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Some remarks about pluralism in Spain.

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In my opinion, the discussion ~~[illegible]~~ of the question of the birth of modern Spain is not possible without some previous comments on ~~[illegible]~~ the main features of the historical process of our political system building.

In fact, the adoption of the Constitution of 1978 was the culmination of the democratic transition, though in fact the constitutional institutions in XIX cent. ~~[illegible]~~ developed without significant breakage in the continuity of the ancient ~~[illegible]~~ historical ~~[illegible]~~ principles of the modern State in Spain are as follows:

1. Highly articulated territorial model, but without any significant transformation of the large diversity of Spanish society. Spain was not united. Spain was closed

2. A ruling class very ~~[illegible]~~ - an oligarchy - the way in Spain - formed by landlords with high bureaucracy and ~~[illegible]~~ respective bourgeoisie. The industrial middle class was not important

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the XIV century, a part of the [illegible] oligarchical ruling class or in any case it had always a [illegible] policy in it.

3. [illegible] a [illegible]-acid crisis in the [illegible]-developed late in the last years of XVIX-century and in not part century, but only in some parts of Spain (Catalonia and Basque country). The rest of the country remained an agrarian economy with local road system, but with local diversity in road structure: [illegible] in the South, very [illegible] in the North.

4. A [illegible] very strong role of the Crown which gave to the King a decisive weight in the conduct of foreign politics, destroying in fact the role

of parliamentary institutions.

5. A very important role of the Army, as a decisive factor of state power. The Spanish Army in fact didn't fight extended wars during XIX and XX centuries (until expedition of war against USA — more in a colonial fights in Morocco) it was and Army of internal pacification, civil war. This role increased in the XX C., developed in a Military dictatorship (1923-1930), a Civil War (1936-39) and a new, and Landers Military rule to 1939 to 1977, under Gral. Franco.

6. A very strong prevailing of Catholic church upon public works and teaching, as well as upon education and cultural production. In fact the capillary organization of Civil

Guardia Civil and Church were the main instruments of political centralization as bureaucracy was largely ineffective.

7. As a result, the Spanish political system was largely ineffective. In fact, the liberal reform periods throughout XIX and XX centuries were all short and they ended all with military interventions. The reformistic period that has lasted more in the present one, from 1977 till today. That means that in the Spanish political history has been impossible to establish a democratic political party system that civil rights and liberties have been unknown in practice, that the large majority of Spanish people has been expelled

[illegible] any [illegible] of political participation that middle-class and working-class organizations [illegible] have difficulties to develop.

One of the consequences of this historical situation has been the development of peripheral capitalism, especially in Latin America and Brazil. This [illegible] developed early by [illegible], united middle-class, as a way to enforce a rule of extraction and obtain a replication in the ruling class. The created oligarchy [illegible] answered calling the army to fight extraction, as a result the [illegible] army, because itself [illegible] the main depositary of [illegible] extraction. That is, to say, [illegible] the main interpreter of the needs of the [illegible] nations

opposed to peripheral activities, systematically related to upholding opposed to the concept of Spain as a nation.

The consequence was that the opposition between the two activities developed in Spanish politics, with [illegible] the frequent rebounding on symbols, flags and so on. Another consequence was that [illegible] educated [illegible] middle-class were displaced by more radical sections in the leadership of peripheral activities.

The second aspect was the ideology of the [illegible] state was that urban-class political action developed not only out of the state, but against it. The main feature

One of the main problems at transition to socialism was to cope with this working class tradition, and to compromise with Anarchism and the Party.

of working-class political culture both in socialist and later in bourgeois societies - were anti-anarchist (Platform, republican), articles, pamphlets and anti-libertarian. The public clash of the Party were largely on political themes.

This easy to see that political and social pluralism were not the dominant features of Spanish politics and culture.

The economic system was closed. The main decisions were not the result of any bargaining between social organizations, but decisions imposed by force throughout its term of political power. That explains, for instance, the fact that development of anarchism among the working-class, as well as among agrarian workers. Of course, trade-

working developed one of political organizations.

From the political point of view, Spain was very restricted. Political parties were weak and ~~loose~~ labor ~~unions~~ organizations were little in number and weak in social influence. In rural parts of Spain they were headed by the Church, and only in the more developed countries, the Basque country and Madrid did social and civic organizations develop a ~~large~~ large system of socialization.

* * *

All these factors reached ~~their~~ ~~were developed~~ an extreme ~~level~~ in the Spanish dictatorship. After the bloody Civil War of Spain history, followed by a terrible political repression that had only killed a exiled

but destroyed all working-class organizations and autonomic movements

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all the leaders of political parties and trade-unions the Nazis regime was installed ~~a single-party system~~, with the following main elements:

1. A single-party system, thereby forbidding the reconstruction of any political party, even a right-wing one.

2. [redacted] concentration and ~~destruction~~ of previous attempts to decentralize the State (the political autonomies of the Bavarian Republic)

3. full destruction of civil-rights and liberties,

4. ~~Outlawing~~ of trade-unions. A "united" (that is to say, a fascist-like "corporate") trade-union was organized. Wages were established by law and strike was declared a crime against the State.

