

Autarky plus state owned enterprises vs. market economy.  
*Spain (and context), 1939-1962*

**Manuel Santos Redondo**

Univ. Complutense, Madrid

[msantosr@ucm.es](mailto:msantosr@ucm.es)

WORK IN PROGRESS

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This paper is part of a study of economic ideas on industrialization over the XX century:

We look at economic ideas, in 1930-1960, advocating national self-sufficiency (autarky) and the various degrees of state-lead industrialization, import substitution, and “national champions”, or state-owned enterprises.

We focus in detail in a particular battle of economic ideas: In Spain after the civil war, 1939, until 1959 economic liberalization.<sup>1</sup>

Two questions:

1) Do ideas matter?

2) The ideas which triumphed in Spain in 1940s and 1950s, under dictatorship, were so different from elsewhere?

There were two competing groups of ideas (and politicians):

- Self-sufficiency with state-owned enterprises (two steps further than Import Substitution Industrialization)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 1959 is the symbolic date, because of the Stabilization Plan on June 30, 1959, announced in December 1958. But industrial policy remained untouched until 1963. Gregorio Lopez Bravo, responsible for these changes, was appointed Ministry of Industry in July 1962. See Buesa & Pires (2001).

<sup>2</sup> The other key point of interventionism in Spain was **Price control**, established in 1939 and lasting until 1952. In Germany, Ludwig Erhard (considered close to ordo-liberals) abolished the price controls in Western Germany as soon as 1948.

- (**Ordo**) liberalism (Freiburg School): **market economy**, foreign investments...

We study the IDEAS in **SPAIN** about industrialization, after Spanish Civil War, in context with ideas and policies in Europe

The goal of industrialization was (*generally*) **not in question**

But there are **conflicting ideas** on **which way** to industrialization:

### **ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY (AUTARKY) IDEAS in 1930s**

Autarky or “national self-sufficiency” was serious issue in the 1930s. We tend to think of autarky as a peculiarity of Franco dictatorship. We will review the policies in main countries to have a general view.

**GERMANY:** Nazis pursuing economic self-sufficient (and a superpower)

- cutting German imports; **research** into the making of synthetic materials (rubber, petroleum, textiles...)
- **Public works programs** by ministry **Hjalmar Schacht** (August 1934; **von Schleicher's** government; Günther Gereke, special commissioner for employment.)<sup>3</sup>

1936 - “Four Year Plan”, Herman Göring “Plenipotentiary” (Schacht resigned 1937) **Rearmament**, **Works Programs** (keep unemployment low), and **Autarky**. Created, acquired, directed, financed, **many important industrial enterprises**: oil refineries, aluminum plants, and factories for the development of synthetic materials; Iron Ore, Smelting, Steel works, Coal mining, Armament manufacturing factories, heavy machinery plants.

→ Success? In strictly economic terms? Difficult to differentiate from **rearmament** for war (Schacht did, but Hitler preferred Rearmament and Goring)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> **Kurt von Schleicher** (1882 – 30 June 1934; Chancellor: December 1932 – 28 January 1933) German general and the second to last Chancellor of Germany Weimar Republic. Close advisor to President Paul von Hindenburg. Seventeen months after his resignation, he was assassinated by order of Hitler, in the “Night of the Long Knives”. His government initiated a **public works** program to fight the effects of the Great Depression, directed by **Günther Gereke** (1893-1970), appointed special commissioner for employment. The various public works projects intended to provide 2,000,000 jobs by July 1933. Legislation was passed in January 1933.

<sup>4</sup> Wengenroth (2000),

## GREAT BRITAIN

- British "left-liberal" **Lloyd George** praised the **public works program** in his visit to Hitler, 1936.

- J. M **KEYNES**, 1933 "**National Self-Sufficiency**"

Against fascism, but not against self sufficiency:

"over an increasingly wide range of industrial products, and perhaps of agricultural products also, I become doubtful whether the economic cost of national self-sufficiency is great enough to outweigh the other **advantages** of gradually **bringing the producer and the consumer within the ambit of the same national, economic and financial organization.**"

"... let goods be homespun wherever it is reasonable and conveniently possible, and above all, let finance be primarily national."

- Economic isolation. Then, expansive monetary policy to reduce interest rate.

- Increased responsibility of public sector, but **private enterprise**, dominant place in the economy (with low interest rate).

**Beveridge Report**, 1942: welfare state

July 1945 election: Clement Attlee, **Labour Party Government**, **1945-51**.

