España ante el mundo: Spain's colonial language policies in North Africa

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Abstract: During its presence in Northern Morocco and the Western Sahara, Spain lauded its colonial policies, and relations with the native populations in general, as being more successful than those of the other colonial power present in the region, France. While it is true that France's educational policies were narrowly aimed at forming acquiescent elites of the Maghrebi societies, Spain's policies in turn were severely conditioned by a hyper-awareness of existing ethno-religious divisions, a product of the prominence of religion in the historical relations between Iberia and the Maghreb. In this essay, I discuss the differences in Spain's educational policies between Northern Morocco and the Western Sahara with a special focus on the implications for the postcolonial language policies and the current linguistic landscape in both areas. The main argument is that ethno-religious divisions and political propaganda, particularly during the Francoist dictatorship, were the two most important factors that shaped Spain's linguistic incursion in Western North Africa and its legacy today.

Introduction: the changing history of the Spanish language in North Africa

The historical interest of Spain in North Africa goes back to the time of the Catholic Monarchs. Claims have often been made about the importance of the area to the security and stability of Spain, and also as a natural geographical extension to the Peninsula with which strong historical ties have existed since before the Roman Empire.[1] The history of the Spanish language in western North Africa can roughly be divided into three major parts that coincide with three periods of Spain's history in the region. (1) *Early period*: starting with the fall of the last Caliphate in the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 and lasting until Spain's evacuation of the Algerian port city of Oran in 1791, these three centuries saw major events that introduced the Spanish language into North Africa, first in the form of language of refugees following the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of Moriscos and Judeo-Spanish speakers, principally in Morocco and Tunisia, and the annexation of Melilla in 1497 and Ceuta in 1668–two cities where Spanish has been maintained as native language since then. (2) *Colonial period*: this encapsulates the events that happened between the date of the

Spanish-Moroccan War (*La Guerra de África* 1859-1860) and Spain's withdrawal from the Western Sahara in 1974. Events covered under this period include significant immigration from Spain to French-occupied Algeria, where the Spanish language became part of the linguistic panorama of some of its coastal cities (Bonmatí Antón 1992; Moreno Fernández 1992, 1994, 1995), the establishment of the Protectorate in northern Morocco (1912-1956), and the colonization of the Sahara (1924-1976), where Spanish played the role of colonial language. (3) *Postcolonial period*: this includes events of the last forty years, from Spain's exit from the Sahara to the present day, which are marked by a transformed economic and cultural influence of Spain in the region and an increase in Moroccan immigration to Spain leading to a sustained growth of interest in Spanish as a formally-instructed second language (Sayahi 2005c, 2014).

In the nineteenth century, an Africanist movement started to take shape in Spain when France established itself in Algeria in 1830, and especially following the Spanish-Moroccan War. The War, which lasted from October 1859 to April 1860, ended with a Spanish victory that gave Spain the right to occupy the site of Santa Cruz de la Mar Pequeña or what is now known as Sidi Ifni in southern Morocco.[2] Tetuán, the would-be capital of Spanish Morocco, was also put under temporary Spanish control while Morocco paid the war reparation imposed by Spain. With the loss of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Spain's Africanist movement grew even stronger. Intervention in Morocco was seen as a necessity to counter the expansionist plan of France and for Spain to continue to be relevant at the international level, especially in a region that for long had been thought to be in its immediate area of influence. Reparaz put it this way: "A España afecta la cuestión de Marruecos de un modo más sustancial que a las demás naciones interesadas; van en ello, no nuestra grandeza y glorias en lo porvenir, sino nuestra existencia" (45).

When finally the 1912 Algeciras Conference broke Morocco into a Spanish zone and a French zone, Spain was left with the rugged Rif Mountains region that extended over 21,000 km^2, while France retained the major part of the country spanning 450,000 km^2. Spain also received as part of its protectorate in Morocco the territory of Cabo Juby, which is adjacent to the territories of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro or what would become the Spanish Sahara. The Spanish Sahara itself was an area that Spain claimed in 1884 but did not in fact colonize until 1924. All of this gave the Spanish colonial enterprise some unique characteristics: it was a late colonialism over relatively smaller separated zones. In addition, Spanish Morocco and Spanish Sahara had different legal statuses–Spanish Morocco was a protectorate while Spanish Sahara was a colony–and, as a result, they had differences in administration that in turn led to differences in educational systems and

language policies. The declaration of Spanish Sahara as *provincia española* in 1958 is in sharp contrast with what was happening in northern Morocco, where the protectorate had just been brought to an end. In sum, Spanish colonialism was at many levels different from the French enterprise in the region and, more significantly, the Spanish presence was shaped both by a long history of armed, as well as ideological, conflicts with North Africa and the internal political events that marred Spain in the first half of the twentieth century.

