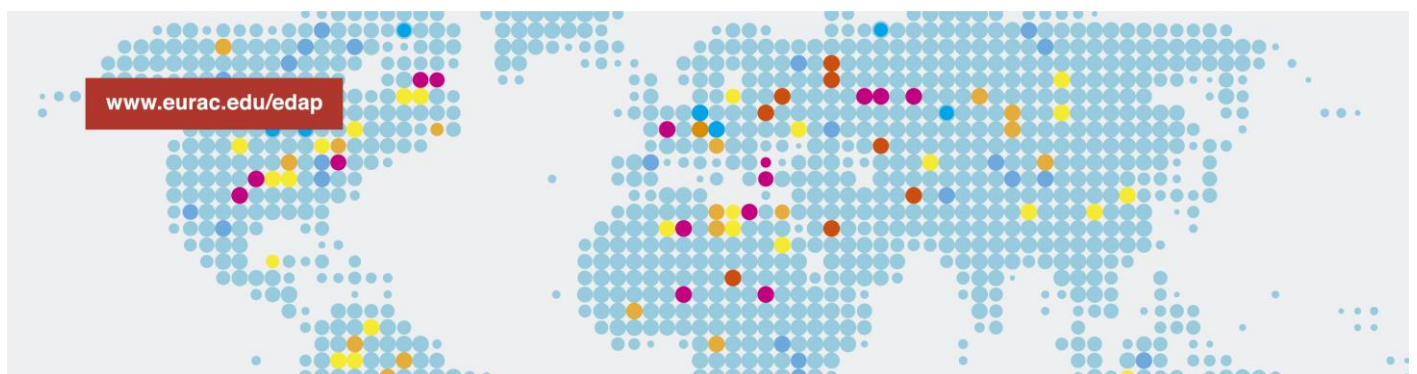


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# The Basque Diaspora in Latin America: Euskal Etxeak, Integration, and Tensions

Raphael Tsavkko Garcia



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## Abstract

The establishment of the Basque diaspora in Latin America can be divided in several different periods. First, from the 16th to 18th century, the so-called original diaspora of Basques who were part of the Spanish colonial regime. The second can be traced to the 19th century, consisting of a mixture of impoverished Basque migrants seeking jobs, especially in Uruguay and Argentina, and of refugees fleeing from the Spanish War of Independence and the Carlist wars. The third wave is identified by, but not only through, the considerable amount of refugees from the Spanish Civil War on the 1930's. The fourth wave came during the 1970s, with refugees from the Franco Dictatorship, ETA members and sympathisers. In this paper I will argue that each new wave of migrants brought tension to the diaspora, with the *Euskal Etxeak*, or 'Basque houses', as a focus point. The main idea is to analyse the different tensions and political discussions of this set of diasporic waves in Latin America.

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## Key words

Diaspora - Basque Diaspora - Basque Country - Euskal Etxea - Identity - Abertzale - Nationalism.

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# The Basque Diaspora in Latin America: Euskal Etxeak, Integration, and Tensions

Raphael Tsavkko Garcia

## 1. Introduction

Diaspora can be defined as the “transnational collectivity, broken apart by, and woven together across, the borders of their own and other nation-states, maintaining cultural and political institutions”.<sup>1</sup> It can also be described as a population dispersed from its homeland, with collective memory and idealisation of the homeland, as well as a strong ethnic consciousness and solidarity with co-members of the group<sup>2</sup> and an exacerbation of allegedly common and ancestral traits that are periodically reinforced.<sup>3</sup>

The Basque Diaspora can be understood as the community of ethnic Basques that were born, or are descended from those who were born, in the historical territory of the Basque Country or *Euskal Herria*, comprising territories now divided by France (*Iparralde* or Northern Basque Country, part of the department of *Pyrénées-Atlantiques*) and Spain (*The Comunidad Autónoma Vasca* or Basque Autonomous Community and *Comunidad Foral de Navarra* or Foral Community of Navarre) and migrated elsewhere—in the case of this article, to the Americas from the 15th century up until the present.

