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Ladies and gentlemen -

It is indeed a pleasure and a great honor for me to come before this selected group of American students of ^{The Hope College} ~~the Institute of European Studies~~ and to address you from this platform of ^{Instit. of European Studies} ~~the Colegio Mayor de San Pablo~~ ^{Instit. de Estudios de Cult. N.} ~~de San Pablo~~. I am very grateful for your kind invitation and I promise ^{I shall try} you to be brief and not trespass on your patience. Quevedo, a great Spanish writer, said that the only unpardonable theft is, the theft of time, because restitution is impossible.

(The land of Spain, the people of Spain and the institutions)

The topic we are going to deal with is Spain

I can assure you it isn't an easy subject. ~~Probably~~ ^{for my country is sometimes difficult to understand}. We shall begin ^{with the land} ~~although your experience might be that~~ ^{you}

~~already are well aware of this fact~~ ^{For instance} ~~remember the land of Spain you have visited~~ ^{the} ~~the main fact about~~ ^{it} ~~is certainly its inaccessibility~~ ^{is} ~~it is certainly its inaccessibility~~

~~Spain is~~ ^{Spain is} a castle. The Iberian Peninsula stands at a higher mean altitude than any other part of Europe save Switzerland, and, if it be borne in mind that Switzerland rises on a pedestal of high land while Spain rises from the sea, the average altitude of Spain (2000 feet approximately) will appear as more impressive than the average

on you have yet certainly realized

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altitude of Switzerland (3,600 feet). The citadel of this castle is the Central Tableland or Meseta Central - generally considered as the geological nucleus and the oldest constituent of the Peninsula - is surrounded by walls and waters. The valley of the ^{river} Guadalquivir, which bounds it on the south, explains Andalusia.

Beyond the western edge of the Tagus, spreads out in a low-lying plain which accounts for Portugal. North of the Cantabric range, Galicia, Asturias and Santander lie and thrive on the seashore, with their backs leaning on the borders of the Central Tableland. From the Basque depression to the Catalan coastal chain, the Ebro flows in a deep ditch, wedged in between the Pyrenees and the Iberian range, in a kind of triangle which contains the land of the old crown of Aragon.

From such a topography, considerable variety is to be anticipated. Spain presents to the traveler every possible landscape: ~~There are~~ ~~no more~~ ~~picturesque~~ picturesque fjords than ~~Galicia~~, ~~nor Switzerland more~~ impressive peaks than the snow mountains of Santander; the ~~sea~~, winding his way up the industrial valley of the Nervion, may well imagine

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~~himself~~ traveling toward Glasgow along his
busy Clyde; the woodiest slopes of Navarra are
a match to those of the Black Forest; the Ebro
valley, with its alternation of dry, broken,
reddish cliffs and fertile oases is perhaps purely
Spanish; but lower Catalonia is a Mediterranean
country, and could be either Italian or Greek,
Valencia and Murcia, whose rivers run dry, so
that their checkered plains may flourish, are
~~still~~ Moorish with now and then a Palestinian
touch in the landscape - the palm tree and the
biblical well. Andalusia, again, is purely
Spanish, though it might be dreamed of in
Persia or in the pages of The Thousand and One
Nights. And yet all this variety is to be
spoken, shrouded in an atmosphere of unity.
From soft, moody Galicia ^{in the north} to parched, clear
Murcia, ^{in the south east} glowing under its hot sun; from the
snowy pines of Asturias to the dusty palm trees
of Alicante; from the puritanical narrow valley
of grey Guipuzcoa to the blossoming vegas of
western Andalusia, the same air, the same
mood seems to be suggested by nature. Spain
is one under all her Spains, and this is
the first mystery that appears to the
foreigner.

The second might be to understand the people.

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If varied but one is the land, varied but one are the people.

The Gallegan in the northwestern corner of the Peninsula, shrewd, intelligent, hard working, thrifty, physically strong, ~~provides Spain with lawyers, politicians,~~ the inhabitant of a soft, gray land.

is of a dreamy disposition, poetical and imaginative, superstitious, apt to believe in apparitions and to feel the presence of the supernatural world.

The Asturian, a close neighbour of the Gallegan, is less reserved and more consciously intelligent, less cautious and more vivacious. He is still deeply poetical, but the faith, at times naive of the Gallegan, is here undetermined by a quiet yet keen sense of humor. These natural gifts are expressed in a popular poetry which ranks with the best to be found in a country so rich in popular poetry as Spain.