This essay focuses on the second period mentioned above, the one that covers the colonial incursion of Spain in the region. With this period in consideration, the purpose is to specifically describe the reasoning behind, and the implications for, Spain's educational language policies that were in place from the establishment of the Protectorate in northern Morocco until the abandonment of the Western Sahara. I argue that hyper-awareness of ethno-religious divisions, a result of Spain's historical relation with its neighbor, and political propaganda, particularly during the Francoist dictatorship, were the two most important factors that shaped Spain's linguistic action in western North Africa and by consequence its legacy today.

Colonial language policies and ethno-religious divisions

Differences between Spain and France in the administration of their respective Protectorate zones were evident at many levels. With regard to language policy, France's primary objective through its colonial education was aimed at maintaining the differences between the Arab and Berber populations (Murphy 1977). Hubert Lyautey, the first *Résident général* in Morocco, described the policy of his administration this way: "From an immediate political point of view, the schools have as objective to provide hygiene and maintain discreetly but as firmly as possible the linguistic, religious and social differences existing between the Makhzen, Islamized and Arabized, and the Berber mountain, religious but pagan and ignorant of Arabic" (Bidwell 250; my translation). The French used their language to "Educate an elite that becomes assimilated with the conqueror" (Bidwell 240), and which formed part of the lower ranks of the colonial administration. France also created two types of schools based on the social class of the students. The first were schools that provided basic education with a focus on industrial and agricultural professions and menial apprenticeships, while a second type of schools was created for the children of the better-off section of the society: *Les écoles des fils de notables* (Scham 1970; Sayahi 2014). Although by the end of its presence in North Africa, the French did not expand education by any significant measure,[3] they did

manage to create an elite that, once in power as postcolonial administrators, continued to perceive French as an important element in education and socioeconomic development.

On the other hand, Spain did not view its language as a necessary tool for administration of Spanish Morocco. Guided by centuries-long awareness of religious distinction between the different components of the population that it planned to educate, Spain's educational policies sought to implement a sectarian system that played on the division of the population by religion. It should be noted that in its relations with North Africa, and the Arab world in general, the intersection of Spain's history with that of North Africa and particularly the Muslim presence in Iberia has always served as a backdrop to its actions. Huguet Santos correctly argues that in establishing itself in Morocco: "El recuerdo de Al-Andalus pesaba en las relaciones hispanomarroquíes" (40).

From early on, the Spanish Africanist movement grappled with the plans for a colonial education in Africa. In his 1913 article "La enseñanza en el Rif," published in the journal *África Española,* the official publication of the influential *Liga Africanista Española*, Juan Saco Maureso wondered about the role of religion in education in the Protectorate. Focusing on the differences between Christian Spaniards, Muslim Moroccans, and Sephardic Jews, he did not perceive a margin for an integrated educational system. Instead, he proposed a sectarian education that eventually was what was implemented in Spanish Morocco, based on an assumption that all education is religious.[4]

The belief that it was difficult to have integrated schools, given the role that religion had to play in education, is reflected in language policy proposals when the same author argues for the maintenance of the traditional schools where Arabic is the language of instruction: "Conviene hacer de modo que el indígena no necesite para nada el sostenimiento de sus medarsas. Así, no hemos de omitir en manera alguna la enseñanza de la lectura y escritura de la lengua árabe, cuidando en lo posible de seguir sus mismos métodos, porque el moro es rutinario y no recibirá de buen grado las innovaciones" (Saco Maureso 47). Given that the pre-colonial Moroccan educational system was very basic and relied on Qur'anic schools for the teaching of rudimentary literacy skills, improvement meant little changes on behalf of Spain to maintain the existing system. This is different from French policies, which were more extreme in taking the opposing position and, in the case of Algeria, ended up declaring Arabic a foreign language in 1938. On the other hand, the Spanish perceived the Sephardic Jewish population, who had maintained until then varying competence in Judeo-Spanish as a language for intracommunal communication, as Spanish speakers who ought to be educated in Spanish. But, given the difference in religion, different schools had to be established. This was a deliberate strategy for Spain to draw the Sephardic Jews away from the

