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Number 2

THE SPANISH DIASPORA:
THE ENDURING UNITY OF HISPANIC CULTURE

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It would be impossible to review even the essential data relating to Spanish emigration from the end of the XVth century down to the last quarter of the XXth century.¹ It would be equally impossible to ignore the characteristics of the spread of Spanish culture, a diffusion both in time and in space. What is understood by "Hispanic culture," in all its unity and diversity, is something of course that should be defined, to avoid ambiguity and confusion.

To digress for a moment, however, if one consults bibliographies such as the Subject Guide to Books in Print for 1976, and looks under the heading of "Latin America," the result is surprising. One finds accounts of voyages and books on pre-Columbian America, as well as economic, demographic, linguistic, political, literary, historiographic, folkloristic, geographical and statistical studies, but almost no global evaluation of the Spanish culture, using the full anthropological sense of the world "culture." Under the heading of "Civilization" ("Culture" is not expressly listed in the Guide), one finds work devoted to the plastic arts and to cultural history -- that is to say, to the history of the "superior" forms of culture: literature, philosophy, painting, music, etc. -- and a limited number of anthropologic descriptions or interpretations of culture. Among these, the work of Charles Wagley, Tradition: Essays on the Unity and the Diversity of Latin American Culture (1968), is noteworthy. However, all the authors of such essays have deliberately limited their field of study in Latin America. "Latin America" actually only exists for the convenience of researchers and writers! It is, in fact, a collection of twenty individual political entities, which are considered together because they happen to occupy that part of the American continent situated to the south of the United States.

Even Latin American geographical unity is open to discussion: the Caribbean, the La Plata region and the Andean countries are far from one another; and their ecologies, populations, and respective cultures differ widely. If one intends to consider the Latin American cultures as a group, it is necessary to enlarge the circle by examining the source, Spain. It is not sufficient nor is it legitimate to study Latin American culture emphasizing the present geographical and political demarcations. Hispanic culture today no longer coincides with political borders. The Hispanic diaspora goes beyond frontiers; it emanated not only from Spain, but also from that part of the American continent called "Latin." To arrive at a valid description

of Hispanic culture it is necessary to examine all the human groups which form the entity of "Hispanic culture" in Western Europe, Asia, Africa and in both Latin and Anglo-America.

Hispanic culture presented original characteristics at the time when, with the sephardic diaspora, massive emigration from the Iberian peninsula began. In comparison with both French and English culture of the same period, the syncretism which constituted the beginnings of modern Hispanic culture was more recent. It was a culture still in gestation, marked by wide regional diversity, which had been carried towards Salonika and Constantinople by sephardic Jews, towards Rabat or Oran by the Moriscos, towards the West Indies and then to continental America by the conquistadores (from Estremadura, Andalusia, the Basque country and Castille) and ultimately to the Philippines. In less than a century, from 1492 to 1565, medieval Spanish culture, which had been only briefly exposed to Renaissance humanism, was introduced on three continents: America, Africa and Asia. At least three centuries of Spanish domination of a large part of America and the Philippines, marked by an attempt at the hispanization of the culture (by means of Catholic missions, Indian high schools and universities) and by successive waves of emigration -- which have continued for more than a century since the former American possessions gained their independence from Spain -- have resulted in the predominance of "Spanishness" until today. (The Philippine Islands might be regarded as an exception to this sweeping assertion.) Political evidence of this predominance can be seen in the fact that, though the relative importance of the Spanish language in Europe has declined, Spanish is still considered today as one of the major diplomatic languages by the United Nations.

The Spanish *koinè* is not the only touchstone for Hispanic culture. One could say that Oran, in Algeria, is a province which combines French language and Spanish culture. The very restricted definition of "Hispanidad" favored by the Spanish traditionalists in the XIXth and in the beginning of the XXth century must be expanded. Catholicism and the "official" Spanish language, Castilian, are not sufficient, or even pertinent criteria for defining Hispanic culture as it exists today in the various areas of the Hispanic diaspora.

