

UNIT 8.- TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

Is Spain a model of transition to democracy?

The transition to democracy in Spain has often been presented as a model of transition for other countries, because of its hypothetical success and because of the sense of stability afterwards. Although this fact has been questioned in recent years, it has been considered as a successful and smooth transition that avoided violence and changed its political structures through consensus and without too many frights. The fact that there are some remnants of Francoism have questioned the success of the transition in recent years. The transition did not happen without trouble. For different reasons, the model of transition to democracy in Spain cannot be translated to other countries, as the particular social and economic situation in Spain and other countries such as those of Eastern Europe or Latin America were different, as it was even to other South European countries such as Portugal or Greece.

Some of the particular characteristics of the Spanish transition to democracy are:

1. It is one of the first transitions to democracy after the victory of the allies in World War II.
2. It is the only transition in Southern Europe that does not come out of a critical event that produces a crisis – risk of war in Greece and Turkey, the Portuguese colonial war. The Spanish transition came out of a relatively stable regime. The consequences coming from this fact are still present.
3. It is the only transition in Southern Europe where monarchy is restored. This is an important fact because many Spaniards were not monarchist but rather republican and in 1975 monarchy could have appeared to be an added problem. The king legitimated the transition for those who still identified themselves with the dictatorship. Only in Thailand, Nepal, and up to some point Japan, has the monarchy played such a role in the transition to democracy.
4. It is the only transition to democracy until Eastern Europe and the ex Soviet Union in which the nationalist movement put into question the very notion of the state in its unitary form.
5. Economic development came prior to political change.

Much more than in Greece or Latin America, the Spanish transition developed from a heavily institutionalised authoritarian regime. As a result, it was necessary to go through a complex process in order to **dismantle** the dictatorship's institutions within a legal framework. In such a situation, from 1975 to the approval of the Law of Political Reform in December 1976, and even after that, the transition looked somehow problematic and left many question marks.

Economic change without political change

When Franco died in November 1975, the economic development of the country in the last 15 years of his life had left the political structures out of phase.

As noted, a new crisis in 1969 that connected with the world energy crisis of 1973, revealed a more complex economy and society with an obsolete political system,

even for the leading classes. Further development was now stopped or strangled by the political system and this had to change.

In 1974 there was a small opening of the system (apertura), the prime minister being Carlos Arias Navarro, who replaced Luis Carrero Blanco after his assassination by ETA. This opening, called “the spirit of the 12th of February”, was just a façade, and some of the timid reforms that were announced were rapidly reversed and exchanged for repression with the execution of anarchist, Salvador Puig Antich, in 1975 and of two members of ETA and three from FRAP (Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota). The application of the death penalty was extended with the Antiterrorist Law approved in 1975, hardening the regime’s repression against opponents.



Poster on the two ETA members condemned to death
www.ixent.org/anv1975.htm

Several facts provoked a legitimacy crisis for Franco’s regime on top of the economic ones already pointed out. At an international level, and especially at a European level, a dictatorship was no longer tolerable, particularly within European territory, while democracy became the best political system possible. Europe could not see with a positive eye the existence of a dictatorship within the continent. This is why Franco started calling the system *organic democracy*. It is within this frame that the supposed opening in 1974 could happen. Political events in neighbouring countries leading to democratisation, as happened in Portugal and Greece, represented another threat to the regime. Within the regime, it is also relevant that some sectors of the Church did not give Franco the legitimacy of the crusade anymore. Some of them actively supported the opposition movements. The changes made in the Second Vatican

Council also contributed to the questioning of the regime by some sectors of the Church.

The rebirth of the opposition, that grew steadily during the 1960s and 1970s, was an important contribution to the weakening of the regime. In addition, the terrorist Basque organisation, ETA, started its actions in 1959, although there were no blood crimes until 1968. In Catalonia and the Basque Country opposition was stronger than in other parts of Spain and included a nationalist element.

Reform or Rupture? Democracy in Spain



<http://www.constitucion.es/humor/carteles/carteles.htm>

The transformations that took place in the process of transition to democracy were not just at a political level, but also involved other aspects of society, having an impact on many areas of social and political life.