circle of influence of the French-speaking Jewish schools, especially *L'Alliance israélite universelle*, and use their competence in Judeo-Spanish to re-Hispanicize them. At the same time, use of Spanish was to be limited in the Muslim schools. Although it was taught, in the majority of the cases it was not used as language of instruction. In fact, Spain supported the spread of the Arabic language even among the Berber population. Fernando Valderrama Martínez clearly articulates this desire to distinguish the Spanish policies from the French ones when it came to exploiting the ethnic division between Berbers and Arabs: "Spain understood that its obligation was to commit to Arabization and appear disinterested in the possibility to maintain the linguistic division for its own benefit" (126). This is in contrast again with the French policies which clearly state, in Bidwell's words, that "it did not matter what they taught provided that it was in French and not in Arabic" (249).

Spain's resistance to having mixed schools for the native population and the Spaniards in fact had to do a great deal with this hyper-awareness of religious divisions. As a result, the *Junta de Enseñanza de Marruecos*, which was created in 1916, had the following among its main objectives, according to Cordero Torres : "*a)*, facultar a los españoles *cristianos* la instrucción de sus hijos en escuelas nacionales; *b)*, crear escuelas para los *israelitas* en lengua española; *c),* mejorar la enseñanza *mora*, con los recursos de España o del Majzén." Spain created three separate school systems: *las escuelas españolas* were modern institutions that catered to the European population; *las escuelas hispano-israelitas* served the Jewish population and were a major factor in the disappearance of the local variety of Judeo-Spanish known as Hakitía (Hernández Fernández 2001; Sayahi 2004); and *las escuelas hispano-musulmanas,* which had minimal use of Spanish and an overall limited curriculum. In 1940, additional changes were introduced to the Muslim school system that divided it into an elementary education, separated by gender (*Primaria de niños/Primaria de niñas*), agricultural instruction (*Agrícola de niños*), and professional instruction (*Profesional*). But no changes were made in the language of instruction, as put by Cordero Torres: "Reitérase la obligatoriedad progresiva de esta enseñanza, su gratuidad y *arabidad*" (226; my emphasis).

In the Sahara, where the colonizing action did not effectively start until 1934, education was more limited, because of the small size of the population and the geographical nature of the terrain. Another characteristic of the Sahara was that part of the indigenous population was not sedentary, which lead to the installation of an improvised system in which some classes were taught in tents and in changing locations (Morgenthaler García, forthcoming). In 1975, the Spanish civil population in the Sahara consisted of only 17,500 people, while the native population was made up of 73,497 people (Diego Aguirre 1991: 43-45). In 1957, just before the declaration of the Sahara a Spanish

province, there were 185 Spanish students and only 53 Sahrawis (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1971). Elementary schools were divided in *Mixtas*, *Rurales* and *Nómadas*, and the majority of the teachers were Spanish with only thirty native Sahrawi teachers (Instituto de Estudios Africanos 1971: 13-14). In the school year 1968-1969, there were 3,655 students in the two secondary schools (El Aaiún and Villa Cisneros), half of whom were native Sahrawis (Salafranca 2001: 331-332). A major difference between Spanish Morocco and Spanish Sahara, then, is that in the Sahara education was in Spanish, except for religion and classes of Arabic language. Spanish-educated students were the ones who later on would form the *Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro* (Polisario Front), in a similar way that the French-educated elite played an important role in independence movements of French North Africa, although at a smaller scale (Salafranca 2001).

In sum, French and Spanish policies differed in their use of each colonial language within their corresponding colonial educational system. While France perceived its language as a tool to indoctrinate the elite, Spain was unable to overcome longstanding perceptions of irreconcilable religious divisions and remained more interested in keeping Christians, Muslims, and Jews in separate schools. This was not the case in the Western Sahara, where the province status and a multitude of logistical difficulties allowed for mixed schools for Spaniards and Sahrawi students. The claim that Spain had more understanding of the local populations and their customs, given the historical connection and the role of the adjacent cities of Ceuta and Melilla, was at the heart of the Africanist movement propaganda and the Spanish colonial action in the Maghreb. This became even more acute following the Spanish Civil War and the isolation of Spain at the international level after the Second World War.