Valencians in Algeria, Basques in Venezuela, Catalonians and Galicians in Argentina do not speak Castilian as their mother tongue, nor would they use it in family or business situations in many cases; however, no one would deny their being a part of Hispanic culture. Some cases are more complicated: Can the Arabs of Oran and the Chinese in the Philippines who have adopted Spanish as a means of communication really be described as Hispanic? Can bilingual Paraguayans, speaking Guarani and Spanish, really be

thought of as representatives of Hispanic culture? And what should be said of the Chicanos in California who assert their hispanidad? These few examples indicate the need for a wider, more flexible definition of Hispanic culture.

A brief consideration of the other traditional criterion for defining Hispanic culture, the Catholic religion, shows that it too, must be rejected. It would be impossible to deny a place in Hispanic culture to all the agnostic intellectuals who have been the glory of Hispanic culture since the end of the XVIIIth century. Because of their numbers, their names cannot be listed here. In Spain, as in America, the positivists, communists, anarchists, etc., of modern times have expressed their convictions in pure Hispanic style. At the same time, the "Christianity" of many ethnic groups -- whether it be among American Indians or the Tagalog of Luzon -- is often as far removed from orthodox Catholicism as it is from the original form of Spanish Catholicism. There are non-Catholic social and ethnic groups which are obviously Hispanic, as well as Catholic, whose link with Hispanic culture appears tenuous, even though they were converted by Spanish missionaries.

This indicates how inadequate are the notion of "national culture," as defined by Edward Sapir,² and the concept of "vital attitude" (*vividura*), as defined by Americo Castro. In fact, Hispanic culture includes the national diversity of Spain; the nineteen nations in America whose official language is Spanish; and the ethnic minorities of European Hispanic origin who survive in Africa and in Asia. Thus Hispanic culture is international, or, rather, it is supra-national. The attempt of modern historians -- such as Americo Castro³ -- to define the Spanish "national character," as the unaltered product of a syncretism between three medieval faiths (Christianity, Islam, and Judaism) must be discarded. The regional diversity within the Peninsula and the evolution of modern societies disqualify this concept from serious consideration. Nations have resisted following Spanish footsteps and have attempted to grasp "la argentinidad," "la mexicanidad," "la peruanidad," etc. These apparent centrifugal efforts by each Hispanic nation to define and to distinguish itself from the others are common to all Hispanic societies. They constitute an original feature of Hispanic culture, particularly when contrasted with other western European cultures, with the exception of Italy.⁴ The resemblance between the "italianita" of Mussolini and the traditional Spanish "hispanidad,"⁵ the legacy of the myth of the Roman Empire following a resurgence in the period of Humanism, is largely forgotten, but it is still liable occasionally to fascist transformations.

Comparing Hispanic culture with the Euro-Atlantic cultures, modern Spain has experienced a deferred "mey." Japan was ready to adopt modern European technology before Spain was, undoubtedly

because the secularization of values was obstructed in Spain until the 1960s. In this respect, Spain has remained closer to the Islamic countries (with the important exception of the Turkey of Ataturk), than to the countries of the old Holy Roman Empire, to which Spain, as a southern frontier province, belonged only in part.

As these observations have shown, Hispanic culture occupies a place apart from the various modern cultures which stemmed from the ancient Mediterranean world and from the disaggregation of the Holy Roman Empire.

Spanish culture cannot be defined solely in terms of the characteristics which distinguish it from its sister-cultures, the neo-Latin ones in particular. Nor can it be defined using what many modern historians, economists, and sociologists have labelled the "blemishes" of the Hispanic world: indifference, inertia, backwardness, political convulsions, etc. This kind of judgment implies -- usually without being more explicit -- a reference to a universal standard of civilization.⁶

