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Spain, salient problems of catalan economy. Introducció
J. N . Cortada

Catalan Review, Vol. VIII, number 1-2, (1994), p. 91-144

SPAIN, SALIENT PROBLEMS OF CATALAN ECONOMY INTRODUCCIÓ

J. N. CORTADA

I suggest that the despatch from the Consulate General of Barcelona which I wrote long ago, be viewed within the context of the shift in American policy towards Spain stemming from the start of the Cold War between 1946 and 1950. It offers a glimpse of the difficult economic situation in the Catalan industrial sector. At that time the Madrid industrial complex had not been developed and Barcelona was the nation's most important economic center. In 1951 Spain was perhaps at its lowest economic point. The textile industry, the region's most important, was surviving only through artful foreign exchange transactions resulting from exports and a hand-to-mouth black market of cotton. Without American assistance from Washington's Import-Export Bank for cotton purchases, it is difficult to see how the textile industry could have survived. The strain on the overall Spanish economy could easily have caused the collapse of the Franco regime.

Given the specter of possible armed conflict with the Soviet Union, as well as a devastated and bewildered Germany, Eastern Europe governed by Communist regimes, massive Communist parties in France and Italy, and Britain in process of dissolving its empire, the anti-Communist posture of Franco's Spain overcame its distaste for authoritarian regimes. Hence, the helping hand extended to Spain. Recall that in the late fall of 1950 the United Nations repealed its earlier resolution relative to withdrawal of the American, British and French ambassadors, leaving the door open for resumption of normal diplomatic relations.

In view of the evolving American policy towards Spain, sometime in 1949, the State Department decided to send an economist attached to the Consulate General of Barcelona for the purpose of looking into conditions in that important area, particularly with respect to the textile industry. No officer was available at the time for the task. I had just finished a year's intensive training in international trade in the Department of Commerce and had attended prolonged seminars under auspices of the State Department's Foreign Service Institute relative to the Marshall Plan. Although quite junior in rank for the responsibility, I was assigned to Barcelona for the task. The despatch in question was only one of many I sent to Washington concerned with conditions in general and cotton for the textile industry in particular.

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May 1, 1951
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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : American Consulate General
Barcelona, Spain
MAY 14 1951
TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.
REF : None
SUBJECT: SPAIN, SALIENT PROBLEMS OF CATALAN ECONOMY

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A discussion of Catalan problems in the light of natural resources, managerial and labor quality, capital availability, purchasing power, tax problems, foreign trade and exchange controls, price controls, raw materials, and food requirement.

Summary

This report is concerned with salient Catalan financial and commercial problems and with Catalan attitudes toward national Government economic policies. Given the special importance of the region to the national economy of Spain, and because of the inextricable connection of local difficulties to nation-wide problems, it is thought that these problems and attitudes are of significance.

Of fundamental importance is the slow rate of capital formation in Catalonia resulting largely from the nation's expanding monetary circulation with weakened backing under the impact of the Government's deficit spending. The forced channelling of large sums into Government bonds while credit deflationary policies for private business are followed is depriving small and medium sized firms of full cash assistance. Purchasing power in the region is dropping because of rising prices. About one third of Catalan tax contributions to the national Government are derived from consumption taxes which weigh most heavily on the mass of the people.

Great dissatisfaction among Catalan businessmen exists with present foreign trade and exchange control policies. They would like to retain for their own use in foreign country accounts up to 30 per cent of exchange obtained from exports of any product.

1 Copy to Embassy, Madrid

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This exchange would be used chiefly for raw materials and machinery although initially some luxury importations would take place. Multiple exchange rates are also disliked. It is felt that cheap pesetas would be a means of raising exports.

Most businessmen favor total price and quantitative decontrol for all commodities on the assumption that the free interplay of supply and demand can best determine in Spain commodity price and quantity factors.

Principle raw materials problem concerns raw cotton and cellulose. The question of food supply is not so much quantity available but high prices prevailing and the distribution system in effect(1).

Catalan management is sound but it is characterized by a "small business" psychology, and lacks modern technical and commercial "know-how" by American standards. The labor supply of skilled workers is ample and basically good. At present labor per capita output reportedly is only 60 per cent of pre-Spanish Civil War levels owing largely to social and economic discontent. Heaviest Catalan investments are in textile manufacturing, public utilities and chemicals.

Catalonia is fully developed agriculturally but suffers from chronic fertiliser shortages. The region is poor in minerals. Potassium salt is the mineral produced in greatest quantity. Coal output is small. Roughly 22.7 per cent of Spain's hydroelectric power is produced in Catalonia. Once the Government sponsored development of the current Ribagorana-Neguaras project is fully completed, Catalonia's installed hydroelectric power capacity will be doubled.

1. Limitation of Economic Resources

Catalonia's economic resources are considered in terms of the area's natural resources, the quality of management, labor and capital availabilities.

a) Natural Resources

The four Catalan provinces of Gerona, Barcelona, Tarragona and Lérida together with the Balearic Islands, cover 3,721,071 hectares or roughly 7 per cent of Spain's surface including the Canary Islands. Property is broken up largely into many small family owned and operated farms. There are almost no large landed estates. The Catalan Ley del Heren (Law of the Heir) which is still in effect

(1) See Consulate General's letter to Embassy of April 24, 1951.

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provides that the eldest son or daughter shall be the sole heir. As a result of this law farms are maintained from generation to generation in sizes which can be worked profitably. The heir, however, has the obligation of supporting his brothers and sisters. Since some farms may tend to absorb many surrounding properties Catalan law also provides that after a certain number of generations the law ceases to be binding. In these cases the property is divided among all sons and daughters and the law (Ley del Heren) again becomes applicable to their children.

The principal rivers crossing Catalonia southward from the Pyrenees are the Segre, Pallares-Noguera, Ribagorçana-Noguera, Ter and Llobregat. The Ebro cuts across Tarragona province.

Generally speaking Catalonia is mountainous. The Pyrenees separate Gerona and Lérida from France and numerous small, bleak, serrated ranges criss-cross the area. While the top-soil of these calcium carbonate formations is poor, the valleys between these mountains are extremely fertile and well watered.

About 77.16 per cent of the total arable surfaces of Catalonia and the Balearics is used in agricultural pursuits. The remaining 22.84 per cent is occupied by town and cities. Below is shown the percentage of total surface in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands used for agricultural purposes in 1947, and the percentage for each use of Spain's total surface including the Canary Islands (1).

<u>Use</u>	<u>Per Cent of Catalonia and Bal.</u>	<u>Per Cent of All Spain</u>
Cereals	11.09	5.94
Leguminous Plants	1.65	5.16
Plants for Industrial Use	0.06	0.30
Vineyards	5.60	13.64
Tubers	1.30	9.06
Vegetable Gardens	0.72	13.64
Fruit Trees (Includes Nuts)	3.90	28.47
Olive Groves	6.35	10.83
Forage	1.98	19.59
Natural Pasture Lands	40.59	6.42
Uncultivated	3.92	2.95

(1) Anuario Estadístico de las Producciones Agrícolas, Madrid, 1949.

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Total agricultural output in Catalonia and the Balearics in 1947 was valued at 3,894,372,025 pesetas (1) or roughly 11 per cent of the total value of Spain's production of the same products in that year (2). The value of agricultural production in 1950 for all of Spain was somewhat higher because of a rise in crop prices but the participation of Catalonia and the Balearics remained at about the same percentage.

The typical labor-land combination has been abundant labor and little land. This development has resulted in considerable attention to crop rotation. Because of the relatively small size of farms the lack of widespread mechanization has not been a hindrance to full agricultural expansion. Farmers who do not own their properties are either tenant farmers or sharecroppers. Irrigation is widely developed in the coastal plains of Geroza, Barcelona and Tarragona.

Catalonia's basic agricultural problem is a chronic shortage of fertilizers which must be imported as Spanish production is insufficient.

The degree of precipitation varies greatly in Catalonia. The Pyrenees area records show an annual mean for rainfall between 1,200 and 2,400 mm. In Lérida province, near the Aragon region, rainfall averages 300 mm. annually. The coastal sections receive about 700 mm. of rain per year. Most rainfall occurs in March and September while scarcely any precipitation falls in June, July, August and in mid-winter. About every 7 or 10 years a fierce drought affects Barcelona and Tarragona and only farms along the coast, practicing irrigation, escape the devastating consequences.

Winds from the Sahara Desert sweep the southeastern part of Lérida during the summer. As a result, this region which is known as Los Monegros, has the appearance of a desert. Several projects are under study to bring water from the Pyrenees to this area but little has yet been done to make these plans effective.

With the exception of the Pyrenees, areas where heavy snows occur in winter, Catalonia enjoys a mild but humid climate throughout most of the year. Summers are very hot and muggy.

- (1) Official basic rate of exchange is 10.95 pesetas equals \$1.00. Tangier free market rate is about 52 pesetas equals \$1.00. Tourist rate is about 39.80 pesetas equals \$1.00
- (2) Anuario Estadístico de las Producciones Agrícolas, Madrid, 1949.

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Catalonia is poor in minerals. Potassium salt found in Barcelona province is the largest single mineral which is produced in substantial quantities. Output amounts to about 249,490 metric tons annually. About 79,489 metric tons per year of low grade lignite are also mined in the region. Mining of lead and other minerals is relatively unimportant.

Total hydroelectric power produced by the Catalan system in 1948 amounted to 1,142,000 Kwh., or 22.7 per cent of all the power produced in Spain. Stronuous efforts are being made by the Government to double existing installed power in Catalonia by 1955 through the development of the Ribagorzana-Mogueras River which lies between Lerida and the province of Huesca. Once this project is completed Catalonia's water power will be fully exploited. The expansion of industrial and population needs in Catalonia during the past 15 years has taxed power facilities severely. Water reserves are obtained for Catalan power mainly from melting snows in the Pyrenees. The frequent decline throughout the year of these reserves gives rise to periodic restrictions which affect industry and the population in general.

b) Quality and Efforts of Management and Labor

Most Catalan enterprises are family ventures and tend to remain relatively small. For example, the largest cotton textile mill in Catalonia employs about 2,600 workers and has only 55,000 spindles. In all Spain there are approximately 2,000,000 cotton spindles.

Catalan rugged individualism, energy and personal ambition combined with a pronounced leaning towards business provide the principal drives which characterize business executives in Catalonia. They usually participate directly in all facets of a business operation and rarely delegate full authority to supporting staffs. Distrust of the integrity and/or ability of partners, associates and employees is the principal motive for their marked personal intervention in managerial affairs. As a consequence of this lack of confidence in subordinates there are few large non-family owned Catalan stock companies. Truly large corporations in Catalonia invariably are owned and managed at top levels by foreigners or executives from other parts of Spain. For example, there are no big Catalan banks in Spain despite the fact that Barcelona was a pioneer in Spanish modern banking and its businessmen possess shrewdness and daring to an unusual degree. It is remarkable the way they are able to skirt the effects of discriminatory laws on their enterprises.

While Catalans manage their present enterprises well, an impediment to large scale domestic and overseas expansion is their deficient formal training. Proper education is lacking for most

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businessmen in modern administration, merchandising techniques, advertising, production controls, labor-management relations, foreign trade and in other phases of contemporary industrial and commercial practices. This educational deficiency usually is not remedied by self study, by travel abroad or frequent contact with foreign visitors to Spain. Businessmen, with few exceptions, work long hours and as a rule they do not have the time to spend on reading technical material. Exit permits for travel abroad are very difficult to obtain for the average industrialist or merchant. Since Spain's foreign commerce is very limited only a small number of Catalan managers ever come into contact with experts from other countries. Most businessmen have learned to manage enterprises by virtue of many years work in their particular field.

A very small number of Catalans who have inherited businesses received in early youth some training in England, France or Germany. This education primarily was for the purpose of learning the language of these countries and seems to have had negligible effects on managerial performance.

In short, Catalan managerial quality is good but is strictly "small business" and generally lacking in technical "know-how". With regard to industrial engineers the situation is a little better but they too are handicapped by weak post-secondary school training and little opportunity to learn from first-hand experience what large scale industry is like.

