, as women began to figure more prominently in education, politics, and the work force generally. Closely associated with these changes were a number of other social characteristics including a more liberal stance on abortion, contraception, divorce, and the role of the large and extended family. The Roman Catholic Church, long a dominant power in Spanish life, opposed these developments, but as Spain became a more materialistic and more secular society, the church's ability to determine social mores and policies was strikingly eroded.

Spain also underwent major changes in its educational system. In 1970 Spanish law made education free and compulsory through the age of fourteen; the challenge in the 1980s was to provide the resources necessary to fulfill this obligation. Although the schools enrolled essentially all the school-age population and the country's illiteracy rate was a nominal 3 percent, the school system was plagued by serious problems, including a rigid tracking system, a high failure rate, and poorly paid instructors. In 1984 the Socialist government passed the Organic Law on the Right to Education (*Ley Orgánica del Derecho a la Educación—LODE*) in an attempt to integrate into a single system the three school systems: public, private secular, and Roman Catholic. Changes reached the university level as well, as the Law on University Reform (*Ley de Reforma Universitaria—LRU*) made each public university autonomous, subject only to general rules set down in Madrid.

In the late 1980s, Spain continued to rank at the low end of the list of advanced industrial democracies in terms of social welfare. Its citizens enjoyed the usual range of social welfare benefits, including health coverage, retirement benefits, and unemployment insurance, but coverage was less comprehensive than that in most other West European countries. The retirement system was under increasing pressure because of the aging population. Housing construction just barely managed to keep pace with rapid urbanization in the 1970s, and by the late 1980s the country had to begin to address some of the "quality of life" issues connected with housing. The society ranked high on some indicators of health care, such as physician availability, but there were still residual health problems more reminiscent of the Third World, particularly a high

incidence of communicable diseases. There were dramatic gains in reducing the infant mortality rate, but severe problems in the areas of public health, safety, and environmental concerns—industrial accidents and air, water, and noise pollution—were a direct outgrowth of uncontrolled, rapid industrialization.

Geography

Spanish territory comprises nearly five-sixths of the Iberian Peninsula, which the nation shares with Portugal, the micro-state of Andorra, and the British possession of Gibraltar. Spanish territory also includes two sets of islands—the Balearic Islands (Spanish, *Islas Baleares*) in the Mediterranean Sea and the Canary Islands (Spanish, *Canarias*) in the Atlantic Ocean—and two city enclaves in North Africa, Ceuta and Melilla (see fig. 1). Peninsular Spain, covering an area of 492,503 square kilometers, consists of a central plateau known as the *Meseta Central*, which is enclosed by high mountains on its north, south, east, and part of its western sides. The area that is predominantly plateau also encompasses several mountain systems that are lower than the peripheral mountains. Although Spain thus has physical characteristics that make it, to some extent, a natural geographic unit, there are also internal geographic features that tend to compartmentalize the country.

The topographical characteristics also generate a variety of climatic regimes throughout the country. By far the greatest part of the country, however, experiences a continental climate of hot, dry summers and rather harsh, cold winters. Where these conditions prevail, the soils have eroded, vegetation is sparse, and agriculture is difficult. Irrigation is practiced where possible, but it is difficult because the flow in most streams is seasonally irregular, and the stream beds of larger rivers are frequently much lower than the adjacent terrain.

External Boundaries and Landform Regions

Most of Spain's boundary is water: the Mediterranean Sea on the south and east from Gibraltar to the French border; and the Atlantic Ocean on the northwest and southwest—in the south as the *Golfo de Cádiz* and in the north as the Bay of Biscay. Spain also shares land boundaries with France and Andorra along the Pyrenees in the northeast, with Portugal on the west, and with the small British possession of Gibraltar at the southern tip. Although the affiliation of Gibraltar continued to be a contentious issue between Spain and Britain in the late 1980s, there were no other disputes over land boundaries, and no other country claimed the

insular provinces of the Balearic Islands and the Canary Islands (see Gibraltar, Ceutā, and Melilla, ch. 4):

The majority of Spain's peninsular landmass consists of the Meseta Central, a highland plateau rimmed and dissected by mountain ranges (see fig. 5). Other landforms include narrow coastal plains and some lowland river valleys, the most prominent of which is the Andalusian Plain in the southwest. The country can be divided into ten natural regions or subregions: the dominant Meseta Central, the Cordillera Cantábrica and the northwest region, the Ibérico region, the Pyrenees, the Penibético region in the southeast, the Andalusian Plain, the Ebro Basin, the coastal plains, the Balearic Islands, and the Canary Islands. These are commonly grouped into four types: the Meseta Central and associated mountains, other mountainous regions, lowland regions, and islands.

The Meseta Central and Associated Mountains

The Meseta Central, a vast plateau in the heart of peninsular Spain, has elevations that range from 610 to 760 meters. Rimmed by mountains, the Meseta Central slopes gently to the west and to the series of rivers that form some of the border with Portugal. The Sistema Central, described as the "dorsal spine" of the Meseta Central, divides the Meseta into northern and southern subregions, the former higher in elevation and smaller in area than the latter. The Sistema Central rims the capital city of Madrid with peaks that rise to 2,400 meters north of the city and to lower elevations south of it. West of Madrid, the Sistema Central shows its highest peak of almost 2,600 meters. The mountains of the Sistema Central, which continue westward into Portugal, display some glacial features; the highest of the peaks are snow-capped for most of the year. Despite their height, however, the mountain system does not create a major barrier between the northern and the southern portions of the Meseta Central because several passes permit road and railroad transportation to the northwest and the northeast.

The southern portion of the Meseta is further divided by twin mountain ranges, the Montes de Toledo running to the east and the Sierra de Guadalupe, to the west. Their peaks do not rise much higher than 1,500 meters. With many easy passes, including those that connect the Meseta with the Andalusian Plain, the Montes de Toledo and the Sierra de Guadalupe do not present an obstacle to transportation and communication. The two mountain ranges are separated from the Sistema Central to the north by the Tagus River (Spanish, Río Tajo).

