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**Historical Research on Regionalism and
Peripheral Nationalism in Spain: a Reappraisal**

XOSÉ-M. NÚÑEZ

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BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO (FI)

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**HISTORICAL RESEARCH
ON REGIONALISM AND PERIPHERAL NATIONALISM IN SPAIN:
A REAPPRAISAL**

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1. Introduction.

Spain belongs to the group of countries with a comparatively high level of national unrest, due to the presence of strong peripheral nationalist movements in some of its parts. If compared with Britain or Belgium, Spain's case seems to correspond to an intermediate level of social and political conflict, which in the case of the Basque country, however, reaches an extremely dangerous degree of political violence, although not attaining the level of Ulster's case. The political map of Spanish political parties is nowadays highly dispersed, presenting at least two regional political subsystems, each of them characterised by the hegemony of nationalist parties (either left or right wing): Catalonia and the Basque Country, while in other areas of the State, peripheral nationalist parties command no less than 20% of the total amount of votes, since the first elections (Galicia, Canary Islands, Navarra; and to a lesser extent, Valencia and the Balearic Islands). In this sense, it is appropriate to assert that Spain presents an extreme complexity related to its national diversity and also to the political and social articulation of the regional/national claims within the State. More than 15% of the seats at the Spanish Assembly are held by a wide sample of nationalist and regionalist parties, and two of them constitute a parliamentary group of their own (Catalan and Basque groups). On the other hand, the linguistic diversity of the Spanish State is nowadays recognized through a series of educational laws which allow the use of regional languages (Galician, Basque -both in Navarra and Basque country- and Catalan -in Catalonia, Valencia and Balearic Islands). The ethnic diversity and variety of the Spanish territories is today a legally recognized fact and is institutionally articulated by a decentralized political system the *Autonomous Communities (Comunidades autónomas)*. Since the adoption of the Spanish Constitution (December 1978), Spain presents a system of decentralization which could be considered as an intermediate step between the federalism of the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy's regional

1. Navarra constitutes a particular case, since Basque nationalism considers this community to be a part of the whole *Euskadi* or *Euskal Herria* (Basque nation), and therefore all Basque nationalist parties stand at the autonomous Navarrese elections, although only the radical party *Herri Batasuna* (HB) manages to reap between 5%-10% of the votes. On the other hand, a regionalist and conservative party, *Unión del Pueblo Navarro* (into which the Navarrese section of the *Partido Popular* converged) defends just the contrary position, that is, the differentiated identity of Navarra from Basque country. The fact that in Navarra the Basque language is spoken in more than 40% of its territory (Pyrenaic Northern Navarra) contributes very much to the persistence of the Basque claims, particularly strong in the Basque-speaking regions.

system.² Within it, four regions which are legally considered as *nacionalidades históricas* (historical nationalities: Galicia, Basque Country, Catalonia and Andalusia) are granted a relatively large set of competences in fields such as territorial administration, education, etc., whilst the rest of the regions are given less powers. The result forms a system of 17 autonomous communities in which nationalist parties very often coexist with regionalist claims. Thus, the Basque Country has 4 main political parties: the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party), the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Party), HB (Herri Batasuna) and Unidad Alavesa, a *regionalist party* of the Alava's province. Aragón's regional government is held at present by a coalition of the right-wing Partido Popular and the conservative regionalist party *Partido Aragonés Regionalista*. Valencia is divided into Socialists, Valencian right-wing regionalists, the Spanish Partido Popular and pro-Catalan nationalist left-wing parties which entered the communist coalition *Izquierda Unida* in this region.

The national question seemed to remain dormant under the Franco Régime. Nevertheless, during the 60's and 70's, popular unrest in some specific areas (mainly the Basque Country) and regional claims were often combined into a common platform. The real concern of the democratic opposition to Francoism was not only to replace the authoritarian system by a democratic one, but also to re-shape the State's structure into a new federal or even confederate state. From the socialists to the extreme left-wing nationalist parties of regional sphere (Basque, Catalan, Galician, and so on), nationalism became a popular claim and furthermore a weapon against dictatorship, and even the Basque terrorist organisation ETA, born in 1959, was regarded as a legitimate "heroic" popular organisation fighting against both national and social oppression.

This basic feature of Spanish democratic opposition movement against the Regime must be taken into account, for it provided the first concern for the historiography of nationalism: left-wing and progressive history had to be combined with a sense of *national history* for each nationality. Historians during the 70's played -or were supposed to play- a crucial role in the recovery of the historic specific past of every area, but especially in Catalonia (where a real Catalan historiographical tradition already existed before 1936, in contrast to Galicia and the Basque Country, and also where a cultural market was able to survive). In Ucelay's expressive words, the "Marxist" school of the 60's and 70's, much influenced by Althusser and Gramsci's writings, but also by the British *New Left*, found itself in the need of meeting the real demand of a *katalanische*

2. For a comparison, see H.-J.Puhle, "El Estado español de las autonomías y el sistema federal alemán", in J.L.de la Granja y C.Garitaonandía (eds.), *Gernika, 50 años después. Nacionalismo, República, Guerra Civil*, San Sebastián: UPV/EHU, 1987, 245-267.

*Volksgeschichte*³. The nature of this primary political commitment was expressed, e.g., in the political affiliation of the first Catalan historians of Catalan nationalism (Jordi Solé Tura was member of the PSUC, the Catalan communist party; Isidre Molas was also a leader of the Catalan Socialist Party (PSC), later on merged with the PSOE, etc.). To a lesser extent, the same trend could be identified in Galicia and in the Basque Country. History as a means of recovering a national past became a common feature of many Spanish regions, although it did not clearly express any explicit political claims.

Another consequence of the nationalist "boom" of the 70's and first half of the 80's is the coexistence of many different kinds of national history. Historians could be primarily classified into critical and non-critical, nationalist and anti-nationalist or simply "purely nationalists" and "left-wing". The basic works on the history of the national movements, in the Galician, Basque, Catalan and even Andalusian areas always had to coexist with the "patriotic" books which dealt with their nationalisms in a rather descriptive and apologetical way. It also paved the way for fruitful debates within professional historians, since there was a deep-rooted feeling to escape from this kind of "apologies". Nevertheless, the amount of books and articles which has been published in all Autonomous Communities since 1970 is amazing. Memoirs, monographs, etc., invaded the editorial market, and it must be noted that many of this para-historical literature was published in the autochthonous languages (mainly Catalan and Galician).⁴

Therefore, professional history regarding the field of the National Question in Spain had to face many dilemmas. One of them was the real *professionalization* of the *métier d'historien*, that is to say: the need to be critical enough so as not to write *national histories* in the XIXth century sense, and the conscience of being a kind of *porte-parole* of the real national feeling of the popular classes. The second was to recover the sense of regional history. Even if this approach owes very much in Spain to the influence of the *Écoles des Annales*, a real tradition of researching local aspects or regional phenomena did not exist at all. The history of the nationalist movements was very often intended to be a kind of *avant-garde* of the new sense of regional history. Monographs on regionalism in Aragón and Extremadura, e.g., frequently appeared before regional monographs on social and economic history. A further consequence of this

3. E.Ucelay da Cal, "La Historiografía en Cataluña (1960-1980): Marxismo, Nacionalismo y Mercado Cultural", *Historia y Crítica*, I (1991), 131-153.

4. Basque has been rarely used in the field of science, even nowadays. It is understandable, when one realises that only 20% of the Basque population is Basque-speaking, out of whom less than a 10% (approximately) is able to read academic Basque.

fact was that *the history of the national question in Spain was to be restricted in the beginning to political matters, such as the history of nationalist organisations, leaders, politics and ideologies.* The backwardness of Spanish social history and furthermore the lack of good monographs on economic history made it difficult to further explore the *Umfeld* in which nationalisms and regionalisms emerged.

Given the fact that the history of the national question was intended to be only a matter of importance for peripheral historiographies, it is also not surprising that the national question was not treated from the *Spanish* point of view. This brought about heavy consequences for future research: our knowledge either of ideological Spanish nationalism or the Spanish nation-building during the nineteenth and twentieth century is still today very restricted. And nowadays the involvement of some relevant historians (who have received generous financing from the Spanish government) clearly responds to political reasons: the need to counteract the so-called "historiographic offensive" of peripheral historians, precisely when, e.g. in Catalonia, the study of the national questions does not seem to be attractive enough for young Catalan historians. The actual resurgence of social history in Spain leads to the underestimation of political movements or, on the contrary, to the combination of social history methods and perspectives in the explanation of the emergence and development of the national movements.

2. Nationalist historiography against professional historiography?

The factors briefly described above have brought as a consequence a worsening between the historiography on nationalism and the national question on the one hand and the present existing national movements, especially in Basque Country and Catalonia, on the other. Nationalist parties have seen how the historians they would like to support as *national historians*, have very frequently criticized many aspects of their past. This is the case in the Basque Country, where the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), the main party in this region, does not allow historians to work in its very well organised archives. The fact also that right-wing nationalist parties held office in both the Basque Country and Catalonia since 1980, made it even more difficult for left-wing historians to take advantage of the regional institutions' support. Nevertheless, some journalists, writers and even second-class historians (with very few exceptions) have been partially authorized at least to classify and see the documents kept by the party. The result of this is that in the Basque Country the present historiography on nationalism offers a kind of threefold outlook: professional historians, PNV's publicists, and even a third group of second-class historians usually close to the postulates held by radical

"left" (*Herri Batasuna*). In the same way, the strong Marxist-oriented Catalan historiography of the 70's did not come to terms very well with the prevailing conservative nationalist party which dominates the autonomous government since 1980 (*Convergència i Unió*). The result once again was a relative fragmentation of the studies on nationalism into two differentiated fields: that of the Universities (mainly, the Autonomous University of Barcelona, and to a lesser extent, the Central University of Barcelona), and that supported and financed directly through the institutions, depending on subsidies of the autonomous government (e.g. the *Centre de Història Contemporània de Catalunya*). The third sector of historiography, radically nationalist-oriented, has much less strength in Catalonia. Nevertheless, some publishing houses which belong to this ideological field (e.g. *La Magrana*, or *El Llamp*) maintain excellent historical series where professional historians collaborate. This fact is also related to the different political situation existing in both countries (Euskadi and Catalonia): while in the former an extremely clear-cut division exists between nationalist/non-nationalists, and even within the intellectual circles between *abertzales* (radical nationalists) and moderates, in the latter the situation is much more flexible. Catalan culture and language serves as a vehicle for the integration of "foreigners" and non-nationalists into the publishing houses and reviews concerned with the task of propagating Catalan culture. In the Galician case, the fact that the autonomous government is not yet occupied by a nationalist party, but by a Spanish-conservative one (*Partido Popular*) determines that real official support for a historiography concerned with a kind of *Galician national history* hardly exists, insofar there is a lack of interest on the part of the institutions. On the contrary, some publishing houses in Galician and semi-official institutions since the early 80's (such as the *Consello da Cultura Galega*) on the contrary promote the study of, and publish many studies related to, the history of Galician regionalism or nationalism. The most curious fact in Galicia is the relative open character of some of its University scholars towards the study of nationalism in other parts of Spain: the only two congresses celebrated so far of overall Spanish character concerning the study of the national question have taken place in Santiago de Compostela in 1983 and 1988.⁵ It is related to the fact that, despite the complex and rich ideological development of Galician nationalism since the middle of the XIXth century, its real strength has remained less effective than its Catalan or Basque partners.

5. These were the colloquia *Os nacionalismos na España da Restauración* (Santiago, September 1983) and *Os nacionalismos na España da II República* (Pazo de Mariñán, 1988). A next congress of European character is going to be held in Santiago in September 1993.

In the rest of the autonomous communities, the dichotomy between official/professional historiography on the national question does not exist as such. In Andalucía's case, the effort to shape a genuine somewhat Andalusian history (which could justify a difficult process of autonomous development since 1978) led the autonomous government and the so-called *Diputaciones* (provincial organs which coordinate the funds to be distributed to the town councils) to organize successive congresses on the History of Andalucía, within which a considerable number of papers dealing with the history of Andalusian regionalism were given, particularly focusing on the figure of the first Andalusian theoretician, *Blas Infante*. Then again, the relative strength of Andalusian regionalism (which is mostly left-wing oriented) provoked the emergence of studies dealing with the historical roots of *Andalucismo histórico*, that usually attempted to answer such questions as why the poor Andalusian peasants without land (*jornaleros*) had not been attracted by Blas Infante's bourgeois regionalism... The explanation model thus derived from the analysis of the facts of what really happened turned into the theorisation about why the facts did not happen as the present historians would have desired. Likewise, a similar development was observed in Aragón during the 70's: the presence of very active, although minority, Aragonese nationalist intellectual groups mainly located in the University and which devoted themselves to the revival of the almost dead Aragonese language led to the appearance of some works on nationalism in Aragón prior to 1936. In the newly created autonomous communities (such as Cantabria, comprising the Santander's province which had been historically considered a part of the Old Castille, or La Rioja, Logroño province which always integrated Old Castille as well) the official concern of justifying their peculiar personality has also provoked the overestimation of provincial political features in whatever political movement, even of Spanish character. The search for a "regional" specificity leads sometimes to the absurd.

The result of the above described panorama is rather deceiving, for real research has always problems to develop with the support of the regional institutions, and, on the other hand it faces the opposition of the majority of the nationalist political parties existing today. Furthermore, the relative mistrust on the part of Spanish administration to finance and support any research project dealing with the reconstruction of the national movements in the "regions" provokes a kind of contradictory situation for the historians involved in the study of the matter. While social history research on, e.g., trade unions linked to the Socialist or Communist parties find much support and facilities on the part of the PSOE's and PCE's cultural foundations, their counterparts in the "historical nationalities" do not offer any generous aid. The restrictive and inefficient support provided for research by the public institutions in Galicia, or the sometimes reactionary position held by the PNV's *Fundación*

Sabino Arana in the Basque Country, make any real collaboration difficult.⁶ Universities are, nowadays, the only centres where research projects are carried on in a consistent and continuous way, while the activities of the official centres sometimes degenerate in the publication of biographies, etc., impregnated with a sense of "recovery" of a heroic past. The recent books published by Catalan institutions in Catalonia, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the execution of the Catalan Generalitat's president Lluís Companys by the Francoist regime provide once again a painful example of mythomania.

Already in 1984 Ucelay da Cal affirmed the existence of a division between "essentialist" and "scientific" approaches to the history of nationalism. Despite the adoption of a more or less rigorous perspective and the use of primary sources, many historians kept on defending nationalist postulates in their writings.⁷ J.P.Fusi even affirmed in 1985 that the attention paid by historians of any kind to the national question in Spain had been misleading and "excessive".⁸ Undoubtedly, the presence of a category of non-professional and even propagandist historians has proved to be of scarce value.

Nonetheless, some of these nationalist historians/writers have contributed to the history of the national question in Spain, for at least they carried out the task of describing facts. Among them, it is worth noting the names of Josep Benet,⁹ J.M.Poblet,¹⁰ Félix Cucurull¹¹ and Joan Crexell¹², in Catalonia. In the Basque Country, the names of Beltza

6. Nevertheless, and especially in the case of the Sabino Arana Foundation, things are slowly but increasingly changing.

7. E.Ucelay da Cal, "Os nacionalismos na España da Restauración: unes reflexions sobre *illuministi i illuminati*", *L'Avenç*, n.68 (1984), 71-73, and id., "Un colloque sur les nationalismes dans l'Espagne de la Restauration", *Le Mouvement Social*, n.128 (1984), 127-130.

8. J.P.Fusi, "La función de la Historia", in VV.AA., *Symbolae Ludovico Mitxelena Septuagenario Oblate*, Vitoria: UPV/EHU, 1985, vol.II. See a later reply article in B.de Riquer, "Sobre el lugar de los nacionalismos-regionalismos en la historia contemporánea española", *Historia Social*, n.7 (1990), 105-126.

9. See J.Benet, *El Dr.Torras i Bages i el seu temps*, Barcelona: Estela, 1968; id., *Bibliografia sobre el nacionalisme català*, Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill, 1974.

10. See his *El moviment autonomista a Catalunya dels anys 1918-1919*, Barcelona: Pòrtic, 1970; id., *Aquell any 1917*, Barcelona: Pòrtic, 1971; id., *Història de l'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, 1931-1936*, Barcelona: Dopesa, 1976.

11. See his *Panoràmica del nacionalisme català*, Paris: Ed.catalanes de Paris, 1975-76, 6 vols.; id., *El fet nacional català a través de la història*, Barcelona: La Magrana, 1980, and *Catalunya republicana i autònoma (1931-1936)*, Barcelona: IMH/La Magrana, 1987..

12. J.Crexell, *Origen de la bandera independentista*, Barcelona: El Llamp, 1984. Josep M.Ainaud de Lasarte is also another representative of these nationalist-amateur historians.

and F.Letamendía¹³, and in Galicia the names of F.Fernández del Riego, F.Carballo or X.M.Monterroso are also noteworthy.¹⁴ In the Valencian or Andalusian areas representatives of this patriotic history can be found.¹⁵ Some common features of the "patriotic" historiography, as opposed to the more critical standpoint adopted by "professional" historians, could be summarized as:

1) The constant adoption of a historical-organicist concept of Nation, which makes perfectly possible its coexistence with a generally applied positivist empirical methodology. This also enables the nationalist pragmatism of these authors to become more easily adaptable.

2) A low level of theoretical elaboration and scientific background. Confusion and interpretation of past events in light of the present circumstances is a common characteristic of this kind of history. Thus, the terms are confused, past claims are supposed to be identical to the present ones, and terminology is inadequate. To point out an example, the federalist tradition of the second half of the XIXth century and especially of the period of the I Spanish Republic - *Sexenio Revolucionario* (1868-1874)- has been identified by "patriotic" Catalan historians such as F.Cucurull as a first step of a separatist claim existing within the Catalan popular classes...without taking into account the difference between the Proudhon-rooted federalism and the ethnically-oriented nationalism which later on assumed federalist claims only as a political strategy.¹⁶ A similar point of view has been held up e.g. for Galician nationalism by X.R.Barreiro Fernández.

3) A constant misunderstanding of, or simply a real lack of concern with, the analysis of the class contents of nationalism in every moment. "Official" historians tended to see peripheral nationalism as a underground desire of independence/uniqueness always present in the whole of the population. The fact that bourgeois parties monopolized the spectrum of nationalist-oriented parties did not mean at all that nationalism was bourgeois by nature. On the contrary, the most radical historians hold up

13. See Beltza, op.cit., and id., *Mediación y alienación. Del carlismo al nacionalismo burgués*, San Sebastián: Txertoa, 197, and id., *Nacionalismo vasco y clases sociales*, San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1976. Also F.Letamendía, *Les Basques. Un peuple entre deux États*, Paris: n.ed., 1973.

14. F.Fernández del Riego, *Pensamento galeguista do século XIX*, Vigo: Galaxia, 1983; id., *Pensamento galeguista do século XX*, Vigo: Galaxia, 1983; X.M.Monterroso, *Galegos e galeguismo*, Pontevedra, 1979.

15. For Valencia, see J.Fuster, *Nosaltres els valencians*, Barcelona: Ed.62, 1962, and id., *La decadència al País Valencià*, Barcelona: Curial, 1976. For Andalusia, see M.Ruiz Lagos, *Andalucismo militante*, Jerez: Sexta, 1978, and id., *El ideal andaluz*, Jerez: CSIC, 1983; the works of J.Acosta Sánchez are also representatives of this trend (see below).

16. A clear example is F.Cucurull's *Orígens i evolució del federalisme català*, Barcelona: Arts Gràfiques Salvá, 1970.

the view of the *betrayal* by the bourgeois classes of the popular claims of independence: the former always attempted to lead and manipulate the national movements, and they always chose, when necessary, their class-interests sacrificing popular claims....¹⁷

4) A real lack of analytical perspective. Official and patriotic historians are actually characterized by their use of large amounts of empirical data, together with the absence of critical approaches. Apart from the fact that most of these historians are *amateur*, it is amazing to realize how the very few University professors one can mention among them follow their approach. This is also related to a further fact, in Ucelay's words: since they share the idealist scopes of XIXth century national histories, these historians are much more concerned with providing answers to their national communities, rather than posing problems and questions. What really matters again is the self-reproduction of paradigms and the affirmation of the political and social creeds of the nationalist community, in spite of the adoption of a more or less solid scientific methodology.¹⁸

3. The raw materials. Existing sources.

As the study of the national question in Spain has been primarily concerned with the analysis of the several *regionalist*, *federalist* and *nationalist* parties, political and cultural organizations and reviews/periodicals in different areas of the State, the many sources used so far were those characteristic of political history: newspapers, press and, to a lesser extent, private and party papers.

The period of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) brought about an enormous destruction of documentary sources, mainly party records in both zones (Republican and Francoist);¹⁹ hence, the reconstruction of the

17. For the Basque case, a classical vision is Beltza, *El nacionalismo vasco, 1876-1923*. Hendaye: Mugalde, 1974.

18. The above assertion could be applied to such pretentious books as F.Lctamendía's *Euskadi, Pueblo y Nación*, San Sebastián: Kriselu-Sendon, 1990, 7 vols. (based on the author's Ph.D.dissertation, *Euskadi, nation et idéologie*, Paris-Toulouse, CNRS, 1990). The political militancy of the author leads him to try to defend in every paragraph the "Basque nationalist community" as opposed to the "Spanish state nationalism". The large publicity given to this work, however, bestows it a larger influence than the works of professional historians.

19. Wherever the military rising succeeded, left-wing, Republican and in some cases nationalist organizations burnt their records in order to avoid that the documents reveal to the enemy the names of their members. Inversely, wherever the military rising failed, right-wing organizations destroyed theirs.

history of the political organizations and ideologies has been mostly based on the use of printed sources, such as press, booklets and pamphlets. Private papers in Spain, with some exceptions, are rarely given in deposit to an institution, and very often indeed they remain controlled by the families. Thus, research on nationalist organizations has depended on the "adventure" of getting the largest amount of private papers possible, also because the practically non-existence of well-kept party records makes on many occasions the consultation of these private papers very important. Classical works on political history of the nationalist organizations have been elaborated without touching a single letter of a party leader. If one compares this situation to that existing elsewhere (especially in Britain, but also in Germany or Italy), one may conclude that even the overdeveloped political history in Spain has to count on limited sources.

The restrictions and lack of public access to party papers are especially painful in a given case: the Basque Country. Here, the largest nationalist party (the PNV), which withholds by itself the history of 90 years of nationalism, out of which more than 50 have been characterized by its sole predominance in the field of nationalism, maintains a firmly close attitude towards opening its archives. Throughout the party's history thousands of documents not yet analyzed have been collected. However, the articles, conferences, writings and a part of the correspondence of the founder and first leader of the PNV and of Basque nationalism itself, Sabino Arana, have been published in different works and parts.²⁰ In recent years, only some journalists very close to the party (e.g., Kolde San Sebastián) have been allowed access to them and permission to publish partial directories and inventories of the PNV papers (especially regarding the 40's). The German historian Ludger Mees has also been given permission to work in the PNV's archive, but finally he met the silent opposition of the jealous archive keepers...Strange stories, that only historians with a great knowledge of Spanish archives could probably understand. The PNV's position is even more negative for the progress of history, since the party has systematically carried out throughout its history a conscientious policy of collecting all dispersed documentation related to it (through public advertisements in its newspaper, etc.). The only available documentation to reconstruct PNV's internal history is therefore its press and the few party records which have been kept out of its hands: some private archives belonging to individuals (generally, second rank leaders), and a set of PNV documents which had been captured by the Francoist Army

20. Sabino Arana. *Obras Completas*, Buenos Aires: Sabindar Batzara, n.d.(197...). 3 vols.: M.Elizondo, *Sabino Arana: Padre de las nacionalidades. Correspondencia inédita de los hermanos Arana Goiri (legajo Aranzadi)*, Bilbao, 1981 (2 vols.); J.Corcuera y Y.Oribe (eds.), *Historia del nacionalismo vasco en sus documentos*, Bilbao: Eguzki, 1991, 3 vols.

and brought to the *Archivo de la Guerra Civil* in Salamanca, as well as a part of the PNV Party records in Vitoria.²¹ Similarly to the PNV party records, internal documents belonging e.g. to the nationalist trade-union ELA-SOV (*Solidaridad de Obreros Vascos*, founded in 1911), to the youth organization called *Mendigoizales* or to the minority left-wing party *Acción Nacionalista Vasca* are hardly available to the historians. However, a patient and detailed study elaborated by professors J.L.Granja and J.C.Jiménez de Aberasturi has recently displayed that the sources for the study of nationalism in Basque country are certainly dispersed and incomplete, but better than what had been previously supposed.²²

A similar situation exists in Catalonia, where, on the one hand, almost no official party records of any historical nationalist party has survived so far. On the other hand, the extreme fluidity and changing evolution of the political map of Catalan nationalist organizations, made it even more difficult, since the present parties are not the direct heirs of those existing before 1936. The most unified and complete documents' fund, the archives of the autonomous government (*Generalitat*) between 1931 and 1975 were donated by its last president in exile, Josep Tarradellas, to a religious institution, under extremely restrictive conditions of access.²³ In addition, many party records have been destroyed during the Civil War, and only the records of anarchist and socialist organisations have been relatively well kept (especially in the *Instituut voor Soziale Geschiedenis*, Amsterdam). The situation is better as far as private papers are concerned: private papers of very important Catalan nationalist leaders (such as the first president of the Republican *Generalitat*, Francesc Macià) are now available in public archives (mainly three: the National Archive of Catalonia, the *Centre d'Estudis Històrics*

21. These have been published by S.de Pablo, "Actas de la Junta Municipal del Partido Nacionalista Vasco de Vitoria (1930-1936)", *Historia contemporánea*, n.1 (1988), 205-233.

22. J.L.de la Granja, J.C.Jiménez de Aberasturi, "Informe colectivo sobre Archivos, Bibliotecas y Hemerotecas para la Historia del Nacionalismo Vasco", in *Décimo Congreso de Estudios Vascos. Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, San Sebastián: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1988. For the Basque archives in the United States (there is a very important Basque Research Centre in the University of Reno, Nevada), see K.San Sebastián, *The Basque Archives. Vascos en los Estados Unidos*, San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1991; and for the documents related to the Basque exile in the 40s, K.San Sebastián, *Los vascos en la II Guerra Mundial: El Consejo Mundial Vasco en Londres, 1940-1944 (Recopilación documental)*, San Sebastián: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1991. Although of a more general character, it is useful L.Meess, "Archive und Bibliotheken zur Geschichte des spanischen Baskenlandes im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", *Spanien-Portugal Informationen*, Nr.3 (Juni 1986), 24-33.

23. Nowadays, the opening of these archives has to wait for 25 years after the death of Mr.Tarradellas'wife. Since she is still alive and it also seems that Mrs.Tarradellas enjoys a good health, the historical analysis of the Republican period in Catalonia will have to wait for a long time.

Internacionals (CEHI) and the *Institut Municipal d'Història*), and on the other hand, there is a large amount of pamphlets, booklets and leaflets which are kept in these archives. A non systematic but increasingly effective policy of collecting documents, and especially rescuing them from the very often well-intentioned but unwise hands of families makes the future of Catalan history appear far better under this respect. Then again, many local and provincial Document Centres throughout Catalonia contribute largely to the task of collecting documentation for historians. The autonomous government has already published a useful guide of the archives and private papers available so far for the study of Catalan nationalism.²⁴ But the numerous deficiencies make it still difficult to research the purely political aspects of Catalan nationalism. Apart from the extreme diversity and fragmentation of the press collections (most of them are kept at the Library of Catalonia and the *Institut Municipal d'Història*), many private papers collections of important leaders, such as E. Prat de la Riba, Francesc Cambó or Joan Estelrich, remain closed to researchers.²⁵

The situation in Galicia is quite similar. The records of the existing nationalist organizations before 1936 (*Irmandades da Fala*, *Partido Galeguista* (PG) in the 30's) have been to a great extent destroyed, and only very recently a part of the PG party records has been found, totally by chance, in the archive of the *Deputación Provincial* of Pontevedra and brought to the *Arquivo do Reino de Galicia* in A Coruña. Furthermore, some private papers belonging to prominent figures of the XIXth century Galician nationalism (such as the ideologue Manoel Murguía) are kept in the Galician Academy, an archaic and quite passive institution which does not allow these records to be even classified. Only the charitable activity of the *Fundación Penzol* in Vigo (a cultural foundation set up in the 60's to keep the historical memory of Galician culture) has allowed some years ago the

24. J. Sobrequés i Callicó, *Els Arxius per a la història del nacionalisme català*, Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1982. See also K.-J. Nagel, "Öffentliche Archive und Bibliotheken zur Geschichte Kataloniens im späten 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", *Spanien-Portugal Informationen*, Nr. 3, Juni 1986, 17-24.

25. The author of this report could confirm this assertion. To get a research permission on Cambó's papers, it is necessary to write to a person who owns the archive, and to wait for his usually negative answer. Cambó was several times minister in the Spanish Government, leader of the majoritary Catalan nationalist party between 1901 and 1931 (the *Lliga Regionalista*) and a prominent politician as well. In this case, the close character of his private papers clearly responds to a strategy to silence some dark aspects of the trajectory of right-wing Catalan nationalism (such as its initial support of Francoist troops). I was able to get copies of parts of Estelrich's private papers (2d leader of the *Lliga*, Cambó's *lieutenant*) only thanks to the personal involvement of a friend of Estelrich's family. And so on...

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access to some very important personal papers which have been crucial for reconstructing the history of Galician nationalism in the first half of the XXth century. The fact that Galicia was one of the first areas of Spain completely controlled by the military rising of July 1936 also determined that many documents in possession of nationalist leaders were destroyed.²⁶

The situation is still worse when one considers the period after 1939: for this period, the secrecy of the archives for researchers is the most usual fact, since the rivalries within the field of nationalism during the 40s made its leaders extremely cautious in allowing historians to consult their archives. A complicating factor is also the existence of very important archives in Buenos Aires (among the very large Galician community which settled in Argentina, first and main refugee destination for nationalist political exiles after 1939). The policy of the Autonomous Government, on the other hand, has been so far non-existing regarding the task of collecting documents and sources.

Leaving aside other regional cases -where the conditions do not really change- the following conclusions could be drawn from the above mentioned situation:

1) The scarce availability of party records makes it very difficult in almost all cases to reconstruct the social composition of the rank-and-file membership of the nationalist organizations, the regional/social distribution of the nationalist press (there are almost no subscription lists, a source which really helped Miroslav Hroch to elaborate his classical comparative work on the social composition of national movements in East- and Central Europe), and also the regional and sectorial distribution of the patriotic groups within the nation²⁷. In this way, it is sometimes quite difficult to highlight the contrasts and gaps in the diffusion of nationalist ideologies. Hence, it proves to be problematic to redraw the map of the territorial strength and social support given to the political nationalist organizations, or what sectors and areas have contributed to the maintenance of their press, etc. Actually, only partial data are available, and the few studies which have been able to provide an insight into the internal social composition of the nationalist/regionalist organizations have had to rely only on the data concerning a part of their

26. A specially significant loss for the history of the XXth century Galician nationalism was the destruction of the private papers of the ideologue and leader Vicente Risco performed by himself.

