

The economic thought of Salvador de Madariaga

Pensamiento económico de Salvador de Madariaga

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ABSTRACT

Salvador de Madariaga was a versatile liberal thinker with great international prestige that made him part of the driving force behind several liberal initiatives, including the Mont Pèlerin Society or the College of Europe in Brugge. In this work his few economic thoughts hidden in his political and historical work are synthesized because, as he himself recognized, his knowledge was scarce, and he also gave them very little importance. This work aims to reflect these ideas - sometimes in opposition - and place them in the appropriate context, as well as to reflect the dichotomy between his liberal, political and economic positions, which were not always the same. To do this we have relied on their own writings and the opinions they aroused.

Keywords: Liberal economic principles, Mont Pélerin, Market, Private property, economic institutions, social classes.

JEL Classification: B31.

RESUMEN

Salvador de Madariaga fue un polifacético pensador liberal de gran prestigio internacional que le convirtió en uno de los impulsores de varias iniciativas liberales, entre ellas la Sociedad Mont Pèlerin o el Colegio de Europa de Brujas. En esta obra se sintetizan sus escasas ideas económicas ocultas en su obra política e histórica porque, como él mismo reconocía, sus conocimientos eran escasos, y además les daba muy poca importancia. Esta obra pretende reflejar estas ideas -a veces contrapuestas- y situarlas en el contexto adecuado, así como reflejar la dicotomía entre sus posiciones liberales, políticas y económicas, que no siempre eran las mismas. Para ello nos hemos basado en sus propios escritos y en las opiniones que suscitaron.

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Palabras clave: Principios económicos liberales, Mont Pélerin, Mercado, Propiedad privada, instituciones económicas, clases sociales.

Clasificación JEL: B 31.



1. INTRODUCCIÓN

Salvador de Madariaga, born in Spain¹, became a widely known intellectual of his time thanks to his liberal and pro-European side². Much has been written about the life and work of Salvador de Madariaga, his ideas, his publications, his many works (historical, political, educational, essays, etc.) but, although there are quite many works about him or where his economic ideas are present, we think that there is no study that has tried to systematize them. This task is not easy at all because Madariaga often contradicts himself as his ideas are being altered by the events happening during his life (1886-1978)³. His thoughts about the role of the economy are, in our view, an effect of the international circumstances of different periods of his life (the World Wars, the League of Nations, the interwar period, the rise of fascism and communism, etc.). These contingencies are driving him towards the design of an idea of the society (and economy) functioning that, he thinks, has more advantages than all others known to him. For example, he was a mining engineer from the École Polytechnique de Paris and this made him propose mechanistic and planning approaches to the social solutions that he put forward. In this way, even while being politically a profound liberal, he did not perceive badly the planning of the Soviet regime⁴ until he became aware of the flaws inherent in it.

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Madariaga did not have extensive knowledge of economics, in fact, he did not value sufficiently the role of economics and even rejected economism, considering his words "as a liberal that I consider myself, I give minimum importance to the economic issues, medium one to the political questions and the maximum one to the human values" (Madariaga, 1984, p. 66). He therefore believed that "... the economic aspects cannot prevail over the human ones...; material wealth does not come from work but from the human mind". After these affirmations, Madariaga concludes that "The true economy consists in the adequate administration of moral values in the material realm" (Perroux, 1967, p. 807). We do not know what he means by "adequate administration", but his consideration does not include what was widely accepted in his time, that is, planning and Keynesian contributions to the achievement of macroeconomic equilibrium.

Madariaga confessed himself to be a liberal, "organic liberal" to be more precise, and by extension he adopted the general lines of liberal economic principles, stating that "Communism is of fascist nature in politics; and fascism is of communist nature in economics" (Madariaga, 1978, p. 407-423). However, even bearing in mind his ascription to liberal political thought it should not be concluded that Madariaga was a liberal from the economic point of view. He defended the ideas of an orthodox liberal, or what is the same, he gave the prominence to private initiative with a reduced role of the State (Madariaga, 1970) and stayed away from the theories of social integration defended by the most dynamic bourgeoisie of his time. Pareto's economic organic views influenced his economic thinking, leading him to consider that it is the nature that makes successful

a system that is most suitable to adapt to problems such as organization or the scarcity of resources. However, in the face of the above and as we collect it in this paper, we find proposals that are very far from the liberal letting of the market to function freely and to establish its own operating rules.