The mountain regions that rim the Meseta Central and are associated with it are the Sierra Morena, the Cordillera Cantábrica,

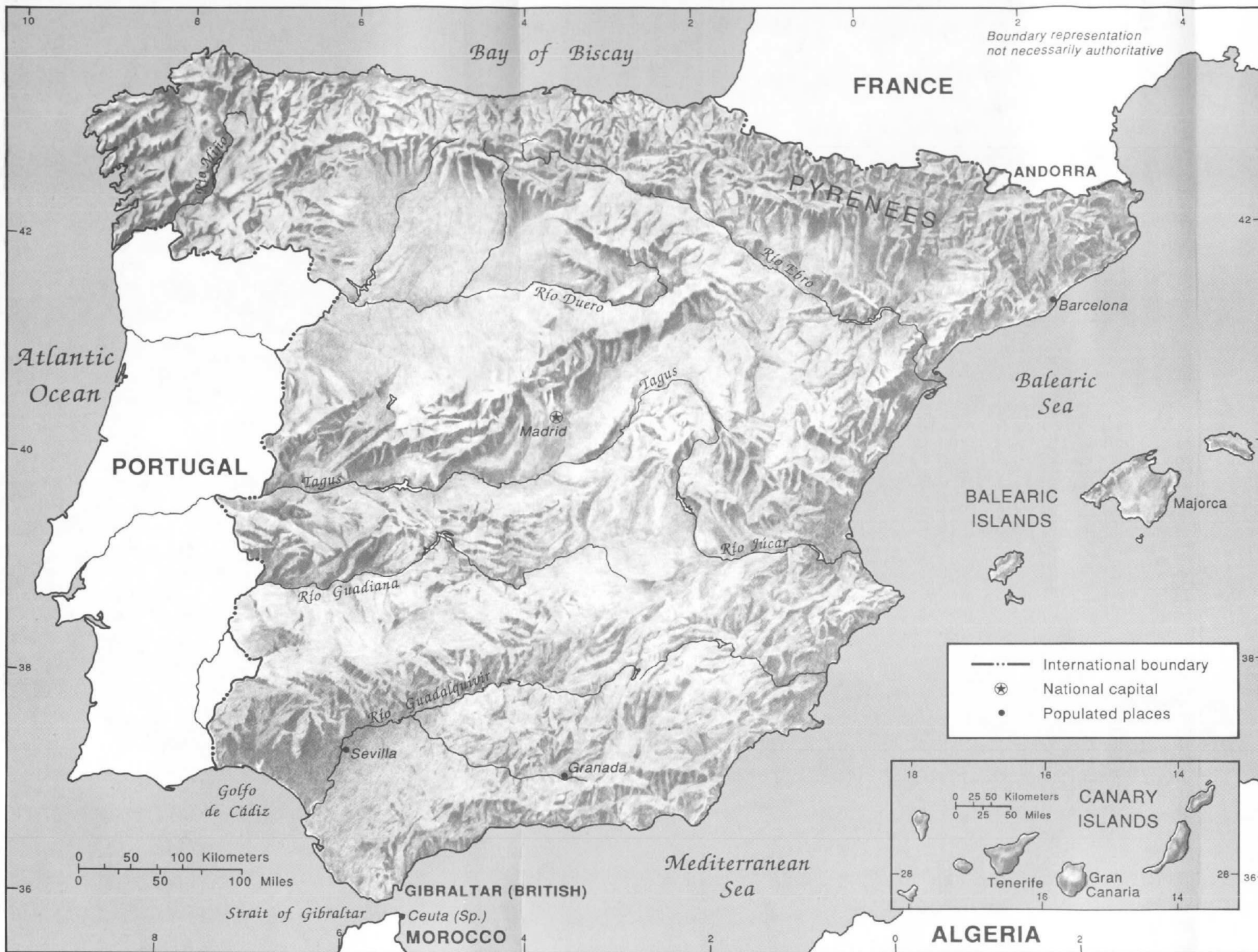


Figure 5. Topography and Drainage

and the Sistema Ibérico. Forming the southern edge of the Meseta Central, the Sierra Morena merges in the east with the southern extension of the Sistema Ibérico and reaches westward along the northern edge of the Río Guadalquivir valley to join the mountains in southern Portugal. The massif of the Sierra Morena extends northward to the Río Guadiana, which separates it from the Sistema Central. Despite their relatively low elevations, seldom surpassing 1,300 meters, the mountains of the Sierra Morena are rugged.

The Cordillera Cantábrica, a limestone formation, runs parallel to, and close to, the northern coast near the Bay of Biscay. Its highest points are the Picos de Europa, surpassing 2,500 meters. The Cordillera Cantábrica extends 182 kilometers and abruptly drops 1,500 meters some 30 kilometers from the coast. To the west lie the hills of the northwest region.

The Sistema Ibérico extends from the Cordillera Cantábrica southeastward and, close to the Mediterranean, spreads out from the Río Ebro to the Río Júcar. The barren, rugged slopes of this mountain range cover an area of close to 21,000 square kilometers. The mountains exceed 2,000 meters in their northern region and reach a maximum height of over 2,300 meters east of the headwaters of the Río Duero. The extremely steep mountain slopes in this range are often cut by deep, narrow gorges.

Other Mountainous Regions

External to the Meseta Central lie the Pyrenees in the northeast and the Sistema Penibético in the southeast. The Pyrenees, extending from the eastern edge of the Cordillera Cantábrica to the Mediterranean Sea, form a solid barrier and a natural border between Spain and both France and Andorra that, throughout history, has effectively isolated the countries from each other. Passage is easy in the relatively low terrain at the eastern and western extremes of the mountain range; it is here that international railroads and roadways cross the border. In the central section of the Pyrenees, however, passage is difficult. In several places, peaks rise above 3,000 meters; the highest, Pico de Aneto, surpasses 3,400 meters.

The Sistema Penibético extends northeast from the southern tip of Spain, running parallel to the coast until it merges with the southern extension of the Sistema Ibérico near the Río Júcar and with the eastern extension of the Sierra Morena. The Sierra Nevada, part of the Sistema Penibético south of Granada, includes the highest mountain on the peninsula, Mulhacén, which rises to 3,430 meters. Other peaks in the range also surpass 3,000 meters.

Lowland Regions

The major lowland regions are the Andalusian Plain in the southwest, the Ebro Basin in the northeast, and the coastal plains. The Andalusian Plain is essentially a wide river valley through which the Río Guadalquivir flows. The river broadens out along its course, reaching its widest point at the Golfo de Cádiz. The Andalusian Plain is bounded on the north by the Sierra Morena and on the south by the Sistema Penibético; it narrows to an apex in the east where these two mountain chains meet. The Ebro Basin is formed by the Río Ebro valley, contained by mountains on three sides—the Sistema Ibérico to the south and west, the Pyrenees to the north and east, and their coastal extensions paralleling the shore to the east. Minor low-lying river valleys close to the Portuguese border are located on the Tagus and the Río Guadiana.

The coastal plains regions are narrow strips between the coastal mountains and the seas. They are broadest along the Golfo de Cádiz, where the coastal plain adjoins the Andalusian Plain, and along the southern and central eastern coasts. The narrowest coastal plain runs along the Bay of Biscay, where the Cordillera Cantábrica ends close to shore.

