

Republic and Empire:

Visions of the Nation during the Spanish Civil War

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*A mi abuela Beda,
quien ama a su tierra y a los suyos*

Introduction

Viva this! Viva that! But, what do all these vivas mean?

ABC Editorial, Seville, March 4, 1936

On February 22 of this year, a massive protest was held in the streets of Bilbao, Spain, to rally against the terrorist group ETA, which had committed a terrorist attack the day before. The rally was directed by young socialist leader Eduardo Madina of the Juventudes Socialistas de Euskadi. He had been injured in the assault. Other socialist leaders, like Jos Luis Rodr guez Zapatero, secretary general of the Partido Socialista Obrero Espa ol, were present as well. The official motto was *There is no patria but humanity*. The conservative politicians of the Partido Popular decided to stay at the back of the demonstration in disagreement with the slogan. They said that a stronger statement, such as *Against Terrorism, For Liberty*, should have been used instead. Despite unity against terrorism, different views of the nation in the eyes of each political party were evident.

Current tensions concerning the understanding of the Spanish nation are very much present in Spanish politics and society today. This has its roots in the civil war of 1936, which lasted until 1939, when a group of military leaders rose against the Spanish Republic that had been established in 1931. Historians of Europe have declared it the *prelude to World War II*. Historians of Spain have deemed it *the war of two Spains*. In this study I intend to go beyond the *two Spains* interpretation and to explore, from the perspectives of different theories of nationalism, the ways in which Spaniards of both sides of the struggle of the civil war saw, remembered, and imagined their nation.

Much has been written about regional nationalisms during the war and also during the early twentieth century. Juan D ez-Medrano s book, *Divided Nations: Class, Politics, and*

Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia,¹ which gives a historical-social overview of Basque and Catalan nationalisms during the nineteenth and twentieth century, is of paramount importance for the subject. Also, Helen Graham has written on the topic of Republican state and nation building and argues that the Republic did not effectively mold a Spanish Republican nationalism.² As far as culture during the civil war, Hip lito Escolar-Sobrino argues that the Francoist side stressed superior culture and that the Republican side chose to elevate popular culture.³ Juan Cano-Ballesta's work on poetry is also very useful.⁴ I present a nationalist discourse for each side according to two theories of nationalism: political-civic nationalism and cultural-historic nationalism. By doing this, I hope to answer the question the *ABC* newspaper asked that March of 1936.

Hans Kohn has argued that political nationalism arose in the West, meaning principally England, France, and the United States. He associates the nation with a political reality and the struggles with the present without too much regard for the past, cultivating concepts such as individual liberty and rationalist cosmopolitanism.⁵ Cultural nationalism, which was born in the East, meaning Germany and other Central and Eastern European nations, took a contrary turn: its affection for the past was devoid of the present, and it was some day destined to become a formal political reality. Kohn contends that this nationalism stressed the folk and that an ideal fatherland was envisioned, as in the case of Germany. John Hutchinson too has argued that there

¹ Juan D ez-Medrano *Divided Nations: Class, Politics, and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995).

² Helen Graham, Community, Nation and State in Republican Spain, 1931-1938, in *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, ed. Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (Oxford and Washington, DC: Berg, 1996).

³ Hip lito Escolar-Sobrino, *La cultura durante la guerra civil* (Madrid: Editorial Alhambra, 1987).

⁴ Juan Cano-Ballesta, *Las estrategias de la imaginaci n. Utop as literarias y ret rica pol tica bajo el franquismo* (Madrid and Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, SA, 1994).

⁵ Hans Kohn, Western and Eastern Nationalisms, in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 164. The book is hereby cited as *Nationalism*.

exist two types of nationalisms: political and cultural. He defines political-civic nationalism as one that

reject[s] existing political and traditionalist allegiances that block the realization of this ideal, and theirs [political nationalists] is a cosmopolitan rationalist conception of the nation that looks forward ultimately to a common humanity transcending cultural differences. But, because the world is divided into a multiplicity of political communities, they are forced to work within a specific territorial homeland in order to secure a state that will embody their aspirations.⁶

As for cultural-historical nationalists, they

perceive the state as an accidental, for the essence of a nation is its distinctive civilization, which is the product of its unique history, culture and geographical profile. Nations are primordial expressions of this spirit; like families, they are natural solidarities. Nations are then not just political units but *organic* beings.⁷

Also, Hutchinson, unlike Kohn, argues that cultural nationalists are part of a modernizing movement, and that their patriotism is a reaction to other, more developed, countries' influences. Less developed countries must catapult to be up to par with other nations not by using the rationale of, say, England and France, but by going back to the roots of society, to the folk. Thus, by starting from the essence of society, family, religion, nature, and local customs, a nation can be innovative by reforming itself and transforming the traditional status order. Although most of the time I simply state political nationalism and cultural nationalism, the civic and historical parts are included and mentioned in exploring specific issues. I have outlined the basic concepts and definitions for the reader as a way of introduction; more specific notions pertaining to these theories will be explained as I relate them to each side's view.

I apply both sides of the Spanish Civil War as case studies to place the conservative vision and the republican vision of the Spanish nation during the years 1931-39. I contribute to the field of modern Spanish nationalism by having these theories, which are widely discussed in

⁶ John Hutchinson, *Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration*, in *Nationalism*, 122.

⁷ Ibid. Emphasis in original.

the discipline of nationalism in general, especially for European nationalism, as frameworks. I argue that the Spanish context during the civil war does not correspond completely with the theories. The period of the Spanish Civil War is an interesting one because nationalism that poured right before and during the conflict does not adhere genuinely to only one theory. Conservative Spain was, in fact, a poor example of cultural nationalism because of its lack of attention to the Spanish folk, choosing the classical *patria* view. It did claim to rescue tradition, but a romantic search for the nation is not characteristic of conservative nationalism. Republican nationalism, which developed in a heavily politicized environment, combined aspects of both theories. This is due to the Republic's rhetoric of the *pueblo*, which endured through the war and was somewhat able to combine liberal and revolutionary ideals with a romantic vision, a main vehicle being the *romance*, the Spanish poetic ballad. The attention to the lower and working classes during the Republic facilitated a discourse that was based on the people.

The *romance* is not the only historical source I have examined. Government and party documents, speeches, poster propaganda, and radio and television transmissions, as well as oral testimonies, will complement each other to arrive at a general conclusion on Spanish nationalism during the war.

The first part of the project deals with the conservative Francoist side. The National side, as I call it, was a call for traditional Spanish life. Religion and the remembrance of Spain as a world empire are key aspects that were glorified. Here I delve into the political and social thought of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange Española, and how Franco used the Falange and the Carlist Party for his political objectives. I use both National and Francoist as terms for speaking of the conservative side. National Spain was the side that fought for Spain as *patria*.

The second part relates Republican thought and its progressive secular mindset that was at times revolutionary. Republican policy in the early 1930s redeemed the *pueblo*, or the people. Folklore and cosmopolitanism are essentially opposites, but during the Republic's beginning, the Spanish *pueblo* was put side by side with cosmopolitanism and universal ideas. As the war progressed, though, the Republic struggled to develop political nationalism because of the partisan situation, which made cosmopolitan ideas difficult to endure. The problem with the Republic, in relation to the theories, is that the new system made the *pueblo* its main discourse of redemption, its state foundation. The Republic was the side that fought for Spain as *pueblo*.

The development of both nationalisms had much to do with the social and political realities of the time. Therefore, in the conservative band, the Falange Española, the Carlists, and their social constituencies of mostly the upper-middle and upper classes, are of great importance. On the Republican side, the Spanish Communist Party, the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español), the Anarchists, and other Republican organizations that appealed to the masses are essential to my study, as well. I converge primary sources, political ideologies, Spanish class structure, and the theories of nationalism already explained to delve into the Spanish patriotism, into Spanish love for country.

Spain as *Patria*

Falange Española resolutely believes in Spain. Spain IS NOT a territory. Or an aggregate of men and women. Spain is, before everything, a UNITY OF DESTINY. A historical reality. A true entity in itself, that knew how to fulfill - and still has to fulfill - universal missions.

Puntos Iniciales of the Falange Española (emphasis in original)

This section deals with what became Francoism during the civil war. I focus much on the Falange because I understand it to be the most important faction to approach a new kind of Spanish conservative nationalism in the agitated 1930s. The Carlists will be touched upon, as well as influential political figures, which include, of course, General Francisco Franco. First, I offer a brief overview of the political situation of the right during the Republic, which is essential in understanding how a modern conservative nationalism developed in Spain. Then, I delve into the Falange and José Antonio Primo de Rivera's thought. General themes such as the folk, religion, and nationalism are then dealt within the context of the theories of nationalism. Even when conservatives praised the Spanish folk when writing *romances*, it was done in a way that valued an aspect of folk in a *mythical* vision of antiquity.