The present work is structured as follows. First, the Madariaga's methodology is approached, then the context in which Madariaga develops his economic thoughts is shown. Later, and following a historical order, the economy as a function of international relations, the economic state and social classes is analyzed. The research ends up with conclusions.

2. MADARIAGA'S METHOD

Madariaga was not in favor of the method of setting rules a priori and then trying to adjust them to reality (Mateo-Viñes, 2002, p-53). On the contrary, he defends the study of the facts first and after that he derives the corresponding emerging rules. He based his statements on direct observation of the facts, trying to present his judgments as objective and freed from cultural references that could distort reality. However, the facts' analysis seems to present a large psychological component, rejecting structural and social elements when studying international events. His ideas are based on the analysis of the individual who, by nature, deforms and corrupts institutions (Mateo-Viñes, 2002, p-53). His preparation as engineer can be observed in this way, because deep down the "measures" and analyzes reality and, from there, he derives rules of behavior.

Madariaga was an essayist and not a scientist. What is more, he is aware of contradictions in the elaboration of his own essays. Thus, for example, and referring to foreign policy, Madariaga (1974, p. 610) pointed out: "I was in a paradoxical situation: I had aspired to create an objective international policy that turned out to rest on a subjective personal position; I wanted to depersonalize Spain's foreign policy, but I had to do it by personal methods and criteria".

When he studies the differences between the population of the different European states, he relies on his intuition and on his own personal experience, as well as historical references that he uses to reinforce his appreciations. In this sense, we share the opinion of García-Cárcel (2003, p. 9) when he points out that "Madariaga's methodology was that of an essayist, a well-read essayist, who seeks to contribute ideas or "occurrences" as he called them, rather than endowing himself with adventitiousness of scientific legitimacy".

Madariaga at that time was contrary to the prevailing positions, arguing that economics was not an exact science and, consequently, he recommended that planning should be in the hands of technicians directed by the corresponding governments. His attitude seems



logical because throughout much of his life, economics had been a rather literary science and if we add to this that he was an engineer we can understand his reluctance regarding the "accuracy" of economic science. It should be noted that "... the successes of the central planning and promotional activity of the governments of the Western countries silenced many of the dissonant voices and brought together many wills in a short period of time. With the honorable exception of FA Hayek, who wrote a virulent attack on the new state of affairs in his *Road to Serfdom* (1944), including his circle of fervent admirers gathered in the Mont Pelèrin society (Switzerland, 1947)" (Martínez de Pisón, 1994, p. 243-270).

3. MADARIAGA'S ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND ITS CONTEXT

Madariaga developed a large part of his thought in the context of a Europe in which statism and the social sphere prevailed; it was imposed from the personal perspective, so that the defense of liberal thought of which he was a follower was not easy.

As a reaction to that, Madariaga promoted in 1947 the creation of the Liberal International, which in its Manifesto defended that individual freedoms and sustained progress were based on private property, advocating political and economic freedom in which the State should serve the individual and not the other way round.

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He also supported the Society created at the meeting in Mont Pèlerin, attended by people from different countries and mostly from the world of economics⁵. However, he did not attend the majority of the Society's meetings because he considered that they mainly dealt with economic issues - in which he was not feeling comfortable - instead of dealing with political aspects. Thus, although he was continuously invited, he excused his absence with different reasons. His discomfort towards economic aspects is striking considering that Madariaga was married to Constance Archibald, an economics historian⁶.

From the beginning, Mont Pèlerin was not a forum in which there was an agreement on the topics and the proposed solutions to different problems. What is more, they could not reach an agreement on the essential nature of the meeting. On one hand, Hayek, which was the co-founder of the Society, had in mind an international Academy made up of relevant scientists, which were not to be actively involved in politics. On the other hand, Madariaga, who was also a co-founder, saw the Mont Pèlerin Society as a platform that intervenes in elections and political movements in the countries. The final outcome tended more towards Hayek's approach (Beltrán, 1996, p. 217-220)⁷ and the Society focused on defending the limitation of State activity in the economy, free trade and economic relations.

The participants of the Mont Pèlerin meetings were against the planning system proposed by socialism that they considered fed the underdevelopment of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Although they also criticized the capitalist welfare societies because they threatened the free market ideology. Furthermore, as a great methodological critique, Von Mises and Hayek, who had predicted the Great Depression of 1929 as a consequence of monetary and fiscal interventionism during the 1920s, considered that socialism faced a scientific impossibility due to the lack of available information.

