A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EXTREMISM WITHIN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND SPAIN

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EXTREMISM WITHIN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

Nationalism in nations without statehood is common throughout history, although what nationalism leads to differs. In the cases of the United Kingdom and Spain, these effects ranged in various forms from extremism to cultural movements. In this paper, I will examine the effects of extremists within the nationalism movement and their overall effects on societies and the imagined communities within the respective states. I will also compare the actions of extremist factions, such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Basque Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), and the Scottish National Liberation Army (SNLA), and examine what strategies worked for the various nationalist movements at what points, as well as how the movements connected their motives and actions to historical memory. Many of the groups appealed to a wider "imagined community" based on constructing a shared history of nationhood. For example, violence was most effective when it directly targeted oppressors, but it did not work when civilians were harmed. Additionally, organizations that tied rhetoric and acts back to actual histories of oppression or of autonomy tended to garner more widespread support than others. Through these comparisons, I will show how extremist nationalist tactics can vary across a wide spectrum of more and less violent activity but that one common thread is to locate extremist activity in the larger context of historical memory.

INTRODUCTION

The innate desire for a sense of belonging or community is a natural phenomenon that becomes increasingly evident in the sociopolitical sphere when looking to nationalist movements. Though nationalism is a familiar global trend, according to Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*, "Nation, nationality, [and] nationalism --- all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone analyze."[1] In this essay, I primarily define nationalism as a belief in an imagined community tied together by a common history, ethnicity, or culture. This definition is not overly specific, but that is because nationalism takes on many faces and is expressed in many different ways. Nationalism in Europe has long existed in the sense that many current states used to consist of various smaller states, and these areas, or at least some of these areas, maintain their stance of national pride for their region or so-called "nation." In the cases of the United Kingdom and Spain, whose kingdoms are each comprised of multiple historical regions, nationalism and nationalist movements became increasingly active in the twentieth century, as they began to "imagine themselves as 'awakening from sleep'," meaning that nationalist groups used imagery of their independent histories and historical memory to justify their modern nationalist sentiments.[2] This paper examines "extremist" forms of nationalism in the UK and in Spain in order to illustrate connections between revolutionary violence and visions of historic nationhood. By "extremist" I mean something causing damage for a cause to others, property, or even oneself, as is seen in instances such as the Irish hunger strike that will be discussed later.

I explore four case studies below: the Scottish National Liberation Army (SNLA), Irish Republican Army (IRA), Euskadi Ta Askatasuna ("Basque Homeland and Freedom," or ETA),

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[1] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 3.
[2] Ibid., 195.

and Catalan separatism. The main focus will be on the years from 1950 to 2000, precisely that time when nationalism in these areas "awoke" again, to use Anderson's imagery. Collectively, these cases illustrate a wide variety of extremist tactics, ranging from provocative forms of cultural nationalism and civil disobedience to outright terrorism. Moreover, comparisons across these groups reveal larger reasons for the breadth and depth of popular support for extremism, as well as explanations for the intensity of violence (or lack thereof). In places where the population suffered widespread discrimination or oppression at the hands of the government, we see the highest levels of violence: in Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom, where the IRA caused nearly 50,000 total casualties, and in the Basque country in Spain, where ETA responded to the Franco regime with assassinations and bombings. By contrast, there was less popular support for, and less resort to, violence in Scotland and Catalonia. In the former, the SNLA did not cause a single fatality, while Catalan nationalists employed peaceful tactics such as singing forbidden songs. By looking to all of these cases in a comparative nature, we are able to see what works in nationalist movements and what garners popular support and even sympathy as well as what was successful in these movements. Though each of these movements courted favorable public opinion, but the actual measure of success differed for each. For some, gaining relative autonomy amounted to success, while for others outright independence remains an elusive goal.

THE SCOTTISH CASE

Nationalist politics and extremist violence have a tendency to encourage each other, although they are not always directly associated with each other. Extremism within nationalism often draws on ideas of historic memory and an imagined community that makes their fight more worthy and justifies many violent means of achieving their nationalist goals. In the United Kingdom, Diana, Princess of Wales was an internationally adored figure, and she was also one of the many targets of a letter bombing campaign by the Scottish National Liberation Army (SNLA) in the 1980s and 1990s. While other targets such as then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher made somewhat logical sense, as the group felt that she stood in the way of Scottish independence, there was seemingly nothing to gain from Princess Diana other than notoriety, which would prove to be the strategy of the SNLA and Scottish nationalists over time. Within the United Kingdom, the four nations each have national pride, but they differ somewhat in the lengths they have gone to try to either gain relative independence through devolution or start actual rebellions with aims of independence. There are also many different factions within nationalists in each nation, with some being much more extreme and even violent than others. For example, many people have heard of the IRA, who are known for their violence and terroristic acts throughout the United Kingdom. In Scotland, there are also groups of extremists who could be categorized as terrorists, depending on the definition, such as the SNLA, founded in 1979. However, the Scottish National Party (SNP), founded in 1934, is the better known and less extreme end of Scottish nationalism. The SNP has remained a strong force in Scottish politics over the years and has continued in the fight for Scottish autonomy and even independence through a referendum in 2014 and a continued fight that goes into today.

Movements for Scottish independence can truly be dated back to as early as 1707 when Scotland and England united in the Acts of Union, but the more recent moves for devolution and outbreaks of extremism began around the 1950s and continued into the late 1990s when Scotland achieved devolution. There are still nationalist movements whose aim is a completely independent Scotland. As we will see, Scottish nationalism has not been overly violent or aggressive compared to movements such as those in Northern Ireland, but there still have been violent and aggressive acts carried out in the name of Scottish nationalism. Therefore, this section will examine the connection between recent extremist movements and their appropriation of historical memory in their fight. Despite the potential belief that the terroristic acts, such as those committed by the SNLA, are representative of Scottish national movements as a whole, the reality is that the majority of Scottish opinion rejects the extremists and that the United Kingdom government does not consider them to be legitimate threats. Nevertheless, extremists remain significant for their disproportionate role in nationalist imagery, as their use of historical memory as propaganda and strategies in violence are excellent points of comparison in the overall tale of national movements in modern Europe.

Peaceful protests and movements, such as the American Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, have proven effective historically and are models for other movements around the world that believe that violence is not the answer. Prior to the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence, the *Sunday Mail* could boast: "Without bombs or bullets, riots or rampage (a few rammies maybe), in four days we will decide our future with pencils and a few million ballot papers. We should be proud of that."[3] Essentially, this Scottish paper argued that nationalists in Scotland were primarily peaceful; but this is not entirely true. Though most Scottish nationalists employed peaceful tactics

[3] Quoted in Nick Brooke, *Terrorism and Nationalism in the United Kingdom: The Absence of Noise* (Manchester: Palgrave, 2018), 17.

over the years, there have been many cases in recent history of proclaimed nationalists acting in ways that are far from peaceful, and would likely not be sources of pride for the aforementioned newspaper. In Scotland, one large extremist group emerged in the modern era, which was the SNLA. However, prior to their emergence, several smaller groups or acts attempted to fight the same fight for nationalist efforts, including the unnamed activists of the 1950s pillar box war, the 1320 Club, the Army of the Provisional Government of Scotland (APG), and the Dark Harvest Commando, among others.

A new wave of Scottish extremism emerged in the 1950s during the so-called "great pillar-box war." These combatants rejected the reign of Queen Elizabeth II after her coronation in 1953 and they objected to use of the term "Elizabeth the Second" because the Queen was not the second Elizabeth to rule over Scotland—England's Elizabeth I ruled from 1558 to 1603, before the Act of Union joined England and Scotland in 1707. Therefore, extremists blew symbols of her name off of post boxes and other official ironmongery.[4] One critic of these bombs, who described the attacks as "definitely cowardly," received a threatening phone call allegedly from the Scottish Republican Army (SRA) stating that "you will not be allowed to write any more letters, because we are going to take care of you."[5] These actions were effective in the sense that after 1953, new post boxes did not feature Elizabeth the Second's royal cypher, and there were multiple folk songs written about the so-called war. The acts, while aggressive, did not harm anyone, and received minimal attention in the media and from the British government other than a small note in the Cabinet Papers explaining the removal of the royal cypher in Scotland by citing "troubles in Scotland."[6]

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[4] "The return of our friends in the north," *The Independent,* accessed on 15 March 2019, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/the-return-of-our-fiends-in-the-north-9245285.html.
[5] "Councillor says 'I was threatened'," *The Irish Press,* February 24, 1953.
[6] Cabinet Conclusions, 15 December 1953, CAB 195/11/81.

Nevertheless, the pillar box war usefully demonstrates the relationship of violent extremism to historical memory. For example, the pillar box war became significant because of its presence in folk songs, such as "Sky High Joe" and "The Battle of the Inch." The writer of "Sky High Joe," Thurso Berwick, said in a discussion of the song that "Every culture has its folk heroes. There were the Big Hewer, John Henry, and, in the Scotland of the Fifties, there was Sky High Joe," or the man who supposedly blew up the pillar boxes. Berwick also clarified that "only pillar boxes were damaged, not people [and] the authorities soon stopped erecting the unwanted EIIR pillar boxes." In regards to the argument against Elizabeth II, Berwick cited an old SNP joke: "How can you have a second cup of tea unless you have had a first?"[7] Berwick clearly tried to emphasize the significance of the pillar box war as a historical event and the supposed man who did it, Sky High Joe, as a folk hero despite no evidence aside from the songs really pointing to this. Folk song "The Ballad of the Inch," supposedly written by Sky High Joe, referred more explicitly to history: "It's said that on the next day - Pit there tae get their rag - Upon the mound o' rubble - Was a wee bit yella flag."[8] The flag referenced is most likely the unofficial national flag of Scotland, referred to as the "Royal Flag of Scotland," which is yellow with a red dragon (see figure 1 in appendix).[9] This ties in yet again to Scottish memory in remembering their own royalty and heritage and tying that into this event. Moreover, these folk songs wrote their own narrative of Scotland as a triumphant nation standing against England in an event that was partially swept under the rug, but still acknowledged in subtle ways by the government. While "The Ballad of the Inch"

[7] Thurso Berwick, "Sky-High Joe," electricscotland.com, accessed on 20 March 2019, https://www.electricscotland.com/culture/features/singasang/skyhigh.htm.
[8] Jack Campin, "The Ballad of the Inch," campin.me.uk, 2001.
[9] "The Lion Rampant…. Royal Flag of Scotland," Scottish-at-Heart.com, accessed on 10 March 2019, https://www.scottish-at-heart.com/lion-rampant.html.

did not seemingly circulate widely, "Sky High Joe" was featured on an album of *Glasgow Street Songs, Volume 3,* making it more meaningful.[10]

Around 1966 an organization emerged from within SNP called the "1320 Club." The group's name refers to the Declaration of Arbroath, a document sent from Scotland to Rome in 1320 reaffirming Scotland's desire to maintain independence from England. This organization did not do much if anything notable, but they were known enough to be referenced on occasions in British Parliament and had multiple members of note including poets Hugh McDiarmid and Douglas Young, and extremist politician Frederick Boothby, the founder of the Army of the Provisional Government of Scotland (APG). The APG was a more violent organization that emerged from within the 1320 Club. It aimed "to take over the government if Scotland when the majority of the Scottish people decided they wanted to be independent." The group allegedly planned to seize a Scottish town to start a nationalist uprising and fund this scheme through bank robberies, but it never actually occurred, and those who planned this, such as William Murray and two accomplices, who founded the APG, were jailed for a combined 12 years in 1971.[11] The 1320 Club was more peaceful, as they did not commit any violent acts, but they did have violent and extremist ideals. For example, the 1320 Club wanted a policy of abstentionism, which is basically a political boycott by refusing to take seats in Parliament, against Westminster in order to create their own government in Edinburgh with the right to arm itself against England.[12] This never happened, but the idea contributed to the SNP removing members of the 1320 Club from their ranks to maintain a more peaceful sense of the devolution movement, with newspapers