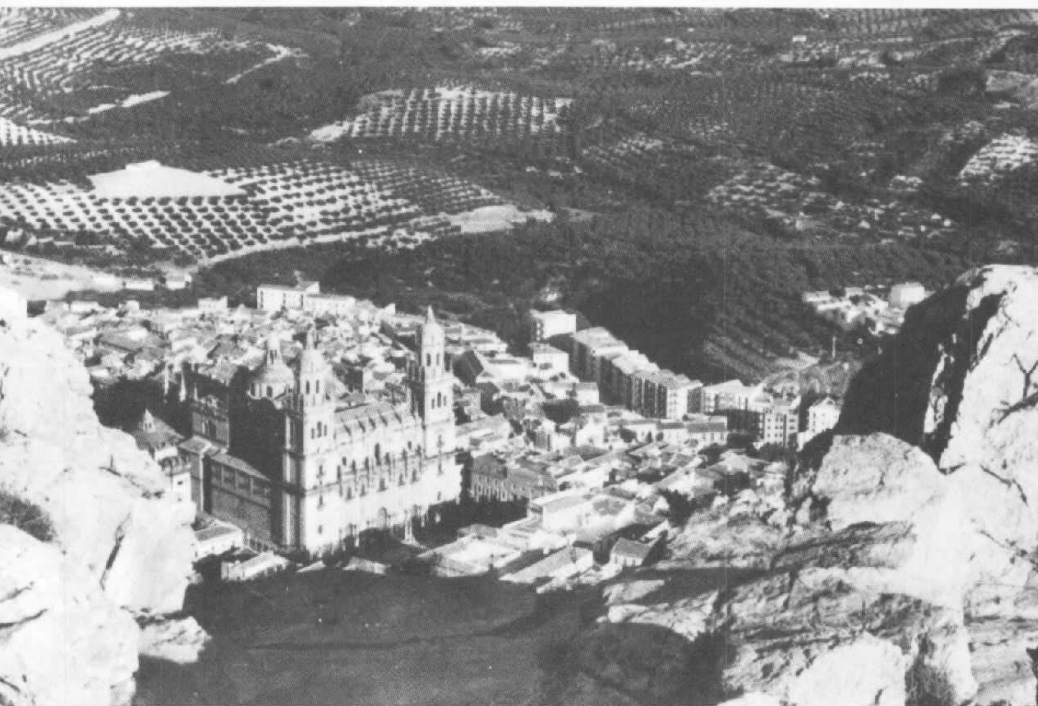
The Islands

The remaining regions of Spain are the Balearic and the Canary Islands, the former located in the Mediterranean Sea and the latter in the Atlantic Ocean. The Balearic Islands, encompassing a total area of 5,000 square kilometers, lie 80 kilometers off Spain's central eastern coast. The mountains that rise up above the Mediterranean Sea to form these islands are an extension of the Sistema Penibético. The archipelago's highest points, which reach 1,400 meters, are in northwestern Majorca, close to the coast. The central portion of Majorca is a plain, bounded on the east and the southeast by broken hills.

The Canary Islands, ninety kilometers off the west coast of Africa, are of volcanic origin. The large central islands, Gran Canaria and Tenerife, have the highest peaks; on Gran Canaria they rise to 1,950 meters and on Tenerife, to 3,700 meters.

Drainage

Of the roughly 1,800 rivers and streams in Spain, only the Tagus is more than 960 kilometers long; all but 90 extend less than 96 kilometers. These shorter rivers carry small volumes of water on an irregular basis, and they have seasonally dry river beds; however, when they do flow, they often are swift and torrential.



*View of Montefrío, Granada Province
Courtesy National Tourist Office of Spain
Panoramic view of Jaén
Courtesy National Tourist Office of Spain*

Most major rivers rise in the mountains rimming or dissecting the Meseta Central and flow westward across the plateau through Portugal to empty into the Atlantic Ocean. One significant exception is the Río Ebro, which flows eastward to the Mediterranean. Rivers in the extreme northwest and in the narrow northern coastal plain drain directly into the Atlantic Ocean. The northwestern coastline is also truncated by *rías*, waterbodies similar to fjords.

The major rivers flowing westward through the Meseta Central include the Río Duero, the Tagus, the Río Guadiana, and the Río Guadalquivir. The Río Guadalquivir is one of the most significant rivers in Spain because it irrigates a fertile valley, thus creating a rich agricultural area, and because it is navigable inland, making Seville (Spanish, Sevilla) the only inland river port for ocean-going traffic in Spain. The major river in the northwest region is the Río Miño.

Climate

Peninsular Spain experiences three climatic types: continental, maritime, and Mediterranean. The locally generated continental climate covers the majority of peninsular Spain, influencing the Meseta Central, the adjoining mountains to the east and the south, and the Ebro Basin. A continental climate is characterized by wide diurnal and seasonal variations in temperature and by low, irregular rainfall with high rates of evaporation that leave the land arid. Annual rainfall generally is thirty to sixty-four centimeters; most of the Meseta region receives about fifty centimeters. The northern Meseta, the Sistema Central, and the Ebro Basin have two rainy seasons, one in spring (April-June) and the other in autumn (October-November), with late spring being the wettest time of the year. In the southern Meseta, also, the wet seasons are spring and autumn, but the spring one is earlier (March), and autumn is the wetter season. Even during the wet seasons, rain is irregular and unreliable. Continental winters are cold, with strong winds and high humidity, despite the low precipitation. Except for mountain areas, the northern foothills of the Sistema Ibérico are the coldest area, and frost is common. Summers are hot and cloudless, producing average daytime temperatures that reach the mid- or upper 30sC in the northern Meseta and the upper 30sC in the southern Meseta; nighttime temperatures, however, drop to the upper teens. The Ebro Basin, at a lower altitude, is extremely hot during the summer, and temperatures can exceed 43°C. Summer humidities are low in the Meseta Central and in the Ebro Basin, except right along the shores of in the Río Ebro, where humidity is high.

A maritime climate prevails in the northern part of the country, from the Pyrenees to the northwest region, characterized by

relatively mild winters, warm but not hot summers, and generally abundant rainfall spread out over the year. Temperatures vary only slightly, both on a diurnal and a seasonal basis. The moderating effects of the sea, however, abate in the inland areas, where temperatures are 9° to 18°C more extreme than temperatures on the coast. Distance from the Atlantic Ocean also affects precipitation, and there is less rainfall in the east than in the west. Autumn (October through December) is the wettest season, while July is the driest month. The high humidity and the prevailing off-shore winds make fog and mist common along the northwest coast; this phenomenon is less frequent a short distance inland, however, because the mountains form a barrier keeping out the sea moisture.

The Mediterranean climatic region extends from the Andalusian Plain along the southern and eastern coasts up to the Pyrenees, on the seaward side of the mountain ranges that parallel the coast. Total rainfall in this region is lower than in the rest of Spain, and it is concentrated in the late autumn-winter period. Generally, rainfall is slight, often insufficient, irregular, and unreliable. Temperatures in the Mediterranean region usually are more moderate in both summer and winter, and diurnal temperature changes are more limited than those of the continental region. Temperatures in January normally average 10° to 13°C in most of the Mediterranean region, and they are 9°C colder in the northeastern coastal area near Barcelona. In winter, temperatures inland in the Andalusian Plain are slightly lower than those on the coasts. Temperatures in July and August average 22° to 27°C on the coast and 29° to 31°C farther inland, with low humidity. The Mediterranean region is marked by Leveche winds—hot, dry, easterly or southeasterly air currents that originate over North Africa. These winds, which sometimes carry fine dust, are most common in spring. A cooler easterly wind, the Levante, funnels between the Sistema Penibético and the Atlas Mountains of North Africa.