If, following the northern coast eastward, we skip the province of Santander, a purely Castilian province in spirit, we come next to the Basque country, a labyrinth of narrow valleys, ~~green as befits a land generally watered by streams too often gray.~~ The Basques are foresters, fishermen, peasants, they are strong, healthy and simple. In recent years their inherent spirit of enterprise has blossomed out to such an extent that the Basque has become the chief capitalist of modern Spain.

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At the other end of the Pyrenees, the Catalans occupy a symmetrical position. Aslant south of Basques and Catalans, the valley of the Ebro may be considered as the geographic definition of the old Kingdom of Aragon.

South of the Ebro, Valencian linguistically connected with ^{the} Catalonia is Mediterranean and expressive like that region but spontaneous and more primitive ~~like Aragon~~. ~~The passions of the Valencian are stronger and more easily aroused than is the case with his northern~~ ~~country~~. His love of pleasure is not so keen, nor is he so fond of thrift and comfort, though as gifted as Catalonia in artistic tendencies, Valencia manifests herself in color rather than in eloquence.

If the Basques bring to the Spanish character force rather than grace, the Andalusians provide it with grace rather than force. The Andalusian is richer, no doubt, in aesthetic gifts, which he manifests freely in his daily life. Flowers and songs are his constant companions and an innate wisdom his principal virtue. ~~The genius of Andalusia~~

In the midst of all these varieties of Spain stands ~~the central~~ Castile ~~that provides~~

6 the best specific example of Spanish character (6) in general: that character, which constitutes the unity under their variety and brings together the several types of Spaniards by means of an inner link.

As with the land, so with the men. The sense of unity under the variety comes from an impression of primitive strength, of all-round synthetic vigor. It may be first observed when dealing with the people. It will be noticed that the people, the popular classes for example possess qualities of wisdom, of heart, of manners, which the visitor is used to connect with the cultured or well-to-do levels of society. The usual test - illiteracy - breaks down in Spain. ~~Illiterate~~ ~~people~~ ~~speak like Seneca, sing like Blake and behave like Louis XIV.~~ A composure, a quiet assurance, covered with respect but not oiled with subservience, a genuine fellow feeling, a quick sense of dignity yet free from susceptibility, suggest that the Spanish people are endowed with a natural notion of equality springing from a deep sense of fraternity. A sense rather than a feeling, for rather than a definite movement or manifestation or even mood, it is an atmosphere in which moods and movements manifest themselves.

Such a sense of the inherent equality of all men springs from a religious substratum.

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whether consciously or not, the Spaniard lives ⁽⁷⁾ against a background of eternity, and his outlook is more religious than philosophic. Hence it is that the two poles of his psychology are the individual and the universe; the subject and the whole; and that life for him should consist in the absorbing of the universe by the individual, the assimilation of the whole by the subject.

Summing up what we have said from the Spaniard you can certainly realize that precisely because of ~~our~~ ^{this} peculiar psychology one of our main difficulties is that ~~we~~ ^{we lack the sense of transaction, the sense of compromise.} ~~we~~ ^{we} lack the sense of transaction, ~~the sense~~ ^{is in a way} of compromise, which ~~is~~ ^{is} the foundation of a realistic policy. I know this might be a defect but unfortunately we are not perfect and this is a token of our character. ~~For the Spaniard~~ As regards to the consequences of this attitude, let us take some examples. For instance, freedom. We Spaniards love freedom but we love absolute freedom. We do not like compromise or transactions ~~about~~ about freedom; because of this, we tend to fall back to anarchism, and that is

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why anarchism has such ~~po~~ deep roots in Spain. We Spaniards love freedom possibly more than any other country, but we love it too much and as you ~~do~~ know, to love something too much it always the best way, the surest way to destroy it.

Because Spain is just so, ever since she lost, at the end of the 18th century the unity she had maintained during several centuries, ~~through the monarchy and through the Catholic Church~~, Spaniards have been fighting each other looking for a new political and social formula which would permit us to enjoy peaceful ~~and~~ coexistence. In the ^{BLACK legend} last forty years Spain has known one monarchy, the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera, the short monarchical period that followed, the Second Republic, the Regime on the Republican side during the Civil War from 1936 to 1939 and now the present Regime - It is not my intention to explain you now the full meaning of our civil war. ~~But I would like you to have in mind the fact that the National forces that fought let me~~