There is an abundant pool of skilled labor in Catalonia comprised of both men and women. The existence in this region of a well-developed cotton and wool industry since the middle of the eighteenth century, and the later establishment of many light industries, have given rise to an industrially and commercially minded proletariat. With the exception of periods of social disturbances, Catalan workers are usually disciplined and responsible. They have a feel for machinery and are relatively easy to train for factory work. The training of workers for the region's needs is well taken care of. As a rule an apprenticeship in commercial establishments and factories provides the required preparation, although the Government also has a number of schools where training can be acquired. The Government's stated educational policy tends to support this type of training. Many more vocational schools, however, will have to be opened before the apprenticeship system can be eliminated.

Reliable data showing a breakdown of total employment in Catalonia by trade are not available. The population of Catalonia in 1948 totaled roughly 3,160,000 or about 12 per cent of

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metropolitan Spain. The province most populated is Barcelona, of which Barcelona city has 1,200,000 inhabitants.

In 1948 the labor force in Barcelona city where most industry is centered amounted to 303,408 men and 132,754 women. About 23 per cent of the men were employed in wholesaling and retailing, roughly 18 per cent in unclassified industries and trades, 10 per cent in the metallurgical and machinery industry, and only 6 per cent in textile and clothing manufacturing. Almost 34 per cent of all employed women worked in textile and clothing manufacturing, about 25 per cent were engaged in domestic service as cooks and servants, 20 per cent in stores, and the rest in offices, schools and other pursuits. Government workers are excluded from these figures.

There are no reliable data available which would show per capita output of Catalan labor in relation to other European countries or to productivity before the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). Trade estimates based solely on subjective judgment consider that current per capita labor output is roughly 60 per cent of the 1935 level in Catalonia. This decline is attributed partly to rundown plant equipment and partly to lack of incentive for labor to put forth its best efforts. Workers feel that regardless of their efforts mere production will mean more profits to the entrepreneur and bigger income from taxes to the Government but the same income to them. They have little confidence in the Government bureaus which have labor welfare under their care. They question both the honesty of purpose of these officials and their financial integrity. Workers blame the Government's wage and food supply policies and consider them responsible for the steadily declining standard of living. They as a result are apathetic towards their jobs.

a) Capital Availabilities

No recent studies have been published by either private or official sources concerning Catalan capital formation or availabilities for investment in the region. Some data are obtainable for 1949 showing the amount of investment in stock companies established in Catalonia, deposits in private savings banks in this region, and deposits in private commercial banks operating only in Catalonia. These figures are solely of relative value because they do not reflect the real movement of finance in this region, the hoarding of pesetas and foreign funds, flight capital if any, the rate of investment, and funds invested in non-corporate ventures. Furthermore, most banks and business enterprises carry "arranged accounts" through "double bookkeeping systems" and the true records are not shown to tax inspectors. The

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"prepared" records are the basis for officially reported data. The true situation is not reflected in the officially published data as a result.

Corporations were able to finance most of their capital needs during the years 1943-49 internally from retained profits and depreciation allowances. Most of the new capital was used to meet ever growing costs of inventories and to a lesser extent plant and equipment outlay. Capital goods expenditures were practically all for machinery of Spanish manufacture. Direct inquiry reveals that non-stock companies also underwent a somewhat comparable experience. In 1949 and 1950 many partnerships and individually owned enterprises, however, eased capital expenditures and began channelling funds into safehavens abroad in the form of jewelry and foreign exchange or left funds idle in the banks.

It is also significant that many individuals during the 1943-49 period invested surplus funds in apartment house projects instead of industrial ventures. In 1943 private construction accounted for about 247 units rising steadily to 561 units in 1947 and decreasing to 370 units in 1948 and 303 units in 1949.

In 1950 rising prices stemming from world conditions and internal currency inflation required most Catalan businesses to have on hand large sums to meet inventory demands. Profits from 1949 to 1950 remained fairly constant in terms of real earnings. Business facing declining sales volumes in physical terms during the past two years has shied away from any but necessary capital expenditures.

d) Corporate Investments

Total declared capital of Catalan corporations on December 31, 1949, the latest date for which statistics are available, amounted to 4,038,968,350 pesetas of which 3,709,269,199 pesetas were paid-in. Heaviest investment was in the textiles industry followed by public utilities and chemicals. In comparison, total declared capital on December 31, 1943 amounted to 2,904,328,360 pesetas of which 2,505,887,011 pesetas were paid-in. The general pattern of investment in the two periods compared was about the same. Corporation profits reported for 1949 totalled 400,205,502 pesetas compared with 212,292,798 pesetas in 1943. Table 1, attached, shows a breakdown of Catalan corporate investment and profits by field of activity for 1943 and 1949 according to data published by the Official Chamber of Commerce and Navigation of Barcelona (Cámara Oficial de Comercio y Navegación de Barcelona).

In terms of percentage, corporation paid-in capital rose 48 per cent from 1943 to 1949, while declared profits increased

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89 per cent. However, during this period monetary circulation in all Spain increased 74 per cent, while gold and silver backing declined by 15 per cent (1). So acute a currency depreciation of 86 per cent has had the net effect of reducing sharply the real value of the cash holdings remaining from the 1943-49 expansion. (2). Thus, in 1951 a number of large Catalan corporations have had to issue new securities in order to raise additional capital with which to buy for further expansion heavy equipment which now costs much more than in 1943. At the present writing these issues are not meeting with the expected success. Non-corporate business has all it can do to meet normal investment demands. By the end of 1950 the peseta had depreciated still further as a result of circulation increase and no improvement in backing.

e) Savings

Savings in Catalonia play a relatively minor role in Catalan investment. The capacity to save money out of wages is almost impossible for the majority of Catalans because of the great difficulty in meeting the cost of living. Catalans are traditionally a very thrifty people and their present difficulty in accumulating savings is one source of the general social discontent in the area.

Statistics available for the years 1945-49 nevertheless show some increase. In 1949 there were 1,736,842 depositors in Catalonia with a total of 5,136,555,529 pesetas compared to 1,735,634 depositors in 1948 with 4,494,315,688 pesetas. In 1945 there were 1,450,539 depositors with 2,356,556,980 pesetas. These figures cover only savings banks proper (Cajas de Ahorro) and do not include savings accounts in commercial banks nor funds invested in Government bonds.

Under Spanish law savings banks cannot invest funds in industrial or commercial ventures. As a result surplus deposits are invested in Government bonds or real estate. It is now required by law that 60 per cent of all deposits be invested in Government bonds.

(1) Spanish Currency Circulation	December 31, 1949:	26,716,000,000 pesetas.
" " "	December 31, 1943:	15,662,000,000 pesetas.
Gold and Silver Backing (paper pesetas):		
	December 31, 1949	1,432,000,000 pesetas.
	" 31, 1943	1,646,000,000 pesetas.

Source: Fomento del Trabajo Nacional, Febrero 1951, Barcelona.

(2) Depreciation relative to Gold and Silver backing only. Gold and silver prices assumed unchanged.

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2) Private Banks

Some data are available from balance sheets prepared by the Central Banking Committee (Consejo Superior Bancario) concerning operations of private banks in Catalonia for the years 1947-1950. For purposes of this report only 1947 and 1950 are discussed. Since the immediate concern is on the subject of capital availabilities, only portfolio investments and deposits are analysed. The operations of the Banco Hispano Colonial of Barcelona are not taken into account in the 1947 figures as this institution since has been absorbed by the Banco Central of Madrid and a breakdown of its activities for 1950 is not available. (1)

Portfolio investments of Catalan banks in 1947 amounted to 1,110,961,000 pesetas of which Government bonds accounted for 453,175,000 pesetas or roughly 40 per cent. Similar investments in 1950 had increased to 1,226,587,000 pesetas of which 504,087,000 pesetas were Government bonds or about 41 per cent. The Bank of Spain "advises" national and regional banks to invest 45 per cent of time and demand deposits (excluding those of banks and bankers) in Government bonds. Local banks are "advised" to invest up to 50 per cent in Government issues. Banks which fail to follow this "urging" are warned that failure to do so will be considered should the private bank need assistance from the Bank of Spain. In practice about 40 per cent is invested in Government issues. Private banks usually discount up to 40 per cent of the Government bonds held with the Bank of Spain in order to have sufficient cash on hand for day to day operations. It is traditional Spanish banking policy to have a high percentage of portfolio investments represented by Government bonds.

While the Spanish Government draws heavily on private commercial and savings banks as well social security collections in order to cover deficit spending, private banks are required to follow a deflationary credit policy. Medium and small sized Catalan industries and commercial establishments which find themselves short of cash have difficulty in obtaining cheap and easy money and banks are not in a position to help them liberally. The net result is a brake on the expansion of most companies in the region for lack of cash. They can just about meet operating costs and the ever rising inventory expenditures. During the last year wholesale prices rose about 23 per cent.

Currency inflation (as distinct from price rises) coupled with deflationary credit practices and Government deficit spending over a long period can only result in the continued weakening of the position of private enterprise vis-a-vis Government intervention. The more accelerated that the inflationary spiral becomes, the greater the quantity of funds which will be withdrawn from use of pri-

(1) Branches in Catalonia of National Banks Excluded.

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vate trade and industry for Government needs. As industry and commerce are particularly affected by such developments an area such as Catalonia suffers more than a purely agricultural region where cash needs are less.

Total deposits on December 31, 1947 were 1,837,683,000 pesetas compared to 2,048,437,000 pesetas on December 31, 1950, an increase of about 12 per cent. This reflects primarily a rise in time deposits and those of banks and bankers owing chiefly to the reluctance of substantial firms and wealthy individuals to invest in business expansion.

Demand deposits on December 31, 1947 amounted to 1,233,265,000 pesetas in comparison to 1,262,947,000 pesetas on December 31, 1950. Time deposits on December 31, 1947 totalled 246,418,000 pesetas while on the last day of 1950 they amounted to 364,590,000 pesetas. Banks and bankers deposits at the end of 1947 totalled 357,667,000 pesetas in comparison with 422,295,000 pesetas on December 31, 1950.

2. Purchasing Power

Leading financial and industrial circles are deeply concerned regarding the steady decline in mass purchasing power. In the cotton textile trade it is now felt that if full raw cotton requirements were to become available inventories of finished goods would rapidly mount unless exports underwent an increase. The textile export business is now not only a means of earning foreign exchange with which to help pay for raw cotton imports, but it is a necessary outlet for surplus production. Catalonia cannot absorb the full quantity of consumer goods it produces and it relies on the rest of Spain for markets, so that this region's prosperity depends primarily on Spain's overall economic health.

Many important industrialists and leading Catalan economists favor strongly a truly substantial wage increase for the mass of workers. They admit that this would become reflected as an inflationary measure. They point out, however, that Spain's mounting inflation stems chiefly from the Government's policy of printing fiat money, its deficit spending and the allocation of large funds for non-productive ends. They stress the view that foreign financial help will provide no more than temporary relief from inflation as long as the Government does not revert to a sound money and fiscal policy.

No reliable data are available regarding the average income of Barcelona's workers. A check of leading industries indicates that certain categories of skilled textile workers earn from 1,500 to 2,000 pesetas per month, including holiday bonuses. An unskilled woman textile operator earns about 600 pesetas per month. A taxi driver is at the top of the scale for lower income groups

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with earnings of about 2,250 pesetas per month. Commercial truck drivers receive about 1,350 pesetas monthly, while domestic servants are paid from 150 to 300 pesetas, plus room and board and uniforms, cooks earn between 300 and 500 pesetas and washerwomen about 50 pesetas per day in addition to food.