Thus cultural anthropology cannot be normative; it is not axiomatic. Cultural anthropology is a monadology. This reference to Leibnitz's philosophy does not imply total homology. There are relationships and reciprocal influences between cultures. Hispanic culture is notable for its age-old multiplicity of contacts with heterogeneous cultures: Arab, Berber, Amerindian, African, Negro, Eurasian, and more recently, Anglo-Saxon. Nonetheless, Hispanic culture must be considered a monad, an entity having its raison d'être within itself, endowed with its own structure and set in motion by operative mechanisms which ensure its survival. This paramount end, common to every culture, implies its adaptation to its natural human milieu and its physical and cultural protection when faced by influences or aggressions from different cultures. Adaptation and protection require both conservation of a common cultural heritage as well as cultural evolution (the selective borrowing of technical, ideological and linguistic notions). Evolution, usually a slow process, may require sudden change to insure the survival of the group. This explains the apparently contradictory, but actually organically complementary, binomial: continuity and change, i.e., la tarte a la crème (Molière) -- used by social anthropologists in the last fifteen years. Hispanic culture has survived because it has changed. But by changing, can it still be said to be itself? Here we confront an aporia similar to the "self and the other" in Plato's dialogues, but an aporia that is not insurmountable, any more than it was in Plato.

Let me now make clearer the perspective of culture I wish to present. Hispanic culture is not a retarded or deviant western culture. Nor is it the frozen product of a supposed national

character, racial or traditional. Superficial definitions which limit culture to literary, philosophical, or artistic manifestations, or which use the official language and religion as their only criteria also must be discarded. By making a clear sweep of these preconceptions and with both the prudence and imagination necessary to our task, we will try to present Hispanic culture in its unity and its diversity.

The Hispanic equation -- to use a mathematical expression -- contains a number of variables. With the development of what we have called the "Hispanic diaspora" (by analogy with the capacity for resistance of Jewish culture, and also because, historically speaking, the second great Jewish diaspora began from Spain), the number of variables has grown almost infinitely in time and in space. As long as both sides of the equation have a constant value, balance is maintained. If balance is lost -- and here we are not speaking of technological backwardness or political decline -- a culture disintegrates.

There is a Hispanic socio-cultural system, an "Hispanic order," which is understandable as soon as we stop considering it a priori as a form of disorder, the standpoint taken by certain sociologists who have tried to analyze the political phenomena of Spanish America.⁷ The implicit recognition of the right of various Spanish societies to be different forces the historian or the anthropologist to invent methods appropriate to his object. Some of the existing tools can be used, but in most cases they need to be adapted and refined. This does not suggest that Hispanic society eludes all the means of investigation applicable to other societies. Rather it has its distinctive character due to the particular configuration of its power and social relationships.

The study of corrélations culturelles, as defined by Brunschvig and which Grunebaum used in examining Islamic culture, can be helpful in understanding Hispanic culture.⁸ Both these cultures are founded on a credo. In comparison with more industrialized and urbanized western cultures, they are characterized by a general absence of laicization of epistemological criteria and by the importance of religious feeling -- if not of religion, itself -- in the individual consciousness.

Oscar Lewis has pointed out the inadequacy of Redfield's analyses of the socio-cultural situation of a Mexican village subject to Hispanization since the XVI century.⁹ Weber's methods are similarly unsatisfactory;¹⁰ they fail to take the diversity of Spanish culture into account. For example, the financial and business aptitudes of Basques and Catalonians -- who are no less Catholic than the Castellians -- yield nothing to German Protestants. Therefore the hypotheses and the theories elaborated by the

masters of modern sociology and cultural anthropology for studying German and Anglo-Saxon societies and cultures must be abandoned. Instead, it is the tools used by specialists of the Islamic world that are most useful for defining Spanish culture. This does not imply a return to the old story of a Spain who was a stranger in Europe and whose culture could be explained almost entirely by Arab conquests in the past.