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Black legend

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only tell you that the historical cliché (9)
of a fight of reactionary and ecclesiastical
military forces of oppression against a Republic
incarnating liberty, right and progress ^{which} is as
false as it is stubbornly ~~defeated~~ repeated
~~during~~ over the last twenty years. The truth
is that the National forces fought against the
chaos into which the Socialist-Anarchist parties
had plunged Spain and which Soviet Communism
used to deprive the Republican Government of
all prestige of power, sacrificed to the over-
powering influence of the Soviet Union, and I
can assure you that without the National
Movement, Spain would be to-day a Communist
Republic ~~and not a free country~~, a
Satellite. it is a fact that

Now after 26 years } the present regime
has given Spain a longer period of peace,
order and economic stability than we have
known in our recent history. It is true that
in Spain today, as in many other countries,
there are still many changes to be
accomplished. We must change our social
structure, which is in many ways obsolete
and in many aspects unjust. We have

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To change our economic structure in order to go from stabilization to development. We have to evolution our political structure to go to a regime of stronger political institutions and of greater freedom. **But before target political economic and social**

But we must recognize how much it has been done after ~~more than two~~ ^{these 26 years time} ~~decades~~ in ~~which we have~~ ~~in effect~~ ~~enjoyed a period of political quiet, a~~ ~~breather~~, in which we have worked hard to pull ourselves up by our own bootstraps, ~~as you say~~. This has allowed us with the primary help of the United States and of some international organizations, to put into effect a stabilization plan for our economy.

The results I think, speak for themselves. We now have a total gold reserve of nearly one billion dollars - more than many other countries to-day. In 1961 our industrial production index increased by 10% compared with 1960. Electric energy production in 1961 increased by 13.6%, steel production by 14.8%, cement by 14.3% and unemployment decreased by 6.7% compared with the previous year.

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A very important date in our economic evolution is ~~the last of January~~ ^{is the 9th February 1962}, date of our application for association into the ^{European} Common Market. In making this application, the Spanish Government took a carefully considered step, not only reflecting official policy but acting in response to public opinion, because its prime objective is to raise the standard of living of the Spanish people. It was a step which has been publicly urged for some time by the press, by organizations of businessmen, and by private economists. The letter of application is a broad document, not only indicating our immediate interest in association but looking ahead the possibility of full membership.

In doing this the Spanish Government was ^{of course} entirely conscious of the political requirements that appear in the Treaty of Rome ~~to be~~ ~~is~~ and the consequent commitments that will be necessary in taking this step.

This document of application was also significant for its implications for the total economy of Europe. It offers to our fellow

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~~As regards the social aspect I would like to make clear the real significance of recent coal mine strikes we have had in Spain that have been considered by a part of the world press as a sign of danger to the regime when they are in fact rather a normal side effect of our economic growth and their economic implications are evidently greater than their political implications.~~

We -- like many other countries in the Western

world -- have known worker unrest in recent years, and we have tackled this problem through our own system of collective bargaining. This organized plan for resolving differences between workers and employers differs somewhat from what ~~you~~ ^{the} practise ^{in other countries} here, but it is collective bargaining nevertheless. And it works in Spain. In recent years almost one thousand agreements between labor and management have been achieved through this system.

The problem of the coal miners, however, was unusual for several reasons. As in many other countries, coal mining

in Spain is a declining industry, and our best grade coal has already been exhausted. Nevertheless, coal miners were the highest-paid workers, though wages in the steel industry were made higher through a recent increase. A raise in the wages of miners requires an increase in the price of coal, and this, as you know from your own experience, brings with it the threat of inflation. Collective bargaining to resolve this was well along toward completion of an agreement, but the normal process of reconciliation was interrupted by a work stoppage -- small at first but later provoked into larger size by radio broadcasts from behind the Iron Curtain.

It seems to me significant that this dispute has finally been settled by the method which was proposed at the beginning of negotiations -- namely an authorized increase in the price of coal. Having solved the social side of this problem, what remains to be tackled is the economic problem of its inflationary consequences.

In order to avoid further misunderstandings, the Spanish Chief of State, in a recent speech, announced the possibility of improving the system of collective bargaining by making it more flexible in light of today's economic circumstances.

European nations a market expansion of some 30 million people. It supposes a wide extension of the geographical area of the E.E.C. It envisions a European economy contained within the natural boundaries of the continent rather than behind artificial frontiers. It signifies a highly desirable natural evolution of the Twentieth Century.

