

11 October 2017

Dear Friend,

Some colleagues have given us your email address for us to explain to the international academic community what is happening in Spain.

As you know, we are living through difficult times. For you to understand how things have reached their present state we must explain that Catalonia, one of the richest regions in Spain, has been governed for more than three decades by a nationalist élite that has made every effort to build a specifically Catalan administration in which everything that is to do with Spain will disappear. During this time they have imposed the will of one half of the Catalans, the nationalists, on the other half. Now they are doing so more forcibly than ever and are threatening imminently to separate Catalonia from Spain.

**National construction.** An [internal document](#) of the nationalist government of Catalonia (dating from 1990) sets out in detail its strategy to distort the social reality and construct a Catalan national identity that is exclusive of any Spanish traits. Successive regional governments have favoured access by nationalists (and Catalan-speakers) to the teaching profession, to parent-teacher associations, to the governing bodies of the universities, to [high positions in the media](#) and, in fact, to all the fabric of government, society, business and trade unions.

This also explains the “spiral of silence” that has for decades hidden and silenced more than half of the people of Catalonia. For that reason the time has come to give status to those citizens, who are absent from public life and do not want to lose their rights in Catalonia and their family ties with Spain. The social reality of Catalonia, which the nationalists deny, is plural. Firstly because [more than half of Catalans have Spanish as their mother tongue](#), and secondly because there is not even a nationalist political majority: the separatist government is supported by a majority of parliamentary seats, but not by a majority of votes.

**Corruption and political disconnection.** In spite of everything, on 8 November 2015, the Catalan Parliament announced the “beginning of the creation of the independent Catalan state in the form of a republic,” adding that “the Parliament and the process of democratic disconnection will not be subject to the decisions of the institutions of the Spanish state, in particular the Constitutional Court.” On 6 September they put themselves beyond the pale. Without even the majorities required by their own Catalan Statute of Autonomy, violating the provisions of the Rules of Procedure of the Catalan Parliament aimed at guaranteeing the rights of its members, preventing their own institutions from issuing their obligatory report, and even ignoring the schedule for the parliamentary debate, they sowed the legislative seeds for a breakaway. In the absence of the main opposition parties, who represent almost half of the chamber, they approved two laws for the “disconnection” from Spain: the Law for the referendum and the Law for Judicial Transition and the Foundation of the Republic, which will come into effect, they say, after the breakaway of sovereignty. And that will be a matter of hours or days.

In 2010 the independence movement in Catalonia reached 19% of the population compared with only 10% in 2003. A strong radicalisation did not start to take off, however, until 2013. In March of that year, the prolonged discontent with the financial cuts that followed the economic crisis was redirected towards Spain. “Spain is robbing us” were the words of Convergència i Unió, the party in power. With that ruse they set out to cover up the

corruption of the family of Jordi Pujol, the ideologue of nationalist construction and First Minister of Catalonia from 1980 to 2003. The illegal funding of his party came to light, involving the granting of public contracts to companies close to the party. The current first Minister of Catalonia, Carles Puigdemont, is a member of this political party, which has now changed its name to PdeCat in order to cover its tracks.

**The implications of sovereignty.** The underlying idea of sovereignty (which is declared to be indivisible in every Constitutions in the world with some rare exceptions such as Ethiopia or the former USSR) is that everybody has everything and nobody has anything. Sovereignty is a unity of decision, it is a community of justice. Nobody can vote on who can belong to the political community, since this would mean that one part of the population could exclude the other. If the richer regions could vote to leave, we would be submitted to their perpetual blackmail, and the equality of rights and duties would be endangered. Sovereignty over Catalonia also belongs to all the other Spanish citizens; and likewise, the rest of Spain is also the political property of the Catalans.