Hispanic culture presented numerous important characteristics before its diffusion throughout the world by the Catholic missions, colonial conquests, and successive waves of emigration labelled here as the diáspora. Its most remarkable characteristic was the coexistence of a large number of ethnic groups with heterogeneous cultural traditions in the Iberian peninsula: Celts and Basques in the Cantabrian north; Visigoths in the greater part of the Peninsula; Roman Andalusians in the south; Berbers in the rural Extremadura; and in Aragon, Arabs in the cities, Slavs in the Levant, and of course, the ancient Iberian substratum. It is possible that the romanized Visigoth tradition dominated the Kingdom of Leon. From the 15th century onward, a christianized version of that culture became the tradition of Christian Spain. The myth of the Reconquest -- a tremendous historiographic simplification -- must not hide the fact that Spain was a polycultural, intensely cosmopolitan society from the time of the Roman conquest up to the expulsion of the Moriscos (i.e., for approximately 1,500 years).

Three religious credos -- Islam, Christianity, and Judaism -- prevailed until the migratory movement towards America began. In 1492, the year that Columbus (who may have been Jewish) sailed for the New World, Spain could have been reconquered by Islam.

Another distinguishing trait of medieval Spain was the existence of a frontier -- a moving, complex phenomenon which shaped Hispanic social agrarian structures. The frontier mentality holds an important and durable place in the life of Spain, and its possessions, especially the American ones. The existence of a pioneer frontier (whether in need of defense, or not), placed the "warlord" in a prominent societal position. The conquest of new territory opened new paths for economic and social advancement, and encouraged the rise of democracy avant la lettre whose political philosophy might be summarized as "del rey abajo ninguno" -- only the king, and no one else.

Though European feudalism did not develop in Spain, conquered territories were given by the King, either to his soldiers or to the religious-military orders, Santiago, Alcantara and Calatrava. (Arab conquerers had a similar habit of parcelling out lordship.) The commanders of these orders, the future Andalusian labradores (landowners) and the caciques of Hispanic America, created huge estates

which represented a revival of the latifundi of the Roman era. The prestige attached to the possession of land, even when unproductive, dates from this period.

From the ninth century onwards, emigration from Spain to conquered areas had carried with it notions of social prestige and illusions of future economic prosperity. (The contrary attitude towards emigration is to be observed in Spain's neighbor, France.) Later on, emigration, a complementary phase of the conquest, appeared almost as the conclusion of a crusade -- a religious crusade in the 15th century, a cultural and economic one in the 19th century. The democratic frontier-born pioneer tradition, born of the frontier, is at the origins of colonizing messianism (in the Roman and in the modern sense of the word) and of political caciquismo, though the latter may appear incompatible with the democratic ideal.

This last observation leads to a fundamental question: the definition of spontaneous democracy, prevalent in Hispanic societies. For the French and the Anglo-Saxons, "democracy" is synonymous with the rights of its citizens. It implies respect for constitutional law and a curbed power of the state. The "spontaneous democracy" in the most modern Hispanic countries in South America differs. It offers everyone worthy of it a "place in the sun." The famous Florentine virtú, most identified as a product of the Italian Renaissance, has been the guiding principle of the Spanish people and particularly of its leaders from the Cid to Pizarro, and even to Fidel Castro. It embodies the political aspect of what Nietzsche was later to call the "will to power." Unlike the Western European countries whose mercantilist bourgeois societies valued security of person and of possession and which checked the exaltation of process by a respect for the law, the Hispanic world continued to hold implicitly to the dictum omnis potestas a deo, and to consider that the exercise of power constitutes its own legitimacy. If one accepts that might is right, law will often be on the side of tyranny. After Rosas and Boves, Trujillo and Franco became the heirs -- perverted, it is true -- of the Cid and of Cortez.

The Roman clientèle supports the legitimacy of the strong man's power. Personal links, as well as regional and family solidarity, are more important than class interests. The faithfulness of the client to his master/protector (tiene muchos deudos, as they say) helps stabilize the political life of Hispanic societies.

The power structure and its relative importance in the life of the individual is one of the most characteristic aspects of Hispanic culture. The conquest of power, and the capacity to use that power, are self-legitimizing; the dominated acquiesce. The tyrant does not govern contrary to the law; he incarnates the law as long as he has the strength to keep himself in power (which is not

inconsistent with incidents of tyrannicide). The power of a man over a woman, of the cacique over his clients, or of the neighborhood killer (matón) over all the inhabitants of that neighborhood, present a similar power pattern. The notion of the abuse of power, which implies a law applicable to all including those who embody power, does not carry much weight in the Hispanic public consciousness. In a Hispanic culture the success of the individual follows from the successful application of the will to dominate.