3. Tax Problems

Generally speaking, Catalan businessmen do not complain over the amount of taxes which must be paid to the Government. Taxes are considered to be relatively low and full liability is seldom paid. Tax inspectors and collectors know that most books do not accurately reflect the state of business. Usually the inspectors pay little attention to the balance sheets and arrive at an arbitrary tax figure. Frequently, they will settle for taxes which are considerably below what is due the Government upon receipt of a bribe. Most inspectors and collectors receive salaries which are insufficient to support their families and this makes them vulnerable to graft while others earn no salaries and find it necessary to accept bribes in order to live. Some observers feel that although the practice of falsifying business books is deeply ingrained in Catalonia, the Government probably would collect considerably more taxes if inspectors and collectors belonged to a stable civil service and received salaries commensurate with their responsibilities.

In 1949 of the total taxes paid by the province of Barcelona to the National Government, 33 per cent was from consumption taxes, 20 per cent from individual income tax, 11 per cent from corporation income taxes, 5 per cent from property taxes, 5 per cent from industrial taxes (flat fee by type and size of industry) and the balance was for inheritance, contract and other taxes. No data are available regarding social security tax collections. It is significant that the biggest share of taxes is obtained from consumption taxes which affect the large mass of lower income groups rather than the middle and upper income sectors. It is very difficult with data at hand to determine the impact of this circumstance on purchasing power here. On the other hand, the relatively benign corporation income taxes offer little discouragement to reinvestment and should not deter risk capital from flowing into industry.

The penalty for misrepresentation of earnings is a fine. Imprisonment rarely occurs. No social stigma is attached to the practice of duplicity in a firm's books.

4. Foreign Trade and Exchange Controls

An important part of Catalan industrial production is exported although the major share is sold in Spain. Exports are made of cotton, wool, and rayon textiles, handicrafts, potash salts, sewing

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machines and many other light industry products. These are considered by the Spanish Government primarily as a source of foreign exchange while Catalan manufacturers have a more immediate profit interest and the earning of exchange for the Government's use is secondary. A source of constant friction stems from this difference of criteria. Catalans feel that the Government should let them dispose of a greater share of foreign currency earned through Catalan efforts for the purpose of importing much needed raw materials and machinery. Deep resentment is felt in Catalonia against the indiscriminate application of foreign exchange earned in part through Catalan efforts to INI (Instituto Nacional de Industria) projects (1). They feel that while a few of the INI enterprises are justifiable the others are an anchor which holds back the quicker industrial developments of Spain by private initiative.

Catalan industrialists and merchants, cotton textile mills in particular, would view with favor a foreign exchange policy which would permit them to keep in foreign countries at least 30 per cent of foreign exchange earned through the export of any commodity. The other 70 per cent could be used by the Government for its own ends. It now occurs that exchange derived from exports of cotton textiles, for example, can only be used for the purchase of raw cotton and not for textile dyes, machinery or other needs. The argument is put forth here that Catalans understand foreign trade and that if given a free range with regard to type of exports, and the opportunity to keep part of the foreign currency earnings, that Spanish exports would show immediately a sharp increase. The Catalans feel perfectly able to attend to their raw materials needs if the Government gives them a freer hand. They also stress the fact that such a policy would eliminate the need of recurring to black market transactions in order to pay for cotton and other imports. Easing the pressure on the peseta abroad now caused by the black market exchange dealings of the Catalan manufacturers would help strengthen the peseta value. Present dealing in black market currency is justified by the Catalans by stating that if the policies of the Spanish Government were followed to the letter of the law, most Catalan factories would have to close down in short order. They say that it is because of this probability that no steps are taken by the Spanish Government to stop these illicit dealings despite their unfavorable effect on the value of the peseta abroad.

Practically the entire business community is against the Government's present policy of multiple exchange rates. They would like to see a single rate of exchange at a devaluated level on the premise that cheap pesetas would markedly stimulate

(1) INI is a semi-official organization through which the State develops new industries.

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exports, and help balance both the merchandise and the invisible balance of trade.

5. Price Controls

The problem of price controls is primarily nation wide in scope and the Catalan aspect is practically no different from that of other regions. Catalan businessmen are, however, mostly against any kind of price control policy. They say that in the past this policy has merely fostered graft among Government officials charged with enforcement and has tended to make the lot of the businessman more difficult without remedying the problem. They are in favor of total official price and quantitative decontrol for all agricultural and industrial products. Likewise, are they strong supporters of the belief that the free play of supply and demand should be the determinant factor of price and quantity, particularly in Spain which is noted for an inefficiency in Government administration.

6. Raw Materials

Without going into great detail regarding the vast list of raw materials and machinery which is badly needed in this area to refurbish the slowly deteriorating industrial plant, raw cotton and cellulose are the two immediate problems.

At the end of March raw cotton stocks at the free port of Barcelona in addition to other stocks pending customs clearance amounted to about 50,000 bales which added to roughly 10,000 bales in the mills made potential availabilities, totalled some 60,000 bales as of March 31. With the need for Spanish cotton spinning mills to operate at least one shift daily or 50 per cent of capacity, minimum requirements for the period April-July, 1951, would be between 66,000 and 72,000 bales to assure some carryover into the new crop year beginning August 1. Should the 23,000 bales purchased under the Import-Export Bank be received during this period, spinning operations would be assured until at least the end of August or early September. As probably Egyptian, Brazilian and Pakistan cotton also will be received during the next few months, with the help of American cotton, the raw cotton bottleneck could be solved for the next few months.

One measure which continues to be a source of annoyance to the Catalan mills is the insistence of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce that 12 per cent of American cotton imported under combined account arrangements be turned over to the Cotton Consortium, while only 1 per cent is required for cotton of other origins (1).

(1) The Cotton Consortium is an independent association of all cotton spinners and weavers.

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The thinking behind this measure was that American cotton is cheaper than that of other sources and that mills receiving a quota from the Consortium would benefit by getting cotton at the lowest possible prices.

Difficulties in buying sufficient cellulose during the next few months is also anticipated by the rayon and paper manufacturers. The heavy buying of this commodity in Scandinavia by the United States in recent months has resulted in reluctance on the part of the Norwegians and Swedes in committing themselves for usual deliveries to Spain. While some improvement in these prospects has been noted of late there is no clear indication that cellulose in sufficient quantities will be available for the remainder of the year. It is estimated that about 20,000 metric tons of cellulose will be needed in the second half of 1951.

7. Food Requirements

The high cost of food in relation to wages in Barcelona and the faulty distribution of a number of basic items has become converted from an economic problem into a political issue of paramount importance.

Statistics available for 1949 show the following consumption in Barcelona for that year:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Metric Tons</u>
Fresh meat	24,521
Frozen meat	3,215
Dried and Cured meats	8,483
Fresh fish	40,569
Salted fish	3,564
Garden vegetables	222,356
Potatoes and other tubers	107,990
Mushrooms	19
Fresh fruit	158,558
Green Olives	74
Pickled Olives	2,464
Dried fruit (Unshelled)	895
Dried fruit (Shelled)	17,705
Bread	87,000
	<u>Liters</u>
Wine and alcoholic beverages	60,000
Mineral water	4,031
Milk	79,442
	<u>Units</u>
Chicken, rabbit, etc.	5,000

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<u>Item</u>	<u>Quantities</u>
Eggs	17,000
Oil and Sugar (No data available).	

The Consulate General does not have at hand data which would enable it to compare Barcelona's per capita consumption of the various items with that of other Spanish cities or with a city of comparable importance in the United States or elsewhere. These consumption data are included in the event that the Embassy at Madrid or the Department does have the means to analyze further Barcelona's food problem in view of the recent social disturbances over this issue.

In 1950 the problem was one primarily of high prices rather than shortage. As a result of controls which worked imperfectly, black markets continued for the sale of meat, oil and a number of other staples. Recently, because of tightening of these controls, acute shortages have developed for meat, oil, sugar, and coffee. The bread distribution system in 1950 showed a marked improvement over that of the previous year.

It is still too early to judge the eventual result of the Government's efforts to solve the food price and supply problem through the application of tight controls.

Catalonia is almost self-supporting for garden vegetables, wine, and dried fruit. Local production of meat, fish, milk, oil and flour must be supplemented by imports from other parts of Spain.

James E. Brown, Jr.
James E. Brown, Jr.
American Consul General

Enclosure:
Table 1

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TABLE 1
Catalan Corporation Investments, 1943 and 1949
(In Pesetas)

Type of Investments	December 31, 1943			December 31, 1949		
	Capital Declared	Paid-in	Profits	Capital Declared	Paid-in	Profits
Banks.....	245,000,000	162,084,355	13,349,914	220,490,000	169,836,150	38,423,785
Railroads and Streetcars...	250,431,100	243,241,100	11,863,212	276,536,100	271,400,100	16,653,827
Navigation.....	151,492,225	151,492,225	6,996,702	284,260,000	283,245,000	19,329,720
Bus Transport...	28,055,000	27,945,000	1,278,160	24,050,700	20,810,000	1,317,600
Insurance.....	46,310,000	24,562,000	3,880,743	89,710,600	64,832,749	10,899,996
Gas & Electricity	379,595,000	349,183,996	6,841,981	495,450,000	473,994,500	13,299,224
Water.....	100,500,000	92,062,500	9,757,338	115,500,000	102,389,500	519,039
Mining.....	114,833,285	105,893,285	14,164,978	140,100,000	138,972,500	25,289,114
Metallurgy.....	107,475,500	104,340,500	7,029,226	331,055,000	313,322,500	29,975,079
Cement and Construction.	144,000,000	130,118,500	15,455,794	233,890,000	216,087,200	28,733,615
Textiles.....	437,620,000	407,322,500	43,336,737	556,760,000	526,239,600	31,678,352
Electrical Equipment.....	71,500,000	70,444,000	7,310,898	105,500,000	102,233,450	11,519,474
Chemicals.....	350,419,750	247,771,250	33,534,596	426,757,750	360,659,250	92,871,269
Glass.....	23,500,000	21,599,800	1,283,015	32,000,000	32,000,000	2,769,518
Food.....	160,921,000	156,244,500	13,554,648	259,054,200	250,618,200	37,697,512
Printing.....	21,875,000	18,837,500	678,886	25,400,000	22,750,000	362,215
Automobile.....	66,450,000	65,700,000	5,253,721	82,250,000	82,047,500	10,630,873
Others.....	204,350,500	127,044,000	16,222,243	350,244,000	277,811,000	28,236,350
TOTALS.-	2,904,328,360	2,505,887,011	212,292,798	4,038,968,350	3,709,269,199	400,205,502

Source: Cámara Oficial de Comercio y Navegación de Barcelona, Memorias, 1943 and 1949.

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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : American Consulate General Barcelona, Spain
TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D.C.
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0400
Spain
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JUN 1 1951
AIR POUCH
COMMUN

SUBJECT: NOTES ON THE BACKGROUND AND LIFE OF BARCELONA'S LOWER INCOME GROUPS, PREPARED BY JAMES N. CORTADA, CONSULAR ATTACHE (COMMERCIAL).
INFO PER marked for attention of Mr. E.S. Hopkins (PSI)

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Transmitted herewith are Notes on the Background and Life of Barcelona's Lower Income Groups, prepared by James N. Cortada, Consular Attaché (Commercial).

The work was done for the most part out of office hours, and was carried on by Mr. Cortada as an avocational pursuit.

It is believed that the Notes contain information of general interest on the subject, and that it is advisable to forward the memorandum to the Department at this time, even though it is not as full and detailed as Mr. Cortada desired it to be. It is hoped that he may have an opportunity to add to and revise the Notes.



James E. Brown Jr.
James E. Brown, Jr.
American Consul General

Enclosures: ✓ Notes, as stated.

Copy to Embassy, Madrid
Copy to Consul General, Madrid

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1. Purpose of Study

Catalonia is the most populous and extended area included in the Barcelona consular district. It consists of four provinces: Gerona, Barcelona, Tarragona and Lérida. The first three provinces are situated on the Mediterranean coast in the order named between France and the Spanish province of Valencia. Lérida is west of Gerona and Barcelona, and extends northward to the Pyrenees bordering Andorra and France. Catalonia covers about 12,430 square miles or 6 per cent of metropolitan Spain. Its population totals roughly 3,160,000 of which Barcelona city accounts for approximately 1,200,000. Spain's total population is about 28,000,000. Barcelona has a temperate, humid climate somewhat milder than that of Washington, D.C.