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[10] Robin Hall and Jimmy MacGregor, "Sky High Joe," Track Ad on *Glasgow Street Songs vol. 3,* Collector Records, 1960, vinyl.
[11] Brooke, *Terrorism and Nationalism in the United Kingdom*, 20.
[12] Peter Barberis, John McHugh, and Mike Tyldesley, *Encyclopedia of British and Irish Political Organizations: Parties, Groups and Movements of the 20th Century* (London: Pinter, 2000), 409.

commending the Party for ridding themselves of the organization and its views while still commenting on the extreme views of the SNP.[13]

The general public in Scotland did not overly agree with or support the 1320 Club. Legislators regarded the group as extremists whose views did not represent the majority of Scots. For instance, in 1976, Dennis Canavan, a Scottish Member of Parliament, mentioned a report in the *Scotsman* newspaper regarding the 1320 Club claiming that civil unrest might occur in Scotland unless the Scottish Assembly took power in 1977. Canavan used this as a means to assure the Parliament that "the vast majority of Scots would like to dissociate themselves from such inflammatory threats, and...ask the leadership within the nationalist movement to disown publicly this violent hooligan fringe of nationalism," likely referencing the 1320 Club's support of paramilitary actions. Furthermore, the Minister of State, Gerry Fowler agreed and stated, "I utterly deplore threats of civil disobedience or violence in Scotland. We in this House will take the decision on devolution, and take it in accordance with the procedures of the House, irrespective of what may be said by those outside."[14] The timing of this discussion of the 1320 Club is significant because in the late 1970s the UK government was debating the devolution of power to a Scottish Assembly.

The next notable group to emerge, the Dark Harvest Commando, also known as the Scottish Civilian Army, appeared in 1981 when they collected soil contaminated by the British Army in anthrax tests in the Scottish city of Gruinard, and left the soil at the doors of a Tory Party conference and at the Scottish Office in Edinburgh.[15] Many reports of these acts emerged at the time but remained largely undiscussed in the government and Parliamentary debates. The only

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[13] Christopher Harvie, "The city with a 'businessman's government'," *Tribune* 32, no. 16, 19 April 1968, 7.
[14] House of Commons Debate, "Devolution," 19 January 1976, vol. vol. 903, col. 35.
[15] "Archives: 'Scottish Civilian Army' in anthrax scare," *The Scotsman,* 14 January 2010.

mention of Gruinard and anthrax were in relation to the effects of the anthrax in Gruinard itself and the costs of decontamination, upwards of £500,000.[16] This does not mean that the Dark Harvest Commando was not effective in its strategies, as the organization received notoriety and the Scottish Health Department confirmed that the soil did contain anthrax spores.[17] However, Dark Harvest Commando was not notable enough to be regarded as a true threat or representative of the majority of Scottish nationalists. Similarly to the previous organization, the Dark Harvest Commando seems to disappear after these acts. However, immediately after the disappearance of this organization, the most notorious Scottish extremist group, the Scottish National Liberation Army (SNLA), appeared.

The SNLA emerged after a failed independence referendum in 1979, with the creators of the group claiming that there "was no constitutional way forward."[18] This led to the prime of SNLA, so to speak, in 1983 when there were 27 so-called "Tartan Terror" attacks, including several letter bombs sent to such high-profile targets as Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Princess Diana in order to gain attention for the movement.[19] Diana as a target was controversial because she was viewed as an innocent, which is the context in which movements failed; when they attacked civilians or innocent persons, the groups received backlash. The letter bombing campaign technically began on March 1, 1982 on the third anniversary of the failed Scottish referendum for devolution, and became more numerous in 1983. Two SNLA members, David Dinsmore and Tommy Kelly, were arrested and charged with SNLA activities, while Adam Busby, the founder of SNLA, fled to Ireland to avoid prosecution.[20] Though the plotters delivered several

[16] House of Lords Debate, "Gruinard Island: Cost of Decontamination," 12 June 1986, vol. 476.
[17] "Archives: 'Scottish Civilian Army' in anthrax scare," *The Scotsman,* 14 January 2010.
[18] Brooke, *Terrorism and Nationalism in the United Kingdom*, 25.
[19] "Tartan terrorist' faces prison," *BBC News,* 21 May 2009.
[20] David Leslie, *Inside A Terrorist Group: The Story of the SNLA* (Scotland: Saor Alba: 2006).

fake bombs, even using marzipan to mimic the smell of explosives, the parcels sent to Margaret Thatcher and Princess Diana were proven to be true letter bombs.[21] Interestingly, the British Parliament rarely mentioned the SNLA despite their supposed notoriety. Even when the SNLA was mentioned, the Parliament largely dismissed the idea that the organization posed a true threat. The SNLA did commit many terrible crimes, such as the letter bombs and later letter campaigns with items like acid disguised as body oil, and Parliament acknowledged some of those and did cite the SNLA as a terrorist organization, yet it was never listed as a proscribed organisation, or an organization that commits terrorist acts or is associated with terrorism. In 1989, the only proscribed organisations were the Irish Republican Army and Irish National Liberation Army, as Irish nationalists tended to be much more violent and cause more harm than the SNLA or Scottish organizations ever did, as acts by the SNLA never resulted in any deaths.[22]

In addition to the letter bomb campaign, in 1986 the SNLA and the Angry Brigade, another far-left wing organization, claimed responsibility for a bomb outside of the British Airways office on Oxford Street in London. This attack resulted in one injury as it occurred around 4:45 in the morning before many people were in the area. This claim came one week after the SNLA also claimed responsibility for an explosive device sent to the Secretary of State for Scotland, causing Giles Shaw, the Minister of State, to claim, "We will do everything possible to ensure that those guilty of offences of this kind are brought to the courts and, one hopes, convicted."[23] This statement shows that the government of the United Kingdom regarded the SNLA at least as a potential threat. However, the attack was never confirmed to be committed by the SNLA, and many initial reports believed the attacks were likely "Mideast related" against the United States,

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[21] "Tartan terrorist' faces prison," *BBC News,* 21 May 2009.
[22] United Kingdom, *Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1989,* 15 March 1989, http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1989/4/schedule/1/enacted.
[23] House of Commons Debate, "Oxford Street Bomb," 24 April 1986, vol. 96.

not against the United Kingdom.[24] The SNLA, in this instance as well as others, claimed they perpetrated violence or aggressive acts without actually doing them to seem more menacing and legitimate. In this case, they did get attention from the government, but still were not recognized to quite the degree they seemed to desire.

Although the majority of the Parliament disregarded the SNLA as a potential proscribed organization in the Terrorist Acts, the possibility came up in debates on a couple occasions. In a debate on the powers of arrest and detention, Enoch Powell, a member of the House of Commons stated:

> Why on earth, when terrorist acts are being committed, for example, in Wales with a view to influencing public opinion and Government policy and why, when we know that there is a link between terrorism in Wales and terrorism in Northern Ireland, we should go to this length to prevent the powers in part IV being used against persons, whether they belong to the Angry Brigade, the Scottish National Liberation Army or whoever they may be, who could present an equal threat to security in some part of the United Kingdom I must admit passes my comprehension, and evidently passed the comprehension of the Committee when it considered this clause.[25]

Powell went on to argue that the definition of terrorism at the time was too wide in covering parts of the world that did not affect the United Kingdom, but too narrow in only including terrorism in the United Kingdom tied to Northern Ireland. These talks in 1984 came soon after the letter bombing campaigns of 1983. It is notable that Powell directly points to the SNLA as an organization that should be taken into consideration in talks related to terrorism and its definition

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[24] Karen DeYoung, "British Believe U.S. Was Target of Bomb," *The Washington Post,* accessed on 20 March 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1986/04/25/british-believe-us-was-target-of-bomb/e664ccdd-d1ba-4293-8d30-b6f775162ba4/?utm_term=.0b4627a95611.

[25] House of Commons Debate, Powers of Arrest and Detention," 25 January 1984, vol. 52.

because, as stated earlier, the SNLA is largely disregarded as a large threat and, even after this, the Parliament never added the SNLA to the list of proscribed organizations. To the same point, Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary, stated in 1984 talks on the Prevention of Terrorism Bill: "It is a matter not when they become terrorists, but when the degree of threat that they pose is sufficiently serious to justify taking the measures that we have taken in respect of other forms of terrorism," further explaining that although the SNLA actions are serious, they do not "compare in scale or effectiveness with the attacks by the IRA or the INLA or the vicious attacks that some international terrorists have carried out in London."[26] In essence, compared to other similar nationalist groups, most notably in Northern Ireland, the SNLA did not have as strong of an impact.

After a few years of various small scale SNLA activities, the organization launched several campaigns targeted at English immigration and later allegedly experimented with Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) in the mid-1990s according to an interview with a member of the SNLA, but this is not confirmed. The SNLA sent bomb threats to Edinburgh when the Queen opened the Scottish parliament in 1999, and splinter groups threatened to poison the English water supply in the same year in a campaign of chemical warfare, escalating terror yet again. The next truly notable SNLA acts were in 2001, when the organization sent fake anthrax letters to Prince William at St. Andrew's University, and then in 2002, when packages of caustic soda labeled "massage oil" were sent to Cherie Blair, the wife of Prime Minister Tony Blair. Ostensibly the SNLA used this campaign as an experiment to show the effectiveness of chemical warfare in terrorism.[27] The SNLA escalated since their start in the 1980s to include more forms of terrorism, including WMD, chemical warfare, and even cyber-warfare. However, none of these campaigns resulted in large-

[26] House of Commons Debate, "Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Bill," 25 January 1984, vol. 52.
[27] Leslie, *Inside A Terrorist Group.*

scale harm, much like those committed in the early years of the organization. Unlike groups from areas such as Northern Ireland or the Basque Country, Scotland's fight seemed to have holes. The fight was for devolution and then for independence, but they lacked the substance such as memory that the other groups had, not because Scotland lacked the history or memory, but because of a lack of shared sense of English oppression that the IRA utilized to garner support from the Irish public. The SNLA truly did make a name for itself publicly, yet the government dismissed them because they were not as dangerous as other organizations like the IRA.