**History of false grievances.** Catalonia is not a plundered region and does not have an abnormal fiscal deficit with the rest of Spain. Spain is in practice a federal state where the Catalans enjoy very far-reaching self-government, comparable to and even exceeding in certain areas that of the German Bundesländer, and none of their rights are infringed. Any attempt to delegitimise the Spanish transition to democracy, just like any attempt to link the Spanish democratic system or the Spanish government to Franco's dictatorial regime, is an unacceptable insult. Moreover, even though those who have Catalan as their mother tongue are in the minority in Catalonia, in breach of judgments from our high courts (which require at least 25% of school classes to be taught in Spanish), in Catalan public schools no subject is taught in Spanish apart from the Spanish language. Moreover, there was never a war of secession in the years following 1700, but there was an international war of succession to the Spanish throne. There was never any historical episode of "Spain against Catalonia", not even during the Spanish Civil War when there were as many Catalans on one side as on the other. The strategy of Catalan nationalists has always been to inflame victimism.

**Internationalisation of the conflict.** The Catalan government has for many years sought to make use of its own institutions located in the main international capitals to spread their lies and false grievances to the world, illicitly diverting to propaganda activities the funds that should have been used to provide basic services. In this way they hope to have gained allies for this moment of tension. They need this support in order to win politically what is not viable democratically.

**Risks for our democracy.** There is [much talk just now about "mediation" and "dialogue"](#). It worries us that there are prestigious public figures and international institutions that (with the best of intentions) do not realise that by appealing to dialogue in the current circumstances they may in fact be putting pressure on the Spanish government to give in to iniquitous claims that seek to break up the equality of all Spaniards before the law. Social peace and freedom are most urgent now; but democracy and the common agreement on which it is based is also at stake. We believe that the rule of law and the democratic institutions, which the government of Spain must safeguard, now deserve international support in order not to give in to blackmail and to preserve the rule of law in Catalonia against those who demonstrate with chants of "The streets will always be ours." The secessionists prioritise the images of mobilisation in the streets above parliamentary arithmetic and the law; this is obviously a risk for any democracy. It is enough to look at [the company they keep](#). For that

reason we reject out of hand any hypothetical bilateralism of Spain-Catalonia, which would reward the seditious elements and snatch democratic sovereignty from all the other Spaniards.

**Principle of legality.** Finally, we should not overlook the fact that the so-called ‘referendum’ of 1 October (which took place with countless irregularities that invalidate the slightest hint of credibility) was struck down by our Constitutional Court, just as the Italian Constitutional Court did with respect to the independence claims from Veneto in 2015 or the German Federal Constitutional Court when faced with a referendum claim from Bavaria in 2016. What is more, unlike in these two countries, as well as in France and the US, the indivisibility of our nation has not been put under an “eternity clause” and can thus be modified following the appropriate procedure for such a constitutional amendment introducing the right of self-determination of the different federate entities within the state. Even if the signatories of this text are not in favour of such a constitutional amendment that would in practice annul the national sovereignty which is based on its indivisibility, it should be noted that the separatists have never even wanted to give a consideration to this path.

On 1 October, the police had a court order to close the schools that were to be used as polling stations in order to prevent voting in the illegal referendum; however, two associations closely linked to, and subsidised by, the separatist government connived with the Catalan police (who partially disobeyed their orders) to organise a massive act of sedition. Bringing people out onto the streets in order to break the law; that was the strategy and it was anything but a democratic one. Fortunately, some of the ringleaders of Sunday’s events, the presidents of the organising associations organisers and the chief officer of the Catalan police, are already under judicial investigation for sedition.

The police were faced with organised violent riots on the streets and the protestors significantly outnumbered the police forces. Four people were hospitalised and after a few hours there were only two serious injuries: one had been hit in the eye by a rubber bullet, and an elderly man had had a heart attack. In particular cases there is [evidence of manipulation](#) that has been highlighted by the international press; and, as has happened recently in other important international campaigns, [Russia was involved](#) in the whole thing. Apart from one isolated case, we deny that there was disproportionate use of legitimate violence.