**NATIONALIZATION of public utilities and major industries**: Bank of England; civil aviation, 1946. Coal mining, railways, road haulage, canals, Cable and Wireless, 1947, electricity and gas, 1948; steel industry 1951. By 1951, 20% of the British economy: **public ownership**.

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## ITALY <sup>5</sup>

Mussolini (1922): looking for self-sufficiently and independence from foreign strategic materials. Reinforced after 1935 invasion of Abyssinia

**1933** - "Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (*Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale* IRI), response to banking crisis. **1937**, turns into **public holding Company**, linked to **self-sufficiency and "industrial mobilization"** ("smobilizzi industriali").

1939 - Italian state-owned enterprises, a larger share of the national economy than any other country except the USSR.

→ Failure

Post World-War II: economic miracle

**state-owned enterprises (from 1930s) & private enterprises**

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<sup>5</sup> Amatori (2000)

## FRANCE <sup>6</sup>

### 1944-46: nationalizations

- Provisional government led by **Charles De Gaulle**, with broad support across the political spectrum, with, among others, Socialists and a new Christian Democratic Party → **nationalizations**

- Energy, transportation, and finance. Private coal companies. Gas and electricity. Air France. Insurance companies. *Banque de France*, four biggest commercial banks. Renault (considered collaborationist).

- **transformed the state into a giant economic actor**: **1946**, directly controlled 98 % coal production, 95 % electricity, 58 % the banking sector, 38 % automobile production, and 15 % total GDP.

- **Jean Monnet**, first director **General Commissariat for Planning**

→ **Success** <sup>7</sup>

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## NETHERLANDS

- Dominant laissez faire orientation

- Most of Dutch State Owned Enterprises were managed as private companies (Davids & Zanden, (2000)

→ Few State Owned Enterprises, but successful

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## AUSTRIA <sup>8</sup>

Engelbert Dollfuss (1892-1934)

1920 Christian Social Party

1932: Social Christian, agrarian and fascist. **March 1933: authoritarian** <sup>9</sup>

1945-1970: "People's Party" ÖVP (Conservative, Catholic) alone, or coalition with Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) "social market economy"

- 1946 Austrian Parliament → **nationalize seventy-one large business enterprises**, 20% percent of the country's industry. iron, steel, and oil production, part of the chemical industry, and machinery and mining.

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<sup>6</sup> Chadeau (2000)

<sup>7</sup> "It was, by any measure, a great success". Cohen 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Stiefel (2000), Senft (2003).

<sup>9</sup> Austrian Christian Democratic leader Engelbert Dollfuss, Chancellor in May 1932 and dictator since March 1933, was widely cited in Spain to show Gil Robles, the leader of Spanish Christian Democratic Party, as fascist.

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## **PORTUGAL** <sup>10</sup>

**António de Oliveira Salazar**, Ministry of Finance <sup>11</sup> (1928–32) Prime Minister (1932–68)

Reaction to the failure of First Portuguese Republic:

“Within a few years, large parts of the key economic forces, intellectuals, opinion-makers and middle classes changed from left to right, trading the unfulfilled utopia of a developing and civic republicanism for notions of "order," "stability" and "security". Sardica (2010).

- extensive **state regulation**: industrial licensing, 'condicionamento' (Pires 2003)

- predominantly **private ownership** of the means of production.

**mix** of **self-sufficiency and international trade** (NATO, 1949; UN, 1955; EFTA 1960; OECD 1961)

Rhetorical, only limited self-sufficiency (cotton) linked to Portuguese Empire

➔ **Economic growth**

**Political isolation** during decolonization after W W II

Ideas: **Gilberto Freyre** (1900-1987) Brazilian sociologist, “**lusotropicalism**”

1960: war in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea

➔ Political failure; half of the budget allocated to war

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European context, **CONCLUSION**

- **Economic Self-Sufficiency**, well considered in 1930s, especially if war is expected
- **State owned enterprises**, seen as good in many countries, in 1940s and 1950s

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<sup>10</sup> Portugal is not considered in Toninelli (2000).

<sup>11</sup> El principal problema del país era la situación económica. En 1926, un golpe de estado había acabado con la Primera República Portuguesa (1910–1926, con dos dictaduras entremedias: General Pimenta de Castro (January–May 1915) y **Sidónio Pais** (December 1917 – December 1918, En marzo de 1918) cambió la Constitución hacia un régimen presidencialista, que llamó República Nova (Fernando Pessoa, gran admirador suyo, le llamó Presidente-Rei), precursora del Estado Novo” de Oliveira. La Dictadura militar, presidida por el General Carmona, llamó a Oliveira como ministro de finanzas.