27. M.Hroch, *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas*, Prague, 1968; Id., *Social preconditions of national revival in Europe. A comparative study of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1985.

membership, and therefore only the political *élites*, the national ruling-classes could be precisely defined; the electoral results were the second possible source -which to a certain extent is also misleading.²⁸ This is all the more important, taking into account that one of the real lacks of the research on the national question in Spain is precisely the study of the social basis of peripheral nationalist movements. Hence, the debate on the bourgeois, popular or *petit-bourgeois* nature of each nationalism has been so far based much more on theoretical discussions rather than empirical data. The few studies dealing with the social basis of the nationalist movements, such as G.Brunn's classical work on the social structure of the early Catalan national movement -following Hroch's model-, provided an interesting and promising basis for discussion, but since his work was only published in German his contribution to the history of nationalism has been hardly considered so far in Spain.²⁹ The German author made use of another complementary source: the subscription lists to national ceremonies and campaigns which were published by the Catalan press before 1900. This information, however incomplete and not very reliable as it may have been, has also been exploited by J.G.Beramendi for his already classical study on the Galician nationalism between 1900 and 1931: with a large use of oral history methods and dispersed documentation, Beramendi was able to identify the social status of almost 900 nationalist activists, a more than brilliant result which actually highlighted our knowledge³⁰ on the social basis of Galician regionalism/nationalism in that period. For the Catalan case, I have not seen any detailed study of the social composition of nationalist organizations after 1900, except for a small contribution of J.Casassas Ymbert on the Lliga's Nationalist Youth.³¹ The social support of nationalism/regionalism can be indirectly determined through the analysis of the electoral results of the parties contending at the elections, by comparing the different percentages of vote obtained in a) urban and rural areas, b) within a given urban area, by

28. Following the lines and methods already used in 1972 by I.Molas, *Lliga Catalana. Un estudi d'estasiologia*, Barcelona: Ed.62, 1972, 2 vols. Partial analysis also on the social composition of the nationalist groups have been given by Ludger Mees, J.Casassas Ymbert and Santiago de Pablo (see below).

29. G.Brunn, "Die Organisationen der katalanischen Bewegung 1859-1923", in T.Schieder, *Nationale Bewegungen und Soziale Organisation. I. Vergleichende Studien zur nationalen Vereinsbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts in Europa*, München/Wien: Oldenbourg, 1978, 281-571. A good summary in Id., "Zur Sozialstruktur der frühen katalanistischen Bewegung (1882-1898)", *Vierteljahrshefte für Sozial- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, n.60 (1973), 157-185.

30. J.G.Beramendi, *El nacionalismo gallego en el primer tercio del siglo XX*, Ph.D.Dissertation, Univ.of Santiago de Compostela, 1987.

31. J.Casassas Ymbert, "Els quadres del regionalisme. L'evolució de la Joventut Nacionalista de la Lliga fins el 1914", *Recerques*, n.14 (1983), 7-32.

establishing the different distribution of votes in the socially-stratified districts of the town. This method was already used by B.de Riquer in his classical study of the 1906 elections in Barcelona, displaying how popular and inter-class was the vote for the unified Catalan nationalist coalition, standing at that moment (the so-called *Solidaritat Catalana*).³² Nevertheless, the study of electoral results in Spain during the Restoration period (1874-1923) encounters some methodological limitations, since a) the presence of a strong political clientelism in favour of the dominant parties (Liberal and Conservative) manipulated the results as much as possible, especially in the rural areas; b) corruption and agreements between political parties, including nationalist ones, were very usual. Therefore the electoral results of legislative elections have to be considered in a careful way indeed, and only local elections, chiefly in large towns, do then offer a reliable basis for analysis. However, when these conditions exist, the researcher interested in drawing the map of the electoral support for nationalist parties meets another difficulty: the lack of social history studies, even at the most local level, which could highlight many aspects of the local conditions (distribution of incomes according the urban districts, etc.). The results achieved by the best research have always been limited and are only reliable to a certain extent, given these structural constrains. However, one can only hope that the situation will improve in the future.

2) Even the political history of nationalist organizations is based only in printed sources. The history of these movements puts, thus, an extremely high weight on the ideological aspects -which are more easily identifiable through the press- but also hinders the appearance of real conflicts and the articulation of trends within the movements themselves, e.g. what kind of interests are represented at every moment, which was the type of fluid relationship with their social basis, etc. To mention an example, Ludger Mees has shown how the Basque Nationalist Party was involved in electoral corruption together with Spanish Restoration system's parties, by making agreements and in some cases by the distribution of vote areas: this explained some political crises³³ in 1915/16, which were usually attributed to sheer ideological factors. However, the access to private papers helps in the reconstruction of these purely political aspects of the history of nationalisms.

Nevertheless, many complementary questions can be answered through the study of different kinds of sources. The national question does not only

32. B.De Riquer, "Les eleccions de la Solidaritat Catalana a Barcelona", *Recerques*, n.2 (1972), 119-135.

33. L.Mees, "Luis Arana Goiri y la crisis de la Comunitàon Nacionalista en 1915-16", *Muga*, n.69 (1989), 38-43.

comprise the study of the politics and social bases of nationalist organizations, but also such questions as the integration of immigrants into nationalist communities (especially in Catalonia), the impact of the cultural patterns elaborated by nationalists as symbols and signs of national culture and its interactive relationship with other forms of national, State or class culture...The question of how nation and class were combined is still far from being answered, but in Spain the present underdevelopment of social history makes the answer even more difficult. For example, how can we decide over the "national" or "non-national" character of the Barcelona bourgeoisie, when so far specific studies on the structure, functions and formation of that class have hardly been elaborated? How is it possible to establish the way in which a "popular nationalism" or a "class nationalism" existed, if at first all the concepts of what class culture and working class are remain rather obscure? Since the study of nationalist movements has prevailed until recent years over the study on the social classes as such (the study of the workers' movement in a rather descriptive way was another feature of the post-Francoist historiography), the historiography on the national question in Spain has drawn up an intellectual building with very weak theoretical pillars. Until recently, the ideological discussions, or the pure reconstruction of facts and trends, were not actually followed by a parallel research on the social foundations of the national question throughout Spain, but particularly in such areas as the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia, each of them presented very specific historical features (see below).

An innovative contribution has been the one brought by the German historian K.-J. Nagel, who has attempted to answer both questions in a given period of time. In his research on the relationship between the national and the social question in Catalonia between 1898 and 1923,³⁴ Nagel analyses on the one hand the evolution of the nationalist and Republican political parties in the period concerned, highlighting the reach and significance of their social proposals and the extent to which their national project could comprise and include the claims of the workers' movement. This section of his work consists basically in a critical analysis of how Catalan progressive nationalism (leaving aside the bourgeois and conservative Lliga Regionalista) dealt with the dilemma of integrating the workers' movement, already organized in Barcelona before 1920 mainly into anarcho-syndicalist trade-unions, but also with the presence of an influential Catalan nationalist trade-union which gathered the majority of the *white-collars* and small shop-keepers of Barcelona (the

34. K.J. Nagel, *Arbeitschaft und nationale Frage in Katalonien zwischen 1898 und 1923*, Phil.Dissertation, Universität Bielefeld, 1989 (shorter version published in Saarbrücken: Breitenbach Verlag, 1991).

CADCI). The parallel research was carried out in order to further analyse how the working class answered the nationalist claims, to what extent did it share the values defended by nationalists, and also to what extent did a specific national *Arbeiterkultur* in the case of Catalan workers exist. Nagel includes in his work very valuable remarks on the integration of Castilian and Andalusian workers into the Catalan culture by means of a strong workers culture which was permeated by nationalism but never controlled by it,³⁵ and a further and no less important contribution: through his analyses of the different dynamics followed by political nationalism in some industrial small towns of the periphery of Barcelona, where the presence of immigrants was also very high (Terrassa, Sabadell, etc.), Nagel has overcome the traditional *Barcelonacentrisme* which mostly characterized the history of Catalan nationalism so far. Much in line with Hroch's model, Nagel's research might become undoubtedly one of the classical flagships for the study of the national question, and not only in Spain. The concepts of what national culture is, and its relationship in many ways to the specific class cultures, is one of the aspects to be developed further in the future (aspects such as the "national festivals" either of Spanish or Galician, Basque or Catalan national character, etc.).

The possibility of combining both methods, thus offers a new field for the study of nationalism in Spain, which could probably overcome the relative backwardness of Spanish research on the national question in the present days (at least if one only considers the explicitly theoretical developments, far compensated on the other hand by the over-development of monographic studies). Nevertheless, the possibilities for similar studies to be carried out in other areas are far less favourable than in Barcelona. The modern methodologies of Social history meet in Spain scarceness of sources (such as statistics, populations/census, etc.), lack of organization of the archives, chaotic and hardly reliable character of the inquiries (led by the Institut of Social Reform, for instance...). Hence, it is not always possible to reconstruct the other side of the coin, that is, the workers culture, although it is less problematic to reproduce the attitudes and views of the different nationalist/regionalist organizations towards the social question throughout history.

A new source, which might in the future prove to be of great importance in order to determine the social penetration of nationalism, is provided by Ecclesiastical archives, administered by the Catholic Church. Traditionally, the access to, e.g., ecclesiastical archives (in cathedrals)

35. Further research on this topic will be provided by Nagel in his article "Multikulturelle Gesellschaft und staatliche Interventionspolitik in der Stadt Barcelona zwischen den Weltausstellungen von 1888 und 1929", in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Oktober 1992 (forthcoming).

has been very restricted, and a large dosis of *picaresca* was required in order to obtain the permission required. Since the Catholic Church, or at least a part of it, has been a firmly rooted stronghold of nationalist movements in Basque Country as well as in Catalonia since the first decades of this century (the fact that the Basque terrorist organization ETA was born in practice in the context of some rural parishes in the early 60's must not be forgotten), the opening of its archives seems to be another necessary condition. Some signs of what this could mean have been recently given by M.X.Aizpuru and D.Unanue.³⁶ Ecclesiastical archives do not only highlight the extent to which the Church (either the hierarchy or the rural priesthood) was interested in promoting Catholic and conservative nationalism as an opposition to the liberal, lay and modernizing Spanish State. They may also provide much information about the action of priests as agents of diffusion of nationalism in the rural areas, the penetration of that stream of ideas among the peasants, etc.

Some complementary sources and methodologies have been so far not systematically used, although their contribution in some cases could be important. Oral sources and oral history methods have not yet been exploited, apart from the fact that the University of Basque Country has collected an important amount of recorded interviews with rank-and-file members of the nationalist parties in Euskadi. The research project HISTORGA'89 has contributed to collect at the University of Santiago de Compostela a good number of interviews dealing with nationalist membership (starting from the 20's and 30's). The use of oral history methods has been not applied in a systematic way in order to build up a theoretical setting based on them, in order to answer a rather interesting question which remains open: why did people change their national loyalties and feelings from one nation to another? (or from nowhere to a nation) What is the profile of the characteristic rank-and-file nationalist either in Catalonia, Galicia or Basque Country throughout history? How did people perceive the changes brought, e.g., by the State modernization process, and on the same path how did they channel their interests or feelings through a nationalist choice? Interesting works following this direction of research, such as e.g. T.Garvin's one on the Irish nationalists,³⁷ are still to be done in Spain. The change of the object of study from the national movement in itself to the protagonist, the *nationalists*, may help explain, through the reconstruction of life-stories, the extent and reasons why the Spanish

36. M.X.Aizpuru and Donato Unanue, "El clero diocesano guipuzcoano y el nacionalismo vasco. Un análisis sociológico", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), *Los nacionalismos en la España de la II República*, Madrid/Santiago: Siglo XXI/Consello da Cultura Galega, 1991, 287-304.

37. T.Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland, 1858-1928*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1987.

state was rejected by some sectors of its population.³⁸ Many historians have by and large used the interviews with protagonists of the periods they researched, but attaching to them a secondary importance, with the sole intention of bringing information about facts which do not always appear reflected in the printed sources.

In this context, diplomatic sources (which have proved as being of great significance to reconstruct the history of some nationalist movements in Eastern Europe, e.g. the Macedonian national movement during the 20s)³⁹ are of less significance in Spain for the study of the global internal aspects of the national question. However, in some cases their contribution has been particularly noteworthy regarding many aspects of the political history of the national movements. Thus, the implications the national question has had for foreign policies adopted over time by the State are perfectly highlighted by the diplomatic records of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the French, Italian, German or English Diplomatic sources which reveal unknown aspects of the nationalist movements in Spain (e.g., whether a Catalan Fascism existed during the 20's and 30's, or what kind of impact had World War I on the evolution of the national question inside Spain, or the politics of the *émigrés* during the Primo de Rivera and, afterwards, Franco's dictatorships).⁴⁰

Another field of study and a different set of sources is offered by the items related to *nationalist culture*. All peripheral nationalist movements in Spain, and especially those concerned with the resurrection of a national language (Catalan, Galician and, to a lesser extent, Basque)

38. Some anthropological studies have focused on the use of oral history sources, especially M.Heiberg's *The Making of the Basque Nation*, Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1989, mainly based on an anthropological study of a Basque village. Although -as always happens with anthropological or sociological studies- the historical contribution is full of mistakes, the microhistorical view the author gives on the penetration of nationalism into the village during the 20's and 30's, along with the social and economic changes which happened at the same time, remains a fascinating account. Ronald Fraser, in his classical work *Blood of Spain. The experience of Civil War (1936-1939)* (London: Penguin Books, 1979) provides a few pages of interviews with Basque and Catalan nationalists.

39. See S.Troebst, *Mussolini, Makedonien und die Mächte (1922-1930). Die "Innere Makedonische Revolutionäre Organisation" in der Südosteuropapolitik des faschistischen Italien*, Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1987.

40. Some advances on the use of diplomatic sources for the study of peripheral nationalism in Spain, in D.Martínez Fiol, *El Catalanisme i la Gran Guerra (1914-1918). Antologia* (Barcelona: La Magrana/Diputació, 1988) and id., *Els 'Voluntaris Catalans' a la Gran Guerra (1914-1918)*, Barcelona: Publ.de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1991; E.Uclay da Cal's several articles and his updated Ph.D.Dissertation, *El nacionalisme català i la resistència a la Dictadura de Primo de Rivera, 1923-1931*, Barcelona, Autonomous University, 1983; X.M.Núñez Seixas, "Nacionalismos periféricos y fascismo. Acerca de un memorándum catalanista a la Alemania nazi (1936)", *Historia Contemporánea*, Autumn 1992 (forthcoming).

produced a considerable amount of writings which expressed in a literary way aspects related to the ideologies and values they defended. The study of the literary images and topics, the *leit-motifs* either of political or social nature which are most frequently employed in caricatures, etc., is also helpful in providing complementary information on how does nationalism create and shape out a national culture, and the way in which that culture comes to terms with other sectorial cultures (bourgeois- or workers culture, etc.). On the one hand, there is still very little concern in Spain with studying "cultural nationalism" as a separate field, in the way Hutchinson has done for Ireland⁴¹. The sole exceptions, without providing however any standard work so far, have been the contributions of N.Bilbeny and V.Cacho Viu for the role of *Modernisme* cultural movement in the shaping of Catalan nationalist beliefs in the beginning of the XXth century⁴², or J.Juaristi's work on the "invention" of the Basque cultural tradition.⁴³ For the Galician case, the particular cultural dynamics of the so-called *Generation Nós* (which took over during the 20s the task of shaping up a specific Galician culture in relation with Portuguese and Celtic cultural traditions) have so far received little attention.⁴⁴ The study of "nationalist image" (such as electoral propaganda, caricatures in newspapers, etc.) has also been paid little attention, despite the fact that some authors have pointed out its importance in order to better follow the shaping process of the concepts of "national us" against "the others".⁴⁵

41. J.Hutchinson, *The dynamics of cultural nationalism. The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1988.

42. V.Cacho Viu, *Els modernistes i el nacionalisme cultural. Antologia*, Barcelona: La Magrana/Diputació, 1984; N.Bilbeny, "Nacionalisme i cosmopolitisme en la teoria noucentista", *Recerques*, n.14 (1983), 131-138.

43. J.Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor. La invención de la tradición vasca*, Madrid: Taurus, 1988 (2nd.).

44. Some aspects are treated by C.A.Molina, *Prensa literaria en Galicia (1809-1920)*, Vigo: Xerais, 1989.

45. Nagel (*Arbeitschaft...*, op.cit.) points out the importance of the study of caricature and traditional *auques* (short stories of popular character which were drawn in a sheet with a text), or the satyric journals (e.g., *La esquilla de la Torratxa*) in order to better understand the way in which this form of popular culture began to identify itself with nationalist contents. Ucelay da Cal has also displayed the importance of the culture of political posters in the 30's...and for the Basque case, one of the most popular and diffused organs amongst Basque peasants since 1916 (*Euzko-Deya*) consisted mainly in caricatures and painted stories, through which social or national questions are treated and developed. In a similar way, the regionalist-oriented satyric Galician journal *O tío Marcos da Portela* reached a large diffusion among Galician peasants at the end of the XIXth century, as well as the caricatures of nationalist artists such as Castelao or Maside during the 20's and 30's in some Galician newspapers did.

In short: there is a wide range of sources which may be used in order to further understand the history of the national question in Spain. Traditionally, however, the attention paid to the ideological and political developments of each area overestimated the importance of the printed periodical sources (newspapers, party organs, etc.) and never took into account alternative or more imaginative sources which could provide a complementary or even completely new outlook of the subject studied. The increasing trend towards innovation and interdisciplinarity which prevails nowadays within Spanish historiography will probably lead in a few years to better achievements.

4. The traditional perspectives for the study of the national question prior to 1939.

The history of nationalisms has had two main distortions and manipulations over time, which have contributed to its relative methodological backwardness until the 60's:

a) Initially, the history of the nationalist movements was carried out solely by the peripheral nationalist or regionalist themselves, in order to justify their present claims in this way. The important place occupied by historians in any national awakening and national movement gives the history of the particular national movement concerned a particular importance, since its whole development is conceived in terms of a somewhat heroic rise of a previously dominated or "oppressed" nation. Thus, to make the history of the nationalist movement was also to reconstruct the history of the *awakening* of the region/nation. The history of nationalism/regionalism in the modern periods was intended to serve as well as the history of the nations concerned during the same periods as well.

b) Since the history of the national question appeared to be only of interest for nationalists themselves, the opposite reaction was to treat the history of the national question, or even the history of the regional peculiarities of each Spanish territory as a matter of little relevance and even as something to be rejected. The few histories of nationalist movements which were written during the Francoist period display that sense of "cultural fight" as well as their militant character. Nevertheless, some of them -especially García Venero's books on Catalan and Basque nationalisms- are at least good works of historical erudition.

As far as the self-image the nationalist movements had of their histories is concerned, it could be said that none of the works produced by them went beyond the use of printed sources. The most valuable work until 1939 seems to be Rovira i Virgili's *Resum d'història del*

catalanisme⁴⁶ (which together with his *Història dels moviments nacionalistes* (1912-1914) constitutes a precious example of how nationalists regard the world as a system and combination of "nations fighting for their freedom"). Some works appeared in Basque Country during the 30's regarding the history of the origins of Basque nationalism, but most of them actually provided a kind of idealistic narration which only tended to show the high patriotism and the values of the founder of the PNV, Sabino Arana⁴⁷...Galician nationalist ideologue M.Murguía and the Republican nationalist R.Villar Ponte also wrote short histories on the Galician claims to Nationhood.⁴⁸

What are the usual common features of the historical traditional self-representation of the history of nationalism by nationalist themselves? They could be summed up in two basic methodological bases: a very strong *objectivism and essencialism* as a dominant element, and also, as a subordinate feature to the latter, a large dosis of *positivism and idealism*, with in fact some common elements⁴⁹ with the mainstreams of the contemporary historiography on nationalism.⁴⁹ What is important according to these conditions is to exactly reconstruct the facts, and to provide a good documentary basis, as well as the description of the successive conceptions of nationalism that politicians and intellectuals formulated at given periods. According to the objectivism and essentialism too, what really matters is not to define the *nation* as such, but on the contrary to explain the development of nationalism as a kind of *natural derivation from the national fact*. Nationalist histories explain the origins of nationalism as phenomenon generated from the existence of the *nation*, and only the interaction of different conditions (economic, political, social) provoked the resurgence or *awakening* of the nation, which was somewhat supposed to be sleeping in people's memory.⁵⁰ These factors also determined some

46. See a good edition, in Rovira i Virgili, *Resum d'història del catalanisme*, Barcelona: La Magrana, 1983 (with foreword by Anna Sallés). A similar Spanish version, *El nacionalismo catalán. Su aspecto político, los hechos, las ideas y los hombres*, Barcelona: Minerva, n.d.

47. See e.g.E.de Aranzadi, *La Nación Vasca*, Bilbao: Verdes, 1931.

48. Especially, the monumental *Historia de Galicia* written by Murguía between 1865 and 1913 (reed by Ed.Xerais, Vigo, 1982). See also R.Villar Ponte, *Historia sintética de Galicia*, A Coruña: Nós, 1927.

49. J.G.Beramendi, "Aproximación a la historiografía reciente sobre los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 49-76.

50. The above mentioned factors are not only shared by nationalist histories: they are also present in such classical works as e.g.H.Kohn's *History of Nationalism* (Spanish first translation, México: F.C.E., 1944 -49) or Hayes's *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, New York: Macmillan, 1931.

common places which can be observed in all the "nationalist" histories of nationalism:

a) The evolution they describe usually begins with the decadence of the nation concerned after a period of resurgence (all nationalisms invent or define a given period of history as their *Golden Age*). That decadence is, of course, due to the oppression and centralization processes imposed on all grounds by the Spanish/Castilian State: from the cultural imposition of Spanish as the official language of the State, to the abolition of the previously existing regional freedoms. In this context, the role of romanticism during the XIXth century as first catalyst of the regional/national cultural revival was overemphasized (and this emphasis was passed on to later studies on the national question), as much as the presence of the first provincialist liberals who usually tended to oppose the process of centralizing liberal State. Thus, provincialism and first federalist developments, although they could develop independently from the field of the romantic literary revival, were usually perceived as the first signs of nationalism. The reason was very simple: since whatever nationalism presents itself as the defender of what the people really feel or must feel, the first endeavours towards autonomy or of opposition to Madrid were interpreted as primary expressions of the national *Volksgeist*. In the same way, Basque nationalist historians have tended to see in the Carlist wars the first signs of the permanent desire of independence on the part of the Basque people...

b) After this primary resurgence, a period of initial theoretical developments is described as a sort of *pre-nationalist* stage. Afterwards a romantic figure, or a group which is supposed to be the symbol of the resurrection of the nation, elaborates a more coherent doctrine of nationality. Thus, Sabino Arana's role in the genesis of Basque nationalism was overestimated and emphasized by Basque nationalist historians, while the writings of Brañas and Murguía were interpreted by the Galician nationalist tradition as the most accurate and defined theories of the Galician nationality. In the Catalan case, much emphasis was put on figures such as Valentí Almirall and the Nationalist assembly of Manresa (1892), which laid down the *Bases de Manresa* as the first consistent political programme of Catalan nationalism. But the father of the Catalan nationality was supposed to be Enric Prat de la Riba through his book *La nacionalitat catalana* (1906). The symbolic figures are essential in all nationalisms, and historians felt especially attracted by the *charme* of studying prominent individuals. In the case of "nationalist" historians, the reproduction of this scheme led to the conclusion that these groups or individuals who "discovered" the truth were a kind of expression of the *good and correct will of the nation concerned*.

c) The spreading diffusion of nationalism among the social structure of the nation was a subsequent step to be explained by the official history

of nationalism. The mechanism was very simple indeed: since nationalism represented the nation, the process through which the latter supports as a whole the nationalist option was supposed to be "natural". Nevertheless, and especially in the Catalan and Galician case, the explanatory model was divided into stages of evolution of the nationalist consciousness which very often were quite contradictory. According to the ideological evolution, Galician and Catalan nationalist historians and leaders during the 20's and 30's coined a terminology: the process of national awakening passed through three stages, *Provincialism*, *Regionalism* and *Nationalism*. At least since the second stage (which was usually placed in the second half of the XIXth century), the theoretical elaboration of a national concept coexisted with a regionalist praxis according to which the political aim pursued was merely regional autonomy. On the other hand, the nationalist interpretation of progressive-liberal *provincialism* of the middle of the XIXth century was very often intended to constitute a political and ideological forerunner of the subsequent nationalist developments,⁵¹ as much as the federalist Republicanism of the second half of the XIXth century was intended to be another expression of nationalism (which only to a certain extent can be considered as true).

d) The social history explanations were of course absent from this kind of self-representative discourse. Prior to 1936, even in the case of the most left-wing nationalist historians, such as Rovira i Virgili's *Resum d'història del catalanisme*, the diffusion of Catalanism to the popular classes appears to be a rather "automatic" process, although he attempted to present the history of Catalanism as the history of a popular belief which was elaborated and updated into a nationalist ideology by the first Catalanist theoreticians. The way in which nationalism was diffused was not of interest for nationalist themselves, who were only concerned with displaying the populist message of their political creed, as well as the remarkable features of ideologies.

It is worth to point out all the basic characteristics of the nationalist *historical* tradition briefly described above, since many of their features are transmitted to a larger or lesser extent to the post-francoist historiography. Especially the concentration on the study of *ideologies*, the overestimation of political personal ideological systems which were supposed to impregnate the whole nationalist movements from their origins and the insistence on the cultural origins and the *global* character of nationalist movements, are of primary importance. In this

51. This was the case e.g. of the interpretation of the progressive *pronunciamiento* of Galician liberals in 1846 as a kind of first "Galician national revolution". For a discussion concerning this topic, see J.G.Beramendi, *El nacionalismo...*, and X.R.Barreiro Fernández, "Pronunciamiento do 1846 e rexionalismo galego", *Grial*, n.50 (1975), 413-428.

sense, the contribution of the *nationalist Whig theory of history* could be placed in the perception of peripheral nationalism as a collective and multifold phenomenon which attempts to reproduce a global scheme of *community*, in Tönnies's sense.⁵² On the other hand, it is worth noting that the chronological division by which nationalists used to describe their particular histories are by no means useless when attempting to reshape the evolution of nationalist movements (as it has been the case e.g. in Galicia).

5. The historiography on the national question under the Franco Régime.

During the immediate period following the end of the Civil War, and until 1946/48 (when the hopes of the Republican exile of an intervention of Allied powers against Franco's Régime disappeared), some historico-political books, much in the tradition of the nationalist histories, were issued by the Basque, Galician and Catalan exiled intellectuals, mainly in America (and especially in Buenos Aires, where the Galician associations and the Basque publishing house *Ekin* took up the task of editing the national histories). Nevertheless, from the end of the 40s onwards the number of titles and books concerned with the study of the national question was very reduced, and only since the mid 60s the resurgence of the Catalan historiography school drew along the historiography of the national question.

During the first decades of the Francoist regime an official interpretation of the national question simply did not exist. To study the development of regionalism or nationalism in any of the Spanish regions was considered as a frontal attack against the integrity of the State and moreover a "subversive" intellectual exercise as risky to the system as the study of the workers movement or of left-wing ideologies. Nevertheless, it was actually amazing that Francoism did not produce any historiography on Spanish nationalism as well: Spain did not need, in the Régime's view, to affirm or reaffirm its national character, for it had always been a fully-completed Nation-State with, furthermore, an imperial Golden Age and a strong cultural tradition. Hence, the history of the modern *Nation-building* was never taken up by Spanish historians. Furthermore, the works of critical historians such as Ramón Carande's studies on *Imperial Spain*, or J. Vicens Vives' (already in the 50's-60's) on the historical development of Spanish economy, invalidated in the professional field the Régime's claims

52. F. Tönnies, *Gesellschaft und Gemeinschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979 [1st. ed. 1935].

to promote a reliable Spanish national history. On the contrary, the above mentioned authors, as well as others, displayed the extent to which Spain had been a mistaken example of *grandeur*, and also how ridiculous it was to pretend to write a Spanish imperial history. Since the deficiencies and lack of homogeneous character were pointed out by critical historiography, it is not amazing that by the early 60s no one in Spain, and even pro-Francoist historians, could deny the fact that Spain had entered the contemporary age (XIXth-XXth centuries) in a stage of permanent institutional, political and social instability and, moreover, as a State characterized by real or overestimated backwardness in relation to the rest of the old Western European nations (France, Germany, Britain, and even Italy, one of the most beloved "mirrors" of Spanish history in which to look at herself).

After the World War II, the history of nationalism had certainly a period of relative decadence. To a certain extent as a product of the negative connotations the conflict had brought to the idea of nationalism - which was, thereafter, identified with Fascism, totalitarianism, etc. - no real academic works of scientific importance appeared in the academic world until the 60's, being Hans Kohn a kind of "pioneer". Kedourie for instance manifested a radical⁵³ rejection of what nationalism had meant for the history of mankind. On the contrary, some relevant German scholars around the liberal historian Theodor Schieder began to study the national question in its many aspects, from a purely politico-ideological point of view, and especially focused, at first, on the national problems of Eastern Europe, the problems of the formation of the Nation-State and its different dynamics in East and West, and also on the relationship between social and national questions.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, that trend of the German historiography was totally unknown in Spain - and it remains unknown and unexploited so far - but it is crucial to understand the further evolution of historiography in the Central-European area which finally led to the developments of social history related to Hroch or Otto Dann.

The Spanish national question was indeed raised by other historians, especially abroad. One of these, Pierre Vilar, began to publish articles in France which at least indirectly stressed the diversity and complexities of the historical process of State building/regional disintegration in Spain.⁵⁵ But it was especially his monumental work *La Catalogne dans*

53. E.Kedourie, *Nationalism*, London: Hutchinson, 1960.

54. A good selection of Schieder's works has been recently edited by H.-U.Weehler and O.Dann, (Hrsg.), *Nationalismus und Nationalstaat: Studien zum nationalen Problem im modernen Europa*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.

55. P.Vilar, "Histoire contemporaine de l'Espagne (les nationalismes)", *Revue Historique*, 1951, 301-306.

l'Espagne Moderne. Recherches sur les fondements économiques des structures nationales, first published in French in 1962,⁵⁶ which set up the basis for ulterior developments. Although Vilar himself was not committed to the study of the Catalan national question as such, his research displayed how deep the divergences of the *Catalan path to modernity* were, as compared with the overall Spanish (or Castilian) way. It served later -against Vilar's will- as the classical work on the socio-economic specificity of Catalonia, and also as the justification that different societies needed different political movements and, hence, difference national solutions. The Catalan historiographic tradition forged during the 60's around Jaume Vicens Vives (and his disciples Jordi Nadal and J.Fontana, among others) also began to regard the Marxist methodology and theories as the most useful instrument to further explore Catalan history in relation to Spain or to the State. Since Vilar was very distanced from the *École des Annales*, the latter did not provide any important influence for the historiography which could be later concerned with the recovery of *national histories* (in contrast with the large and wide diffusion of *Annales*' influence among other Spanish academic circles).

It has to be pointed out, since it is important for a better understanding of the ulterior development of Spanish historiography on the national question, that from the second half of the 50's onwards cultural books in Galician and Catalan (as well as Basque) languages started to be published under tolerance of the Régime . Hence, the histories of literature, folklore and music which were elaborated in the 60's and first half of the 70's acted as a kind of light or "substitute" national histories for these areas: Joan Fuster's works on the Catalan-Valencian country, or Carballo Calero's and Otero Pedrayo's works on Galicia, for instance, had a much higher sense of *national cultural histories* in spite of their apparently non-political character.⁵⁷

In addition, in the political nuclei of the exiled Republican nationalist (mainly in Latin America and France), many books, pamphlets and articles were published by authors linked to the above-described *nationalist history* of the 20's and 30's. The scientific interest of these works is rather low, apart from their ideological contribution during the exile in order to "keep alive" the cohesion of nationalist communities either in exile or within Spain. The most prominent and frequently quoted book of this nature is J.Rusiñol's *Le problème national catalan*, a

56. P.Vilar, *La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne. Recherches sur les fondements économiques des structures nationales*, Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1962.