During the Republic, important conservative parties were mainly the Monarchists, the Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (CEDA), the Carlists, and the Falange Española. The monarchists, of course, yearned for the return of Alfonso XII. The monarchy had collapsed in 1931 after the king went into exile because of popular demand for a republic. An important, and indeed later crucial, Monarchist politician was José Calvo Sotelo. He was assassinated in the morning of 13 July 1936, thus sparking the beginning of the war. The CEDA, a right-wing Catholic amalgam, actually won majority in the 1933 Cortes, and parliamentary

leadership for the party rested on Jos María Gil Robles. A revolution in October 1934, which had failed in Madrid and Barcelona, was only successful in Asturias, a northern province, and was subdued by General Francisco Franco who was appointed for the task by Gil Robles.

Franco was a very traditional military officer obsessed with the idea of the unity of Spain. He had grown experiencing the fall of his country as a great empire, seeing the loss of Spain's last overseas colonies in the Spanish-Cuban-Philippine-American War of 1898. During the 1910s and 1920s, he successfully performed in the military, especially under the dictatorship of General Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-1929), becoming the youngest general in Europe at the time, at the age of 33. He had started to be known in the political circles. Just before the 1936 attempted coup, he was unanimously chosen to lead the rebellion.

Jos Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the late general and dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera, founded the Falange Española in October 1933. The party united with the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (JONS), a conservative organization advocating national unity and the examination of foreign influences in Spain, in 1934. Many of the members of these parties were young, middle and upper-middle class males. The Falange, though, did not gain much popularity until 1936 when the war started. The party caught much attention because it was involved in street violence with socialists (mostly). The Falange saw [itself] as an heroic elite of young men, whose mission was to release Spain from the poison of Marxism, as from what they took to be the second-rate, dull, provincialism of orthodox liberal values.⁸ For the Falange, neither liberalism nor Marxism was compatible with the Spanish nation.

⁸ Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War. Revised and Enlarged Edition* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1977), 115.

The Carlist Party was a regional party (from Navarre), favoring the traditional *fueros*, or regional laws, and held Catholicism as the base of their conservatism. Jaime del Duero, an active Carlist at the time, shares the party's view of religion and of the nation:

We defended the traditional motto of Carlism [*Dios, Patria y Rey*] God understood as religion in its practical aspect but without Church interference in the ruling of the state. Then in the political aspect, we maintained the *foralidad* [particular regional laws] of the regions. That is, we understood Spain to be a group of regions that at a certain moment had united in a common interest that was the Spanish nation.⁹

A political nationalist would approach regional diversity from a legal perspective. Interestingly, Carlism somehow recognized Spanish regional differences but did not look at the regional legal particularities from a political outlook but from a historical one, thus recognizing some sort of cosmopolitanism but having a more natural (historical) explanation. The Carlists of Navarre were brought back the *fueros*, a set of common laws for regions, during the civil war. These were held dearly as a historical base for regional autonomy.

The CEDA had its moment during the *bienio* of 1933-34, which many Republicans called the *bienio negro*. The party gained 117 seats in the Cortes in the 1933 election, having the most out of all parties. This politically strong sector of the right during the Republic was plainly Catholic. That is, it was an alliance of right-wing Catholic groups that had been growing since 1931 and wanted to establish a sort of Christian democracy in Spain. The Carlists were religious as well but aspired for the realization of other concrete legal goals, the *fueros*. The moment for Jos Antonio and his inventive movement had not come yet.

Still, during the Republic, Jos Antonio caught much attention with the most innovative nationalist vision in the conservative side with the Falange Española. He seemed to have a groundbreaking view of how Spain should move in a political, social, and economic way to bring

about the Spain that once was imperial. This concept is compatible with Hutchinson's theory of cultural nationalism, it being a movement of moral regeneration which seeks to re-unite the different aspects of the nation — traditional and modern, agriculture and industry, science and religion — by returning to the creative life-principle of the nation.¹⁰ The life-principle of the Spanish nation was the family, the municipality, and the *sindicato* (labor union), according to the Falange. The nation for Jos Antonio was a unity of destiny in the universal [*en lo universal*]. The nation is not a geographical, ethnic, or linguistic reality; it is simply a historical unity.¹¹ These terms are somewhat abstract, but he made his definition as comprehensive as possible because Catalan and Basque nationalisms were threatening Spanish political unity, and a definition with a historical foundation would include these regions as places that were necessary for Spain to fulfill its historical destiny in the world. The emphasis was on the *patria*, and the movement was to be a poetic one. This meant that a high literary and philosophical language and approach would be used in accordance with the Falange's plan of restoring Spain. He did not specify, though, if the *romance* was to be part of that.

Falange Española's political program professed the complete elimination of a parliamentary political system and advocated the revolutionary rule of the organic bodies of society. The State was to be based on families, municipalities, and labor unions, and the economy and was not to be either capitalist or Marxist; Jos Antonio felt that neither economic ideology would solve Spain's problems. He considered socialism evil because of its materialism and because in his view its objective was not social equality or justice but retaliation of the lower

⁹ *La guerra civil española*, Granada Television International, 6 hrs., Metromedia Video, 1984, 2 videocassettes. Hereby cited as *La guerra civil española*, Granada Television International.

¹⁰ John Hutchinson in *Nationalism*, 123.

¹¹ Jos Antonio Primo de Rivera, *Obras de Jos Antonio Primo de Rivera. Edición cronológica*, comp. Agustín del Río Cisneros (Madrid: Editorial Almena, 1970), 99. The definition of the nation as a *unidad de destino en lo universal* was his and the Falange's standard one.

classes against the abuses of the upper classes done throughout history. Capitalism and liberalism only exploited the masses. In the Falange's political platform only an emphasis is made on how the new economic structure would make class struggle impossible due to its repudiation of both capitalism and any type of Marxist thought. As far as land, there would be a reform with a new National Agricultural Credit and a new distribution to farmer unions. Its philosophy had a tendency towards a new type of de-centralization: the revolution was to be done not through political parties and the government but through the more organic (that is, not ideological) beings of society, the family, the municipality, and labor unions. From the top down, the political program of the Falange seemed simple because a new type of revolution would take care of everything. Any changes and all tasks would be made by the *sindicatos* in the municipalities and would serve the state, the *patria*.

The problem of Spanish unity and integrity, which was an important aspect concerning Spanish patriotism for the right during the beginning of the century and crucial during the 1930s, was also of most importance in the Falange agenda. Jos Antonio said in a speech in November 1933: Spain is not one anymore. The Constitution gives Spain the attribute of nation, but is carrying out many regional Statutes.¹² More important was perhaps the issue of foreign influence: And, furthermore, Spain is no longer independent. The men that run the country receive instructions from Paris or from the International in Amsterdam. The Falange did strive for a revolution so that the entire country could surpass the three main divisions that were destroying the *patria*: the division between political parties, the division between social classes, and the division between stemming from Catalan and Basque separatisms. Spain, once its problems were surpassed, would again become one, great, free, and it could once again be imperial, as in her better times, as Jos Antonio said. For the Falange, the political legality of

regional statutes was dismantling Spain as a whole and upright country. As far as statutes and autonomies, the Falange looked unfavorably at approaches proposed by political nationalists of the Republic.

The emphasis on Spain as a Catholic nation according to the Falange was more cultural and spiritual than institutional. That is, the revolution was to be carried out in the Catholic spirit. Spain, according to Jos Antonio, was culturally Catholic, and this was to be preserved as part of the pantheon of Spanish traditional values and customs. It did not necessarily mean that the Church was to be powerful and influential again. This concept matches with Hutchinson's argument of cultural nationalists being moral innovators: History, [cultural nationalists] argue, shows that social progress comes not from the imposition of alien norms on the community but from the inner reformation of the traditional status order.¹³ For the Falange, national revolution encompassed social progress and other inner reformations of the traditional orders that rejuvenated religious spirit and went as far as to promote the abolishment of political parties. The family, the municipality, and the *sindicato*, then, were to be the only organic bodies for national revival. Both the Falange and the Franco regime, though, never really had modernization as part of their standard vocabulary. The Falange's main focus was that Spain once again be an empire, be it symbolically or in reality. Hutchinson argues that cultural nationalists strive for modernization. The Falange did not focus on Spain as a modern country but as a past empire.

The Falange never really accentuated the folk because it mostly searched for a regression to tradition in what they claimed was a revolutionary manner. In a speech in 1935, Jos Antonio

¹² Primo de Rivera, 74-5. The following quote is on page 75 of this work.