Population

Size and Growth

In mid-1985, Spain's population reached 38.8 million, making it Western Europe's fifth most populous nation. The country's population grew very slowly throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth. In the 1860s, the population increased by only about one-third of one percent annually; by the first decades of the twentieth century, this rate of increase had grown to about 0.7 percent per year. Between the 1930s and the 1980s, population growth rates hovered between 0.8 and

1.2 percent annually (see table 3, Appendix). In the postwar years, Spain began to exhibit population growth patterns very similar to those of most other advanced industrial societies. Growth rates were projected to level off, or to decline slightly, through the remainder of the twentieth century; Spain was expected to reach a population of 40 million by 1990 and 42 million by the year 2000. Observers estimated that the country's population would stabilize in the year 2020 at about 46 million.

One significant factor in Spain's population growth has been a declining rate of births. Between 1965 and 1985, Spain experienced a dramatic reduction in its birth rate, from 21 to 13 per 1,000, a drop of approximately 38 percent. In 1975, with an estimated base population of about 35.5 million, the country recorded about 675,000 live births; in 1985, with an estimated base population of more than 38 million, Spain had only about 475,000 live births. In other words, ten years after the death of Franco, despite an increase of nearly 3 million in the base population, the country registered more than one-third fewer births.

Part of this change can be attributed to the increase in the percentage of women using contraceptives. Whereas in the 1960s such data were not even reported, by 1984 the World Bank (see Glossary) estimated that over half of Spanish women of child-bearing age practiced birth control. Demographers have observed, however, that this increased use of contraceptive devices was only the surface reflection of other more significant changes in Spanish society during the period from 1960 to 1985. The economic causes included an economic slump, unemployment, insufficient housing, and the arrival of the consumer society. Also, changes in cultural patterns reflected women's increased access to employment, expanded women's rights, a decline in the number of marriages (between 1974 and 1984, the marriage rate dropped from 7.6 to 5.0 per 1,000), an improved image of couples without children, a decline in the belief that children were the center of the family, increased access to abortion and divorce, and in general a break in the linkage between woman and mother as social roles.

At the same time that the birth rate was dropping sharply, Spain's low death rate also declined slightly, from 8 to 7 per 1,000. By the mid-1980s, life expectancy at birth had reached seventy-seven years, a level equal to or better than that of every other country in Europe except France, and superior to the average of all the world's advanced industrial countries. Male life expectancy increased between 1965 and 1985 from sixty-eight to seventy-four years, while female life expectancy rose from seventy-three to eighty years.

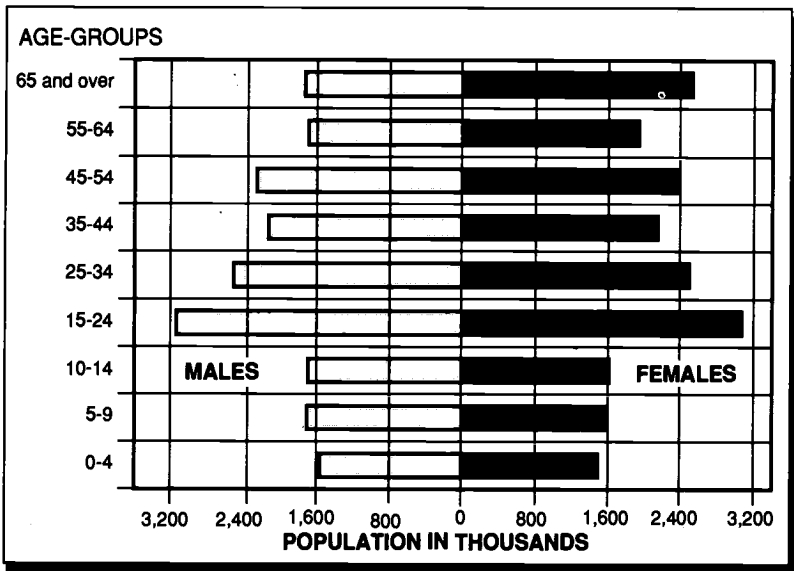
By the early 1980s, Spain, like all advanced industrial countries, had begun to experience the aging of its population (see fig. 6). In 1980 a reported 10.6 percent of its population was over sixty-five years of age, a figure that was only a bare point or two behind the percentages in the United States and the Netherlands. By 1986 the percentage over sixty-five had climbed to 12.2; officials estimated that by 2001, the percentage over sixty-five would exceed 15. In 1985 children under the age of fourteen constituted 25 percent of the population; specialists anticipated that, by the year 2001, this proportion would decline to 18 percent.

Regional Disparities

Spain is more a subcontinent than a country, and its climate, geography, and history produced a state that was little more than a federation of regions until Philip V, a grandson of Louis XIV, brought the centralization of the Bourbon monarchy to the country in the eighteenth century (see *Bourbon Spain*, ch. 1). Modern-day Spain contains a number of identifiable regions, each with its own set of cultural, economic, and political characteristics. In many instances, the loyalty of a population is still primarily to its town or region, and only secondarily to the abstract concept of "Spain." Administratively, Spain is organized into seventeen autonomous communities comprising fifty provinces (see fig. 7). However, when an autonomous community is made up of only one province, provincial institutions have been transferred to the autonomous community.

On the map, the Iberian Peninsula resembles a slightly distorted square with the top bent toward the east and spread wide where it joins the rest of Europe. In the center lies the densely populated Spanish capital, Madrid, surrounded by the harsh, sparsely populated Meseta Central. King Philip II made Madrid the capital of Castile (Spanish, *Castilla*) in the sixteenth century, partly because its remoteness made it an uncontroversial choice (see *Charles V and Philip II*, ch. 1). The city, surrounded by a demographic desert, in the late 1980s was still regarded by many Spaniards as an "artificial" capital even though it had long been established as the political center of the country.

Around the periphery of the peninsula are the peoples that have competed with Castilians for centuries over control of Iberia: in the west, the Portuguese (the only group successful in establishing its own state in 1640); in the northwest, the Galicians; along the northern coast of the Bay of Biscay, the Asturians, and, as the coast nears France, the Basques; along the Pyrenees, the Navarrese and the Aragonese; in the northeast, the Catalans; in the east, the



Source: Based on information from Spain, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Anuario estadística de España*, Madrid, 1986, 36-37.

Figure 6. Population by Age and Sex, 1981

Valencians; and in the south, the Andalusians. Although most of these peoples would decline to identify themselves first, foremost, and solely as “Spanish,” few of them would choose to secede from Spain. Even among Basques, whose separatist sentiment ran deepest in the late 1980s, those advocating total independence from Spain probably comprised only one-fifth of the ethnic Basque population. Whereas culture provided the centrifugal force, economic ties linked the regions together more closely than an outsider might conclude from their rhetoric.