Language policies as a propaganda tool: *España ante el mundo*

Like other colonial powers that took part in the 'Scramble for Africa,' Spain, from early on, claimed that its actions were part of a "civilizing mission," which it felt it had the obligation to complete even if it meant taking away resources from its own people. In the first issue of *África Española*, the then Minister of Public Works Rafael Gasset wrote:

> Con Marruecos contraemos serio compromiso, porque no se puede llegar a un país en nombre de la civilización sin transformarle rápidamente, dotándole de todo lo que es precisamente patrimonio de la vida civilizada . . . por desventuras de nuestra historia [estamos] en condiciones de inferioridad respecto a las otras naciones europeas.

> Pudiera decirse de la madre España que teniendo a sus hijos pobres y mal vestidos, acaba de adoptar otro hijo que no es suyo, por noble impulso de su buen corazón. (7)

This idea of treating North Africans with earnest interest in their own good, even at times committing much needed resources to them, is a repeated theme in Spanish political discourse that at first aimed at legitimizing the occupation and later was used by the Franco regime to polish its image at the world stage. For instance, the official *Instituto de Estudios Políticos* published a book series titled *España ante el mundo*, which covered different issues of the Africanist movement in the 1940s (Huguet 38). These publications, often made to look like rigorous inquiries, defended not only Spain's presence in Africa, including Guinea, but also worked to present Spain as the natural mediator between East and West, given its history. They strove to offer a more positive image of a country that was at its lowest level of prestige abroad.

The conviction that Spain should not be behind in transforming its colonies became more of an issue following its isolation in the United Nations after the Second World War. The Spanish government believed it was unfairly treated and that it was penalized for its presence in Africa even if it was constantly proving to everyone that it had much better relations with the native populations.[5] Sancho González, in his 1962 book *España ante el mundo*, emphasized that, unlike France, which was perceived as one of the forces behind Spain's isolation, Spain treated the natives better and made significant improvements in the educational system: "Y terminada la etapa guerrera se inician en Marruecos obras de paz y trabajo, cruzándolo de caminos, abasteciéndolo de obras hidráulicas, estimulando el cultivo de su suelo y levantando espléndidos centros de enseñanza" (464). In 1955, Valderrama Martínez highlighted this idea of an educational mission in his *Manual del maestro español en la escuela marroquí*, which contained a Decalogue for the Spanish teacher in the Protectorate. Rule Number One states: "El maestro o maestra que presta sus servicios en la enseñanza musulmana debe considerarse como elegido para cumplir la más noble misión de España en su zona del protectorado" (15). Following the occupation of the international city of Tangier by Spain during the Second World War, the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1946: 28) claimed that education was a priority there as well and that "el cuadro de los maestros fue cuidadosamente seleccionado." In a similar way, and in reference to education in Ifni, the Instituto de Estudios Africanos stated in its report the following: "Por otra parte está la preocupación constante del gobierno de la nación [...] para proporcionar al niño los medios necesarios para su educación y enseñanza mediante maestros competentes, centros adecuados y material moderno, para que la labor sea de verdad, eficiente y duradera" (3).

Finally, with regard to the Sahara, the perception that Spain carried out effective educational policies in favor of the indigenous population is captured in the following quotation from Salafranca, who argued for early positive discrimination by Spain against its own citizens and in favor of the Sahrawis. Written almost ninety years after the article by Rafael Gasset cited above, the quotation still sounds very similar in describing the notion of a caring colonizer with a noble educational mission and how the effect of propaganda can linger on:

> a los alumnos saharauis se les proporcionaba todo el material escolar gratis, se les daba de comer, también de balde, en los comedores escolares y tenían asistencia sanitaria igualmente gratuita y se les proporcionaba ropa, calzado, uniformes y equipo deportivo, sin tener que abonar ni un solo céntimo, lo que no era el caso de los niños españoles que tenían que pagarlo todo. Luego, si había discriminación, era a favor de los saharauis. (332)

The aftermath: a Hispanic Maghreb?