¹³ Hutchinson in *Nationalism*, 129.

declared in the Cine Madrid his dissatisfaction with the so-called revolution of the 1931 and the establishment of the Republic

We do not get excited about that *zarzuela* jingoism that delights people with mediocrities, with the present meanness in Spain and with the thick interpretations of the past. We love Spain because we do not like it. Those who love their *patria* because they like it love their country with volition of contact; they love it physically and sensually. We love it with volition of perfection. It is then that we gather the Spanish revolutionary spirit that sooner or later will give us back the community of our historical destiny.¹⁴

This allusion to the *zarzuela* may have had to do with the Jos Antonio's personal grudge against socialist Indalecio Prieto, who liked the opera-style song very much. Nevertheless, obsession with the folk seemed to the Falange a waste of time. Love of country was shown through change and diligent work, and revolution and tradition could go hand in hand

We have thought and seen if we could achieve a synthesis of the two things: of revolution - not as a pretext to let everything drift, but as a surgical occasion to go back and trace everything with a firm pulse to the service of a norm — and of tradition — not as a remedy, but as a substance; not with the spirit of copying what the great ancestors have done, but with the spirit of guessing what they would do under our circumstances.

Tradition helped develop the revolution. That is, there was no need to go back to traditional life per se, but to exploring tradition in order to apply it to the present was essential. This put folk in a secondary level, whereas the tradition that ought to be looked for was intellectual and spiritual to carry out the revolution with all Spaniards as comrades, as the Falange decided it could also use the term.

Jos Antonio had his view of re-traditionalizing that belongs to the realm of political-civic nationalism but in the Falange's case it really did not. Political nationalists want to re-traditionalize native culture so that it can coexist with other cultures. In the conservative Spanish case, tradition as a substance was national tradition explained as an idea that could be

invoked and then applied, and it was to go hand in hand with revolution. The revolutionary aspect, then, makes the Falange in a way an outsider to both political nationalism and cultural nationalism, since tradition was to be consulted, rather than rescued, and used for revolution, something that political nationalism would not find cosmopolitan and rationalist because revolution calls for one idea, entity, or social or political group to be above others and to be the only one to rule, which is far from egalitarian coexistence of ideas.

On November 19, 1936, after a very successful political career, Jos Antonio was executed. He had been imprisoned in Alicante, Valencia, with the charges of conspiracy after the military uprising. His last papers in prison show his discontent with the situation, and these say that an amnesty was the best solution. They also show scorn for Carlists. More important, he showed disdain for agrarian and financial capitalism that would emerge if the rebellion were to win the war, preventing the total possibility of the edification of the modern Spain.¹⁵

Although modernization was never part of the Falange idiom, Jos Antonio had come up with an ideology that would bring together tradition and revolution, and those would lead to a modern Spain, reminiscent of the great empire it once was. It was up to Franco and his brother-in-law, Ram n Serrano S er, to take Falange and Carlist ideologies and unite them into a coherent political movement. The revolutionary aspect of the Falange was subdued, and many Old shirts, or traditional, Falangists, as well as traditional Carlists, were resentful towards the convergence of Carlist and Falange ideologies.

¹⁴ Primo de Rivera, 559-69. The *zarzuela* is a folkloric Spanish song, a Spanish-style opera. The following quote is taken from the same speech.

¹⁵ Jos Antonio Primo de Rivera and Miguel Primo de Rivera y Urquijo *Los papeles p stumos de Jos Antonio* (Barcelona: Plaza & Jan s Editores, SA, 1996), 143.

The military coup of July 17-20, 1936 was politically and strategically planned for the defense of Spanish national values. The uprising never really called itself nationalist. Radio transmissions and government decrees used the terms National Movement or National Uprising. The government called itself National Government. In fact, one poster of National Spain was an image of the *caudillo* (many of them were like this) that said: Nationalism was born adhered to a maddened imagination and has died embraced to anarchy and communism. Another one says: Nationalism had as its base an iniquitous falsity in history.¹⁶ Nationalism, as understood by Franco at the time, was related to communism, anarchy, and falsehood, all of which he considered evil and ignited human passions erroneously. More important, it was an attack to regional nationalisms that were threatening the greatness of the Spanish nation. The emphasis on National, then, was a reaction to what the conservative class and the military leadership claimed was the invasion of Soviet ideology on Spanish life. The military justified the uprising because, in their view, Spanish society during the Second Republic was living in disorder and anarchy. In a radio transmission, the *caudillo* stated: Spain has been saved; you can take pride in being Spaniards, because there will be no room in our lot for traitors.¹⁷ In a speech in July 1937, during the commemoration of the uprising, Franco furthermore explains that the assassination of José Calvo Sotelo was the determination for the uprising:

This State crime moved Spain; there was no room for submissiveness, observances, or hopes. The communist revolution, fostered by the high Powers, had erupted, and the Army, interpreting the opinions of all honorable Spaniards, in fulfillment of a sacred duty of God and for Spain, decided to launch itself for national salvation.¹⁸

¹⁶ Jordi Carulla and Arnau Carulla, eds, *La guerra civil en 2000 carteles* (Barcelona: Postermil, SL, 1997), 558.

¹⁷ Fernando Díaz-Plaja, ed., *La guerra de España en sus documentos*, 2d ed. (Barcelona: Ediciones Marte, 1966), 141.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 427.

In July 1936, Spain had been, according to Franco, deceived by Soviet agents. The rebellion, though, had already been planned. The military was only looking for the right time to strike and *then* make its claim. Everything was to be done for *la Patria*.

Even though Catholicism was not the immediate or main reason taken for the rebellion, it was politically useful for the construction of a conservative nationalism. In fact, it was General Mola who first made mention of religion in August 1936 contrasting Catholic piety with communist savagery. Even in September 1937, when Franco was appointed Head of State, no mention of Catholicism as part of the movement was made. That officially had to wait till February 1937, when the Falange and the Carlist parties were united under the name Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS because these parties, which represented the higher strata of Spanish society and were politically Catholic, had supported the uprising. The CEDA was no longer in existence after July 1936. Only then would God and national salvation (in a religious way of speaking) would enter into the picture. Hugh Thomas illustrates the political environment of the National side quite well: It seemed to be more a military than a fascist society, partly because the Falange appeared military, uniformed, armed and belligerent.¹⁹ The Carlists also had their aggressive tradition, their belligerence going back to the Carlist wars of the nineteenth century. The uniformed-blue shirts of the Falange and the red berets of the Carlists provided an attractive look for the conservative side. At first, then, there prevailed a politico-military obsession with what the Army saw as a threat to Spanish sovereignty, an issue in which, historically, it had played an influential role. Because religion was a main part of the Falange's and Carlists' creeds and because these parties seemed to be militarize-able, Catholicism was easily integrated into National patriotic rhetoric. It was all a matter of political convenience for Franco. This came to mold Francoist nationalism. That is, religion did not lead

to Spanish conservative patriotism but was integrated into it because of political convenience. It became part of the Traditionalist rhetoric.

Even though Franco put aside Falange's revolutionary vision of re-ordering society into its natural basis like the family, conservative nationalism did retain the organic characteristics of cultural nationalism. Franco in a televised announcement said

A totalitarian state will harmonize in Spain the functioning of all the capacities and energies of the country in which national unity and work [*trabajo*], considered the most unavoidable of duties, will be the only exponent of popular will, and thanks to it [work], the authentic feeling [*sentir*] of the Spanish people will be manifest through those natural organs that, like the family, the municipality, the association, and the corporation, will crystallize our supreme ideal into reality.²⁰

Of course, Franco eliminated the *sindicato*, which had leftist connotations, and added the association and the corporation, which are not exactly natural bodies, for his capitalist purposes.

National unity always remained essential for Francoist nationalism. A strong nation was one that was unified politically, and Catalonia and the Basque Country were historically part of Spain's time as a great empire. Therefore, in Franco's and other conservatives' eyes, the word nationalism had negative connotations, as we have already explored. Hutchinson states that for cultural nationalists the glory of a country comes not from its political power but from the culture of its people and the contribution of its thinkers and educators to humanity.²¹ The military point of view, though, did emphasize greatness and power. For this total political unity had to be consistent. For cultural nationalists, the power of the state, and even the state itself, is of secondary importance. The mythical *patria* for the Spanish military and conservative Spaniards did involve a state, and a powerful one at that. This Spanish state was not worried about promoting universal ideals and citizenship but traditional Spanish values.

¹⁹ Thomas, 258.

²⁰ *La guerra civil espa ola*, Granada Television International.

The Crusade, as it came to be called later in the war, for Spanish values provided a whole new imagery of a remembered Spain that would become the rhetoric of tradition as something that was invoked. The Crusade was a holy task, but Jos Antonio would have classified it as a bad application of tradition. The political and social ambiance of the National territory gave way to the traditionally conservative nationalism that remembered Spain in a glorious light. This made way for religion, the symbolical recuperation of imperial status, and glorious events in Spanish history the main aspects of Francoism. It came to be tradition. This tradition was artistically expressed by poets.