It is possible to assume that the Basque Diaspora is a community<sup>4</sup> of constant construction and re-construction of identities, a “sum of geographies, times, generations, and individual identities, by-products of living experiences and inherit traditions”.<sup>5</sup>

These Basques of the Diaspora—together with Basques in the homeland—form a nation, an ethnonational group,<sup>6</sup> a group of people that believe they are related since ancient times, maintaining traditions and heritage and passing it to the next generation, sharing a sense of uniqueness.<sup>7</sup> The Basque diasporic identity is much more than a mere reproduction of the Homeland identity; instead, it has added significant elements to the host-nation and has also

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<sup>1</sup> Tölölyan, Kachig, "The Nation-State and Its Others: In Lieu of a Preface". 1(1) *Diaspora*, 1991, 3-7.

<sup>2</sup> Cohen, Robin, *Global Diasporas: an Introduction*, (London, UCL Press and Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1997), 180.

<sup>3</sup> Billig, Michael, *Banal Nationalism*, (London, Sage Publications, 1995); Renan, Ernst. *¿Que és una Nación?*, (Madrid, Sequitur, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> Morales, Alberto A., "El más feliz éxito de su destino... 'medios de integración del emigrante vasco en América y Europa durante el s. XVIII'", in Álvarez Gila, Oscar and Morales, Alberto A., *Las migraciones vascas en perspectiva histórica (s. XVI-XX)*, (Bilbao, UPV/EHU, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> Oiarzabal, Pedro J., *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s*, (Reno, Center for Basque Studies, 2013), 21.

<sup>6</sup> Connor, Walker, *Ethnonationalism: The quest for understanding*, (Princeton University Press, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> Smith, Anthony D, *National identity*, (University of Nevada Press, 1991).

maintained traits long gone or abandoned in the Homeland,<sup>8</sup> therefore maintaining a culture of ethnical separation or even purity.<sup>9</sup>

This Basque imagined community,<sup>10</sup> or imagined transnational community,<sup>11</sup> is composed of individuals that may never meet each other, from Bilbao to Buenos Aires, San Francisco and Reno, but who imagine themselves as members of the same ethnogroup, sharing common traits, despite their differences. “The different Basque diasporic groups preserve their ethnic identities by considering and ‘imagining’ themselves as a part of a global Basque ethnic community”.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, they feel like members of the same Basque nation or ethnonational group<sup>13</sup> which has lasted for centuries and through different migration waves, and is de-territorialised.<sup>14</sup>

Despite political and ideological differences, as well as nationalistic points of view, Basques in the Diaspora continued to see themselves as one group, one nation, forming a Diaspora Identity<sup>15</sup> that synthesises and combines both the Basque and the host-country identities in a transnational way,<sup>16</sup> thus relating Basques socially, economically and culturally within multiple boundaries and societies. As Oiarzabal mentioned, “the self-perpetuation of Basque identity in the Diaspora is very much based on the pride and affection for assumed characteristics, such as uniqueness or singularity of such an identity”.<sup>17</sup>

Basques are physically connected to their host-countries, yet they remain psychologically and emotionally connected to their Homeland.

*[Transnationalism] is the capacity to shift the frame, and move between varying ranges of foci, the capacity to handle a range of symbolic material out of which various identities can be formed and reformed in different situations, which is relevant in the contemporary global situation... There has been an extension of cultural repertoires and an enhancement in the resourcefulness of groups to create new symbolic modes of affiliation and belonging.*<sup>18</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s*.

<sup>9</sup> Zulaika, Joseba and Douglass, William A., *Terror and taboo: The follies, fables, and faces of terrorism*, (Psychology Press, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Anderson, Benedict, *Comunidades imaginadas: reflexões sobre a origem e a expansão do nacionalismo*, (Editora 70, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Appadurai, Arjun, "Soberania sem Territorialidade", 49 *Revista Novos Estudos CEBRAP* (1997).

<sup>12</sup> Toticagüena, Gloria, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*, (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 2004), 10.

<sup>13</sup> Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The quest for understanding*.

<sup>14</sup> Ortiz, Renato, *Um outro Território. Ensaio sobre a Mundialização*, (São Paulo, Olho D'Água, 1999); Ortiz, Renato, *Mundialização e Cultura*, (São Paulo, Brasiliense, 2004); Haesbaert, Rogério. *Territórios alternativos*, (Contexto, 2002); Haesbaert, Rogério, *O Mito da Desterritorialização*, (Bertrand Brasil, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s ...*, 28; Toticagüena, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora ...*, 147.