In addition to the Spanish autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla, and the smaller presidios (Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, Islas de Alhucemas, and Islas de Chafarinas), Spain continues to have educational and economic presence in North Africa, especially in northern Morocco. There are eleven Spanish educational centers in Morocco where 350 teachers instruct some 5000 students, according to the Spanish official curriculum, including an elementary school in El Aaiún in the Sahara. Nearly 75 percent of the students in these Spanish centers are Moroccan and students have access to Spanish universities for higher education (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores 2015).

In northern Morocco, Spanish continues to be present both as a border language and as a popular foreign language supported by economic investment by Spanish companies and relatively fluid population movement. There is considerable interest in learning Spanish as a second language through formal instruction as well. However, Spanish does not have an official status and is not used as language of instruction in any school subjects, unlike French. It is offered, nevertheless, as a foreign language in competition with English and other languages, in about one third of Moroccan schools. While some Moroccans develop naturalistic competence in the language, this tends to be more in the border region and especially in the former major Spanish Morocco cities of Tetuán and Nador, in addition to Tangier. Spanish is also a commonly used language in northern Morocco to follow Spanish media.

With regard to the disputed territories of the Western Sahara and the Sahrawi refugee camps in Tinduf (Algeria), Spanish is one way the Sahrawis strive to set themselves apart from Morocco (Candela Romero 2006; Morgenthaler García 2011). They speak the local Arabic vernacular known as *Hassaniya*, and like the rest of the Arabic-speaking world employ Modern Standard Arabic as the official language for formal communication including in the education and government sectors. Spanish is introduced as a second language in elementary school, which allows all educated Sahrawis to have access to it from early on. Spanish is also commonly used by the non-governmental organizations for social and health related activities (Candela Romero 2006). The government of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic uses Spanish, along with Arabic, in its publications and audiovisual materials including newscasts. Interestingly enough, one of the main reasons for the maintenance of Spanish among the Sahrawis has to do with the effect of Cuba, where hundreds of Sahrawis have pursued higher education (Tarkki 1995; Goicoechea Gaona 1998). Older speakers who worked with the Spaniards before the end of the colonial periods have varying competence in the language as well.

At the linguistic level, Spanish in the Maghreb presents some features that are more the result of second language acquisition processes and the influence of the native Arabic dialects than the development of a stable local variety of Spanish. While the few hundred Moroccan-born Spaniards who still live in the area conserve native competence in the language, general lack of bilingualism among this population has guaranteed a natural transmission of native Andalusian varieties in most cases. Common features include weakening of final /s/ and intervocalic /d/, deaffrication of the affricate consonant, velarization of final /n/, aspiration of /x/, in addition to predominance of *seseo* (Sayahi 2011). On the other hand, very few loanwords from Arabic are used by Moroccan born-Spaniards. As a result, we cannot speak of a distinct nativized local variety of Spanish outside of Ceuta and Melilla.

With regards to Arabic speakers of Spanish who acquire it as a second language, a salient feature is the alteration of vowel height, more often consisting in the raising of the mid vowels /e, o/ to [i] and [u], respectively, in words such as *pescado*> [pis.ka.du] and *bebida*> [bi.bi.da] (Scipione and Sayahi 2005; Sayahi 2006). Other features include initial vowel deletion and the shortening of unstressed vowels and diphthongs. The majority of the speakers use *seseo* and do not present consistent /s/ weakening. In addition, /x/ is often realized as post-velar and the palatal nasal is commonly altered to be articulated as alveolar nasal + a palatal glide. At the morpho-syntactic level, common errors in verb morphology are the most common feature.

In a study of Spanish in the Sahrawi refugee camps in Tinduf, Tarkki wrote: "el español goza de mucho prestigio a pesar de no ser lengua materna de ninguno de sus habitantes" (7). Even though he argues for the existence of some distinguishing features principally as a result of influence of the local vernacular of Arabic, no claims are made for the existence of a distinct dialect of Spanish. Among the features that nonetheless distinguish the speech of the Saharawis, as in the case of northern Morocco, the phonetic features seem to be the more unstable ones (Morgenthaler García 2011). As argued by Tarkki, "la mayoría de las características fonéticas del español hablado en el Sahara se pueden explicar por la influencia del hasanía" (17). Tarkki also reports that the majority of the Sahrawi speakers seem to be *seseantes*, although on the official Sahrawi TV channel, the interdental phoneme is used and its use has also been reported by Morgenthaler García (2011: 111). There is also strong variation with regard to the behavior of final /s/, while the velar sound /x/ is rarely aspirated, similarly to what happens in northern Morocco (Tarkki 1995: 42-47). Finally, at the morpho-syntactic level, Tarkki does not identify any features that are not attributable to the acquisition of Spanish as a foreign language and the role of Arabic in it.