Poets in the Francoist band shed light on tradition and empire as past glories. The great poet Manuel Machado wrote a reverberating poem called *Tradición*:

¡Ay del pueblo que olvida su pasado
Vuelve a tu tradición, España mía

(Woe to the people that forget their past /Go back to your tradition, Spain of mine)²²

Another good example is Miguel Martínez's *Canto a la España deseada*, or Song for the Desired Spain:

Una España yo quiero igual que aquella España
que hace doscientos años se nos quedó dormida
Una España perfecta y generosa, compendio
de constantes trabajos y supremas conquistas.

(I want that Spain/that had fallen asleep two hundred years ago /A perfect and generous Spain, a compendium/of constant labor and supreme conquests.)²³

²¹ Hutchinson in *Nationalism*, 124.

²² *Antología poética del alzamiento, 1936-1936*, ed. Jorge Villón (Cádiz: Cerón y Librería Cervantes, SL, 1939), 13. Hereby cited as *Antología*.

²³ *Ibid.*, 34.

Images of the battle of Covadonga, the *Reconquista*, and the discovery of the Americas present a very nostalgic and epic kind of poetry, which took on the classical perspective of seeing the fatherland, the *patria*. This coincides with Hans Kohn's view of Eastern nationalism

nationalists in Central and Eastern Europe created often, out of myths of the past and the dreams of the future, an ideal fatherland, closely linked with the past, devoid of any immediate connection with the present and expected to become sometime a political reality.²⁴

Of course, Spain had been a political reality but much attention was given to the past and not much so to planning for the present, except, of course, the termination of the Republican regime.

Epic and nostalgic poetry that was characteristic of National Spain did not possess folkloric qualities. For example, the renowned and very long poem *Poema de la bestia y el angel* by José María Pemán, which became a pillar of Francoist literature, is a Biblical-type of re-telling of the history of Spain inspired by the book of Revelations. It is the prime example of superior culture. Although there are some *romances* that illustrate the traditional way of life, nostalgia did not focus on the simple Spanish life but focused instead on Spain as a great Catholic empire. Juan Cano-Ballesta explains this nostalgic sentiment of alluding to an imaginary empire as a way of forgetting the crude reality of the war.²⁵ Great events in Spanish history were re-told in the context of a civil war, in the context of the Crusade. Religious and historical themes, such as churches, the Battle of Lepanto, the Alcázar of Toledo, and famous painters like Velázquez were at the forefront of National images seen in a glorious light of the new struggle. Jorge Villón, compiler of the texts, divides the *Antología poética del Alzamiento* in sections of songs. One of them is called Songs of the Glorious Episodes, giving it an almost ridiculous overtone of what was called at the time the *epopeya* (heroic deed). Also, in the prologue, the author makes note that the *romance* and the sonnet are the predominant forms of

²⁴ Hans Kohn in *Nationalism*, 164.

verse, although all forms are included. The *romance* is exalted more so because it represents the old and traditional form of the Spanish verse, not really because of its social bond with the *pueblo*, as what happened in Republican Spain. Within the poetic content of National Spain, there is definitely a historical sense that cultural nationalists emphasize.

The elevation of the *romance* is also done in a way that deals with the folk seen through a historical and religious lens. For example, in Federico de Urrutia's poem *Romance de Castilla en armas*, the author starts with young men singing songs, continues writing inspired by town fairs, the sounds of guitars, churches and banners of the Falange and goes on to end the poem: The Cid, with a blue shirt,/through the heavens rode.²⁶ The Cid, of course, is the legendary figure of the Spanish *Reconquista*. The *romance* is glorified because of its historical and native value. It was the *traditional* Spanish form of verse, and it spoke of great Spanish deeds of the past. Villón says it better himself: All metric forms have been rhymed, but the most *classical* forms have predominated: the *romance* and the sonnet.²⁷ The *romance* was essential not necessarily because it was popular form but because it was classically Spanish. Hip lito Escolar-Sobrino illustrates the character of Francoist culture:

In contrast to what happened in Republican Spain, worry for illiteracy or the improvement of adult elemental formation in Nationalist Spain was scarce. As we have seen, little attention was given to popular culture by Nationalist authorities. Superior culture was more interesting to them.²⁸

The *romance* was included in the pantheon of superior culture because of its antiquity and its classicism, not because of its popular content.

As far as poster propaganda in National Spain, content is not very diverse. Many posters are artistic renditions of Spanish soldiers amidst religious symbols and of political leaders,

²⁵ Cano-Ballesta, 80.

²⁶ *Antología*, 117.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 8. Emphasis added.

especially the *Caudillo* and Jos Antonio, with quotes that helped the Francoist cause. The overwhelming quantity of posters of Franco and Jos Antonio reflect the way conservative patriotism was molded. On the part of Spain as an empire, Jos Antonio's Falange rhetoric was used for political purposes that went hand in hand with a militaristic ambiance. The Carlists took care of the religious component. Many Carlists images are on many posters, as well.

To sum up, it is logical to say that because the Falange did not romanticize the Spanish folklore but its glorious past in a nostalgic and elevated manner, and that because Carlism represented a certain region and its zeal for Catholicism, there was not much room in which to put the folk. The attention to the epic past and religion is so overwhelming that it does not fall neatly into Kohn's romantic view of cultural nationalism, especially when culture is not accentuated much, as we have seen. To recapitulate, cultural nationalists' pride comes not from a country's political power but the culture of its people and the contribution of its great men and women to humanity. Also, cultural nationalists want to re-create their distinctive national civilization.²⁹ The problem is that the Falange and later Francoism did accentuate *past* political power, and the state's power in national unity, and glory and Spain's contribution of these things to humanity. The Falange in addition strove for the re-creation of Spanish society by way of revolution. Francoism, though, was not really innovative and only wanted to revert and not re-create. More important, Hutchinson argues that

Cultural nationalists call on the rising educated generation to break with traditionalism and to restore their country to its former standing in the world, by constructing a modern scientific culture on the ethnic remains of the folk, who, remote from the great metropolitan centers, are the last repository of national traditions. The return of the folk, in short, is not a flight from the world but rather a means to catapult the nation from

²⁸ Escolar-Sobrino, 225.

²⁹ Hutchinson in *Nationalism*, 124.

present backwardness and divisions to the most advanced stage of social development.³⁰

The Crusade was never really done in the name of or by inspiration of the folk, but by the *patria*, stability, and religion. Even when the rebel forces had control over a major portion of rural Spain, the country folk were never at the forefront of inspiration. The Falange and the Carlist parties did not stress the folk because their followers were generally not of the lower classes, and Jos Antonio, as a rising young man of the elite, stressed the poetic nature of his movement. Its elevated language and political thought would have been too high for the country folk to grasp. As Escolar-Sobrino states, conservative nationalism stressed superior culture. Kohn and his romantic thesis combines a little of the visions *patria* with that of the folk. Franco and his Crusade did not combine the classical view with the romantic one because of the social and political context, which was characterized by the upper classes, and not really because it looked for the folkloric way of Spanish life. As for the Spanish folk, the Republicans took care of that.

Spain as a *Pueblo*

...Outside of here [Spain], before the world, we are all Spaniards, and what happens here, what is happening here, can fill us with shame and constitute, listen well!, an affront to the world.

Indalecio Prieto, on a radio transmission, August 1936

This section explains the diverging characteristics of the Spanish Republic in terms of nationalism, which unsuccessfully attempted to combine cosmopolitanism and universal values

³⁰ Ibid., 128-9.

with the Spanish folk to form a multi-faceted state. I first concentrate on the Republic's national discourse on the *pueblo* and its focus on popular culture, then move onto the partisan situation that made a Republican nationalistic rhetoric difficult to develop. Poetry, specifically the Republican re-traditionalized *romance*, is an incredibly rich source for exploring nationalistic sentiments regarding folklore and Spanish literary tradition. The *romance* was elevated not because of its historical value, as conservatives did in Francoist Spain, but because of its popular content and social value. Poster propaganda illustrates the political situation. Then, I put regional nationalisms in context with the theories already presented. It is the side that defended Spain as its people.