<sup>16</sup> Vertovec, Steven, "Conceiving and researching transnationalism", 22(2) *Ethnic and racial studies* (1999), 1-25.

<sup>17</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s ...*, 92.

<sup>18</sup> Featherstone, Mike, *Global Culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity*, (London, Sage Publications, 1990), 110.

In the following sections I intend to analyse in depth the Basque Diaspora in Latin America, focusing mainly on Argentina and on the tensions that the different waves of migration throughout the centuries brought to this transnational Diaspora.

## 2. Overview of the Basque Diaspora and First Wave

During the Spanish Colonial period, Basques enjoyed leading positions all over the American colonies,<sup>19</sup> constituting themselves as a self-aware ethnic group,<sup>20</sup> and formed migration chains<sup>21</sup> that were based on cultural peculiarities and an “ancient and strong tendency towards mutual union of those originated in *Vasconia*, based in turn on a consciousness of its collective identity and communitarian singularity”.<sup>22</sup>

The influx of Basques to the Americas before the 19th century was mainly of political and economic leaders of the colonial empire, as well as traders and merchants in many important and key cities<sup>23</sup> such as Havana, Potosí, Buenos Aires, and their number might be bigger than what is thought.<sup>24</sup>

The factors that led thousands of Basques to migrate towards the Americas afterwards, not only as representatives of the political elites and the Castilian Crown were many,<sup>25</sup> but it is worth mentioning that there was a growing need for labour forces in the so-called ‘new world’. Leaders of colonies in the Americas, such as the Río de la Plata (now Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and parts of Bolivia and Peru), searched for men to go deep into the territory in order to create villages, commercial outposts and to take possession of the land that, up until that point, belonged to various indigenous populations.

Additionally, after the independence of Argentina and Uruguay (but also of Colombia, Venezuela and elsewhere in the Americas), the new leaders sought to assure the rule of the newborn states by populating vast areas such as the

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<sup>19</sup> Bilbao, Jon and Douglas, William A., *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*, (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1975).

<sup>20</sup> Douglass, William A., *Global Vasconia: Essays on the Basque Diaspora*, (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 2006).

<sup>21</sup> Aramburu Zudaire, José Miguel, *La emigración vasca a América en la Edad Moderna: balance historiográfico*, in Álvarez Gila, Oscar, Morales, Alberto Angulo, *Las migraciones vascas en perspectiva histórica (s. XVI-XX)*, (Bilbao, UPV/EHU, 2002), 30-31.

<sup>22</sup> In the original: “antigua y arraigada tendencia a la unión mutua de los originarios de Vasconia, basada a su vez en una conciencia de identidad colectiva, de singularidad comunitaria” in Álvarez Gila, Oscar and Morales, Alberto Angulo, *Las migraciones vascas en perspectiva histórica (s. XVI-XX)* (Bilbao: UPV/EHU, 2002), 158.

<sup>23</sup> Morales, Alberto A., “El más feliz éxito de su destino... 'medios de integración del emigrante vasco en América y Europa durante el s. XVIII'...”, 95-98; Gordejuela y Urquijo, Jesús, “El Detonante de las Independencias Americanas”, in Álvarez Gila, Oscar et al. *Los Vascos en las Independencias Americanas*, (Colombia, Fundación Centro Vasco Euskal Etxea y Editorial Oveja Negra, 2010), 113.

<sup>24</sup> Aramburu Zudaire, “La emigración vasca a América en la Edad Moderna: balance historiográfico” ... , 28.