## UNITED STATES

Autarchy . . . is distinctly thinkable and it is probably coming. It is unthinkable unless it be controlled. It must be planned and planned by the Federal government . . . To introduce it in a society of laissez-faire is economic suicide. It can only be undertaken when governments take power and speculative profits away from businessmen and bankers. Vast and delicate problems of adjustment are entailed, which cannot be left to the clumsy hands of high finance. New industries must be set up; old industries liquidated; industrial research for substitute commodities encouraged on a large scale; millions of potential unemployed steered to new jobs; colossal capital shrinkage adjusted in some fashion; such foreign trade as remains rigidly budgeted by central authority. National planning and economic nationalism must go together or not at all. President Roosevelt has accepted the general philosophy of planning. Under his guidance we may move toward an inevitable autarchy with less trepidation than if we were pushed into it while a Hoover or a Mills still gazed dreamily at the logical harmonies of the nineteenth-century free market

Stuart Chase (American socialist economist), "Autarchy", 1933.

History of State Owned Enterprises in the United States has many unique characteristics; but:

- when we add municipal and state-level SOEs to those created by the federal government, developments in the United States do not appear to be as unique
- historical processes that fostered state-owned ventures and also the processes that turned the nation away from them were similar other nations.<sup>12</sup>

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## SPAIN

In Spain, 1939, strong limitations

- destruction after civil war
- W W II in Europe
- Alignment with Axis Powers (until September 1942)
- International isolation after W W II (until 1947, 1953, 1959)

BUT: in Spain, in pursuing autarky was not only a reaction to isolation.

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<sup>12</sup> Galambos (2000),

## IDEAS WERE VERY RELEVANT

- **autarky was the ideal system** for several political groups inside Franco's Regime, and **those ideas triumphed over a decade.**
- "**self-sufficiency**" was related to "**industrial mobilization**", once war is expected to last (as in 1916) (San Roman; Pires & Ramos; Alvarez & Ortunez)
- **INI : self-sufficiency plus state owned enterprises**

1939: Advocates of **autarky** inside Franco's Regime:

- **FASCISTS** (Falange) [autarky *plus* state owned enterprises **plus corporative state**] Serrano Suñer, until September 1942.

- **MILITARY** ["industrial mobilization" study groups, 1916-1936]: autarky **plus state owned** industry. **Most relevant** → INI, **J. A. Suanzes**

- **ENGINEERS** [Pires & Ramos 2006]

- **Antonio Robert, 1943**

Once the state-owned industry is launched with quasi-monopoly dimensions, the engineer's argument is "technical": the already installed capacity is enough, so new factories would lead to overproduction

- SOME ECONOMISTS advocating self-sufficiency:

- **Paris Eguilaz, Higinio** (1907-)

- De Figueroa Martínez, Emilio (1911-1989)

- **Robert Robert, Antonio** (1907-1986) Industrial Engineer. Director General de Industria entre 1945 y 1947, con Suanzes. Self sufficiency, protectionism, Import-Substitution. Centrally-planned coordination. (Robert 1943 *Un problema nacional. La industrialización necesaria*)

- **Juan Antonio Suanzes** (1891-1977) 1920 "La Naval" - Vickers

→ **Example of real effects: Seat**. Ford 1976, and GM, 1982, producing cars in Spain. Fiat refuses to take over in 1980. Spanish government invests heavily in the factory. But finally it goes cheap to VW, in 1986.

In the other side:

- **Market economy, Ordoliberalism (Freiburg School)**

Advocated by Spanish "**technocrats**"; and by most Spanish economists. Required by United States

Many Spanish economists: slow ideological evolution, from self-sufficiency or strong protectionism, corporatism, direct state intervention, to market economy (Velarde 1995)

- ¿BANKERS? ¿**Juan Lladó** y Sánchez Blanco (1907-1982), B. Urquijo? ¿ideas, or interests, as future agent of foreign investors (or both)?
- United States [but Franco did not follow their economic path until 1959].
- British influence <sup>13</sup>
- **1962** World Bank Report, "**The economic development of Spain**". The view of Spanish economists, called "technocrats". Stabilization Plan, 1959. Development Plan, December 1963.