57. J.Fuster, *La poesia catalana*, Palma de Mallorca: Raixa, 1965; R.Otero Pedrayo, *Historia de la Cultura Gallega*, Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1959; R.Carballo Calero, *Historia da Literatura galega*, Vigo: Galaxia, 1975.

suggestive but deceiving combination of marxism applied following Vilar's tradition, and the aim at *national history*, combined with the particular allegiance to the Franco-German school of juridico-political study of the ethnic questions (G.Héraud, etc.).⁵⁸

5.1. The Francoist official interpretation.

In the period 1939-1950, very few historical studies appeared dealing with the national question, apart from some libels attacking the mistakes of "separatism"⁵⁹. As an exception, it is worth mentioning the two volumes on the history of Catalan and Basque nationalism which have been written by the pro-Francoist historian **Maximiano García Venero**, and also his biography of the Catalan nationalist leader Cambó.⁶⁰ García Venero shared in fact the postulates of "nationalist" histories, but he reversed the perspective: instead of applying the national schemes (objectivism, idealism, essentialism, etc.) to the positive and idealist picture of the Spanish nation, by providing a history of the Spanish nationalism, this author turned to use these weapons against Catalan and Basque nationalisms. In the introduction of his history of Catalan nationalism (1944), García Venero attempts to give a somewhat "scientific" definition of the Spanish nation, of his methodological framework and of the "destructive" character of the claims of national minorities, whose presence and meaning, according to him, have emerged only as a result of the decadence of the Spanish nation (what is to a certain extent true). In García Venero's view, Spain was a modern Nation already in the XVI-XVII centuries, and the nation-building process was achieved "through the royalist institution, which was represented by the King's person, and by his military victory over the invading peoples" [p.13]. He also believed in the fact, following the old assertions made by Ortega y Gasset, that the Spanish *nation* had been a first exponent of a "European ideal which arises since the Renaissance

58. J.Russiñol, *Le problème national catalan*, Paris: Mouton, 1974.

59. Some examples are A.Royo Villanova, *Treinta años de política antiespañola*, Valladolid: Librería Santaren, 1940; G.de Balparda, *Historia crítica de Vizcaya y sus fueros*, Madrid: Ed.Nacional, 1945; J.de Ybarra, *Política nacional en Vizcaya. De la Restauración a la República*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1948, and R.Sierra Bustamante, *Euzkadi: de Sabino Arana a J.Antonio Aguirre. Notas para la historia del nacionalismo vasco*, Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1941.

60. M.García Venero, *Historia del nacionalismo catalán*, Madrid: Ed.Nacional, 1944, 2 vols.; id., *Historia del nacionalismo vasco*, Madrid: Ed.Nacional, 1945; id., *Vida de Cambó*, Barcelona: Aedos, 1952. García Venero also attempted to write a short history of the Basque nationalist trade-union, see id., "La Solidaridad de Obreros Vascos (1911-1937)", *Revista del Trabajo*, n.3 (1964), 9-27.

[p.12]. Modern XIXth Century nationalism was, on the contrary, a materialist heritage from the *Ancien Régime*, which expressed a "materialist" and bourgeois-oriented pedestrian version of the genuinely pure *Renaissance* nationalism. The latter was subordinated to the "interest of capitalism". The States where this second wave of "disrupted" nationalism was fully represented were Great Britain, France and Germany. Their imperialist expansion was seeking for "areas of influence" where their power could be imposed. Thanks to this combination of Lenin and traditional thought, García Venero came to the conclusion that these European imperialist powers had found a means of attacking other nations by promoting regional legends, poetry and archaic uses exploited and rediscovered by Romanticism, in order to divide them...Hence, "countries, regions and provinces, to which the idea that statehood could be achieved through self-determination was instilled from outside" began to develop their own nationalism [p.17]. World War I had brought onto the scene a further and more "negative" aspect of that "disintegration", that is, Lenin's and Bolshevik claims for revolutionary self-determination. Hence, peripheral nationalism was always associated with revolution, social unrest, etc., in García Venero's eyes. In the revised 1965 edition of his book, the author still had space to address some criticisms against Pierre Vilar's work, which he considered a piece of "arbitrary Marxist theory" attempting to stress isolated and exaggerated "differentiated Catalan features" (*hechos diferenciales*).

This perspective, which was still defended in the mid-60's by Régime historians, summed up the official approach to the problem of the national question in contemporary Spain. Nevertheless, the problem was too evident to be ignored, and thus the best way to deal with it was to minimize its importance and to present it as a result of a foreign conspiracy, and/or the anti-patriotic feelings of some isolated intellectuals who elaborated a theory on the basis of dead languages and ancient traditions and folklore.⁶¹ A more subtle way of minimizing the problem was to present the history of the most moderate sectors and parties of the peripheral nationalist movements: this is the intention e.g. of Jesús Pabón's biography of the Catalan regionalist leader Francesc Cambó (who had finally supported the military rising of 1936).⁶² This book does not share the same imperial fascinations and politico-historical mixtures of García Venero's writings, but it remains at least rather neutral and somewhat "objective" by means of presenting a large and wide amount of factual

61. However, in the primary school textbooks of Spanish history, one of the key-factors always present in order to justify the military rising of July 1936 was the challenge of "separatism" against Spanish national unity.

62. J.Pabón, *Cambó*, Barcelona: Alpha, 1952. 1969, 3 vols.

informations. Pabón even provided a first explanatory model for the development of Catalan nationalism since the end of the XIXth century: in his view, Catalanism was the product of the combination of such different elements as custom-tariff protectionism, the cultural *Renaissance* and the Carlist dissidence against Spanish liberalism. The blending of these three elements by the end of the XIXth century was to produce the birth of the *Lliga Regionalista*.

The above mentioned studies defined the historical *official* Spanish Francoist position standpoint towards the analysis of the national question.

5.2. The first attempts to set up a new history of the national question.

Since the beginning of the 60's, European Marxist thought also entered Spain and strongly influenced Spanish intellectual circles, particularly those of the Universities. The channels through which Marxism was assimilated in Spain were mainly three:

1) Althusser's school, and specially his theories of socio-economic formation, mode of production, the relative degree of autonomy of theory in relation with the material conditions, and determination in last instance.

2) Gramsci's theories, concerning the idea of *organic intellectual class*, the relative level of autonomy of ideologies in relation with infrastructure, class block and class hegemony within a given social formation.

3) Pierre Vilar's assertions, expressed in the above mentioned introduction to his book *La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne*. Pierre Vilar's theoretical model for explanation synthetized in that introduction was, according to Beramendi,⁶³ the main influence affecting the Spanish historiography on nationalism/regionalism and the national question as a whole. Vilar combined the classical Marxist definition of what a *Nation* is (conceived as a "framework to be used by social classes in order to affirm their effective political dominance"), with the recognition of the historical existence of somewhat *national*, ethnic groups with a strong self-consciousness of being a community (marked by language, uses, etc.). Between both aspects there is a *dialectical* relationship. Hence, the real process which has to be analyzed is the role played by the uneven development of the structures and also that of the social classes within the formation of the nation, up to shape a national *hegemonic block*. Vilar differentiated very clearly indeed between the "objective" and the

63. J.G.Beramendi, "Aproximación...", art.cit.

"constructed" or "invented" nation, the latter being defined by the historical process, while the former could be better described as *ethnicity* (as it did by later authors).

Later developments of Vilar's theories by some of his disciples (J.Solé Tura, I.Molas, R.Ribó) shaped up a kind of original Spanish historiographic model which can be considered to be already articulated before 1975: according to that model, the *nation* was not identified anymore with a given social class (bourgeoisie). On the contrary, the existence of an ethnic group which owns some clear-cut defined distinctive features serves as a possible condition of development for a nationalist movement. The latter will hence depend on the different interactive plays of social classes in a given historical period, expressing and defending their respective claims to be hegemonic at the different circumstances. Therefore, the study of the social and class attitudes which were laying behind each nationalist movement was to become the real concern of the historiography on nationalism during the 70's and part of the 80's.

There is no doubt that the model is neither generally applied, nor that it provides the solution to the whole explanation of the historical national question in Spain. To point out that the methodological scheme which had been implicitly adopted was able to further understand the complexities of the Spanish *national* history does not imply that the model was consistently applied. There are, so far, only two derived explanatory models defended for the Catalan and Basque case, and also a semi-model for Galicia. Nevertheless, there are no solid scientific patterns of reference as far as Spain and the Spanish State are concerned. This absence is going to affect all ulterior developments.

Concerning Catalan history, the stronger tradition and vitality of Catalan historiography combined with Vicens Vives' methodological contribution⁶⁴ and the awareness of the professionalism of the *métier d'historien* enabled the consolidation of what Ucelay da Cal has ironically named *historiografía frentepopulista* (Popular Front historiography).⁶⁵ This Catalan historiography was characterized by a set of shared values, i.e.1) the involvement of the historian in the society and the country; 2)

64. Although Vicens Vives did not devote many pages to the interpretation of Catalan nationalism, within his valuable book *Industrials i polítics del segle XIX* (Barcelona: Teide, 1958) some outlines of a personal view of the phenomenon can be found. Vicens considered Catalanism to be the persistence of a different particularist feeling of Catalonia, the latter being conceived in the popular mind as a combination of a specific culture, social structure and history. The rejection felt by the Catalan people towards the administrative corruption of the liberal Spanish State, as well as the awareness of the ineffectiveness of the modernizing role of Spain, led to the articulation of Catalan nationalism by the end of the XIXth century.

65. E.Ucelay da Cal, "La Historiografía...", art.cit., esp.138-142.

This historian's *engagement* is specifically committed to the *oppressed classes*, i.e. Catalan society suffers a twofold oppression, "national" and "social". In this sense, Catalanism's history is intended to be a matter of popular interest and of further collective and useful significance.

Solé Tura first book on the origins of Catalanism and also on the interpretation of the Catalan nationalism by the turn of the century opened up the fire. This was his *Catalanisme i revolució burgesa*.⁶⁶ In his view, Catalanism was a historical product of the domination of the bourgeoisie after the Spanish State did not fulfill its claims and class interests. The regionalism thus arose as an ideology of social synthesis and State reformation, which could allow the dominant bourgeois class to form a national hegemonic block through which it was possible to launch a reform of the State in order to better defend its interests. According to this author, the nation is a dynamic concept, in which "the fundamental element is the formation or the rupture of a given block of social classes. That formation or breakdown are determined by a fight whose centre is the institutionalized political power".⁶⁷ During the XIXth century, the formation and development of Catalanism was interpreted as a process of that should be approached by "a process of formation, development and break of a given block of classes, which is directly related to the problem of the formation of the Spanish State in the XIXth century". Since the Spanish State was the product of the interests of a block of classes ruled by the old oligarchy (old rural nobility, new bourgeoisie, etc.), the most expansive and industrial sectors of the bourgeoisie found themselves in a position of being confronted to the State. The majority of the Catalan bourgeoisie by 1868 only had a Spanish national project, which attempted to modernize and further democratize Spain, being the petty bourgeois federalism and the conservative clerical Catalan regionalism only marginal forces. Since the real political phase which would have led to a modernization of the political structures of the State, this is the period following the 1868 progressive Republican revolution, ended with a failure in 1874, the implementation of the oligarchic system of the Restoration implied the defeat both of popular-oriented federalism and Ancien Régime Carlism. But it was also a failure for the Catalan industrial bourgeoisie,

66. J.Solé Tura, *Catalanisme i revolució burgesa*, Barcelona: Ed.62, 1967 (Spanish translation, *Catalanismo y revolución burguesa*, Madrid: Edicusa, 1974).

67. J.Solé Tura, "Historiografía y nacionalismo. Consideraciones sobre el concepto de nación", *Boletín Informativo de la Fundación Juan March*, n.42 (1975), 3-14. Solé Tura experienced too the influence of the theoretical developments on the national question which at the same time were taking place in France, especially G.Haupt, M.Lowy and Cl.Weill's theories (*Les marxistes et la question nationale (1848-1914)*, Paris: Maspero, 1974) and E.Terray, "L'idée de nation et les transformations du capitalisme", *Les Temps Modernes*, n.324-326 (1973), 492-508.

which in the following period met with its lack of capacity to achieve hegemony within the Spanish State. Hence, a new "gathering" of social classes began having as scene the "Catalan social area, delimited by a historical culture and also by a specific economic structure". In the formation of a new hegemonic block, this was preceded by an ideological dispute within the many groups aiming at representing Catalanism. On the one hand, Valentí Almirall represented an effort to integrate popular federalism and bourgeois claims, aiming at shaping, of course, a new block of classes directed towards the centralist State. On the other hand, some traditionalist and frequently clerical ideologues (Torrás i Bages, Mañé i Flaquer, the Vich's group...) elaborated a conservative regionalist theory which mainly consisted in a readaptation of the old carlism to the new conditions. By the end of the century, Enric Prat de la Riba carried out the task of making both ideological legacies coexist within a common ideological system, of gaining the support of the industrial bourgeoisie and of setting up the new nationalist party which was to have the hegemony over the Catalanist forces at least until 1923: the *Lliga Regionalista*. The Lliga's ideology (expressed in Prat de la Riba's book *La nacionalitat catalana*, 1906) pretended to be an ideology of synthesis, in which archaic and modern elements coexisted. Nevertheless, the mass appeal of the bourgeois Lliga never properly arrived to the Catalan working classes (which mostly felt attracted, either by anti-nationalist Republican *lerrouxismo* or by the anarchosyndicalist CNT). Another limit to the bourgeois nationalism was the permanent tension between Catalan bourgeoisie's class interests and its claims to lead a block of different classes: the contradiction broke out at certain moments where social conflictivity peaked (e.g., *Tragic Week* of 1909, or the General Strike of 1917). A third limit for Catalanist bourgeoisie was also the fact that, although it always demanded State modernization, in the end the Lliga always came to terms with the oligarchic state, whose support was needed for keeping its class interests in the social conflicts of Catalonia.

Solé Tura provided an explanatory model which was to be partly followed by other authors. However, his work was much more committed to the long-term interpretation of bourgeois Catalanism rather than with the factual demonstration backed with empirical sources. The main topics for study during the first half of the 70's for historians interested in Catalanism were to be:

* On the one hand, the history of the bourgeois nationalism. It was hence intended to check further into the bourgeois and class character of the *Lliga Regionalista* through a detailed analysis, although the sources were not always generous. Isidre Molas began with his Ph.D. Dissertation on

the party, first published in 1972⁶⁸, which displayed on the one hand a quite innovative analysis in the field of Spanish political history (for it was based on the social study of the candidates and the internal conflicts and distribution of power within the Lliga, attempting to highlight the social implications behind). On the other hand, Molas' book constituted a kind of historical checking of a larger amount of empirical data of the often quite abstract Solé Tura's conclusions. Through his political history of the *Lliga Regionalista*, Molas displays how far the ideological project of the Catalan bourgeoisie experienced a golden age in the two first decades of the XXth century, and also how by the 30's it became rather a strongly conservative bulwark which lost its populist appeal. The peak moments of the Lliga's populist appeal took place between 1906 (formation of the all-Catalanist coalition *Solidaritat Catalana*, as a reaction against some attacks of the Spanish Army against Catalan organs) and 1914-18 (with the failure of the autonomy campaign launched by the party, trying to exploit the World War I conjuncture). By the end of the 20's and in the aftermath of Primo de Rivera's Dictatorship, bourgeois Catalanism even attempted to articulate a Spanish moderate right-wing project, which aimed at coexisting with the Monarchy.⁶⁹ Molas also displayed the strong class character of the Lliga (based upon an alliance of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, some petty bourgeois and professional sectors, as well as landowners and traditional sectors from the rural Catalonia), which expressed itself in a conservative position inside Catalonia (e.g. put in practice in autonomous institution *Mancomunitat de Catalunya*), but in a centre-reformist position when the party played the Spanish policy. When the Catalan bourgeoisie had to launch the campaign of conquering the State it adopted a more progressive position.

The basic lack of Molas' work was that it failed at explaining - or simply it did not aim at that - the short-term process through which the bourgeoisie became nationalist between the 1890's and 1901-1906. In order to explain that political drift, Borja de Riquer carried out his research focusing on the formation period of the *Lliga Regionalista*. By combining the economic history with social and political history methods, and also through the private papers of some significant Catalanist leaders (Prat de la Riba), as well as the records of the industrialists' association, Riquer displayed that the drift of the Catalan industrial bourgeoisie towards regionalism only succeeded after the loss of the Colonial overseas markets of Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898, the need to implement a new protectionist tariff policy, and also the failure of the reformist-oriented but no less

68. I. Molas, *Lliga Catalana...op.cit.*

69. I. Molas, *El catalanismo hegemónico. Cambó y el Centro Constitucional*, Barcelona: Redondo, 1972.

Spanish conservative option of general Polavieja (*polaviejismo*),⁷⁰ which relied at the beginning on the support from the Catalan bourgeoisie. The strategic ability of the Catalan nationalist group which published *La Veu de Catalunya* around such intellectual figures as Prat de la Riba and the young Cambó made the rest of the work. The result was a convergence of interests, which overcame the traditional apolitical and intellectual Catalanism of the *Unió Catalanista*.

* On the other hand, another focus of interest was the study of the Catalan political federalism of the last third of the XIXth century. The main reason behind this interest was the search for a popular Catalanism and the question of how far Catalanism was *bourgeois* and how far was it not bourgeois. Molas himself had studied Pi i Margall's federalist ideas from a purely ideological point of view,⁷¹ and J. Trias Vejarano studied the figure of Valentí Almirall, attempting to define his supposedly popular version of Catalanism, in opposition to Solé Tura's study on the same author, which stressed the elements of synthesis towards a bourgeois liberal Catalanism.⁷² But the main defender of the specific theory of a popular-oriented Catalanism was Josep Termes, whose view consisted in the national fact and Catalanism in particular being also predominantly a reaction of the popular classes against the *de facto* bourgeois Spanish State. Since the bourgeois revolution had really taken place in Spain, there was no real question of explaining Catalan nationalism as a *Catalan way to fulfill the uncomplete Spanish bourgeois revolution*, but on the contrary it was to be understood as a primary popular feeling whose first pre-nationalist expression was federalism in the 1870's and 1880's.⁷³ Real Catalanism survived among the people as a reaction against both the Catalan bourgeoisie and the Spanish oligarchic but also bourgeois State. Termes picked up many of the Vicens Vives' ideas in order to interpret Catalan nationalism as a phenomenon with strong popular basis during the XIXth century. During this period, the defence of the Catalan identity was, in Termes' view, a popular feeling shared either by Carlists, conservatives, or federalists and peasants. Hence, it is necessary to look at the process of popular cultural nationalism (the increasing number of newspapers, popular

70. B.de Riquer, *Lliga Regionalista: la burguesia catalana i el nacionalisme (1898-1904)*, Barcelona: Ed.62, 1977. In the foreword to the book, written by Josep Fontana (5-10), the main ideas about this *bourgeois path* of Catalan nationalism are also summed up.

71. I.Molas, *Ideari de Francesc Pi i Margall*, Barcelona: Ed.62, 1965.

72. J.J.Trias Vejarano, *Almirall y los origenes del catalanismo*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1975; J.Solé Tura, *Ideari de Valentí Almirall*, Barcelona: Ed.62, 1974.

73. J.Termes, "Nationalisme et ouvriérisme catalan (1868-1874)", in VV.AA., *Mouvements Nationaux d'Indépendance et classes populaires en Occident et en Orient*, Paris: Armand Collin, 1971, 211-216. Id., "Problemes d'interpretacio del nacionalisme català", in VV.AA., *Col.loqui d'historiadors*, Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill/CEHI, 1974, 41-76.

literature, etc., which was published in Catalan since the middle of the XIXth century), as well as at the popular risings in Catalonia during the 30's and 40's, the Catalan *particularism* expressed in the *Guerra dels Matiners* (2nd Carlist War, 1847-48), and especially at the revolutionary period of 1868-1874⁷⁴. In this context one must also understand J.Clara's thesis on the popular Catalan federalism in Northern Catalonia,⁷⁵ Villaclara's study on the Catalan pre-nationalist components of Republican federalism (synthesized in the claim for the maintenance of the Catalan language and culture), as well as J.Llorens' analysis of the *progressive* Catalanism of Sebastià Farnés⁷⁶. In the same way, the question of the relationship between Catalanism and the working class was logically to be raised: one of the first attempts at performing this were Albert Balcells' first studies on the relationship between Marxism and Catalanism before 1936⁷⁷. The date was to survive for many years: in 1984, Antonio Elorza still insisted in the arguments of a lack of communication between working classes and Catalan nationalism.⁷⁸

* A parallel trend was the study of the political ideologies of the different Catalan nationalist trends until 1936. It was also intended to assess the extent to which Catalanism did mean a real challenge to the integrity of the State, or rather whether it aimed at a federal-autonomic restructuration of the centralist Spain. This discipline had much in common with the area of knowledge of *Derecho político*, which in the absence of a developed Spanish Political Science became *par excellence* the field for the historians of ideologies and political projects. J.A.González Casanova's study on the evolution of the Catalan proposals and ideas on Devolution, regional autonomy and federalism established⁷⁹ a solid groundwork for the later developments on Catalan political history.

74. J.Termes, "Corrents de pensament i d'acció del moviment catalanista", in VV.AA., *Catalunya i Espanya al Segle XIX*, Barcelona: Ajuntament, 1987, 177-187.

75. J.Clara i Resplandis, *El federalisme a les comarques gironines*, Ph.D.Thesis. Atonomous University of Barcelona, 1982.

76. J.Llorens i Vila, *L'aportació de Sebastià Farnés al catalanisme. De l'exposició a les Bases de Manresa (1888-1892)*, M.A.thesis, Autonomous Univ.of Barcelona, 1980; id, "Estudi preliminar", in N.Roca i Farreras, *El catalanisme progressiu*, Barcelona: La Magrana/Diputació, 1983, VI-XXVI.

77. A.Balcells, *Ideari de Rafael Campalans*, Barcelona: Pòrtic, 1973; id., *Marxismo y catalanismo, 1900-1936*, Barcelona: Anagrama, 1977. From a different point of view, it is also worth noting V.Alba, *El marxisme a Catalunya (1919-1939). I. Història del B.O.C.*, Barcelona, 1975, 2 vols.

78. A.Elorza, "Los nacionalismos en el Estado español contemporáneo: las ideologías", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 149-168.

79. J.A.González Casanova, *Federalisme i Autonomia a Catalunya (1868-1938)*, Barcelona: Curial, 1974.

By 1975, this basic ideological-political framework was already prepared. Within it, the further developments of research so far were to be set in context. Nevertheless, the construction of the Basque "explanatory model" came with some delay in relation to the Catalan one, and its basic features were defined by historical research between 1975 and 1980.

6. The revival of historiography on the national question since 1975.

After the death of General Franco, and during the difficult but irreversible process of democratic transition which led to the 1978 Constitution, the regional/national question exploded in Spain as it did in 1931, even if in a more quiet way. The claims for autonomy and the resurgence of nationalist parties in almost all areas of the Spanish State, in a varied set of parties and organizations which often aimed at revolution + new structure of the State, became one of the most amazing factors of Spanish new democracy. As a consequence, the period between 1975 and approximately 1985/88 was marked by the enormous amount of titles (either books or articles) dealing with the history of the national question in Spain, as well as the publication of a good number of memoirs books, parahistorical literature and a resurgence of the "nationalist history" of the 20's and 30's, which in this case was ignored or simply left aside by professional history. The high level of professionalization that already in the 70's characterized Spanish academic historiography - although it was actually backward in relation, e.g., to Italy or France - contributed very much to the clear-cut delimitation of what is history and what is ⁸⁰ literature (or, as it is called in Spanish, *publicística histórica*).

J.G.Beramendi analyzed in 1984⁸¹ the overall Spanish historical production on the national question. He counted 4.629 titles which were directly or indirectly related to the matter, and established a thematic distribution. In all cases, the graphics of evolution of the number of titles increased by more than 175% between 1974 and 1980. After

80. This kind of large-public *histoire de divulgation* was very popular in the late 70's in Spain, and it was represented by such reviews as *Historia y Vida*, *Tiempo de Historia* or *Historia 16*. In their pages one can discover to what extent the recovery of the history of Spain's plurality was a real matter of interest for the Spanish public. As Ucelay da Cal expressively affirms for Catalonia, "During the 60's, any historian had in Catalonia the chance of being a prophet and of being heard" (E.Ucelay da Cal, "La Historiografía...", *art.cit.*, p.142).

81. J.G.Beramendi, "Aproximación...", *art.cit.* See also "Bibliografía sobre la cuestión autonómica", in VV.AA., *La izquierda y la Constitución*, Barcelona: Taula de Canvi, 1978. 197-236.

the stabilization period which followed this date (due to the fact that at that time the most important autonomous regional governments -Galicia, Euskadi, Catalonia- were set up after holding regional elections), the productions decreased, but it maintained a high level. Beramendi's work hardly took into account the articles or works published by foreign scholars -he particularly ignores Gerhard Brunn's works, e.g.- and on the other hand he includes in his analysis all kind of publications, sometimes with only a documental interest. But his conclusions are not altered by this fact. Concerning the subjects' distribution of Historiography, he presented the following results:

1. Theories of the national question.....	326.....	7,04%
2. General overviews.....	651.....	14,06%
3. Memoirs, biographies.....	806.....	17,41%
4. Self-affirmation of nationality.....	1052.....	22,73%
5. Ideologies.....	767.....	16,57%
6. Political history (parties, press, etc.)..	596.....	12,88%
7. Self-government institutions.....	399.....	7,32%
8. Social basis of nationalism..	92.....	1,99%
Total.....	4629.....	100,00

The territorial distribution of these 4.629 titles shows the hegemony of the Catalan historiography on the topic, for Catalonia represents 31% of the total bibliography, closely followed by Basque Country, which represents 21,82%. Galicia occupied a third place, with 15% of the titles, and only in a fourth place, did Spanish nationalism appear, with merely 8,90% of the titles. The three "historical nationalities" of Spain represented alone almost 70% of the whole bibliography on the national question. On the other hand, the relatively low level of the theoretical works on nationalism and the national question is also clearly reflected: only 2,98% of the bibliography met abstract and theoretical aspects. This means that despite the relative formation of a *explanatory model* in some areas, there were no real Spanish (or Catalan, Basque, etc.) theories of nation and nationalism, and the few attempts made so far have been rather deceiving. The factual dependence of Spanish scholars on the French bibliography, mainly for linguistic reasons as well, hindered the chance to develop a more open theoretical model. The sociological theories for the study of nationalism (Gellner, Smith), not to speak of German developments (Shcieder, Hroch), were hardly taken into account in Spain. But at the same time, Spanish scholars were unable (and they still are) to generate a convincing *ideological and methodological theory*, notwithstanding the existence of excellent monographies based upon empirical studies on the development of the different national movements. A few exceptions of theoretical developments could be made: Rafael Ribó (leader and ideologue of the

Catalan Communist Party PSUC), who defended the already known Marxist Catalan positions on the national question,⁸² as well as Solé Tura⁸³, Pelai Pagés⁸⁴ and the more original R.Ninyoles' theories on the role of languages⁸⁵ and linguistic conflicts in the formation of the national identities⁸⁶. The Basques J.R.Recalde and, to a lesser extent, G.Jáuregui and J.J.Solozábal have also published several studies on theoretical questions on the nature and development of nationalism and the nation-state, particularly the former, one of the very few exponents of the politico-sociological school of the nationalism theories in Spain.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Pierre Vilar's methodological/conceptual works have kept providing the models for the majority of Spanish historians until very recently.⁸⁷ On the other hand, the methodological and theoretical developments, when done, used to be included as an introduction to Ph.D.theses. In the Galician case, for instance, Ramón Máiz has put forward his strongly Gramscist-Althusserian concepts for the analysis of nationalism, impregnated with the same principles and theories of "hegemonic block", etc., which characterized Catalan historiography.⁸⁸ J.G.Beramendi has further developed a methodological scheme and also a theory of nationalism by himself, which served to provide the theoretical

82. R.Ribó, "Aproximació metodològica al fet nacional", *Recerques*, n.4 (1974), 117-135; id., "Conceptes polítics i realitat nacional", *Taula de canvi*, n.3 (1977), 35-48. The same framework is applied by the author to the Catalan specific case, in id., *Sobre el fet nacional. Catalunya, Països Catalans, Estat espanyol*, Barcelona: Avance, 1977.

83. See J.Solé Tura, "Historiografía...", already quoted. Also, id., "La qüestió de l'Estat i el concepte de Nacionalitat", *Taula de canvi*, n.1 (1976), 6-17.

84. P.Pagés, "Apuntes metodològics sobre los nacionalismos actuales", in J.Arenillas, *Sobre la cuestión nacional en Euskadi*, Barcelona : Fontamara, 1981, 9-45. Id., "Balanz historiogràfic. Els moviments nacionalistes contemporanis", *L'Avenç*, n.54 (1982), 56-61.

85. R.Ninyoles, *Idioma y poder social*, Madrid: Tecnos, 1972.

86. J.R.Recalde, *La construcción de las naciones*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1982. G.Jáuregui's book *Contra el estado-nación. En torno al hecho y cuestión nacional*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1986, is less interesting because of the absence of real original developments. See also J.J.Solozábal, "Problemas en torno al estudio del nacionalismo. Formación y crisis de la conciencia nacionalista", *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, n.17 (1980), and C.Rodríguez Aguilera, "La Nación y los nacionalismos", *Sistema*, n.83 (1988), 57-73. During the 80's, a new school of sociologists has flourished in Spain, such as A.Pérez-Agote or A.Gurrutxaga, whose studies are not going to be examined in this report.

87. P.Vilar, "Réflexions sur les fondements des structures nationales", *La Pensée*, janvier-février 1981, 46-64; id., "Pueblos, naciones, estados", in Id., *Iniciación al vocabulario del análisis histórico*, Barcelona: Crítica, 1980, 143-200, and *Estat, nació, socialisme. Estudis sobre el cas espanyol*, Barcelona: Curial, 1982; id., "Mouvement ouvrier et questions nationales: quelques réflexions préliminaires", *Le Mouvement Social*, 128 (1984), 7-14.

88. Ramón Máiz, *O rexionalismo galego. Organización e ideoloxía, 1886-1907*, A Coruña: Ed.do Castro, 1984, esp.chapter 1, "Ideoloxía, hexemonía e cuestión nacional".

framework for his Ph.D.dissertation.⁸⁹ Beramendi set off from a radical rejection of sociological and rigid Marxist theories of explanation of nationalism, and he prefers to focus on the interactive relationship between nationalist ideologies, nationalist movements and reality. The study of nationalist ideologies has to be set in context, by further understanding that they do not reflect automatically the class'interests, but on the contrary constitute a complex mixture of interests, images and concepts which define "the self-representation that a given collectivity or individual has of the world". He also differentiates different levels for the complexity of ideologies into three fields: that of the individual's systems of ideas (*ideosistemas individuales*), that of the whole created by the combination of the different individual ideological systems, and that of the mentalities of the social basis of the nationalist movement, which is usually marked by the assumption by the social basis of a limited and mediated number of *idées force*. The study of ideologies, in Beramendi's view, constitutes a fundamental factor for the comprehension of the historical evolution of the nationalist movements, insofar as ideologies are considered a multifaceted phenomenon which establishes an interactive relationship with the surrounding realities. The concept of *nation* appears to be, in this author's view, the key-concept in order to focus the internal contradictions and existing tensions inside a give nationalist ideology. Nevertheless, Beramendi goes beyond the ideological perspective and insists on the need of studying nationalist movements as a whole, where ideological, political and social factors are likewise taken into account (with special attention to the social composition of the patriotic groups, and the social classes which were claimed to be integrated by the nationalist discourse at every moment).

Basque historiography on nationalism, in spite of having experienced a very positive development, has not yet generated any original methodological scheme, although its eclecticism (very evident e.g.in J.Corcuera or J.L.Granja's works) is by no means less fruitful. Over the last years, however, the historical developments in the study of Basque nationalism have been very remarkable.

89. J.G.Beramendi, *El nacionalismo...*, cit. See also id., "Estructura ideológica básica do nacionalismo galego no primeiro terzo do século XX", in X.L.Barreiro (coord.), *O pensamento galego na historia (Aproximación crítica)*, Santiago: Universidade, 1990, 261-268.