One of the few sessions of the Society's meeting in Oxford in 1959 that Madariaga attended focused their attention on the issue of imperfect freedom, in which Professors Frankel, as chairman of the board, and Henry Luce, who also participated, made a critique of classical liberalism, advocated as we have noted by Hayek, Oliver Smedley, Ropke and Madariaga.

In this sense (García-Domínguez, 2014, p. 34-55), Friederich A. Hayek, the main promoter of the Mont Pèlerin Society in 1947⁸, suggested that a greater participation of the State would lead to the loss of freedom and, therefore, to the insurgence or consolidation of totalitarianism. The free market, through its fixing of prices, guarantees economic equilibrium. What is more, it does not only make the state intervention unnecessary, but it also leads to imbalances. In addition to private property and the dominance of the market, liberal economic principles defend the freedom of capital markets, which are considered necessary to decide the meaning of public opinion, to buy, to sell or to compete, to establish public order and individualism without caring about the collective interest. They considered that egalitarian solidarity and the social State, threatened the freedom of the individual and competition. The defense of these principles was a provocation in the middle of the 20th century, presenting an open criticism of Keynesianism and of the socialist proposals of the social state or central planning.

What is interesting, in the initial meetings of the Mont Pélerin Society, the question of economic development was a marginal issue (Plehwe, 2009, p. 238-279) when compared to the analysis of the importance of free trade, that as already commented, together with the character of the State and the influence of socialism, originated a considerable number of papers. In 1951 the Mont Pélerin Society held a conference in Beauvallon (France) in which the panel entitled "Liberalism and underdeveloped countries" was presented. There it was argued that when following the theory of comparative advantage, the basis for economic progress in underdeveloped countries was the increase of product per worker in the agriculture, as these countries specialize in producing and exporting agricultural goods. Later, and until 1964, economic development would be a relevant topic at the meetings of the Mont Pélerin Society (table 1)⁹.



Table 1: Meetings of the Mont Pélérin Society.

Meeting	Year	Place	Subject	Moderator
7 th	1956	Berlin	Soviet Expansion in the Underdeveloped Countries	von Mises
9 th	1958	Princeton	Regulated Wages in Underdeveloped Countries	Shenfield
11 th	1960	Kassel	Whom Should We Aid?	Villey
12 th	1961	Turin	Western Countries and Underdeveloped Countries	Brandt
14 th	1964	Semmering	Freedom and Order in the Underdeveloped Countries and the Problem of Foreign Aid	Frankel

Source: Own elaboration.

When addressing the problem of development, Madariaga underlines the importance of economic and financial institutions, especially in sectors such as banking, communications, transportation, radio broadcasting or intellectual property (Puello-Socarrás, 2015, p. 13- 48). His idea of internationalizing the dimension of these institutions is undoubtedly the result of his activity as an international representative of the Spanish interests in the League of Nations.

In the opinion of Madariaga (1937b, p. 88), progress should be linked to collective solidarity and both of them would lead to an international community¹⁰. However, he considers that among them the second premise encounters more important obstacles when facing nationalism, which in turn slows down the advance of the first premise. He considered that the negative impact of lack of collective solidarity on economic development manifested itself through a limitation of trade, which in the classical theory of international trade is acknowledged as an engine of development. Along the same lines, Madariaga (1937b, p. 88) is critical of competitive protectionism. In the opinion of Madariaga, made in 1937, an advanced idea of the future European Economic Community created twenty years later can be spotted. In fact, Madariaga was participating in the beginning of the European Movement¹¹.

There is an objective solidarity, which refers to the interdependence that trade and new means of transport create between nations. It is the idea of economic solidarity that sustains in Madariaga (1946) the need for a European community as a consequence of its cultural unity and the objective of maintaining peace. With these aims in mind, he proposes liberalism as a path to choose (Madariaga, 1946, p.7) (Derungs, 2009, p.134).

4. FUNCTION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE ECONOMY

The economy occupied a first order place of Madariaga's conception of international relations (1974a, 608-615) to the point that he considered the following themes in order of importance: 1) economic 'mediatization'¹², aggravated by world depression; 2) control of the Strait of Gibraltar; 3) relations with Portugal; 4) the question of Tangier and Morocco and its influence on bilateral relations with France; 5) the always complicated relations with France; 6) relations with Great Britain; 7) relations with the Spanish-American Republics and the United States and, finally, 8) obligations arising from the membership in the League of Nations.