The transition to democracy started from above, from the same Francoist State, which with the support but also the pressure of the middle and working classes as a motto for change, transformed the system into a democracy, changing the appearance of the country in a relatively short time. Neither the Francoists, nor their opponents had enough strength to impose their terms and a consensus was necessary, although in some important aspects the balance tipped in favour of Francoists, who continued to hold a great deal of control over society.

Among public opinion and the political class, there was the conviction that some kind of democratic evolution was required at that stage. The economic and social evolution of the country forced the state to modernise if not democratise. There was also a reformist sector within the Francoist State. An elite of technocrats, increasingly detached from the regime, led this transformation from sectors that had primarily

supported Francoism. From the state, the reformist sector brought to an end the dictatorship and transformed the state.

After Franco's death, king Juan Carlos I appointed Carlos Arias Navarro, from the previous government, as prime minister with the objective of starting the reform of the system. However, it was soon realised that reforms under Arias Navarro were very limited and insufficient –this was obvious when a miners strike in Vitoria left five workers killed by the police. Arias Navarro's apprehension to go further in the reforms, together with the lack of understanding between Arias Navarro and the king, led to his substitution by Adolfo Suárez, a young man linked to technocrats, in July 1976. Suárez is considered the architect of the reform. He founded a party from above, UCD (Unión de Centro Democrático) with a mixture of people coming from Francoism, together with other conservatives and liberals. The lack of ideology of the party and its lack of roots among conservative Spain led to its dissolution several years later, however at the time it facilitated the transition to democracy by being the source of the reforms.

An important step was when in 1976 Suárez's government approved the Law for Political Reform, that was submitted to referendum in December that year. This was the first supposedly free popular ballot in forty years, although people was still living in fear and were unsure of what might happen. Francoists that wanted the continuation of the dictatorship and had the same ideas as in 1939, the so-called "bunker", asked for a *No* in the referendum. The government asked for a *yes*, and a part of the opposition linked to left-wing parties –who did not have any media coverage- asked for abstention –they did not want a reform but a rupture with the dictatorial system, as for them a reform would mean a limited and moderate democracy. The vast majority of the population voted *yes* in the referendum.

The government legalised political parties and unions. An important event that showed the will of making a real change to democracy was the legalisation of the communist party in 1977.



From left to right: Felipe González, Santiago Carrillo, Adolfo Suárez and Manuel Fraga
El Periódico de Cataluña, 8-12-1978
http://www.constitucion.es/humor/catalunha/humor_catalu%FIa.htm

Some of the aspirations of the supporters of a rupture with the system would be partially achieved in the long run, although at the expense of sacrifices for the lower classes. Nevertheless the pressure of the popular classes and unions accelerated the process of transition. There was pressure combined with contentment? and sacrifice?. In the name of the transition and to give stability to the process, the unions agreed to the Pacts of the Moncloa in 1977, giving concessions to industrialists regarding limiting salary rises and regarding industrial restructuring.

At the same time, the pressure for change gave place to a number of strikes: from 1976 to 1980 the number of strikes went up to numbers unknown since the 1930s, and from 1980 to 1985 those numbers decreased, but were still high until 1985. Mobilisations, particularly in the first stage, were not only for economical reasons, but also for political reasons, that is, for union freedom and support for political change in general. In the first stage this meant support for the rupture project. In the second stage, when democracy was consolidating, strikes had a more defensive character and were more related to employment – for instance, industrial restructuring in 1984.

The labour movement, neighbours' associations, Catalan and Basque nationalists, and other social movements such as feminism, pacifism or the ecologist movement, mobilised pressure from below. They represented an alternative model of transition.