**The consequences.** Many companies and banks are leaving Catalonia. But it is not only businesspeople who are afraid. [Teachers have come under pressure too](#) as have the judges, who know that the Catalan government has files on all 801 judges in Catalonia, distinguishing the separatists from those loyal to the Constitution, and they recently revealed their fears: “They want to make us choose between the Constitution and the new legality. This is terrible, but we will have no choice but to choose between treason and exile.” Many people are afraid to express their ideas in public, at work, etc. There are children harassed at school because their parents are Guardia Civil officers. Tension is escalating and there is a powerful movement from an anti-system and anti-EU party (CUP), on which the Catalan government’s parliamentary support hinges and which has for some time now been threatening violence in the streets.

Some time between Friday 6 and Monday 9 October, the seditious Catalan government is expected to declare unilateral independence.

When the constitutional order is re-established and the fear and the threats have ceased, *all Spaniards* must talk and tackle the legal changes that might be considered necessary. But not before, in order not to give up our political equality.

The signatories would be very much obliged if you decided to pass on this information on to anyone who may be interested. Kind regards.

### **Signatures:**

**Spanish Members of the European Parliament:** Maite Pagazaurtundúa Ruiz, Teresa Giménez Barbat, Javier Nart, Esteban González Pons, Enrique Calvet Chambón.

**University professors and public figures:** **Fernando Savater** (Philosopher and writer), **Mario Vargas Llosa** (Nobel Prize for Literature), **Félix Ovejero** (lecturer in Economics, Ethics and Social Sciences at Barcelona University), **Teresa Freixes** (Professor of Constitutional Law at the Autonomous University of Barcelona), **Francesc de Carreras** (at Barcelona University), **Rosa Díez** (MP for PSOE and UPyD), **Camilo José Cela Conde** (Guest Researcher at the Department of Ecology and Evolutionary Biology, University of California), **Francisco Sosa Wagner** (Professor of Administrative Law), **Andrés de Blas Guerrero** (Professor of State Theory at Spanish National Distance Education University (UNED)), **Adela Cortina** (Professor of Ethics and Political Philosophy at the University of Valencia), **Andrés Trapiello** (Writer), **Félix de Azúa** (Retired Professor of Aesthetics and Theory of Art at the University of Barcelona), **Alfonso Ruiz Miguel** (Professor of Philosophy of Law at the Autonomous University of Madrid), **José Luis Pardo Torío** (Professor of Philosophy at the Complutense University of Madrid), **Francisco Mora** (Professor of Human Physiology at the Faculty of Medicine of the Complutense University Madrid and Adjunct Professor of the Department of Molecular Physiology and Biophysics at the University of Iowa, USA), **Benigno Pendás** (Professor of Political Science), **Sergio Sanz** (Member of the Catalan Regional Parliament), **Araceli Mangas Martín** (Professor of International Public Law at the Complutense University of Madrid), **Joaquim Coll i Amargós** (Historian and writer), **Juan Antonio García Amado** (Professor of Philosophy of Law at the University of León), **Joaquim Coll i Amargós** (Historian and writer), **Manuel Montero** (Professor of Contemporary History at the University of the Basque Country), **Arcadi Espada** (Writer and Journalist), **José Álvarez Junco** (Professor of History of Thought and Political and Social Movements at the Complutense University of Madrid), **Joaquín Leguina** (was MP for PSOE), **Francisco Frutos** (Secretary General of the Communist Party of Spain between 1998 and 2009), **Roberto L. Blanco Valdés** (Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Santiago), **Aurelio Arteta** (Retired Professor of Moral Philosophy and Politics at the University of the Basque Country), **Manuel Atienza** (Professor of Philosophy of Law at the University of Alicante), **Manuel Arias Maldonado** (Philosopher, lecturer, sociologist, political scientist and writer), **Albert Boadella** (actor and