Conclusion

While it is true that the presence of the Spanish language in the Maghreb goes back five centuries, it never materialized as a native language among the native population outside Ceuta and Melilla. In the twentieth history, Spanish gained major prominence in Morocco where, between military troops and civil population, there were some 200,000 Spaniards in the Protectorate. On the other hand, the declaration of the Sahara and Ifni as Spanish provinces in 1958 further paved the way for the spread of Spanish, although several factors impeded its nativization there as well. It has to be said that this was also the case for French in North Africa, which did not displace Arabic but did manage nonetheless to survive as second language in the postcolonial period.

The policies that Spain adopted with regard to teaching its language to the native populations in Spanish Morocco and Spanish Sahara reflected the historical (dis)encounters between Iberia and western North Africa. With religion as a major element in their approach to intercultural relations, the Spaniards proceeded to teach their language selectively through a fragmented educational system that conceived of students primarily as belonging to a certain ethno-religious group. The prominent role of religion in Spanish education itself at the time of the dictatorship in particular did not allow for the same curriculum to be followed in the Muslim schools.

In the Sahara, on the other hand, the small number of inhabitants did not allow for the possibility of having separate schools. This had a significant effect on the Sahrawis, who now make use of Spanish as their second language. During the period of isolation following the Second World War, Spain presented its educational policies in Africa as more understanding, more historically anchored, and more positive to the native population than those of France. Today, despite sustained interest in Spanish as a foreign language in many parts in the Maghreb, it remains way behind French in its use as a language of education and economic mobility, and, for that matter, even behind English, notwithstanding the fact that in the Western Sahara it continues to be perceived as an identity index that sets the Sahrawis apart from French speaking Morocco.

Notes

[1] In 1504, Isabella I of Castile dictated in her testament that her successors should push on with the conquest of Africa ("E ruego é mando á la Princesa, mi hija, y al Príncipe, su marido, . . . que no cesen de la conquista de África, é de puñar por la fé contra los Infieles" (Galindo y Vera 1993: 79)). Before and after her death, the Spaniards occupied several port-cities on the northwestern African coasts, reaching all the way to Tripoli in Libya (1510). The Spanish presence in these cities and presidios varied greatly in duration ranging from a few months to a few years and even centuries, as was the case with their presence in Oran and Mazalquivir on the Algerian coast which lasted about three centuries (Fey 1999; Alonso Acero 2000). The Spanish language influence in the local Arabic dialects of areas where Spanish domination was brief is barely detectable.

[2] Spain laid claim to this area based on its earlier presence in Santa Cruz de la Mar Pequeña between 1478 and 1524.

[3] By the time of the Algerian independence, only 13.5 percent of Algerians were literate, 50 percent of them literate in French, 25 percent literate in both Arabic and French, and 20 percent literate in Arabic only (Queffélec et al. 2002; Benrabah 2007).

[4] Saco Maureso presented this dilemma as follows: "[S]in Dios no hay educación, puesto que el objeto de ésta es disponernos a conseguir el fin para que Él nos ha creado. Mas el caso de las escuelas indígenas del Rif, forma una excepción. Y digo que forma una excepción, porque habiendo de ser religiosa la enseñanza, se explicaría religión católica ó musulmana: lo primero sería contraproducente, puesto que el fanatismo de esta gente no sólo haría ahogar la semilla de la doctrina, sino que le induciría á dudar de cuanto oyera de labios de su profesor, y le apartaría de nuestras escuelas; y lo segundo sería un delito que ninguna idea política podría justificar " (148).

[5] González lays out the differences he saw between Spain and France in administering their corresponding zones as follows: "El contraste es y ha sido grande. Marruecos, dividido en dos zonas de protectorado, puede hablar con la fuerza de su vivo testimonio. España no empleó jamás la fuerza de una política apoyada en la aviación y en los carros de combate, sino en la dialéctica y en la comprensión. España no se aparta jamás de sus principios y de los tratados internacionales que firma y mantiene. España, en fin, realiza una vez más su labor constructiva y civilizadora" (383).

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