The Constitution of the Spanish Republic states in its First Article

Spain is a democratic Republic of workers of all sorts [*de toda clase*] that is organized in a regime of Liberty and of Justice. The powers of organs emanate from the *pueblo*. The Republic is constituted by an integral State, compatible with the autonomy of the Municipalities and the Regions. The flag of the Spanish Republic is red, yellow, and purple.³¹

The historical change with the establishment of the Republic seemed as though a whole new country was being created, especially with the changing of the Spanish flag. Ivarro Delgado, who was at the time young enough to remember the establishment of the Republic in April 14, 1936, says: And then, unexpectedly and surprisingly, there appeared Republican flags everywhere [in the center of Madrid]. Nobody knew where such quantity of meters of Republican flags had come from.³² The pride for the new Republic consisted of the love for being the first time that an egalitarian society existed in Spain. The country would become a political community that would work towards human understanding and social progress. It

³¹ Mar a Carmen Garc a-Nieto and Javier Mar a Don zar, *Bases documentales de la Espa a contemporanea, Vol. VIII, La Segunda Rep blica, Econom a y aparato del estado* (Madrid: Guadiana de Publicaciones, SA, 1974), 273.

would become a cosmopolitan and rationalist civilization. The love for Spain was the sense of brotherhood felt by the people who supported the new regime as everyone equal, and it was manifested through political representation in the Cortes and guaranteed by the principle of legitimacy. The love for Spain was the love for the new system. A Spanish civic character began to take shape. The *Ni a Bonita*, as the Republic was called, ensured liberty and representation, something that had been lacking for most of the population for centuries. She finally brought the ideals of universality, egalitarianism, and citizenship to Spain, a sort of Spanish version of the French Revolution. In the beginning, a political-civic nationalism for the new Spain was emerging.

The main cultural and political discourse of the new Spain emphasized the *pueblo*, the folk. During the Republic, the popular arts flourished, and the education of the masses became a top policy. Intellectuals became very involved in the new political system, and they also spoke of the *pueblo* in a romantic and socially redeeming tone, instead of the masses, which sounded more impersonal and Marxist. In one of the propaganda posters, the Republican flag with the words PUEBLO on it is being put into a ballot box that says April 14, the date the Republic was established. The poster says: The Spanish people have been redeemed.³³ Cultural revival was at a height headed by artists such as the Catalan musician Pablo Casals and especially the poets Rafael Alberti and Federico Garc a Lorca, whose *teatro rodante*, La Barraca, performed in towns far from the urban centers. Popular culture was institutionalized with a Library Section of Popular Culture, established in April 1936. During the war, access to culture and ideas, lead by the Republican Cultural Front, facilitated the education of those who had never received it before through the help of literacy campaigns and the printing media. Culture for the people, then,

³² *La guerra civil espa ola*, Granada Television International.

³³ Carulla and Carulla, 104.

became a primary tenet of Republican defense during the war.³⁴ Poetry was seen as the voice of the people. Since its beginnings, the Spanish Republic was able to harmonize cosmopolitanism with national customs stemming from the *pueblo*. Even though cosmopolitan ideals and civic spirit can be regarded as opposites, the Republic during its beginnings harmonized these with national customs. This combination was source of pride for the country's renaissance. Intellectuals' bond with the people is also something that would cultural nationalists would welcome.

After the outbreak of the war, politicians defended the Republic because it was the will of the Spanish people and felt the duty to obliterate the rebellion for the reason that only the *Ni a Bonita* was truly legitimate. In a speech commenting on the uprising in August 1936, the president of the Cortes, Martínez Barrio, said: "We Spaniards are a legally organized democracy, with an origin of unquestionable legitimacy"³⁵ Republicans took pride in defending their system because the rebellion was an assault on the people's will, which was represented by the Republic. Also, Republicans rebutted that their political course was not being dominated by foreign communist influence. If the military uprising justified its revolt with the claim that Spain was being destroyed by communist ideologies, the Republicans answered that whatever ideology was being followed in Spain had to be respected because it was the people's will. Spain, then, was defended with a cry of "Long live the Republic!"

The cry of "Long live the Republic!" was a defense of Spain as a legal, legitimate, and democratic nation that also carried much sentimentality. Martínez Barrio states in August 1936:

³⁴ See Alicia Alsted and Jo Labany, "The Cultural Politics of the Civil War," in *Spanish Cultural Studies: The Struggle for Modernity*, ed. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 152-166, for more information on culture, class, and state policy and philosophy.

³⁵ Díaz-Plaja, 161.

The Spanish Republic is, naturally, legality as well as political continuity.³⁶ This is compatible with the political nationalism thought that traditional status should be uprooted for a modern legal-rational society.³⁷ Moderate Socialist Indalecio Prieto stated in a radio transmission: All the industrial strength of Spain is in our hands. I apply the word ours because, as I have told you before, the cause that personifies the Government of the Republic is the cause of all of Spanish democracy.³⁸ The term democracy is also added into the Republican idiom as part of the new state's liberal and individualistic nature that corresponds with political-civic nationalism. The Republic had been, after all, the first attempt of democracy in Spain, therefore making the idea an integral part of Republican pride. In July 1937, for the purposes of the anniversary of the beginning of the struggle, the President of the Republic, Manuel Azaña, said

When I speak of my nation, which is of all of us, and of my *patria*, which is Spain, whose six resounding letters crackle today in our soul with a cry of war and tomorrow with an exclamation of jubilation and of peace; when I speak of our nation and of Spain, which is called like this, I am thinking in all of its being, in the physical and in the moral; in its fertile or arid lands, in its landscapes that move one or not; in its plateaus, and in its gardens, and in its diverse tongues, and in its local traditions and personalities. What is this war between two ideologies? I do not know who is the adversary; but we fight because we want to continue being free Spaniards and respected everywhere. I finish in wait for the triple cry of Long live Liberty! Long live the Republic! Long live Spain! to resound everywhere!³⁹

This is one passage shows a remarkable combination of political and cultural nationalism. Love of Spanish regional customs demonstrates cosmopolitanism in a very romantic way, and it even shows a degree of humility when Spanish landscapes are recognized as not the most beautiful. Universal values, like Liberty with a capital L, are also held dearly and express great civic spirit that was sometimes present when political unity was called because partisan disarray

³⁶ Ibid., 162.

³⁷ Hutchinson in *Nationalism*, 123.

³⁸ Díaz-Plaja, 172.

³⁹ Ibid., 425-6.

overwhelmed the political ambience of the Republic. Democracy, legality, and sentiment were characteristics of a new love for the Spanish nation.

The Republican political situation was diverse and important for understanding how political parties and ideologies obstructed Republican patriotic discourse. The Spanish Communist Party ended up having the most influence in Republican politics after 1936. It was the most organized and disciplined lot of the whole, but it was never really completely revolutionary in the Marxist way, much less in the Soviet model. In March 1938, the secretary general of the Party affirmed

the only solution to our war is that Spain not be fascist or communist [this is] plainly correct and corresponds exactly to the position of our Party To bring up the question of the establishment of a communist regime would mean to divide the people because a communist regime would not be accepted by all Spaniards and our Party will never do anything to divide the people but instead to unite it in the struggle for liberty and national independence. ⁴⁰

Hugh Thomas writes of the Communists: The communists stood for a disciplined, left-of-center, bourgeois regime, capable of winning the war, with private industry limited by some nationalization, but not by collectivization, or workers control. ⁴¹ David T. Catell, though, examines more closely the Communists' situation:

they supported the claims of the lower-middle class, small entrepreneurs and small landowners, against not only the exploitation by the feudal elements of the Right but against nationalization and collectivization being forced on them by the parties of the extreme Left. ⁴²

They were somewhat revolutionary but not extremists. Even the Partido Obrero de Unificaci n Marxista (POUM), which was labeled Trotskyist, recognized that the Spanish revolution was of socialist-democratic character. ⁴³ The POUM held that the model to follow was that of the USSR

⁴⁰ Ibid., 501.

⁴¹ Thomas, 646.

⁴² David T. Catell, *Communism and the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1965), 58.

⁴³ D az-Plaja, 315.

with the creation of the Union of Iberian Socialist Republics. The Spanish nation, then, was to be a revolutionary one but in a certain Spanish way, applied to the specific Spanish historical, social, and economic milieu.

The Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) remained important throughout the war because of its political leadership. The PSOE for most of the war had the formal control of the Republic because both Francisco Largo Caballero, the Spanish Lenin, and Juan Negrín served as Prime Ministers after Santiago Casares Quiroga following the Popular Front victory of February 1936. Another figure who remained important throughout the struggle was socialist Indalecio Prieto, who acted as Minister of Navy and Air. The Socialists were resentful towards Communist power so even if we talk about a leftist or Marxist cosmopolitanism, the Republic indeed showed this, but during the course of the war the Communist Party advocated for the dissolving of the POUM, pointing to a lack of tolerance in the left.