In line with what was stated in the previous paragraph, on May 27, 1932, Madariaga (1974a, 610) issued a note that included four points and a conclusion. The content of these points was as follows: Political forces, Moral forces, Economic forces, Program and orientations and, finally, Conclusion.

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As we can see, the third point was related to the economy, which was linked to the external status of a country determining a position of dependence on third countries. In this way, for him, the economy - both in terms of trade and finance - becomes another instrument of the country's foreign policy that, in case of Spain and at that time, he thought that it should be focused on relations with France and the UK.

In addition to free trade, he considers that one of the best means to develop cooperation between States is the right of free transit, which does not violate the sovereign rights or authority of a country over the available routes (Ortega, 2002, p. 71- 81). It should be noted that Madariaga had been the secretary of the Traffic Conference¹³ held in Barcelona in 1921, after which he began to work in the Society of Nations where he remained until 1927. As a consequence of that Conference, two Conventions were approved in order to ensure and maintain freedom of communication and transportation, i.e., that of freedom of transit and that of freedom of waterways.

Although Madariaga (1935. p.7) considered relevant the role of global economic interdependence, he moved away from extreme positions such as that of the British Richard Cobden (1804-1865), who was the defender of free trade and for whom the market is the product of mechanical progress (Madariaga, 1937a. p. 229)¹⁴ since national markets are insufficient and the lack of international organizations capable of managing global economic needs meant that the trusts, and the cartels, would rush to occupy them (Piñol-Rull, 1982, 450). He was in favor of the creation of this type of international institutions that should manage the satisfaction of needs and pay attention to solidarity, because for Madariaga (1937b, p. 7) "The second element of objective solidarity is the dependence on common means of provisioning".



Thus, economic interdependence acts as a protective element regarding the independence of small countries from large banking and financial companies. In return, the greater dependence of these small states is an important part of their foreign relations. Anyway, it is also an important element for the large countries with respect to essential and strategic¹⁵ goods. In this sense, for example, Madariaga emphasizes that "the control of oil has become one of important, and even essential elements of what is proudly called national defense" (Madariaga, 1937b).

As a consequence of this interdependence, Madariaga (1937. p. 229) pointed out that "in fact, the world is a political and economic unity, when understood as an object, although not as a subject" and considers that those who deny the above are moved by emotions and irrational approaches (Madariaga, 1938, pp. 125-135). This statement leads him to consider most of his economic statements to be derived from the international relations of the countries.

In the economic sphere, in his opinion, the League of Nations should be in charge of regulating the commerce of a state if it suffers from an excessive imbalance in its balance of payments. Additionally, he considered that the poorest countries should be able to have a credit granted by international bodies. Here he is clearly anticipating the establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which would end up being created a decade later.

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This is not a specific approach. It is rather a part of a more elaborated structure that would be developed at three levels: the ideas directed towards the World State, of which the most significant one is the League of Nations; at the non-commissioned officer level with institutions such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union or the International Chamber of Commerce; and at the private level which encompasses different areas such as business, religion, politics, science, and sport.

In the field of world institutions, Madariaga (1937b) proposed the creation of a world bank, a universal citizenship and the administration of the colonial empires by a world entity. He proposed a world organization that would include a Permanent Commission to control the democratic functioning of political institutions of state, a Permanent Commission in charge of centralizing trade with communist countries, and a Financial Organization. The latter should be able to grant loans based on profitability criteria, but without political conditions. It would also be in charge of the regulation of foreign investments, in which the capital and / or work are of different nations and nationalities, through the application of a code of objective standards that respect the sovereignty of the States that request that direct investment. Finally, it would promote the creation of international technical cadres that would be available to all states (Piñol-Rull, 1982, 459).

5. THE ECONOMIC STATE

Madariaga (1970, p.54-55) did not favor the subsidies and state aid because he considered that they would end up demoralizing individuals and they would even lead to financial crises, pointing out that "... in the political body the subsidy is a sore that creates moral gangrene and corruption. Its effects are as deplorable for the individual as for the society because it deprives the individual of self-respect, making him or her live in an economically unhealthy way and, as for the society, apart from its disastrous financial consequences. The subsidy is equivalent to an allowance granted by the parliament to those who elected it".

Madariaga (1970, p. 251) described an institutional scheme that differentiated between the "political state", which would make sovereign decisions, and the "economic state", to be in charge of the general direction of production and distribution.