The Catalan provinces contribute heavily towards Spain's agricultural, commercial and industrial movement. Spain's most important economic center industrially is situated in Barcelona province of which Barcelona is the principal city. Catalonia also contributes through taxation to about 23 per cent of the Spanish national budget. A seaport, Barcelona always has been Marseilles' rival.

Catalonia and particularly Barcelona, has been prominent in every important revolt which has threatened the stability of the Spanish State and the unity of the country during the last 500 years. The needs and aspirations of the Catalans always must be taken into account by the Madrid Governments in major economic and political decisions, despite the Catalans accounting for scarcely 11 per cent of Spain's population.

Most Catalan turbulent activities have emanated largely from Barcelona city at the initiative or with the support of the large masses of workers living in this city. These lower income groups have been selected therefore as the principal subject of this study. An effort is made to throw in high relief their living habits and aspirations. Factory and office workers and Government employees earning in Barcelona up to 2,200 pesetas per month are considered as lower income groups for purposes of this report (*).

Substantial immigration from other parts of Spain has occurred during the past 50 years as a result of which Barcelona's population has doubled since 1920. These "foreign" influences have left an impact on the Barceloness which is difficult to measure. Catalan observers believe, however, that the essential characteristics of Barcelona are so strong that the newcomers have been absorbed into the city's way of life, and that their children are thoroughly Catalan. Nevertheless, as these "immigrants" have been largely an ill-educated and poverty-stricken element, their advent has contributed to the stormy character of the city.

(*) 10.95 pesetas equals \$1.00 at the basic official rate. In the Tangier free market 52.00 pesetas equals \$1.00.

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This survey is based largely on the persistent questioning of people belonging to the social group analyzed. Considerable research also has been made of anthropological and historical studies of Spain and the Catalan region written by Spanish investigators.

Time and again Catalonia has bowed before the recurrent pattern of political, social and economic authoritarianism which has characterized generally Spanish institutions. Spain's political and military control over Catalonia inevitably has resulted in forcing upon the latter economic policies often detrimental to Catalan prosperity. Catalonia's reaction usually has been one of violence. During the short intervals when Catalonia has held the balance of national power, release of long repressed aspirations has led to extremes of political and economic policies usually untenable for most of the rest of Spain.

The Catalans have sided during the past 350 years with any cause which has promised them a restoration of their liberties and acquiescence in their industrial and commercial aims. The industrial development of Barcelona in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries added further complications to traditional problems as the lower income groups pushed forward for economic and social improvement.

2. Historical Background of Catalonia

This section has been included for the primary purposes of highlighting the leading ethnic groups which comprise the contemporary population of Barcelona and Catalonia, to stress the continuity of conflicts between the many Madrid Governments and the Catalans, and to underline the historical reason for Near Eastern traits.

a) Leading Ethnic Groups

The primitive ethnic origins of Catalonia are not definitely known. It is thought that an Iberian people probably occupied most of present day Catalonia. These early inhabitants carried on an active trade with the Greek colonies established mostly on the Catalan coast from the VI century B.C. to about the II century B.C. The Phoenicians were established south and southwest of Catalonia.

The rumor that the region which is present day Catalonia was rich in gold mines is said to have prompted the Carthaginians under Hamilcar Barca to invade the area about 236 B.C. Fierce resistance was made by the Iberians and Greeks. Barcelona allegedly was founded at about this time as a fortress and place of refuge for the Carthaginians. The name of Barcelona is considered by some to be derived from the surname Barca. Hamilcar's son, Hannibal, also invaded Catalonia en route to Italy as the easiest way across the Pyrenees in 218 B.C.

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The Romans felt that this area occupied too strategic a military position and wrested the region from the Carthaginians in 206 B.C. blocking this route to Italy. In 201 B.C. Carthage was forced to accept Rome's full terms and surrendered all of Spain. The Romans remained in this north-eastern corner of Spain called by them Hispania Tarraconensis for some 600 years. Romans and the natives freely intermarried and many of the natives rose to prominence within the Roman Empire. Throughout the Roman domination trade and industry developed extremely well and agriculture flourished. Barcelona at that time remained second in importance to Tarragona which boasted a population of over 1,000,000 inhabitants. The Tarragona area was given a special constitution by the Emperor Adrian and was looked upon as the favored province of Rome.

In 409 A.D. the Alani, Suevi, Vandals and other German tribes, invaded Spain through Hispania Tarraconensis and ravaged the peninsula. Two years later the Visigoths under Ataulf, brother-in-law of Alaric the destroyer of Rome, entered Spain and became firmly established in what is present day Catalonia and in other parts of Spain. Ataulf established his capital first at Narbonne and later in Barcelona. The Visigoths and the native population freely blended giving rise to new ethnic types. The new invaders absorbed the language and ways of the Romanized Catalans. Some historians believe that the name Catalonia is a corruption of Gothlandia. Others claim that it is derived from Catelans, a name given to military leaders who commanded numerous forts in the northeastern corner of Spain during the Moorish wars. The Visigothic domination lasted 301 years and was marked by continuous fighting.

Catalonia's geographic position tempted the Moors as the easiest path to Rome, a long range target of the invaders after the initial invasion of Spain. The conquest of Catalonia by the Moors was made in 712 A.D. They were driven out of the general area in 788 A.D. by a coalition of Catalans, Franks and Spaniards under the leadership of Charlemagne's generals. Practically no intermarriages occurred between the Moors and Catalans. No other important non-Iberian ethnic groups since have been absorbed by Catalonia.

b) Conflicts with the Madrid Governments

After the ouster of the Moors in 788 A.D., Catalonia was governed by French Counts who rapidly became independent of the French Kingdom. The national liberties became secured by a code of Usages and the people were represented by a parliament. In 1040 the Catalan sovereignty became hereditary in the person of Count Ermón Berenguer I who concluded a close alliance with the Franks and Normans. Catalonia was united to Aragón in 1137 by the marriage of Ramón Berenguer IV with Petronila of Aragón. Catalan language and culture were dominant in the court of the Catalan-Aragonese kings and became extended to present day French Provence, Valencia, Castellón de la Plana, the Balearic Islands, Naples and part of the Island of Sardinia.

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Between 1137 and 1479 in which year the Catalonia-Aragon Union became incorporated with Castile, mediaeval Catalan nationalism and glory reached its height with Catalan fleets scouring the Mediterranean as far as Greece and Turkey. The Treaty of La Corbeill in 1258 between James I of Catalonia-Aragon and Louis IX of France fixed the Franco-Catalan border in a manner that has perdured generally to the present with the exception of Roussillon which became French in Louis XIV's time.

It is significant that during most of the era of the Catalonia-Aragon Union the kings were extremely attentive to the rights of the people. When the Monarchs overstepped the constitutional rights, the town burghers sharply reminded them of the Usages. The component states of the Union had preserved political autonomy and the successful functioning of this federation provides the historical basis for present day Catalan aspirations for a Federal Spain. Meanwhile the tendency in neighboring Castile towards political and economic authoritarianism had become very marked.

When Ferdinand married Isabel of Castile in 1469, he was not yet King of Aragón. He merely became King Consort and agreed to live in Castile and appoint only Castilians to administrative posts in this Kingdom. He did not inherit the Catalan-Aragonese Union until his father's death in 1479. He then continued the practice of appointing Castilians to administer the Union.

Certain basic factors entered early into the dissensions between Castile and Catalonia. Almost immediately after the incorporation, Castile initiated a policy designed gradually to curtail the power in Catalonia of the Barcelona burghers and of Catalan merchants in general. Shortly after the discovery of America by Columbus, Castile prohibited Catalonia from trading with the New World. Since traditional trade patterns were in the process of change at that time and Barcelona was not free to follow this shift, a period of economic depression occurred from which Catalonia recovered eventually only with great difficulty. Catalans were not permitted by the Madrid Governments to trade with or emigrate to the New World until the eighteenth century.

Friction between Catalonia and the Madrid Governments continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries until the "Great Catalan Revolt" of 1640. This insurrection was caused by the centralizing efforts of Philip IV, his failure to summon the Catalan Parliament (Cortes), the assessment of new taxes, the insistence on further troops for Spain's wars, and the quartering of troops in the region. A Catalan Republic was established which was recognized by France. In 1652, Barcelona capitulated after 12 years of fighting. The final settlement in 1659, however, returned to Catalonia some of the liberties which Philip IV had tried to abolish. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1715) Catalonia and Valencia sided against Philip V of Spain. Barcelona capitulated to Philip V in 1714 and Catalonia and Valencia were put under Castilian Law. The Catalan language was prohibited in the courts of justice. The abolishment of Catalonia's ancient liberties was harshly completed.

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During Napoleon's invasion of Spain, however, Catalonia fought for Spain. The nineteenth century Catalans were a deeply religious people and were united with the Spaniards against the French because of the Emperor's anti-clerical policies (1808 - 1814).

Throughout most of Spain's turbulent nineteenth century, Catalonia participated in every revolt against the centralizing tendencies of the various Madrid Governments. Federalist or Separatist movements flared up time and again. In the first Carlist War 1834-39, it rose in support of Don Carlos of Austria; against his niece Isabella II, together with the Basque provinces, Navarra and Aragón where the Conservative and Church elements favored autonomous government. The Liberal party supporting Isabella II upon the death of her father, favored strong centralizing tendencies. The uprising was defeated in 1839 by a coalition of England, France, Spain and Portugal. In 1842, Barcelona rose in arms and declared a Republic which was stamped out the same year. Catalonia participated in the various uprisings which occurred during the remainder of the nineteenth century, always hankering for autonomy.

In 1909 as a protest against inequalities of the military service régime which fell mostly on the lower income groups for combat duty against the Riffs in North Africa, a general strike was called at Barcelona which spread throughout Catalonia. The strike was vigorously repressed. In 1917, the Catalan members of the Spanish Cortes demanded home rule for Catalonia and in 1919 a program for autonomy was drafted in Barcelona to no avail. In 1923 General Primo de Rivera suppressed a Separatist movement.

After the advent of the Republic, following Alfonso XIII's abdication in 1931, Catalonia obtained a Charter of Autonomy on September 25, 1932. A great uprising of the Anarchists and Socialist trade unions in Barcelona occurred in 1933 as a result of impatience by the lower income groups at the slowness of social reforms. The movement was repressed by Government troops. The Spanish Civil War broke out in July 18, 1936, and ended in 1939 with victory for the present régime. A strong central domination with its consequent political and economic results again became effective and Catalan autonomy was abolished once more.

c) Near Eastern Influence on Character

An analysis of Catalan and/or Spanish character and living habits reveals many features in attenuated degree common to those prevailing in the Near East and North Africa. The use of indirection, the value of face, a patriarchal social structure, sense of exaggeration, love of pomp, a basic "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" psychology, certain similar food habits and the caudillo or chief-tain concept are found as predominating factors in Spain's institutions. The Moorish invasion did not account solely for this coincidence. The Moors were in Catalonia for too brief a period to have affected profoundly the Catalan way of life. In the rest of Spain

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2 the religious cleavage and cultural difference between the Moors and the Spaniards were never completely bridged. The religious bitterness between them apparently was as that of today between Moslem and Hindu or Jew and Arab.

The important common denominator can be found in Catalonia's early occupation by the Greeks for roughly 400 years and the southern and central part of Spain by the Phoenicians for close to 500 years. The subsequent Roman impact on most of Spain lasted some 600 years and affected profoundly Spain's Greek-Phoenician civilization as Roman customs, language and law were thoroughly absorbed. This Roman culture was disturbed by the invasion of Spain by the Germanic tribes. The German tribes became romanized and dominated the country until the Moorish invasion some 300 years later.

Owing chiefly to the German invasions which resulted in contacts with the west, Spain developed fundamentally a Western European way of life which rested on a Near Eastern-Roman cultural basis. Other Western European nations reflect early Roman influence but little or no Near Eastern patterns. Prior to the ousting of the last Moors from Granada in 1492, Spain had been exposed directly to Near East influence for at least 1300 out of some 2200 years which comprised this nation's known history until that event.