To that point, despite the SNLA rarely being mentioned in government meetings, it is notable that the organization has been mentioned throughout recent years. In 1992, Lord James Douglas Hamilton, the Secretary of State for Scotland, stated, "The Government deplore any action by any subversive organisation which seeks to undermine the democratic process," when asked about the SNLA actions in Parliament.[28] Additionally, in a Parliamentary meeting in 2018 about a Counter-Terrorism and Border Security Bill, Mr. Wallace referred to the members of the SNLA as "lunatics" in an effort to emphasize that many Scots have a feeling of nationalism, but that does not necessarily mean they are associated with terrorism. Additionally, the SNLA was not, and still is not at this point, a proscribed organisation under the Terrorism Act 2000, meaning that it is not on the official list of terrorist organisations recognized in the United Kingdom.[29] Thus Parliament has largely disregarded the SNLA as an actual threat the United Kingdom, as they are not considered a "real" terrorist organisation by the legal standards or definitions. The SNP also denounced the SNLA on multiple occasions, with SNP leader John Swinney saying in 2002, after many of the chemical attacks, that those in the SNLA "have no interest in Scotland or the Scottish

[28]House of Commons Debate, "Scottish National Liberation Army," 13 January 1992, vol. 201.
[29]House of Commons Debate, "Counter-Terrorism and Border Security Bill (third sitting)," 28 June 2018, 12.15 pm.

people… They are not nationalists, they are criminals plain and simple."[30] Moreover, in one scholar's summation, the SNLA "had no support among Scots, many of whom would not have known the group existed, and they claimed to represent a nationalist movement that wanted nothing to do with them."[31]

Overall, Scottish extremists had minimal impact on Scottish nationalism and largely did not affect the outcome of devolution or the modern independence movement. Some Scots, particularly those within the SNP, have stated that the extremists do not reflect the vast majority of Scotland, as discussed above. Furthermore, a likely reason for the SNLA's shortcomings could be attributed to their lack of use of historical memory in their arguments or propaganda. The SNP, which is still alive and successful in maintaining a stance of Scottish nationalism, uses memory often which contributes to their success. The official song of the party is called "Scots Wha Hae," which came out of the 1314 Battle of Bannockburn, which was a battle between Robert the Bruce, King of Scots, and King Edward II of England over control of Scotland in the First War of Scottish Independence. The song is to the tune of "Hey Tuti Tatey," the legendary march song of Robert the Bruce and his army with lyrics about fighting for independence and liberty to the death.[32] Even in present day, the SNP sings this song at national conferences as a form of uniting the party through this national symbol.[33] This song and its message stand to unify Scots over a shared history, which is an effective strategy utilized by the IRA in Northern Ireland and by Catalans. By

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[30] "The return of our friends in the north," *The Independent,* 6 March 2002.
[31] Brooke, *Terrorism and Nationalism in the United Kingdom*, 33.
[32] Robert Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 91-92.
[33] Davis Maclennan, "Scots Wha Hae – SNP 14," filmed in 2014, YouTube video, 1:56, posted 12 April 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8gnEBv4Mbmo.

contrast the SNLA did not construct a similar appeal to shared history that would have rallied greater popular support for their means and ends.

Moreover, compared to its Irish counterparts, the IRA and INLA, the SNLA did not even scrape the surface of the level of notoriety. The IRA committed acts that resulted in thousands of deaths and far more destruction while the Scottish extremists did not kill anyone and caused minor damages. Compared to simultaneous movements in Spain, such as the recent move for Catalan independence, Scots are tame. While the SNLA and other extremist groups are interesting case studies within the spectrum of Scottish nationalism, they are even more useful as points of comparison to other extremist groups in attempting to understand the factors that determine the intensity of violence and the level of popular support. It is to those other movements that I now turn.

THE NORTHERN IRISH CASE

The case of extremism in Northern Ireland is very well known from the time period known as "The Troubles" from the late 1960s to 1998, which resulted in nearly 50,000 casualties including approximately 3,500 deaths.[34] Compared to Scotland, Catalonia, and the Basque Country, Northern Ireland witnessed the most violent struggle. The history of the IRA, the main player in the Troubles, goes back to 1919 when the group became active in the Irish War for Independence. The group came out of the Irish Volunteers and radicalized further after the Easter Rising in 1916 when Irish republican forces started a rebellion against British forces in an attempt to establish an independent Irish state. The aftermath of the failed Easter Rising led to more support for Irish independence, and in a December 1918 election, the republican party Sinn Féin won a majority in Northern Ireland and declared Irish independence in January 1919.[35] After two years of fighting, the Anglo-Irish Treaty granted the southern 26 counties greater autonomy as the Irish Free State. However, this was not full independence, and, crucially, Northern Ireland still remained a part of the United Kingdom. Therefore, this thwarting of a "pure" Irish state led to continued conflict over the 32-county "imagined community," especially among republicans in Northern Ireland with the IRA and its various factions over the years. After 1969, the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) emerged from a split within the IRA over issues including how to deal with the increasing violence in Northern Ireland, with PIRA believing that violence was a necessary part of the

[34] Conflict Archive on the Internet, *Sutton Index of Deaths,* accessed March 30, 2019, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/sutton/.
[35] "Ireland independence: Why Jan 1919 is an important date," *BBC News,* January 21, 2019, accessed on April 1, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/46480953.

struggle for the united Ireland and the other faction arguing the opposite.[36] In this essay, the PIRA will be referred to as the IRA, as they were the active faction during the time.

From the 1950s through the years of the Troubles, Northern Irish nationalists continually utilized strategies of memory in their campaigns in order to gain a stronger sense of community and historical ties to modern issues. Within Northern Ireland, republicans connected many of their struggles to historical events, such as the Easter Rising and Irish War of Independence. Because these affected all parts of Ireland as their founding moment, their memory and propaganda resonated with many civilians and gained the cause of the IRA more widespread support for which there was no equivalent in the histories of Scotland, or even Catalonia and the Basque Country. For example, a popular exploration of Northern Irish symbolism and propaganda is the use of wall murals by both sides. For republicans and nationalists, symbols on murals range from Celtic Emblems that draw Irish history and independence back to 500 BC with Gaelic culture to the Easter Lily to show remembrance to those who gave their lives in the Easter Rising for Irish independence.[37] Both of these symbols, along with many more, connect Irish history, old and recent, to the modern struggles to make people feel more connected in the present by showing them a shared past. Outside of the murals, Irish nationalists used memory to galvanize support for kicking the UK out of Northern Ireland so that republicans could establish the 32-county, united Ireland for which so many had fought and died in 1916 and in 1919-21.

By comparison with what came later, the 1950s were quiet. Nevertheless, the 1950s did see notable instances of anti-Catholic legislation in Northern Ireland such as the Family

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[36] Paul Arthur and Kimberly Cowell-Meyers, "Irish Republican Army: Irish Military Organization," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* accessed April 20, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Irish-Republican-Army.

[37] Conflict Archive on the Internet, *Symbols Used in Northern Ireland- Nationalist and Republican Symbols,* accessed March 30, 2019, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/images/symbols/nationrepub.htm.

Allowances Bill in 1956, benefitting only the first three children in a family due to an underlying fear that allowing benefits for more children would result in a Catholic majority by the end of the century because of the assumption that Catholic families had more children.[38] In another instance of Irish suppression via legislation, a 1954 move against Irish nationalists occurred via the Flags and Emblems Act by the Parliament of Northern Ireland that allowed the Royal Ulster Constabulary to remove flags or emblems from public or private property that could be considered to cause a breach of the peace. This excluded the Union Flag and predominantly targeted nationalist symbols and flags, such as the Irish tricolor flag.[39] The tricolor flag itself dates back to 1848 when Ireland faced extreme divisions among Catholics and Protestants and was in turmoil due to the famine. Thomas Meagher, an Irish nationalist, created the tricolor flag to represent unity between the factions of Ireland, with the green symbolizing republicanism (mostly Catholics), the orange symbolizing Protestants, and the white symbolizing "a lasting truce" between the two, which is why it became the symbol for the IRA and the imagined community of the 32-county Ireland.[40] The Flags and Emblems Act was repealed in 1987, but created a strong case for Irish suppression in the meantime, as Irish nationalists used the argument that their own culture and history was being suppressed through this act.

The IRA took action in 1956 with a low-level campaign referred to as "Operation Harvest" or the Border Campaign. This campaign's goals were to hinder communications throughout the province and to create zones free from the control of the Parliament of Northern Ireland at

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[38] Henry Patterson, *Ireland Since 1939,* 126. This is the first full reference to Patterson, so include all the relevant bibliographic detail.
[39] *Flags and Emblems (Display) Act (Northern Ireland),* 1954*,* accessed on *Conflict Archive on the Internet,* https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/images/symbols/nationrepub.htm.
[40] Darragh Murphy, "Fifteen facts about the Irish flag, for its 180th birthday," *The Irish Times,* February 26, 2018.

Stormont.[41] According to *The Irish Times,* while Operation Harvest did not figure prominently in Cabinet minutes, "the imminent resurgence of Republican paramilitary activity was the subject of a Cabinet meeting at Stormont Castle on December 20th, 1955," and in 1956, "Lord Brookeborough informed his colleagues of the representations he had made to the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, urging that action should be taken to ensure that the Southern authorities "put down the IRA."[42] This article showed that the Northern Irish government and Lord Brookeborough, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland at the time, took the threat of the IRA and resurgence of extreme nationalism seriously in the 1950s prior to the Troubles. Additionally, a 1957 government document regarding terrorist activities in Northern Ireland reported that the Irish Republic and the Roman Catholic hierarchy condemned any type of violent actions against the state, with the Roman Catholic hierarchy calling unauthorized violence against any state "a mortal sin."[43] Operation Harvest was a failure partly because "the largely southern leadership of the IRA had a weak grasp of northern realities," meaning that political and social climates in Ireland varied based on the location, and while the leadership in the IRA wanted the idealized 32-county republic, that was not everyone's goal. Additionally, the sympathy of the public for the nationalists still did not support them killing members of the police force or outward violence at this point.[44] In its most active year of 1957 the IRA carried out 341 attacks, but the total casualties of all years amounted to ten deaths.[45] Despite this campaign being a failure, it represents the start of the resurgence in militant Irish nationalism.

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[41] Patterson, *Ireland Since 1939,* 134.
[42] "A campaign discussed," *The Irish Times,* Jan 1, 1987.
[43] Cabinet Papers, 17 December 1956, CAB 129/84/34.
[44] Patterson, *Ireland Since 1939,* 134-135.
[45] James Dingley, *The IRA: The Irish Republican Army* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 86.

The real bulk of the struggle of nationalism in Northern Ireland began in the 1960s with the Troubles. In what follows, I will focus on those violent episodes that deliberately emphasized historical memory. The 1969 Battle of the Bogside was a large riot in Derry, Northern Ireland, a predominantly Catholic city with a recent history of conflict between police and nationalists. This "battle" occurred during an annual march of the Apprentice Boys, honoring a Protestant victory over Catholic James II of England who tried to siege the city of Derry, a then-Protestant stronghold.[46] The clash in 1969 occurred when the nationalists protested this march for a "Free Derry," and faced violence and opposition.[47] Already in that year, deadly riots had broken out in Belfast, when the IRA leader Billy McMillen ordered demonstrations in support of Derry.[48] In the Belfast riots of 1969, seven people were killed and hundreds were wounded, and in some areas, the RUC made the conflict worse by failing to protect the predominantly Catholic nationalists and contributing to violence against Catholic civilians.[49] In response, in a Parliamentary debate, James Callaghan, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, explained that the riots showcased that "an unstable political situation exists and has existed in Northern Ireland itself, a situation in which small incidents can and indeed did give rise to violence, arson, looting and now to killing." Callaghan explained that in Northern Ireland, 572 houses were damaged with over 5,000 people losing their homes in the rioting. James Dawson Chichester-Clark, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland and a leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, stated later in the debate that "this House should say that, following the restoration of law and order...no man will be able reasonably to say that he does not enjoy full British rights and that there should be no justification whatsoever for rioting

[46] "The Siege of Derry: Major event in the history of the city," *Culture Northern Ireland.org,* accessed on 20 April 2019, https://www.culturenorthernireland.org/features/heritage/siege-derry.
[47] "On this Day in 1969: Battle of the Bogside," *Derry Journal,* 12 August 2015.
[48] Patterson, *Ireland since 1939,* 211-212.
[49] Timothy Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 13.

and disorder."[50] This event garnered support for the nationalists, as it proved violence against them and mostly affected Catholics who lost far more homes and buildings.