playwright), **Álvaro Delgado-Gal** (Writer and editor of “Revista de Libros” magazine), **Javier Tajadura Tejada** (Lecturer in Constitutional Law at the University of the Basque Country), **Antonio Bar Cendón** (Professor of Constitutional Law and Jean Monnet Professor “ad personam” of Law and Politics of the European Union, in the Faculty of Law of the University of Valencia), **Julián Sauquillo González** (Autonomous University of Madrid, Professor of Philosophy of Law), **Mercedes Fuertes** (Professor of Administrative Law), **Carmen Iglesias** (Spanish Royal Academy /Royal Academy of History), **Javier Fernández Sebastián** (lecturer in the Faculty of Social Science at the University of the Basque Country), **Juan José Laborda** (Former Senate President, lecturer of Modern History at University of Burgos), **José Luis Díez Ripollés** (Professor of Criminal Law at University of Malaga), **Joseba Arregi** (formerly lecturer in Sociology at the University of the Basque Country, former Minister in the Basque government), **Yolanda Gómez Sánchez** Professor of Constitutional Law (Jean Monnet Professor, *ad personam*, of the European Union), **Josep Ramon Bosch i Codina** (President of Joan Boscá Foundation), **María José Villaverde Rico** (Professor of Political Science at the Complutense University of Madrid), **José Ramón Montero** (Professor of Political Science at the Autonomous University of Madrid), **Francisco Llera** (Professor of Political Science at University of the Basque Country), **Carlos Martínez Gorriarán** (Lecturer in Aesthetics at the University of the Basque Country), **Luis Rodríguez Abascal** (Tenured Lecturer in Philosophy of Law, Autonomous University of Madrid), **Carmen Sanz Ayán** (Professor of Modern History. Complutense University), **Julio Carabaña** (Professor of Sociology at UCM), **Ramón Vargas--Machuca Ortega** (Professor of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of University of Cadiz), **Iñaki Iriarte** (Tenured Lecturer in History of Political Thought in the University of the Basque Country), **Javier Peña Echeverría** (Professor of Political Philosophy at the University of Valladolid), **Josu de Miguel Bárcena** (Lecturer in Constitutional Law at the Autonomous University of Barcelona), **José Vicente Rodríguez Mora** (Lecturer in Economics, University of Edinburgh), **Luis Prieto Sanchís** (Professor of Law Philosophy at University of Castilla-La Mancha), **Ignacio Fdez. Sarasola** (Lecturer of Constitutional Law at University of Oviedo), **José Ignacio Fortea Pérez** (Professor of Modern History at University of Cantabria), **Manuel Toscano Méndez** (Lecturer in Moral Philosophy at the University of Malaga), **Rafael Arenas García** (Professor of Private International Law at the Autonomous University of Barcelona), **Mario Kölling** (Lecturer of Political Science at UNED), **María Elvira Roca Barea** (Doctor of Medieval Literature, has worked at the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) and taught at Harvard University), **Pepe Tudela** (Lecturer of Constitutional Law at University of Zaragoza), **Nuria Amat** (writer), **Jesús Conill** (Professor of Moral Philosophy and Politics at the University of Valencia), **Antonio Diéguez Lucena** (Professor of Logic and Philosophy of Science at the University of Malaga), **Miguel Jerez** (Professor of Political Science at University of Granada), **Carlos Fernández de Casadevante** (Professor of International Public Law at the Rey Juan Carlos University in Madrid), **José A. Olmeda** (Professor of Political Science at UNED University), **Miguel Jerez** (Professor of Political Science at University of Granada), **Fernando Jiménez Sánchez** (Lecturer of Political Science at University of Murcia and expert of Group of States Against Corruption –GRECO–), **Carlos Mougan** (Tenured Lecturer in Moral Philosophy, University of Cadiz), **Ignacio Tirado** (Lecturer in Private, Social and Economic Law at the Autonomous