For Anarchists, collectivization and appropriation by unions was essential, taking communist and socialist policies as an obstruction for revolution. In 1937, the Anarchists decided to collaborate with the government and help in fighting the war. This was a blow to their ideology, but at that time, politicians, even though contempt was felt all around, searched desperately for political unity because only that would bring victory. In general, the Anarchists were the most radical and revolutionary organization in the Republic and ruled Catalonia and some parts of Aragón. The May Days of Barcelona during the summer of 1937, when Anarchists and Communists fought each other due to political tension as to whether winning the war or undergoing a revolution was priority, is an indication that the Republic many times seemed to be, and as time passed, it did become, a collection of parties competing for power rather than a politically strong, unified nation.

Scholars have argued that the Republic did not effectively create a discourse for state nationalism, which corresponds to the legal aspects of political nationalism. Helen Graham states that even though the sacredness of the *pueblo* was much the basis for the new regime, the Republic was characterized by the absence of an overarching, mobilizing state nationalism.⁴⁴ In my view, the multiplicity of political parties, all of which claimed the best ideology for the *pueblo*, hindered a general Republican state discourse because they were too many and looked for their own interests.

During the Republic, the battle for the well being of the nation was fought between the right and the left. The left clung to the *pueblo* as though the right had nothing to do with it. That is, the left claimed it was the true representative of the people and that the true *pueblo* was the lower and working classes. The definition of the Spanish nation shows some preference to the lower and working classes, to the *trabajadores de toda clase*, which could be translated in English as workers of all types. An all-inclusive, or at least, clearer, definition would have been *trabajadores de todas clases*, or *de todas las clases*. The definition of a nation based on a type of language that speaks of workers and classes is something that might seem associated with Marxist or leftist thought. Not all Spaniards were workers, and if all Spaniards were considered workers figuratively, it still presents indirectly a lean to the left that was official, that is, that was state-sponsored and in this case, that was the entire foundation of the state. The definition of a nation as a group of workers does not quite go hand in hand with universality and cosmopolitanism professed by political-civic nationalism. Its heavy leftist content focusing on the Spanish *pueblo*, which really meant workers and peasants, hinders the Republic into really being a common apparatus of all humanity. Then again, the situation of finally giving the people

⁴⁴ Graham in *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, 141.

voice was something that had carried centuries-worth of contempt throughout Spanish history, and because of that alone it was difficult for it to be cosmopolitan.

Republican poster propaganda illustrate how the political arena of the times and patriotic sentiment worked together and against each other. Republican imagery before the war concerning the new nation consisted mainly of three images: the new flag, which was red, yellow, and purple, the figure of the *Ni a Bonita*, in the style of her French predecessor, and the lion, capturing the Spanish essence of León, the province in Castile where the kingdom originated. Of these three, the new flag was the dominant in many Republican posters. Political parties and labor unions used posters for mobilization and propaganda and many times incorporated the Republican flag as part of their war imagery. Izquierda Republicana, a moderate leftist party to which President Manuel Azaña belonged, put up a poster that read: Izquierda Republicana at the vanguard against international fascism. A soldier is portrayed trying to pull away the Republican flag from fascist agents, including Franco, drawn in cartoons. Another reads: Izquierda Republicana hoists the flag of victory.⁴⁵ The Communist Party also has the Republican flag waving behind the red flag with the hammer and the anvil to summon its provincial conference.⁴⁶ Another interesting one, from the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), the general trade union for the socialists, renders a soldier holding up the UGT flag, the CNT-FAI flags, the Communist flag, the Republican flag, and the Catalan flag. It reads: Unification, explaining the need for Republican forces to unite under pressure from Francoist cogency.⁴⁷ Unlike the occurrences in National Spain, political parties in the Republic did not mold Republican patriotism but rather took on Republican ideas and symbols for the different organizations' creeds.

⁴⁵ Carulla and Carulla, 171.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 181.

The Republican flag, in fact, was many times not the most important. The soldier in the Unification poster, for example, has first showing the UGT flag with large letters. The UGT (Socialists), of course, may have been showing its desire to lead the Republic with this image. Still, the Republican flag is second to last in the sequence, almost completely unnoticeable. In the Communist poster already mentioned, the Republican flag is *behind* the Communist one. In another poster, for the Ejército Popular, a collage of flags is shown in the silhouette of a soldier. The Republican flag is among other flags, but is not in a place where it is the most important. It points to the weak nation building of the Republic. The Republican flag did not encompass the other flags. One can interpret this as the Republic really not being even among the first things to be defended or that it was not the main symbol to be secured. Intense partisan propaganda that included the Republican flag, then, did not precisely capture cosmopolitan ideals but specific institutions aspirations. Total unification would have to wait until hope was being lost. Only then would cosmopolitan ideals would have prevailed, but by that time the Republic was already well into the war so that its energies directed towards patriotic discourse had been exhausted. Leftist political parties did not mold Republican nationalism like the right did in Francoist Spain but took Republican symbols for their own political ambitions, making a civic spirit hard to mature in unison.

Republican poetry is a passionate source for examining Republican view of the nation and of the folk and an essential point of contrast with the conservative side. According to Serge Salas, there were approximately 10,000 poems published during the war.⁴⁷ Most of these were not written by prominent poets but by unknown persons that occasionally wrote poems. In the

⁴⁷ Ibid., 199.

⁴⁸ Cano-Ballesta, 66.

prologue of the *Romancero general de la guerra de España*, Rodríguez-Moino, presenter of the most important collection of Spanish verse for the Republic during the war, stated: Three hundred texts bring authentic testimony of the survival in the Spanish spirit of a metric formula essentially popular: the *romance*.⁴⁹ As we have seen, Villón's insight on the *romance* is somewhat different, and it leads to an essential point in understanding both sides' perception of the Spanish folk and nation. The *romance* in the Republic was exalted not because of its antiquity like in National Spain but because of its popular value. Here is the crux of the difference in how both sides viewed the folk. The *romance* in Republican Spain is full of images of the children, women, the elderly, workers, peasants, schools, orange trees, and other, more palpable, things that give it socialist realist and naturalistic qualities of verse, whereas National Spain is more epic and abstract. In contrast to a more static political context in Francoist Spain that was more inclusive of the upper classes, there existed a more dynamic political world in the Republic that attended the lower and working classes. The Republican focus on the *pueblo* and the glorification of the *romance*, then, established the base of what developed as a romantic, or folkloric, search for the 'real' Spain in a leftist perspective, in a socialist realist view. Cano-Ballesta explains: Republican poetry does not look to the past but to the present, with a growing raising of awareness (sensibilización) before immediate reality.⁵⁰ This immediate reality for Cano-Ballesta is one that is shown in poetry in its most tragic coloring. Unlike Francoist Spain, Republican socialist realism showed the terrible and pessimistic side of war.

Republican poetry unfolds into the idea that Republican Spaniards had great love for their country because for Republicans Spain would be the place where a great cause was to be accomplished. Spain indeed was at the world spotlight, and fascism was not there to stay. The

⁴⁹ *Romancero general de la guerra de España* (Madrid and Valencia: Ediciones Espololas, 1937).

⁵⁰ Cano-Ballesta, 81.

great poet Manuel Altolaguirre illustrates better in his poem *Arenga*, published in October 1936, a couple of days after Franco signed the order to take over Madrid

Madrid, capital de Europa,
eje de la lucha obrera,
tantos ojos hoy te miran
que debes estar de fiesta
v stete con tus haza as,
ad rnate con proezas,
sea tu canto el m s valiente
sean tus luces las m s bellas.

(Madrid, capital of Europe/axis of the worker s struggle/so many eyes watch you today/that you must want to revel/dress up in your deeds/decorate yourself with your prowess/let your song be the bravest/let your lights be the most beautiful.)⁵¹

Madrid, its first defense being in November 1936, specifically became the heart of Spain and also the heart of the world. It also became the tomb of fascism as well as the birthplace of antifascism, as these became catch slogans that later appeared in posters and such. Another poem called *El pueblo de Madrid*, written by Jos Hernandez Rico, sings

Que rime todo poeta,
cante todo trovador,
la gesta m s espa ola
del pueblo espa ol.
Del mundo entero defiende
la libertad, su valor

(Let all poets rhyme/and all troubadours sing/the most Spanish deed/of the Spanish people/She defends the whole world s liberty, its valor)⁵²

There also existed a sense of historical transcendence; that is, Spanish Republicans believed that if they were victorious, it would be an event of historic proportions. Jaime Espinar writes:

Madrid, heart of the world,/History in your hands trembles. ⁵³ Altolaguirre and other poets are so proud of their struggle and of the city of Madrid that they elevate it to such an important

⁵¹ Ibid., 26.

⁵² Ibid., 54.

⁵³ Ibid., 47.

position and call it the cornerstone of the European worker. This patriotism, or love of country, was a Spanish patriotism but also had universal implications: Spaniards were inspired to fight, and the termination of fascism would be a Spanish achievement, and the Republic would rid the entire world of the evil of anti-democracy.