Spain’s seventeen regions, defined by the 1978 Constitution as autonomous communities, vary greatly in size and population, as well as in economic and political weight (see table 4, Appendix). For example, Andalusia (Spanish, Andalucía), nearly the size of Portugal, encompasses 17 percent of Spain’s land area. The two regions carved out of sparsely populated Castile—Castilla-La Mancha (larger than Ireland) and Castilla y León (larger than Austria)—account for 15.6 and 18.7 percent, respectively, of Spain’s total area. These three large regions combined account for about 52 percent of the country’s total territory. No other autonomous region contains more than 10 percent of the total. The three richest, most densely populated, and most heavily industrialized regions—Madrid, Catalonia (Spanish, Cataluña; Catalan, Catalunya), and

the Basque, Country (Spanish, País Vasco; Basque, Euskadi)—together account for 9.3 percent of the total. The remaining 40 percent is made up of two medium-sized regions—Aragon (Spanish, Aragón) and Extremadura—each of which holds 8 to 9 percent, and seven much smaller regions that together account for about 20 percent of the national territory.

Regional economic disparities between “Rich Spain” and “Poor Spain” were also highly significant, and they continued to shape the country’s political debate despite a century of efforts to redistribute the wealth of the country. Imagine a line drawn from about the middle of the north coast, in Asturias, southeastward to Madrid, and then to Valencia. To the north and east of the line lived the people of Rich Spain, sometimes referred to as “Bourgeois Spain,” an area already substantially modernized, industrialized, and urbanized, where the transition to an information and services economy was already well under way in the 1980s. To the south and west of the line lay Poor Spain, or “Traditional Spain,” where agriculture continued to dominate and where semi-feudal social conditions could still be found. To aggravate this cleavage still further, Rich Spain, with the exception of Madrid, tended to be made up disproportionately of people who felt culturally different from the Castilians and not really “Spanish” at all.

Indicators of economic disparity are stark reminders that not all Spaniards shared in the country’s economic miracle. The autonomous communities of Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Madrid accounted for half of Spain’s gross national product (GNP—see Glossary) in the late 1980s. Income per capita was only 55 percent of the Catalan level in Extremadura, 64 percent in Andalusia, and 70 percent in Galicia. In Galicia, 46 percent of the population still worked on the land; in Extremadura and the two Castilian regions, 30 to 34 percent did so; but in Catalonia and the Basque Country, only 6 percent depended on the land for their livelihood. In Andalusia, unemployment exceeded 30 percent; in Aragon and in Navarre (Spanish, Navarra) it ran between 15 and 20 percent. A 1987 report by Spain’s National Statistics Institute revealed that the country’s richest autonomous community, Madrid, exceeded its poorest, Extremadura, by wide margins in every economic category. With the national average equal to zero, Madrid’s standard of living measured 1.7 while Extremadura scored -2.0 ; in family income, the values were Madrid 1.0, Extremadura, -2.1 ; in economic development, Madrid, 1.7, Extremadura, -2.0 ; and in endowment in physical and human resources, Madrid, 1.4, Extremadura, -1.7 .

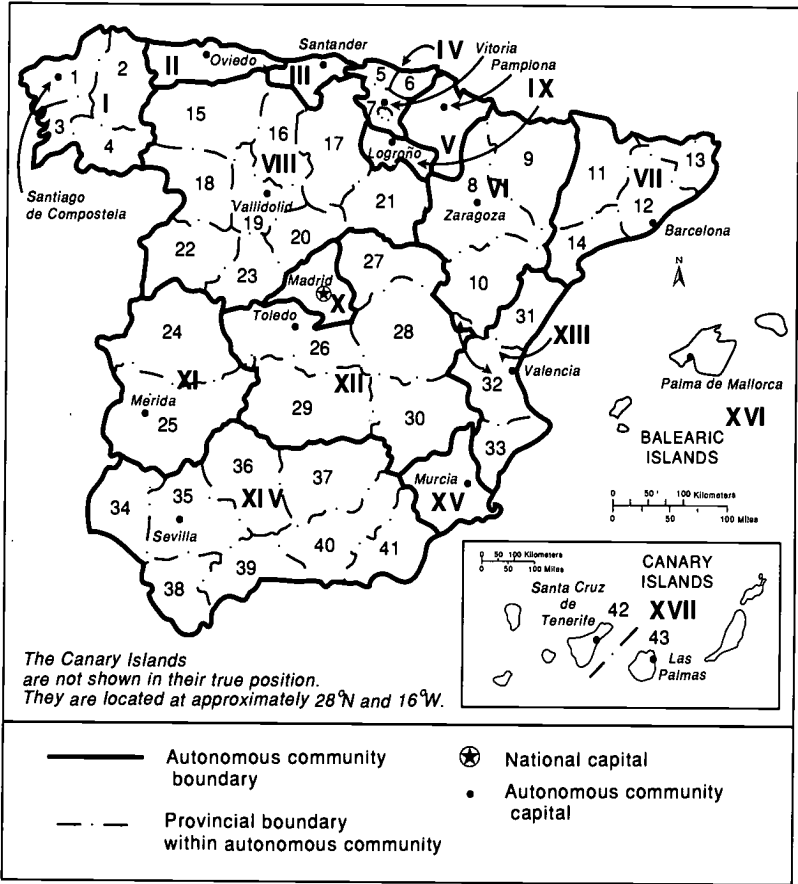


Figure 7. Administrative Divisions of Spain, 1988

Migration

The poverty of rural Spain led to a marked shift in population as hundreds of thousands of Spaniards moved out of the poor south and west in search of jobs and a better way of life. Between 1951 and 1981, more than 5 million Spaniards left Poor Spain, first for the prosperous economies of France and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), then for the expanding industrial regions of Spain itself. Nearly 40 percent, or 1.7 million, left Andalusia alone; another million left Castilla y León; and slightly fewer than 1 million left Castilla-La Mancha.

By 1970 migrants accounted for about 26 percent of the population in Madrid, 23 percent in Barcelona, and more than 30 percent

Administrative Divisions of Spain

PROVINCES

Álava (7)	Gerona (13)	Salamanca (22)
Albacete (30)	Granada (40)	Santa Cruz de Tenerife (42)
Alicante (33)	Guadalajara (27)	Segovia (20)
Almería (41)	Guipúzcoa (6)	Sevilla (35)
Ávila (23)	Huelva (34)	Soria (21)
Badajoz (25)	Huesca (9)	Tarragona (14)
Barcelona (12)	Jaén (37)	Teruel (10)
Burgos (17)	León (15)	Toledo (26)
Cáceres (24)	Lérida (11)	Valencia (32)
Cádiz (38)	Lugo (2)	Valladolid (19)
Castellón (31)	Málaga (39)	Vizcaya (5)
Ciudad Real (29)	Orense (4)	Zamora (18)
Córdoba (36)	Palencia (16)	Zaragoza (8)
La Coruña (1)	Las Palmas (43)	
Cuenca (28)	Puntavedra (3)	

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITIES

Andalusia (XIV)	Cantabria (III)*	Madrid (X)*
Aragon (VI)	Castilla-La Mancha (XII)	Murcia (XV)*
Asturias (II)*	Castilla y León (VIII)	Navarre (V)*
Balearic Islands (XVI)*	Catalonia (VII)	La Rioja (IX)*
Basque Country (IV)	Extremadura (XI)	Valencia (XIII)
Canary Islands (XVII)	Galicia (I)	

*Both an autonomous community and a province.

in the booming Basque province of Álava. In the years after Franco's death, when the economies of some of the industrial areas, especially the Basque region, began to sour, some tens of thousands of these people returned to their provinces of origin. The majority of the migrants of the 1960s and the 1970s, however, were husbands and wives who had moved their families with the idea of staying for a long period, if not permanently. Thus, the great bulk of the migrants stayed on to shape the culture and the politics of their adopted regions. In the long run, this may turn out to be the most significant impact of the Spanish economic miracle on the country's intractable regional disparities.