<sup>25</sup> Douglass, *Global Vasconia: Essays on the Basque Diaspora*, ... 23;



Pampas (vast area of north-eastern Argentina and most of Uruguay). Thus, many Basques migrated there to work with cattle and on agricultural colonies.<sup>26</sup>

It was believed that indigenous territory must be conquered, new land must be colonized,<sup>27</sup> and the new Basque migrants were, now, “peasants from modest rural circumstances or unskilled urban dwellers”.<sup>28</sup> There were also many reasons for migrating. For one, opportunities in the quickly growing Basque Country were limited: as the rural areas in the Basque Country were overpopulated, inheritance laws meant that thousands of young men sought work in the colonies, as the property belonged solely to the eldest son.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, on the French side, Basques were persecuted for opposing the French Revolution.<sup>30</sup> Amongst other reasons for fleeing the Basque Country were the many conflicts within Spain and France at that time, such as the Napoleonic Wars, the First (1833-39) and the Second (1872-76) Carlist Wars and the 1848 Revolution on the French side, as well as, years later, the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the Francoist dictatorship.<sup>31</sup>

Toticagüena divides the long migration of Basques in two phases.<sup>32</sup> First, the colonial phase, in which, as mentioned, Basques enjoyed key-positions within the colonial administration and commerce, from the 15th century up to 1898. According to Toticagüena,<sup>33</sup> there was an intermediate phase that included the independence processes of the Latin American Countries. During this period, Basques took active part in the independence wars and arrangements. For instance, up to 20% of those who fought in 1806 and 1807 against the British invasion of Buenos Aires were Basques or of Basque descent.<sup>34</sup>

According to Álvarez Gila,<sup>35</sup> there were Basques on both sides of the fence, those supporting the independence of Argentina, Uruguay and so on—especially the criollos<sup>36</sup>—and others on the Spanish side. At least five Basque-Criollos were at the ‘*Primera Junta*’ of 1810 and the following ‘*Junta Grande*’, and, according to Douglass,<sup>37</sup> ten out of twenty-two of the Argentinean presidents from 1853 to 1943 were of Basque descent.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Azcona, José Manuel, “Cultura Vasca Contemporánea en los países del Cono Sur”, in Douglass, William A., at al, *The Basque Diaspora/La Diaspora Vasca*, (Reno, University of Nevada/Basque Studies Program, 1999), 29.

<sup>28</sup> Douglass, *Global Vasconia: Essays on the Basque Diaspora*, ... 16.

<sup>29</sup> Toticagüena, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*, ... 55.

<sup>30</sup> Goyeneche, Eugène, *Notre Terre Basque*, Bayonne, Editions Ika, 1961).

<sup>31</sup> Toticagüena, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*, ... 56.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Auza, Gonzalo, “125 años del Centro Vasco *Laurak Bat* de Buenos Aires”, 191 *Euskonews & Media*, 2002, 1-3.

<sup>35</sup> Álvarez Gila, Oscar, “La independencia argentina” In Álvarez Gila, O. et al. (2010). *Los Vascos en las Independencias Americanas*, (Colombia, Fundación Centro Vasco Euskal Etxea y Editorial Oveja Negra, 2010)

<sup>36</sup> Álvarez Gila, La independencia argentina ... , 60

<sup>37</sup> Douglass, *Global Vasconia: Essays on the Basque Diaspora* ... , 19.

Gordejuela y Urquijo<sup>38</sup> states that Basque-Criollos were also leading figures of the Mexican independence and within Mexican society,<sup>39</sup> and the same story repeats itself throughout Latin America.

The second phase<sup>40</sup> can be traced to the post-Spanish-American war (1898). It is characterized by a shift of the migration pattern from leading administrative staff to peasants seeking jobs or better opportunities in the Americas, and also, latter on, escaping from wars and persecution.

I believe, on the other hand, that we can divide Basque migration in even more periods, in four different yet overlapping ones, which I seek to analyse on the following pages. The periods are:

- First, the so-called original Diaspora from the 16th to 18th century of Basques who were part of the Spanish colonial empire, and—as already analysed in this first section—who took part in the Spanish Empire enterprise as administrative figures or leading traders and merchants.
- The second can be traced to the 19th century, and was a wave of impoverished Basque migrants seeking jobs, especially in Uruguay and in Argentina, and also of refugees from the Spanish war of independence and the Carlist wars. The first and second waves overlap at some point during the independence of the many American countries, and the beginnings and ends of each wave cannot be precisely defined, as the process of substitution of the migration of Basque elites for peasants and later Basque refugees took over a century. During this period, the first *Euskal Etxeak*,<sup>41</sup> or Basque houses, were founded. These will be further analysed.
- The third wave can be described as the one of refugees from the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s. Here, the role of the members of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), which brought some tension to the Diaspora while politicising it, is relevant.
- The fourth wave is again a wave of refugees, but now mostly left-wing ones, during the 1960s and 1970s (members of ETA, families of political prisoners and any left-wing nationalists persecuted back home). It was a wave with less human displacement, but with significant ideological repercussions in the years to follow.