→ IT TOOK THEM MORE THAN A DECADE TO TRIUMPH

IDEAS AGAINST INDUSTRIALIZATION in Spain after 1919

Or trying a slower path, to minimize social effects

- Fascists (Falange): traditional agricultural village stife of life, or traditional urban living:  
    **"people from different social ranks living in the different floors of the same building classes"** (Raimundo Fernandez Cuesta, 1938. **Pedro Muguruza [arquitecto del valle de los caídos ]**; **Pedro Bidagor**. Lopez 2003). <sup>14</sup>  
    → So, **slower rural exodus, slower industrialization.**

But 1) industrialization and attractiveness of city, and 2) bad conditions in the country (no jobs)

aunque en la práctica el régimen apostara decididamente por la industrialización, durante los años autárquicos de la década de los cuarenta –e incluso hasta mediados de la década de los cincuenta– dominó *formalmente*, en discursos y escritos de todo tipo, una retórica oficial agrarista de firme defensa del campo, con llamamientos a una "vuelta a la tierra" e idealizaciones

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<sup>13</sup> Since July 1940, some Spanish military were paid by British government to support anglophile positions in WWII. The more prominent one was General Jose Enrique Varela Iglesias. In 1941 he would marry Casilda Ampuero Gandarias, from a prominent Basque family involved in business and in politics, as "Carlist" (which meant anglophile).

<sup>14</sup> "Como arquitectos podemos hacer notar que hasta ahora se construyen barrios independientes y distintos para las diversas clases sociales, que naturalmente, fomentan y excitan la lucha de clases. Y ahora queremos hacer barrios para gentes que estén unidas por un fin común, y dentro de cada uno de estos barrios estará comprendida toda la jerarquía desde la máxima hasta la mínima". Plan Nacional de Ordenacion y Reconstrucción de Madrid, Servicios técnicos de Falange (directed by Pedro Muguruza; elaborated by Pedro Bigador). Quoted in López 2003.

de la vida campesina en la naturaleza frente a las miserias de la ciudad industrial” (Ramos 2014; see Martínez Vara & Ramos, 2012)

Reflected in films:

Film: “**Surcos**”, 1951. Director: José Antonio Nieves Conde (falangist). Script by Gonzalo Torrente Ballester and Eugenio Montes (falangist). Praised the rural life and criticized the city and emigration. Prized (and paid) by Franco Regime; soon afterwards, forbidden for immoral.

Film: “**Las aguas bajan negras**”, 1948. Director: José Luis Sáenz de Heredia. Based on novel by Armando Palacio Valdés, *La aldea perdida*, 1903. Anti-industrialism, strong in novel, softer in film.

**1941 - INI, National Institute of Industry.** “to promote industry, especially those aimed to **Defense** and **Autarky**”

Spanish state-owned financing and industrial holding company.

- First president: **Juan Antonio Suanzes**, Navy, military engineer. “Strong man” of Franco’s Regime in industry (until the raise of “technocrats”). Had worked in **private enterprise**. “La Naval”, Cartagena: **Conflict with foreign technological partner, Vickers**

- ideas and managers from “**industrial mobilization**” **commissions** (1916-1936). Military engineers and Artillery → Proposed Nationalization, *plus* state intervention. “**practically all industry was the Spain military rearguard**” (Gomez Mendoza, 2000. San Román 1999). Suanzes get for INI the ideas and managers from Industrial Mobilization.

- INI will include a broad range of companies, from heavy and basic industries to "soft" services: Steel, trucks, cars, oil and gas, cellulose, biofuels, aluminum, Electric power, fertilizers, petrochemicals, military shipyards, non-military shipyards, weapons, merchant shipping line, tour operator, tourism, airline, aircraft industry.

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## **TECHNOLOGY, THE KEY POINT**

Nationalism self-sufficiency Ideas in practice:

**Industrial self-sufficiency**, in the short term, can be opposed to **'technological independence'**. (Germany a tech leader, Spain not).

## **The road to autarky ideas: Clashes with Technological partner**

1920 Suanzes leave the Army. Becomes director of shipyard of Spanish military shipbuilder SECN “**La Naval**”, Spanish only military shipbuilder, with 60% Spanish banks and 40% Vickers and partners, the technological partner.