During the last decade of the Franco era and the first decade of democracy, the population became steadily more urbanized,

although Spain was already a fairly urban country even in the 1960s. Between 1965 and 1985, the population living in urban areas rose from 61 to 77 percent of the total, a level slightly higher than the average for the advanced industrial countries. Urbanization intensified during the 1960s and the 1970s, when cities grew at the rate of 2.4 percent annually, but the rate slowed to 1.6 percent during the first half of the 1980s. The mid-decennial census of April 1, 1986, showed that the Madrid area, accounting for 12.5 percent of the total population, continued to dominate the country. The six cities of over half a million—Barcelona, Madrid, Málaga, Seville, Valencia, Zaragoza—together accounted for approximately 19 percent (see table 5).

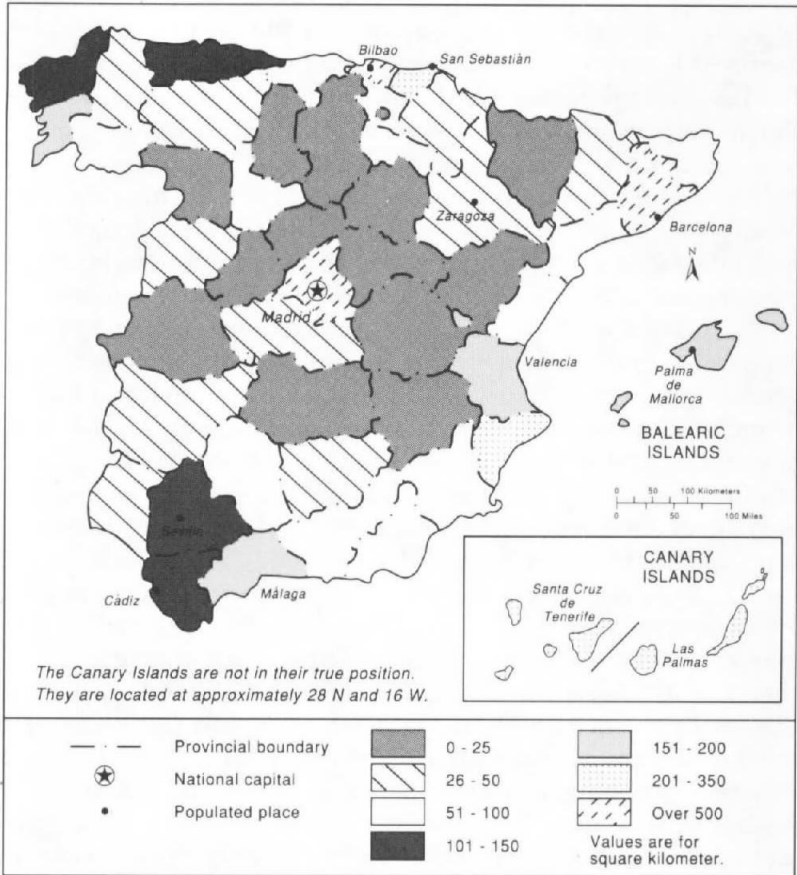
A comparison of population densities among the provinces illustrates dramatically the drain of the rural population toward the major cities (see fig. 8). In 1986 Spain's overall population density was 77 persons per square kilometer, about the same as that of Greece or Turkey and far below the average of such heavily urbanized countries as West Germany. Population densities ranged, however, from the practically deserted interior Castilian provinces, like Soria (9 per square kilometer) and Guadalajara (12), to some of the most densely populated territory in Europe, such as Madrid (607 per square kilometer), Barcelona (592 per square kilometer), and Vizcaya (527 per square kilometer). In terms of the autonomous community system, four regions—Madrid (4.9 million people), Catalonia (6.0 million), Valencia (3.8 million), and Andalusia (6.9 million)—held 50 percent of the country's population in 1986. None of the remaining 13 autonomous regions had more than 2.8 million people.

A comparison of regional population distribution changes from 1962 to 1982 shows clearly the effects of urbanization and the transformation of the work force. In this 20-year period, three regions increased their share of the country's population by three percentage points or more: Catalonia (from 13.1 to 16.6), Madrid (from 8.7 to 12.5), and Valencia (from 7.0 to 10.0). Several other regions, notably the Canary Islands and the Basque Country, registered moderate gains of about one percentage point. In contrast, the big losers (declines of three percentage points or more) were Andalusia (19.3 to 16.2) and Castilla y León (9.1 to 6.1). Other regions also losing their historical share of the country's population were Castilla-La Mancha, Galicia, and Extremadura. It is clear that during these two decades Spain's population balance shifted dramatically from the poor and rural provinces and regions to the much richer and more urbanized ones. Since the birth rates in the more modernized and more urbanized parts of the country tended to

be even lower than the national average (the Spanish birth rate averaged between 14 and 15 per 1,000 in 1980–85, whereas the Basque Country rate averaged only 12), it is equally clear that this shift in the population balance was due principally to internal migration rather than to changes in birth rates.

Internal migration concentrated primarily on the huge cities of Madrid and Barcelona in the 1960s and the 1970s, but by the 1980s a significant change began to appear in the migration data. An examination of the data for 1983 and 1984—years in which, respectively, 363,000 and 387,000 persons changed residence in Spain—revealed several trends. First, the major losers of population were small towns (of fewer than 2,000 inhabitants each), which sustained a combined net loss of about 10,000 people each year, and large cities (of more than 500,000), which together had a net annual loss of more than 20,000. Second, the major net gains in population were made by cities of between 100,000 and 500,000, which had a net annual increase of more than 20,000. Third, all the other town or city size categories either had stable populations or experienced only small losses or gains. Thus, while provinces like Barcelona, dominated by a single huge city, actually lost population (more than 15,000 people in each of the years 1983 and 1984), provinces like Seville or Las Palmas, with large cities that had not yet reached the bursting point, experienced significant net in-migration. This reflected a more mature form of population relocation than the simple frantic movement from the farm to Madrid or Barcelona that had characterized the earlier decades of the Spanish economic boom.