It is important to keep in mind the difficulties in identity maintenance members of a Diaspora face while dispersed, away from home, and with sporadic or even no contact with the Homeland. The *Euskal Etxeak*, thus, were created to strengthen ethnonational ties. As Eriksen noted, “social identity

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<sup>38</sup> Gordejuela y Urquijo, Jesús, *El Detonante de las Independencias Americanas*, in Álvarez Gila, Oscar et al. *Los Vascos en las Independencias Americanas*, (Colombia, Fundación Centro Vasco Euskal Etxea y Editorial Oveja Negra, 2010).

<sup>39</sup> Aramburu Zudaire, "La emigración vasca a América en la Edad Moderna: balance historiográfico" ... , 33-34.

<sup>40</sup> Totoricagüena, Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora.

<sup>41</sup> *Euskal Etxea* is the singular version, while *Euskal Etxeak* the plural.

becomes most important when it becomes threatened, which is often related to some kind of change, such as immigration”.<sup>42</sup>

The main reason<sup>43</sup> for the foundation of the *Laurak Bat*<sup>44</sup> of Buenos Aires in 1879 was to “manifest from the ‘ethnic unity’ of the four historical territories of the south of the Pyrenees, the ‘protest’ against the ‘constitutional unity’ imposed by the armed violence” or the suppression of the *Fueros*<sup>45</sup> by Spain following the Carlist Wars.

In other words, it was a way in which the Basques in the diaspora could manifest their ethnic identity and oppose what they considered as an aggression. It is important to note, however, that the main idea of the *Laurak Bat* founders was not the one of independence from Spain, but rather of the restoration of the previous legal arrangement of the *Fueros*. It is not a mere curiosity that the official name of the *Laurak Bat* was, at the time of its foundation, *Sociedad Vasco-Española* or Basque-Spanish Society.

### 3. The Second Wave

The second wave of Basque migration can be understood as the period during the Independence wars against Spain. The pattern of migration and migrants shifted from colonial elites to peasants and impoverished workers, but also to political refugees escaping from wars in Spain and France.

Toticagüena<sup>46</sup> considers the period of independence in the Americas as an *interregno*. But on the contrary, it is more than that: it is a complete shift in patterns that lasted a century and coincided with serious changes within the Basque Country, especially with the abolition of the *Fueros*, as a result not only of state modernization, but also of two Carlist Wars,<sup>47</sup> as mentioned before. The number of Basques that migrated to the Americas during the 19th century until the 30s of the following century, reached, in conservative estimates, 200,000 people.<sup>48</sup>

Taking into account not only the perspective from the Americas, but also from the Basque Country, migration became not only an opportunity for many, but also the only chance to survive persecution. The Spanish-American War of 1898 may be a key turning point for Spain, but for most Basques, or at least for migrants, there were other more significant turning points.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*. (London, Pluto, 1993), 68.

<sup>43</sup> Ezkerro, Mikel, *Historia del Laurak Bat de Buenos Aires (Vol. 9)*. (Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia-Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco, 2003).

<sup>44</sup> The Four in One, meaning the union of the Basque historical regions of Navarre, *Gipuzkoa*, *Araba* and *Bizkaia*, all of them in the Spanish state.

<sup>45</sup> Legal system that gave special internal powers to the Basque region in its relationship with the Spanish crown and government abolished in 1876.

<sup>46</sup> Toticagüena, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*, ... 55-61.

<sup>47</sup> The First Carlist War (1833-1840) and the Third Carlist War (1872-1876).

<sup>48</sup> Tápiz Fernandez, José Maria, "La actividad política de los emigrantes, el caso vasco (1903-1936)", In Álvarez Gila, Oscar., Morales, Alberto Angulo, *Las migraciones vascas en perspectiva histórica (s. XVI-XX)*. (Bilbao, UPV/EHU, 2002), 181.