Newspaper front-page on the killings of labour lawyers in Atocha
<http://www.ucm.es/BUCM/cee/expo/GALERIAS%20DE%20IMAGENES/039.jpg>

The far-right tried to stop the process through violence, as by numbers they only had a 1,98% vote in the referendum. It was also a way to slow or moderate the process, to the benefit of old Francoists that now called themselves democrats. They tried what was called “the strategy of tension”, trying to increase conflict and unrest, so that the army would find it necessary to intervene to restore order. They started a campaign

against the legalisation of the communist party and of the Basque flag. They acted through violence and terrorists actions: At the end of January 1977 there was a week, the “black week”, where several people were killed in different violent actions. A demonstrator was killed by extreme right militants during the demonstration. Five unionist lawyers from CCOO were killed in their office also by right-wing extremists – Matanza de Atocha. Some days later, a civil guard and two armed policemen were killed by GRAPO (Grupos Revolucionarios Antifascistas Primero de Octubre) *. During the same week, lieutenant general Emilio Villaescusa, president of the Supreme Council of Military Justice, was kidnapped by GRAPO, who had previously kidnapped the president of the State Council. At this point the extreme right and GRAPO seem to work towards the same end: to force the intervention of the army, in the last case, supposedly in order to start a popular revolt. This was a very delicate situation as the army was precisely the weak point of the political process to democracy.

The response of democratic organisations was of collaboration with the government, including unions. CCOO published a press release defending the democratic process.

As shall be seen later, ETA remained a real threat to the development of democracy.

The Solution to the Old Problems. Were they really solved?

For the democratic system to succeed it was necessary to solve the problems that had been irreconcilable in the past and made impossible the success of the Second Republic –the two Spains, confronting the traditional, centralist and reactionary Spain supported by the monarchy, the army and the Church, and the progressive Spain, more radical and acknowledging different nationalities within the state.

Therefore, three main problems had to be solved: the role of the monarchy, the neutralisation of the army and the structure of the state, that is, the solution to the problem of the different nationalities integrated within the state.

The role of the monarchy was to be clear when the king, Juan Carlos I, who in principle was appointed and restored by Franco in 1969, did not want to continue the old system but looked for legitimacy in democracy, a legitimacy he did not have from his Francoist origin. The authority of the king was to be an impulse of the political reform and at the same time he could neutralise the army, which owed loyalty to the king. The monarchy had the role of legitimating the transition for those who were close to the dictatorial regime.

The triumph of democracy could not be possible without the acknowledgment of the existence of distinctive nations within the state, especially the two of them that historically claimed for autonomy, that is, Catalonia and the Basque Country. In these areas, democracy was inseparable to the recovery of autonomy. Most political opposition parties in these territories introduced within their programs the claim for autonomy and after the elections in 1977, it was clear that to reach any point of social

* GRAPO is supposedly an extreme left-wing terrorist organisation. In late Francoism and the first part of the transition they appeared and disappeared every now and then. One of their members is now on the extreme right.

and political normality and stability it was necessary first to tackle the question of giving autonomy to the distinctive nationalities. Parties that included autonomy in their political program won the majority of votes in the elections. In the Basque Country, the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) and in Catalonia, although the socialist party (PSC) won followed by the communists, this would change for the next election, where the conservative nationalist coalition *Convergència i Unió* (CIU) won. During the same year, 1977, one million people demonstrated in Barcelona on the national day of Catalonia, 11th of September, and there were also demonstrations during this period in the Basque Country for the same reason.

Suárez's government made an intelligent move by provisionally restoring the president of the Catalan government in exile, acknowledging in this point his republican legitimacy. In the Basque Country the General Basque Council was also constituted. However, a mistake of the reformist government was not to invite the Basque Nationalist Party to conversations about autonomy. As a result, this party asked for abstention in the referendum to approve the Constitution in 1978. Abstention was the winning option in the Basque Country, with only 27,7 % of the census voting in favour. These results have allowed Basque nationalists to say that the Constitution was never approved in the Basque Country, and it has been used by ETA as an excuse for its violent actions.

The 1978 Constitution structured the whole of the Spanish state as a state of autonomies, that is, the concept of autonomy was generalised to all the Spanish territory. The Constitution defines the Spanish state as a state of autonomies, the autonomous communities, non federal, non centralist, and the principle of autonomy applicable at municipal, provincial and regional levels. This new structure of the state has been the most ambitious one in Spain since the 18th century.