1934 Spanish military shipbuilder SECN make a bid in Brazil, competing with Vickers. Vickers wins. Suanzes quit.<sup>15</sup>

Gil Robles, in Parliament, 1933:

“Our naval construction is managed by foreign capital, which can be interested in diminishing Spanish naval technique” (Valdivieso, 2012)<sup>16</sup>

Ministry for the Navy, Juan José Rocha, García, shared this view:

“...precisamente, si en algo no se debe ser tributario del extranjero, es en aquello quo roza con la defensa nacional. ... el Ministro de Marina cree que esa Sociedad tiene que ser española, con intervención española y control español.”<sup>17</sup>

Socialist view was not very different:<sup>18</sup>

### **Suanzes forged a nationalistic view of industry.**

'an enthusiastic and patriotic spirit substituted the previous English one, which was cold, uninterested, and tinged with perfectly explicable colonial aspects.' (Suanzes, about “La Naval”, conflicting with Vickers, 1930s)

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## **THE ROAD TO (ECONOMIC) LIBERALS “TECHNOCRATS” INSIDE FRANCO’S REGIME**

Politically, two sides:

- **Fascists (“Falange”)** ¿and Cristian Democrats [1936, CEDA Program] ? (1942-1951: from Franco’s turn towards Allied, september 1942, to raise of Carrero Blanco (1941, Undersecretary. Ministry, july 1951. Vice-President, 1967)

- “technocrats” (linked to “Opus Dei”)

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<sup>15</sup> Suanzes (1934) explains the situation. This letter was provided to me by Jose Luis García Ruiz. Published as “Anexo I” in De Juan-García (2015).

<sup>16</sup> José María Gil Robles: Gil Robles: “Pero esta minoría entiende que no cumpliría con su deber si no llamara la atención sobre la situación grave que puede significar para el Estado español el que todas nuestras construcciones de la Marina de Guerra puedan ser encomendadas a sociedades que, con denominación española, tienen una intervención quizá decisiva de capital extranjero, que puede en algunos momentos traer graves problemas para la defensa de nuestra Patria.” José María Gil Robles, 13 marzo 1934, Pleno del Congreso. Diario de Sesiones de Cortes. Congreso de los Diputados. Quoted (part) in Ballester, capítulo 3 “La Naval – 1922-1934”, pp. 39-56. Salida de la empresa y repercusión en el Congreso, pp. 53-56).

<sup>17</sup> 13 marzo 1934, Pleno del Congreso. Diario de Sesiones de Cortes. Congreso de los Diputados.

<sup>18</sup> *El Socialista*, 13 septiembre 1934. “El coste de los submarinos españoles”, recoge la misma cuestión, la falta de autoridad del gobierno español en la Naval por las deudas con Vickers.

But, **Before:**

**Juan Sardá** (1910-1995; **1931, London School of Economics**, Theodore Gregory (1890-1970).

**Lucas Beltrán** (1911-1997; **LSE 1931-32**, Robbins, Hayek. 1942, *Moneda y Credito*),

**Salvador Millet i Bel** (1912-1998) (**Francesc Cambó**, *Lliga*),

**Alberto Ullastres Calvo** (1914-2001).

**Miguel Paredes Marcos** (1910-1976).

1943 Heinrich von **Stackelberg** (1901-1946) came to Madrid.<sup>19</sup>

**1946 Hayek *Road to Serfdom*** translated to Spanish

**1949** - invited 4 economist: **Hayek, Eucken, Röpke** and Schumpeter.

→ Ordoliberalism: presented as “**third way**” between Laissez faire and “totalitarianism, integral planning, and socialism”<sup>20</sup> (Paredes & Ullastres about lectures by Eucken and Hayek in Spain, 1949).

- “**Totalitarianism**, comprehensive planning and socialism”: mistake, “because there exist a basic order”

- “**laissez faire**”: mistake, because the basic order is not the best economic and moral order

→ **Ordoliberalism (Freiburg School) fits Franco’s Regime ideas and propaganda:** Franco could perfectly assume Ordoliberalism: Christian roots, strong state to order economy, and wide range to redistribution policies. Fascists and Catholics, inside Franco’s Regime, shared these (Martín Rodríguez, 2016). Hayek was seen as ordoliberal [and, at this time, he was].

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<sup>19</sup> Ban (2012), Velarde (2012).