These events all occurred after a civil rights campaign in Northern Ireland and showcased the violence and unfair treatment of the Catholic and nationalist minorities by the police, specifically the RUC. The Scarman Report on these events concluded that not only was the IRA not at fault for the events, but also that in "six occasions in the course of these disturbances when the [RUC], by act or omission, were seriously at fault."[51] These events represented the beginning of a much larger issue that went on until the 1990s. Additionally, the Belfast riots have been memorialized in murals, such as the ones discussed earlier related to historical memory. One mural in Belfast has an image of homes being burned in the middle of a caption saying "Can It Change? We believe!" and an excerpt from the *Belfast Telegraph* on one side explaining the extent of the conflict with another *Belfast Telegraph* page on the opposite side with a question mark, implying the potential for a different future (see figure 2).[52] Clearly, this mural uses a shared memory of past violence and oppression, as in the 1969 riots, and attempts to use it as a foundation for building a newer community in the future. This is important because it shows that the nationalists in Belfast are using these events to inspire change, whatever that may mean for the interpreter. Another mural photographed in 2002 about the event states, "In Ireland's darkest hour her sons and daughters have always rallied to her cause" with a painting of IRA members and a plaque stating "Out of the ashes of 1969 arose the Provisionals," in reference to the IRA, with the PIRA referred to as "the

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[50] House of Commons Debates, "Northern Ireland," 13 October 1969, vol. 788, col. 86.
[51] *Violence and Civil Disturbances in Northern Ireland in 1969 – Report of Tribunal of Inquiry,* archived on Conflict Archive on the Internet, accessed on April 11, 2019, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/hmso/scarman.htm#3.
[52] "Loyalist Belfast telegraph mural in the Lower Shankill Road area of West Belfast Northern Ireland," *Alamy,* photographer on 4 October 2007, archived on https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-loyalist-belfast-telegraph-mural-in-the-lower-shankill-road-area-of-14447840.html.

Provisionals" (see figure 3). Also featured in this mural, regarding the imagery of memory, are Easter Lilies which represent those who lost their lives for Irish independence in the Easter Rising.[53] Thus republican propaganda connected their past to their current struggles in an attempt to gain sympathy or understanding from the public, which proved to be an effective strategy for much of the Troubles.

The worst years of the Troubles were 1972 to 1974.In 1972 alone, nearly 500 people were killed, thousands more injured, 1,853 bombs were planted, and 10,631 shooting incidents occurred.[54] On January 30, 1972, an event known as Bloody Sunday occurred in Derry when riots from a banned civil rights march led to British soldiers from the Parachute Regiment opening fire and killing fourteen civilians.[55] This event became notorious, as unarmed civilians were killed by soldiers, making it a notable point for nationalists to look to during the Troubles as a true injustice. Eyewitness accounts said that they "saw no one shooting at troops; a parachutist beside him aimed at least eight shots at a group of fleeing people" and a Member of Parliament described the event as "an absolute massacre."[56] Despite this, the immediate investigation into the events, the Widgery Tribunal, cleared the soldiers of any blame.[57] However, a second investigation, the Saville Inquiry, published in 2010, concluded that the paratroopers did in fact shoot first and shoot at unarmed civilians. The government additionally issued an apology in the aftermath of these revelations.[58] Furthermore, one of the paratroopers, known as Soldier F, is currently facing trial for the murders

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[53] *Violence and Civil Disturbances in Northern Ireland in 1969 – Report of Tribunal of Inquiry,* archived on Conflict Archive on the Internet, accessed on 11 April 2019, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/hmso/scarman.htm#3.
[54] Dingley, *The IRA,* 99.
[55] Patterson, *Ireland since 1939,* 222.
[56] "As the smoke clears in Derry the question is: who fired first?" *The Times, London,* 1 February 1972, Issue 58390, p.4.
[57] The Museum of Free Derry, *The Widgery Tribunal,* accessed on 12April 2019, https://www.museumoffreederry.org/content/widgery-tribunal.
[58] "Bloody Sunday: key findings of the Saville Report," *The Telegraph,* 16 June 2010.

of two demonstrators and the attempted murders of four more.[59] Bloody Sunday provided the republican movement with potent symbols and a new crop of martyrs who would soon appear in murals honoring the dead.[60] Bloody Sunday led to an increase in public support for the IRA, for it exposed the British presence in Northern Ireland as a brutal military occupation, rather than something peaceful. However, the events that occurred in June of the same year known as "Bloody Friday" are an entirely different story, as this was an event intended by the IRA to be violent that faced a lot of relatively similar backlash due to the number of civilians killed.

If Bloody Sunday shows the British government and soldiers in a bad light, then Bloody Friday does the same exact thing for the IRA. On Bloody Friday, the IRA detonated 26 bombs, killed 11 people, and injured 130 more, most of them civilians.[61] The IRA did not give adequate warnings prior to setting off the bombs, although they tried to redirect the blame towards the police and officials by stating that they warned the police ahead of time, even though the warning was only slightly before the event itself.[62] This event was universally denounced, with Member of Parliament James Kilfedder saying in a debate: "The slaughter of the innocents on bloody Friday is the crowning success, the grand spectacular, of the Irish Republican Army's bloody assault on ordinary decent people and ordinary decent standards of behavior."[63] Moreover, news from the following days described "the willingness of the Provisionals to strike at the innocent as a means of bringing pressure on the guilty," as well as others comparing the IRA to Hitler by saying that "Hitler in his Berlin bunker decided that the German people were no longer worthy of him and

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[59] Nick Robertson, "Former British paratrooper to be charged over Bloody Sunday killings," *CNN News,* 14 March 2019.
[60] Daniel Kreps, "Bono Remembers the Real 'Bloody Sunday'," *Rolling Stone,* June 22, 2010, https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/bono-remembers-the-real-bloody-sunday-243754/.
[61] Dingley, *The IRA*, 99.
[62] "The IRA Campaign of Violence," *Public Broadcasting Station,* accessed on March 30, 2019, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ira/conflict/violence.html.
[63] House of Commons Debate, "Northern Ireland," 24 July 1972, vol. 841, cc1326-90.

deserved not to survive. Yesterday's dead and injured are testimony to something similarly rotten in our philosophy of life."[64] The lines drawn between acceptable and unacceptable violence become more apparent in these two instances, as it is universally accepted that it is bad to kill innocent civilians. Both events were soon memorialized by their rival movements via murals and other means in order to point blame at each other. Much like the nationalists created memorials in murals to honor the dead of Bloody Sunday, the unionists did the same thing for Bloody Friday.

The IRA hunger strike beginning in 1981 also created significant imagery and symbolic figures for the cause of Irish nationalism. The hunger strike was the last stage of a five-year long protest primarily over prison conditions and prisoner statuses during the Troubles, beginning in 1976 with the blanket strike where republican prisoners refused to wear prison uniforms to protest the government's policy that they were ordinary rather than political prisoners.[65] After this protest came the "dirty protest" in 1978 when prisoners refused to leave their cells to go to the bathrooms for any purposes due to attacks by the officers. As many as 300 prisoners protested and the media began to take notice, with reports of prisoners explaining that "'every channel had been exhausted' in a search for a solution to the prison crisis, leaving them no option but "a fast to the death if necessary."[66] As the protests continued, in 1980 the prisoners released a list of five demands, including the rights to not wear prison uniforms, not do prison work, have free association with other prisoners, organize their own facilities, and have weekly visits, letters, and parcels allowed.[67] In an attempt to secure these demands, seven prisoners began a hunger strike which lasted 53 days. The second hunger strike occurred after the prisoners realized that the demands were not being

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[64] "Where is the Brink?" *The Irish Times*, 31 July 1972, 11; *The Irish Times*, 22 July 1972, archived on https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/events/bfriday/nio/nio72.htm.
[65] Dingley, *The IRA*, 255.
[66] Ed Moloney, "Death in the H-Blocks," *The Irish Times*, 5 May 1981, 6A.
[67] Conflict Archive on the Internet, *The Hunger Strike of 1981 – Summary,* accessed on April 10, 2019, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/events/hstrike/summary.htm.

met. One striker, Bobby Sands, was elected a Member of Parliament during the strike, but was later one of the ten who died as a result of the hunger strike. Hunger striking is a form of civil disobedience and here I consider it also a form of extremism because it inflicts violence against one's self.

Bobby Sands became a martyr for the movement, and his image became a notable sign of propaganda for republicans. In one Belfast mural, a poem by Bobby Sands is placed alongside images of republicans killed by loyalists and the Proclamation of the Republic from 1916 (see figure 4).[68] Other murals and works commemorate Sands as a heroic figure who died for his cause, many of which display the tricolor Irish flag or contain the Sands quote "our revenge will be the laughter of our children" (see figure 5).[69] Placing Sands alongside symbols such as the flag and Proclamation of the Republic draws connections between the historical struggles of Irish republicans wanting to be free from the United Kingdom. Additionally, adding in a quote about children shows the desire for the future imagined community that would be led by the children. Bobby Sands as a martyr was effective to republicans as a strategy, and he became widely known at the time with over 100,000 people attending his funeral procession. Moreover, the political faction of the nationalists, Sinn Féin, capitalized on Sands' popularity to get an abundance of new votes in Northern Ireland.[70] To some Members of Parliament, Sands represented the IRA's ability to participate in politics and gain support from behind bars. Member of Parliament Samuel Charles Silkin, in discussing the Government's "panic" created by the Representation of the People Bill, to disqualify membership from the House of Commons to incarcerated persons, stated:

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[68] Conflict Archive on the Internet, *Mural Directory,* Photograph No. 135, album 4, photographed in September 1999, no longer at location, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/mccormick/photos/no135.htm#photo.
[69] Conflict Archive on the Internet, *Mural Directory,* Photograph No. 987, album 30, photographed in August 2001, no longer at location, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/mccormick/photos/no987.htm#photo.
[70] Patterson, *Ireland Since 1939,* 256.

> What created that panic? It was not the fact that Mr. Sands stood. The Government could have borne that if Mr. Sands had been defeated. The Government took no panic legislative action to stop him standing. What created the panic was that Mr. Sands won the election. It is the Government's fear that a second Bobby Sands will win that has led to the Bill. That is what has turned their stomachs queasy… Till now the IRA has had access to the ballot box and to parliamentary candidature--the normal process of democracy--to persuade and put its point of view...Instead the IRA has sought to win support by the bullet and the bomb, by maiming and murder.[71]

Through this discussion, Silkin asserts that Sands and his legacy were threats, as the aftermath saw an increase in support of the IRA and Sinn Féin. This is likely because, unlike many other IRA events, the hungers strikes led to the deaths of those within the movement in an effort to showcase mistreatment and catch peoples' attention. Violence was not used in this protest other than to demonstrate the violence of British rule, at least not against others but rather against themselves, making it more dramatic which is likely why it was so effective. In tying Sands' image in with symbols of historical memory, such as the murals and even in mentioning his legacy within Parliamentary debates, republicans effectively got their message out and juxtaposed their historical struggle with current issues and tried to evoke a sense of the imagined community of the Irish people.

In yet another instance of violence in 1984, an attack by the IRA bombed the Grand Hotel in Brighton where many politicians were staying for the Conservative Party Conference, including Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. In response to the event, one Member of Parliament, Viscount Whitelaw, described the IRA as an "evil group" who "has once again planned and carried out an

[71] House of Commons Debate, "Representation Of The People Bill," 22 June 1981, vol. 7.

attack on innocent people in pursuit of their aims. They have deliberately struck at the heart of our nation."[72] The bombing was condemned globally, with United States President Ronald Reagan issuing statements expressing his condolences to Margaret Thatcher as well as condemning the IRA. Meanwhile, the IRA stood by its actions and issued a statement claiming responsibility: "Mrs. Thatcher will now realise that Britain cannot occupy our country and torture our prisoners and shoot our people on their own streets and get away with it. Today we were unlucky, but remember we only have to be lucky once-- you will have to be lucky always. Give Ireland peace and there will be no war."[73] The events of the Brighton bombing sparked differing reactions, from ones of outrage to ones of approval. The outrage was expected due to the death toll and, from a political standpoint, the threat against democracy. However, others almost approved of the events with the frontman of the band The Smiths saying that "the only sorrow of the Brighton bombing is that Thatcher escaped unscathed."[74] This was not the majority opinion, but it did exist for some who opposed Thatcher and sympathized with the cause of the IRA and Irish nationalism.