Women during the Transition



Magazine Vindicación Feminista, March, 1, 1978

<http://www.archivodemocracia.ua.es/db/imagenes/37.jpg>

After forty years of repression, the Spanish feminist movement flourished after Franco's death, as did all kind of alternative movements, political parties and unions. From 1976 women's groups emerged everywhere. Many of them were linked to unions and parties or even to neighbours associations, but it was also the start of autonomous feminists, that is, groups claiming autonomy of the feminist movement and did not want to be under any male custody, working independently from any party or male dominated organisation. These different options were clear when in 1977 and 1979 there were the First and Second Feminist Symposium of the Spanish State (I y II Jornadas Feministas del Estado Español). The symposium debated and pressed for the revocation of sexist laws and also disclosed the different points of view within feminism.

From 1976 to 1979 an important source of feminist discourse was the magazine *Vindicación Feminista*, edited by the Feminist Collective of Barcelona, with the leadership of Lidia Falcón, whose views were offered in the magazine and were often polemic and, at the same time, vibrant.

From 1975 to 1978 most of the humiliating laws against women established in Franco's period were abolished. Married women could make contracts and exert custody over their children without their husbands' permission. In 1978 there was a strong feminist campaign with the slogan "yo también soy adúltera" (I am also an adulteress), against laws punishing women for adultery and cohabitation. These laws were then revoked. In the same year, and after a similarly strong campaign, contraceptives were legalised. On another matter, the 1978 Constitution proclaims non-discrimination depending on gender, religion or opinion.

Political and Social Change in the Eighties: Notes on Today's Spain



<http://www.archivodemocracia.ua.es/index.asp?idioma= esp&s=catalogo&tema=13>

The Great Socialist Decade

1982: The significance of the change. PSOE in 1931 and in 1982 (Felipe González, Alfonso Guerra, Javier Solana, J. A. Maravall)

- “Europeisation” of Spain.
- Re-elected in 1986, 1989 and 1993.

Economy:

1982: serious economic situation (Inflation, public debt, external debt...). González was able to carry out a policy of economic and social recovery.

Strategy in two phases:

- To increase the competitive ability and efficiency of the Spanish market, by adopting liberal economic policies (free-market economy). Adoption of a “política de ajuste” (readjustment policy) and industrial restructuring.

There was not a policy of nationalisation, excepting for the expropriation of “Rumasa”, a company with irregular behaviour and unclear accounts.

In 1986 SEAT was sold to Volkswagen starting the privatisation of INI (Instituto Nacional de Industria).

- Priority on welfare policies to improve lower classes' standards of living. This phase was only partially implemented (liberal free-market economy and side investment in social areas).
- Culture of money. Economic prosperity until 1990-1992.
- Break up with trade unions. The social pact with trade unions broke up. Both UGT and CCOO, who previously came to an agreement with the government for moderation of wages increase, wanted a change in the government's economic policy and more distribution of wealth.
- 1985 *Ley de Pensiones* and 1988 *Plan de Empleo Juvenil*, were key for the rupture: strikes in industry and strategic sectors (public services, etc.), general strike 14 December 1988.
- Crisis after 1990, especially after 1992 (never reached the levels of 1973-1982).
- Problem of unemployment, the highest in the EU (22% in 1992) despite the creation of 1,75 million new workplaces.

Education: (ministers José M. Maravall and Javier Solana)

1983. Ley de Reforma Universitaria

1985. Ley Orgánica del Derecho a la Educación (LODE)

1987. Student strikes in universities and secondary schools: Demands: free access to University, total gratuity of education, student salary.

- Students and workers protests had an influence on the increase of the social budget.

Culture:

Increase in the budget for culture, free museums, law to protect Historical heritage, support funding Spanish film industry, building of new libraries and reform of the Biblioteca Nacional. Continuation of a very ambitious policy of exhibitions, Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid.

Internal affairs:

- ETA. Co-operation with the French government. GAL (Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación), and its previous history under Rodolfo Martín Villa.
- Defence policies. Member of NATO since 1986 (referendum 12 March).



<http://www.uce.es/images/CalaOTAN.gif>

- One of the biggest successes of the socialists was the reform of the army: Ley de Criterios Básicos de Defensa Nacional (1984) followed by other rules related to military staff, military penal code, military service and conscientious objection. The army was transformed into a reduced but flexible force, modern and operative, obedient to the civil power and dedicated to their professional tasks. The spectre of military intervention in the political arena seems to have disappeared.