Pushed to the limit, the prince's caprice (la real gana) is the absolute quintessence of the unwritten law. Current expressions such as "Who's in charge here?" (¿Quién manda aquí?); and "You are taking unwarranted liberties," (Vd. se desmanda); or "as God commands" (como Dios manda), show the paramount importance of authority in the collective mind. It might be said that the assertion of self is the sole duty and goal of the Hispanic male. This aspiration necessarily implies a refusal to obey another man, even the man in power. Thus, power is always a temporary thing -- once it wanes, it loses its legitimacy. The dialectical relationship between power and the refusal to accept that power is the driving force in Hispanic social and political life.

In addition to this very personal, albeit ephemeral authority in Hispanic countries, there is a very different view of the state from that in Anglo-Saxon countries. The state is perceived both as the temporary victim of the clan in power and as the instrument of coercion which is its own raison d'être. The "sens de l'Etat," considered the greatest virtue in a good Anglo-Saxon or French civil servant, is unknown in Hispanic culture. The opposition clan asserts that it will end the usurpers' looting of the state. In reality, it intends to replace the usurpers and to despoil the state in its turn. The Hispanic state does not originate with Nation, a distant, ideal objective; however, the state's influence has tended to create the Nation (forjar patria), if need be by force, from the time of Philip II down to Juan Peron. Subject to circumstantial differences the Hispanic state becomes the stake in political struggles, and in civil wars, between rival caciques and their respective supporters, half-camouflaged beneath pseudo-ideologies: Blancos versus Colorados, Federales versus Unitarios, etc. (of course, the picture takes on a different coloration depending on the country: Spain is not Nicaragua.)

The concentration of power in the hands of the man who has seized control, is not peculiar, of course, to Hispanic societies; glorification of the strong man, often tinged with religious fidelity to the dynasty, exists in Islamic countries. What differentiates Hispanic political power structures is that every activity in society -- politics, work, education, or love -- represents a personal relationship with authority, precedence, or hierarchy. Imposed from

above, domination is accepted by those below. In their traditional forms, Hispanic societies are diametrically opposed to the anarchist-utopian societies dreamed up by the dissidents of 1968.

The state is seen as the sovereign instrument of coercion, not as the last resort of the citizen against the arbitrariness of others. The force of local or family power to whom the individual is linked as a customer -- be it the election agent, the trade union worker, the rural peón, the apprentice, even the wife or concubine -- is appreciated. "The boss" -- capataz, cacique, padre, etc. -- provides the essential bridge between the downtrodden individual and the distant power of the state, whose power is visible only when the police intervene in a potentially inflammatory situation.

The dividing of power among a multitude of small tyrants explains the seemingly confused mixture of authority and anarchy observable in every Hispanic society. This particular pattern stems in part from an inherited "frontier" mentality, and in part from the always stronger regional rather than national spirit (la patria chica). Communal ties such as the bonds between godparents and the infants they sponsor (compadrazgo), the sentiment of brotherhood that comes from membership in a religious fraternity, etc. are stronger than blood ties.

The patriarchal family has a decided preeminence over the nuclear family, whose existence is frequently theoretical. In no other western society, are the world of friends and relatives and that of "the others" so delineated. Whether a person is "in" or "out" is expressed by the use of "tu" or "Vd." This distinction is impossible to make in English, and in French is governed by other criteria. In Hispanic societies this duality is so strong that belonging to a circle of "tu" entitles one to take part in political dissidence, heresy, injustice, crime against the law, etc. A stranger to the world of "tu" has no rights; he is always in the wrong against a relative or a friend, even if he is legally or morally right. The dynamics of personal links (horizontal and egalitarian, in this instance) supercede morality, law, or even the Christian concept of one's fellow-creatures. In the eyes of public opinion, the most dastardly crime is to abandon a friend or a compadre in difficulty. Social hierarchies are absolutely compelling at every level and the lower classes are characterized by a fatalistic resignation that is the opposite of the Anglo-Saxon ideal of the "self-made man," a concept based on the ideal of challenge.