The Brighton bombing led to a wave of imagery and symbolism via art and music. Similarly to U2 writing a song about Bloody Sunday titled "Sunday Bloody Sunday," an English punk band, the Angelic Upstarts, wrote a song and later an album titled "Brighton Bomb" regarding the assassination attempt of Margaret Thatcher, including the lyrics "Are they at war, who can justify? Are you so holy, have you got the right? Who is the judge and who is your jury? Or let them get it by decree? What do you hold in front, hold in front of them? It's only your

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[72] House of Lords Debate, "Grand Hotel, Brighton: Bomb Explosion," 16 October 1984, vol. 455.
[73] David McKittrick, "Thatcher escapes death by minutes" Four killed as IRA bomb Brighton hotel," *The Irish Times,* 13 October 1984.
[74] Julian Gavaghan, "On This Day: Thatcher almost killed by IRA in Brighton bombing," *Yahoo! News,* October 11, 2013.

Democracy."[75] This song was thought to be anti-Thatcher and the lyrics ask the question of whether or not the IRA was justified, or at least had a rationale behind the bombing. It is significant to note that prior to the Brighton bombing, Margaret Thatcher made numerous appearances in republican murals in Northern Ireland, including one that made her face with red eyes and blood dripping from fangs as a wanted poster for murder.[76] Because the republicans and the IRA held Thatcher responsible for events such as the hunger strikes and mistreatment of prisoners, they utilized imagery and propaganda to justify their actions.

Toward the end of the Troubles occurred an event that brought Northern Ireland's history to the foreground as well as international condemnation for the IRA with the Remembrance Day bombing in 1987. The Remembrance Day ceremonies commemorated the dead of the two world wars—wars that the republicans and Irish nationalists largely did not support and viewed as a British ritual, as Irish nationalists rebelled during WWI and Ireland remained neutral in WWII.[77] The IRA had a history of Remembrance Day bombings: one in Belfast in 1938 resulted in no deaths or injuries, and another planned in 1957 killed only the bomb-makers.[78] Therefore these Remembrance Day attacks were entirely about historical memory: republicans in particular rejected the idea that any Irishman should commemorate those who fought for the "evil" British Empire, especially because during the First World War republicans had rebelled in the Easter Rising. The 1987 event itself, however, caused a great deal of scrutiny, as it killed 11 civilians and injured 63 more. None of the dead were soldiers, whom the IRA claimed were the true targets.[79]

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[75] Angelic Upstarts, "Brighton Bomb," side A track 6 on *Brighton Bomb*, Chameleon Records, 1987, record.
[76] Conflict Archive on the Internet, *Mural Directory,* Photograph No. 990*,* album 29, photographed August 2001, still at location, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/mccormick/photos/no990.htm#photo.
[77] Shanahan, *The Provisional IRA and the Morality of Terrorism*, 34.
[78] Dingley, *The IRA*, 82 and 87.
[79]Ibid., 103.

In letters to the editor in *The Irish Times,* some made arguments that while the bomb was justifiable, albeit terrible, as the bombers were "merely fundamentalist believers in that tradition, true Republicans carrying out its message into the most extreme forms of action," but the same letter also argued that the two sides, unionists and republicans, needed to come together in an attempt at understanding. The really fascinating part in this specific letter to the editor is that it used the memory of previous events and people mentioned, such as Bobby Sands, by saying that "it was the spirit of Bobby Sands which justified the men who planted the bomb," and Bloody Sunday by asking "does one Bloody Sunday balance another," to make a larger statement about the movement.[80] The ties between the events and the use of one to balance or justify another shows how memory is manipulated and propagandized to shape public opinion. However, despite the conflicting reactions of this bombing, opinions were largely against the IRA because of this event.

The Remembrance Day bombing is significant because the IRA apologized for it, claiming that their intentions were to kill officials, not civilians. U2, during a performance of its song "Sunday Bloody Sunday," denounced the actions of the IRA and those who supported it and support of Sinn Féin dwindled in the following election years. This is one of the only events for which the IRA issued an apology. However, this event was universally accepted as a tragedy and was, according to Ronald Reagan, a "revulsion."[81] The true power of looking to this event, however, is its immense tie to memory as well as its aftermath being such a strong downfall for the republican nationalist movement. This bombing managed to tie in Bobby Sands and Bloody Sunday, both of which were points of support for the IRA, as well as the significance of Remembrance Day as a whole. While this led to backlash and fast-dwindling support, it is an

[80] "Letters to the Editor: Remembrance Day Massacre," *The Irish Times,* 13 Nov 1987, p. 13.
[81] Diana Rusk, "Murder of innocents – the IRA attack that repulsed the world," *Irish News,* 5 November 2007.

intriguing case of how people within or outside of movements tie in historical memory when analyzing and evaluating events or tragedies.

The IRA went through moments of relative support when they could pose as defenders of oppressed Irishmen or as victims of British violence, such as with Bloody Sunday or the hunger strikes. They also went through moments of almost complete condemnation, such as Bloody Friday or the Remembrance Day bombing. Each of these events had the same motivations behind them of a united Ireland, but the ways in which they were carried out differed. Violence captures attention. However, that attention could mean support or lack thereof, or in some cases, both. The IRA was overwhelmingly one of the most violent nationalist movements, and definitely the most violent of the case studies discussed here. However, they also had some of the most support from those within their own "nation." The depth of support was due to the IRA's ability to manipulate historical memory in such a way as to appeal to people's sense of shared suffering for a larger cause. In Northern Ireland, the memory of movements for Irish independence, wars, and actual oppression and brutality by the government and police aided the movement by helping people understand what they were fighting for. However, it is still important to note that the more the public viewed violence as unnecessary or when innocent lives were taken, the more people became alienated from the revolutionary republicans. As this paper shifts toward consideration of Spanish extremism, I will continue to examine how such movements, and the wider public, draw the line between legitimate and illegitimate violence.

THE CATALAN CASE

Spain and the United Kingdom differed greatly in the 1950s because Spain was under the control of a dictator, Francisco Franco, while the United Kingdom remained a constitutional monarchy. However, they related to each other in the fact that some minorities were oppressed: in the United Kingdom, the Irish and, to a lesser degree, the Scots, and in Spain, Catalans and the Basques. In trying to find comparisons between extremist movements, it became increasingly clear that violent extremism was not always the most effective strategy. Granted, this is the case in every nationalist movement where there are multiple levels of nationalism, some peaceful and some violent, but it varies which get the coverage and the attention. In most cases, violence catches attention, but also commonly creates scrutiny and, such as in the case of Scotland, hostility towards the movement. In Catalonia's case, by comparison, extremism was peaceful. Catalan nationalists focused more on culture and language rather than on a history of resistance in order to unite fellow Catalans under a shared identity. Nevertheless, infrequent violence did occur and Catalans found sympathizers from (among others) Irish republicans, who even painted murals of the two nationalist flags together in a show of solidarity.[82]

First and foremost, the history of Catalonia is unique as a case study here because it was never truly "independent" in the first place. Both Scotland and Ireland existed in their histories as their own states with their own rulers; Catalonia never had that. The Basque Country is complex because it was independent under a feudal system, but Catalonia did not even have that. Catalonia never really existed as an independent state and the words "Catalonia" and "Catalans" never appeared until right before Catalonia and Aragon united in 1137.[83] Thus, Catalonia has a relatively

[82] Conflict Archive on the Internet, *Mural Directory,* Photograph No.239, album 7, photographed October 1999, still exists at location, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/mccormick/photos/no239.htm#photo.
[83] Gabriel Tortella, *Catalonia in Spain: History and Myth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 279.

weak claim to an independent history, as it always depended on a larger power. However, Catalan nationalists have worked to create a culture surrounded by myth and symbolism, including some historical elements, in order to establish this independence tied in their cultural identity. One such myth that has been turned into a symbol of Catalonia is that of Wilfred the Hairy, the first independent count ruling over Barcelona in the 9th century. While he was an independent count, Catalonia remained in a system of dependence on other powers, maintaining their lack of true claims to an independent history. The story goes that Wilfred assisted Carolingian Emperor Louis the Pious against the Normans, but was wounded in battle. After Wilfred suffered a fatal wound, the Emperor put his hand on the blood of Wilfred and made four vertical stripes on his golden shield as a symbol of Wilfred's bravery. This created the image for the national flag of Catalonia, known as the *Senyera*.[84] This flag remains a symbol for Catalan nationalism and separatists continue using the *Senyera* in rallies and protests.[85] Additionally, while Catalonia never gained full independence, it did attempt to gain their own power in a revolt in 1640 called the Reapers War. This revolt ended with Philip IV offering a pardon and promise of autonomy for the region and this revolt stands as a symbolic victory to Catalonia with cultural elements, such as songs, stemming from it.[86] Essentially, while they did not have a completely independent history, Catalan nationalists attempted to hold onto the memories of almost-victories by forming them into cultural traditions.

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[84] Giovanni C. Cattini, "Myths and symbols in the political culture of Catalan nationalism (1880-1914)," *Nations and Nationalism,* Vol. 21, No. 3 (2015), accessed on https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/nana.12099.
[85] Arnau Busquets Guardia, "In pictures: The art of Catalan protests," *Politico,* September 10, 2017, https://www.politico.eu/interactive/catalonia-referendum-independence-spain-in-pictures-art-of-catalan-protests/.
[86] J.H. Elliott, *Scots and Catalans: Union and Disunion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), Kindle Edition.

Nationalism in Catalonia, as with many other European nations, began appearing in the late 1800s, but truly became prominent in the 20th century. Catalonia enjoyed relative autonomy up until the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and the subsequent dictatorship of Francisco Franco. During the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), Catalonia faced a "cultural genocide," as Franco banned the Catalan language and eliminated Catalonia's statute of autonomy. Signs on trains and in public places urged Catalans to "Speak Spanish! Speak the Language of the Empire!" Franco even banned Catalan first names and had Catalan surnames translated into Castilian. Franco additionally outlawed the Catalan flag and national anthem, destroyed patriotic monuments, and sought to oppress the culture in many other ways. Oppression not only killed the culture; it killed the people as well with estimates around 3,000 Catalans dead between 1938 and 1953.[87] Catalan culture and people were under attack during this time which is why it is so fascinating that the fight against oppression was relatively peaceful. The culture itself, from education to language to dance and song, was suppressed and not allowed under Franco, but those forms of culture are largely what define Catalonia as a nation or imagined community. Most of the other case studies root their communities in history and shared background, and Catalonia does this as well, but in a very different way.

One of the first events of the 1950s that can be analyzed as an extremist or nationalistic act, in the sense of deliberately acting against the regime, is the 1951 Barcelona Tram Strike. When an increase in tram ticket prices left the fares in Barcelona significantly higher than those in Madrid, all of Barcelona participated in a strike against public transportation where "trams and buses ran completely empty for more than two weeks." The tram strike succeeded after sports fans of FC Barcelona refused to take the transportation to see a game and instead walked in the rain.

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[87] Kenneth McRoberts, *Catalonia: Nation Building Without A State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 40-41.