6.1. Research on Catalan nationalism.

According to Beramendi's analysis of 1984, Catalan historiography on nationalism diverged from the overall Spanish one in some details⁹⁰. First of all, biographies and memoirs constitute a more important part of the bibliography (28,30%), the quality and quantity of biographies being considerably better than in other areas of Spain (regarding especially the Catalan leaders Prat de la Riba, Macià, Cambó and Lluís Companys). Secondly, Catalan historiography concentrated itself on the detailed study of political organizations, parties and press (this approach is closely related to the specific nature of the Catalanist political map, characterized by its disgregation and division into manifold political trends and parties). Thirdly, the presence of "affirmative" and somewhat propaganda-oriented books was less important than in other regions (especially than in Basque country and Galicia). The result is also that in Catalonia there are practically no *lacunae* either in periods or in ideologies and trends to be studied. There is however, in the period concerned, an uneven treatment of the different trends and periods, which has much to do with the predominantly adopted methodological model described above. Hence, what we could call *bourgeois nationalism* has been relatively well studied since the classical works of Molas and Riquer, to which it is worth adding M.Olivari's study on the Lliga between 1898 and 1917,⁹¹ and J.Harrison's sketch of the relationship between conservative nationalism and Catalan industrial bourgeoisie until 1923 in which he arrives to the conclusion that the Lliga's policy displays the historical failure in fulfilling the function of representative of the Catalan industrial interests, partly because of the only relatively "modernizing" character of that social class. Catalan industry needed the Spanish market, but at the same time the former proved to be unable to renew the archaic structures of the Spanish Restoration system.⁹² However, the political evolution of the Lliga Regionalista in the period 1923-1936 is far from being properly analyzed, with the exception of the uncomplete and rather

90. Beramendi, "Aproximación...", esp.67-68. See also A.Balcells, "La historiografía de la Cataluña contemporánea", in *X Coloquio de Pau*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1980, 383-398, and M.Barceló, E.Ucelay da Cal, B.de Riquer, "Sobre la historiografía catalana", *L'Avenç*, n.50 (1982), 68-73..

91. M.Olivari, *Regionalismo catalano, stato e padronato fra il 1898 e il 1917*, Milano: F.Angeli, 1983.

92. J.Harrison, "El món de la gran indústria i el fracàs del nacionalisme català de dreta (1901-1923)", *Recerques*, n. 7 (1978), 83-98.

questionable books of B.Muniesa.⁹³ The schisms and groups which split from the Lliga's mainstream have also received some attention, especially through the works of Jordi Casassas on those Lliga's radical dissidents who represent in their evolution the contradictions of a whole petty-bourgeois professional and "civil, servant" class that had been created by the autonomous institutions (*Mancomunitat*, etc.) and fed with the ideas of Catalan cultural *Modernisme* and *Noucentisme*. Casassas' interesting book on the second-rank Lliga leader J.Bofill i Mates (whose private archive was one of the few which became available) has to be understood in the frame of that commitment.⁹⁴ Casassas was among the firsts to highlight the extreme variety of Catalanism, as well as its petty-bourgeois variant, and also the extreme fluidity of the Catalan socio-political context. In fact, besides the hegemonic Lliga Regionalista a multifaceted and extremely fragmented world of small and short-lived Catalan Republican parties existed until their final convergence with strongly nationalist groups in 1930/31. J.Colomer opened up the study of that trend through the history of the theoretician of the *Unió Catalanista*, D.Martí i Julià, exponent of a more radical and petty-bourgeois nationalism which subsisted from the end of the XIXth century until the II Republic, and in 1983 he presented his thesis on the *Unió Catalanista* as the *foyer* of radical and somewhat populist-oriented nationalism.⁹⁵ Gerhard Brunn had already shown in 1978 the variegated character of the first Catalan nationalism prior to 1898, and how this interclass character went on under the hegemony of the Lliga: although the latter imposed a more accentuated bourgeois character to Catalanism, it also had to come to terms with other lower social classes, either belonging to the petty and intellectual-professional urban bourgeoisie, or to the peasant strata (*rabassaires*).⁹⁶ The Catalanism of the petty bourgeoisie, with main grass-root support in the urban areas and

93. B.Muniesa, *La burguesia catalana ante la II República española. I. "Il trovatore" frente a Wotan*, Barcelona: Anthropos, 1984; id., *II. El triunfo de Wagner sobre Verdi (1931-1936)*, Barcelona: Anthropos, 1984. Muniesa makes use of a surprisingly reduced set of sources, and sometimes he adopts a too rigid and simplifying explanatory model: that of the Catalan bourgeoisie's betrayal of its nation.

94. J.Casassas Ymbert, *Jaume Bofill i Mates (1878-1933). L'intel·lectual i l'adscripció política*, Barcelona: Curial, 1980; id., "La configuració del sector 'intel·lectual-professional' a la Catalunya de la Restauració (a propòsit de Jaume Bofill i Mates)", *Recerques*, n.8 (1978), 103-131, and "Els quadres del regionalisme....", art.cit.

95. J.Colomer, *Martí i Julià. Notas para una biografía política*, M.A.Thesis, Univ.of Barcelona, 1975; id., "El Doctor Domènec Martí i Julià (1861-1917)", *L'Avenç*, n.4 (1977), 10-16, and *La Unió Catalanista i la formació del nacionalisme radical (1895-1917)*, Ph.D.Thesis, Univ.of Barcelona, 1984. See too F.Cucurull, "L'ideari nacionalista de J.Narcís Roca i Farreras i Domènec Martí i Julià", in VV.AA., *Consciència nacional i alliberament*, Barcelona: La Magrana, 1978, 25-89.

96. G.Brunn, *art.cit.*. See also "Regionalismus und sozialer Wandel: das Beispiel Katalonien", in O.Dann (Hrsg.), *Nationalismus und sozialer Wandel*, Hamburg, 1978, 157-185.

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especially some Barcelona districts, found its better expression in such parties as *Acció Catalana* between 1922 and 1936⁹⁷, with a component of *modernist* radicalism, but also in the many groups and parties which had split from the *Lliga Regionalista* since 1906 and which were subsequently represented by the *Centre Nacionalista Republicà*⁹⁸, the newspaper *El Poble Català*, the *Unió Federal Nacionalista Republicana* (1911-1914), Rovira i Virgili's *Esquerra Catalanista* (1912-1915)⁹⁹, or -already in the 30's- by the independent Republican groups around the newspaper *L'opinió*¹⁰⁰, the *Partit Catalanista Republicà*, etc. All of them shared the claim to monopolize the rule over the strong Catalan workers' movement (under guidance of the anarchosindicalist CNT) and the aim at overcoming the bourgeois character of hegemonic *Lliga's* regionalism, by inserting into Catalanism a more populist orientation which nevertheless always met the indifference or indeed the competition of the highly class-conscious Catalan trade-unions.

The aim at further researching the links between popular nationalism, Marxism and the national question, which were -as noted above- very *à la mode* in France during the same period, led Catalan historians to pay a large and sometimes disproportionate attention to the left-wing and workers' movement's interpretation of the Catalan national problem before 1939. Hence the studies of Balcells quoted above, and also those dealing with the history of the workers' movement from an incipient socio-historical perspective.¹⁰¹ In the same way, Francesc Bonamusa has analyzed the most genuine example of "Catalan Marxism", the strongly Troztkyst-oriented party *Bloc Obrer i Camperol*, which was especially powerful during the 30's among the peasants of the Lleida's province and had such noteworthy ideologues as

97. M.Baras i Gómez, *Acció Catalana 1922-1936*, Barcelona: Curial, 1984.

98. E.Goula i Goula, *El Centre Nacionalista Republicà de Barcelona (1907-1910)*, M.A.Thesis, Univ.of Barcelona, 1975.

99. See A.Sallés, "Antoni Rovira i Virgili: el fracàs d'una vocació hegemònica", *L'Avenç*, n.36 (1981), 28-32; id., "Antoni Rovira i Virgili: teoria i pràctica de Catalunya", introduction to Rovira i Virgili, *Resum d'història del catalanisme*, op.cit., V-XXX.

100. See J.B.Culla i Clarà, *El catalanisme d'esquerra (1928-1936)*, Barcelona: Curial, 1977. By the same autor, "Del republicanisme català al catalanisme d'esquerres (1922-1931)", *L'Avenç*, n.36 (1981), 33-37.

101. See A.Balcells, "Anarquistas y socialistas ante la autonomía catalana, 1900-1936", in *VIII Coloquio de Pau*, Madrid: Edicusa, 1980, 383-398; id., "Afirmació nacional i lluita de classes a Catalunya (1900-1931)", in VV.AA., *Història dels Països Catalans*, Barcelona: Ed.62, 1980 (2d.); id., "Los anarquistas y la cuestión nacional catalana hasta 1939", in VV.AA., *España, 1898-1936. Estructuras y cambio*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1984, 379-423; id., "Mouvement ouvrier et question nationale catalane de 1907 à 1936", *Le Mouvement Social*, 129 (1984), 59-82.

Andreu Nin and Joaquim Maurin.¹⁰² E.Monreal's or Pelai Pagés's studies have focused on these Catalan communist leaders as well.¹⁰³ On the other hand, I.Tubella studied the other small Catalan-Communist party of the 30's, the *Parti Català Proletari*¹⁰⁴, and X.Cuadrat highlighted the contradictory standpoint adopted by the Spanish Socialist Party (which however was minority in Catalonia) towards the Catalan national question.¹⁰⁵ J.M.Rodés devoted some articles to explain the ideological debates around the national question which took place within the whole trend that he calls in Austro-Hungarian terms *Catalan socialdemocracy*¹⁰⁶, while J.L.Martin Ramos traced back the origins and development of the specifically Catalan (although with a larger or lesser real extent of Catalan nationalism) socialist parties, i.e. the *Unió Socialista de Catalunya* and the *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (PSUC) in the 30's.¹⁰⁷

No further research was carried out on the specific characters of the workers' culture, the integration of immigrants into the newly shaped Catalan working class which emerged by the turn of the century in the industrial foci of Catalonia, etc. except for some works performed by the German author G.Berkenbusch on the cultural questions and their expression/influence on the educational and school system.¹⁰⁸ Cultural questions have been less treated, but some contributions during the last ten years have also highlighted the importance of the cultural component of Catalanism as both an integration tool of divergent political and social interests, and the important contribution of the specific Catalan nationalist cultural movements *Modernisme* and *Noucentisme* for the shaping of a inter-class nationalist *Weltanschauung*, which at the same time expressed the claims for hegemony of the upper bourgeoisie through the

102. F.Bonamusa, *El Bloc Obrer i Camperol. Els primers anys 1930-1932*, Barcelona: Frontis, 1968; id., *Andreu Nin y el movimiento comunista en España (1930-1937)*, Barcelona: Anagrama, 1977.

103. P.Pagés, *Andreu Nin. Su evolución política (1911-1937)*, Barcelona: Zero, 1975; A.Monreal, *El pensamiento político de Joaquín Maurin*, Ph.D.Dissertation, Univ.of Barcelona, 1981.

104. I.Tubella, *Jaume Compte i el Partit Català Proletari*, Barcelona: La Magrana, 1982.

105. X.Cuadrat, *Socialismo y nacionalismo en Cataluña (1899-1918)*, Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill, 1974; id., "El PSOE i la qüestió nacional (fins 1923)", *L'Avenç*, n.5 (1977), 58-66, and n.6, (1977), 7-13.

106. J.M.Rodés, "Socialdemocràcia catalana i qüestió nacional (1910-1934)", *Recerques*, n.7 (1978), 125-145.

107. J.L.Martin i Ramos, "La Unió Socialista de Catalunya (1923-1936)", *Recerques*, n.4 (1974), 155-190; id., *Els orígens del Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (1930-1936)*, Barcelona: Curial, 1977.

108. G.Berkenbusch, *Sprachpolitik und Sprachbewußtsein in Barcelona am Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion auf der Grundlage mündlicher und schriftlicher Quellen am Beispiel des Erziehungswesens*, Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1986.

catalanization of the masses.

The bulk of the analytical approach analysis has been restricted to the ideological interactions of Marxist orthodoxy and nationalism, and this commitment to the specific ideological debate is in our view directly related to the contemporary one taking place within Catalan socialism by the end of the 70's. The result was probably a relative *overestimation* of popular Catalanist-socialism, and furthermore many dark aspects remained within the history of Catalanism before 1936. The first one was the fact that Catalan political history tended to concentrate itself on the study of Barcelona politics, with some "raids" made by historians like P.Anguera to research the origins and development of Catalanism in other Catalan areas (such as Reus, the second largest Catalan town).¹¹⁰ The second one was the real definition of the frontiers between class and national consciousness in Catalonia, especially regarding the daily-life and culture of the workers movement.¹¹¹ Thirdly, some periods of Catalanism's history remained unexplored, probably for being less attractive to historians: the pre-nationalist *provincialism* prior to 1875, as much as the cultural *Renaixença* movement, the petty-bourgeois Catalan Republican nationalism until the World War I...And a surprising fact, even nowadays, was in general the little attraction that the Catalan historians felt for General histories and long-term interpretations of Catalanism. After Solé Tura's work, and probably with the sole exception of the sociological works of Francesc Mercadé,¹¹² there is almost no real work of historical reflection on what was the place of Catalanism in Catalan and Spanish history.¹¹³ And even the study of the different ideologies of Catalan nationalism through its history has not yet attained a comparable level to that existing in other

109. See the above mentioned works of V.Cacho Viu and N.Bilbeny; also noteworthy is H.Hina, *Kastilien und Katalonien in der Kulturdiskussion 1714-1939*. Tübingen, 1978, though it mainly refers to the intellectual discussions. An interesting but isolated approach to the interaction between national and class identities on the one hand, and popular culture on the other, in J.L.Marfany, "Al damunt dels nostres cantos...: Nacionalisme, modernisme i cant coral a la Barcelona del final de segle", *Recerques*, n.19 (1987), 85-114.

110. P.Anguera, *La consciència nacional a Reus en els segles XIX i XX*, Reus, 1978; id., "Consciència nacional i classes socials a Reus (1868-1938)", *Mayurga*, n.18 (1978-1979), 109-116.

111. A first attempt to further investigate the existence of a workers culture was made by P.Sola, *Els Ateneus obrers i la cultura popular a Catalunya (1900-1936)*, Barcelona: La Magrana, 1982.

112. F.Mercadé, *Cataluña, intelectuales, políticos y cuestión nacional*, Barcelona: Península, 1982.

113. A failed attempt has been made by U.Mathee, *Katalanische Frage und spanische Autonomien*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 1988, (see the incisive books-review by K.J.Nagel, in *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik*, 2 (1990), 206-210). See as well G.Brunn, "Katalonien im Spanien des 19. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik*, n.3 (1990), 7-20.

areas, although the recent works of N.Bilbeny, A.Balcells and P.Ringobon cover to a large extent this lack.¹¹⁴

Nonetheless, the study of the Republican period in Catalonia opened new perspectives: the fact that Catalanism between 1931-1938 was predominant over Catalan politics, particularly represented in the indisputable -with some ups and downs- hegemony of the left-Republican party *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC) in that time. The formation of the ERC as a conglomerate of many parallel trends from Republicanism, left-wing Catalanism and Catalan separatism appeared to be the definitive proof of the popular character of Catalanism. The political process of confluence of dispersed forces into a Republican nationalist party under the charismatic leadership of Francesc Macià was investigated by D.Ivern and A.Sallés.¹¹⁵ The period corresponding to Primo de Rivera's Dictatorship (1923-1930) appears to be of significant importance in order to better understand the process through which left-wing Catalanism became hegemonic in Catalonia during the II Republic. And it was all the more important because of the fact that the ERC governed with the votes of the anarchist workers. Otherwise expressed, the success of left-wing Catalanism (a project headed until 1923 mostly by young intellectuals and white-collar workers, as well as skilled workers of Catalan rural origin who migrated to Barcelona in the two first decades of this century) relied upon the passive support of the workers' movement.

Hence it proved to be necessary to empirically understand the nature and reach of popular Catalanism. A second aspect was to determine the process through which the minority Catalan separatism of the 20's, headed by Macià, became a protagonist factor (though not a dominant one) in the 30's. A third aspect was to formulate a theory which could properly interpret the relationship between workers and nationalism, which in the Catalan case appeared to be of a very different nature than in the Galician or -especially- the Basque case.

M.Lladonosa's study on the main trade-union which gathered the Catalan skilled workers and shop-keepers (*saltataulells*, *pixatinters*), the CADCI,

114. A.Balcells, (ed.), *El pensament polític català del segle XVIII a mitjan segle XX*, Barcelona: Ed.62, 1988; N.Bilbeny, *La ideologia nacionalista a Catalunya*, Barcelona: Laia, 1988; J.M.Colomer, *Espanyolisme i catalanisme. La idea de nació en el pensament polític català (1939-1979)*, Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1984; P.Ringobon, "Enric Prat de la Riba: l'ideologia del pragmatismo nazionalista catalano", *Spagna contemporanea*, n.1 (1992), 25-48.

115. M.D.Ivern i Sala, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (1931-1936): estructura i organització*, Ph.D.dissertation, Autonomous University of Barcelona, 1982 (published in Barcelona: Publ.de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1989/90, 2 vols.); A.Sallés, *La formació de l'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya i la lluita per l'Autonomia*, Ph.D.dissertation, Autonomous University of Barcelona, 1981.

paved the way for further developments¹¹⁶. E.Ucelay da Cal's first Ph.D.thesis concentrated on the genuine and long-lived separatist party *Estat Català* and its evolution from "separation" to "revolution" and finally to "pactism" between 1919 and 1931,¹¹⁷ while in later works the same author has highlighted the role played by radical nationalist trends (*Nosaltres Sols!*, *PNC*, etc.) within Catalanism during the second Republic and the Civil War¹¹⁸. In this way Ucelay displayed the relative importance of this underground trend of Catalan radical nationalism and its place within Catalan socio-political history. The social basis for separatism was in practice the one gathered around the CADCI: shop-keepers, white-collars workers, Catalan (non-immigrant) skilled workers. However, the Ucelay's most suggestive work is his interpretation of the hegemony of the ERC during the 30's in Catalonia, as well as the relationship between the different political forces in the region, in a long-term perspective, offered in his 1982 book *La Catalunya populista*.¹¹⁹ Ucelay advances an interesting theory on the *populist* character of the Catalan political situation during the 30's. The phenomenon of the predominance of the left-wing Republican nationalism in this period had to be traced back to the preceding decades, by taking into account: a) the vitality, strength and socially widespread character of the Catalan culture, which served to a large extent as unifying element over political difference. 2) The exceptionally interclass character of Catalonia's social structure, as regards the social distribution of space, the shared communal character of social activities, the coexistence of workers, petty bourgeois and skilled workers of peasant origin in the same districts, sharing also social activities and sports, etc. The particular character of the Catalan industry -dispersed into hundreds of small enterprises, very often

116. M.Lladonosa, *Catalanisme i moviment obrer. El CADCI entre 1903 i 1923*, Barcelona: Publ.de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1988 (Ph.D.dissertation presented at the Barcelona Autonomous University in 1979). Id.and J.Ferrer, "Nacionalisme català i reformisme social en els treballadors mercantils a Barcelona entre 1903 i 1939. El C.A.D.C.I.", in A.Balcells (ed.), *Teoría y práctica del movimiento obrero en España 1900-1936*, Valencia: F.Torres, 1977, 281-335.

117. E.Ucelay da Cal, *Estat Català. The Strategies of Separation and Revolution of Catalan radical nationalism (m1919-1931)*, Ph.D.dissertation, Columbia University, New York 1979. Id., "La formació d'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya", *L'Avenç*, n.4 (1977), 59-67, and "Protagonistes cercant una base: els separatistes catalans en la resistència a la Monarquia Dictatorial (1923-1931)", *L'Avenç*, n.36 (1981), 42-50.

118. E.Ucelay da Cal, "La crisi dels nacionalistes radicals catalans (1931-1932)", *Recerques*, n.8 (1978), 159-206; id., "Daniel Cardona i Civit i l'opció armada del nacionalisme radical català (1890-1943)", introduction to D.Cardona, *La Batalla i altres textos*, Barcelona: La Magrana/Diputació, 1984, V-XLIII.

119. E.Ucelay da Cal, *La Catalunya populista. Imatge, cultura i política en l'etapa republicana (1931-1939)*, Barcelona: La Magrana, 1982.

consisting of a small textile workshop with a few workers- contributed to sometimes blend patrons and workers. 3) Related to this, the fluidity and permeability of the Catalan social structure, insofar as no real clearly-cut divided class-cultures existed, apart from that of the Catalan upper bourgeoisie. 4) The open character of the nationalist ideology and especially the lack of any deep formulation of *what Catalan nationalism and the Catalan nation were*. The real strength of Catalanism, in Ucelay's view, was rooted in its ambivalence as well as in its real absence of too intellectually defined affirmative elements, out of the defence of the Catalan language. 5) The support of Catalan small-holding peasants (*rabassaires*), whose alliance with "populist" Catalanism was necessary in order to counteract the weight of the industrial workers. But even the latter, although supported the CNT in the syndical field, passively supported the ERC because of Macià's charismatic leadership, the reformist program of the party and its fighting background against the dictatorship.

Ucelay's book constituted an important step in the comprehension of the multifaceted character of Catalan nationalism, an example of nationalism which is sometimes described by sociologists as "difficult to classify". Nevertheless, the excessively descriptive character of Ucelay's book and its concentration on the political aspects of the process left many questions unclear. How can one testify whether or not a Catalan workers' culture did exist?

The analysis of the institutional process of achievement of the Catalan Home-rule in 1931, as well as the political parties' system, has also been properly analyzed following González Casanova's lines. In this context, Isidre Molas published his work on the political party-system in Catalonia during the II Spanish Republic already in 1974,¹²⁰ and Ismael Pitarch studied the internal composition and politics of the Catalan autonomous government.¹²¹

Catalan historiography followed in the period between 1984 and 1988/89 a less original development. On the one hand, the interest arisen by the Catalan national question among young historians decreased along the 80's: the Catalan participants in the 1988 Colloquium at Mariñán are practically the same ones who took part in the previous 1984 colloquium in Santiago de Compostela, and no young historians have been added to the list (quite an

120. I. Molas, *El sistema de partidos políticos en Cataluña, 1931-1936*, Barcelona: Peninsula, 1974; id., "El projecte d'Estatut d'Autonomia de Catalunya del 1919", *Recerques*, n. 14 (1983).

121. I. E. Pitarch i Segura, *La Generalitat de Catalunya. I. Els governs*, Barcelona: Undarius, 1976; id., *L'estructura del Parlament de Catalunya i les seves funcions polítiques, 1932-1939*, Barcelona: Curial, 1977; id., *Sociologia dels polítics de la Generalitat (1931-1939)*, Barcelona: Curial, 1977.

the contrary of Galician or Basque cases). On the other hand, the process of innovation which usually takes place in the Catalan historiography before than anywhere else in Spain, determined that the scientific interest of the historians shifted to other topics such as XIXth century social history, Republicanism, etc. But while in Barcelona almost no one, nowadays, focuses his interest on the history of Catalan nationalism, the opposite phenomenon occurs in rural Catalonia. The newly-created University centres of Lleida, Girona or Tarragona, together with the Catalan boom of local history since the mid-80's, has added new nuances to the territorial study of Catalan nationalism.¹²² In addition, the lack of convincing general histories of the nationalist movement has been partially covered by the *Història de la Diputació de Barcelona*, published in 1987 under the direction of Borja de Riquer.¹²³ Some recent brief but interesting attempts to advance a global interpretation of Catalan nationalism have been those of K.J.Nagel for the period 1898-1936¹²⁴, and D.Conversi from a sociological and comparative perspective.¹²⁵

There is an increasing tendency towards the debate on the common places and accepted theories concerning the history of Catalan nationalism as well. A recent joint book of the main Catalan historians displayed the level of the Catalan historiography concern for self-criticism. Nevertheless, almost none of the authors mentioned above varied his point of view: the general consensus on the already-accepted explanatory models became explicit¹²⁶. As a consequence, Catalan historiography during the late 80's has exploited the previously-marked research lines, by enlarging the field of lateral aspects touched or influenced by Catalanism. Hence,

122. Some examples of that trend have been M.Costafreda, "Apunts sobre el catalanisme a Reus i Tarragona durant la Restauració", in C.Mir (ed.), *Actituds polítiques i control social a la Catalunya de la Restauració*, Lleida, 1989, 161-170; L.M.Puig i Oliver, "El catalanisme polític a Girona. Introducció a la seva història", in VV.AA., *Treballs d'història. Estudis de demografia, economia i societat a les comarques gironines*, Girona, 1976, 149-182.

123. B.de Riquer (ed.), *Història de la Diputació de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Diputació, 1987, 2 vols. See especially the brilliant part written by E.Ucelay da Cal, "La Diputació i la Mancomunitat, 1914-1923", (vol.II, 37-177).

124. K.J.Nagel, "Katalanistische Bewegung und Gesellschaft 1898 bis 1939", paper given to the Colloquium *Typen europäischer Nationalbewegungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Bielefeld, Zif, 21-23 march 1991.

125. D.Conversi, "Considerazioni sul caso catalano in una prospettiva comparata", *La Critica sociologica*, n.88 (1989), 42-60.

126. J.Termes, *Catalanisme: Història, política i cultura*, Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1986. See especially the following contributions: J.Termes, "Les arrels populars del catalanisme" (11-19), B.de Riquer "La Lliga Regionalista o els límits del catalanisme conservador" (115-128), J.Solé Tura, "Política nacional i política de classe" (57-72) and J.Castellanos, "Modernisme i nacionalisme" (21-38)..

Culla i Clarà studied the relationship between Catalan nationalism and Radical Republican Lerrouxism (populist-oriented Republican movement which strongly developed between 1910 and 1923, based on the support of the immigrant workers)¹²⁷, and Carrasco Calvo has traced the relationship between political catholicism and Catalanism before 1936.¹²⁸ R.Alcaraz has performed the whole analysis of the evolution of the Socialist catalanist party *Unió Socialista de Catalunya*.¹²⁹ The difficult and somewhat tortuous relationship and coexistence between radical nationalism, Republican independent Catalanism (non separatist), the large number of local Republican nationalist associations at the level of village, small town or even district, and the left-wing Catalanism, appears to be another field of study which is far from being satisfactorily fulfilled. It also demonstrates that the present trend is to consider Catalanism and Catalan nationalism as a whole in terms of a highly fragmented and multifaceted political trend, which could impregnate many parts of the local and regional political spectrum. Nagel's focus on Republicanism and the Catalanist left¹³⁰ as well as A.Pérez Bastardas' biography of a prominent Republican leader¹³¹ and the forthcoming Ph.D.thesis of D.Martínez Fiol on Marcel·lí Domingo (Catalan Republican who during his political career evolved from Catalanism to Spanish politics during the II Spanish Republic) are only first steps in order to explain an underground world which is crucial in order to further understand the "populism" of the Catalan Republican period. In the same way, original thinkers of the Catalanist left such as Gabriel Alomar, Serra i Moret or Joan Comorera have been further studied.¹³² As far as the integration of the women into the theory and practice of Catalan nationalism is concerned, M.Duch has sketched the role of women in right-wing Catalanism, paying special attention to the "official" role of "transmission agent of the national feeling" women were

127. J.B.Culla i Clarà, "Lerrouxismo y nacionalismo catalán. Elementos para una interpretación", in VV.AA., *España 1898-1936. Estructuras y cambio*, cit., 425-432.

128. S.Carrasco Calvo, "Catolicismo y catalanismo, 1898-1936: trayectoria y peculiaridades del catolicismo catalán", in VV.AA., *España 1898-1936...*, cit., 433-452.

129. R.Alcaraz i González, *La Unió Socialista de Catalunya (1922-1936)*, Ph.D.thesis, Univ.of Barcelona, 1986, 4 vols.

130. K.J.Nagel, *Arbeiterschaft...*, op.cit. See also id., "Soziale Konflikte und Nationalismus in Katalonien vor 1936", paper given to the 38.Tagung der deutschen Historiker, Bochum, 26-29.9.1990.

131. A.Pérez Bastardas, *Els republicans nacionalistes i el catalanisme polític: Albert Bastardas i Sempere (1871-1944)*, Barcelona, 1987 (2 vols.).

132. See I.Molas, "El liberalisme democràtic de Gabriel Alomar", *Recerques*, n.23 (1990), 91-111; M.Barceló, *El pensament polític de Serra i Moret. Nació, democràcia i socialisme*, Barcelona: Llibres a l'Abast, 1986; M.Caminal, *Joan Comorera. Catalanisme i Socialisme (1913-1930)*, Barcelona: Empúries, 1984.

given ¹³³, while K.J.Nagel on the other hand has briefly displayed the contradictory character of the social role given to women even within the Republican and left-wing Catalan nationalism ¹³⁴.

Catalan nationalism seems to have ceased to provoke new interests at the end of the 80's, and even nowadays, notwithstanding the fact that nationalist historians like Benet or Ainaud de Lasarte have gone on publishing biographies and works of doubtful interest. ¹³⁵ The most recent developments in the field of research on Catalan nationalism have the character of new attempts at discovering new and unexpected aspects of it. Hence, the relationship between Catalanism and Fascism was larger than previously supposed: E.Ucelay da Cal has displayed the fact that a somewhat common intellectual project of *Iberian Fascism* grew up in Catalonia during the 20's, in interaction with the first Madrid fascist intellectual nuclei around E.Giménez Caballero, for instance, and even during the 30's some links between Italian Fascist intellectual groups and some Lliga sectors existed. ¹³⁶ But methodological premises have hardly changed, as far as the field of Catalanism is concerned, with the sole exception of Nagel's works.

Borja de Riquer has recently pointed out the need to further explain the levels of Catalanist consciousness of the whole society, by overcoming the traditional studies focused on leaders, minorities and political organizations: the point was thus to analyse the way in which a given society becomes "nationalist" through the whole spectrum of daily activities (from leisure to newspapers). In other words, a similar study to that developed by Nagel for the pre-1923 period is still lacking in Catalonia for the 1931-1936 period. ¹³⁷ Furthermore, the absence of a systematic analysis of, e.g., the social basis of the Catalan nationalist movements is still lacking. Contemporary Catalan historians are nowadays much more concerned with the problems related to the process of *modernization* of the Catalan society in the last third of the XIXth century, the political evolution of Carlism, Republicanism and bourgeois

133. M.Duch i Plana, "El paper de la dona en el nacionalisme burgès", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 301-309.

134. K.J.Nagel, "Alguna cosa més que la renta-plats?": Zum 'Feminismus' von Katalanismus und Arbeiterbewegung zwischen 1900 und 1930", *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik*, 3 (1990), 231-248.

135. An example have been the recent biographies written by both authors of the last president of the Republican *Generalitat*, Lluís Companys.

136. See the suggesting article of E.Ucelay da Cal, "Vanguardia, fascismo y la interacción entre nacionalismo español y catalán. El proyecto catalán de Ernesto Giménez Caballero y algunas ideas corrientes entre círculos intelectuales de Barcelona, 1927-1933", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), *op.cit.*, 39-95. A further elaboration of this research is going to be published, B.de Riquer/E.Ucelay da Cal, *Nacionalisme català i feixisme*. Vic: Eumo, 1992.

137. B.de Riquer, "Reflexiones y notas sobre las bases sociales del nacionalismo catalan de los años treinta", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), *op.cit.*, 229-237.

conservatism during that period, and the path that the bourgeoisie followed before becoming supporter of regionalism after 1898. In this context, the ideological theoreticians as well as the first nuclei of Catalanism between 1874-1892 have received new attention, in order to better understand both the elements and interests which merged in Prat de la Riba's synthesis.¹³⁸ Also noteworthy is the fact that Catalan historians are increasingly oriented towards studying problems related to the social and class mentalities, and they even devoted themselves to socio-anthropological studies on the rural areas of Catalonia. Since Catalan nationalism in all its trends and the development of the workers' movement have been the main commitment of Catalan historians during almost two decades, while leaving aside the deeper exploration of the whole aspects of Catalan society, Catalan historiography is nowadays beginning to exploit other fields which are by no means less necessary for the adequate comprehension of nationalism.

All the above-mentioned remarks do not cover the historiography on the Francoist period, for many reasons. First of all, the peculiar character that the research on Catalan nationalism under the repression and conditions of the Francoist Régime has, as the history of an opposition clandestine movement. There are in fact almost no studies on the Catalan nationalist strategies during the Francoist period, partly due to the increasing difficulty of access to better sources as the considered period approaches to 1975. An exception are the valuable works of D. Díez Esculies on the nationalist opposition until 1959.¹³⁹ Another exception are the attempts made by Borja de Riquer towards an interpretation of the attitudes adopted by bourgeois Catalanism in face of Francoism, which he summes up in "rejection, majoritary passivity and non-explicit support".¹⁴⁰

138. E.g., J.M.Fradera, *Valentí Almirall forjador del catalanisme polític*, Barcelona: Generalitat, 1990; id., *El primer congrés catalanista i Valentí Almirall: materials per a l'estudi dels orígens del catalanisme*, Barcelona: Generalitat, 1985; M.Ramisa, *Els orígens del catalanisme conservador i "La Veu del Montserrat" 1878-1900*, Vic: Eunmo, 1985.