Migration was significant not only among regions within the country but abroad as well. The movement of the Spanish population abroad resembled that of many Third World countries that sent large waves of migrants to Western Europe and to North America in the late 1960s and the early 1970s in search of better jobs and living standards and in response to labor shortages in the more advanced industrial countries. Between 1960 and 1985, nearly 1.3 million Spaniards emigrated to other West European countries. More than 500,000 went to Switzerland; more than 400,000, to West Germany; and about 277,000, to France. This flow of migrant workers reached its peak in the 1969 to 1973 period, when 512,000 Spanish citizens—some 40 percent of the entire 25-year total, an average of more than 102,000 each year—migrated. Following the economic downturn in Europe in the mid-1970s, Spanish migration dwindled to between 10,000 and 20,000 each year, although there was a slight increase in the early 1980s in response to worsening economic conditions in Spain itself. In contrast, the late 1970s saw the return of many Spaniards from abroad, especially from



Source: Based on information from John Paxton (ed.), *The Statesman's Year-Book, 1989-1990*, New York, 1989, 1114-1115.

Figure 8. Population Density by Province, 1986

Europe, as economic opportunities for Spaniards declined in Europe and as democracy returned to Spain. In the peak return year, 1975, some 110,000 Spaniards returned from Europe, and Spain's net emigration balance was minus 89,000.

In 1987, according to the government's Institute on Emigration, more than 1.7 million Spanish citizens resided outside the country. About 947,000 lived in the Western Hemisphere, principally in Argentina (374,000), Brazil (118,000), Venezuela (144,000), and the United States (74,000). More than 750,000 Spanish citizens lived in other West European countries, primarily France (321,000), West Germany (154,000), and Switzerland (108,000). Aside from these two heavy concentrations, the only other significant Spanish

populations abroad were in Morocco (10,000) and in Australia (22,500).

Ethnicity and Language

One of the clearest indicators of Spain's cultural diversity is language. Ethnic group boundaries do not coincide with administrative jurisdictions, so exact figures are impossible to confirm, but observers generally agreed that about one Spanish citizen in four spoke a mother tongue other than Castilian in the late 1980s. Nevertheless, Castilian Spanish was the dominant language throughout the country. Even in the homelands of the other Iberian languages, the native tongue was used primarily for informal communication, and Castilian continued to dominate in most formal settings.

Spain has, besides its Castilian ethnic core, three major peripheral ethnic groups with some claim to an historical existence preceding that of the Spanish state itself. In descending order of size, they are the Catalans, the Galicians, and the Basques. In descending order of the intensity of the pressure they brought to bear on Spanish society and politics in the late 1980s, the Basques came first, followed by the less intransigent and less violent Catalans, and, at a great distance, by the much more conservative and less volatile Galicians. In addition, heavily populated Andalusia had become the center of fragmenting regionalism in the south; and the Gypsies, although few in number, continuing to be a troublesome and depressed cultural minority.

Government Policies

Franco's policies toward cultural, ethnic, and linguistic minorities were directed at the suppression of all non-Spanish diversity and at the unification, integration, and homogenization of the country (see Policies, Programs, and Growing Popular Unrest, ch. 1). Until 1975 Spain's policy toward its ethnic minorities was more highly centralized and unifying than that of its neighbor, France, where a liberal democratic framework allowed private-sector initiatives to keep regional cultures and languages alive.

With the restoration of democracy, Spanish elites (many of whom come from one of the peripheral ethnic homelands, especially Catalonia) were much more tolerant of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic differences. Article 2 of the 1978 Constitution includes this wording: "The Constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish Nation, the common and indivisible fatherland of all Spaniards, and it recognizes and guarantees the autonomy of the nationalities and regions that comprise it [the Spanish Nation], and

the solidarity among them.” It should be pointed out, however, that the word “autonomy” is never defined in the Constitution, leaving a serious ambiguity in Spain’s treatment of its ethnic minorities (see Regional Government, ch. 4). While requiring that Castilian be the official language throughout the country, the Constitution also recognizes the possibility that other languages may be “co-official” (an ambiguous term that is taken to mean “having co-equal status with Castilian for governmental purposes”) in their respective autonomous communities. By 1988 five languages had been accorded such treatment: Catalan, Galician, Euskera (the Basque language), Valencian, and Majorcan.

From the vantage point of the state, the Basque, the Catalan, and the Galician peoples were “nationalities” within the larger and more inclusive Spanish nation. There was only one nation, and its capital was Madrid; ethnic minorities were prohibited from using the term “nation” in reference to themselves. For the Basque or the Catalan nationalist, however, there was no Spanish nation, only a Spanish state made up of a number of ethnic nations, of which theirs was one.

It should be noted that ethno-nationalist sentiment varied greatly within and among Spain’s important ethnic minorities, throughout the years. In other words, not all Basques or Catalans felt themselves to be solely Basque or Catalan, and even those who did possessed varying levels of identification with, and commitment to, their ethnic homeland, depending upon the circumstances of the moment. For example, a 1979 study by Goldie Shabad and Richard Gunther revealed that, in the Basque provinces of Álava, Guipúzcoa, and Vizcaya, 28 percent of their respondents identified themselves as “Spanish only” or “more Spanish than Basque,” 24 percent said they were “equally Spanish and Basque,” 11 percent said they were “more Basque than Spanish,” and 37 percent identified themselves as “solely Basque.” In the Basque province of Navarre, in contrast, 26 percent said they were “Spanish only”; 52 percent, “Navarrese only”; and 15 percent, “Basque only.” In Catalonia, the figures were as follows: “Spanish or more Spanish than Catalan,” 38 percent; “equally Catalan and Spanish,” 36 percent; “more Catalan than Spanish,” 12 percent; and “Catalan only,” 15 percent.

Such variation in ethnic identity was related to two factors: the migration of non-ethnics into the ethnic homelands from other parts of Spain, especially in the economic boom years of the 1950s and the 1960s; and the impact of industrialization, modernization, and urbanization on the usage of non-Castilian languages. After several decades of migration of non-ethnics into the Basque and Catalan

regions, the native-born population represented between one-half and two-thirds of the total; and in many working-class neighborhoods and large cities, the non-ethnics were actually in the majority. Whereas many migrants were able to learn Catalan because of its close similarity to Castilian Spanish, the number of migrants who learned the Basque language was insignificant because Euskera is not an Indo-European language. Moreover, the impact of mass media, urbanization, and other modernizing mass cultural influences gradually weakened the place of the non-Castilian languages. This was especially true in the Basque region, where non-Basque speakers found it pointless to learn a minority language that apparently had little utility in the modern world.

For these reasons, the Basque, the Catalan, and the Galician autonomous community governments placed the highest emphasis on policies to save their respective languages. In each of these regions, the local language was declared co-official along with Castilian Spanish; residents of the regions came to expect that they could communicate with their government in their native tongues when dealing with the courts and the police, and in a wide variety of other contexts in which citizens interacted directly with the state. Trials were conducted in both languages. The regional parliaments and governments, as well as most other institutions of government, were bilingual in theory if not in practice. Each government subsidized native-language schools through the high-school years and supported a television system that broadcast largely, or, in the Basque case, entirely, in the native language. The Basque autonomous government placed great emphasis on recruiting a native police force made up of bilingual officers able to interact with the local population in the language of their choice (see *The Police System*, ch. 5).