The net result of the Near Eastern influence and its blend with Roman and Germanic culture is a scale of social, political, and economic values which differs greatly from that prevailing in other western nations. Thus, when confronted with a specific national or international problem, Spaniards may react in an unpredictable manner by "truly" Western standards. A Barcelona Catalan's reaction, however, would be more similar to that of a Western European than that of a Seville Andalus.

3. Physical Anthropological Characteristics

The Barcelona lower income groups are extremely variegated in ethnic composition owing to the great influx since 1900 of population from the south of Spain and from the north-western provinces. Hence, the basic Catalan type is not as common in Barcelona as it was until about 1900.

Broadly speaking, the components of the group studied show the general traits of the Mediterranean race. The heads of most individuals observed are dolichocephalic, (long-headed). Average height for men seems to be about 1.64 meters (about 5 feet & 3/4 inches). Pale and sallow complexions are common. Medium or slight builds predominate over stocky physiques. Faces tend to be sharp featured with aquiline or prominent noses. A surprisingly large number of Dinaric faces are also to be found here. Eyes are usually brown or black and hair is dark. Women are shorter than the men. Although they tend towards stoutness and are of a heavy frame they have noticeably small waists.

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Purer Catalan types found in the isolated areas have ruddier complexions and are more heavily built.

4. The Catalan Language - Linguistic Preference

Catalan is one of the Romance groups, as distinct from Spanish as is Portuguese or French. It has never been a Spanish dialect. Catalan was similar to ancient Provençal in southern France. Catalan is basically a mixture of the language spoken along the Catalan coast and the Latin of northern Italy at the time of the Roman invasion. Variations of this basic language are still spoken widely in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. As Spanish also is spoken in all of these regions its influence is felt in modern Catalan. Since the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, the Madrid Government has prohibited the publication of newspapers in Catalan or the teaching of this language in schools.

Practically all Catalans have a distinct preference for Catalan speech. Catalans are proud of their language. It is spoken in the home and is used in daily business. However, there is no reluctance to answer in Spanish when spoken to in this language and there are very few persons in Barcelona City who are not familiar with Spanish. It is also significant that most Catalans never lose their regional accent when speaking Spanish and this characteristic is annoying to most other Spaniards.

Among the marked differences between Spanish and Catalan is the tendency in the latter to drop many consonant and unaccented vowel endings. For example, the Spanish infima (lowest) in Catalan is infin; mercado (market) becomes in Catalan mercat. Catalan is a harsh tongue with many staccato sounds. The "w" is pronounced in Spanish as "th" while in Catalan it is strongly accented as the English "a". Noun declensions are absent. Catalan also has considerably less words having an Arabic root than the 2000 words in Spanish reportedly derived from Arabic. Likewise the guttural Arabic "Ja" which prevails in Spanish as "J", and pronounced like a strong "Ha" in English, is absent in Catalan. "J" in Catalan is pronounced as in French.

The manner of speech in a number of Latin American countries has been strongly influenced by the Catalan accent. Thus, in the province of Oriente in Cuba, Spanish is spoken with an inflection known as the deje Oriental or cantico Santiaguero.

5. Salient Cultural Features

a) Sources of Income

The highest standard of living in Spain is reportedly found in the province of Barcelona. In 1948 there was gainfully employed a labor force of 303,408 men and 132,754 women in Barcelona city out of a total population of about 1,200,000. These figures scarcely have changed for 1950. Unemployment in 1948, and now, amounts to less than 6 per cent of the total employed.

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About 23 per cent of the men are employed in wholesaling and retailing, roughly 18 per cent in unclassified industries and trades, some 10 per cent in the metallurgical and machinery industry, and only 6 per cent in textile and clothing manufacturing.

Almost one third of all employed women work in textile and clothing manufacturing, slightly more than one fourth are engaged in domestic service as cooks and servants. About one fifth are employed in the wholesale and retail trades. A very small percentage of women are found in offices.

No reliable data are available regarding the average income of Barcelona's workers. A check of leading industries indicates that certain categories of skilled textile workers earn from 1500 to 2000 pesetas (1) per month, including holiday bonuses. An unskilled woman textile operator earns about 600 pesetas per month. A taxi driver is at the top of the scales for lower income groups with earnings of about 2250 pesetas per month. Commercial truck drivers receive about 1350 pesetas monthly, while domestic servants are paid from 150 to 300 pesetas, plus room and board and uniform, cooks earn between 300 and 500 pesetas and washerwomen about 50 pesetas per day in addition to food.

A cost of living study made by the Chamber of Commerce of Sabadell, an industrial center near Barcelona city, in 1946 revealed that a Sabadell working class family consisting of four (two wage earners and two minor children), earned an average of 1202 pesetas monthly from steady employment. Total expenditure averaged some 1812 pesetas monthly of which 60 pesetas was paid for rent, 1210 pesetas for food, 160 pesetas for clothing and 382 pesetas for miscellaneous expenses. The deficit of 609 pesetas had to be borrowed or earned by extra part time work. In terms of real purchasing power, the same family would have shown a considerable monthly surplus in 1936 instead of a deficit. If the standard of living in Sabadell declined sharply during the 1936-46 period, the condition of the Barcelona proletariat, which has had to face more steadily climbing living costs than those of Sabadell has worsened much more. From March 1950 to March 1951 the cost of living in Barcelona has risen 12 per cent according to official data. No corresponding wage increases have been made for the city's major industries during this period. As wages are set by the Government employers cannot voluntarily raise wages although many industrialists and merchants would be willing to do so in order to preserve social peace.

A ration system is in effect in Barcelona for a number of staples which works very poorly with the exception of low quality bread allocations. For example, the following ration per person was all that was distributed at official prices during the week ending March 24, 1951; excepting bread:

- (1) 10.95 pesetas equals \$1.00 at the official basic rate.
The Tangier free market rate is 52 pesetas equals \$1.00

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Oil - 1/4 liter per person at 11.40 pesetas per liter
 Sugar - 150 grams per person at 9.00 pesetas per kilo

Bread rationing is dependent upon wage scales as itemized below:

Upper income groups - 80 grams per person per day at 0.50 pesetas
 Middle income groups - 100 grams per person per day at 0.50 pesetas
 Lower income groups - 150 grams per person per day at 0.55 pesetas

In addition a scheme is in effect under official auspices whereby another 350 grams per person per day can be obtained at 2.50 pesetas. Under this same arrangement if there are four members of a family obtaining this facility a one kilo loaf is available at 6.75 pesetas.

A price control system is applicable to meat, bread, most fruits and vegetables, milk sold in bulk, coffee and sugar. The controls are fairly effective for bread, fruits and vegetables and poor grade milk. It is almost non-effective for sugar, coffee and only partially effective for meat.

Practically all members of families in Barcelona in the lower income segment work either full or part time. Usually various families pool their resources in order to make both ends meet. Legally child labor below the age of 14 is prohibited but it is not uncommon for children of 12 to begin work. The older people seek part time jobs in homes as watchmen, caretakers, servants, and other manual occupations. Only the invalids and small children remain idle.

b) Dwellings

Most Barcelona workers live in four or five story apartment houses built in the late nineteenth century or before World War I. Many legal workers from the south of Spain live in huts and caves. The apartment buildings are made mostly of brick and cement, and have tile floors. Ceilings are considerably higher than in the United States. Tall French type blinds with glass closings are used for windows. Many have balconies. The apartments are usually large. Three or four bedroom apartments with living and dining room are not uncommon. Few of these old apartments have steam-heat or hot water facilities. In winter, apartments are heated to some extent by braziers which burn charcoal, or by kerosene stoves. Barcelona city winters are fairly mild with temperatures rarely dropping below 50° F. Some official efforts have been made to develop low rental modern housing projects in the healthier and drier outskirts of Barcelona further inland. However, results in this direction have been inadequate to meet the full demand for low cost housing. Gas is used for cooking purposes. All houses have

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electricity. Many have no bathrooms, only a non-flushable toilet and washstand. Persons living in these bathroomless apartments bathe at public bath houses.

The Rent Law of December 31, 1946 retractively froze rents for buildings constructed or occupied prior to July 18, 1936 at levels ranging from 5 to 10 per cent above rents prevailing on July 17, 1936. Since most workers occupy apartments built prior to 1936 this rent control has resulted in monthly payments of 150 to 250 pesetas for dwellings which if newly constructed would cost at least 500 pesetas per month. The provisions of the Rent Law allow higher payments for apartment houses constructed after 1942. New apartments are beyond the economic reach of the lower income groups. Apartments are crowded as various families usually live together in order to survive. Should the economic lot of these groups ever improve markedly, the need for housing will be greatly felt.

The construction of the new apartments compared with the old is about the same with regard to materials. They differ in that new houses are situated in expanding neighborhoods, have heating facilities, bathrooms, and rooms are better distributed.

House furnishings are very plain and usually consist of the bare essentials. A cheap bedroom set in Barcelona, new, sells for about 2,000 pesetas.

Attached are photographs showing apartment buildings occupied by Barcelona workers.

c) Nutrition

No reliable information is obtainable regarding caloric intake of the average worker and his family. Conversation with labor elements gives the distinct impression that prevailing incomes are inadequate for the purchase of full essential food needs. Likewise their difficult economic condition results in an extremely monotonous and unbalanced diet, nor in the light of present and foreseeable economic conditions in Spain does the possibility of immediate improvement seem likely.

The diet of Barcelona workers consists largely of starches, soups and food fried in thick low-quality olive oil. Bread is literally the staff of life here. Most workers consume from 600 to 800 grams of bread per person daily. Breakfast generally consists of bread and beans or bread and potatoes or bread and any other food leftover from the night before. No coffee or other liquid except water usually is had for breakfast. The second meal usually is taken at home and generally consists of a hot soup with noodles or bread or green vegetables. Soup stock is obtained from boiling either meat bones or fish. Soup is followed by fried fish or a little meat.

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Low grade fish (mostly sardines) and meat are consumed in very small quantities owing to high prices in relation to purchasing power. Green vegetables are eaten boiled or fried. Rarely are uncooked greens eaten except lettuce. Tomatoes are eaten in large quantities. Fruits such as bananas and oranges are liked and eaten almost daily. Wine in moderate quantities is had for both noonday and evening meals, seldom for breakfast. The evening repast is similar to the noonday meal. Coffee and all kinds of pork sausages are a basic desire but are seldom consumed because of high cost. Bread, potatoes, lentils, beans, rice, greens, fish (sardines), lamb, low grade beef, fruits, wine, are the principal food items. Small quantities of milk are taken. Lunch is usually had at about 2:00 p.m. while supper is eaten at about 10:00 p.m.

Children eat about the same as the adults with more milk added to their diet.

d) Clothing

Despite relative poverty Barcelona workers dress well. There is no general "overalls" effect. They take pride in their appearance and every effort is made to look well clothed. Suits are purchased generally on the installment plan. Most factory workers wear dark coat, jacket and tie to work and change into work clothes at the plants. In the factories overalls, blue jeans or old clothes are worn. After work they change into street clothes. On Sundays and holidays particularly, they all wear their best clothes which compare very favorably with American suits in the middle price range. In the factories rope shoes are worn while regular leather shoes are used for street wear. A rather small segment which is engaged in out-of-door work or in construction activities wears blue jeans, overalls, old clothes or brown or black corduroy suits and rope shoes, direct to work. In summer, no socks are worn with the rope shoes while in winter, cotton socks are used. In winter, most people in Barcelona of the lower and middle income groups wear tan woaden gabardine rain-coats which serve the double purpose of protection from cold and rain. Felt hats are rarely worn in any season. Some of the out-door workers use dark blue berets. Women usually go to the factories dressed in plain dark but neat looking dresses and usually wear rope shoes or felt slippers. A relatively small group who work in offices wear inexpensive leather shoes. Women factory workers usually wear short wool coats in winter. Practically all of their dresses are home made.