Initially, there was not much that could be done about this form of civil disobedience: one Captain General remarked, "I can't shoot at citizens who simply don't use a means of transport."[88] The strike involved around 300,000 workers who claimed to be protesting due to the rising cost of living in addition to the fare prices. According to a *Daily Mail* article from the time, the strikers rioted in the streets, although "Strikes [had] been forbidden in Spain since General Franco's victory...This is only the second general strike since the civil war."[89] According to actual figures from the time, about 97% of tram users participated in the boycott on the first day and the numbers continued to rise up to 99%. Furthermore, the tram company lost over 5,000,000 pesetas (about $34,000 in 1951 or $330,000 today with inflation) over the course of the strike, forcing the fares back to their original prices.[90] This form of peaceful protesting is important because it shows a success in a nationalist movement. It also showed the Catalan resistance to both economic and cultural problems, as Catalans faced more scrutiny under Franco during this time, and dealt with oppression in numerous ways: economically and culturally, with this more economic issue fueling other fires and making the movement more noteworthy. While a strike might not be labeled as extreme as bombs or other violent methods, it is still extreme in the sense of causing damage to the state's economy and it contributed to the imagined community's fight against oppression.

In the 1960s, events and protests against the regime still remained largely peaceful via means such as civil disobedience, and one of these events of note was the 1960 Festival of the Palau de la Musica. As part of this festival in 1960, the choir was authorized to hold a celebration of Joan Maragall, the composer of the "Cant de la Senyera," but the government banned the song

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[88] Simon Harris, "The Revival of Catalan Culture under Franco, from *Catalonia Is Not Spain: A Historical Perspective,* found on https://www.barcelonas.com/catalan-culture-under-franco.html.
[89] "Strike Position in Barcelona: Trouble Very Grave," *Cairns Post,* 14 March 1951, accessed on https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/42681500.
[90] Alex…, "1951: Barcelona general strike," 15 December 2008, accessed on https://libcom.org/history/1951-barcelona-general-strike.

from being played at the last second. The song itself was a tribute to the Senyera, the red and yellow flag symbolizing Catalan history and culture. Regardless, the choir sang the song and 16 people were arrested, including Jordi Pujol, the future President of Catalonia. Some of the lyrics of the song focused on nationalism and freedom, with the lyrics, "Au, germans, al vent desfem-la en senyal de libertat. Que volei! Contemplem-la en sa dolca majestat," which translates to "come, brothers, to the wind let's unfurl her in sign of freedom. Let her fly! Let's admire her in her sweet majesty!"[91] Those arrested for this song faced police brutality and violence which garnered a lot of support for the nationalists, specifically the Catholic Catalans in this case, as that community "until this moment had experienced police vigilance but not violence." Moreover, this event saw Pujol became a symbol of the nationalist movement as a whole and a campaign called the 'P' campaign was established where Pujol's name became synonymous with the word "protesta" or "protest."[92] The 1960 Festival itself is significant as an example of a successful act against the government, at least successful in the way that it gained support for the cause. Those involved, especially Pujol, also helped to garner support for nationalism, making this an effective protest during the time. It is also important that the "Cant de la Senyera" was at the heart of this conflict because that song is symbolic of Catalan history and memory. Pujol claimed that this was the first Catalan victory against Franco, marking its significance within nationalism even further.[93]

Some significant actors in the resistance to Franco included students who, especially in the 1960s, acted out against the regime on multiple occasions, primarily through civil disobedience. In 1966, 500 students met in a monastery in Barcelona to work to end the regime's dominance in

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[91] "Cant de la senyera (English translation)," accessed on 30 April 2019, https://libcom.org/history/1951-barcelona-general-strike.
[92] Andrew Dowling, *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War: Reconstructing the Nation* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2013), 72.
[93] Redaccion, "Pujol rememora los 'Fets del Palau', la 'primera Victoria radical' del catalanismo en 1960," *La Vanguardia,* 19 May 2010.

Catalan universities and to create an independent student union under the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC, or Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia) in an event that came to be known as the "caputxinada," named after the Capuchin fathers allowing the group to use their auditorium.[94] As part of this event, the students, mostly part of the Sindicat Democràtic d'Estudiants or the Democratic Students Union, remained in the monastery surrounded by police for two days.[95] The significance of this event in the grand idea of protest and extremism in nationalism is that students took back power from the regime in a civil way. Police oppression and violence is something that resonated with the Catalan Catholic community and with nationalists alike. Thus, this event involving the police, as well as the locale being in a monastery gave the students power. The students also utilized the history of Catalonia and Spain via the connection to Catholicism, in using the Church and gaining the support of local Church officials, to give more power behind the movement.

The Democratic Students' Union had several events and campaigns against the regime in the years after the caputxinada. In the following years, a president of another student resistance group, Sr. Jose Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, was sentenced to seven years in prison for an "unauthorized demonstration against the Franco regime," and more arrests followed due to unauthorized assemblies. Students and faculty of the University of Barcelona participated in numerous rallies and meetings regarding the repression of students in Catalonia and even celebrated a "National Day against Repression."[96] The students of the University of Barcelona, in these acts and others, demonstrated their resilience against the regime and willingness to take peaceful action against Franco and speak on their beliefs, even if that meant being arrested. This

[94] Dowling, *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War,* 80.
[95] Ibid., 85.
[96] "Continued Student Resistance in Spain," *Minerva,* Vol.5, No. 2 (Winter 1967), pp. 308-312.

peaceful form of protest can also relate to the Irish hunger strikes because they both utilized completely peaceful protest tactics in order to highlight their respective states' uses of extreme violence. The arrests in the Catalan protest gave them more to speak against because repression and freedom for those arrested were also common topics at the student rallies, similar to how the hunger strikers used the protest to further highlight the harsh and violent conditions in the prisons. Essentially, while other nations were fighting for independence with historical, but less cultural backing using violence, young Catalan student activists were using peaceful protests to fight more towards cultural freedom rather than political freedom. The whole issue within the Catalan movement was to regain the rights to their own culture, and not necessarily to regain autonomy, thus distinguishing Catalonia from my other case studies in objective, strategy, and success.

Cultural campaigns in the 1960s sought to undermine the Franco regime in indirect ways, too. The Nova Cançó or New Song movement emerged as many Catalan youths' version of protest via song that also served as the introduction to the Catalan language for many people.[97] The reason this was more indirectly opposing Franco is because it did not directly fight against him, but it did serve as a form of protest in favor of Catalan language and culture that had been oppressed under Franco. One group that became famous during this movement was Els Setze Jutges (the Sixteen Judges), whose name "came from a Catalan tonguetwister that was used as a password during the War of the Spanish Succession. No lisping Castilian could possibly pronounce "Setze jutges d'un jutjat mengen fetge d'un penjat".”[98] While, again, this may not seem nearly as dramatic or as notable of a strategy as outright violence in the quest of formalizing an imagined community, it

[97] Dowling, *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War*, 78.
[98] Simon Harris, "The Revival of Catalan Culture under Franco, from *Catalonia Is Not Spain: A Historical Perspective,* found on https://www.barcelonas.com/catalan-culture-under-franco.html.

was an effective way of emphasizing the cultural divide and creating something that was truly Catalan, and not Spanish or Castilian.

The Assembly of Catalonia, or the Assemblea de Catalunya, joined together numerous opposition groups in 1971, marking a time of true opposition during the Franco regime. Some of the objectives of the assembly included amnesty for political prisoners and self-determination for Catalonia, among others. The Assembly held its meetings in a church in Barcelona, further marking its significance as a Spanish organization associated with the church. The organization brought together over 300 representatives from secret political groups with the main voice being the PSUC.[99] The demands in the foundational document fueled the Catalan movement from the 1970s into the transition to democracy after Franco's death. The formation of the Assembly itself serves as a form of protest via the creation of something inherently anti-Franco. Most of the demands and desires of the Assembly were contingent on Catalan rights, such as relative autonomy and the right to use the Catalan language, which became available after the end of Franco. However, they were rights that the Assembly wanted as soon as possible, marking this organization as a significant move against Franco and towards the cause of nationalism and rights for Catalonia and Catalans.

While most things up to this point were peaceful and extreme only in terms of being blatantly against the regime, there were a couple cases of actual violent extremism for the nationalist cause. The Spanish Maquis were a leftist group that engaged in guerilla warfare against the regime and derived from those who had to flee Spain from Catalonia at the end of the civil war. While they were mostly active in the 1940s, their campaigns of violence continued into the 1950s and 1960s "in an attempt to weaken the dictatorship."[100] The Maquis were approximately

[99] Dowling, *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War*, 95-96.
[100] Ibid., 43.

12,000 men operating out of the Pyrenees in the 1950s.[101] One prominent member of the Maquis in Catalonia, Ramon Vila Capdevila, died in an ambush by the Franco Civil Guard days after flying explosives into electrical towers in rebellion, which was notably a tactic of choice, as Capdevila committed numerous similar acts since the 1940s.[102] The Spanish Maquis name derived from the French Maquis, a guerilla warfare group in France during World War II fighting against the Nazi occupation.[103] The use of this name is important because it ties history, albeit France's history, to the struggle of Spain under the Franco dictatorship and thus dramatized the valor of resistance against fascism and sought to justify Catalan extremism by reference to this wider ideological struggle. The use of memory in the creation of names is not a new concept, as can be seen through other groups such as the 1320 Club in Scotland or even the PIRA reestablishing itself as just the IRA for the historical connection. However, this group connected itself to a very recent group that likely was still in the minds of people as an effective way to enlarge their significance and emphasize their imagined community.

The closest related nationalism to Catalonia is Scotland, as they had almost mirrored histories dating back to the foundations of their respective nations, uniting with other kingdoms around the same time, having revolts in the same year in 1640, all the way to the current calls for independence via referendums in each nation. Additionally, despite the earlier described extremist side to the nationalist movement in Scotland, the majority of Scottish nationalists are more similar to Catalans in terms of preferring peaceful or cultural-driven forms of nationalism. While Catalans

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[101] Montserrat Guibernau, "Prospects for an Independent Catalonia," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society,* Vol. 27, No. 1 (March 2014), 11, found on https://www.jstor.org/stable/24713359?seq=7#metadata_info_tab_contents.
[102] "Castellnou reivindica la figura de Ramon Vila, 'Carcacremada', en els 55 anys deee la seva mort," *Regio7,* 7 August 2018, https://www.regio7.cat/bages/2018/08/08/castellnou-reivindica-figura-ramon-vila/491461.html.
[103] "Anti-Franco veterans win recognition," *BBC News,* 18 May 2001, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/monitoring/media_reports/1338075.stm.

have the "Cant de la Senyera," Scots have a battle song that dates back to the 1314 Battle of Bannockburn titles "Scots Wha Hae" that serves as the party song of the SNP.[104] Moreover, the "Cant de la Senyera" is not the only song that Catalans use as a nod to their historical memory. The song "Els Segadors," or in English, "The Reapers," includes the following lyrics: "Catalunya triomfant, tornarà a ser rica I plena. Endarrera aquesta gent tan ufana I tan superba. Bon cop de falç! Bon cop de falç, defensors de la terra!" which translates roughly to "Catalonia triumphant shall again be rich and bountiful. Drive away these people who are so conceited and so arrogant. Strike with your sickle! Strike with your sickle, defenders of the land!" This song stands out as an important symbol derived from Catalan history because not only does the song serve to unite the people of Catalonia, but also the tone of the song is aggressive and openly hostile against Spain, and in 1993, Catalonia accepted it as the official national anthem.[105] This use of music as a uniting factor in both imagined communities draws the two movements together and helps show the varying strategies utilized by different nationalist movements. While Scotland and Catalonia derived connections to their communities via culture, including music and language in the case of Catalonia, Ireland united more through extremism, although they too drew connections with the Catalan movement.