<sup>49</sup> Iriani Zalakain, Marcelino, *Hacer América: Los Vascos en la Pampa Húmeda*, (Bilbao, Universidad del

It is true that there is an overlap of waves, from the first to the second, as the independence of many countries in America did not happen in the same year but within a century-long period of time. Additionally, refugees from the Carlist War started arriving during the first half of the 19th century. We can say with some degree of certainty that the second wave started while the 'old Basques' of the first wave were still the protagonists. The tension between these two waves will arise especially in the second half of the century, lasting up to the eve of the 20th century.

What differentiates the first and second waves was that the latter was composed mainly of political refugees and peasants,<sup>50</sup> while the members of the previous wave had enjoyed better social status and normally went willingly to the Americas.

According to Douglass,<sup>51</sup> many of the Basque refugees from the Carlist wars were skilled and had professions such as doctors and lawyers, and found themselves in better positions within the host societies of Latin America (not only due to the long standing presence of Basques that could receive them and make arrangements, but also because of the language, as most of them spoke Spanish). Yet, the majority of migrants were "unskilled and semiskilled peasants and workers seeking a better future in a new land".<sup>52</sup>

The second wave sets the basis for the future ones with regards to the creation of tensions in the Diaspora. During the second half of the 19th century, Basque Houses or *Euskal Etxeak* were founded. These were structures that did not exist before, as Basques tended to organise themselves within the *Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País* (Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country) which served as a mostly economic, but also political, lobby towards the American colonies. It also included religious entities, such as the *Orden Tercera de San Francisco*<sup>53</sup> or the brotherhood of *Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu*<sup>54</sup> and aid and beneficial institutions.<sup>55</sup>

By the end of the 19th century, Basques founded the *Euskal Etxeak* not only as social clubs for Basques, but also as institutions to help those in need, especially the newcomers looking for a better life. In the USA, Basque Houses were also an instrument to take care of those who 'lost their mind' while working for months as sheep herders completely alone in the vast fields of the North American west.<sup>56</sup>

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País Vasco, 2000).

<sup>50</sup> Douglass, *Global Vasconia: Essays on the Basque Diaspora ...*, 71.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Álvarez Gila, Oscar, *La independencia argentina ...*, 30.

<sup>54</sup> Aramburu Zudaire, *La emigración vasca a América en la Edad Moderna: balance historiográfico.*

<sup>55</sup> Muru Ronda, Fernando, "Las colectividades vascas de Sudamérica" In Douglass, William. A., Urza, C., White, L., Zulaika, Joseba. *The Basque Diaspora/La Diaspora Vasca*, (Reno, University of Nevada/Basque Studies Program, 1999), 100.

<sup>56</sup> Douglass, *Global Vasconia: Essays on the Basque Diaspora, ...* 147-153.

According to Tápiz Fernandez,<sup>57</sup> many Basques migrating from both the Spanish and the French side of the border were incapable of speaking Spanish, and tended to seek refuge among other members of the ethnonational groups, creating societies for mutual aid, such as the *Euskal Echea* in Buenos Aires or the *Euskal Erria* in Montevideo.

Tensions arose within such houses as newcomers from the wars in Europe arrived, bringing with them the political agendas or ideologies that were not relevant issues for the “old Basque migration”.<sup>58</sup> The new migrants brought a political discourse, as well as a sense of ‘Basqueness’ that was completely different from the mostly “Latinized”<sup>59</sup> old Basques.

#### 4. Nationalists arrive

From the beginning of the 20th century, the ideas of Sabino Arana—the founder of the modern Basque nationalism in the 19th century—arrived in the Diaspora through the Basques that were migrating both for economic reasons and to work as propagandists of the Aranist ideology.<sup>60</sup> Basque nationalism became yet another source of tension within the Diaspora community and the *Euskal Etxeak* led to the creation of factions, resulting even in the foundation of rival Basque Houses in Mexico City and Buenos Aires.<sup>61</sup>

Arana's ideology rescued and combined the *fuerrista* and *Calista* traditions along with conservative Christianity.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, it rewrote Basque history by adding a set of ancient myths, imposing the idea of race purity and of a complete independence from Spain since immemorial times, ending the historical cohabitation of Spanish and Basque identities,<sup>63</sup> and substituting the previous ethnic historical regionalism for a new nationalist perspective that represented a profound split from the previous political traditions.