External affairs:

External policy:

- Up to 1985: Favouring relations with Algeria and Morocco.
- After 1986: normalisation of relations with USA, Israel.
- Special attention to Latin America

More relevant, and with important internal repercussions:

- Entry in the EU (from 1 January 1986).
- NATO

Other Issues During this Period:

- From 1986 democracy is considered consolidated, despite some flaws such as the non-recognition of the Republican period and the condemnation of the dictatorship.
- Abortion Law, 1983, in Penal Code from 1985.
- Health Law, 1986. “Abril” Report, 1990.
- In 1995 a new Penal Code was approved.

The Crisis Of The Socialist Party

- Problems of corruption
- Resignation of Alfonso Guerra in 1991
- The media: *El Mundo*, *Abc*, *El País*, TV
- PP won general elections in 1996

Towards a Decentralised Welfare State

Spain is considered as a social State: “España se constituye en un Estado social y democrático de derecho” (Constitution 1978).

Model of welfare state based on consensus between civil society and the State in basic matters:

- General consensus on concepts of progress and equality.
- Interventionist role of the State through the public sector and relevant economic policies: including redistribution policies through taxation and control of expenses, to diminish social inequalities.
- Social pact among all social agents: workers, employers and the government as a referee. Workers and employers are thought to be part of the economic development planning (social pact broken in 1988).

Relevant changes:

- From 1982 to 1996 the income per capita increased 233%
- From 1986 to 1992 the GDP increased 4,5 % per year
- Social budget increased from 18% of GDP in 1982 to 24% of GDP
- Improvement in health and education. Public budget increased in 4,1% of GDP. In 1989, despite improvement, budget in Health was slightly over 5% of GDP, below percentages in other EU countries. From 1986 to 1996 the number of university students enrolled doubled.
- Improvement of infrastructures: public transport (efficient train system, AVE), motorways and highways multiplied by four.
- Unemployed people with right to the dole doubled.
- Parliament in the hands of middle and upper middle class (similar to the rest of Europe).

Sexual Revolution And Status Of Women

Mores:

- “Destape” and sexual liberation.
- Family ties get looser.

Status of women:

- Work: women in the workforce increased from 30 % in 1982 to 49% in 1995.
- Education: Since 1987 more female students than male at universities. At universities, 1995-1996: National Plan for Research and development for a special fund for a program on Women and Gender Studies. Non-sexist education groups. Non-sexist education institutional initiatives in primary and secondary school.
- Feminism: Instituto de la Mujer (1983). "Planes para la Igualdad de Oportunidades de las Mujeres" (Plans for Equal Opportunity for Women). The first Plan was for the period 1988 to 1990 while the second for 1993 to 1995. Recently, the conservative government signed the "Tercer Plan de Acción" (Third Action Plan) or "Tercer Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades para las Mujeres".
- Abortion law.
- Quotas in parties: The socialist party approved in 1988 the quota of 25 % women in the electoral lists and the ex-communist party approved a quota of 35 %. The raise of parliamentarian women from 6,4 % in 1986 to 13,4 % in 1989 seems to be an outcome of this quota.

Art and Culture

Literature:

Novel: Juan Goytisolo, Juan Benet, Ana María Matute, Carmen Martín Gaité, Camilo José Cela (Nobel 1989), Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Eduardo Mendoza, Julián Marías, Antonio Muñoz Molina, Montserrat Roig, Soledad Puértolas, Rosa Montero.

Poetry: Blas de Otero, Pere Gimferrer, Vicente Aleixandre (Nobel 1977).

Cinema:

Previous history: Luis Buñuel

Carlos Saura (Carmen, "Ay, Carmela), Fernando Trueba (Belle Epoque), Pilar Miró (El crimen de Cuenca), Pedro Almodóvar (Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios, Todo sobre mi madre).