The search for triumph, though, does not exactly follow the universality of political-civic nationalism: Spanish patriotism concerning this task of global proportions was not characterized by pride in a political system that promoted universal values and the coexistence of different peoples but by pride in that their system would achieve something of universal magnitude. It does not exactly borrow the ideas of historical nostalgia unconnected with the present possessed by cultural nationalism either because the Republican task of historic transcendence did indeed relate to their reality and was something that would amount to a better future for the rest of humanity. Then again, Kohn argues that political nationalists are preoccupied by the matters of the present and do not have much regard for the past. In the context of the civil war, though, Republican Spaniards were indirectly dealing with the past in their struggle to liberate or redeem the *pueblo* and knew this, therefore, the concept *pueblo* itself became sacred. The present for the Republicans, then, treated both the past and the future: the present was the enclave that would finally bridge the past and the future for the genuine good of humanity.

During the war, the Republic had ways of showing solidarity among the regions of Spain as a multicultural nation. Many studies in Spanish nationalism deal with regional nationalisms that were at a height during the Second Republic because political liberalism would allow self-determination. Numerous *romances*, though, show solidarity among Spaniards of different regions. The *Romancero general* is itself divided into poems related to the different regions. The ones dedicated to Madrid and Andalusia are the largest ones because Madrid, as we have

seen, came to encompass Spain as a whole, forging the symbol of the Spanish struggle. Poems on Andalusia are often characterized by very Spanish imagery, such as guitars, bullfights, and olive trees. A good example of a collective regional pride is Alfonso M. Carrasco's poem

Letan a del Madrid rojo, published in March 1937

Y aun la Gloria se sinti peque a
al darle el beso de gloria en la frente a los madrile os,
y a los catalanes
y a los andaluces
y a los gallegos
y a los valencianos
y a los aragoneses
y a los vascos
y a los extreme os
y a los castellanos

(And still, Glory felt small/as she gave *madrile os* the kiss of glory/and to the Catalans/and to the Andalusians/and to the Galicians) ⁵⁴

In contrast to National Spain, Republican Spaniards sang not to the Spanish past and glories but to the Spanish regions and peoples. Of course, Catalan and Basque nationalisms bring about a contrary view of the unity and solidarity in the Republic, but the sense of fraternity in the fight for the cause did provide a sort of convergence that takes the folk and brings it together across regions and puts it into an even higher level of importance with the strive for the end of fascism. Even though as diverse and divided as it many times was, it does manage somehow to show a political nationalism with traits of Spanish folklore and socialist realism that have a touch of cultural nationalism. That is, Spaniards of all regions who were called to fight for the Republican cause made up cosmopolitan Spain that at the same time was part of a larger European and world situation of working class liberation.

Leftist ideologies that tended to abolish all types of frontiers for the redemption of workers and peasants because of their common struggle against the upper classes did not

overcome political-regional distinctions in Spain but instead reinforced boundaries for the sake of the pursuit of victory. For example, Luis Pérez Infante's poem *La muerte de Durruti*, an homage to anarchist leader Buenaventura Durruti who died in the defense of Madrid in November 1936, refers to political-regional solidarity: His [Durruti's] eyes take the sea/to the brown plains/an embrace for Castile/from Catalonia, her sister Barcelona's sorrow is the sorrow of Spain entire.⁵⁵ This was written in 1936, at the start of the war, when political differences had not yet silenced Republican solidarity concerning the vision of the Spanish nation. If Pérez Infante was an anarchist, he definitely saw himself at the center of the conflict, Madrid, in solidarity with the rest of the Republican Spaniards despite political ideologies.

Republican poetry that sings to the different regions of Spain is more numerous than those in the Francoist side. Many times in National Spain, a region is praised in a manner that invokes its past or its religious personality, as the case with Navarre. In the Republic, *romances* deal with specific cities and are praised because of their cultural and social uniqueness or because of certain persons that had died and were known by the authors. Of course, poets also wrote about persons that were not real but came to symbolize the struggle from a social perspective. Alfonso Yuste Álvarez's poem *Jerez* is a good example. After describing a *se orito* (an rich, spoiled person), he introduces Juan Manuel, a young peasant, and states: If there is a Jerez in Spain, Juan Manuel represents it!⁵⁶ Regional praise in the Republic, then, was more cosmopolitan, social, and cultural. There is a combination of socialist internationalism with cosmopolitanism, which points to the Republican historical context of the *Ni a Bonita* wanting to redeem the workers and the peasants in a modern political system that desired to catch up with the rest of the European democracies. Socialist internationalism and

⁵⁴ César de Vicente Hernando, ed. *Poesía de la guerra civil española* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, SA, 1994), 141.

⁵⁵ De Vicente Hernando, 203.

cosmopolitanism, though, must not be confused. The former is a political initiative that serves the interest of the workers and the lower classes of Spain. The latter is the acceptance of different cultures and in a political community. However, the *pueblo* did also mean all peoples of Spain so that the Republic allowed multiculturalism in the appreciation of Spanish regions and their respective autonomies. Both Spanish regional cosmopolitanism and socialist nationalism (as opposed to internationalism), aims to the presence of both political-civic nationalism and cultural-historic nationalism in that the new folkloric and socialist realist language translated into regional solidarity and cosmopolitan love for the Spanish nation.

Republican nationalism is made complex by the other nationalisms in Spain at the time. During the Republic, the Basque Country and Catalonia fought for their autonomy, and the Catalan government went so far as to proclaim a Catalan Republic the same day as the proclamation of the Spanish Republic. Catalan nationalism had its roots in the nineteenth century when Catalonia underwent the *Renaixença* during the latter half and again recognized itself as different from the rest of the Peninsula. Juan D ez Medrano classifies Catalan nationalism first as bourgeoisie nationalism and later progressive nationalism.⁵⁷ He calls it bourgeoisie nationalism because nationalist tendencies were cultural and pertaining to the Catalan bourgeoisie. They defended the Catalan language, Catalan civil law, and other traditions. From the 1880s on, progressive nationalism took on a more republican character. The region had a stronger middle class than the rest of Spain, and, economically, it was more industrialized and prosperous. Politically, it was more progressive, as many politicians were republican and not conservative or monarchical. Catalan nationalism accommodated political-civic qualities because of its autonomic goals but at the foundation remained Catalan culture and

⁵⁶ *Romancero general*, 175. Jerez is a city in Andalusia.

⁵⁷ D ez Medrano, 90-106.

idiosyncrasy. Catalans fought for their autonomy in harmony with the Republic's larger statutes, and the Republic, following its ideals of self-determination, respected it. This would bring Spanish cosmopolitanism forth transcendent of cultural differences and encompassing the same political community.

For Basque nationalism, the case was a little different. Basque nationalism was cultural and ethnic with tendencies to being racist since Basques, according to them, were of another race that did not conform to the rest of Spain historically as well. The Basque Country was also industrialized and modern. Spanish immigration to the region because of political and economic opportunities gave way to this racist reaction. Many Basques thought that liberal values and socialist philosophies corrupted the simple Basque way of life, that secularism was threatening Catholic morality, and that the Spanish language was devouring a centuries-old tongue, more ancient than Spanish. Basques reacted in repudiating all that was not Basque and holding to their ways as a distinct people. De ez-Medrano argues that a Basque nationalism was also characterized by bourgeoisie values, calling it bourgeoisie nationalism, which then combined with traditionalist trends led by Sabino Arana, who founded the Basque Nationalist Party in 1894.⁵⁸ Republican nationalism, then, is made more difficult, but more dynamic, with the Basque case because of Basque cultural nationalism. On the other hand, Basques defended the Republic because by doing that, they defended their quest for autonomy and, ultimately, independence. In a way, this is in accordance with political nationalism point of view because Basque role in the Republic strove for self-determination and autonomy in a community that wanted cosmopolitanism and people's liberty. Concerning the regions, then, one can say that the Republic in general was cosmopolitan and legalistic. There was a sense of brotherhood between regions that had the political means to undergo that cosmopolitan solidarity.