139. D.Díez Esculies, *El Front Nacional de Catalunya, 1939-1947*, Barcelona: La Magrana, 1983; id., *El catalanisme polític a l'exili (1939-1959)*, Barcelona: La Magrana, 1986.

140. B.de Riquer, "Rebuig, passivitat i suport. Actituts polítiques catalanes davant el primer franquisme, 1939-1950", in J.Tusell, A.Alted y A.Mateos (coord.), *La Oposición al Régimen de Franco. Estado de la cuestión y metodología de la investigación*, Madrid: UNED, 1990, vol.II, 239-249.

6.2. Research on Basque nationalism.

The historical research on Basque nationalism is probably the one providing the better results, as well as proving the capacity to adopt new methodological approaches. The *tempo* along which historical studies appeared in Basque Country (including Navarra) was some ten years delayed in relation with Catalan historiography. By 1984, Beramendi noted the uneven character of Basque historiography as far as its quality was concerned. Namely, it was marked by the presence of a high proportion of nationalist affirmation writings (in the direction of the *nationalist historiography*), which constituted alone 34% of the total amount of titles. The historicist legitimization claim of Basque historiography was also overwhelmingly noted, but at the same time a very good historiography dealing with Basque nationalism's ideologies along its history was noteworthy¹⁴¹. The increasing professionalization process of Basque historiography led it to be nowadays probably the best one of the Spanish schools dealing with the national question, according to A.de Blas.¹⁴² It revealed a phenomenon which still survives nowadays and which in my view characterizes the Basque historical research: a clear-cut division between professional history (mainly concentrated around the University of Basque Country, and to a much lesser extent, the private religious Universities of Deusto and Navarra) and the nationalist-official historiography, much more concerned with the historical legitimization of nationalism. Catalan and even Galician contexts are more fluid in this aspects, probably because the political situation in Euskadi (high level of radicalization and conflict, etc.) is very closely related to the features of its historiography.

The history of Basque nationalism presents also a very different character and evolution from that of Catalan nationalism. Basque nationalism as such and as a political and social movement exists since the end of the XIXth century, thanks to the political legacy and activity of Sabino de Arana, father and founder of Basque nationalism. Although its evolution, with some ups and downs, had been increasing until 1937, at its moment of peak the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party) only gained about 1/3 of the popular Basque support. Moreover, the territorial distribution of

141. J.G.Beramendi, "Aproximación...", cit., 66-67. See also S.G.Payne, "Recent Research on Basque Nationalism: Political, Cultural and Socioeconomic Dimensions", paper given to the Colloquium *Regionale Disparitäten, Regionalismus und Regionalisierung in Spanien*, Bad Homburg, 1980, and J.L.de la Granja, "Bibliografía sabiniana: Sabino de Arana Goiri y el nacionalismo vasco de JEL", *Anuario de Bibliografía Vasca 1981*, Vitoria: Diputación Foral, 1983, 77-110. See also J.Extramiana, "Historiografía vasca reciente", *X Coloquio de Pau...*, cit., 399-428.

142. A.de Blas Guerrero, "Historia y política en el País Vasco", *Claves de razón práctica*, n.14 (1991).

nationalist support was amazingly uneven indeed: while Vizcaya province was the place of origin of Basque nationalism, and already in the second decade of this century was a stronghold of nationalism (especially in the rural areas, but also in Bilbao, where the PNV got the town council majority in 1912), Guipúzcoa province (almost 80% Basque-speaking, against less than 35% of Vizcaya and 5% of Álava) still constituted in 1936 a Carlist stronghold, where nationalist only managed to gain about 25% of the suffrages, and Álava did not experience any significant expansion of nationalism until the 30's, as well as Navarra (where, however, Pamplona was also since the 20's an important Basque nationalist nucleus). The internal cleavages of Basque country, either economic (very marked economic differences between the industrial character of Vizcaya and that of Guipúzcoa, the latter being based on the engineering industry), ethnic (the Basque language or *Euskera* has a very uneven distribution within the Basque Country), or social (massive affluence of Spanish immigrants since the 1880's; changes in the land-tenure system and the power hierarchies in the rural areas, dominated by the *jauntxos*), determine a map which is undoubtedly fascinating for any historian.

Hence, the main interest was to be directed to the founder of Basque nationalism: Sabino Arana, and the origins of the first Basque nationalism in the last third of the XIXth century. The approach was to be indebted in fact to that used by Catalan historiography: first of all it was necessary to discover what the class background and "block" formed around Basque nationalism had been since its origins. The explanatory model progressively adopted by Basque historiography consisted in a complex scheme. The first study of valuable importance appeared in 1975 by J.A.Solozábal on the origins of the first Basque nationalism, centred around the figure of Sabino Arana,¹⁴³ almost at the same time when the French historian J.C.Larronde published his Ph.D.thesis on the figure and ideology of Sabino Arana.¹⁴⁴ Antonio Elorza's studies between 1974 and 1978 also contributed very much to highlight different aspects of the ideologals and social evolution of Basque nationalism until 1936, by covering subjects such as the integration of Basque peasants'social claims into the programme of Basque nationalism along its evolution, the Basque literary pre-nationalism around the *Euskalerritacos* association, or the foundation of a female section within the nationalist organization. A large part of these writings was reprinted together in 1978, constituting one of the classical books on

143. J.J.Solozábal, *El primer nacionalismo vasco. Industrialismo y conciencia nacional*, Madrid: Túcar, 1975.

144. J.C.Larronde, *El nacionalismo vasco. Su origen y su ideología en la obra de Sabino Arana-Goiri*, San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1977 (the original Ph.D.thesis in French was submitted in 1972).

Basque nationalism as well.¹⁴⁵ In spite of having highlighted the moments and uncovered aspects regarding the historical development of Basque nationalism until 1936, Elorza lacked any consistently-framed explanation regarding the origins of Basque nationalism, however a large part of his first theories have been largely confirmed by the ongoing research. Some other studies which appeared during the second half of the 70's, which contributed to the forging of a specific Basque explanatory model, were M.Escudero sociological book in which the authors maintains the theory of the existence of "two communities" (nationalists and non-nationalists) in Basque country coexisting with each other,¹⁴⁶ M.Blinkhorn's first analysis of the Basque nationalist question in Navarra during the 30's¹⁴⁷, M.Heiberg's first anthropological studies on Basque nationalism¹⁴⁸, and the Harrison's contribution to the study of the relationship between the industrial upper bourgeoisie and the Basque nationalist movement.¹⁴⁹ Stanley Payne's general history of Basque nationalism from its origins to the ETA (in the 60's), although generalizing and uncomplete, remains even nowadays useful.¹⁵⁰ Juan Pablo Fusi has also devoted an interesting book to the study of the problem posed by the claim to Basque autonomy during the II Republic, as well as some dispersed works where he claimed the historically pluralistic character of Basque society, which is formed by the Basque nationalist culture, the socialist workers'one -especially concentrated around Bilbao- and the traditional Carlist-conservative one. All three were also permeated by both the Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking cultures (although solely the Basque nationalist community claimed

146. See A.Elorza, "El tema rural en los orígenes literarios del nacionalismo vasco", in *Actas del V Congreso Mundial de Hispanistas*, Bordeaux, 1974, 36-365; id., "Sobre ideologías y organización del primer nacionalismo vasco", in VV.AA., *La crisis de fin de siglo*, Barcelona, 1975, 60-123; "El tema agrario en la evolución del nacionalismo vasco", in VV.AA., *VI Coloquio de Pau*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1976, 457-521; "Sobre los orígenes literarios del nacionalismo vasco", *Saioak*, n.2 (1978), 69-98. Most of these conform the book, *Ideologías del nacionalismo vasco (1876-1937)*, San Sebastián: Haranburu, 1978. On the PNV's female section, see A.Elorza, "Emakume. La mujer en el nacionalismo vasco", *Tiempo de Historia*, n.38 (1978), 4-17.

146. M.Escudero, *Euskadi, dos comunidades*, San Sebastián: Haranburu, 1978.

147. M.Blinkhorn, "The Basque Ulster. Navarra and the Basque Autonomy Question under the Spanish Second Republic", *Historical Journal*, n.3 (1974), 595-613.

148. M.Heiberg, "Insiders/Outsiders: Basque Nationalism", *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, n.2 (1975), 371-393; id.and M.Escudero, "Sabino de Arana: la lógica del nacionalismo vasco", *Materiales*, n.5 (1977), 87-101.

149. J.Harrison, "Big business and the Rise of Basque Nationalism", *European Studies Review*, vol.7:4 (1979), 371-393.

150. S.G.Payne, *El nacionalismo vasco, de sus orígenes a ETA*, Barcelona:Dopesa, 1974. See also his more pormenorized work on the evolution of Basque nationalism in the 30's "Il nacionalismo basco tra destra e sinistra 1932-1937", *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 1973, 948-1043.

the defence of the Basque-speaking culture),¹⁵¹ as well as by the contradictions between rural and urban areas.¹⁵¹ In this sense, the historical exceptionally pluralistic contribution represented by the prestigious Basque nationalist review *Hermes* (1917-1922) has been analyzed both by Fusi and J.C.Mainer.¹⁵² Some other less important research works treated -less successfully- partial aspects of the history of Basque nationalism before 1937.¹⁵³ And on the other hand, the Home-rule political and constitutional process of Basque Country was covered in 1979 by J.M.Castells Arteche.¹⁵⁴ Very recently J.Corcuera has given a detailed picture of the ideological terms of the discussion between *fuieristas* and autonomists during the II Republic.¹⁵⁵

The main study on the origins of Basque nationalism, which undoubtedly constitutes one of the basic studies on the historiography of nationalisms in Spain (and not only in Spain!) is J.Corcuera Atienza's 1979 book on the social and political origins of Basque nationalism.¹⁵⁶ Corcuera traces back the remote intellectual origins of Basque nationalism to the Carlist wars in the XIXth century (1833-39, 1846-47, 1872-76), where he finds out some elements of ideological pre-nationalism, such as the defence of a Basque traditional peasant culture against the lay and liberal Spanish State. The *fuierista* tradition (defender of the ancient privileges which the Basque Country kept until their abolition in 1839 and afterwards in 1876) supposes

151. J.P.Fusi, *El problema vasco en la II República*, Madrid: Turner, 1979; see also id., "Indalecio Prieto y el Estatuto Vasco de las izquierdas", in VV.AA., *Homenaje a J.Cao Baroja*, Zaragoza:Pórtico, 1978, 391-404. Many of the Fusi's writings previous to 1984 are published in his *El País Vasco. Pluralismo y nacionalidad*, Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1984.

152. J.C.Mainer, *Regionalismo, burguesía y cultura. Los casos de Revista de Aragón (1900-1905) y Hermes (1917-1922)*, Barcelona: A.Redondo, 1974.

153. I. Beobide Espeleta, *Relaciones entre el socialismo y el nacionalismo vasco en la prensa de Bilbao en la II República Española*, Ph.D.Thesis, Univ.Complutense of Madrid, 1979; L.de Pujana, *Baskischer Nationalismus und kapitalistische Industrialisierung. Die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Baskischen Nationalistischen Partei in Biskaya, 1893-1937*, Phil.Dissertation, Univ.München, 1976.

154. J.M.Castells Arteche, *El Estatuto Vasco*, San Sebastián: Haranburu, 1976; id., *El Estado regional y el proceso estatutario vasco*, San Sebastián: Haranburu, 1976.

155. J.Corcuera Atienza, "Fuierismo y autonomía en el estatutismo vasco durante la II República", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), op.cit., 357-376.

156. J.Corcuera Atienza, *Orígenes, ideología y organización del nacionalismo vasco (1876-1904)*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1979. See also id., "La burguesía no monopolista en el origen del nacionalismo vasco", in *VIII Coloquio de Pau*, Madrid: Edicusa, 1977, 109-152; "Tradicionalismo y burguesía en la formulación del nacionalismo vasco. Lucha de clases y lucha nacional en Euskadi", *Materiales*, n.5 (1977), 103-114, and "Algunos datos sobre organización del primer nacionalismo vasco. Corrientes intrapartidistas y luchas por el poder interno (1895-1920)", in P.de la Vega (ed.), *Teoría y práctica de los partidos políticos*, Madrid: Edicusa, 1977, 161-170.

another pre-nationalist factor, which will provide some ideological elements to the shaping of the Basque nationalist ideologies. At the end of the third Carlist War and as a consequence of the abolition of the traditional privileges (*Fueros*), a diffused nostalgic, conservative and Basque particularist ideology survived among many intellectual circles in the Basque country. Among them, some cultural associations which promoted the defence and recovery of the ancient Basque language appeared (such as the *Euskalerrriacos*), but they never went so far as to elaborate a definite particularist ideology. The social changes which took place in Vizcaya after 1876 affected the social and economic structure of the region and paved the way for the appearance of nationalism. On the one hand, the abolition of the *Fueros* had attacked the traditional rural power basis of the caciquist landlords (*jauntxos*), while on the other hand, the rapid and increasing process of industrialization of the Vizcaya province brought about the alteration of the social conditions in that area. The massive arrival of migrant workers from other Spanish regions, the loss of influence and power of the Basque urban petty bourgeoisie and the changing conditions in the near-surrounding areas of Bilbao, became catalyst factors which interacted with each other and which paved the way for the resurgence of a new version of the ancient Basque particularism. In this sense, Sabino Arana became the appropriate man for the given situation, and his ideology contains a synthesizing mixture of elements taken from previous ideologies (Basque *fuertismo*, traditionalism, Catholic *integralismo*) as well as expressing the rejection felt by Basque traditional society in light of the new phenomena introduced by industrialization (capitalism, aggression to good traditional uses, social conflict...). The result was a xenophobic and racist theory indeed according to which Basque nationality was defined by Race, Religion and Language, expressed in the formula *Jaun-Goikua eta Lagi-Zara* (God and Ancient Laws), the language occupying a secondary place in Arana's nationalist ideology. The radical character of the independence claim contained in Arana's nationalism also constituted a distinctive feature of Basque nationalism since its origins. The Basque Nationalist Party set up in 1894 rallied in a first period (until Sabino Arana's death in 1903) representatives of the Vizcaya social sectors who felt challenged by industrialization. The new industrial upper bourgeoisie did not need nationalism in order to defend its status, since the Spanish market and commercial custom tariff protectionism provided by the Spanish Restoration State are necessary elements for that class. Hence, the expansion of nationalism was attributed by Corcuera to the support of the *non-monopolist* bourgeoisie, and even to a part of the shipbuilding entrepreneurship (as Ramón de la Sota), which joined nationalism after 1903 because its interests were opposed to the custom-tariff protectionism. But, on the other hand, it could not agree upon the radical separatism preached by Sabino Arana's ideology, and hence the entry of these new bourgeois groups

into Basque nationalism in the first decade of the XXth century implied a revision of the so far separatist doctrine of the PNV. These sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie will impose a more moderate strategy to the PNV, whose support basis are to be found among the rural peasants and the northern-coast fishermen (the *arrantzales*), two sectors that had entered a strong crisis since the end of the XIXth century. At the turn of the XXth century, the PNV was characterized by the forced coexistence between liberal sectors, more moderate as far as their political praxis is concerned, and the *aranistas* orthodox-nationalist ones, who kept their support among rural sectors, and young Basque white-collar workers and petty bourgeoisie (clerks, professional bourgeoisie, *Bildungsbürgertum*, etc.). The internal tensions and splits (which were far less frequent than in Catalonia) within the ranks of the Basque nationalist movement in the future were to be explained in terms of class as well as of ideological opposition: non-monopolist bourgeoisie and rural peasants/industrial bourgeoisie. In this way, Elorza explained the 1921 split within the Basque nationalism (between the *Comunión Nacionalista Vasca*, Catholic-conservative and more right-wing and moderate in the social question, and the *Partido Nacionalista Vasco* or *Aberrianos*, based upon the support of the urban small bourgeoisie, openly separatist and vaguely populist-oriented). Basque nationalism, until the 60's at least, was considered to be also a phenomenon which only touched the population of Basque origin: immigrants from other regions of Spain were systematically rejected, either in the PNV or in the nationalist trade-union ELA-SOV. By 1936, Basque nationalism had managed to achieve a Home-rule statute, only after long negotiations with the Spanish Socialists (represented in the Basque country by the popular leader Indalecio Prieto). In fact, during the II Republic, the reunified PNV obtained between 40% and 50% of the suffrages in the Vizcaya province, around 30% in Guipúzcoa province, and less than 25% in Álava as well as in Navarra. The *nationalist community* forged by the Basque Nationalist Party had a strong sense of self-legitimation and attempted to cover all the aspects of the social life of Basque nationalist militants (cultural groups, leisure activities, sports, youth and children groups, etc.). By the mid-30's, this Basque nationalist community constituted an interclass phenomenon¹⁵⁷.

The above described explanatory model which had been coined by the end of the 70's by historiography on Basque nationalism still presented by then

157. J.L.de la Granja, "The Basque Nationalist Community during the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936)", in VV.AA., *Basque Politics: A case study in Ethnic Nationalism*, Reno: Basque Studies Programm/Associated Faculty Press, 1985, 155-173. See also, from a socio-political point of view, A.Darré, "Le parti Nationaliste Basque. Un mouvement périphérique et totalisant", *Revue Française de Science Politique*, n.2 (1990), 25-270.

many lacunae. While the period 1876-1904 seemed to be analyzed very well, the subsequent period was only partially covered by Elorza's and Fusi's articles and works. The period of the II Spanish Republic was to be the next field of interests for historians, probably because of the need of searching for the historical roots of the disputes about and around Basque autonomy which characterized the end of the 70's. The main emphasis was to be focused on the roots of Basque leftist nationalism, whose expression in the Post-Francoist period were undoubtedly the *abertzale* parties *Herri Batasuna* and *Euskadiko Ezquerria*. In this sense, J.L.de la Granja began to study the liberal Basque nationalism emerged in 1930, *Acción Nacionalista Vasca* (ANV), as a more left-wing and liberal split from the PNV (reunified in 1930, after the Bergara assembly). Granja focused in his numerous articles appeared between 1980 and 1986 on the origins and ideology of ANV, and in 1986 he published his Ph.D.thesis on A.N.V. during the II Spanish Republic.¹⁵⁸ Granja's book constitutes another groundwork for the study of the history of Basque nationalism, for he also covers many aspects related to the history of Euskadi during the II Republic, the correlation of political forces and their different positions towards the Basque Home-rule question and the history of the hegemonic nationalist party, the PNV. Social and economic aspects -especially those related to the social basis of Basque nationalism during that period- are however hardly treated, and on the other hand become important lacks of the study. Subsequent works by Granja have insisted upon the Republican and Civil War period, covering partial aspects like the nationalist press during the II Republic, the PNV's tactics and standpoint towards the Spanish Civil War, and the issue of the ideological evolution/continuity of Basque nationalist thought until 1936.¹⁵⁹

158. See J.L.de la Granja, "El nacionalismo vasco liberal en la II República: la aportación histórica de Acción Nacionalista Vasca", in *Actas del Coloquio Internacional sobre la II República Española* (Tarragona, April 1981), 163-178; id., "El nacimiento del nacionalismo vasco liberal en 1930: A.N.V.", in VV.AA., *Estudios de Historia de España. Homenaje a Manuel Tuñón de Lara*, Madrid: UIMP, 1981, vol.II, 175-189; id., "El nacionalismo liberal y socialista en Euskadi durante la II República: la evolución ideológica de Acción Nacionalista Vasca (1930-1936)", *Revista de Política Comparada*, n.5 (1981), 125-147; id., *Nacionalismo y II República en el País Vasco*, Madrid: CIS/Siglo XXI, 1986

159. J.L.de la Granja, "La prensa nacionalista vasca, 1930-1937", in VV.AA., *La prensa de los siglos XIX y XX*, Bilbao: UPV/EHU, 1986; "el nacionalismo vasco ante la Guerra Civil", in VV.AA., *La Guerra Civil en el País Vasco 50 años después*, Bilbao: UPV/EHU, 1987; "El nacionalismo vasco entre la autonomía y la independencia", in J.B.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), *Los nacionalismos...*, op.cit., 101-125. See also id., *República y Guerra Civil en Euskadi. Del Pacto de San Sebastián al de Santoña*, Oñati: IVAP, 1990.

During the 80's, and as Granja himself points out,¹⁶⁰ the main concern of Basque historians was to study the Republican and Civil War periods (as well as ETA's history during Francoism). This concentration on the Republican period was also a feature of historical research on the Basque workers' movement, for instance, and it is in my view directly related to the specific political circumstances of the Basque Country nowadays, whose roots are supposed to be found in the political situation of the 30's. The attention paid to the Restoration period following Sabino Arana's death in 1903 was very scarce. Nevertheless, also during the first 80's new lines of research were opened for the study of Basque nationalism. On the one hand, since the Basque national movement was perceived as a global phenomenon and as a community, it proved to be necessary to further study all the aspects of that community. Hence, some studies concentrated on specific aspects, such as the nationalist workers trade-unions,¹⁶¹ the female organization set up by Basque nationalists in 1922¹⁶², or -to a lesser extent- the youth organisations of Basque nationalism, particularly the nationalist *Turnverein* (the *Mendigoizales*).¹⁶³ The pro-nationalist positions adopted by social sectors or institutions somewhat related to the Basque nationalist community, such as e.g. the Basque cultural institution *Eusko Ikaskuntza* (Basque Studies Society), have been the object of scientific historical interest.¹⁶⁴

On the other hand, the fragmented nature of the Basque political character and the very uneven development rhythms of Basque nationalism in

160. J.L.de la Granja, "La historiografía reciente sobre el nacionalismo vasco", *Cuadernos de Alzate*, n.15 (1991), 80-88.

161. A good overview in I.Olabarri Cortázar, *Relaciones laborales en Vizcaya (1890-1936)*, Durango, 1978, 131-190. Also M.Otaegui Arizmendi, "Organización obrera y nacionalismo. Solidaridad de Obreros Vascos (1911-1923)", *Estudios de Historia Social*, 18-19 (1981), 7-83. The latest and best contribution, for the author makes use of a extremely good sources, is L.Mees, "Nacionalismo vasco, movimiento obrero y cuestión social hasta 1923", in J.L.de la Granja/C.Garitaonandía (eds.), *Gernika...*, op.cit., 25-49.

162. Elorza, "Emakume...", op.cit, and also the monumental work of the nationalist historian P.de Larrañaga, *La mujer en el nacionalismo vasco*, San Sebastián: Auñamendi, 1978. The latest and best contribution to this aspect is M.Ugalde's Ph.D.thesis *Las mujeres nacionalistas vascas en la vida pública: Gestación y desarrollo de Emakume Aberzale Batza 1906-1936*, Ph.D.thesis, Univ.Complutense de Madrid, 1990.

163. J.L.de la Granja, "Mendigoizale", in *Diccionario Enciclopédico Vasco*, San Sebastián: Auñamendi, 1989, vol.XXVII, 503-510.

164. See I.Estornés Zubizarreta, *El autonomismo de Eusko-Ikaskuntza (1918-1931)*, San Sebastián: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1990.

all four Basque territories (including Navarra),¹⁶⁵ determined the scholars interest in studying the different dynamics of diffusion of Basque nationalism according to changing social and cultural conditions (in relation with the survival of the Basque language, differences in economic life, etc.). The first study which inaugurated this trends of penetration into regional and local varieties was that of Santiago de Pablo on Basque nationalism in the almost-entirely Spanish-speaking and "Castilianized" Álava province, displaying the latecomer character of Basque nationalism in this province as well as the clear relation between cultural and political factors: the Basque-speaking northern municipalities of Álava were the first to be conquered by nationalism.¹⁶⁶ For Navarra as well, some historical research works have been published or are currently being developed: they point out in any case the relatively specific character of Navarrese Basque nationalism (more pragmatic, autonomist and moderate in order to compete for the support with the traditional Carlist vote).¹⁶⁷ Studies on the local dynamics followed by Basque nationalism in the Guipúzcoa province are still lacking, and there is only another local study on the relationship between Basque nationalism program and the social

165. It has to be noted that the history of Basque nationalism in *Iparalde* (Basque provinces of Laburdi, Zuberoa and Benabarre included in France) has been hardly studied - given also the weak significance of the phenomenon in the Northern side of the border - apart from a pioneering study of J.C.Larronde which is going to be published by the Sabino Arana Endowment. See also J.M.Moruzzi/E.Boulaert, *Iparretarrak. Separatisme et terrorisme en Pays Basque*, Paris: Plon, 1988.

166. S.de Pablo and K.Sanz Legaristi, "Orígenes y desarrollo del nacionalismo vasco en Alava (1907-1923)", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 427-438. S.de Pablo, *El nacionalismo vasco en Alava (1907-1936)*, Bilbao: Ekin, 1988; id., *La Segunda República en Alava. Elecciones, partidos y vida política*, Bilbao: UPV/EHU, 1989, and id., "Las bases sociales del nacionalismo vasco en Alava durante la Segunda República", in *II Congreso Mundial Vasco. Congreso de Historia de Euskal Herria*, San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1988, vol.VI, 37-45. A more systematic approach to the relationship between language use and nationalist consciousness in Basque Country in id, "Conocimiento del euskera y conciencia nacional. El caso de Alava durante la II República", in VV.AA., *Symbolae...* op.cit., 1337-42.

167. M.C.Martínez Peñuela, *Antecedentes y primeros pasos del nacionalismo vasco en Navarra: 1878-1918*, Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1989; E.Osés Larumbe, *La Voz de Navarra. Un periódico vasquista. Sus primeras campañas (1923-1931)*, Ph.D.Thesis, Univ of Navarra, 1984. Both studies are by no means satisfactory, especially the former, which only relies upon the use of a very schematic and "literal" use of sources, although Peñuela gives a coloured view of the way Basque nationalism in Navarra built up an economic and social infrastructure. See also S.de Pablo, "Navarra y el Estatuto Vasco: de la asamblea de Pamplona al Frente Popular (1932-1936)", *Príncipe de Viana*, n.184 (1988), 401-414; and J.J.Virto Ibáñez, "Algunas aportaciones al estudio del nacionalismo vasco en Navarra durante la II República", in VV.AA., *Notas y Estudios de Ciencias Sociales*. Pamplona: UNED, 1989, 121-137. Professor J.Chueca is currently working in his Ph.D.Thesis on the peculiarities of Basque nationalism during the II Republic in Navarra.

claims of Basque fishers in the coastal village of Bermeo.¹⁶⁸ No studies have been so far performed on the Basque nationalism in Vizcaya, probably because the PNV was -and it still is- considered as a product of Vizcaya social and economic conditions.

Concerning the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Basque nationalist movement, which has undoubtedly been very important throughout history, there is not yet any systematic and general study, but only partial approaches concerning given periods or topics. The extremely restrictive conditions imposed by the religious institutions for consulting their archives constitute an important negative factor, although over the last few years the Bilbao ecclesiastical archives have been opened to historical research. Nevertheless, some authors have devoted large attention to the relations established between Catholicism and Nationalism, such as F.García de Cortázar, who presents his arguments from an often politicized anti-nationalist point of view.¹⁶⁹ The focus of the historical research so far seems to have been concentrated in the role played by the *religious question* in the difficult relationship between Basque nationalism and the II Spanish Republic, and later on during the Civil War,¹⁷⁰ and also some partial aspects concerning the paradiplomatic relations between Basque nationalism and the Vatican throughout its history (made possible mainly by the possibility of access to the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* in Rome).¹⁷¹ Some current research is dealing with the attempts made by the Basque nationalist clergy during the II Republic in order to set up an independent

168. M.X.Aizpuru, *Eta tiro baltzari. Abertzaletasuna eta jauntxokeria Bermeon 1899-1914*. Bilbao: Udako Euskal Unibertsitatea, 1990. M.X.Aizpuru is now completing his Ph.D.Thesis on the development of Basque nationalism in Guipúzcoa until 1936.

169. F.García de Cortázar, "Iglesia, ideología religiosa y nacionalismo vasco en la historia", in VV.AA., *Socialismo, nacionalismo, cristianismo (Una perspectiva desde Euskadi)*, Bilbao: Desclée de Bouver, 1979, 33-97; id., "Iglesia vasca, religión y nacionalismo en el siglo XX", in VV.AA., *II Congreso Mundial Vasco...*, op.cit., reproduced in VV.AA., *Política, nacionalidad en Iglesia en el País Vasco*, San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1988. García de Cortázar also devotes a good part to the formation of the so-called *Basque national-Catholicism* in his last overview on the history of Basque nationalism (F.García de Cortázar/J.M.Azcona, *El nacionalismo vasco*, Madrid: Historia 16, 1991. See also a different approach in F.Lannon, "A Basque Challenge to the Pre-Civil War Spanish Church", *European Studies Review*, Vol.9 (1979), 29-48.

170. See S.J.Gutiérrez Alvarez, *La cuestión religiosa vasca entre 1931 y 1936*. Ph.D.Thesis, Univ.Complutense of Madrid, 1970; the most recent contributions are those of Fernando de Meer, "Descubierto el informe Onaindia. El PNV ante la Guerra Civil", *Historia 16*, n.132 (1987), and id, *El Partido Nacionalista Vasco ante la Guerra de España. Un estudio de las relaciones entre nacionalismo y religión en el País Vasco (18.VII.1936-15.X.1937)*, Ph.D.Thesis, Univ.of Navarra, 1991.

171. I.e.C.Robles Muñoz, "El Vaticano y los nacionalistas vascos (1910-1911)", *Scriptorium Victoriense*, n.35 (1988), 163-205; see also M.Elizondo, "Bizkaitarrismo e injerencias políticas en el gobierno interno de la Provincia capuchina de 'Navarra' (1921-1922)", *Scriptorium Victoriense*, XXXVI:1/2 (1989), 200-224.

Basque Church supported by the Home-Rule statute. Nevertheless, very recently D.Unanue and M.X.Aizpuru have shown that the image of a Basque clergy monopolized by nationalist ideas during the II Spanish Republic has to be nuanced, at least as far as Guipúzcoa is concerned, but in any case nationalism was the predominant ideology professed by the youngest clergymen by 1931/32.¹⁷² A deeper method of exploration of the individual careers of members of the clergy, as well as their political allegiances is used by S.Rojo Hernández, who is nowadays carrying out his research on the evolution of the Basque clergy in Bilbao between 1931 and 1950, focusing especially on its relationship with Basque nationalism.¹⁷³

During the last few years, the interest of historians has shifted to the study of Basque nationalism during the Restoration period, although the latter was included in the regional/local studies on the development of Basque nationalism quoted above. The most important studies on this period, which also enhance a wide attention given to the social basis of Basque nationalism and displays a deep knowledge of the last trends for the historical study of nationalist movements, are Ludger Mees' works. In a series of books and articles, as well as in his still-unpublished Ph.D.Thesis,¹⁷⁴ Mees covers satisfactorily the period 1903/1923, and displays on the one hand the eclectic nature of the Basque nationalist ideology, which included within the ambiguous political claim of *reintegración foral* (abolition of the liberal government's amendment of 1839 that derogated the ancient Basque privileges or *Fueros*). On the other hand, Mees analyzed in detail dispersed data concerning the rank-and-file militancy in the Basque Nationalist Party, as well as the distribution of the suffrages in favour of nationalism in the four largest Basque towns at local elections. After a meticulous analysis, he arrives to very interesting conclusions regarding the social support for Basque nationalism

172. M.X.Aizpuru/D.Unanue, *art.cit.*

173. S.Rojo Hernández, *Bilbao et son clergé de 1931 à 1933*, D.E.A., Univ. de Provence, 1990. On the other hand, the Basque historian I.Villasante is currently working on the political allegiances of the Basque clergy since the Civil War, thoroughly using the methods of *Oral history*.