5. Elections were forbidden. Only referenda were organized to legitimate the main decisions of the Head of the State.

6. The executive took the main legislative decisions. All power - executive, legislative, administrative and military - were concentrated in the hands of Ferdinand Marcos, as the Head of the State.

7. A state censorship was imposed in all the national life. Censorship was put in the hands of the Catholic Church, mainly.

~~[illegible]~~

8. The State developed a significant intervention, but degree of economic intervention, but degree of the economic life enterprise was predained as essential

objective of the system.

This period starting was sustained through the nearly sixty years of the Franco regime. But obviously, it coexisted with significant social and economic changes.

After 1960 Spain entered the stream of accelerated economic development of all the capitalist system. At the same time, the underground fighting against the military dictatorship changed in practice role of the foundations of the system: important political movements developed, an underground trade-union began to be organized, the University became an essential focus of political and cultural new functions, in continuous fighting against the rigidity of

foreign investments, tourism, state owned enterprises non competitive, of certain sectors of middle entrepreneurs, protectionism.

[redacted] official and in-
stitutions; in Cuba and the Ba-
per country tipping in democracy
coupled with [redacted] tipping in
related rights and with revival of
a new national culture.

In my opinion, one of the main
causes of the final decline of
the regime was in fact
its incapacity to cope with the
new social conditions created in
spite of itself. [redacted]
went in the sixties, i.e. created
a strong demand for political and
social pluralism. Drew among
individuals [redacted] and financial
leaders [redacted] feelings about
the incapacity of the system to
offer them full possibilities
inside and abroad. The organiza-
tion of underground trade-unions

contact with foreign countries.

destroyed the [redacted] attitude of government imposed wages and opened the way to new forms of bargaining and consequently of new forms of trade-union pluralism.

The same things happened in the cultural scene. Some sort of pluralism in the press began to appear, stage censorship in the cinema, the theatre and the literature began to recede and political parties began to organize even within institutions [redacted] open forms or inside existing ones.

After the death of Franco in 1975 all these processes precipitated and after the Reform Law of 1976 and the first general elections of June 1977 the way was opened to democracy and pluralism. [redacted]

In it possible to sum up

the general society after a short period of seven years? I am not sure that the post situation in Spain gives us all the ~~definite~~ elements for a definite conclusion, both the point of view of the general definition of the problem.

From a broad point of view it is sure that the Spanish political system as established in the 1978 constitution, with all the uncertainty of a theoretical definition of the problem. Let us take, e.g. the definition of polyarchical authority system, as listed by Dahl in "Politics and Market" (Ch. W. Brus, p. 109].

The same things can be said if we apply the framework expressed by Prof. Robbins in his lectures [Cfr. Robbins, p. 1-2].

(A the general theoretical framework outlined by prof. Robbins.)

And these requirements can be found in the "new" Spanish Constitution and in the complementary legislations.

"Political pluralism" is recognized as one of the main values of the Spanish democratic State in the first article of 1978 Constitution side by side with such traditional values as freedom, justice and equality.

(Art 1 confirmed afterwards.)

The Constitution includes some very important kinds of pluralism:

(Parliamentary, union, professional and electoral systems.)

such as national and regional pluralism, to be expressed in political autonomies (art. 2); linguistic pluralism (art. 3); institutionalization of political parties as the main expression of political pluralism and as instrument of political participation (art. 6); recognition of trade-unions and entrepreneurial associations as constitutive instance for defence and promotion of material interests (art. 7); definition of the constitutional role of the Armed Forces (art. 8), and of Police and Security Forces (art. 104); recognition of Protected categories as organizational form of the so-called liberal professions (art. 36), and so on.

Ideological pluralism is ensured in art. 16 (ideological and religious freedom, separation between State and

church), freedom of thought and opinion, with total abolition of any form of censorship (art. 20) and freedom in teaching and active organizations (art. 27). ~~The Const. recognizes~~ ~~The Const.~~ Constitution recognizes ~~collective action~~ organizations, youth organizations and all kind of professional organizations are fostered and promoted by the Const. (art. 5, 48, 52).

As to the economic model, the Spanish Const. recognizes free enterprise in a market economy as a main feature (art. 38), but also the possibility of economic planning and of public initiative (art. 131 and 128). Collective bargaining ~~between~~ between trade unions and employers' organizations is established as the

general system of water regulation (art. 37).

And, most important of all, the bank opens the way to a general reorganization of the Spanish State in the framework of political ~~reorganization~~. The State must be organized in a federal-like way, with a system of Autonomous Communities (17 at this moment).