Boys until the age of 10 or 12 are dressed in short pants with knees showing and wear leather shoes and cotton or wool jackets. They also use shirts somewhat similar to an American summer sports shirt with open collar. In winter they wear overcoats. Little girls dress about the same as grown women.

e) Health

Scarcely any data are available which would indicate the health condition of the Barcelona population. Lower income segments until

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after the Spanish Civil War rarely resorted to medical aid until an extremely serious illness had developed. Judging from such scarce data as are available, it seems that tuberculosis and other lung diseases account for most deaths, followed by cancer and bacterial diseases. Only a relatively small number of these cases are officially reported to the local authorities.

Insufficient data are available to measure the true impact of the social security system on the overall welfare of the lower income groups.

Several social security schemes are in effect which are managed by the State, mostly through the National Insurance Institute (Instituto Nacional de Previsión), a semi-official organization which cooperates with Spanish insurance companies and is nation-wide in scope. Many Barcelona workers object to the system because of the high percentage deducted from their overall pay (about 15 to 17 per cent in the cotton textile trade). Employers pay roughly an equal amount or slightly more. Workers get free hospital treatment and what free medicines there may be funds for. In practice, the system appears to be working fairly well with regard to childbirth and illnesses not requiring rare drugs and medicines expensive to procure.

Medical observers point out that increasing numbers in low income groups are resorting to hospitals where they receive medical attention and medicines free under Social Security. Many go there with their entire families upon the least symptom of some minor ailment for the purpose of receiving vitamin pills to make up for food inadequacies. Since large sums of money are spent in furnishing medicines free of charge, frequently funds are insufficient to provide for expensive drugs such as Aureomycine and similar medicines. Many workers have expressed a preference for private hospital assistance where by paying a small monthly fee a more personalized attention can be obtained. Although many of the social security doctors and hospitals seem to be doing everything possible to attend to the people who draw on their services, they are handicapped by insufficient facilities for so large a low income population as exists in Barcelona. Furthermore, bureaucratic procedure is cumbersome and hampers the efficacy of the service.

Some hospitals are supported mostly by charity such as that of San Juan de Dios in Barcelona city which cares for boys under 12 years of age suffering from bone ailments. A male Roman Catholic religious order supervises and operates this hospital and performs creditable work free of charge to its patients. This and all other public and charity-run hospitals are provided with the services of some of Barcelona's foremost physicians and surgeons.

The social security system in Barcelona is still too new to measure its concrete results when compared to the situation prevailing in pre-Spanish Civil War days. The health and happiness of the population would improve considerably if sufficient food of proper quality and proper medicines were to become available

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to the lower income groups. Children would benefit particularly.

f) Marriage and Family

The fundamental unit of the social structure of the group analyzed is family, kinship based on marriage. Mating and child rearing outside the regularized marriage institution is strictly taboo. Lower income society severely chastises the violation of this rule by total loss of prestige for the mother and stigma which marks the illegitimate offspring for life, legally and socially.

Kinship ties are very close throughout Catalonia and particularly so among the lower income groups in Barcelona as the quest for food and the struggle for survival in the face of economic adversity draws the family unit closely together.

Strict pre-nuptial chastity is demanded of the marriageable female. Despite the poverty of the lower income groups, the number of women who resort to prostitution is surprisingly small for a city of Barcelona's size. Tradition, pride and fear of prestige loss among neighbors account for the high moral standard.

After marriage the milieu requires complete fidelity in the full discharge of the marital vows. The slightest flirtation by a married woman carries the risk of reprimand by family and husband with risk of prestige loss for family and wife if continued. While the double standard is accepted for the single male, after marriage complete fidelity is also required by the working class wife and family. Whatever may be the reactions of women in other income groups, a worker's wife is unforgiving and intolerant of any departure from this rule by her husband and is staunchly supported by female relatives and friends. As a result, straying from the marital vows by the husband is a fairly rare occurrence and is veiled by great secrecy. Should a working class woman learn of her husband's infidelity she will continue to live with him only out of dire economic necessity. The male family relatives and friends while more tolerant, nevertheless tend to look down upon the wayward husband if they learn about his misdemeanors. However, they will continue friendly relations with him. Both men and women of this social group are extremely proud of these high moral standards. The fact that husband and wife usually have to work long hours in their efforts to overcome hardships and that the family unit must remain closely knit to exist, probably contributes greatly to this strict monogamous view. Legally, divorce is impossible in Spain, but even in the Republican era when divorce was possible, its occurrence among the lower income groups was very low.

By way of contrast, in the middle and upper income groups, a mistress is frequently maintained but this must be discreetly done else loss of prestige and face occurs as well as provoking family conflict.

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One of the most striking features of Catalan families of all social classes is the authoritarian position of the husband. He literally "sets the law in the house and enforces it". The wife and other kinsfolk may express opinion but final authority is rested in the pater familia whether meeting with approval or not. However, usually full consideration is given the family wishes and once a decision is made it must be adhered to. The family head cannot backtrack because of loss of face. This position makes compromise with the ideas of other household members impossible. This trait tends to create a social conduct that permeates the entire milieu and reproduces itself in most phases of social activity. Thus, a pattern of authoritarianism dominates the positions of responsibility and command. In practice this results in a degree of individualism bordering at times on sheer anarchism in the relations of the individual with society. This authoritarian outlook appears to yield only to the extreme of a greater authority.

Among the working classes the authoritarian position of the family head is further heightened by the usually inferior educational level of the wife. As a consequence she gladly and willingly yields to her husband's leadership. She is happy in her role and rarely aspires to challenge her husband's accepted authority. Sons and daughters mature under this influence and when they in turn establish families the son becomes the autocrat of a new social unit and the daughter willingly becomes the subservient wife of an authoritarian husband. The net result is the development to a high degree of egomania in most males, which makes it difficult for teamwork where the individual must be submerged for the good of the whole.

The selection of a wife has its practical as well as its romantic determination. Fundamentally a young Barcelona worker seeks a wife who will bear healthy children, make a home for him, and cook his meals. As he usually cannot afford to meet fully the economic demands of the married state, she must be willing to work after marriage. They usually become acquainted in neighborhood fiestas (parties) at the place of work, in social clubs, or through family connivance. Friendship ripens into engagement quite imperceptibly, somewhat in a "taken for granted" evolution. Working class novios (fiancés) quietly save their pesetas for the purchase of a bedroom set and shortly before the wedding date announce their formal engagement. At this point parents take official cognizance of the development and visit each other thus laying the foundation for the union of two family units. Since rarely can the novios look forward to having their own apartment, plans are made for living with the parents of one or the other. Single girls are not chaperoned among the lower income groups during the engagement period.

Practically all weddings must take place in a Roman Catholic Church. The bride usually wears a tailored business suit and the groom a dark business suit. After the ceremony they usually drive in a hired limousine to a photographer's shop and from there to the home of either's parents for a party or preferably a dinner attended by close family relations and friends. The honeymoon for the more

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fortunate financially generally consists of at least a week at Mallorca or if the new couple are thoroughly Catalan to Montserrat mountain. Most couples, however, cannot afford these trips and stay in Barcelona.

The number of children now born to working class families tends to be reduced to one or two as birth control is widely practiced because of financial reasons. Child rearing is strictly the mother's responsibility although both parents lavish much love and affection on their children until 3 or 4 years old. From that age on the father becomes gradually more reserved in expressing his feelings of affection and slips into the role of the family disciplinarian. Corporal punishment is frequently administered to children by both parents although the mother cuddles and protects the children from their father's pretended or real wrath. When scolding a child the mother or grandmother threatens the little one with "telling father" when he comes home. The father usually treats both son and daughter sternly. The daughter soon learns that the boy has a privileged position in the house, as she is constantly reminded that él es el hombre (he is the man). The father maintains his authority over the boys until they have returned from military service at about 20 years of age. From that time on the son's emancipation from parental rule begins. The daughters remain subject to the father's rule until married at which time direct allegiance is switched to their husbands.

Lower income groups pay for funeral arrangements during their lifetime under a funeral insurance plan. Similar care is given to the purchase of a cemetery crypt by installments. The nearest of kin usually notifies the funeral parlor where arrangements had been made during the deceased person's lifetime. Funeral attendants prepare the body for burial in the dead person's home and the body is left there in a plain black box at least overnight. An all-night watch is kept beside the body by close relatives and friends. Throughout this period of vigilance neighborhood acquaintances call on the deceased's family to pay their respects and express sorrow at the passing of the friend. Flowers in a modest way are brought. Embalming is almost never practiced. Burial usually takes place within 24 hours.

On the day of the funeral the casket is placed in an elaborate black hearse pulled by at least two black horses and driven by two attendants dressed in ~~schlitz~~ coat and top hat. Two other attendants ride on a step at the rear. The hearse proceeds first to the neighborhood Roman Catholic Church. Behind follow the male mourners and priest chanting funeral dirges. At the church the body is left in the hearse while the priests and mourners go inside for funeral services. After the services the priests bless the body and remain at the church. With the exception of male relations and close friends, other mourners depart after these services. One or two horsedrawn carriages follow the body to the cemetery, with the relations and intimate friends although sometimes they make their way to the cemetery via another route and wait for the body there. Women rarely accompany the procession to the church and cemetery.

* A coat somewhat similar to a Prince Albert coat ~~is worn~~

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There is no further religious ceremony at the cemetery. As soon as the necessary papers are signed the body is deposited in niches large enough to hold a coffin. The niches are in long walls in the cemeteries and are five or six tiers high. The mourners bid farewell to the nearest kin of the deceased and depart.

Usually the family mourns a father, mother, son or daughter for a one year period. Men and women then dress all in black and abstain from attending social functions. For a cousin or close friend men may carry a black arm-band or wear a black tie.

g) Attitude towards Law

The Barcelona proletariat appears to have a deeply ingrained respect for that law which is based on long established custom and concerns the relation between individual and individual. Not so always with regard to laws which define relations between the individual and society. Should this type of law interfere with personal comfort and interests it will be disregarded unless backed by power.

Civic responsibility among the lower income groups with regard to measures which favor the common welfare is considerably underdeveloped. The concept of the brotherhood of man and of the "sumum bonum" is not understood. Personal, family, clan, and group interests in order named come first. Unselfish sacrifice in favor of the community is looked upon as an admirable but foolish action. Owing to the highly emotional nature of the group analyzed, it has been possible in the past for demagogues to whip this class into a frenzy and carry them temporarily to extremes of personal sacrifice on behalf of issues not usually clearly understood by them but believed to be of benefit economically. A sustained effort involving personal sacrifice in behalf of the public weal and based on principles per se, has been rare in the history of the Barcelona working class.

In short the lower income groups do not substitute a well disciplined class where love of order and law dominates the social outlook. As long as law does not cause personal inconvenience it will be observed. If the law is not sanctioned by customs or as soon as personal interests suffer, immediate circumvention is attempted unless prevented by superior force.

h) Recreation

The pater familia worker is generally very much of a family man. Most evenings after work he stays with his family. A relatively small proportion, however, patronizes a neighborhood cafe after supper for the purpose of having a cup of coffee and for card or domino playing. This practice occurs particularly on Sundays and holidays. In these cases money stakes, if any, are very low.

Trade unionism played an extremely important role in the lives of Barcelona workers before the Spanish Civil War of 1936-9 and during this conflict they supplied most of the Republic's troops.

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Practically all Barcelona workers belonged to either the Socialist UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores) or the Anarcho-Syndicalist (CNT-Confederación Nacional del Trabajo). Almost daily evening gatherings took place at the trade unions' halls for cultural, political or recreational purposes. The present Regime's victory in 1939 resulted in the suppression of all free trade unions and the organizations of State controlled vertical unions composed of both employers and workers with a section for each group. Very few workers visit the Government Syndicates for recreational or other purposes.

A limited number of companies have established company social clubs which are gradually proving popular. There are also some 15 or more workers' consumer cooperatives which now serve mostly for cultural and recreational ends. The largest cooperative in Barcelona has between 3,000 and 4,000 members.