174. L.Mees, *Nationalismus und Arbeiterbewegung im Spanischen Baskenland zwischen 1876 und 1923*, Phil.Dissertation, Univ.Bielefeld, 1988 (a shorter version is to be published in Spanish, with the title *Nacionalismo vasco y cuestión social en el País Vasco entre 1903 y 1923*, Bilbao: Fundación Sabino Arana, 1992). Partial aspects of his Ph.D.thesis are also dealt with in id., *Entre nación y clase. El nacionalismo vasco y su base social en perspectiva comparativa*, Bilbao: Fundación Sabino Arana, 1991; id., "Nacionalismo vasco y clases sociales. Algunos datos sobre la base social del nacionalismo vasco entre 1903 y 1923", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.50-51 (1989), id., "La izquierda imposible. El fracaso del nacionalismo republicano vasco entre 1910 y 1913", *Historia Contemporánea*, n.2 (1989), 249-266, and id., "El nacionalismo vasco entre 1903 y 1923", *Eusko Ikaskuntza. Cuadernos de Sección Historia-Geografía*, n.17 (1990), 113-139.

in that period, as well as its classification according to Hroch's model. Basque nationalism was by 1923 already an inter-class movement, within which all social classes were represented -except immigrant non-Basque proletariat. However, the firmest support for nationalism was that of the lower middle urban classes (clerks, servants, shop-assistants) and the youth. The "class alliance" between these sectors and a large part of the industrial bourgeoisie was particularly strong in Bilbao, while in San Sebastián, Vitoria and Pamplona the upper bourgeoisie was far less oriented towards backing nationalism. The German author is rather sceptical about the accepted assertion of the entry of the engineering industrials into nationalism because of their class interests, and shows how exceptional the case of Ramón de la Sota was, for instance.¹⁷⁵ Fishermen and rural peasants, on the other hand, were incorporated into the nationalist movement at the very beginning (1st decade of the XXth century): the former found in nationalism a way to express their protest against the difficult situation they were coming to, the latter were subsumed in the structural agricultural crisis of Spanish *fin de siècle* and at the same time suffered from the oppression of rural caciquism. Basque nationalism became a dominating ideology in many Basque rural areas by the 20's, thanks to its mixture of archaic and modern elements and to its flexibility in incorporating the claims of those sectors, and thanks to its early penetration into these areas before Socialism did. A phenomenon that also M.Heiberg, from an anthropological standpoint, has interpreted as the replacing process of political loyalties in the villages after the rural *jauntxos* lost their influence.¹⁷⁶

Mees' works constitute an important step for the comprehension of the historical reality of Basque nationalism, as well as for the updating process of Spanish historiography as a whole according to the internationally-recognized methodological trends. There are still many lacunae and uncovered periods in the history of Basque nationalism before 1939, the most important being the lack of studies on the survivance of that political ideology during the Primo de Rivera's dictatorship.¹⁷⁷ Did the latter have a similar "incubation effect" for the later strength of Basque nationalism as it has been pointed out for the Catalan case? On the

175. The same point of view is shared by E.Fernández de Pinedo, "Las dudosas bases económicas del primer nacionalismo vasco en el último cuarto del siglo XIX", *Cuadernos de Alzate*, II (primavera 1985), 18-26, against the classical view, expressed e.g. by J.Harrison. "Big Business...", cit.

176. M.Heiberg, *The Making of the Basque Nation*, op.cit.

177. The sole exception are the articles by C.Ramos, "El nacionalismo vasco durante la dictadura de Primo de Rivera", *Letras de Deusto*, enero-abril 1985, 137-167, and "El nacionalismo vasco entre la Dictadura de Primo de Rivera y la II República", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, n.1 (1987), 275-312.

other hand, the diffusion of Basque nationalism among peasants and fishermen is still very far from being satisfactorily explained, apart from Elorza's pioneer articles and Aizpuru's and Heiberg's books. The same could be affirmed about Basque *cultural nationalism* during that period, etc.¹⁷⁸ The history of the Basque Nationalist Party during the II Spanish Republic is also to be re-elaborated, since the PNV archives remain closed for historians. Nevertheless, some partial attempts have been made in order to further investigate the social penetration of nationalism in the main Basque towns by Santiago de Pablo, using the same methodological tools as Mees,¹⁷⁹ but also relying upon partial and dispersed PNV's rank-and-file data.¹⁸⁰ De Pablo actually arrives to very similar conclusions to those of Mees for the Restoration period: cultural and ethnic factors played a more important role in attracting sympathies to the PNV than purely socio-economic ones. The same is defended by G. Jáuregui, according to whom by the 30's the "archaic" Basque nationalism had managed to adapt itself to the modernization changes in the two most developed and industrialized Basque provinces (Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa): the sense of inter-class Basque nationalist *community*, the influence of the Catholic Church and the defence of a particular Basque path to modernization prevented class conflicts from prevailing over the national conflict. And this also determined the fact that the conflict between archaic ideology and social changes were not as sharp as expected.

The ideological forerunners of Basque nationalism during the XIXth century, and the question of determining whether liberal and conservative *fueros*, autochthonous Carlism and cultural Basque revival constituted elements of pre-nationalist meaning is still a matter of bitter historical controversy, in which many political elements are also reflected. While some authors, especially the "nationalist historians" (but not only them) present the Carlist wars and XIXth century *fueros* as the previous pre-nationalist stage (although it was not cultural revival, as the Hroch's

178. An exception is I. Estornés, *La Sociedad de Estudios Vascos. Aportación de Eusko Ikaskuntza a la Cultura Vasca*, San Sebastián: Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, 1983, and id., "Leoncio Urabayen y la regeneración del tejido cultural vasco (1918-1936)", *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos*, XXIV:2 (1989), 365-381.

179. S. de Pablo, "Notas sobre la base social del nacionalismo vasco (1931-1936)", in J.G. Beramendi/R. Máiz, *op.cit.*, 275-285.

180. G. Jáuregui, "Bases sociales del nacionalismo vasco durante la II República", in J.G. Beramendi/R. Máiz, *op.cit.*, 239-253.

theory presupposes),¹⁸¹ some other authors advance the opposite thesis: neither *fueros* nor the Carlist wars are to be understood in terms of "pre-nationalism".¹⁸² But on the contrary, A.Ciaurriz has shown how the abolition of the traditional Basque *Fueros* was increasingly interpreted in the Basque press of the last third of the XIXth century in terms of pre-national Spanish centralist "aggression"¹⁸³, and in the same way J.Extramiana has displayed in a brilliant article the evolution of the *fueros* towards pre-nationalism, as well as the negative reaction against Spanish immigration, through the study of the Basque local *fueros* and traditionalist press between 1876 and 1890¹⁸⁴. The cultural origins of nationalism are also a matter of discussion, although it is generally accepted by current research that its meaning in the formation and shaping of the first Basque nationalism has been relatively weak. L.Mees, for instance, attributes some importance to the persistence of rural traditional literary traditions in Basque language, particularly to the oral literature wich expressed through the folk singers (*bertsolariak*) political contents in a popular illiterate way (the loss of *fueros*, the disappearance of the Basque language, etc.).¹⁸⁵ However, the period 1876-1895, that is mediating between the evolution of traditional *fueros* after the end of the Carlist wars and the beginning of political nationalism, still continues to demand a specific and definitive study, given the historical relevance of these *pre-nationalist* years, where many crucial

181. However, this theory is not only defended by *nationalist historians*. Professional historians such as J.Corcuera or Ludger Mees have put forward the existence of some pre-nationalist elements in the Carlist wars and even before (Mees traces back to the Napoleonic invasion, where he finds some proofs not so much of Basque pre-nationalism, but of lack of Spanish national consciousness in the Basque provinces: L.Mees, "Das baskische Labyrinth. Sozialgeschichtliche Implikationen, kulturelles Umfeld und politische Artikulation des baskischen Nationalismus 1876-1937", *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, n.32 (1992), forthcoming). The same standpoint is maintained by V.Huici, "La formación ideológica del nacionalismo vasco historicista. Apuntes sobre la ideología fuerista", in VV.AA., *Nacionalismo y socialismo en Euskadi (IPES. Cuaderno de formación 4)*, Bilbao, 1984, 63-70, and I.Estornés Zubizarreta, *Carlismo y abolición foral, 1876-1976*. San Sebastián: Auñamendi, 1976. On the Carlist wars as previous step for nationalism, with especial emphasis on Carlist ideology, see V.Garmendia, *La ideología carlista (1868-1876). En los orígenes del nacionalismo vasco*, San Sebastián: Haranburu, 1984.

182. J.Fernández Sebastián, *La génesis del fuerismo*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1991; id., "Ideología, fueros y modernización. La metamorfosis del fuerismo. I: hasta el siglo XIX"; M.C.Mina, "II: siglos XIX y XX", *Historia contemporánea*, 4 (1990), 61-87 and 89-106; M.C.Mina, *Fueros y revolución liberal en Navarra*, Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1981.

183. A.Ciaurriz Bezunegui, *La abolición de los fueros vascos a través de la prensa*, San Sebastián, 1976, 3 vols.

184. J.M.Extramiana, "Regionalismo y prenationalismo en el País Vasco del siglo XIX", in B.de Riquer et alia, *Industrialización y nacionalismo. Análisis comparativos*, Barcelona: UAB, 1985, 387-400.

185. See L.Mees, *Nationalismus...* op.cit., and "Das baskische Labyrinth...", op.cit.

questions for the historical understanding of Basque reality remain unsatisfactorily answered.

All the trends and aspects which have been mentioned above display the extent to which Basque nationalism and the Basque national question constitute nowadays a field relatively well covered by historical (as well as sociological or politological) research. The lacunae and periods which are still obscure are undoubtedly going to be covered in the near future. Apart from the period of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, and as much as in the case of Catalan nationalism, the Basque nationalist opposition to the Francoist Régime has not yet received too much attention, at least as far as the period previous to the foundation of ETA is concerned (1939-1959). Some partial analyses have been those of Beltza and K.San Sebastián,¹⁸⁶ as well as the biographies of some important Basque nationalist leaders in exile.¹⁸⁷ The peculiarities of that period -clandestinity, lack of free press, etc.- make necessary for the study of the Basque nationalism in the opposition to count on the files of the PNV archive, which so far remains closed. Some partial attempts to draw the lines of the nationalist opposition to Francoist dictatorship in different areas and periods have been made by Santiago de Pablo, J.M.Garmendia and M.L.Garde Etayo.¹⁸⁸

The period following the foundation of ETA (*Euskadi ta Askatasuna*, Basque country and Freedom) has on the contrary received much attention from historiography and political science, the reason being undoubtedly the sad protagonism achieved by the terrorist actions of ETA from the end of the 60's onwards, and especially since ETA's killing of the Vice-president of the Franco Government, admiral Carrero Blanco, in 1973. Apart from the fact that many books on the general history of Basque nationalism devote a large attention to ETA and to the radical Basque nationalist left during the 70's¹⁸⁹, some noteworthy studies have appeared during the last ten years dealing with partial aspects of the history of ETA and left-wing

186. Beltza, *El nacionalismo vasco en el exilio. 1937-1960*, San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1977; K.San Sebastián, *Crónicas de postguerra (1937-1951)*, Bilbao: Didatz Ekinza, 1982; id., *El exilio vasco en América 1936-1946. La acción del Gobierno*, San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1988.

187. M.de Ugalde, *Lezo Urreztzeta (1907-1981)*, Donostia: Elkar, 1990; M.Pelay Orozco, *Juan Ajuriaaguerra*, Bilbao: Idatz Ekinza, 1987; A.Elósegui, *El verdadero Galindez*, Bilbao: Ed.Saldaña Ortega, 1990; VV.AA., *Leizaola, la lealtad del viejo roble*, Bilbao: Fundación Sabino Arana, 1989.

188. S.de Pablo, "La resistencia nacionalista en Álava", and M.L.Garde Etayo, "La primera oposición del PNV al régimen de Franco", in J.Tusell et alia, *op.cit.*, vol.I. 339-345 and 313-325; J.M.Garmendia, "El nacionalismo vasco en Navarra durante el Régimen franquista", *Boletín del Instituto Gerónimo de Uztáriz*, n.3 (1989), 85-91.

189. This is especially the case of F.Letamendia's *Euskadi. Pueblo y nación*. above quoted, and id., *Historia de Euskadi: el nacionalismo vasco y ETA*, Paris: Ruedo Ibérico, 1975. Also Pierre Letamendia, *Nationalismes au Pays Basque*, Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1987, and Beltza, *El nacionalismo vasco...*, *op.cit.*

radical Basque nationalism. Those were C.Clark brilliant book on ETA during the 60's, paying special attention to the social origins of the Basque activists as well as to their links to the Catholic Church,¹⁹⁰ J.Sullivan's work on the political evolution of ETA,¹⁹¹ the more detailed one of G.Jáuregui on the first steps and revolutionary strategy of its military and political organisation,¹⁹² P.Ibarra's study on its strategic evolution between 1963 and 1987,¹⁹³ apart from the ETA's overall histories written by Garmendia, or L.Bruni,¹⁹⁴. The fact that a surprisingly large amount of sources concerning the history and evolution of the Basque terrorist organisation is available (pamphlets, booklets, etc., most of them kept in the closter of Lezkaio, and the documents'collection published with the name *Documentos Y*) makes possible the reconstruction of ETA's history. The German sociologist Peter Waldmann has also published very interesting works on the ETA's evolution and role as key-factor of the gestation of the process of political violence in the anti-Francoist opposition, in a comparative perspective.¹⁹⁵ Although they do not belong to the specific field of history, these works, along with P.Ibarra's recent work on ETA's revolutionary strategy in the last years, contribute very much to our knowledge on the history of the Basque nationalist movement.

Concerning the general histories or overall interpretations that have appeared in the last years, only a few books and articles are worth quoting. Apart from the above-mentioned general histories of Beltza, Letamendía and García de Cortázar, there were some short articles which dealt with a general interpretation of the meaning and development of

190. R.Clark, *The Basque insurgents: ETA, 1952-1980*, Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1984; id., *The Basques. The Franco Years and Beyond*, Reno: Univ. of Nevada Press, 1979.

191. J.Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism. The fight for Euskadi, 1890-1986*, London-New York: Routledge, 1988.

192. G.Jáuregui, *Ideología y estrategia política de ETA. Análisis de su evolución entre 1959 y 1968*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1981.

193. P.Ibarra, *La evolución estratégica de ETA. De la 'guerra revolucionaria' (1983) a la negociación (1987)*, Donostia: Kriselu, 1987.

194. J.M.Garmendia, *Historia de ETA*, San Sebastián: Haranburu, 1979/80; L.Bruni, *ETA. historia política de una lucha armada*, Bilbao: Txalaparta, 1987.

195. P.Waldmann, "Sozioökonomischer Wandel, zentralistische Unterdrückung und Protestgewalt im Baskenland", in VV.AA, *Die geheime Dynamik autoritärer Diktaturen*, München: Oldenbourg, 1982, 199-286; id., "Katalonien und Baskenland. Historische Entwicklung der nationalistischen Bewegungen und Formen des Widerstands in der Franco-Zeit", in VV.AA., *Sozialer Wandel und Herrschaft im Spanien Francos*, Paderborn u.a.: Schöningh, 1984, 155-192; id., "Die Bedeutung der ETA für Gesellschaft und Politik im spanischen Baskenland", *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 44/45 (1988), 3-19; id., *Ethnischer Radikalismus: Ursachen und Folgen gewaltsamer Minderheitenkonflikte am Beispiel des Baskenlandes, Nordirlands und Quebecs*, Opladen: Westdeutsche Verlag, 1989; id., *Militanter Nationalismus im Baskenland*, Frankfurt a.M., 1990. Waldmann's approach is sometimes too eclectic.

Basque nationalism: H.J.Puhle gave an overall and synthetic view (for a German public) in 1985,¹⁹⁶ following Hroch's lines, and A.Elorza made a good summary of the ideological evolution of the Basque movement until 1976.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, Ludger Mees has published some synthetic works where he interprets the historical development of Basque nationalism up to 1937 in a multidisciplinary and comparative perspective, pointing out the common characters as well as the differences between the development of Basque nationalism and Hroch's evolution model. Mees synthesizes the peculiarities of the Basque movement according to that model in a) the absence of a clear-cut defined pre-nationalist cultural phase: much on the contrary, Hroch's phase A could be only supposed to correspond to the *fuerrista* period of the last third of the XIXth century; b) the transition to phase B of the patriotic agitation did not mean in the Basque case an adoption of *political* components, but a *radicalization* of the previously existing political pre-nationalist elements, through the fast process of social and economic changes taking place in Vizcaya after 1876/80; c) Basque nationalism proves how difficult it is to consider Hroch's model as an automatic and increasingly developing process: along its history, Basque nationalism has also known many ups and downs; d) ethnic and cultural features acted in Basque country only as "subjective and political"¹⁹⁸ catalysts of the nationalist development process.

6.3. Research on Galician nationalism.

Galician nationalism, in spite of its rich historical tradition and ideological developments, has never overcome so far the barrier of 25% of the number of suffrages at any general, local or regional election. Hence, its political force appears to be less important than that of its Basque and Catalan counterparts, although its cultural strength -based on an own

196. H.J.Puhle, "Baskischer Nationalismus im spanischen Kontext", in H.A.Winkler, (Hrsg.), *Nationalismus in der Welt von heute*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982, 51-81. A rather failed attempt at an overview of the history of Basque nationalism has been made by S.Ben-Ami, "Basque Nationalism between Tradition and Modernity", *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.26 (1991), 493-521.

197. A.Elorza, "Elementos de persistencia y cambio en la ideología del nacionalismo vasco 1876-1976", *Iberian Studies*, XII:1-2 (1983), 32-48.

198. L.Mees, "Das baskische Labyrinth...", *art.cit.*. See also id., "Entstehung, Entwicklung und Charakteristika des baskischen Nationalismus (1876-1937)", paper given at the colloquium *Typen europäischer Nationalbewegungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Bielefeld, ZfF, 21-23 march 1991; id., "Europako Herri Txikien Esnatzea. Ikuspegi konparatibo batean oinarritutako zenbait gogoeta Euskadiko nazionalismoari buruz", *Jakin*, n.66 (1991), 65-96.

language spoken by more than 80% of the population- is more important than e.g.in the Basque case. On the other hand, the fact that Galician nationalism remained little active for a long time during the Francoist regime, and especially at the transition period (1975-1982) determined that Galician nationalism even nowadays is generally treated with a mixture of underestimation and topical remarks (which generally refer to the "lack of a powerful bourgeoisie", the presence of a rural caciquism, etc.).¹⁹⁹ But, despite the fact that nationalism has never been the dominant political force in Galicia, it appears to be impossible to understand Galician contemporary history without taking into account the influence that nationalist postulates have had on the political decision-making of the country. This capacity of influencing indirectly political history manifested itself during the transition period: while a radical left-wing Galician nationalism achieved a relatively high level of development (although it reached its best results -more than 100.000 suffrages- only in 1989), the failure at organizing a right-wing nationalist party was compensated by the fact that many Spanish political parties accepted the participation in their electoral lists of "independent nationalists" at the top. On the other hand, the Galician left-wing nationalist trade-union has nowadays more than 30% of the suffrages at the syndical elections, and its trend is on the increase.

Another complicating -and underestimating- factor in the historical evaluation of Galician nationalism is given by the similarity between the Galician and the Portuguese languages, which also determined that even at the level of philological studies both languages were often considered until recently by foreign scholars as different dialects of a same language.²⁰⁰ Hence, the historical and even ethnic differentiated features of Galicia were not a commonplace among historians outside Galicia.²⁰¹

199. See e.g.H.J.Puhle, "Nazionalismo periferico, regionalismo e regionalizzazione nell'Europa occidentale del XX secolo", in F.Andreucci/F.Pescarolo (a cura di), *Gli spazi del potere. Aree, regioni, stati. Le coordinate territoriali della storia contemporanea*, Firenze: La casa Usher, 1989, 199-218. Puhle classifies Galician nationalism in the same category as Occitany, Brittany, etc.

200. See F.Fernández Rei, "A 'questione della lingua' galega", *A Trabe de Ouro*, n.5 (1991), 29-40.

201. The sole monographies existing so far on Galician nationalism written by foreign authors have been J.Viales Moutinho, *Introdução ao nacionalismo galego*, Porto: Paisagem, 1973; the Uruguayan C.Zubillaga Barrera, *El problema nacional de Galicia. Génesis y estructura del Estatuto autonómico de 1936*, Montevideo: Patronato da Cultura Galega, 1974, as well as some works of the German historian H.Heine (see below). The sole contribution on Galician nationalism in English is C.Díaz López, "The politicization of Galician cleavages", in S.Rokkan and D.Urwin (eds.), *The Politics of Territorial Identity*, London et alia: Sage Publ., 1982, 389-423.

As J.G.Beramendi pointed out in 1984²⁰², the by then existing bibliographical production concerning the history of Galician nationalism, in spite of its being quite abundant, presented a lesser historiographical value than in Catalonia or Basque Country. Galician historiography was characterized by the high dispersion of subjects, and the weight within the total production of memoris, biographies and also writings of "affirmation of nationhood" (more than 51% of the titles). This revealed a lesser quality of the Galician historiography, although the number of studies on nationalist ideology, press and political life reached a similar proportion to that of Basque Country and Catalonia. Nevertheless, sociological studies or overall histories hardly existed at all. The underdevelopment of Galician political science was more accentuated than in other areas of Spain.

Galician historiography on the national question emerged later than the Basque one, even if during the 50's and 60's the Galician-American nationalist nuclei published some short histories of Galician nationalism of scarce value, excepting the C.Zubillaga's more serious study on the Galician Home-rule Statute during the II Republic.²⁰³ Before 1975, only a few studies centered on the biographies of nationalist individuals or ideologues had appeared, such as F.Rodríguez study on the poet and politician Curros Enríquez,²⁰⁴ the research of P.Yebra on some aspects of the regionalist ideology of A.Brañas²⁰⁵, or the 1963 study by Lugrís on the most important Galician nationalist ideologue before 1936, Vicente Risco.²⁰⁶ There was not yet any newly-shaped explanatory model for the development of Galician nationalism, and in fact the traditional division established by nationalist themselves during the 30's served as framework, based upon the different levels of ideological consciousness in each period. Hence, the history of Galician nationalism was divided into three periods: *Provincialism* (first developments during the first half of the XI Xth century, 1846 uprising, Antolín Faraldo's organs, first literary revival or *Rexurdimento*), *Regionalism* (from the I Spanish Republic until 1916, divided into liberal -Murguía- and conservative -Brañas-), and

202. J.G.Beramendi, "Aproximación...", *art.cit.*, 66-67. See also R.Máiz, "Análise histórica do galeguismo político: estado da cuestión", in VV.AA., *Historiografía galega. IV Xornadas de Historia de Galicia*, Ourense: Deputación, 1988, 191-217, and J.García Lombardero, "Las investigaciones sobre Historia de Galicia (siglos XIX y XX). Actualidad y realizaciones", in VV.AA., *X Coloquio de Pau*, Madrid: Edicusa, 1980, 429-447.

203. C.Zubillaga Barrera, *op.cit.* See also A.Míguez, *El pensamento político de Castelao*, Paris: Ruedo Ibérico, 1965; X.Alvarez Gallego, *Vida, paixón e morte de Alexandre Boveda*, Buenos Aires: Nós, 1972.

204. F.Rodríguez, *A evolución ideolóxica de M.Curros Enríquez*, Vigo: Galaxia, 1972.

205. P.Yebra Martul-Ortega, *La descentralización político-administrativa en Alfredo Brañas*, Santiago: Univ.of Santiago, 1971.

206. R.Lugrís Freire, *Vicente Risco na cultura galega*, Vigo: Galaxia, 1963.

Nationalism (foundation of the *Irmandades da Fala* -Galician language brotherhoods- in 1916, until the present). The first articles appeared during the 70's attempted to discuss that model, focusing, e.g., on the 1846 uprising and discussing whether regionalists were in fact pre-nationalists or not.²⁰⁷ The dispersed but interesting articles of J.A.Durán dealt with partial aspects of the history of Galician nationalism, such as the biography of the nationalist leader Castelao, the regionalist-agrarian and Republican coalition *Solidaridad Gallega* (1907-1911), etc.²⁰⁸ The Galician Home-rule statute and the political process of its achievement was treated by X.Vilas Nogueira in 1975, paying attention to the juridico-political aspects of the autonomy campaign and projects.²⁰⁹ A.Alfonso Bozzo produced in 1976 his work on the different attitudes taken by political parties in Galicia towards the Galician national question and the Home-Rule.²¹⁰ However, the history of the ideological and political development of the Galician movement did not began to be properly studied until 1977, with a series of M.A.Thesis, some of them of very scarce value, and which covered either the regionalist period (end of the XIXth century)²¹¹ or the history of Galician nationalism during the II Republic,²¹² as well as the

207. E.g.X.Vilas Nogueira, "Federalis e rexionalistas galegos no século XIX: un exemplo de mitificación histórica", *Grial*, n.42 (1973), 430-436; X.R.Barreiro Fernández, "Federalismo e rexionalismo galego no século XIX", *Grial*, n.43 (1974), 49-53; id., "Pronunciamento do 1846 e rexionalismo galego". *Grial*, n.50 (1975), 413-428.

208. J.A.Durán, *El primer Castelao*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1972; id., "Agrarios de minifundio. Los solidarios", *Revista Española de Opinión Pública*, n.33 (1973); id., *Crónicas 1. Agitadores, poetas, caciques, bandoleros y reformadores en Galicia*, Madrid: Akal, 1974; *Historia de caciques, bandos e ideologías en la Galicia no urbana*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1974; *Crónicas-3. Entre la Mano Negra y el nacionalismo galleguista*, Madrid: Akal, 1981.

209. X.Vilas Nogueira, *O estatuto galego*, A Coruña: Ed.do Rueiro, 1975. See too id., "La primera fase del proceso estatutario gallego: la Asamblea de 4 de junio de 1931", *Boletín Informativo de Ciencia Política*, n.11-12 (1972/73), 185-204, and id., "El autonomismo gallego en la II República", in M.Ramírez Jiménez (ed.), *Estudios sobre la II República Española*, Madrid: Tecnos, 1975, 167-186.

210. A.Alfonso Bozzo, *Los partidos políticos y la autonomía en Galicia, 1931-1936*, Madrid: Akal, 1976; see also id., *Intelectuais e galeguismo*, Madrid: Akal, 1977, and id., "Entorn del pensament del galleguisme: els orígens, Risco i Castelao", *Recerques*, n.8 (1978), 133-158..

211. X.Castelos Paredes, *Los orígenes del nacionalismo gallego*, M.A.Thesis, Univ.of Barcelona, 1977.

212. F.Ulloa, *Alvaro das Casas y los grupos Ultreya. Su incidencia en el nacionalismo gallego*, M.A.Thesis, Univ.of Santiago, 1977; X.Castro, *O Partido Galeguista ao traveso do seu órgao de expresión "A Nosa Terra"*, M.A.Thesis, Univ.of Santiago, 1978; id., "Aspectos económicos do galeguismo na Segunda República", *Grial*, n.66 (1979), 495-505.

autonomist Republicanism of the 30's (the ORGA).²¹³ Particularly noteworthy have been several works by X.Moreno on the origins and evolution of Galician federalism during the *Sexenio* (1868-1874),²¹⁴ and X.R.Barreiro's book on the interpretation of the 1846 rising as the beginning of Galicianism,²¹⁵ as well as the general overviews given by the latter author on the relationship between the Catholic Church and Galician nationalism, and the latter's attitudes towards the socio-economic problems of Galicia.²¹⁶ A.Mato conducted in 1981 an interesting study on the first Galician XIXth century nationalist historiography, displaying the ideological contribution of Vicetto's, M.Murguía's and Otero Pedrayo's historical writings (among other authors) for the forging of the national *Volksgeist* as it was conceived by nationalism.²¹⁷ By the early 80's, the first and more serious monographies covering important periods of time and establishing a provisional explanatory model for subsequent discussions began to appear. The most remarkable were the first deep studies on ideology and significance of Vicente Risco by F.J.Bobillo,²¹⁸ and the more complete historical analysis performed by J.G.Beramendi.²¹⁹ Vicente Risco's ideological framework, set up during the early 20's, appeared to be the most decisive element in the ideological configuration of the Galician nationalist movement, being a mixture of archaic and modern elements as well which aimed at the recreation of a "Celtic and rural Galicia" where no social conflicts would exist at all, thanks to the harmony between rural gentry and small-holding peasants. It does not mean, however (as F.J.Bobillo argued) that Galician nationalism was monopolized by these archaic elements. Much on the contrary, liberal and left-wing elements

213. C.Velasco Souto, *A 'Organización Republicana Gallega Autónoma' (ORGA) na Segunda República e a súa incidencia no proceso autonómico galego*. M.A.Thesis, Univ.of Santiago, 1981.

214. X.Moreno González, *El federalismo gallego en el sexenio, 1868-1874*. M.A.Thesis, Univ.of Santiago, 1978; id., "Federalismo y regionalismo en la Galicia de la Restauración", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29(1984), 455-466.

215. X.R.Barreiro Fernández, *El levantamiento de 1846 y el nacimiento del galleguismo*. Santiago: Pico Sagro, 1977.

216. X.R.Barreiro Fernández, "Igrexa e galleguismo na historia (1840-1923)", *Encrucillada*, n.2 (1977), 3-16; id.and R.Villares, "Problemática socio-económica y nacionalismo gallego, 1898-1936", paper given to the VIII *Coloquio de Pau*, (unpublished).

217. A.Mato Domínguez, *Historiografía y nacionalismo. La construcción histórica de Galicia por los historiadores gallegos del siglo XIX y primer tercio del XX*. M.A.Thesis, Univ.of Santiago, 1981. A more complete approach to Murguía's ideological contribution in J.G.Beramendi, "La Galicia de Murguía", introduction to M.Murguía, *Galicia*, Vigo: Ed.Xerais, 1982, vol.I, I-XLVIII.

218. F.J.Bobillo, *Nacionalismo gallego. La ideología de Vicente Risco*, Madrid: Akal, 1981.

219. J.G.Beramendi, *Vicente Risco no nacionalismo galego*, Santiago: Ed.do Ccrnc, 1981, 2 vols. See also id., "A idea da Historia en Vicente Risco", *Orense. Revista de la Diputación Provincial*, V/1981, 31-38.

existed within it, and the protagonism of the progressive-oriented nationalist sectors determined during the 30's the major expansion of Galician nationalism (represented by the *Partido Galeguista* -PG- since 1931). The studies that appeared in the following years contributed to the study of the real complexity and variety of ideological trends coexisting within Galician nationalism: especially noteworthy were the Ph.D.thesis of X.Castro²²⁰ on the history of Galician nationalism during the II Republic, and J.G.Beramendi's one on the history of the nationalist organisations existing between 1916 and 1931 (the Language Brotherhoods, *Irmandades da Fala*), which actually covers the whole period of the existence of nationalism until 1936 as far as its ideological development is concerned, and provides the first and well-argued explanatory model for the historical comprehension of Galician nationalism²²¹. In addition, in 1984 R.Máiz's Ph.D.Thesis on ideologies and organizations of the Galician regionalism until 1907 was published²²² following his monograph on Alfredo Brañas' conservative regionalism.²²³ Máiz focuses mostly on theoretical aspects (ideological analysis of the political discourse, semeiological methodological tools, etc.), but he also provides a good view of the social impact of regionalism during the XIXth century, limited in fact to the urban *intelligentsia* and small sectors of the middle strata (some petty bourgeois elements), as well as to a scarce number of clergymen. Nonetheless, upper middle-class, rural nobility, workers and peasants were marginal or completely absent, since the most relevant classes in terms of socio-economic influence in Galicia were integrated perfectly within the establishment of the Spanish Restoration's parties system (Conservative and Liberal). This heralded a constant feature of Galician nationalism in the future: the lack of any *national bourgeoisie* interested in carrying out a Galician national project, since the former did not see any contradiction between its class interests and the Spanish

220. X.Castro Pérez, *O galeguismo na encrucillada republicana*, Ourense: Deputación, 1985, 2 vols. (Ph.D.thesis submitted in 1982). Nevertheless, the Republican period is far from being covered by this thesis, since the author lacks the capacity of framing an explanatory model for the social diffusion of nationalism during the 30's.