Visual arts:

Painters: Antoni, Tàpies, Antonio Saura, Miquel Barceló, Guillermo Pérez Villalta.
Sculptors: Chillida, Susana Solano

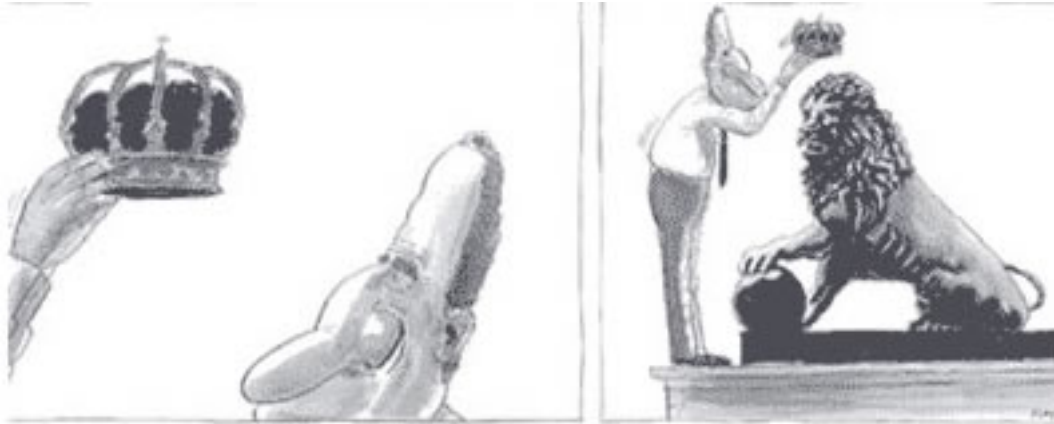


Sculpture by Chillida in Berlin

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Chillida_berlin_Bundeskanzleramt.jpg

SOURCES AND ACTIVITIES

The Political Reform



http://www.constitucion.es/humor/humor_democracia/galeria/images/23_gif.jpg

“Manuel Fraga and Adolfo Suárez embodied during the transition two quite different political positions. Fraga came from some previous outline of thinking that he applied rigorously to reality. If reality did not fit with them, so much the worse... for reality. Suárez, on the contrary, did not come from unmodifiable diagnosis. He was more accommodating to changing circumstances and gathering from them the convenient speech for each time. Fraga reached the conclusion that the transition had to be done with two ingredients: universal suffrage and preservation of the fundamental legacy of Franco’s regime. Suárez was only convinced that he was able to lead the process, and that, at the same time, he knew by intuition that the transition would entail two differentiated moments: one, completely submitted to the regime’s determining factors, and the other completely adapted to the principles of democracy. If with this shift the discourse had to be changed, so much the worse... for the discourse.

Translation from J. A. Ortega y Díaz Ambrona. *La transición a la democracia*

Activities:

1. How was Fraga Iribarne’s model of democratic transition different to that of Adolfo Suárez?
2. Explain the third main periods of the democratic transition in Spain and place it chronologically. Who were the prime ministers during each period? What were the main traits of each.
3. Why was the Law for Political Reform important? When was it written and under what circumstances?
4. Which are the main aspects of that law?
5. What was the *black week*? Why was it called that?
6. What were the *Moncloa Pacts*? Why were these pacts accepted by the trade unions? What were the results?
7. What were the problems for legalising the Communist Party? What were the reactions to it?
8. Explain the meaning of the cartoon above.

The Constitution of 1978 and the structure of the state



Map from: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Autonomous_communities_of_Spain.svg

“Preamble

The Spanish Nation, desiring to establish justice, liberty, and security, and to promote the well-being of all its members, in the exercise of its sovereignty proclaims its will to: guarantee democratic coexistence within the Constitution and the laws in accordance with a just economic and social order;

consolidate a state of law which insures the rule of law as the expression of the popular will;

protect all Spaniards and peoples of Spain in the exercise of human rights, their cultures and traditions, languages, and institutions;

promote the progress of culture and the economy to insure a dignified quality of life for all (...)

Section 1

1) Spain is hereby established as a social and democratic state of law which advocates liberty, justice, equality, and political pluralism as the superior values of its legal order.

2) National sovereignty belongs to the Spanish people from whom emanate the powers of the state.