The wife and daughters rarely go out of the house during leisure times except for occasional window-shopping in the afternoon. About once a week the whole family goes to the motion pictures at night. Motion pictures are favored by all classes of Catalans as the favorite form of evening entertainment. Bachelors go frequently to neighborhood cafes or patronize inexpensive salones de baile (dance halls). These dance halls are not generally staffed by professional hostesses. They are distinct from cheap night clubs in that in the salones de baile the atmosphere is usually moral and somewhat like a private club. Many working class girls go to them in groups for a glass of vermouth or sherry and the opportunity of meeting young men of their social class. Men are charged 8 or 10 pesetas each for admission and the girls 2 or 3 pesetas each.

The outstanding event of the year is the Fiesta Mayor. These neighborhood affairs last about 5 days. Throughout the year all of Barcelona's working class neighborhoods accumulate through voluntary donations from all neighbors a sizeable sum. On the neighborhood's patron saint day the fiesta starts. All of the streets in the area where the fiesta is held are greatly decorated and vie with each other for a prize given by the Mayor of Barcelona. Orchestras are hired for all five days to play in the gaily lighted streets. The orchestras begin to play at about 10.30 P.M. and continue until about 3:00 A.M. During most of the day a loudspeaker blares forth an endless succession of dance records of all kinds of Spanish and foreign music. Almost literally no one in the general area can get much sleep for these five days. Even the children are kept awake. Hundreds of couples dance in the streets. Elderly folks sit in front of their homes while children romp around them. The Fiesta Mayor is eagerly awaited by the single folks as a carnival atmosphere prevails and many a permanent romance has its origin during this period.

Often there are stands selling churros (a pastry made from batter fried in oil), candy, sandwiches, toys and household goods. Sometimes there is a merry-go-round, a house of mystery, shooting, galleries, games of chance, and other amusements.

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In the field of sports soccer football is a great favorite and thousands of men go to the Sunday games. There also are many neighborhood soccer teams which play in sand-lots on Sundays. The season for football is late fall, winter and early spring. In summer the same enthusiasm exists for bull-fighting. Wrestling, boxing and Jai Alai matches are held several times a week during most of the year and they are well attended by all social classes. As occurs with football matches only a very small number of women attend.

The preferred warm weather pastime is an all day outing in the country or to a beach on Sundays and holidays. In summer Catalan roads are much filled with bicycles (including many tandems), tartanas (2 wheel horsedrawn canvas-covered wagons), and overcrowded busses or trucks. Likewise trains and every means of transportation are jammed with people leaving the city. Many families take tents to the beaches in which to protect themselves from the sun and to change clothes and eat in.

Children under 10 or 11 play games in the parks, streets, schools and homes very similar to those of children in the United States. Catalan and Spanish singing games are popular. Hop scotch, marble playing, cops-and-robbers, hide-and-go-seek and rubber ball games are played and liked as much as in the United States. Children of all ages are fond of balloons, and of riding on bicycles and scooters which are usually rented for a very small fee in parks. Merry-go-rounds and amusement park activities are great favorites. Seeing the animals in the Barcelona zoo always provides a great thrill for the children. In the Parque de la Ciudadela (Fortress Park) there is a small train, winding in and out through part of the park with three minute rides at one peseta each, which is very popular. Toys of Spanish manufacture are very similar to those made in the United States and hold the same attraction for Catalan children that toys do the world over for the youngsters. Working class children, however, have relatively few toys of their own because of their parents' poverty and therefore what they do have is dearly cherished. The great day of the year for toys is the Feast of Epiphany (January 6) in commemoration of the "Three Kings" who visited the child Christ in the stable. Christmas is essentially a religious holiday here and no toys or gifts are exchanged on that day among the great mass of workers. A great source of Christmas joy to Catalan children and grown-ups is the setting up of a Belén (miniature Nativity scene or "crèche"). The Belén takes the place in Catalan hearts that the Yuletide tree does in ours.

Another source of great delight for Barcelona's children is a great procession which takes place in the evening before Epiphany when the Tres Reis (Three Kings in Catalan) enter Barcelona and parade around the city. This procession ends at about 3:00 A.M. at the San Juan de Dios Hospital (for children suffering from bone diseases) when the "Three Kings", under the auspices of the Barcelona traffic police, enter the hospital and distribute toys and hard candy.

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On certain religious feast days such as Corpus Christi, the Gog and Magog of the Middle Ages (Giants and Big Heads) parade around Barcelona followed by a band playing religious music and by many faithful. The children thoroughly enjoy the bouncing activities of these Gigantes y Cabezudos.

1) Music - La Sardana - Art

Catalans as a whole are a musically minded people. They enjoy the singing of choral groups, particularly of Spanish and Catalan Christmas songs and of Catalan folk music. Numerous workers choral groups parade throughout Barcelona the night before Easter Sunday. They stop and sing before apartment houses and collect donations which eventually are spent in an outing to the country. They wear Catalan baratinas (red liberty caps) and the custom is called Caramellas. Popular dance music such as fox-trots, samba, rhumbas and other types of Cuban music, waltzes, tangoes and Spanish pasodobles are well liked.

Frequently at home parties Catalan and Spanish nursery rhymes are played on a borrowed phonograph or sung by the party goers, with folks of all ages participating in the dancing and singing games, like those played in kindergarten.

Catalans enjoy dancing, and dance well. Folk music from other parts of Spain, such as flamencos from Andalucia, is not particularly liked. Workers dance in the previously described Salones de baile, in the streets during Fiesta Mayor days, and in private homes. The working classes care very little for classic music.

The Sardana is the great dance of the Barcelona lower income groups and it is danced with exceptional gravity. Morera, who after Pep Ventura, was the greatest Catalan Sardana composer, said that "The Sardana is a Dance, a Hymn, a Song: it is Catalonia". The feeling of the Catalans for their folk dance was expressed well by Juan Maragall, the "Sardana poet". He described it in Catalan as "La Sardana és la dansa més bella de totes les danses que es fan i es desfan" (The Sardana is the loveliest dance of all dances which have been made or are to be made). Originally, the Sardana was a religious dance with an origin lost in antiquity. Pep Ventura, a tailor's apprentice, who was born in Alcalá la Real (Province of Jaén) in 1817 but who was brought to Rosas in Gerona province as an infant was responsible for the Sardana's present form and popularity.

The close identification of the Catalans with the Sardana has rendered it from time to time politically unpalatable to the Madrid Governments. After the last Spanish Civil War (1936-39) the playing and dancing of the Sardana was forbidden by the Government but for the past few years this restriction has been lifted. In General Primo de Rivera's era, after World War I, the law required that the Sardana be danced only if someone stood in the middle of the dancing circle with a Spanish flag aloft. This was

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to show that no disrespect to Spain or its king was intended.

The Sardana can be danced by any number of people who form a ring by clasping hands. It is correct etiquette for anyone to break into a dancing circle. The music is at times grave and low and sometimes fast and cheerful at which point the arms are raised higher. Everyone hops up and down, first in one direction and then in another, in perfect rhythm. The exact timing of the steps is achieved by all dancers counting their steps while performing the intricate footwork. No one smiles or talks. They are too intent on counting the steps.

In Barcelona the Sardana is danced in certain streets and squares on Sundays and specified days. During Fiesta Mayor festivities there is always present a Cobla or Sardana orchestra.

A cobla consists of 10 players. One player has at his elbow a small drum and in his hand an equally small wind instrument with three holes known as a flaviol. This player announces the start of the dance and keeps time with anapaestic taps. There are also four wood wind instruments, four brass wind instruments and a double bass. One instrument is the tenora which has a particular value in the open air. From this odd assortment of instruments extremely captivating music is produced somewhat reminiscent of Elizabethan tunes.

The Barcelona working classes seem very little interested in painting and related art. Perhaps the poverty factor is an important cause for this apathy as there have been many excellent artists coming from the ranks of the middle and upper income groups.

j) Education

The public educational system in Spain is not fully integrated on an end-to-end basis. It is not a system which begins at the kindergarten or first grade level and ends at the University. Integration is begun at the secondary school level. Most primary schools are dependent largely on the individual teacher for study plans and objectives. By public schools are meant those which are supported by the national or city Governments. No free parochial schools are run by the Catholic Church in Barcelona although there are several free schools in this city operated by religious orders but not connected with a specific parish church.

Learning by rote is the prevailing technique at all levels of teaching. Most teachers are familiar with intelligence and placement tests but these measures are little used. Only one public school in Barcelona uses the Ballard Tests. Vocational guidance is very limited.

Many elementary public schools have only three broad categories or grades for pupils between the ages of 6 and 14. An elementary grade is for children ages 6 to 10, an intermediate grade for children 11 and 12 years old and a higher grade for ages 13 and 14. A number of better organized schools have six grades of which the first corresponds to ages 6 to 8, the second grade to ages 9 and 10, the

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third grade to age 11, and so on through the sixth grade which corresponds to age 14. In these schools pupils have different teachers as they move upward from grade to grade. Private primary schools are operated mostly by Catholic religious orders with each school having its own study plans. All schools in Spain with rare exceptions must have classes in religion by Catholic priests or laymen. Boys and girls are grouped in separate classes in public schools, about 40 to 50 per classroom.

Spanish legislation covering primary education affects mostly the selection, education and pay of teachers and does not deal with elementary school programs.

Text books are not furnished free in the public schools. Usually a one volume "encyclopedia" type of book which costs about 26 pesetas is used for each grade. These books have a section on each one of the subjects studied. Separate text books for each subject in the public schools are not used because most pupils cannot afford to buy them.

Secondary schools follow a plan of study which is uniform for all Spain. Both public and private schools follow this plan and at the end of seven years students take a Government examination covering the full period. If they pass they become "bachilleres" and are eligible for higher education. Most secondary students begin at the age 10 in private schools and graduate at the age of 17.

Since this report is concerned with the Barcelona working class, education is stressed as it affects this group.

A large number of children abandon school between the ages of 12 and 14 to go to work in order to help support their families. Many of these who have reached the age of 14 continue for a year or two in Government night schools. However, standards and programs in these evening centers are at about the same level as the day primary schools. Some vocational training is provided.

The net result of the public school system in Barcelona is that illiteracy is almost non-existent among the Barcelona born. However, little more than reading, writing and arithmetic is learned with a meager smattering of natural and physical science, geography, history, grammar and religion.

Relatively few workers' children go beyond the primary school stage in Barcelona. Most children remain in school till at least 12 years old, although legally they should remain until 14. Public primary schools are not geared to secondary school requirements. They function as centers of terminal education or as a basis for future vocational school work. A minimum preparation is obtained in the public elementary schools for entry into trade, industrial and commercial schools where specialized training can be obtained.

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The number of public elementary schools plus private schools in Barcelona is not sufficient in number to meet the needs of the City. In 1947-48 there were in Barcelona 721 public elementary schools and 434 private schools. There were also enough teachers properly to staff these schools but teaching levels appear low when compared to those in France, for example. Primary public school teachers earn roughly between 340 and 1200 pesetas per month. They also receive either the use of quarters or a rent allowance of 500 pesetas per month. This income is augmented by an illegal charge of 10 to 15 pesetas per pupil in the public schools paid by the parents. One of the great needs in Barcelona is for lunch rooms with free meals for the young children who go to the public schools. It is a great hardship for most working class families to take their children to school and bring them home twice daily. The parents generally do not have enough time during lunch hours to attend to the young children and return to work on time. The city Government operates effectively several very good school kitchens but they are wholly inadequate to meet full demands. The national Government has only a few schools equipped for this service.

In 1947-48 there were 79,432 boys and girls from the ages 6 to 12 registered in public and private schools in Barcelona of which 20,837 were in public schools. There are no data on the number of workers' children attending private schools. In the same year, of both sexes, there were 1,275 students in normal schools, 18,349 in public secondary schools, 10,109 in schools of commerce, 1,512 in industrial training schools, and 4,132 in trade schools, making a total of 35,377. More pupils do not continue studying in vocational training centers principally because of need to help support their families or owing to weak primary education.