The murals in Belfast, as discussed in the Northern Ireland section, are famous for their political messages, be they nationalist or unionist. There are at least two murals painted in solidarity with the Catalan struggle. One painted in 1997 showed the flags of both Ireland and

[104] Davis Maclennan, "Scots Wha Hae – SNP 14," filmed in 2014, YouTube video, 1:56, posted 12 http://www.oocities.org/c_ansata/Burgos.html April 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8gnEBv4Mbmo.
[105] Kieran Corcoran, "Catalan politicians hailed independence by singing their national anthem – and the lyrics are a brutal swipe at Spain," *Business Insider,* 27 October 2017.

Catalonia side by side and included a "Free Catalonia" message (see figure 6).[106] For another, it is unclear when the mural was painted, but it was photographed in 2004 along with 15 other murals that supported various movements including Palestinians, Irish prisoners of war, ETA, and Catalans (see figure 7).[107] These comparisons and juxtaposition of the various nationalist movements shows the comradery between the imagined communities and shows that even if they are not necessarily similar in their methods, all of the nationalist groups share the common goal of some sort of independence or autonomy for their community, be it cultural, political or otherwise. Furthermore, by referencing other groups, the IRA attempts to legitimize themselves as fighting more than a selfish local struggle, instead asserting that they are part of a larger movement against oppression.

Catalonia, more than any other movement discussed, focused on cultural differences in their nationalist movement, both during and after Franco. However, the movement in Catalonia was relatively successful considering that after Franco's death, Catalonia did receive relative autonomy under the new government with the 1978 constitution granting substantial autonomy to various provinces, including Catalonia and the Basque Country. Northern Ireland and Scotland also were successful in this way, however, Catalonia also managed to start a cultural revolution of sorts with increasing numbers of people speaking the Catalan language and engaging in various forms of nationalist support through language, song, dance, and many other cultural aspects in Catalonia. That is what makes this case so unique; it is the only movement to result in this type of cultural phenomena. It is also interesting looking at this movement going into modern day because

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[106] Conflict Archive on the Internet, *Mural Directory,* Photograph No.239, album 7, photographed Octtober 1999, still exists at location, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/mccormick/photos/no239.htm#photo.
[107] Elizabeth Leyden, "Murals on the International Wall in Divis Street, at the bottom of the Falls Road in West Belfast, Northern Ireland," *Alamy,* photographed 27 July 2009, https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-murals-on-the-international-wall-in-divis-street-at-the-bottom-of-25387211.html.

while the time period mentioned was predominately peaceful, the modern independence movement in Catalonia is not necessarily excessively violent, but it has gone very much against the legal means of trying to achieve independence. Regardless of the modern struggle, in the time of the 1950s through 1980s, while Catalonia had very few violent acts or organizations, other parts of Spain were becoming increasingly better known for violence as their choice of extremism in nationalism.

THE BASQUE CASE

The Basque Country is a region of Spain with a rich history dating back to the Stone Age, which is far before any of the other nations discussed.[108] This is part of the foundation of the Basque nationalism and the imagined community, as there is the idea within the Basque Country that they are ethnically and culturally different from Spain and the Spaniards. In the cases of the other movements, a folk history justified their communities as legitimate. However, this does not exist for the Basques because they likely inhabited their territory long before mythologies became prominent, as they are the "only surviving pre-Aryan race in Europe, and their language (Euskera) is the only pre-indoeuropean language in use in Europe."[109] The Basque movement resembles both the extremist republicanism of the IRA in Northern Ireland and the Catalonian use of language and culture. Additionally, both the Basques and Catalans faced oppression under Franco. However, Basques also faced a different form of racial oppression. It was said that a "Bilbao or San Sebastian car number-plate was often enough to get you pulled off the road half-a-dozen times between the Basque Country and Madrid," with those pulled over being subjected to "humiliating" searches.[110] Pulling people over from the Basque Country and subjecting them to this form of oppression sets them apart from the Catalans because the Basques were considered even more as outsiders to the regime. At the end of Franco's regime, both Catalonia and the Basque Country gained relative autonomy via the 1978 Constitution which established the Autonomous Communities System, allowing each respective nation to have a degree of autonomy.[111]

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[108] John Hooper, *The New Spaniards: A Portrait of the New Spain* (London: Penguin Publishing Group, 1995), 387-388.
[109] Montserrat Guibernau, "Spain: Catalonia and the Basque Country," *Parliamentary Affairs,* Vol. 52, No. 1, January 2000, p. 56.
[110] John Hooper, *The New Spaniards*, 402.
[111] "The Autonomous Communities of Spain," *World Atlas,* accessed 30 April 2019, https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-autonomous-communities-of-spain.html.

The main difference, other than violence, between Catalan and Basque nationalism is that Basques are far more exclusive than Catalans. For Catalans, someone can become part of the imagined community so long as they try to join in the culture. For Basques, there is more of an ethnic-exclusivity. Additionally, "the number of people who could understand and speak Catalan greatly outnumbered those who could understand and speak Euskera," alluding to the fact that Catalan nationalism and identity is more widespread or at least inclusive than that of the Basque Country.[112] The histories of the two communities are vastly different, as Catalonia united with Castile in the 15th century with the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella while the Basque Country was not added into Spain until the 16th century as a conquest rather than a unification. Because of this, "there was a widespread sense of the Basque Country as a colonised country, and a conviction that all available means should be used to ensure freedom from foreign (Spain) domination."[113] This makes the Basque case different, yet again, from every other mentioned case because despite the other communities still being separate and having their own histories and cultures, they all united with their overarching authority in some way while the Basque Country was conquered. This does really make it, in some ways, a glorified colony.

The most prominent extremist group to arise out of Basque nationalism was ETA which formally emerged around 1960. Its foundation is traced back to a student group and their foundational document, the Ekin, meaning "action." ETA's first attack was in 1961 when members attempted to derail a train conveying Francoist veterans to a rally in San Sebastian. The outcome of this event was around 100 arrests with prison sentences up to 20 years, police brutality involving torture, and ETA leaders escaping to France, beginning "a cycle of terrorism and repression." The history of ETA, much like that of the IRA, involved many splits into factions. In the case of ETA,

[112] Guibernau, "Spain: Catalonia and the Basque Country," 58.
[113] Ibid., 59.

"each time the more violent, less intellectual group has survived intact," which is likely why the events escalated so much, as will be explored, from genuine targeted attacks against repression to more random attacks that were far less condoned and widely scrutinized.[114] Regardless, ETA was a terrorist organization whose primary goal was an independent Basque Country with the notion that they would achieve this by any means necessary.

ETA is the second most violent group discussed in this paper, as they killed 829 people between 1968 to 2010, with over one third being civilians.[115] ETA did generally attack Castilians who were part of the police or judicial system and thus were part of or represented political oppression, but they expanded in the 1980s to include more civilians which tarnished the popular support of the movement. The first killing in 1968 was José Pardines Arcay, a member of the Guardia Civil, who was killed during a routine road check by a member of ETA. The ETA member was killed when he tried to flee which led to the first planned assassination by ETA: the assassination of Meliton Manzanas, the chief of the secret police in San Sebastian.[116] This killing resulted in what became known as the Burgos Trial in 1970 where 16 ETA members were put on trial for various crimes, one of the crimes being the killing. One *New York Times* article detailing the events at the time seemingly sympathized with the Basques and ETA:

> From the Basque point of view, at least, Castile and the authoritarian Castilian spirit have been trying and finding them guilty for years. The Basques, who live in the green hills and smoky towns quite differently from other Spaniards, are independent, passionately

[114] Hooper, *The New Spaniards*, 398-399.
[115] "ETA's bloody history: 829 deaths in a six-decade struggle," *The Local,* 2 May 2018, https://www.thelocal.es/20180502/etas-bloody-history.
[116] "4 decades of ETA violence in Spain," *The New York Times,* 22 March 2006, https://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/22/world/europe/4-decades-of-eta-violence-in-spain.html.

> democratic and devoted to choir singing, strenuous exercise, the sea and their peculiar and difficult language.[117]

This description at the end of an informative article about the trial and events is interesting because it almost seems irrelevant, but it is still used. It gives off the idea that these acts were justified, or at least partially understood, internationally because while a description like this would not be all that strange coming from an ETA or Basque nationalist publication, this was the *New York Times.* The Burgos trial has been described elsewhere as a "great moment of solidarity" within ETA, giving them a common cause and solidifying their ideals on issues such as political prisoners, much like the ideas of the IRA presented earlier.[118] Even Jean-Paul Sartre, a famous French philosopher, described the trial as "disgraceful and absurd."[119] This moment of solidarity also ties into some of the questions posed by the IRA actions regarding when extreme violent actions are considered a unifying force in nationalist movements and when they are considered to be unjustifiable offenses. This act and trial, because it was against someone who had been notoriously oppressive of the Basques, united people, although the killing itself was still not necessarily justified, but more understood.

The Burgos Trial caused even more drama in the ETA story when other members kidnapped a German consul, Eugen Biehl, in San Sebastian to try to exchange him for the prisoners. In negotiations, "a secret agreement was reached," releasing Biehl and reducing six death sentences to thirty years imprisonment. The interesting thing about his kidnapping is that there are stories that Biehl escaped to the French Basque Country, but people there took him back

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[117] Richard Eder, "Trial of Basques Starts in Burgos," *New York Times,* 4 December 1970.
[118] Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995), 269.
[119] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Life/Situations: Essays Written and Spoken* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 136-161, found on http://www.oocities.org/c_ansata/Burgos.html.

to his captors, as "they might not have been intimately familiar with the goings-on in Burgos, but they knew that Basques were being persecuted, and they didn't like it."[120] This is fascinating from a historical memory perspective which seems to be a little more subtle in the Basque case because the French Basques, in this story, show solidarity with the Spanish Basques likely due to their shared history. Even if this is nothing more than a story, the tale itself is important as a unifying force between the shared histories and ethnic argument that is so common in the Basque Country.

In the notion of justified, or rather, understood, acts against the regime, the assassination of Prime Minister Admiral Carrero Blanco in 1973 emerges. Blanco was "responsible for implementing the frequent states of emergency, the lack of guarantees to trial, systematic use of torture, shoot-to-kill policies and death squads deployed against [ETA]." The assassination was a car bomb that blasted the car 35 meters in the air, killing Blanco and the other two people in the car. ETA were able to track Blanco and carry out this killing because he took the same route to Catholic Mass every day at the same time with only one bodyguard.[121] The biggest struggle for the regime as a result of Blanco's death was the fact that Blanco was Franco's successor, making him the perfect target because not only was he oppressive to the Basques, but he could have affected their futures as well after Franco. While the Basques did not utilize historical memory in the traditional sense, they rationalized the killing of Carrero Blanco with the recent history of oppression and violence carried out by him and the Franco regime. The immediate result was years of turmoil for those in the Basque Country with over 4,500 arrests made in 1975 alone. The later result was the 1977 Amnesty Law that pardoned those involved in the killing of Carrero Blanco and generally pardoned crimes committed during the Franco regime based on an unwritten "pact

[120] R.L. Trask, *The History of Basque* (Oxon: Routledge, 1997), 31.
[121] Luis R. Aizpeolea, "The day ETA struck a lethal blow to the Franco regime," *El Pais,* 18 December 2013.

of forgetting," in an attempt to erase the memory of the horrors of the regime as well as the violent backlash.[122] Also in 1975, Spain had two ETA members, Txiki and Otaegi, executed "despite numerous protests and diplomatic interventions." However, this backfired against the regime and worked in favor of the Basques, as the international community rallied against the executions with numerous countries boycotting Spanish goods, the European Common Market ending negotiations with Spain, and Mexico even proposing to expel Spain from the United Nations.[123]

The executions of Txiki and Otaegi sparked a wave of hostility against Francoist Spain with large demonstrations taking place throughout Europe. The Swedish Prime Minister, Olof Palme, led the Swedish demonstration while numerous other countries including Germany, Great Britain, Denmark, and the Netherlands called their ambassadors about the issue. Even Pope John Paul VI requested clemency for the men prior to their executions to no avail.[124] These are just some of the international outcries against the executions which secured a revival of anti-Francoist sentiment in Spain and internationally at the end of his regime. This event secured a version of history in favor of ETA. What is interesting about the difference between ETA and the Basque Country in contrast with the other groups and causes mentioned is that ETA does not often reflect on memory or draw their motivations on that, as is so often seen in the other cases. Rather, ETA focuses on the present and fighting the oppression by targeting those viewed as oppressors, at least until the 1980s.