If the Hispanic perception of power is original, its conception of man's relationship to the world is equally interesting. Man alone exists. Nature does not warrant a Hispanic's man consideration (witness the treatment accorded to animals). A man can cheerfully play havoc with his physical world for the sake of a

passing whim, or for a caprice (porque sí). Yet, the relationship of a man's conscience to God is of an astonishingly intimate and familiar nature. Note, however, that the supreme intercessor of the Hispanic world is not God the Father, but the Immaculate Virgin. The Virgin receives the adulation appropriate to a movie-star; gun salutes are fired in her honor. Every infant is regarded as her infant, the Infant Jesus (el niño Jesús), and is treated with reverence. The sense of the divine and of the sacred associated with a very acute feeling for one's fate or destiny, invites brave resignation in the face of death.

The counterweight to the Spaniard's stoic virtues is his love of festivals.¹¹ A Spanish proverb says that where one finds two Spaniards and a guitar, there one finds Spain. One man sings and plays the guitar while the other dances. Spontaneity and gaiety, the love of sacred and profane processions, and an affinity for singing and dancing, can be found elsewhere, but a Hispanic festival is unique of its kind, perhaps because it fills the need to compensate for arduous toil and silent resignation. At a festival hypertrophied self finds an audience outside the family circle, as it is often necessary to prove oneself outside the circle before one can be accepted within the circle. The will to "exterior domination" is motivated by this desire to return triumphantly to the family circle, or to the small provincial milieu.

A common characteristic of Hispanic emigration has been the desire to return. The abiding attachment to one's native province is expressed by the burgeoning of clubs which is a feature of all Latin America: the Gallegos Club, the Extremenos Club, the Asturiano's Club, the Catalonians' Club, etc.

In the Hispanic world a man's relationship with his fellow men¹² is more to the "fellow-creature" of the Catholic tradition than to the "fellow-citizen" of democracies originating from the Enlightenment. A man's attachment to his small place of origin (patria chica), the way he presents himself to his adopted country and his relationships with power, the world in general, his fellow men, and God teach us more about Hispanic culture than anything else. The statement that a Hispanic man is officially Catholic and within the Catholic tradition tells us nothing. Hispanic Catholicism is largely sacramental; the devotion to the Immaculate Virgin is one of its dominant features and furthermore it has a peculiar sense of sin: sincere repentance authorizes all sin.

The Hispanic conscience feels most compassion not for the victim (que le había llegado la hora) but for the murderer (el que ha tenido una desgracia) who may be arrested and judged, and whose only recourse may be to take to the hills with the help of an obliging general. The bandit, providing he shows a magnanimous

spirit, is a hero. The honest man, the official who has not enriched himself at the expense of the state, is a failure. Concerned not with the respect for moral precepts, but rather with courage in a difficult situation, a man's honor is his ability to present a bold front (no rajarse), and to enforce fidelity from a confined wife while demonstrating a conquering infidelity himself. This whole attitude is summed up in the word machismo, which is not a legendary concept. Although the development of the middle classes and the impact of exterior influences have weakened its characteristics, they have failed to create or to impose a new morality based on the concept of "fair play" on the society.

Another distinctive characteristic of modern Hispanic culture is the separation of ideology from ethics. Expressed differently, the constitutional and juridical principles which authorities in official milieux invoke are unrelated to those which can be inferred from individual patterns of behavior. It is, however, these unformulated principles that inspire what people actually do.