Additionally, the type of migrants shifted once again. It was no longer impoverished peasants who went to America; instead, migrants included political refugees from the Spanish Civil War,<sup>64</sup> many of them with connections to the PNV,<sup>65</sup> but also others with ties to the Spanish Communist Party. This resulted in the formation of a new and political wave of migrants different from the previous two waves, of colonial elites to poor peasants and political

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<sup>57</sup> Tápiz Fernandez, José Maria, *La actividad política de los emigrantes, el caso vasco (1903-1936)*..., 181-183.

<sup>58</sup> Douglass, *Global Vasconia: Essays on the Basque Diaspora ...*, 35.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Tápiz Fernandez, José Maria, *La actividad política de los emigrantes, el caso vasco (1903-1936)*..., 183.

<sup>61</sup> Douglass, *Global Vasconia: Essays on the Basque Diaspora ...*, 35.

<sup>62</sup> Núñez Seixas, Xosé Manoel. *Movimientos Nacionalistas en Europa. Siglo XX*, (Madrid, Sintesis, 2004), 55.

<sup>63</sup> Molina, Fernando and Oiarzabal, Pedro J, "Basque-Atlantic shores: ethnicity, the nation-state and the diasporain Europe and America (1808-98)", 32(4) *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2009), 698-715; Conversi, Daniele, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1997).

<sup>64</sup> Álvarez, Adriana, *Historia del Centro Vasco Denak-Bat: Mar del Plata*, (Vitoria-Gasteiz, Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco, 2002), 56.

<sup>65</sup> Basque Nationalist Party founded by Sabino Arana.

refugees that were not at all nationalists, as seeking the independence of an imagined Basque Country.

Through the following years, thousands of Basques fled from the Basque Country to the Diaspora, most of them to the Americas, influencing directly the process of identity construction and identity maintenance of the old Basque migrants. In the 20th century, the new patterns of migration shifted thus from those escaping economic hardship to people who had suffered political oppression far greater than that experienced by earlier migrants in the second half of the previous century.

Specifically considering the nationalist migrants, Tápiz Fernandez<sup>66</sup> identified three periods or phases in which the nationalist ideals of the PNV members reached, developed and settled in the Diaspora. The first one from 1903 to 1910, a “moment of growth and development of the nationalistic ideal in the Americas”,<sup>67</sup> the second from 1910 to 1920, a regression of such ideals and, finally, from 1920 to 1936, the full implementation of the nationalistic ideals, almost as a preparation for the many refugees coming from the Spanish Civil War.

At first, nationalist newcomers started joining Basque clubs and taking part in their publications, but also creating new ones, such as the *Euzko Batzokija* in Rosario, Argentina. This gave the first push for the spread of the nationalist ideology among the Diaspora. During the second phase in the 1920s, ‘old Basques’ started fighting against what was considered an infiltration of ideas that were not considered relevant for the Basques from *Iparralde*, or the so-called French Basque Country,<sup>68</sup> who also founded their own clubs. At that time, the PNV was not yet as strong, and its representation was confined mainly to *Bizkaia*, on the Spanish side.<sup>69</sup> This weakness reflected on the diaspora.

Only in the 1920s, the PNV started to grow in the Diaspora (as well as in the Basque Country itself). It is important to remind that the growth of the PNV and of the nationalist ideology was not linear, and that it was an ‘imported’ phenomenon, meaning that it was born in the Homeland and brought to the Diaspora. Only after some years and a certain amount of pressure, it started to create roots and to dominate.<sup>70</sup>

Also, it is important to note that the *PNVistas*<sup>71</sup> first took control of the *Euskal Etxeak* and then started expanding to the colonies of Basque migrants, a movement that was somewhat easier than the previous, as the ideal of a Basque nation and identity were already part of the ideology of most Carlists Basques.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Tápiz Fernandez, *La actividad política de los emigrantes, el caso vasco (1903-1936) ...*, 183.