At the end of the 1980s, it was still too early to assess whether or not such policies could salvage these minority languages. Catalan seemed assured of survival, even if as a subordinate language to Castilian, but Euskera and Galician were spoken by such a small portion of the modern, urbanized population that their fate would probably not be known for another generation. Under the best of circumstances, the representation of such complexity in Spanish society and politics will present a major challenge to the country's political elites and opinion leaders through the 1990s.

The Catalans

The four Spanish provinces in the northeast corner of the Iberian Peninsula constitute the principal homeland of the Catalans. The Catalan autonomous community covers about 6.5 percent of Spain's

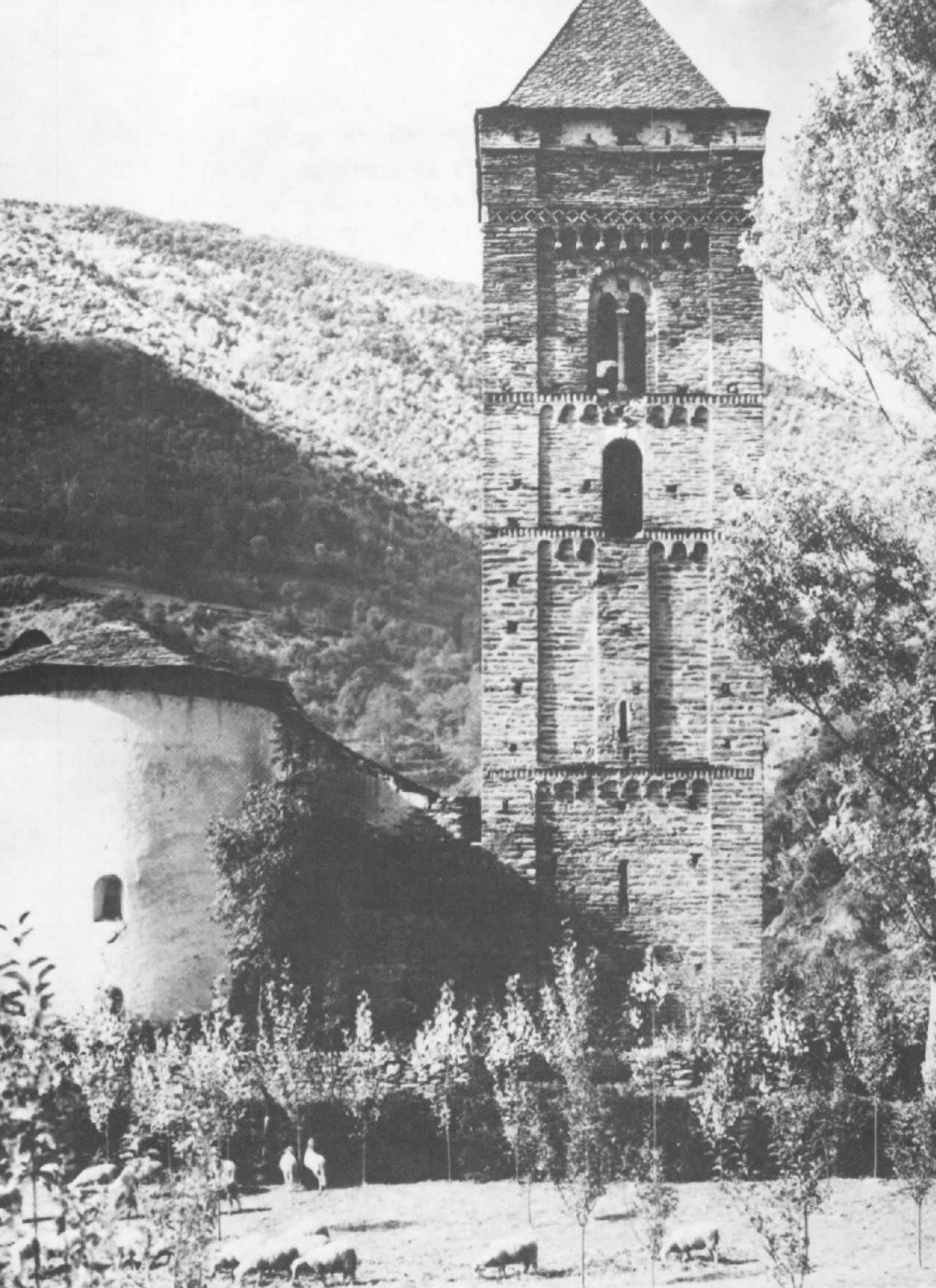
total peninsular land area. The region consists of the provinces of Barcelona, Gerona, Lérida, and Tarragona. Elsewhere in Spain, there were also significant Catalan-speaking populations in the Balearic Islands, along the east coast to the south of Valencia, and as far west as the eastern part of the Aragonese province of Huesca. Outside Spain, the principal Catalan populations were found in France, at the eastern end of the Pyrenees, and in Andorra.

The population of the Catalan region in 1986 was approximately 6.0 million, of which 4.6 million lived in densely populated Barcelona Province. The other three provinces were more sparsely populated. As one of the richest areas of Spain and the first to industrialize, Catalonia attracted hundreds of thousands of migrants, primarily from Andalusia and other poor parts of the country. From 1900 to 1981, the net in-migration into Catalonia was about 2.4 million. In the 1980s, over half of Catalonia's working class, and the vast majority of its unskilled or semi-skilled workers, were cultural outsiders.

Catalan was one of five distinct Romance languages that emerged as the Islamic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula began to ebb (see *Al Andalus*, ch. 1). The others were Aragonese, Castilian, Leonese, and Galician. By the late Middle Ages, the kingdoms of Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia had joined together in a federation, forging one of the most advanced constitutional systems of the time in Europe (see *Castile and Aragon*, ch. 1).

After the union of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile in 1479, the Spanish crown maintained a loose administrative hold over its component realms. Although it occasionally tried to assert more centralized control, in the case of Catalonia its efforts generally resulted in failure. Nonetheless, attempts by Catalans in the seventeenth century to declare their independence were likewise unsuccessful (see *Spain in Decline*, ch. 1). In the War of the Spanish Succession, Catalonia sided with the English against the Spanish crown, and the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 opened the way for the conquest of Catalonia by Spanish troops (see *War of the Spanish Succession*, ch. 1). In September 1714, after a long siege, Barcelona fell, and Catalonia's formal constitutional independence came to an end.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Catalonia experienced a dramatic resurgence as the focal point of Spain's industrial revolution (see *The Cuban Disaster and the "Generation of 1898,"* ch. 1). There were also a cultural renaissance and a renewed emphasis on the Catalan language as the key to Catalan cultural distinctiveness. Catalan nationalism was put forward by the nascent Catalan bourgeoisie as a solution that coupled political and cultural



*Romanesque church in Lérida Province
Courtesy National Tourist Office of Spain*