University of Madrid), **Antonio Hermosa** (Lecturer in Aesthetics and History Philosophy at the University of Seville), **Martín Alonso** (Retired Lecturer in Philosophy), Juan Antonio Cordero Fuertes (École polytechnique, Paris), **Javier Redondo Rodelas** (Lecturer in Political Science at Carlos III University Madrid and Editor of the magazine “La Aventura de la Historia”), **Jesús Javier Sánchez Barricarte** (Lecturer of Sociology at UC3M), **Juan Antonio Cordero Fuertes** (École polytechnique, Paris), **Juan Pimentel** (Senior researcher at CSIC), **Gabriel Cabello** (Lecturer of History of Art at the University of Granada), **Roberto Villa García** (Lecturer of Political History at Rey Juan Carlos University), **Francisco Castilla Urbano** (Lecturer in History and Philosophy at the University of Alcalá), **Roberto Colom** (Professor of Psychology and Biology Health at the Autonomous University of Madrid), **Adolfo Calatrava García** (Lecturer of IR at Universidad of Nebrija), **Juan Ignacio Martínez Pastor** Spanish National Distance Education University (UNED), **Lidia Valera Ordaz** (lecturer in the Faculty of Journalism, at the University of Valencia), **Mikel Arteta** (PhD in Moral and Political Philosophy), **Miguel Peña Méndez** (Lecturer in the Faculty of Fine Art at the University of Granada), **Isabel Echevarría Isusquiza** (Department Hispanic, Romance Philology and Theory of Literature), **Juan Bonilla** (Writer), **Marta Gil** (PhD Political Philosophy), **Carlos Ballesteros** (Lecturer in Journalism at University of Valladolid), **Miguel Caínzos** (University of Santiago de Compostela), **Eduardo Uriarte Romero** (Writer), **Juan Antonio Negrete** (Lecturer in Philosophy), **Tomás Valladolid Bueno** (Lecturer in Philosophy), **José Ángel González Sainz** (Writer, Lecturer and founder of the Antonio Machado International Centre), **Luis Alberto de Cuenca y Prado** (Poet), **Miguel Ángel Quintana Paz** (Lecturer of Ethics and Political Philosophy), **Roberto Ramos Fontecoba** (Editor of Página Indómita Press), **Gorka Maneiro** (Spokesperson of Plataforma Ahora), **Javier Irazoki** (Poet), **Gerardo López Sastre** (Lecturer in Philosophy at University of Castilla-La Mancha). **Pedro Gómez Carrizo** (Editor) **Óscar Sánchez-Alonso** (Lecturer at Pontifical University of Salamanca), **José Ángel García Landa** (Lecturer in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zaragoza), **César Nombela Arrieta** (Lecturer in the Faculty of Medicine at University of Zurich), **José Manuel Cabello González** (Lecturer of Applied Economics at University of Málaga).

As leaders of this project, we remain at your entire disposal to provide you with any other information you may require on this issue.

With best regards,

**Maite Pagazaurtundúa** (MEP, ALDE) and **Fernando Savater** (Philosopher and writer)

### **Links to some interesting documents in English:**

- **Identity      poison      plan carried      out      since      1990      by      the Catalan secessionist governments.**

<https://www.docdroid.net/RSxImxx/catalan-government-in-the-90s-idendity-poison-plan.pdf>

- Graphic extracted from the independence roadmap (41 pages) seized on 20 September in the residence of Josep María Jové, the “right hand man” of Oriol Junqueras (Deputy First Minister of Catalonia) in the Ministry of Finance and Economy of the Catalan regional government. It shows the strategy for social control according to different targets.

<https://www.docdroid.net/S0gyCim/strategy-for-social-control-according-to-different-targets.pdf>

- On Sunday 8 October the silent majority overcame their fear and decided, for the first time in many years, to march in the streets (between 350,000 and a million depending on sources) chanting “Viva España; viva Cataluña” and “We are also Catalans”.

<https://streamable.com/8saia>

- Letter sent to Jean Claude Juncker by five founding members of ¡Basta Ya! (Fernando Savater, Carlos Martínez Gorriarán, María San Gil, Rosa Díez, Maite Pagazaurtundúa), association awarded the Sakharov Prize for its civic struggle against ETA and against the theoretical foundation of exclusive ethnic nationalism in the Basque Country.