221. J.G.Beramend, *El nacionalismo gallego...*, op.cit.

222. R.Máiz, *O rexionalismo...*, op.cit. See also id., "Os proxectos xurídico-constitucionais de descentralización política na Galiza do século XIX", *Grial*, Anexo-1 Historia, Vigo, 1982, 133-168; id., "Galeguismo e republicanismo no movemento rexionalista lucense no século XIX: Aureliano J.Pereira", *Boletín del Museo Provincial de Lugo*, 1 (1983), 157-172; "La construcción teórica de Galicia como nación en el pensamiento de Manuel Murguía", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 133-148, and "Raza y mito céltico en los orígenes del nacionalismo gallego: Manuel M.Murguía", *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 25 (1984), 137-180.

223. R.Máiz, *Alfredo Brañas. O ideario do rexionalismo católico-tradicionalista*, Vigo: Galaxia, 1983.

state. In this context, nationalists elaborated an ideology which was to lack any possible class support.²²⁴

Before 1987, in fact, it was difficult to affirm that an explanatory model for the latter ever existed in Galicia, except for isolated statements on the impact of the Spanish agrarian crisis on the dominance and incomes level of the rural gentry (*fidalguía*) and the identity crisis of that²²⁵ archaic social class during the first decades of the XXth century, which made it possible for some to shift towards conservative nationalism as a means of preserving a rural and "harmonic" social order. Nevertheless, this scheme only took into account the presence of conservative nationalism, disregarding the petty bourgeois and intellectual basis of nationalism in the villages. The underdevelopment of Galician social history, which even nowadays is especially important as far as the urban social history is concerned, also renders the study of the social basis and interactions of any socio-political movement in Galicia quite difficult.

Beramendi's thesis emphasizes the role of ideologies and pays somewhat more attention to the ideological and political aspects of nationalism through its history (until 1936) than to the social basis. Nevertheless, a whole chapter is devoted to the latter aspect, and from his patient research it comes out that Galician nationalism between 1916-1931 the *Irmandades da Fala* reached a quite remarkable quota of 500-700 members, although their influence within society was difficult to measure (since the *Irmandades* defined themselves as a non-political party and therefore never did stand at general elections). Nationalism during the Restoration system never managed to send a single nationalist deputy to the Madrid Parliament, and on the other hand had only a few town Councillors in some cities. Nevertheless, the nationalists' influence went far beyond their restricted membership, especially because of their convergence with the peasants' claims. The latter were represented by the original and increasingly powerful land-reform movement called *Agrarismo*, which presented many similarities with the Irish **Land League** of the XIXth century. Nevertheless, at the key moment in which nationalist and peasants' organizations arrived at a common understanding (1922/23), Primo

224. R.Máiz has developed this theory, with a general overview of Galician nationalism until the present, in "Aproximación a la trayectoria político-ideológica del nacionalismo gallego", *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, n.44 (1982), 513-48, and id., "El nacionalismo gallego. Apuntes para la historia de una hegemonía imposible", in F.Hernández/F.Mercadé (eds.), *Estructuras sociales y cuestión nacional en España*, Barcelona: Ariel, 1986, 186-243.

225. R.Villares, "Fidalguía e galeguismo", in J.G.Beramendi (ed.), *Antón Losada Diéguez. Obra Completa*, Vigo: Ed.Xerais, 1985, 83-98.

de Rivera's dictatorship interrupted that process. The same could be said of the 1936 historical moment (once the Home-rule statute had been passed by referendum on June 1936 by the Galician population). The evolution of Galician nationalist membership between 1916 and 1931 displays the predominance of the free professions, servants, teachers and professors, artists and intellectuals (the Galician *Bildungsbürgertum*), and also a significant 20% of craftsmen and petty bourgeois. On the other hand, the presence of industry workers and peasants as active supporters of Galician nationalism was very scarce (less than 5% of the rank-and-file membership). Hence, in Galicia there was no question of treating the question of relationship between working class and national question, since it hardly existed at all. So the question arises as follows: did any effective relationship between Galician urban nationalism and peasantry exist? The answer to this question should be searched for in the II Republic period, but the lacunae of X.Castro's thesis make it difficult for us to come up with a definitive conclusion. In fact, the II Republic implies for Galician nationalism a period of strong advance in terms both of organization and popular backing: Galician nationalist candidates were able to obtain at the February 1936 elections more than 286.000 votes, although the precise estimation of the popular support is difficult to determine, since the PG stood at that moment in coalition with the Republican left. During the Republican period a relatively larger proportion of peasants and workers/seamen is noticeable within nationalist rank-and-file, but our knowledge of the social basis of Galician nationalism during the II Republic remains very limited, since the data available so far is only restricted to the large PG's leadership structure.²²⁶

During the 20's and 30's, Galician nationalism also developed a network of satellite and sectorial organizations, although its strength was far less important than in the Basque case. The best example is the youth organization *Mocedades Galeguistas*, which has been thoroughly studied by A.Rojo Salgado.²²⁷ Nevertheless, this study proves to be insufficient, insofar as it only takes into account the political and ideological dimension of the youth's nationalism. Agrarian nationalism and the relationship between the agrarian land-reform movement and Galician nationalism constitutes even nowadays another subject to be further researched. The evolution of the PG towards the left during the 30's, which also provoked the split of the most conservative sectors (gathered in the

226. Apart from X.Castro, *op.cit.*, see his articles "Las bases sociales del nacionalismo gallego", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz, *op.cit.*, 255-273, and "Socioloxía do movemento galeguista na primeira metade do século XX", in VV.AA., *I Xornadas de Historia de Galicia*. Ourense: Deputación, 1985, 10-25.

227. A.Rojo Salgado, *As Mocedades Galeguistas*, Vigo: Galaxia, 1987.

Dereita Galeguista in 1935), proves that Galician nationalism, although not a properly left-wing movement by 1936, was much closer to that than to the right, and was beginning to think in terms of a *nationalist populism* much in the same way as the ERC did.

After 1987, only partial attempts have been made to know better the ideological and political significance of historically relevant leaders, such as Otero Pedrayo²²⁸, the most popular leader of Galician nationalism during the 30's A.R.Castelao,²²⁹ or R.Villar Ponte²³⁰. On the other hand, further developments have been made by Beramendi himself in the study of the nationalist press during the period of the II Spanish Republic²³¹, as well as the general interpretation of the history and main political trends of Galician nationalism during the 30's.²³² The most recent studies, however, have concentrated on explaining the ideological contributions of different Galician nationalist ideologues: especially noticeable was the interest for Castelao and his groundwork *Sempre en Galiza* (1944), considered by many as the crucial book for the understanding of liberal-democratic nationalism.²³³

The important impact that Galician migrants'collectivities in America (Cuba, Uruguay and Argentina) reached in the field of nationalism had been totally underestimated until the end of the 80's, in spite of Buenos Aires being the main centre of Galician nationalism during the first period of the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1962). Apart from some approaches made by *amateur* historians²³⁴, the period 1879-1939 has been covered by X.M.Núñez, who displayed the relative importance of nationalism in order to understand

228. M.Valcárcel/X.R.Quintana, *Ramón Otero Pedrayo. Vida, obra e pensamento*, Vigo: Ir Indo, 1988; J.G.Beramendi, "O nacionalismo de Otero Pedrayo", in VV.AA., *A sombra imensa de Otero Pedrayo*, Vigo, 1987 (A Nosa Terra, extra 8), 57-63; X.R.Barreiro Fernández, "Otero Pedrayo y el galleguismo (Una aproximación a sus condicionantes doctrinales)", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz, *op.cit.*, 1-11.

229. J.G.Beramendi, "Estructura e evolución da ideoloxía política de Castelao", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Villares (eds.), *Actas Congreso Castelao*, Santiago: Universidade/Xunta de Galicia/Fundación Castelao, 1989, vol.I, 189-223; R.Máiz, "Volksgeist vs.Raza: O concepto de nación en Castelao", *ibid.*, vol.I, 237-279.

230. J.G.Beramendi (ed.), *Ramón Villar Ponte. Obra política*, A Coruña: Ed.do Castro, 1991.

231. J.G.Beramendi, "Prensa y galleguismo en la II República", in S.de Pablo/J.L.Granja/C.Garitaonandía (eds.), *Prensa, comunicación y cultura durante la II República y la Guerra Civil*, Bilbao: UPV/EHU, 1991, vol.II, 145-165.

232. J.G.Beramendi, "El Partido Galleguista y poco más. Organización e ideologías del nacionalismo gallego en la II República", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz, *op.cit.*, 127-170.

233. See R.Máiz, "Federalismo y nación en el discurso del nacionalismo gallego de la II República", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), *op.cit.*, 377-403; id. "Volksgeist vs. Raza...", *art.cit.*; VV.AA., *Sempre en Galiza. Edición crítica*, forthcoming (1992).

234. E.g.B.Cores Trasmonte, *Ramón Suárez Picallo. Socialismo, galleguismo y acción de masas en Galicia*, A Coruña: Ed.do Castro, 1983; B.Cupeiro Vázquez, *A Galiza de alén mar*, A Coruña: Ed.do Castro, 1989.

the shaping process of Galician communities in America, as well as their innovating attempts to make Galician nationalism shift towards left-wing positions during the 30's. Much in the same way as Catalonia, a kind of Galician populism developed during the 30's in the strong Galician community of Buenos Aires (more than 300.000 individuals), especially among some of the Galician mutual-aid societies, and also relevant was the separatist trend within the Republican Galician nationalism, which had its ideological centre in Buenos Aires as well.²³⁵

As yet there is no general history covering the whole period of existence of Galician nationalism, the little attempts made so far being clearly insufficient.²³⁶ Very recently X.M.Núñez and J.G.Beramendi have summed up the history of Galician nationalism according to Hroch's model and tracing a model of development that results in a failed transition to phase C of patriotic agitation in 1936.²³⁷

With regards to cultural nationalism, and the relationship between literature and national ideology, some steps forward have been taken by C.Velasco Souto on the Restoration Galician writers, who often displayed an obvious "patriotic" and cultural-national purpose.²³⁸ The socio-political significance of the literary revival, exemplified in the figure of the Galician national poet Rosalía de Castro in the XIXth century, has also been emphasized by excellent monographs.²³⁹

To put an end on this part devoted to the historical research on Galician nationalism, let us point out the fact that there are almost no studies for the post-1939 period of its history, apart from very brief

235. X.M.Núñez Scixas, "Emigración y nacionalismo gallego en Argentina, 1879-1936", *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, n.15-16 (1990), 379-406; "Eduardo Blanco Amor no nacionalismo galego (1919-1939). Liderato étnico e galeguismo", *Grial*, n.108 (1990), 448-466; "Actitudes del nacionalismo gallego frente al problema de la emigración gallega a América (1856-1936)", *Studi Emigrazione/Études Migrations*, n.102 (1991), 191-216, and "La Sociedade Nazionalista Pondal. El separatismo gallego en la emigración", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (comps.), *op.cit.*, 171-193. See also id., *O galeguismo en América. 1879-1936*. A Coruña: Ed.do Castro, 1992 (forthcoming).

236. E.g.X.R.Barreiro Fernández, *Historia de Galicia.IV.Edade contemporánea*, Vigo: Galaxia, 1980, where he sketches in the chapter III a general history of Galicianism.

237. X.M.Núñez and J.G.Beramendi, "The evolution of Galician nationalism (1840-1950): an overview", paper given to the Colloquium *Typen europäischer Nationalbewegungen im 19. und 20.Jahrhundert*, Bielefeld, ZiF, 21-23th March 1991.

238. Vid.C.Velasco Souto, "Literatura e nacionalismo na Galiza (1875-1917)", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 107-112. The path had been already opened up in 1958 by J.L.Varela, *Poesía y restauración cultural de Galicia en el siglo XIX*, Madrid: Gredos.

239. F.Rodríguez, *Análise sociolóxica da obra de Rosalía de Castro*, Vigo: ASPG, 1988; C.Davies, *Rosalía de Castro no seu tempo*, Vigo: Galaxia, 1987; *Actas do Congreso Internacional Rosalía de Castro e o seu tempo*, Santiago: Universidade, 1986.

articles by H.Heine and X.M.Núñez.²⁴⁰ The period following 1960 and the resurgence of a very different left-wing nationalism, which in many aspects is quite similar to the Basque one, has not been treated at all either by historiography or political science so far,²⁴¹ with the sole exception of the recently-submitted Ph.D.Thesis of X.Cabrera on the ideological structure of contemporary existing Galician nationalism.²⁴² Nevertheless, the question of where and when one should take into account that Galician nationalism has its roots in the XIXth century, particularly as far as the study of its pre-nationalist phases is concerned, remains still a matter of discussion among the specialists.

6.4. Research on other peripheral nationalisms/regionalisms.

J.G.Beramendi also pointed out in 1984 the underdevelopment of historical research on other nationalisms/regionalisms in Spain, a logical fact when one looks at the scarce ethnic diversity or the little importance of nationalist movements in the rest of the Spanish *Autonomous Communities*²⁴³. Nonetheless, some regions had advanced more than others. Beramendi classified these into two groups:

a) On the one hand, a group of regions (Castile, León, Extremadura, Cantabria, Canary Islands, etc.) where historical research on nationalism was either non-existent or merely reduced to self-affirmation and essentialist studies, which usually concentrated on the minimal traces of regionalism in the past. Very often also they interpreted the Republican federalism of the XIXth century as a form of peculiar pre-nationalism.

To quote some examples, in the case of Castile there are some ideologically-oriented books of no scientific value (they only seem an absurd imitation of Catalan nationalist historiography, for instance). It is not surprising that the first studies dealing with the national question in Castile referred to the Castilian *reaction* in face of Catalan

240. H.Heine, "La evolución política de Galicia (1939-1975)", *Cuadernos de Ruedo Ibérico*, n.51-53 (1976); X.M.Núñez Seixas, "A supervivencia do nacionalismo galego na emigración americana, 1939-1960", in A.Alted, A.Matcos, J.Tusell, *op.cit.*, vol.I, 303-312.

241. In the last years, only a memoir by X.L.Franco Grande, *Os anos escuros. A resistencia cultural da xeración da noite (1952-1958)*, Vigo: Ed.Xerais, 1986, and a journalistic style book by X.Navaza on the origins of radical Galician left-wing nationalism in the 60' (*Disparos*, Vigo: Ed.Xerais, 1991) are worth pointing out.

242. X.Cabrera Varela, *Intelectuales y cuestión nacional en Galicia*, Ph.D.Dissertation, University of Santiago de Compostela, 1991. An interesting theoretical exposé in id., "La reproducción del sistema ideológico nacionalista", *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, n.54 (1991), 113-135.

243. J.G.Beramendi, "Aproximación...", *cit.*, 67.

nationalism,²⁴⁴ for the Catalan regionalist claims for a suppression of the protectionist custom tariff for wheat were opposed to the interest of Castilian peasants. For that reason, Castilian regionalism was only slowly aroused during the II Republic as a mimetic contagion of the passing of the Catalan Home-rule statute by the Spanish Parliament, in order to preserve Castilian agrarian interests.²⁴⁵ Nevertheless, there had been some ideological forerunners since the XIXth century, based on the support of some sectors of the commercial bourgeoisie, who did not see their interests being defended by the Restoration State.²⁴⁶ The lack of articulation of these dispersed claims of that urban Castilian bourgeoisie led however the regionalist movement to a permanent status of underdevelopment, as they were unable to set up regionalist parties on their own.²⁴⁷

In the case of Extremadura, one notes the absence of any historical tradition on the regional question, given the fact of the problematic regional feeling of the two provinces concerned (Cáceres and Badajoz). The lack of any regionalist claim in this region, however weak it may have been while in Castile some minority Castilian nationalist groups exist, has also contributed to the surprising fact that the scarce historical studies on Extremadura present a remarkable quality. F. Sánchez Marroyo has devoted some articles to the origins and development of a weak regionalism during the Restoration period, having as basis agrarian interests and official local institutions,²⁴⁸ whose driving force was a kind of "agrarian regenerationism" (*regeneracionismo agrario*). This kind of Regenerationism was a typical intellectual and bourgeois reformist movement which grew up in Spain in the aftermath of the colonial 1898 disaster. Since regionalists were convinced that the Spanish State was inefficient and decadent, and

244. R. Robledo Hernández, "L'actitud castellana enfront del catalanisme", *Recerques*, n.5 (1975), 217-274.

245. C. Almuña Fernández, "Castilla sale de su letargo (nacimiento y configuración del regionalismo castellano viejo decimonono)", *Historia* 16, III:28 (1978), 56-63; J.M. Palomares, "Aproximación al regionalismo castellano durante la II República", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 375-388; C. Almuña Fernández, "Castilla ante el problema nacionalista durante la II República. El Estatuto castellano 'non nato'", in J.G. Beramendi / R. Máz (eds.), *op.cit.*, 415-437.

246. A. Galindo, "El regionalismo castellano en la España de la Restauración: un apunte", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 389-394. See also J.M. Palomares, "El Regionalismo castellano-leonés y las testiones por conseguir el Estatuto de Autonomía (1900-1936)", in VV.AA., *Regionalismo y nacionalismo en España*, Córdoba: Diputación, 1985, 75-90, and E. Orduña, *El regionalismo en Castilla y León*, Valladolid: Ambito, 1986.

247. See C. Almuña Fernández, "La 'burguesía burgalesa' y su proyecto regionalista desde mediados del siglo XIX a 1936", in VV.AA., *La Ciudad de Burgos. Actas del Congreso de Historia de Burgos*, Burgos: Junta de Castilla y León, 1985, 545-583.

248. F. Sánchez Marroyo, "Regionalismo y cuestión agraria", *Norba*, II (1981), 281-291; id., "Extremadura, 1918-1919: intentos de definición de una personalidad regional", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 395-406.

moreover an administrative chaos, the way for a 'rational' reform of the State should start from below, through the achievement of local and regional autonomies (relying on the town-councils and administrative regions).²⁴⁹ During the II Republic, Extremadura regionalism only emerged as a multi-partitic claim after the Catalan Home-Rule statute was passed in 1931 and other Spanish regions had started their Home-Rule agitations: hence regionalism emerged rather as a kind of *protective chain-reaction* than as a popular claim, and it was to be channelled again through the local institutions.²⁵⁰

Such other regions as Murcia, Cantabria, Asturias or La Rioja do not possess any specific historiography on their respective regional questions throughout the XIXth and XXth centuries. Canary Islands' nationalism -which is nowadays a force of some strength in the region, it being mostly left-wing and even *third-worldist* and fascinated by the *Africanness* of the archipelago- has however attracted little attention on the part of historians, and the level of the existing studies so far is still very essentialist.²⁵¹ Some useful studies have been those by T.Noreña Salto on the charismatic and adventurous forerunner of Canarian nationalism, F.León y Castillo,²⁵² and the general history of insular nationalism sketched by F.Morales Padrón, displaying the romantic character and also the close Latin-American filiation of the first separatist groups (which emerged in Cuba, among Canary Islands immigrants, in 1923, and re-emerged during the 60's among these immigrants in Venezuela).²⁵³

Andalusia seems to occupy a mid-way place, for its regional features are far more marked than in the above described cases, but on the other hand the level of Andalusian historiography does not reach the standard of quality achieved by the group b) noted below. On the one hand, some works of overall character on the history of Andalusian regionalism exist, mainly

249. See J.Sánchez González, "El regionalismo extremeño", in J.P.Fusi (coord.), *España. Autonomías*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1989, 423-463.

250. F.Sánchez Marroyo, "Notas sobre el regionalismo extremeño durante la II República", *Norba*, IV (1983), 447-458; id., "La cuestión regional en Extremadura durante la II República", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), *op.cit.*, 451-486.

251. See e.g.M.Guimera Peraza, *El pletto insular (1808-1936)*, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1976.

252. T.Noreña Salto, "Federalismo y centralismo: Fernando León y Castillo y el proyecto de Constitución Federal", *Revista de Historia Canaria*, n.171 (1978), 111-120.

253. F.Morales Padrón, "El nacionalismo canario", in VV.AA., *Nation et nationalites en Espagne (XIXème-XXème siècles)*, Paris: Foundation Singer Polignac, 1985, 371-390.

those by Lacomba²⁵⁴. On the other hand, there is a relatively high amount of self-affirmation writings dealing with two key-topics: the study of the ideological contribution of the founder of the Andalusian regionalism, Blas de Infante²⁵⁵, and the construction of a Andalusian nationality through "Andalusian national histories". Nevertheless, during the 80's some other aspects of the quite weak *Andalucismo histórico* have been studied: the rural reformist program of petty bourgeois urban regionalism, which proved to be unable to come to terms with peasant's claims (and hence the general orientation of these studies was to explain why did regionalism not manage to head the agrarian protest movements)²⁵⁶, as well as the ideological origins and elements that since the XIXth century converged in Blas Infante's regionalist synthesis²⁵⁷. In fact, the final explanation had to rely on the incapacity of the small regionalist groups, who built up a political and social program taken from Spanish Costa's *regenerationism* and agrarian populist ideologies²⁵⁸, to merge with the anarchist peasant movement, especially at the historical moment of crisis in the Andalusian

254. A.Lacomba, "Sobre Andalucía y el regionalismo andaluz", *La Ilustración Regional*, n.10 (1975), 30-33; id., "Andalucía, trayectoria de un regionalismo", *Gibraltar*, n.27 (1975), 153-167; id., *La lucha por la autonomía andaluza*, Jaén: Cámara Oficial de Comercio Industria, 1977; id., "Las provincias andaluzas y el problema de la autonomía (1931-1933)", *Gibraltar*, n.30 (1981).

255. VV.AA., *El siglo de Blas Infante. 1883-1981. Alegato frente a una ocultación*, Sevilla: Biblioteca de ediciones andaluzas, 1981; id., J.Acosta Sánchez, *Andalucía. Reconstrucción de una identidad y la lucha contra el centralismo*, Barcelona: Anagrama, 1978; J.L.Ortiz de Lanzagorta, *Blas Infante. Vida y muerte de un hombre andaluz*, Sevilla: Ed.del autor, 1979.

256. See VV.AA., *La Tierra, proyecto histórico del andalucismo histórico*, Jerez: Sexta, 1980; A.M.Bernal, "El subdesenrotllament agrari i el problema regional a Andalusia", *Recerques*, n.5 (1975), 275-299; M.Gonzalez de Molina y E.Sevilla Guzmán, "En los orígenes del nacionalismo andaluz: reflexiones en torno al proceso de socialización del Andalucismo histórico", *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, n.40 (1987), 73-95; id., "Movimiento jornalero y andalucismo histórico", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), *op.cit.*, 305-331.

257. I.Moreno Navarro, "Etnicidad, conciencia de etnicidad y movimiento nacionalista: aproximación al caso andaluz", *Revista de Estudios Andaluces*, n.5 (1985), 13-38; id., "Primer descubrimiento consciente de la identidad andaluza (1868-1890)", en VV.AA., *Historia de Andalucía*, Barcelona: Cupsa/Planeta, 1981, t.VIII, 233-251. Many authors have also given specific papers to the *Congresses of History of Andalusia* where some aspects were also further treated.

258. J.Arcas Cubero, *El movimiento georgista y los orígenes del andalucismo*, Málaga: Conf.Esp.de Cajas de Ahorro, 1980; id., "El pensamiento georgista y el andalucismo", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 207-212; R.Soriano, "Los orígenes del regionalismo andaluz en el siglo XX: Andalucía y el Centro Andaluz", *Sistema*, n.82 (1988), 67-84.

lands (1917-1921)²⁵⁹. Nevertheless, neither the ideology of the Andalusian regionalism/nationalism, nor the real social basis it was relying on, have been properly studied so far. J.A.Lacomba has recently published a quite convincing history of Andalusian regionalism from its origins until 1936, which can be considered as the best existing study on the question - regardless of the sometimes confused mixture of essentialism and empirical methodology which this author uses.²⁶⁰ The development of a left-wing regionalist movement in Andalusia in the post-Francoist period has even attracted the attention of foreign sociologists, such as the Germans U.Liebert and E.Geiselhardt (following Dirk Gerdes' methodological premises).²⁶¹

b) On the other hand, in the case of Valencia, Balearic Islands and Aragón regionalist movements, regional historiographies have been able so far to generate at least a general explanatory theory, and to study the political and ideological aspects. For the case of Valencia and the Balearic Islands, there was indeed the stimulus provided by Catalan historiography, which is not surprising when one considers that the Catalan language is also spoken in these regions and that Catalan nationalism has from its origins maintained the cultural and *national* unity of all Catalan-speaking lands (including the French Rosselló/Roussillon): the myth of the *Paisos Catalans*. In the case of Aragón, the weak Aragonese cultural revival which took place in the 70's among intellectual and young University professors (who published the cultural review *Andalán*) determined the interest in looking back in search for legitimacy.

In the Aragonese case, the explanatory model provided for the underdevelopment of Aragonese nationalism/regionalism consisted of the usual affirmation: no social classes were interested in backing a regionalist program, hence regionalism did never overcome phase "B" (of patriotic agitation). Nonetheless, Aragonese nationalism has an interesting aspect: the fact that it adopted radical positions among Aragonese groups of migrants living in Barcelona, who enthusiastically joined Catalan separatist parties in the early 20's (the group headed by Gaspar Torrente), while in Aragón itself regionalist petty bourgeoisie and a part of the *Zaragoza Bildungsbürgertum* supported from the turn of the XXth century

259. Some idealist authors, such as J.Acosta Sánchez, held the contrary position: during the moments of social agitation in the Andalusian countryside, regionalism adopted a more accentuated progressive position ("Federalismo y krausismo en los orígenes y evolución del andalucismo. De Tubino y 'La Andalucía' al 'Ideal Andaluz'", in VV.AA., *Actas del II Congreso sobre el Andalucismo Histórico*, Sevilla: Fundación Blas Infante, 1987, 81-135.

260. J.A.Lacomba, *Regionalismo y Autonomía en la Andalucía contemporánea (1835-1936)*, Granada: Caja General de Ahorros, 1988.

261. E.Geiselhardt, *Regionalismus in Andalusien*, Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1985; U.Liebert, *Neue Autonomiebewegungen und Dezentralisierung Spaniens. Der Fall Andalusien*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 1986.

regionalist positions of regenerationist origin (the *Revista de Aragón*, for instance).²⁶² Federalism and bourgeois regionalist proposals were in fact often confused by historiography, presenting both phenomena as a kind of "evolution" towards the self-defined Aragonese nationalism of the 30's: this is the conviction laying behind A.Peiró's and B.Pinilla's synthesis, a 1981 book on the history of the Aragonese movement.²⁶³ Nevertheless, before 1936 Aragonese regionalism was actually an inarticulated movement, which could only aim at a limited capacity to influence the political debate.²⁶⁴ Only during the II Republic did the Aragonese nationalist movement articulate a minimal network of organizations and organs, relying also on the most ideologically advanced *Unión Aragonesta* of Barcelona. But Aragonese research has so far clearly confused what Aragonese nationalism and what Regional Republicanism were, so that the final and optimistic picture of an Aragón, where nationalism appeared to be by 1936 as a "consolidated" movement, can only be judged as doubtful.²⁶⁵ It is very misleading to confuse the initiatives carried out by town Councils and regional institutions in order to elaborate a Home-Rule statute,²⁶⁶ with the real strength of the nationalist movement. Actually, during the II Republic the most active nucleus of Aragonese nationalism was centered in Barcelona, around the prominent ideologue Gaspar Torrente.²⁶⁷ Aragonese research on Aragón's *national question* has in my opinion closely followed the evolution of Catalan historiography. Hence, all aspects of the possible relationship between nationalism and popular classes, and especially between minority Aragonese nationalism and the anarchist trade-union CNT (which gathered the majority of Aragón's peasants and workers) received privileged attention, particularly the joint participation of the

262. See J.C.Mainer, *op.cit.*, and *id.*, "Burguesía y regionalismo. La *Revista de Aragón* (1900-1905)", *Andalán*, n.3 (1972); *id.*, "El aragonismo político (1898-1936)", *Sistema*, n.8 (1975), 57-72.

263. A.Peiró Arroyo/B.Pinilla Navarro, *Nacionalismo y Regionalismo en Aragón (1868-1942)*, Zaragoza: Unali, 1981. See also C.Forcadell, "El federalismo aragonés", *Andalán*, n.2 (1972); *id.*, "Propuestas regionalistas: Aragón 1900-1920", *Andalán*, n.50-51 (1974). See too E.Fernández Clemente, "Raíces del autonomismo aragonés", *Historia* 16, extra V, abril 1978, 143-149, and the more essentialist C.Royo Villanova, *El regionalismo aragonés (1707-1978). La lucha de un pueblo por su autonomía*, Zaragoza: Guara, 1978.

264. B.Pinilla, "Desestructuración y testimonialismo del nacionalismo aragonés en los años de la Restauración", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 449-454.

265. See A.Peiró Arroyo, "La consolidación del nacionalismo aragonés (1929-1938)", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz, *op.cit.*, 213-225.

266. See VV.AA., *Caspe. Un Estatuto de Autonomía para Aragón*, Zaragoza: Alerudo, 1977; E.Fernández Clemente, "El Estatuto de Aragón", *Andalán*, n.81 (1976).

267. See A.Peiró/V.Pinilla, "El nacionalismo aragonés en Barcelona (1917-1938)", *Historia* 16, n.125 (1986), 19-26; E.Juliá i Danés, *Gaspar Torrente. Entre Catalunya i l'Aragó*, Barcelona: Xarxa Cultural, 1988.

nationalists within Aragón's *Regional Council* set up by anarchists during the Civil War.²⁶⁸

Concerning Valencia and the Balearic Islands, the historiography has probably dealt better with the complicated Valencian regional/national question. And this was (and still is) complicated because of the combination of two opposing concepts, like in Navarra's case: Valencian/Balearic regionalism/Catalan pan-nationalism. Both regions present very different social and economic features, and hence their political traditions are very different as well. While the Balearic Islands were dominated by a strong rural elite which ruled thanks to electoral corruption and *caciquismo*, Valencia had more modernizing features, its regional capital having been an early Republican centre since the late XIXth century. For the Valencian case, as J.G.Beramendi had pointed out,²⁶⁹ it was commonly accepted by historians that the lack of a possible national bourgeoisie hindered the possible further development of the early regionalism appeared around 1880 (the cultural group *Lo Rat Penat*). Since Valencian bourgeoisie mostly based its power on agrarian interests, there was no reason for it to oppose the Restoration State. Nevertheless, Valencian regionalism developed increasingly to even constitute during the II Republic an autonomous section of the Spanish right-wing party CEDA (the *Derecha Regional Valenciana*). Therefore, the study of the national question in Valencia had to distinguish very carefully (although it did not always proceed in this way) between what regionalism was and what nationalism of more or less Pan-catalan character was.²⁷⁰ Social history has in Valencia better exponents than in other regions of Spain, and hence the evolution of the party system and of the social significance of Valencian political parties are less difficult to establish than, e.g., in Aragón. The methodological framework applied to study the Valencian case is closely related to the Catalan one used during the 70's.²⁷¹ On the one hand, Carlism had developed during the XIXth century a specific regionalist-conservative project, which was to survive (like in other parts of Spain, e.g. Galicia or Catalonia) after the defeat of the III Carlist war.²⁷² On the other hand, a cultural Valencian movement which claimed political autonomy and also promoted the resurgence of the Valencian (=Catalan

268. C.Royo Villanova, "El regionalismo aragonés en la Guerra Civil", *Andalán*, n.50-51 (1974); A.Peiró Arroyo, "La consolidación...", *art.cit.*

269. Beramendi, "Aproximación...", *art.cit.*, p.74.

270. See F.Pérez i Mondragón, "El valencianisme i el fet dels Països Catalans (1930-1936)", *L'Espill*, n.19 (1983), 57-82.

271. See e.g.A.Cucó, J.A.Martínez Serrano and V.Soler, "Classe dominant i actituds nacionals al País Valencià (1875-1930). Aportacions per a un debat", *Estudis d'Història Contemporània del País Valencià*, 1979.