3) The political form of the Spanish State is the parliamentary Monarchy (...)

Section 2

The Constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish nation, the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards, and recognizes and guarantees the right to autonomy of the nationalities and regions which make it up and the solidarity among all of them.

Section 3

1) Spanish is the official language of the state. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.

2) The other languages of Spain will also be official in the respective autonomous communities, in accordance with their Statutes.

3) The richness of the linguistic modalities of Spain is a cultural heritage which will be the object of special respect and protection (...)

Section 6

Political parties express democratic pluralism, assist in the formulation and manifestation of the popular will, and are a basic instrument for political participation. Their creation and the exercise of their activity are free within the observance of the Constitution and the laws. Their internal structure and operation must be democratic (...)

Section 45

- 1) Everyone has the right to enjoy an environment suitable for the development of the person as well as the duty to preserve it.
- 2) The public authorities shall concern themselves with the rational use of all natural resources for the purpose of protecting and improving the quality of life and protecting and restoring the environment, supporting themselves on an indispensable collective solidarity.
- 3) For those who violate the provisions of the foregoing paragraph, penal or administrative sanctions, as applicable, shall be established and they shall be obliged to repair the damage caused.

Section 66

- 1) The Parliament represents the Spanish people and is formed by the House of Representatives and the Senate.
- 2) The Parliament exercises the legislative power of the State, approves its budgets, controls the action of the Government, and has the other competences assigned by the Constitution.
- 3) The Parliament is inviolable.”

Constitution of 1978 (<http://www.constitucion.es/constitucion/lenguas/ingles.html#1>)

Activities:

1. Describe the map. What are the so-called historical communities and why are they called so?
2. Analyse the basis on which autonomous communities were established in Spain, reflecting on pros and cons and which sectors of society supported them or not. What are the characteristics of the Spanish state of autonomies?
3. What is the history of the structure of the state in Spain since 1869? Which other initiatives have been approved since then different to the centralist state?
4. Relate the events that evolved to the approval of the Catalan and Basque statutes.
5. Which were the positions regarding the Constitution? What happened in the Basque country? Why?
6. Explain the differences between monarchy and republic, and between democracy and dictatorship.
7. Explain how constitutional systems have differed in Spain since 1868 and the political implications of those systems.

The electoral system

The distribution of seats in the Spanish Parliament or Congress is done by the D'Hondt method, consisting in a highest averages method for allocating seats in party-list proportional representation. This method is named after Belgian mathematician Victor D'Hondt. This method is not proportional to the votes drawn and penalise small parties while it benefits large parties or coalitions.

After registering all the votes, successive quotients are calculated for each list. The formula for the quotient is $V/s+1$. V is the total number of votes that list received; and s is the number of seats that party has been allocated so far. The list that has the highest quotient gets the next seat allocated. Parties with less than 3% of the vote are discarded.

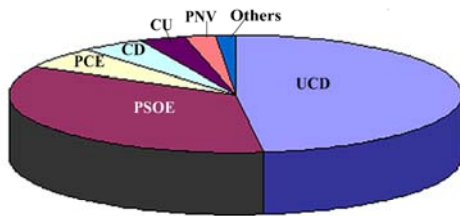
THE D'HONDT METHOD

	divided by 1	divided by 2	divided by 3	divided by 4
Party A	168,000	84,000	56,000	42,000
Party B	104,000	52,000	34,000	26,000
Party C	72,000	36,000	24,000	18,000
Party D	64,000	32,000	21,333	16,000
Party E	40,000	20,000	13,333	10,000

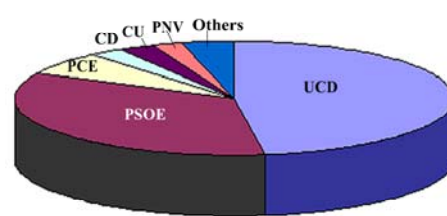
In a province where eight deputies must be elected, the eight highest quotients get the seats (the ones in bold). Thus, Party A would get four seats, Party B would get two seats, Parties C and D would get one seat, and Party E would not get any seats.