<https://www.docdroid.net/fGzjFve/letter-to-eu-leaders.pdf>

- In Defence of The Freedom of Expression of Professor in Catalonia (International Manifesto)

<https://lectureresxlalibertad.blogspot.com.es/?m=1>

- Statement on the lack of foundation on International Law of the independence referendum has been convened in Catalonia (Manifesto of Spanish Lecturers and Professors)

<https://www.docdroid.net/Y2yjJLU/aedpdiri.pdf>

- Manifesto of Professors of Spanish Universities on the Situation in Catalonia

<https://www.docdroid.net/meghUGx/manifiesto-profesores-universitarios-eng.pdf>

- Manifesto of Professors of spanish Professors of Constitutional Law in favour of the observance of the Constitution

<https://www.docdroid.net/SxTwV7S/profesores-derecho-constitucional.pdf>

- “Call to the democratic Left on the events in Catalonia”

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/group-of-social-scientists-working-at-various-universities-and-citizens-in-barcel>

- Marginal Revolution (ECONOMY BLOG). About Catalonia:  
-About language policy:



<http://marginalrevolution.com/marginalrevolution/2017/10/catalan-spanish-language-issue-comments.html>

-About institutional disloyalty:

<http://marginalrevolution.com/marginalrevolution/2017/10/separatist-sentences-ponder.html>

- **Foreign Policy: “Catalonia Leaving Spain Would Be Like Illinois Leaving the United States” (12/10/2017)**

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/10/12/catalonia-leaving-spain-would-be-like-illinois-leaving-the-united-states/>

- **The Wall Street Journal: “Catalan TV Network Reflects Separatist Fervor” (08/10/2017)**

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/catalan-tv-network-reflects-separatist-fervor-1388615902>

- **Reporters without borders demands respect for the free exercise of journalism in Catalonia**

[https://rsf.org/sites/default/files/bilan\\_catalogue\\_en.pdf](https://rsf.org/sites/default/files/bilan_catalogue_en.pdf)

- **Some articles from El País in English:**

- It's time for the government to act on Catalonia (05/10/2017)

[https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/05/inenglish/1507193503\\_273844.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/05/inenglish/1507193503_273844.html)

-What is really happening in Catalonia? (05/10/2017)

[https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/03/inenglish/1507025584\\_438952.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/03/inenglish/1507025584_438952.html)

-Who in Europe supports the Catalan secessionists? (05/10/2017)

[https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/04/inenglish/1507129814\\_170926.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/04/inenglish/1507129814_170926.html)

-Catalan police leader under investigation for sedition by High Court (04/10/2017)

[https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/04/inenglish/1507110391\\_236888.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/04/inenglish/1507110391_236888.html)

-There's fake news in Catalonia too (02/10/2017)

[https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/02/inenglish/1506943013\\_999238.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/02/inenglish/1506943013_999238.html)

- **Some Spanish press articles translated into English:**

<https://voicesfromspain.com/>



- **Some research articles:**

-Roberto Garvía & Thomas Jeffrey Miley (2013): “Linguistic immersion” and political conflict in contemporary Catalonia. *European Journal of Language Policy* 5.1, 5–40

<http://online.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/doi/abs/10.3828/ejlp.2013.2>

- Thomas Jeffrey Miley (2007): Against the Thesis of the “Civic Nation”: The Case of Catalonia in Contemporary Spain, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 13:1, 1-37

-Thomas Jeffrey Miley (2014): Democratic Representation and the National Dimension in Catalan and Basque Politics”, *Journal of politics culture and society*, 27:291–322

-Enric Martínez and Thomas Jeffrey Miley (2010): The constitution and the politics of national identity in Spain, *Nations and Nationalism*, 16 (1), 6–30.

- **Catalonia: Political group leaders discuss the situation with Frans Timmermans (04/10/2017)**

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20171003IPR85246/catalonia-political-group-leaders-discuss-situation-with-frans-timmermans>