On the other hand, and as pointed out by González-Cuevas (1989a, p. 90) and (Almazán, 2011) with regard to the "Economic State", they would include the industries of national interest, the corporations of mixed ownership (state and private) and those of private property. The workers of the different sectors would elect the Council of each corporation grouped into three types: manual, technical and administrative workers. The Government would elect a National Corporate Congress and thus, although the two Chambers would distribute the legislative power, the economy would be subordinated to politics.

Madariaga (Piñol-Rull, 1982, p. 457) considered that in addition to the moral and political functions, a democratic State must have a role in the economic-financial sphere and, to develop it, the State must have an Economic Planning Council that would have a national and international economic and financial information center and, in addition to that, public law bodies to regulate the markets of: fuels, electricity and water, iron and steel, communications, banks, cereals and other staple foods and large industries. Even if necessary, the production and distribution of collective goods, and the management of collective services, would be carried out through a world federation of State Economic Councils that would be in charge of the control of fuel, the merchant marine, steel and basic food.

We wonder what could lead a liberal to advocate for government intervention in the economy in this way, rather than letting it regulate itself by minimizing the role of the state. González-Cuevas (1989a, p.97) considers that it is a reaction to the social incidence of universal suffrage through which the dominated classes demanded the State to protect them. This intervention would lead to a progressive nationalization of life, which took shape in the so-called "Welfare State" which, according to Madariaga, was an introductory step towards communism¹⁶.



6. SOCIAL CLASSES

In 1935 Madariaga addresses this issue in an extensive way in his work "Anarchy and hierarchy" in which he considers that the powers and functional freedom of the individual "are translated into functional inequalities"¹⁷. He considered that inequality and ambition coupled with necessity would act as an engine for the progress of a society, but it must be done in a context of freedom, which would only be limited by the State in the event that said freedom interfered with the natural functioning of society.

In the previous frame of reference, he considered that the divorce "between the working classes and the bourgeois classes" would end up the society and for this reason he thought that it was necessary to demobilize the labor movement. However, a minimum wage together with improvements in labor conditions should be provided. If, in addition, corporate reforms were carried out, this could reduce the latent conflict between social classes. Madariaga (1955) considered that the strike was a "barbaric, absurd and anti-social procedure" and, therefore it should be illegal, just like class unions and business associations, which he did not consider democratic but rather demagogical institutions.

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The State should organize relations between workers, employers and society (González-Cuevas, 1989a, p. 84), based on the consideration that no group can alter the life of the whole and to avoid it, conflicts must be resolved. To achieve this objective, he was in favor of a union structure of a corporate nature so that the different economic areas (professions and bodies) would organize autonomously. Considered at the national level, they would form an Economic Council that would act as a consultative economic chamber of the Senate.

In some way, Madariaga was close to Vilfredo Pareto's proposals in this regard (González Cuevas, 1989b, 148) who considered that the masses had to be guided by a political elite even if this elite was not capable of facing what he called "new feudalism of the unions". Confronting this issue, the State should adopt an authoritarian stance and does not allow strikes or lockouts. In this sense, when asked¹⁸ about the effect that the Republic produces outside of Spain, he replied: "I must not hide that what produces a bad effect are the strikes and the dislocated actions of the unions".

In addition to the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, Madariaga highlights the importance of the agricultural workforce, especially in the social structure of Spain in the mid-twentieth century, which accounted for 50% of the total workforce. This leads him to affirm that "the basis of the National life of Spain is its agriculture" from which he concludes that "the basis of its social life has to be its agrarian organization" (Madariaga, 1978, p. 131).

In addition to the proletariat, farmers and the bourgeoisie, he defends the existence of a leisure class - of an exceptional nature - that could dedicate its time to the arts and humanities in creative work or doing nothing¹⁹.

7. CONCLUSIONS

When Madariaga makes proposals or presents his ideas in the field of politics, he is forced to enter the economic field being aware that his knowledge regarding this subject matter is not as deep as he would like and therefore, we believe that he was not comfortable in meetings where central theme addressed some economic aspects, which may explain some voiced absences in important gatherings, even if they had been promoted by him.

As it has already been proven, Madariaga's thinking "abounds in contradictions" (González-Cuevas, 1989, p. 77) and his economic reflections are no exception. He even referred to stark discrepancies with the economic principles generally upheld by neoliberal economists²⁰.

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His marginal interpretation of the economy leads Madariaga to contemplate it as a part of foreign policy (Piñoll-Rull, 1982, 435-464) to redeem and dignify it. As a precursor of the globalization process in which the economy will be immersed, Madariaga (1935. p.7) goes so far as to affirm in 1935 that "the new single market, is the only forum that the planet has become".