An interesting aspect of educational trends in Barcelona is the large proportion of girls now attending elementary schools. Of the 79,432 pupils registered in Barcelona schools in 1947-48, some 42,950 were girls and 36,482 were boys. However, this trend is reversed in the post-primary school stage. Of the total 35,377 students in 1947-48 in normal schools, public secondary schools, schools of commerce, industrial training centers and trade schools only 9,473 were girls and 25,904 were boys. At the University level the percentage of women registered is very small compared to that of men.

In Barcelona in 1947-48 there were only 1,322 adults in elementary schools (mostly night-schools) of which 872 were women and 450 were men.

Table 1, attached, shows the total number of elementary schools and teachers in 1940-41 and 1947-48 in Barcelona, Madrid and all of Spain. Table 2, attached, shows the number of pupils ages 6 to 12, in Barcelona, Madrid and all of Spain in 1947-48. Table 3, attached, shows the number of adults in schools in 1947-48 in Barcelona, Madrid and all of Spain. Table 4, attached, shows the number of students by sex registered in 1947-48 in post-elementary schools in Barcelona, Madrid and all of Spain.

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The attitude of the Barcelona workers towards education is not entirely clear with regard to type of learning desired. Generally speaking, they want their children to become better educated than themselves on the assumption that this will enable the new generation to earn a more substantial living. However, there is little notion of whether education should offer opportunities for training in the trades, professions or simply a broad cultural basis. Their attitude can be summed up briefly in that they "just want more schooling" for the children. Suspicion of "booklearning" is totally absent.

Reading speed and habits of the Barcelona workers are very poor owing to weak grammar school preparation, lack of free lending libraries and limited post-school reading experience. Furthermore, books are a luxury that few workers can afford in view of the relative high cost of minimum living essentials.

Probably the most important educational vehicle available to workers is the movies. Notions of how other people live, of living standards elsewhere, historical events, and a review of the gamut of human emotion and experience is obtained from the movies. If the Barcelona workers could afford it they would attend the movies every day.

Newspapers are widely read and contribute greatly toward the formation of ideas and concepts of events here and abroad, despite the workers' knowledge that news is all censored.

k) Religion

A thoroughly objective analysis of Barcelona working class attitudes towards religion and of religion's role in their lives is impossible because of paucity of tangible data on the subject. The comments included herein are based almost entirely on subjective judgment. Conversations with many Barcelonese of the various social and economic groups, and with clergymen of the Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths are the principal sources on which these views are founded.

The intimate association of over one thousand years of the Spanish State and Catholicism and the success of the Counter-Reformation in preserving Spain from Luther's influence has resulted in a de facto situation and psychological approach probably unique in modern European history. Today, Catalans whose parents are Catholics must be baptized in this faith else serious difficulty is encountered in obtaining food ration cards, entering schools, marrying, and in participating in sundry other activities during their lifetimes. Thus, the premise may be correctly established that practically all Spaniards whose parents are Roman Catholic must also follow this faith. However, Spaniards whose parents are Moslems, Jewish, Protestant or of any other faith do not require Catholic baptism in order to obtain the aforementioned facilities.

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From the cradle to death almost all Catalan workers are reared and matured in an environment where the only contact with religion is Catholic. Since all children are exposed from early school till at least the age of 12 or 13 to Catholic religious instructions, the impact of this training leaves on their minds an imprint which is deeply imbedded for life. This fact probably provides the explanation of why Catalan workers may become anarchists, communists, freemasons or embrace anti-Catholic causes but will only rarely accept another religious faith. As Spaniards themselves are fond of saying, Los Españoles son Católicos o nada (Spaniards are Catholics or nothing).

As the Catholic Church in Spain is also a social and collectivistic force amply backed by civil power, at no time can a Barcelona worker ignore it entirely. A procession passing through a worker's neighborhood, periodic religious holidays, the need of the baptismal certificate from time to time, all create an atmosphere which help renew his childhood religious psychic experiences and gradually develop a fear of a "mysterious unknown" which prevents cutting out the feeling for Catholicism entirely from the ego. El por si acaso (the just in case) lurks always in the Catalan's mind and prevents him from closing the doors to Catholicism irrevocably. Furthermore, Catalans are accustomed to thinking in terms of absolute categories which makes them instinctively disposed towards a religion where dogma and liturgy are clearly defined.

Custom also helps keep religion before the people. Most workers' children receive Holy Communion at about the age of 7 regardless of whether the parents are "apathetic" or "good" Catholics, chiefly as a matter of tradition. New clothes are bought the children for this event. Little holy pictures printed on the back with the child's name and date of event are distributed to relations and friends who make a small money gift in return. After the church service all of the relatives and close family friends gather at the parents' home and have chocolate and cake in honor of the occasion.

Most Barcelona male workers during maturity are apathetic towards active religious practice and frequently voice complaints about the Spanish clergy's disinterest in their material welfare, and the clergy's close association with the State and wealthy groups. Women workers usually are a little more openly religious than the men. Church services on Sunday are attended mostly by women with comparatively few men present. A careful analysis of this attitude appears to reveal an anti-clerical feeling as responsible for this spathy rather than anti-Catholicism. A question of dogma is seldom challenged by a worker.

Workers just do not feel that the clergy belongs to the people, particularly most of the Church hierarchy. Should the Spanish clergy ever effectively assist the Barcelona lower income groups in obtaining substantial improvements in their standard of living, and in making sound and practical education available to the workers' children, the Barcelona proletariat would probably become the staunch Catholic bulwark it was in most of the nineteenth century. The Spanish clergy failed to grasp the social implications involved when

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Barcelona's industrialization began and gradually fell into the position it now occupies. Catalonia's intense Catholicism was the principal reason for its rejecting Napoleon's tempting offers during the Peninsular War and its fighting bravely and well for Spain. The clergy at that time was close to the people and shared in their trials and sufferings.

6. BARCELONA WORKERS' IMPRESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

To the Barcelona working classes the United States is literally a marvellous paradise where everything is available, anything is possible, where absolute freedom exists and where a happy life awaits the immigrant. The concept they have of the United States is so lofty that very few workers can adequately express their impression. If a worker is told that an incredible invention has been made in the United States he will believe it without question, as he will almost anything else heard about the United States.

These impressions, however, are essentially vague. Specific knowledge of the American way of life is absent. Beyond what is learned from seeing American motion pictures, from returning visitors and from the U.S.I.E. efforts, scarcely further knowledge of the United States exists.

Americans are liked by the Barcelona workers. Rarely is a critical word heard about the American way of life. They believe Americans to be rich, generous, and energetic. They also believe, however, that Americans collectively are immature politically, and that they are too naive to cope with the "double dealing" Europeans. However, they hope that the United States will preserve its honesty of purpose and approach, and will not become like the European "connivers".

There is an intense interest in everything American. A great desire exists to learn more about our country and its manner of being, in the hope that perhaps Spain may some day adopt some of our ways and thus afford Barcelona workers a better and happier life. Frequently, Barcelona workers tell Americans that they wish Spain were more like the United States. Furthermore, many Catalans of all social classes like to be referred to as the "Yankees of Spain".

7. OTHER COMMENTS

Most of the character traits of the Barcelona lower income groups are self evident from the study made herein. They are a sturdy, spirited, thrifty, tenacious and hardworking people. They are generally an unsmiling and sober element having a great deal of reserve in dealings with one another. At first to the foreigner they appear somewhat unfriendly since they lack the vivacity of the Andalus or the free flowing speech habits of the Castilian. Indeed, they are careful with regard to whom friendship is offered.

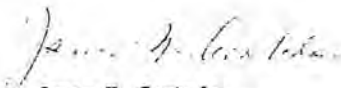
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The Barcelona workers are not happy with their present lot. They want to earn more money with which to improve their scanty diet. They like to work hard and they want to have something to show for it. They want to be able to buy sufficient and proper clothing for their families and to afford outings to the country on holidays. They want good schooling for their children and a better chance for them than they have had. In short, they want to improve their standard of living.

At present they are a dissatisfied group and they entertain little hope of improvement in the near future. Their long term political feelings will be determined by whatever elements convince them that they have the answer to their problems. "Isms" as pure political ideology mean little to the Barcelona workers. However, they have deep resentment against upper income groups and a feeling exists of "Cut the rich down to our level", although this antagonism is directed chiefly against newly rich and to a lesser extent against the older established elements. The extent to which this basic attitude will persist is contingent largely on what material benefits will reach them in the future and from where.



James H. Certada
Consular Attaché, (Commercial).

Attachments:

- 1. a) Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 *mat*
- 1. b) Photographs of Barcelona City (2 sets; 1 for the Embassy and 1 for the Department)
- 1. c) Map of Spain (2 maps; 1 for the Embassy and 1 for the Department)
- 1. d) List of Reference Material *mat*

*The Post requested death
to Mr F.S. Hopkins FSI*

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REPLY: ~~REPLY:~~

Barcelona, May 16, 1951

NOTES ON THE BACKGROUND AND LIFE OF BARCELONA'S
LOWER INCOME GROUPS

(By James N. Cortada, Consular Attaché, Commercial)

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8. Attachments:	
a) Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4	
b) Photographs of Barcelona City (2 sets: 1 Embassy, 1 Depart.)	
c) Map of Spain (2 maps: 1 Embassy, 1 Department)	
d) List of Reference Material	

TABLE 1
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION - NUMBER SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

	1940 - 41			1947 - 48		
	<u>Barcelona</u>	<u>Madrid</u>	<u>All Spain</u>	<u>Barcelona</u>	<u>Madrid</u>	<u>All Spain</u>
Elementary Public Schools	212	215	44,415	721	1,485	55,111
Elementary Public School Teachers	627	1,160	51,063	776	1,381	55,833
Elementary Private Schools	Not Available			434	443	5,170
Elementary Private School Teachers	Not Available			1,245	1,614	20,036
	-	-	-	3,176	4,923	136,150

Source: Anuario Estadístico de España 1943 and 1949.

Table 2SPANISH POPULATION - Total of PUPILS (1) - 1947-48

				<u>Barcelona Registered</u>			<u>Madrid Registered</u>		
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
Spain's school age population.	2,121,958	2,099,430	4,221,438	-	-	-	-	-	-
Public Schools.	-	-	-	8,346	12,491	20,837	31,366	31,188	63,054
Private Schools.	-	-	-	28,136	30,459	58,595	27,790	34,473	62,263
TOTALS.				36,482	42,950	79,432	59,656	65,661	125,317

(1) Ages 6 - 12

Source: Anuario Estadístico de España 1949.

Total Population of Spain.	28,286,518
Total Population of Barcelona. ...	1,285,920
Total Population of Madrid.	1,511,695

TABLE 3
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION - NUMBER OF ADULTS - 1947-48
(Public Night Schools Mostly)

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Barcelona.	450	872	1,322
Madrid.	13,250	625	13,875
All Spain.	376,407	9,622	386,029

Source: Anuario Estadístico de España, 1949

TABLE 4POST ELEMENTARY EDUCATION - REGISTERED IN SELECTED TYPE OF SCHOOLS 1947-48

	<u>Barcelona</u>			<u>Madrid</u>			<u>All Spain</u>		
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
Normal Schools.	221	1,054	1,275	459	1,432	1,891	6,596	17,575	24,171
Secondary Schools (Public).	11,929	6,420	18,349	23,355	13,106	36,461	137,891	74,319	212,210
Schools of Commerce.	8,253	1,856	10,109	3,571	1,389	4,960	45,248	14,807	60,055
Schools for Industrial Training (1).	1,506	6	1,512	1,330	3	1,333	9,432	34	9,466
Trade Schools.	<u>3,995</u>	<u>137</u>	<u>4,132</u>	<u>525</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>525</u>	<u>16,017</u>	<u>1,952</u>	<u>17,969</u>
TOTALS.	<u>25,804</u>	<u>9,473</u>	<u>35,277</u>	<u>29,240</u>	<u>15,930</u>	<u>45,170</u>	<u>215,184</u>	<u>108,687</u>	<u>323,871</u>

(1) Escuelas de Peritos Industriales.

Source: Anuario Estadístico de España 1949.

REMARKS: ~~RESERVED~~

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