<sup>20</sup> “Lo que ofrece naturalmente la sociedad, por lo menos en el nivel de civilización alcanzado desde hace unos siglos, es un orden básico, un orden punto de apoyo o de partida que lleva en sí gérmenes y elementos de desorden que, para ser neutralizados, hacen precisa la acción consciente -intencionada- y planeada de la sociedad a través de sus órganos políticos. Si error fundamental es desconocer la existencia de ese orden básico -que es lo que hacen el totalitarismo, la planificación integral y el socialismo-, no lo es menos suponer -como hacía el laissez faire- que el orden básico se identifica con el orden económico y moral mejor a que debe tender la sociedad. Ésta es la razón de que se hayan abandonado las posiciones extremas político-económicas y se haya buscado una tercera vía de organización económica” Ullastres & Paredes, 1949. Quoted in Martín Rodríguez, 2012, p. 32.

## CONCLUSIONS:

1. In Spain after 1939, ideas advocating self-sufficiency and state owned enterprises, did have an important effect in the way economic organized, with strong investments organized under both ideas.
2. Import-substitution industrialization was a generalized objective at that time, every country trying to maximize the “national content” of its industrial products. Industry was primarily directed toward the home market, and then to export market.
3. State owned enterprises, be it nationalized o built anew, were in fashion in Europe after WWII.
4. Ideas in favor of self-sufficiency and state owned enterprises come from several groups inside Franco's regime: 1) the **Military**, which had **study groups** working on “**industrial mobilization**”; 2) **Fascists** (Falange), which, in addition to self-sufficiency and state owned enterprises, advocate Corporate State. 3) **Engineers**, especially once the big factory had been built with monopoly dimensions. And 4) some economists, in Spain.
5. Once the investment is done, having in mind a quasi-monopoly state owned firm, the criteria for denying a license to a private competitor doesn't need to be ideologically sustained: “it would lead to overcapacity”, was the explicit reasoning.
6. German self-sufficiency policy meant strong investments in Research & Development of new material and techs. German was a tech leader. National self-sufficiency has a very different meaning for a country like Spain.
7. For Spain in 1939, which relay on foreign technology, the main issue in self-sufficiency is how to grow up, from technological assistance and royalties to a progressively national technology. This issue applies both to state owned enterprises or private ones. Strong investment in “national” Research & Development usually is the opposite of self-sufficiency in the short term. Cars and trucks industry is a symbolic example: The search for completely national truck by Enasa (Pegaso truck Z-207 “Barajas”, 1955, developed at INI by **Wifredo Ricart** ) or the conflict between Barreiros and Chrysler (technological partner and minority shareholder) in 1962 are good examples. Or conflict between Spanish military shipbuilder SECN and its technological partner Vickers over the sales contract to Brazil in 1934, in which Suanzes was involved.

8. To privatize a state owned company, especially in 1970s, is politically much difficult than having set it as a private investment in the beginning. So the effect of initial search for self-sufficiency with state owned firms would have effects even later. The tortuous sell of Seat is the “worst” example.

9. Agreements with United States, since 1953, gradually change the situation. But everything started in 1947 (Schmitz, 2009), and for more than ten years, economic ideas favored by united stated were not accepted by Franco’s regime.

10. Some economists were laboring, inside Franco’s Regime, in favor of a **market economy**. They managed to translate Hayek’s *Road to Serfdom* in **1946**; to bring **Hayek** and **Eucken** to Spain in **1949**, and make “**ordoliberalism**” (**Freiburg School**), considered a “third way” between capitalism and state-planned economy, the best option for Spain. (Hayek was seen then as an ordoliberal). These ideas were totally **acceptable by Franco’s Regime** ideology and propaganda. In those years, and compared with state planned economy advocated by Fascists and Military, and organized under INI, **Ordoliberalism clearly meant a free market economy**, as **Ludwig Erhard** had clearly set in Germany in **1948**, abolishing the price controls. **These ideas**, and an economic crisis, and United States push, **lead to changes** materialized in **1959 Stabilization Plan**. The group of economists, known as “technocrats” and most of them linked to Opus Dei, finally triumphed politically in 1962 Franco’s new government, and then real policies started to change. They worked together with United States and institution like the World Bank, which made a Report in 1962. The foreign reports were a way to get Franco convinced.

11. Spain wasted resources with the self-sufficiency policies; but the story ends with positive conclusion. We can look at cars and trucks industry as a symbolic example: Spain does not have a “national” car and truck industry, but do have an important car and track industry; and, since Ford and GM installed in Spain, an important auxiliary automotive industry, exporting worldwide. So the economic model designed in 1959, after struggling with the economic organization designed in the times of self-sufficiency, has probed, in some sector, ready to compete in the world and not to take advantage of o protected home market.

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