~~[illegible]~~

Significance of Catalonia

~~For~~ In the general perspective of Spanish political history, the 1978 Constitution is an enormous ~~step~~ to ~~[illegible]~~ effective pluralism.

But I have reminded the main features of ~~[illegible]~~ history to put the Catalan political question in its real terms.

The transition from ~~Franco~~ military dictatorship to constitutional democracy was hard and prolonged.

Certainly the very specific features of ~~the Franco~~ Gen. Franco system disappeared, like single party, corporate trade-union, censorship, confusion among legislative and executive, non recognition of civil and political rights, military rule, etc.

But the very important institutions of the State remained ~~the~~ untouched or democracy began to develop. I mean the Army, the Public Administration, the police, the judicial system, and, of course, the economic public and private system.

The political weight of these institutions was really enormous in face of political parties that

were emerging how democratic or that were rightly created at the very moment of general elections.

The Franco regime had also a lasting effect on another crucial item. ~~The party~~ The dictatorship ~~destroyed the party~~ did not prevent the emergence of a large network of civic organizations. In fact, between the isolated citizen and the all-powerful State there was nothing – or nearly nothing.

When the transition to democracy began this lack of civic organizations ~~was~~ made extremely difficult to create an opinion and to organize a large effort to the new democratic institutions in front of the hostility of traditional ~~apparatus~~ parties of the State. and trade unions

Political parties were weak, public opinion dispersed and scattered,

political leaders were new and hardly knowledged.

The economic crisis had also a strong burden. At the beginning of the transition to democracy the rate of unemployment exceeded 12%. (now it is at 18'5%), which strongly contributed to public opinion confusion.

Finally, the continuing political tensions in the Basque country was a very strong obstacle for the integration of army and police in the new democratic system and also a great difficulty for the acceptance of autonomy and decentralization.

Nationalist pluralism, a recognized in the Constitution and also legal element has found there very strong obstacle to become a reality in the world of political life.

Political parties, for example, are often very weak and loose. In reality they are electoral machines, ~~in the Schumpeterian model~~ and not at all participatory structures. Their role in political socialization is low.

Trade unions are also weak. All together they hardly organize 20% of workers. Their bargaining power is not very high. The office also do ~~entrepreneurial~~ organizations. The government has, then, an important role in the fixation of wages, establishing the limits in which bargaining can proceed.

But there exist with ~~the~~ ~~tendency~~ to ~~be~~ avoid ~~the~~ agreement ~~with~~ the ~~unions~~ ~~they~~.

Local civic organization has developed but in an ~~uneven~~ scattered way and with not a ~~great~~ weight in decision-making.

Traditional ~~party~~ - on the contrary - continue to have a very

strong role. A large part of governmental decision-making comes directly from corporate pressure by Army or Administration elites or from other great organizations like the Catholic church or banking-financial elite. ~~[illegible]~~

Actually Trade-unions and corporate ~~[illegible]~~ labor and organizations are also important factors in some economic decisions. ~~[illegible]~~

~~The challenge~~ The most important challenge is, anyway, the building of autonomous communities, that is to say, the general self-government system. Till now, the process [illegible] more important steps forward, but here the reluctance of traditional practices

-pecially the Army and [redacted] Civil Bureaucracy - and the political content between the socialist government and the co-ordinating power in Centdom - and the Banpo County - have acted as strong barriers to effective decentralization and self-government. Actually, the building of autho-nomy regional institutions has not yet remeted in increasing people's political participation. [redacted]

Even more: the building of autonomous organs at the level of the rural state institutions must be decentralized at more and more grassroots. Till now, [redacted] this has not helped the building of autonomous organs with the exception of the state cadres which operates with the bureaucracy and [redacted] Administration expansion

The weakness of political parties in another way to a another very important limitation of planning mechanism. I mean the [redacted] trend to personal leadership. Political life becomes one-sided. The party becomes reflecting structure of the

respective leader and the elections become one of one plebiscite.

I think that this is a very de-personalizing trend, which obviously is not specific of Spanish politics, but is reinforced by the last weakness of political parties.

I think this a mix up of the main problems and limitations of Spanish political and social pluralism. There are, of course, other very important problems which come from more general circumstances and react upon Spanish political institutions and culture, but I think that they have been examined in other contributions. Thank you.

2. Lazians: The cradle of democracy.
Training school programs

Turkey: (Intentional victory. (Miracle)
Perhaps dictatorship didn't of genocide.

- It was
cut a
military coup d'
- fear of civil war.

Rule of law. - Constitution: archaic and democratic Const.
Should we rely so much in Const.

Lazes: Assistance of territorial regimes: can be
distinguished

Winczorek: Pol. Anarchist movement. Which is the
victory now?

Mawhood: European Country

Many: Intentional Forces:
- Intended domestic forces.
- Civil society - tradition of pluralism.
- Sectors of society that are in
pluralism.
- Io - legitimacy

Robins: Terrorism.

Bibis: Kurds: ethic
cultural autonomy
and Pkk