Franco died in November of 1975, just a couple months after the executions. The transition from the Franco dictatorship into democracy meant a split in ETA with a peaceful and military faction with the military faction being the one that stayed prominent through violence. In fact, the

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[122] Teodor Voinikov, "Spain and the legacy of Franco's era: Amnesty or Prosecution?" *The New Federalist,* 12 April 2010.
[123] Alfredo Grimaldos, "La familia de uno de los fusilados pide justiciar," *Interviu,* 19 September 2005.
[124] Ibid.

bloodiest year of ETA was after Franco, with the deaths of 118 people in 1980.[125] This year did not have many events of notoriety even though it was the deadliest. The transition to democracy marks an important time for the Basques, as they achieved relative autonomy. However, ETA continued to fight and attack in numerous ways against numerous people under the premise that the new government was not enough. ETA, at this point, had a goal of total freedom over simple autonomy. In their fight against the new government, ETA caused more damage than good, as the 1980s seemed to be less justifiable a time for violent action. Moreso, ETA was semi-supported or tolerated under Franco by foreign governments such as France who saw them as helping bring Franco's reign to an end.[126] However, once he was dead and ETA continued their attacks, the French government was much less tolerant.

Into the 1980s, ETA continued a reign of terror that seemed unreasonable at best. They carried out multiple bombing attacks on cars, plazas, and other public domains that resulted in many deaths and injuries. One such attack, the Hipercor bombing on a shopping center in Barcelona, killed 21 people and injured 45. Some of those killed involved entire families.[127] It is not clear why ETA chose Barcelona or this specific target other than those involved being based in the city, as one source reported that "Los tres premeditaron a sangre fría la acción," which means "the three premeditated the action in cold blood."[128] According to *The New York Times,* this was "the deadliest to be claimed by E.T.A. since it began its violent campaign for independence in 1968." The Spanish Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzalez, said to reporters in Brazil, where he was at

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[125] Hooper, *The New Spaniards*, 403.
[126] "Payback for Eta in the Pays Basque," *Telegraph UK,* 2 March 2002, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/spain/1386545/Payback-for-Eta-in-the-Pays-Basque.html.
[127] "Barcelona pays tribute to the victims of the Hipercor attack," *Catalan News,* 20 June 2017, http://www.catalannews.com/society-science/item/barcelona-pays-tribute-to-the-victims-of-the-hipercor-attack.
[128] Actualizado Viernes, "Hoy se cumplen 22 anos del atentado de Hipercor," *ABC.es,* 19 June 2009.

the time of the attack: "This attack is of a different style than what we have seen to date. It is an attempt to force the Government to change tack. But we will not give in to indiscriminate violence. We shall continue fighting terrorism with all the means we have."[129] Criticism against this event and Herri Batasuna, a Basque political party that was "at least sympathetic" to ETA, rained in and ETA tried to do damage control by stating that they provided warnings and that the bombing "had been a mistake," not intended to kill civilians.[130] This relates ETA, again, to the IRA because there were calls for ETA to at least be more selective in their victims to not kill innocents. Similarly, the IRA faced the most backlash when their killings seemed indiscriminate and senseless.

The Basques are yet another prime example of how the nationalist communities form a type of comradery with each other even if it is just through imagination or speech rather than actions. Just as the Belfast murals contained imagery of Catalonia, they also contained imagery of solidarity with the Basque movement, or more specifically with ETA cause. There are at least four murals documented by the Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN) showing solidarity with ETA and putting two youth factions of the movements, Ogra Shinn Fein and Segi, together and using both national languages in support of the movements.[131] As is expressed throughout this section, ETA and the IRA are similar in many ways, as they are the two most aggressive and violent of any groups mentioned. Both had goals of total freedom from Spain and the United Kingdom, respectively, and both were willing to employ any means necessary. The murals portray the message that they are similar in their struggles and support each other, albeit indirectly.

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[129] "Barcelona Bomb Kills 15 Civilians," *The New York Times,* 20 June 1987.
[130] Paul Delaney, "Spain Fears Bombing May Herald an Increase in Terrorist Attacks," *The New York Times,* 23 June 1987.
[131] Conflict Archive on the Web, *Mural Directory,* Photograph No. 1637, Album 47, photographed December 2002, still at location.

The Basques in relation to Catalonia are often juxtaposed as the two most prominent nationalist movements in Spain, similar to how Ireland and Scotland are occasionally put next to each other to a lesser degree, as the cases are very different. While both Catalonia and the Basques gained a degree of autonomy at the end of Franco, they both revitalized their independence movements later on. Granted, Catalonia really escalated more recently while the Basques have largely died down with their biggest time of upheaval being in the 1980s into the 1990s. However, neither movement, at least yet, has been successful in their attempts at independence. For that matter, none of the four cases have been successful, period. They have all achieved gains of autonomy and right, but none have achieved full independence, which makes these cases compelling to examine in the light of current affairs.

CONCLUSION

All of these movements show how extremists revitalized nationalism within imagined communities in European states. They all have different histories, different methods, and different levels of success, but they share in a common cause. The United Kingdom and Spain make excellent regions to examine because their struggles are continuing into modern day, especially with Scotland and Catalonia. These two movements have quite literally mirrored each other throughout history. Most recently, in an interview discussing the SNP's desire for another referendum, the interviewer asked Ian Blackford, the SNP Leader in Westminster, "If Westminster says no [to the independence referendum], do you go for a Catalonian-style 'just do it anyway'," to which Blackford did not directly respond. Some took this refusal to answer the question to mean that it is not out of the realm of possibility.[132] Regardless, it is fascinating how these two movements continue to coexist in very similar fashions, and it will be interesting to see what happens with the movements. For example, if one were to gain independence, could that set a precedent for the other? The movements remain fascinating case studies in history with equally fascinating current states.

While these two communities are coexisting and drawing on each other, the Basque Country and Ireland are also still active. In Northern Ireland, there was a death in Derry during riots on April 18, 2019 with the New IRA being the suspected perpetrators.[133] Northern Ireland gained relative autonomy via the Good Friday Agreement that also allowed for Irish relations between the Republic and Northern Ireland. However, this is coming into question now, much like

[132] Abbie Llewelyn, "SNP Leader in Westminster REFUSES to rule out Catalonian-style independence referendum," *Express UK,* 10 October 2018. This is in reference to the 2017 Catalan Independence Referendum, which was not sanctioned by the Spanish government.
[133] Tim Stelloh, "Police in Northern Ireland release two teens in killing of Lyra McKee," *NBC News,* 21 April 2019.

Scotland's case, with the addition of Brexit, or the United Kingdom leaving the European Union. Meanwhile, the Basque Country, with the exception of a few extremists, has largely stopped in their quest for independence, or at least stopped for the moment with only 14% of the population wanting independence.[134] All of these current cases of wanting or not wanting independence show the movements as still alive or relatively completed. All communities still have some people fighting, but some of those are in the vast minority.

Catalonia still has a vibrant independence movement, continually utilizing historical and cultural memory via the flags and songs integrated into the movement. The new faction of the IRA, the New IRA, has committed violent acts through the modern day with the latest murder being April 20th against Lyra McKee, a journalist who was covering riots in Derry at the time of her death.[135] These movements and their histories are important because many of them are ongoing with new stories being released constantly. However, the strategies have changed for some with Scotland becoming more peaceful and focusing on the SNP over the SNLA or violent groups and Catalans engaging in more riots. The Basques have largely died out, as their success ended with the Franco regime due in part to their later targets. Regardless, all of the movements have drawn on their histories as a way of reigniting their historical memory and continuing that trend of using their memory of past events to fuel the current actions. Either way, it is interesting to continue looking at these movements and analyzing what made or makes them effective at getting their message out in the best possible way.

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[134] Meg Bernhard, "With independence a far-fetched dream, Basque Country activists downsize their ambitions," *Los Angeles Times,* 15 June 2018.
[135] Siobhan O'Grandy, "Two teens arrested in connection with shooting death of journalist in Northern Ireland," *The Washington Post,* 20 April 2019.

APPENDIX

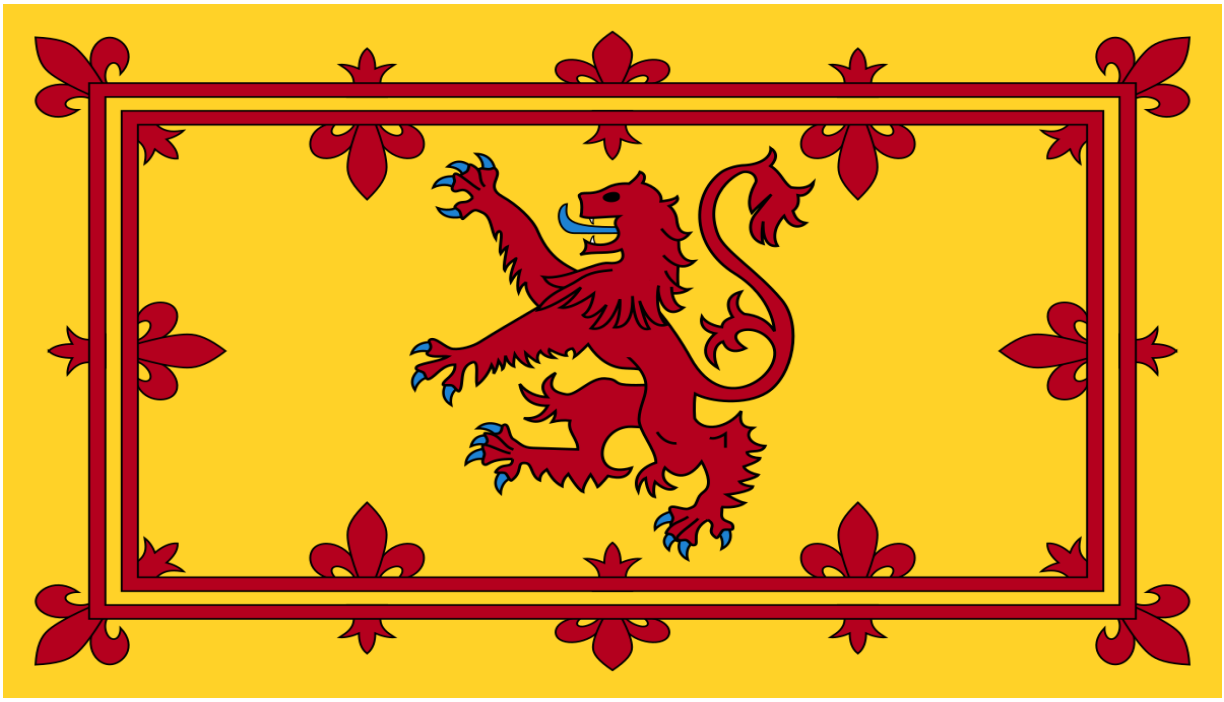

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6


GAEL·PATRIOT
Councillor Liam MacCarthy
IRELANDS FORGOTTEN SON
ASKATASUNA
NOT SPAIN
NOT FRANCE
OF CUBA
TAXI TRAK.COM
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Figure 7

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