~~In my opinion any developments, inside or outside Spain, that tend to block this goal are not only hostile to the best interests of Spain but contrary to the welfare of Europe as a whole. There are some prominent Spaniards, among them some former leaders, who have shown a desire to link their own names to future political developments. Some of these have gone so far as to place difficulties in the way of our application to the Common Market. My government takes such a grave view of the actions of these men -- some of whom have colluded with our enemies abroad -- that it has adopted preventive measures to restrict their further political activities. What we have done, however, is not very different from what other nations have found it necessary to do in recent times to protect their national interests. And let us not forget that even the Republic, in 1931, six months after coming into being, found it necessary to protect itself against its own Bill of Rights by the Law of the Defense of the Republic and the Public Order Law, which enabled executive orders of confinement to be issued.~~

Our application for association with the Common Market is no sharp departure from our recent history. Since July 1959, Spain has been a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and its predecessor, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). Through this machinery for regional cooperation Spain has been contributing to the economic strength of the Atlantic partnership, and we look forward to closer coordination of economic policies of Western nations.

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Once we've seen the economic ^{and political} aspects, probably (13)

Another question that ~~I can answer~~ will specially interest you is the future political form of the Spanish government. ~~I can no more~~ forecast the political future than I can predict what will happen in Wall Street, but I can tell you certain things about our government which allow me to be convinced of its orderly and peaceful evolution.

In 1947 we held a popular referendum

to ensure that future changes in the form of government are responsive to the wishes of the Spanish people. This referendum, which drew very wide voter participation, overwhelmingly approved the Law of Succession, which keeps General Franco in power, creates a Council of the Realm -- and a three-man Council of Regency for the moment of transition -- calls for the accession to the throne of a Prince of the Royal Blood.

Since that law was passed, Spain has been constitutionally a monarchy.

If General Franco should pass away, or if he retires for physical reasons, there is no question in my mind that we shall experience a peaceful and orderly transition to the next leadership. In the first place, we Spaniards have had quite enough of bloodshed from internal political strife. Secondly, we have very strong institutions which will insure the prompt and peaceful transfer of power to the new monarchical regime. Among these obviously are the Army and the Catholic Church. Another strong force for stability is also the main body of public opinion in the nation.

As you consider political forms in Spain, I urge you not to make the mistake of measuring our country by the wrong yardstick. We Spaniards are strongly individualistic. We have our own values, and they are not necessarily those of other countries. A famous Spanish philosopher and writer who is not entirely friendly to the present regime in Spain has pointed this out. Salvador de Madariaga wrote: (quote) "The Spanish case is one of those which will test the political acumen of the leaders of the coming world. If they insist on inflicting on Spain exactly the political institutions of other democracies of a quite different psychological metal, failure is certain. Universal direct suffrage is a case in point. Elections, representative executives, and in general the machinery of State should be contrived above all with an eye to order and continuity. All else should be subordinated to this supreme aim". (unquote)

~~Well, ladies and gentlemen, there is obviously far more that I could say to you about what is taking place in my country today. You have been a patient and attentive audience, and I do not wish to take advantage of your courtesy.~~

~~I shall close then by thanking you again for your invitation and by urging you to watch my country as closely as~~

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Now then after this ~~question~~ statement let me ask you what do you think it would be better for Spain

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~~Look at this now from a political point of view. What would be better a collapse and a revolution which some people are apparently trying to provoke, or the continuation of an evolutionary process as represented by the present Spanish regime?~~

The truth is that you Americans preach evolution for everything, even to explain the origin of life itself, thus rejecting in general the idea of creation. Are you then going to assume that the idea of evolution is unapplicable to Spain only? *If we all agree in an evolution, you will see,*

~~So, therefore, an evolution, with what objective?~~

With what purpose? Well, there is no doubt but that the Spanish Regime must be a regime of freedom, because we Spaniards are a free people who, as I said before, love freedom. But it must be a regime of freedom with the limitations and balances that will make possible freedom itself. A regime adapted to the characteristics and the leanings as well as to the soul of the Spanish people. A regime that will assure political continuity and social stability. And this is a problem that Spain, as well as all other countries, must face. In other words, what I hope is that ^{our generation} ~~my~~ children will not have to encounter in the course of ^{our} ~~their~~ lives as many political changes as ^{our parents had} ~~I have had myself~~ to live through in Spain.

~~Considering all this I think I can now tell you that Americans have no right to treat us as they have lately, with an evident lack of understanding and friendship. Because we Spaniards are your friends to the point that it is doubtful that you will find a friendlier country in Europe, or anywhere else. I feel I can talk in this way because I am a friend of America, with which I have family ties, and I have~~