The *pueblo* and other imagery were the base for the new form of Spanish patriotism whereas in the National side, patriotic pillars were not as new and groundbreaking as the plethora of ideologies the Republic opened. As we have seen, the Falange was a groundbreaking view of the nation and could have been even more, but the political environment there did not allow for it to thrive. As far as re-traditionalizing, the Republic did some of that. Its philosophy and new images redeemed the Spanish *pueblo* and put it into a new context of overwhelming political tug-of-war. The Falange program could have come up with a more concrete view of re-traditionalizing, but it apparently was taking too long, and when Jos Antonio spoke of revolution, he left it at that. Because the Republic was a debut in Spanish history that redeemed the lower classes, there existed a patriotic fervor to defend what was established for the *pueblo*. During the first year of the war, the Republican faction had a remarkable variety in expressing their love of Spain, one way being political parties, which, even though some were internationalist in ideology, retained a certain Spanishness that even parties themselves, like the Spanish Communist Party and the POUM, recognized its duty to follow the Spanish tide of national ambitions and not even consider revolution. After the first year, approximately, political and military matters then became crucially important because party competition was intense so that nationalist discourse was less present, especially since the immediate objective, well into the war, when Republicans acknowledged that they could lose, was victory. The uprising, though, did not entirely spark a Republican nationalist rhetoric. It was being molded since the days of the Republic, as we have seen, with the attention to the *pueblo*. The war, though, did give way for political parties to divert from general Republican nation building.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 69-89.

In summary, the Spanish Republic did not seem to be able to decide what kind of nationalism it would pursue. Of course, one can say its dynamism led way for it to be take on qualities of both types of nationalisms, but the stressing of the Spanish folk was an obstacle for other concepts such as citizenship and egalitarianism among *all* classes to develop so that it did not reach political nationalism fully. Also, the conflict between political parties, the the war within the civil war, got in the way of a consensus of civic ideals. Spaniards many times felt that the International Brigades, which were mainly organized by the communist parties from whence volunteers came, for example, were helping the *Spanish* cause. This cause, though, was generally accepted to have universal qualities. Republican cosmopolitanism was a successful leap from traditional and authoritarian regimes that had preceded the *Ni a Bonita*, which tried to accommodate and value Spanish cultural diversity. Political ideologies more or less divided the Republican state as well as the regions. Anarchist Catalonia and Aragón reluctantly joined the fight to win the war, the Communists wanted to extend their control from Madrid, and the Basque nationalists had their own political ambitions. The romantic discourse of the *pueblo*, on the other end, is the main factor that pulls Republican nationalism away from a political and civic outlook. Hutchinson argues:

To mobilize a political constituency on behalf of its goal, political nationalists may be driven to adopt ethnic-historical identities and in the process may become ethnicized and re-traditionalized. Their objectives are, however, essentially modernist: to secure a representative state for their community so that it might participate as an equal in the developing cosmopolitan rationalist civilization.⁵⁹

The Republic tried to do precisely this, to pursue modern objectives for a cosmopolitan society in a native manner. The problem is the fact that the Republic did not merely adopt the Spanish *pueblo* to then adapt it to a cosmopolitan and universal political context but made it its foundation. Folklore was not exactly re-traditionalized but elevated, or rescued, one can say,

and put in a modern political discourse. On the other hand, intellectuals made it their mission to educate the people, something that corresponds to cultural-historical nationalism. Although political-civic nationalism does take into account cultural and ethnic identity as a means to the realization of cosmopolitan goals, the attention to folklore and popular culture especially when pursued with the intellectual and artistic sector characteristic of the Republic is, to present another image, the *Ni a Bonita* waving one banner of Spain as republican and civilized and another one of Spain as culture and history in defeat because of her tired and weak arms.

Conclusions

Spain was not a country, but a series of countries and regions distinguished by their unequal historical development.

Ronald Fraser, 1978

This thesis has tried to give an initial argument on how Spaniards during the civil war viewed their nation according to the two main types of nationalisms. The *pueblo* was more an imagined political community, to use Benedict Anderson's definition of the nation, and the *patria* was a remembered national past. These two concepts are at the core of nationalism during the Spanish Civil War that show how differently a nation can be defined, perceived, and loved. The Republic indeed showed the foundations of a modern political community that is an example of political-civic nationalism. That is, the Republican nationalism was the love for Spain as a political system and also the love for the Spanish people and its different idiosyncrasies. Francoist nationalism did not love Spain as a political community but as myth of the past, as a

⁵⁹ Hutchinson in *Nationalism*, 122.

historical concept. I have tried to gather as diverse historical sources produced during the war as I could. Of course, too much was written, painted, drawn, propagated, said, screamed, heard, and felt by too many. Much of that is lost forever or kept in the memory of those who lived it. It is impossible to gather all sources of each side and generalize or match sides to one kind of nationalism. I have tried to examine general views and then explain them in context of these theories.

In the Francoist side, the *patria* basically takes over the romantic approach of cultural nationalists. Had the Falange esteemed more Spanish folklore instead of resurrecting past myths for the application of a revolution and the return to empire, a very Spanish cultural nationalism would have emerged fittingly. The circumstances of the war also hindered any type of changes that could have been made by Jos Antonio. Franco's personally-run regime in the long run proved to be decisive in the winning of the war, but it limited conservative political parties influence in molding nationalism. On the other hand, Carlism only called for regional *fueros* and a Spanish Catholic character. This faction was not very dynamic or innovative as was the Falange. In fact, the stress on Falangist movement as poetic could have been even more innovative had Jos Antonio been alive during the war. That is, the poetic rhetoric could have not been either political-civic or folkloric but rather something totally new. The static and repressive Francoist regime, though, would have probably not allowed that. Politics and nationalism would have gotten in the way of the war effort. Francoism did include a sense of Spanish historical importance, but what is important in my study is that it was not a romantic vision of the nation. Religion does not serve entirely as a folkloric aspect of a country even if it is very much tied to culture, and the return for empire does not exactly follow a folkloric search

of country. Francoism's military character does not help the folkloric patriotic cause either. Cultural nationalists seem to want a primitive way of life based on organic beings that make up society. A military regime is not exactly organic. Also, there was no sense of innovation but of regression and resuscitation of something past. Any sense of innovation was manipulated: Falange's blue shirts went with Carlists' red berets as the official uniform of the Francoist regime. Francoism, then, did not completely hold cultural nationalism. It is a matter of superior culture and popular culture, as we have seen. Superior culture meant high culture in regards to the Spanish past and religion. It translates into culture for the elites, and even then, it did not fully develop because of the repressive regime.

The Republic has turned out to be more complicated. The call for the *pueblo* seemed to have partiality for the left side of the political spectrum, giving a socialist realist dimension to the re-discovery of the folk. This is exceptional in the Republic, that a characteristic of cultural-historical nationalism was the pillar of the Republican cause. The liberal political philosophy of the Spanish Republic allowed a certain cosmopolitanism concerning Spain because it allowed autonomy for Catalonia and the Basque Country, retaining pride in cultural diversity, and socialist internationalism made the Republic a cosmopolitan place, although not exactly in accordance to political-civic cosmopolitanism of the co-existence of a plurality of cultures and ideas. Also, political parties took Republican discourse and pulled for themselves for their own partisan goals so that political unity had to come before a genuine civic nationalism could develop. The romantic rhetoric of the *pueblo* many times overshadowed any sort of political-civic nationalism that was debated in the Republic because at the same time it wanted to redeem a sector of Spanish society. If one speaks of political-civic nationalism in the Republic, one must consider its leftist tendencies to somehow integrate into the theory. If the Republic had been

stronger as a political unit, or as a state, with stronger universal ideologies, a remarkable combination of both nationalisms would have emerged. The historical moment, though, made for the Republic hard to achieve this. Europe in the 1930s was submerged in Marxist thought that easily penetrated Spain. This made the lower and working classes of a backward country to be easily mobilized to the left, and values of the Enlightenment like equality and individual liberty were somewhat silenced. Civic spirit was substituted by partisan politics that were leftist and Spanish.

All in all the Spanish Civil War is a great period for the study of nationalism because of its peculiarities. Perhaps these theories might have to be re-evaluated to accommodate some characteristics that both sides of the dispute have shown. Benito Mussolini, the Italian fascist dictator, also wanted Italy to once again be great as in the days of the Roman Empire. On the other hand, Fidel Castro has always spoken of the *patria* with a popular discourse that has inspired a whole generation of Latin American nationalism that has leaned to the left. A cultural defense of the folk along with a political and social redemption, which has many times been called liberty, and the fight for sovereignty do hint to a combination of cultural nationalism and political nationalism that leans to the left. The Spanish Civil War has been an incredibly interesting example for exploring this since the two different views fought each in the period from 1931 to 1939. Theories on nationalism should be extended to include other kinds of patriotic manifestations. That is, scholars on nationalism like Kohn and Hutchinson have developed their theories basing themselves on *their* areas of specialties. The war of two Spains, which for Ronald Fraser was the war between many countries, but could be seen as the battle for one nation seen in different ways, could also be the battle for a new type of

nationalism. Examining Spanish nationalism during the twentieth century and other nationalisms, such as the ones developed in Latin America, more deeply might even undo these theories. But, just as there were many Spains but really only one seen through many different eyes, there is only one love of country expressed in many different ways

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