This paper has avoided a discussion about the common Spanish language, which might justifiably be called "enriched Castillian," as well as about agricultural and craft techniques which are to be found from one end of the Hispanic world to the other and about culinary techniques and their numerous variation. More competent specialists such as Rafael Lapesa¹³ and Angel Rosenblat¹⁴ writing on language, George Foster¹⁵ on the technical heritage, and Ruben Vargas Ugarte¹⁶ on the devotion to the Virgin, have studied these facets of Hispanic culture. This paper was intended to draw attention to the valeur opératoire for the functioning of the whole society, and to certain corrélations culturelles. Thus, the relationship with oneself (the exalted affirmation of self), and with the state, the patriarchal family, and the authority of the cacique, form the aforementioned circle, where contradictions resolve themselves dialectically. This galaxy of mental pictures determines the common pattern of behavior in Spanish society. A superficial observer, unable to understand these contradictions, will denounce them, taking a spurious revenge on a culture resistant to the existing theoretical models. In the end, neither the unity of language, not yet achieved, nor the unity of faith, which no longer exists, distinguish Hispanic culture from other cultures.

The endless diversity of the Hispanic world can mask the essential unity of Hispanic cultures, a unity endowed with a vast capacity both for resistance and for assimilation of outside contributions. The modern two-way diaspora has reinforced the cultural unity far more than it has weakened it. The human climate of Hispanic societies has proved unyielding regardless of what other society has confronted it.

The Spanish diáspora differs from the other modern diasporas -- Jewish, Chinese, or Lebanese. In the first place, it is not universal but localized: Latin America, the Philippines, Algeria and southwestern France have been the principal areas of emigration. Secondly, Spanish migration is marked by a distinct regional character; there are colonies of Galicians, Basques, Asturians, throughout the Hispanic world. Finally, in contrast to the usual pattern among emigrants of Slav, Scandinavian, or Italian background, the emigrants have maintained strong ties with their families and places of origin. They frequently undertake a return journey.

The foregoing observations are also applicable to the diaspora of Latinos, as they are called in the United States, where their number has now reached eighteen million. Among them, the Mexicans, called "Chicanos," are the most numerous, followed by Cubans and Puerto Ricans. Mexicans have settled in large numbers (in southern California, in Chicago, and in Texas); Cubans generally live in Miami and throughout Florida; and Puerto Ricans concentrate in New York. Here they have found conditions conducive to cultural resistance -- and an insularity which has made it difficult to adjust socially and culturally to the wider society.

The dynamics of Hispanic emigration, Spanish and Hispano-American, present original features which have remained constant since the 16th century. The Jewish diáspora also demonstrates a remarkable degree of cultural permanence which has been reinforced since the creation of the state of Israel by renewed ties with the ancestral home. With this exception, however, the cultural results of the Hispanic diáspora have been unique.

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²Edward Sapir, Anthropology--II Culture.

³Americo Castro, La realidad histórica de España (Mexico: 1951).

⁴Comparing Spain with other modern cultures which resulted from the fusion of Greek and Judaeo-Christian traditions, Spanish culture appears closest to Russian culture. This statement calls for further amplification, not entirely germane to the present subject. Suffice to say that quite independently of our own work, an expert in Russian cultural history has already advanced such a thesis. This affinity between the two nations is probably a result of their age-old contact with Islam and Judaism. See James Billington, The Icon and the Axe (New York: A.E. Knopf, 1970).

⁵Frederick B. Pike, Hispanismo 1898-1936 (Notre Dame and London: 1972); John Mander, The Unrevolutionary Society--The Power of Latin American Conservation in a Changing World (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).

⁶This sort of sophisticated ethnocentrism is no more tenable than the feeling of superiority of a non-commissioned officer of a colonial army for the "natives." There is no doubt that in the modern world industrially advanced societies' technological superiority has given them military superiority which has been a forceful instrument for political domination. However, is the cultural worth of these advanced countries superior to that of nations under their domination -- the Latin American countries, for example, or to that of nations which have become weaker, like Spain?

⁷Peter H. Smith, "Political Legitimacy in Spanish America," in Richard Graham and Peter H. Smith, eds., New Approaches to Latin American History (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), 224-55.

⁸Gustav von Grunebaum, Studien zum Kulturbild und Selbstverständnis des Islams (Zürich: Artemisverlag, 1969).

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