That said, Salvador de Madariaga was a factory of ideas to stimulate reflection, not leaving indifferent any interlocutor interested in the events of the world at a time in which a new paradigm shift was emerging, staged by a civil war in the homeland of our protagonist, and a World War as a prelude to the beginning of a process of building a united European entity²¹.



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REFERENCIAS

¹ July 23th, 1886 (La Coruña , Spain)

² He studied engineering in Paris (1911 in the École Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Paris ; where years later -1934- the Nobel Prize winner Maurice Allais would study), represented Spain in the League of Nations in Switzerland, was an Ambassador in Washington and in Paris, the minister of the Spanish Republican Government, he was as well a professor at Oxford. This is to name only a few places in the world where he resided or visited. He was an intellectual who developed a large part of his activity outside of Spain, focused on Europe and international activity (Fernández Soriano, 2010, p. 95).

³ A small great summary of his life can be seen in (Grandío-Seoane, 2017).

⁴ The attraction that, it had in those days the so-called New Economic Policy of the USSR, which had planning as its central axis, is widely known.

⁵ Among its members we highlight renowned economists such as Ludwig von Mises, Wilhelm Röpke, Frank Knight, Lionel Robbins, Hayek, Milton Friedman, Maurice Allais or George Stigler.

⁶ In addition, she translated into English works on economic history written in French and German. <https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH18439&type=P>

⁷ As this author points out, the Society had a less radical development of different aspects than it was foreseen in its beginnings.

⁸ As (Piqueras, 2016) points out, their first meeting was financed by Credit Suisse. In the work schedules of the first meeting of Mont Pèlerin in 1947 the topics addressed were: "Free enterprise and competitive order" (first table), "Modern historiography and political education" (second table).

⁹ Madariaga did not attend any of the meetings cited in table 1, he was present at the meeting in 1959, but it did not address economic development issues.

¹⁰ This approach follows the lines of the French school of Duguit and also of Scelle in the opinion of Piñol-Rull (1982, p. 440).

¹¹ The first European Congress in The Hague took place in 1948. What is more, Madariaga was one of the co-founders of the European Council of Bruges (Grandío-Seoane, 2017, 34).

¹² That is, the intervention in the economy, which hinders the freedom of action of individuals.

¹³ Signed up by the following countries: Albania, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, the British Empire (with New Zealand and India), Spain, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Panama, Paraguay, Netherlands, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian State, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Uruguay and Venezuela. <https://www.dipublico.org/11422/convenio-y-estatuto-sobre-la-libertad-de-transito-barcelona-20-de-abril-de-1921/>. <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1921/03/17/016.html> [Consulta: 3-03-2023].

¹⁴ The word "mechanic" and its derivatives appear a lot in Madariaga's work, possibly due to his training as a Mining Engineer at the Polytechnic School of Paris (Piñol-Rull, 1982, 439).

¹⁵ He gives the example of Denmark and its economic dependence on the British Empire, which obviously conditioned its international relations. In turn, France and the United Kingdom, for example, depended on the large oil companies that supplied them with the energy necessary for their development (Piñol-Rull, 1982, 450).

¹⁶ González-Cuevas (1989a, p.97) points out, citing Madariaga (1974b, p. 105) "The welfare state is an inevitable consequence of direct universal suffrage. It is true that it deserved praise for the attribution of the defeat of communism in the countries that have adopted it".

¹⁷ In this work he affirms that power comes from the intermediate bodies of society formed by the family, social groups, etc., thus following the approaches of Joaquín Costa or Luis Araquistáin.

¹⁸ Francisco de Viu's interview with Salvador de Madariaga. La Voz, October 12, 1931.

¹⁹ (González-Cuevas, 1989a, p. 84) citing the newspaper El Sol. May 26, 1928.

²⁰ This can be verified by reading his correspondence with the promoters of the Mont Pèlerin Society meetings in which he is continually considered. In fact, he is one of the promoters while he also regularly excuses his unattendance. In these letters one can also observe the drift towards the discussion on economic issues, which these meetings were taking, something that was not up to Madariaga's taste.

²¹ As Preston (1986) emphasizes: "In the act of creation of the European Movement - at the Geneva Conference (1948) - the only Spaniards present were Salvador de Madariaga and Enrique Adroher



Gironella”. In addition, Madariaga was the president of the Spanish Council of the European Movement and a member of the Executive Standing Committee of the European Movement.

²² In the original it appears “Mariaga”.