Elections results of 1977 and 1979

ELECTIONS TO CONGRESS



Proportion of seats by party in 1977 election



Proportion of seats by party in 1979 election

Activities:

1. Explain how the electoral system works in Spain and its consequences.
2. What were the four main parties during the transition? What are the four current ones? Explain the differences.
3. Look for the meaning of the party acronyms above and locate in two columns, one for left wing parties and another one for right wing parties. Locate centre parties between the two columns.

Consolidation and issues in the consolidation of democracy in Spain



According to the *New York Times*, on the 23rd of February, 1981, "a guy dressed up as a bullfighter assaulted the Congress of Deputies"... Luckily, the photographer was there.

* To Manolo Barriopedro, who did a great performance to the ultra-matador, with admiration, Cabañas
http://www.constitucion.es/humor/humor_democracia/humor_democracia.htm

Activities:

1. Explain the cartoon above. What is does it refer to?
2. To what extent was parliamentary democracy after Franco a success? How did political and social conditions differ from the existing conditions during the Second Republic? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Why did Adolfo Suárez resign? Who became prime minister after him?
4. Look for information about the failed coup d'état on 23 February 1981. Describe the events, the reactions from several politicians and the king, and ordinary people.
5. Different historians refer to the failure of the agrarian revolution, the failure of the industrial revolution, the power of the army or the regional problem to describe the problems of Spanish society on its way to modernity. What did these problems consist of and how were they tackled? Up to what point have they been overcome?
6. ETA announced an unconditional truce on 16 September 1998. Why did ETA react as it did and in what historical and nationalist context should this decision be seen?
7. What is the current situation of what is called "the Basque problem"?
8. When did Spain enter the EU? Could you explain the political context in which Spain entered the EU?
9. Do you think entering the EU was related to entering NATO? Explain.

The Spanish Transition to Democracy and Historical Memory

“There was a widely-held belief that democracy needed to be built on ‘reconciliation’ and ‘peace among Spaniards.’ The civil war was represented as violence among brothers, reflected in the popular saying ‘todos fuimos culpables’ [‘we all were guilty’]. Full amnesty was granted for acts of political violence including by those who were restoring order. This amnesty policy was portrayed as a wiping clean of the slate. Thus in Spain the development of democracy was intimately bound up with a decision to treat the past in a certain way, and that treatment had little to do with public accounting, as in the case of post-apartheid South Africa. The Spanish political elite made a conscious decision to forge a new Spanish identity that was European, peaceful, and pluralistic.”

Carolyn Boyd

“Spain must provide justice for tens of thousands of people killed by General Franco's death squads during and after the Spanish civil war. Around 30,000 people disappeared during Spain's Civil War and Franco's rule. Many victims were buried in mass graves, leaving families to uncover and identify the bodies themselves without help from the state. Amnesty urges the Spanish government to end the impunity enjoyed by those who carried out crimes on behalf of Franco's 36-year dictatorship: Instead of truth about the crimes of the past, its place has been filled with silence and in some cases denial, in the absence of an exhaustive and impartial investigation. Amnesty urges the creation of a truth commission or an equivalent body to investigate atrocities by both sides during the war. Thousands of death sentences handed down to people, including many civilians, by military courts should also be annulled. The courts have in recent years turned their backs on people who asked for help to locate or dig up mass graves where relatives shot during or after the war may be buried. A prosecutor should be appointed to help them.”

Amnesty International, 18 July 2005

Both texts in: http://www.amnesty.nl/bibliotheek_vervolg/thema_berechting_case_2

Activities:

1. Compare both texts. What was the attitude of politicians at the start of the transition and what is Amnesty International's opinion?
2. The victims of the Republic were recognised, had a homage in Valle de los Caídos and had several benefits during Francoism such as being reserved certain jobs, for instance in the police and as teachers, were given concessions to open tobacco shops, scholarships, and others. The bodies of the dead were properly buried. The victims of Franco did not have any of this and were vilified. Why will silence and denial not help to reconstruct a country and achieve real reconciliation?
3. Look at the text in the following website:
<http://www.trecerosas.es/noticias/generales/plonearticle.2007-09-17.0076093039>.
Summarise the basic ideas.