272. E.Olcina, *Carlisme i Autonomia al País Valencià*, Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1976.

dialect) language developed since the 80's of the XIXth century, its supporters being petty bourgeois and intellectuals, with a twofold division among them between Republicans and conservatives.²⁷³ Since the end of the XIXth century, an original regionalist-oriented and strongly populist Republican movement developed in Valencia, having as centre the town of Valencia: the *blasquismo*, whose political hegemony acted too as an obstacle to a possible conversion of *Valencianisme* towards a more grass-rooted political movement.²⁷⁴ During the final Restoration period, there were also some agrarian-oriented nationalist developments within the incipient Valencian nationalism.²⁷⁵ But during the II Republic, as in other regions of Spain, Valencia was to experience the partial formation of a specific party-model, in which some specifically regional political parties, namely the right-wing DRV, were to have an active presence.²⁷⁶

As in the Aragonese case, we can conclude that historical research on the Valencian regionalism/nationalism is relatively underdeveloped, since no serious attempts to precisely define the social support of the Valencian regionalism were carried out so far. Nevertheless, almost all political aspects of the development of the Valencianist parties have been treated, with the exception of DRV. Right-wing regionalism is not attractive for Valencian historians, who in their majority have been left-wing and pro-Catalanist.

As far as the Balearic Islands are concerned, the connection between local movements aiming at autonomy and Catalan nationalism appears to be narrower, since some prominent Catalan historical leaders -G.Alomar, J.Estelrich- came from Mallorca. The explanation for the underdevelopment of nationalism in Mallorca obeys to the same model described for Valencia

273. For the evolution of the valencianist trend, see A.Cucó, *El valencianisme polític (1874-1936)*, Valencia: Garbí, 1971, which remains as the classic book on Valencian nationalism/regionalism. See also M.Sanchís Guarnier, "Las dos vertientes, restauradora y progresista, de la 'Renaixença' valenciana", in VV.AA., *Siete temas sobre historia contemporánea del País Valencià*, Valencia: Univ.de Valencia, 1974, and A.Cucó, "Notas para una caracterización del valencianismo político durante la Restauración", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 419-426.

274. V.Alós, *Reorganización, supremacía y crisis final del blasquismo*, Ph.D.thesis, Univ.of Valencia, 1982; A.Cucó, *Sobre la ideología blasquista*, Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1979; V.Franch, *El Blasquisme: Reorganització i conflictes polítics (1929-1936)*, Valencia: A.de Xativa, 1984.

275. V.Franch i Ferrer, *El nacionalisme agrarista valencià (1918-1923)*, Valencia: Promcteo, 1980.

276. There is not as yet any monograph on this party. See only J.V.Marqués, "Derecha Regional Valenciana: les condicions de possibilitat d'un grup polític", *Arguments*, n.1 (1974), 97-130; V.Girona Albuixech, "Valencianos y Valencianistas. Un estudio de la estructura de los partidos políticos en el país valenciano de los años treinta. A propósito del valencianismo", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz, op.cit., 195-212.

and Aragón: the weight of agrarian archaic structures and the dominance of a corrupt clientelism system. Thus, local developments in favour of autonomy, beginning with the first Catalan cultural revival, *Renaixença*,²⁷⁷ had to rely on the not very powerful petty bourgeoisie of Palma de Mallorca town. Regional historiography has covered quite well the development of the Mallorca-Catalan regionalism/nationalism, but it has not attempted so far to define where the frontiers between Mallorca/Pancatalan identity were: historians seem to avoid that question, and prefer to keep to the field of *histoire événementielle*.²⁷⁸ The historical research on Catalan/Balearic nationalism constitute another deceiving chapter of the study of the national question in Spain, although it would be very difficult to find out something more to research...

6.5. Main features of Spanish historiography on the national question.

The existing historiography on the national question in Spain undoubtedly presents some common features which only very recently have begun to change towards new methodological and ideological perspectives. Nevertheless, the persistence of that *nationalist historiography* described above is still noteworthy in all cases, especially in the Galician, Catalan or Basque ones. The need to justify and to endorse present political claims makes essentialist history appear as a sometimes privileged discipline, backed by the autonomous institutions and private cultural endowments.

In conclusion, we could summarize the main features of the historiography dealing with the national question as follows:

1) **An almost complete lack of comparison with similar developments abroad.** This particularly concerns Spanish historiography, for Germans or Anglo-Saxons have been more careful in comparing the Spanish case-studies with a broader context of theories. Apart from very few exceptions (one could be J.G.Beramendi's Ph.D.thesis, as well as Ucelay da Cal's works), Spanish historians even nowadays do not read anything related to the theories and methodologies applied abroad to the study of national movements. French cultural influence through Pierre Vilar's legacy, as well as the Gramscist background of most Spanish historians during the late 60's and 70's, did much in order to forge the methodological framework which was

277. J.Melià, *La Renaixença a Mallorca*, Palma de Mallorca, 1963.

278. See A.Llull, *El mallorquinisme polític*, Paris: Ed.Catalanes, 1975, 2 vols.; B.Peñarrubia, "Reivindicacions i projectes d'autonomia política a Mallorca (1869-1900)", *L'Avenç*, n.25 (1980), 37-40; id., *Mallorca davant el centralisme, 1868-1910*, Barcelona: Curial, 1980, and id., "Forces polítiques i qüestió nacional a Mallorca durant la Restauració", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 447-448.

generally applied until quite recently. In other cases, it was sufficient for any historian to read something in French, or the very classic books on the history of nationalism written during the 40's (e.g. Hans Kohn's writings), to start writing *national histories*. The underdevelopment of Political Science in Spain, which still continues to be quite accentuated, rendered interdisciplinary approaches to nationalism simply non-existent.²⁷⁹ Hence, sociological approaches, for instance, were unable to "contaminate" the history of nationalisms in Spain. And, on the other hand, the low level of French historiography concerning the study of the national question -in spite of its quite interesting theoretical developments during the 60's- determined the further isolation of this field of study in Spain: Spanish history has never been able to built up solid theoretical frameworks or historical models, and this lack was also present in the case of the study of the national question. The fact is that before M.Hroch's comparative model appeared (first published in German in 1968, but translated into English in 1985), there were very interesting developments in the study of nationalist movements, such as J.Corcuera Atienza's 1979 book, or B.de Riquer's one (1977), which both relied on a solid empirical basis. But the additional obstacle that publication either in Spanish or in other Iberian languages puts to the broader diffusion of these studies contributed very much to the image of an "apparent" underdevelopment. The study of nationalist movements in a historical perspective has been centered especially in the East-Central European area, and in Ireland. Both traditions were almost totally unknown for most Spanish historians until the late 80's.

2) Related to this fact, there was (and there still is) an amazingly scarce effort aimed at **comparison between the different regional/national movements in Spain**, either in the field of their ideologies or political developments, or in the field of their different social dynamics. Another point is that it has been sometimes confused and misunderstood what the difference between nationalism and regionalism is. Almost all Spanish regions possess a kind of regionalist pedigree, but the real question is to further know the relationship existing between both phenomena, as well as their interplay with XIXth century federalism.

The attempts at giving a comparative perspective of the peripheral regional/nationalist movements in different parts of Spain have been scarce, although some works of A.Elorza and J.Corcuera advanced interesting

279. On the situation of Political Science in Spain, see J.M.Vallès, "Political Science in Spain, 1960-1990: the unfinished history of its coming of age", *European Journal of Political Research*, 20:4 (1991), 431-444.

ideas in 1984,²⁸⁰ and S.G.Payne had made a rather deceiving first attempt at comparison between Catalan and Basque nationalism in 1971.²⁸¹ Hence, each case was treated as if it were unique, although in almost all cases the paradigm of "similarity with" or "influence by" Catalan nationalism - the most developed and the one which provided the most influential model - was present.

The real problem in studying the different peripheral regional/national questions in Spain according to that isolated scheme was the fragmentation of the historical perspectives along regional lines. Each nationalism adopted its model of development and therefore it was considered enough to discover that line by drawing up a regional scheme. General assertions about the *fin-de-siècle* crisis of the Spanish Restoration State after 1898 fulfill in some cases the introductory chapter of the main books on regionalism and nationalism. Nevertheless, since it was supposed that it was enough to discover the bourgeois support (or lack of it) to the particular regional project, no further innovative steps used to be given in that direction. However, essentialism played a role in this context by supposing that regional/peripheral national consciousness had always existed, and the only way of approaching the problem was to discover who had awoken it.

Of course, this is a rather summarizing view of the situation. The lack of a general scheme of explanation on the key-subject, why did Spain come into regional crisis in modern times, led to a disproportionate dispersion of the studies. Each regional historiographic nucleus tended to develop by itself, and the occasions and meetings where different regional/national problems were discussed by historians have been quite rare: the 1983 Colloquium on the "Nationalisms in Restoration Spain" at Santiago de Compostela, the 1985 Catalan-Basque Colloquium on "Comparative Analyses on industrialization and nationalism" and the 1988 one about nationalisms during the II Spanish Republic at Mariñán. Apart from these, some minor attempts are worth noting, such as the 1987 summer course on Catalan/Basque history in San Sebastián. Yet most papers given at these Colloquia were dealing with individual questions, the attempts at developing a comparative view being quite scarce.

In this sense, the comparative history of nationalisms in Spain has been performed almost solely through the study of contacts and reciprocal

280. A.Elorza, "Los nacionalismos en el Estado español contemporáneo...", art.cit.; J.Corcuera, "Nacionalismo y clases en la España de la Restauración", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 249-282. See also I.Olabarri Cortázar, "La cuestión regional en España 1808-1939", in VV.AA., *La España de las Autonomías*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1981, vol.I, 111-199.

281. S.G.Payne, "Catalan and Basque nationalism", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 6:1 (1971), 15-51.

influences produced among the peripheral nationalist movements themselves. Hence, this occupies a relatively important place in the historiography on the national question in Spain, although it is far from being totally covered.²⁸² The approach to the contacts between nationalisms has also been very idealist in some cases, namely X.Estévez's works.²⁸³ In other cases, the approach has been extremely critical and restrictive: in Ucelay da Cal's view, for instance, all contacts between nationalisms in order to collaborate on the basis of "solidarity" are bound to fail, for the existing objective ideological, political and social differences between them and the egoistic character of all nationalisms make any common political agreement impossible.²⁸⁴ The most eclectic solution of considering the relationship between two different nationalisms as an interesting aspect of how nationalists see themselves as well as a useful mean of clarifying the internal cleavages of nationalist movements has been that adopted by Nagel or M.Otaegui, for instance.²⁸⁵ A similar point of view could be adopted regarding the question of the foreign influences that Spain's peripheral nationalisms receive in the course of their history.²⁸⁶ On the other hand, the comparative study of some ideological aspects of

282. As J.G.Beramendi and R.Máiz have pointed out ("Introducción", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), *op.cit.*, VII-XV.

283. X.Estévez, *De la Triple Alianza al Pacto de San Sebastián, 1923-1930. (Relaciones entre nacionalistas vascos, catalanes y gallegos*, Bilbao: Univ.de Deusto, 1991. See also id., "Castelao e o nacionalismo basco", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Villares, *op.cit.*, vol.I, 67-88, and id./M.I.Goñi, "Un pacto pre-Galeuzca no ano 1923", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 439-446.

284. See E.Ucelay da Cal, "Castelao y Cataluña. Semejanzas engañosas", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Villares, *op.cit.*, vol.I, 295-319; id., "Política de fuera, política casera. Una valoración de la relación entre nacionalistas catalanes y vascos, 1923-1936", in J.L.Granja/C.Garitaonandía (eds.), *op.cit.*, 71-97; id.& A.Sallés, "L'analogia falsa. El nacionalisme basc davant de la República catalana i la Generalitat provisional, Abril-juliol del 1931", in B.de Riquer et alii, *op.cit.*, 443-470.

285. M.Otaegui, "La Triple Alianza de 1923", in B.de Riquer et alia, *op.cit.*, 443-453; K.J.Nagel, "Vasquismo y catalanismo hasta 1923. El catalanismo de izquierda y Euskadi", in J.L.de la Granja/C.Garitaonandía (eds.), *op.cit.*, 51-70.

286. See J.R.Llobera, "The idea of *Volkgeist* in the formation of Catalan nationalist ideology", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 6:3 (1983), 332-347; G.W.McDonogh, "Other People's Nations: towards an interactive Model of Nationalist Movements", *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, XIV:2 (1987), 297-316; R.M.de Madariaga, "Le nationalisme basque et le nationalisme catalan face au problème colonial au Maroc", *Pluriel*, n.13 (1978), 31-54; E.Ucelay da Cal, "El mirall de Catalunya. Models internacionals en el desenvolupament del nacionalisme i separatisme català, 1876-1923", *Estudios de Historia Social*, 28-29 (1984), 213-220; X.M.Núñez Seixas, "Galicia no espello europeo. As relacións internacionais do nacionalismo galego, 1916-1936", *A Trabe de Ouro*, n.8 (1991), 507-520; D.Conversi, "Domino effect or internal developments? The influence of foreign events and ideologies on Catalan and Basque nationalisms", unpublished paper, London School of Economics, 1992.

Basque and Catalan nationalism has been initiated by the Italian sociologist D.Conversi.²⁸⁷

3) To the lack of comparison another common feature, which has especially affected Spanish historiography on the national question, must be added: **the lack of attention paid to the social basis of nationalist movements**. The insignificant place that the study of the social aspects of nationalism occupied among the titles dealing with this topic has been pointed out. By 1992 the situation seems to have changed quite positively, thanks to the last studies performed by L.Mees, K.-J.Nagel, J.G.Beramendi, S.de Pablo and M.X.Aizpuru noted above. The adoption of Hroch's methodology has much to do with the socio-historical approach taken by the German historians, as well as their filiation with the German *Sozialgeschichte* school. On the other hand, it is very curious to see how different G.Brunn's approach in 1978 was from those of Spanish contemporary historians. The lack of quantitative analysis of the social origins of the rank-and-file members of Catalan nationalism is still painful, in spite of the J.Termes' influential insistence upon the popular character of Catalanism. The situation both in Basque Country and in Galicia has however substantially improved. As noted at the beginning of this study, the scarce attention paid to socio-historical approaches to the study of the national question has to be set in the context of the general underdevelopment of Spanish social (or even socio-political) history.

4) Hence, the last point to be noted is the **predominant attention that the political and ideological aspects of regionalism and nationalism have received**. However, this development was not followed by a parallel progress in the comprehension of the history of what Spanish nationalism is. The latter is still waiting for a global and systematic study, and this leads us to the last point of this Research report.

7. The unknown protagonist: research on Spanish nationalism.

The political conditions in which the Spanish "peripheral" historiography grew up during the late 60's and the 70's led to the fact that the research on the national question was understood as a kind of progressive opposition to the Francoist régime. Given the fact that Francoism was characterized by the defence at all costs of the unity of Spain, and that the latter served as a justification for the régime, to study how that unity was questioned historically appeared as a form of

287. D.Conversi, "Language or race?: the choice of core-values in the development of Catalan and Basque nationalisms", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, n.13 (1990), 50-70.

progressivism and cultural opposition to what Francoism represented. This attitude was even common to nationalist and left-wing historians, for even the latter hold up the view that the defence of the diversity of Spain was a right and a historical truth indeed to be recovered. The unexpected effect which has been only noticed since the beginning of the 80's onwards, was that Spanish nationalism and the Spanish nation-building process were almost completely ignored. No specific research on the matter had been carried out by the mid 80's, as the contributions to the study of Spanish nationalism were only partial and incomplete.

The reason why Spanish nationalism has not been so far the subject of historical research is related to many contemporary causes. The first one was the bad reputation of Spanish nationalism as such at the end of Francoism. However surprising it may have been, the régime historians of the 40's and 50's did not study at all the origins and characters of Spanish nationalism. Only writings on Spanish national "self-affirmation with a more than evident anti-separatist character are worth noting.²⁸⁸ In the Spanish Republican exile, historians such as Américo Castro or Sánchez Albornoz -and even S.de Madariaga- were involved in a politico-historical dispute on the historical roots of Spain by discussing about the supposedly building-factors of the *national character*. Hence, they elaborated essentialist theories about the Castilian character, the meaning of the America's conquest or the multicultural influences of the Spanish national destiny (as a blend of Jews, Arabs and Christians...)²⁸⁹. Either consciously or unconsciously, Republican Spanish historians were following the erratic lines of essentialist discussion on *what is Spain?* which emerged among the *1898 Generation* after the loss of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Once Spain had ceased to be an old imperial nation-state, its decadence seemed to be unavoidable.

The essentialist nature of this historical debate led to an abstract discussion which did not influence the young historians of the 60's. There was actually no national history of Spain as a groundwork of affirmation of Spanish *Volksgeist* through History, if one excepts the monumental Menéndez Pidal's *Historia de España* published in the 40's. Nevertheless, Spanish liberals and conservatives attempted during the first liberal government

288. E.g.F.Valls i Taberner, *Reafirmación espiritual de España*, Madrid-Barcelona: Juventud, 1940; M.García Morente, *La Idea de la Hispanidad*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1961; P.Meléndez y Solá, *La unidad hispánica: España y Cataluña (1892-1939)*, Barcelona, 1946.

289. See A.Castro, *La realidad histórica de España*, México: Porrúa, 1954; P.Bosch i Gimpera, *La formación de los pueblos de España*, México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1945; C.Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, Barcelona: Edhasa, 1973, 2 vols. (1st.ed.1956); S.de Madariaga, *España. Ensayo de historia contemporánea*, Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1964 (7.ed.).

period to construct a national historiography which could serve as legitimization basis for the Liberal revolution.²⁹⁰ Nonetheless, the lack of emphasis on producing a *national history* in the liberal-revolutionary XIXth century sense has much to do with the incomplete character of the liberal revolution in Spain.

As a result of the above mentioned factors, there was neither a scientific nor political interest in working on Spanish nationalism by 1975. The energies of Spanish historians were mostly devoted to the study of the workers' movement, the liberal period, etc. But no one was committed to the analysis of the historical Spanish *nation-building*. It has to be noted that the methodological premises of studying *nation-building* were set up during the 60's and 70's by predominantly Anglo-Saxon and German historians, and hence the valuable works of E.Weber about France.²⁹¹ Thus, Spanish historiography of this period -ignorant of any other foreign language than French- did not develop its own contribution to the theories of *Nation-building*. It is not amazing in this context to note that the first and almost sole Spanish author who has approached the topic has been the sociologist Juan J.Linz, who lives and teaches in the USA. Linz's schematic analysis on the interplay of "State crisis" and "nationalist agitation against the State" had at least the value of setting in context both protagonists of the national question.²⁹² Linz pointed out that the crisis of *penetration* of the Spanish State nationalizing institutions during the XXth century (educational system, unfair and discriminatory system of national military conscription, an incomplete integration of a national market and a false political system based on a regime of *simulated democracy* dependent on *caciquismo* and oligarchy) precedes the crisis of *identity* of the XXth century, and this scheme has been adopted by other

290. P.Cirujano Marín, J.S.Pérez Garzón, y T.Elorriaga Planes, *Historografía y nacionalismo español, 1834-1868*, Madrid: CSIC, 1985.

291. E.Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1976. For the German case, see the classical work of T.Schieder, *Das deutsche Kaiserreich von 1871 als Nationalstaat*, Köln, 1961, and for Britain, K.Robbins, *Nineteenth Century Britain: Integration and Diversity*, Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1989.

292. J.J.Linz, "Early State-Building and Late Peripheral Nationalisms against the State: the Case of Spain", in S.W.Eisenstadt and S.Rokkan (eds.), *Building States and Nations*, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1973, vol.II, 32-112; id., "Politics in a Multi-Lingual Society with a Dominant World Language: the case of Spain", in J.G.Savard and R.Vegneault, *Les États multilingues: problèmes et solutions*, Quebec, 1974.

authors along the 80's (Elorza, B.de Riquer, Mees)...²⁹³ Nevertheless, no studies have been carried out so far on the historical dynamics followed by liberal State's action during the XIXth century, concerning the penetration of a Spanish educational system in culturally different areas, or the effects of the market integration, the possibility or not to create *social communication*... On the other hand, it is difficult for historians to get rid of the assertion that XIXth century Spain was a *failure*, regarding the industrial revolution, a liberal-progressive national project based upon the incorporation of full *citoyens* into the political-voluntarist nation and a national army. In B.de Riquer's view, both the failure of Spanish conservative liberalism during the XIXth century in implementing a real national project and the weight of the conservative sectors nostalgic of the *Ancien Régime* in the articulation of the *Restoration* system, constituted the main factors in determining why Spain as a modern national project failed. Hence, once imperial Spain definitively failed in 1898 some sectors belonging to the establishment found in a kind of Spanish reactionary nationalism a justification for their existence²⁹⁴. On the contrary, *optimistic* historians hold just the opposite view: Spain was by the end of the XIXth century a perfectly unified nation-state, as much as the rest of its West-European counterparts, the development of regionalisms and peripheral nationalisms during the XXth century being a different phenomenon which does²⁹⁵ not have to be related to any previous crisis of the Spanish nation-state. As yet, there is no detailed study of how the National State was formed; nevertheless, it is more surprising to see these optimistic historians affirming just that "questions such as the formation of the Spanish state, the evolution of its central and local administrations, the growth of state bureaucracy, the history of the Spanish legal and judicial systems, have not received yet the attention they surely deserve. In short, most of what in sociological jargon would be called the process of socialization and modernization of Spanish politics and society is scarcely known"²⁹⁶. Fusi seems to have tended to adopt a less critical view towards the problem, for in 1985 he pointed out the non-existence of a real political Spanish nationalism during the XIXth century,

293. J.J.Linz, "Nationalisms in Spain in comparative perspective", paper given to the Colloquium *Typen europäischer Nationalbewegungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Bielefeld, ZfP, 21-23th March 1991; A.Elorza, "Los nacionalismos en el Estado español contemporáneo...", *art.cit.*; L.Mees, "Das baskische Labyrinth...", *art.cit.*; B.de Riquer, "Sobre el lugar de los nacionalismos...", *art.cit.*

294. B.de Riquer, "Sobre el lugar...", *art.cit.*

295. See J.P.Fusi, "Revisionismo crítico e historia nacionalista", *Historia Social*, n.7 (1990), 127-135; id., "Centre and periphery 1900-1936: National Integration and Regional Nationalisms reconsidered", in F.Lannon and P.Preston (eds.), *Élites and Powers in Twentieth-Century Spain*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, 33-44.

296. J.P.Fusi, "Centre, periphery...", *art.cit.*, p.33.

and at the same time the fact that Spain was a "weak, inefficient and poor State",²⁹⁷ which was nonetheless able to generate an educational system, etc.. The question remains obscure, for after the affirmation of the lack of knowledge about the nation-state process in Spain, these *optimistic* historians go on defending the "fully integrated community" of Spain in 1900-1936, while pointing out the emergence of peripheral nationalisms...

The problem is going to exist as such for many years, if historians - and particularly Madrid historians- do not take an active part in studying at length the national question from a *Spanish* point of view, counting on the collaboration of *peripheral* historians. And this will not certainly change until the quite closed Spanish regional historiographical schools begin to look to each other and see what the others write. The most interesting proof of this is that the first attempts to construct a history of Spanish nationalism are probably going to emerge in peripheral areas, where the interest for the history of nationalism as a specific field of study has emerged. A specialist in Basque nationalism like Antonio Elorza wrote one of the best articles on the ideological conformation of Spanish nationalism,²⁹⁸ and also J.G.Beramendi has devoted some attention to the subject.²⁹⁹ Madrid's historiography, on the other hand, is still paying

attention to the traditional thinkers of the liberal Spanish nationalism in the XXth century, such as Ortega y Gasset,³⁰⁰ as the scarce attempts performed by A.de Blas Guerrero in order to establish a framework of comprehension of the historical reality of Spanish nationalism are clearly insufficient.³⁰¹ Very recently indeed, S.G.Payne has attempted to summarize the relationship between the failure of the Nation-state in Spain and the emergence by 1900 of peripheral nationalisms, emphasizing the "lagging and frustrated modernization of Spain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries". Payne's commitment to the modernization theory leads him to the related assertion: "Regional micronationalism was a centrifugal protest against the manifold frustrations attending the process of modernization,

297. J.P.Fusi, "Los nacionalismos en España, 1900-1936. Notas para una discusión", in VV.AA., *Nacionalismo y Regionalismo en España*, Córdoba: Diputación, 1985, 55-67.

298. A.Elorza, "Carácter nacional e ideologías (1914-1936)", in id., *La utopía anarquista en la Segunda República Española*, Madrid: Ayuso, 1973, 211-236.

299. J.G.Beramendi, "O papel da historia na formación do nacionalismo español", paper given to the *I Galician Culture International Congress*, Santiago de Compostela, October 1990.

300. See e.g.A.de Blas Guerrero, "Nación y nacionalismo en Ortega y Gasset", in J.G.Beramendi/R.Máiz (eds.), *op.cit.*, 17-26.

301. A.de Blas Guerrero, *Sobre el nacionalismo español*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1989; id., *Tradición republicana y nacionalismo español (1876-1930)*, Madrid, 1991. Both books are still centered around the study of individual thinkers -once again, Ortega y Gasset.

and in part was a reaction against the relative failure of nineteenth-century liberalism in Spain"; and in comparison with France, which could overcome regional cultures through a successful modernization process, "The Spanish problem lay in the fact that the 'short-circuiting' of modernization in the seventeenth century and the relatively slow pace of development in the two following centuries made an equivalent outcome in Spain impossible".³⁰² Modernization theory seems to me to be used as a "catch-all" concept which serves to explain an unknown process lacking empirical research behind it. Hence, a real comparison with other European *State-building* processes is still to be done, and the same is true for a deeper research into the Spanish national question.³⁰³ Some attempts have been advanced by P.Vilar on the terminological and ideological differences between "nation" and "state" in both France and Spain.³⁰⁴

As far as the ideological aspects of Spanish nationalism are concerned, only the interpretation of Spain and the Fascist-conservative oriented concept of Nation developed by the Francoist Régime are beginning to attract the attention of historians, as in the pioneering works by Arbós and Puigsec³⁰⁵, and the very promising first steps of the Danish historian C.F.Stokholm Banke.³⁰⁶ On the other hand, the imperialist developments around the concept of *Hispanidad* (Spanishness) and its political propagandistic implications towards Latin America have been put forward by E.González Calleja.³⁰⁷

The additional problem of Spanish nationalism as an object of analysis has been its diluted character. No Spanish *Nationalbewegung* has existed during the XIXth and XXth centuries.³⁰⁸ Hence, to identify the real object of study becomes sometimes quite difficult for the young Spanish historian willing to do research on Spanish nationalism. It leads us to the following question: *Who were the Spanish nationalists?*

302. S.G.Payne, "Nationalism, Regionalism and Micronationalism in Spain", *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.26 (1991), 479-491.

303. Some points about this can be found in X.M.Núñez Seixas, "National Question and State Crisis: Spain, 1898-1936", paper given to the Colloquium *Rethinking Modern Spain*, Florence, 12th May 1991.

304. P.Vilar, "Estado, nación, patria en España y en Francia 1870-1914", *Estudios de Historia Social*, n.28-29 (1984), 7-41.

305. X.Arbós and A.Puigsec, *Franco i l'espanyolisme*, Barcelona: Curial, 1980.

306. C.F.Stokholm Banke, *Stat og Nation i Franquismen. Spanien fra 1898 til 1939*, M.A.Thesis, Roskilde Universitetscenter, Januar 1992.

307. E.González Calleja, *La Hispanidad como instrumento de combate. Raza e imperio en la prensa franquista durante la Guerra Civil española*, Madrid: CSIC, 1988.

308. Let us note that the American historian K.Flynn is completing her Ph.D.on the comparison between several nationalist movements, among them the Basque, Irish and the ones she has taken as the representative example of Spanish national movement: the Carlists.

The question appears to be quite difficult to answer, since the positions in this respect vary according to the political positions of historians. While in Fusi's view, Spanish political nationalism emerges only during the first decades of the XXth century, in a fragmented and hardly articulated form, B.de Riquer holds up the view that Spanish nationalism manifests itself through many dispersed aspects of State action, and hence the difficulty to identify it as a subject of research is only apparent. The only political parties and organizations which adopted the label of "Spanish nationalist" have been Fascist-oriented parties (such as Albiñana's *Partido Nacionalista Español* during the 30's, or Calvo Sotelo's *Renovación Española*). Hence, the prevailing impression was that Spanish nationalism only manifested itself through reactionary and conservative ideological programs. This would give a disrupted image of what Spanish nationalism has actually been throughout modern history. In this context, Elorza has preferred to present Spanish nationalism since 1898 as a sclerotic ideology which was unable to adapt itself to real circumstances. Hence, the different existing trends of Spanish nationalism from the *fin de siècle* onwards had tended to present the "problem of Spain" by basing themselves on a stereotyped image of the Spanish character. This image projects itself as a constant in the future, as an axis of the life of an immobilized traditional social order, incompatible with any kind of conflict, and within this stereotype an idealistic historiography played an even more important role (Menéndez y Pelayo, Menéndez Pidal, and later on Américo Castro and Sánchez Albornoz). Although a different *liberal* trend of Spanish nationalism attempted a kind of "Europeanization" and reform of the image of Spanish nationalism, the conservative interpretation of the latter survived, especially from 1917/18 onwards (in relation to the rejection of the increasing changes in the economic system, social and political conflict, etc.)³⁰⁹. In the same way, M.Blinkhorn has emphasized the difficulty of adaptation that for Spanish nationalism the loss of the colonial Empire implied: since 1898, the question was not "Spain" or "Spanish nationalism", but on the contrary the concern of political thinkers was to be "the problem of Spain".³¹⁰

The definition of Spanish nationalism as a subject of research should be done by a kind of consensus and mutual cooperation between "central" and "peripheral" historiographies in Spain. The study of Spanish *patriotism* (much in a similar way to that performed by Raphael Samuel for the British

309. A.Elorza, "Carácter nacional e ideologías...", op.cit.

310. M.Blinkhorn, "Spain: the Spanish problem and the imperial myth", *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.15:1 (1980), 5-25.

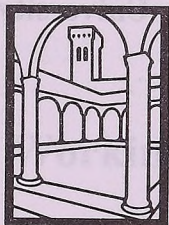
case),³¹¹ the impregnation of a concept -if it exists- of Spain into the programs of the different Spanish political parties from the extreme right to the extreme left...all these constitute so far an almost entirely empty field, where it seems that the vacuum is not going to be fulfilled by subsequent research.

8. Some final remarks.

The picture which emerges from the analysis of the existing bibliography on the history of the national question in Spain during the XIXth and XXth centuries presents a somewhat twofold aspect. On the one hand, it is possible to affirm that Spanish historiography has achieved its coming of age by the end of the 80's, as the increasing quality and methodological innovation of the several monographs dealing with the national question reveals. On the other hand, one may realize the curious fact that, in spite of an important development of empirical research, the explicitly theoretical discussion on the nature and evolution of nationalism has been so far an underdeveloped branch of Spanish historiography. Therefore, this shapes an image of backwardness and lack of maturity which does not actually correspond to the real depth of knowledge on the history of peripheral nationalisms and regionalisms in Spain. Some structural facts have contributed to forge an excessive commitment of Spanish scholars to the empirically-based studies, such as the lack of a parallel development of the sociological research on nationalism until the 80's, the traditional isolation of Spanish academic circles until the end of Francoism and therefore the lack of dialogue with similar historical developments abroad. Nevertheless, and as noted above, one may expect that in a very near future Spanish contribution to the study and historical comprehension of the multifaceted phenomenon of nationalism will be appreciated with better regards, since the groundworks for this have already been firmly established.

The sole factor which can prove to be disastrous for the understanding of the national question in XIXth-XXth century Spain as a whole might be the scarce attention payed so far to the study of the Spanish nationalism, victorious even nowadays, comprising both its politico-ideological aspects and the specific *State-building* of modern Spain. Once again, the claim for a better study of Spanish nationalism risks becoming a kind of typical remark that one can find in every survey on the topic.

311. R.Samuel (ed.). *Patriotism. The making and unmaking of British National Identity*, London: Routledge, 1989; J.H.Gringer, *Patriotism : Britain, 1900-1939*, London: Routledge, 1986.



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