<sup>67</sup> In the original: “momento de crecimiento y de desarrollo del ideal nacionalista en América” in Tápiz Fernandez, *La actividad política de los emigrantes, el caso vasco (1903-1936)...*, 183.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, 183.

<sup>69</sup> Granja Sainz, José Luis de la, *El Nacionalismo Vasco: Un Siglo de Historia*, (Madrid, Tecnos, 2002).

<sup>70</sup> Tápiz Fernandez, *La actividad política de los emigrantes, el caso vasco (1903-1936)*.

<sup>71</sup> Members of the PNV, Basque Nationalist Party.

<sup>72</sup> Álvarez Gila, Oscar. (1996) “Vascos y vascongados: luchas ideológicas entre carlistas y nacionalistas en los centros vascos en el Río de la Plata, 1890-1930” In Scobedo Mansilla, Ronald et al (eds.);



A struggle for power began, with ‘old Basques’ trying to keep the houses as they were—a safe haven—while the newcomers attempted to turn them into political strongholds for pressuring Spain and the host countries to act against Franco and to assure the ‘ancient rights’ of the Basque people.

In Mexico City, the Basque Spanish Circle (*El Circulo Vasco Español*), with ties to the Francoist regime, was founded in 1935 due to the takeover of the local *Euskal Etxea* by nationalists. Other tensions arose in previous years such as in Buenos Aires where the Gure Echea was founded in 1929 due to disagreements on the ‘nationalistic’ guidance of the *Laurak Bat*.

As Oiarzabal noted, “during the 1930s and onward, Diaspora associations and communities were influenced by thousands of Basques who were forced into exile as a result of the Spanish Civil War and World War II. This implied a certain degree of Basque nationalist politicization”.<sup>73</sup>

*...homeland politics are found ‘embedded’ in diaspora discourse or identity, culture, and homeland. The diaspora political discourse is exemplified by means of multiple cultural and folkloric activities and symbols. The so-called diaspora’s ‘cultural’ ethnonationalist dimension makes assertions that are political in nature. In other words, this dimensions disguises to some extent manifestations or expressions of Basque nationalism.*<sup>74</sup>

It is interesting that years later during the arrival of left-wing political refugees, many of them of *Abertzale*<sup>75</sup> ideology, the *Euskal Etxeak*, politicised by the *PNVistas* years before, changed their statutes to avoid ‘politicising’ the diaspora as well as to avoid conflicts with host-nations allied to Spain or connected to Spanish interests. As being Basque is already a political statement, it makes no sense that ‘apolitical’ status was brought up with the excuse of avoiding further conflicts within the Diaspora.

And, as history has shown, the attempts to avoid ‘politicising’ the diaspora, or at least the Basque Houses did not work as expected. On the one hand, the Basque diaspora is heavily politicised, as Oiarzabal<sup>76</sup> exemplifies when mentioning the statutes of FEVA (the Federation of Basque Houses in Argentina) or by stating that “the Basque Diaspora has historically internalized the nationalist interpretation of Basque ethnicity”, and, on the other hand, there are cases of political conflicts and tensions.

Oiarzabal<sup>77</sup> recalls the resignation of the representatives of the *Euskal Etxea* of Laprida, in Buenos Aires region of FEVA due to political disagreements or the alleged reasons for the split between the *Editorial Ekin*, *Eusketxe*, *Euskatzaleak*

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*Emigración y redes sociales de los vascos en América.* (Vitoria-Gasteiz, UPV-EHU, 1996), 171-192.

<sup>73</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s ...*, 167.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, 171.

<sup>75</sup> *Abertzale* means “patriot” or “nationalist” and both members of the PNV and of the left wing nationalist political parties can be considered as such.

<sup>76</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s ...*, 172-173.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, 169

and the Basque club *Laurak Bat* in 2005 that will be further discussed in the next section.

## 5. New nationalists

But what differentiates left-wing Basques from the third (Civil War) and fourth (left-wing *Abertzales*) waves?

The majority of the third wave migrants were made up mainly of Basque nationalists with connections to the PNV, who had fought against Franco or fled during the Civil War and that arrived at the Diaspora with a few of the Basque institutions abroad already in the hands of sympathizers of the party. For years, these members and sympathizers of the PNV clashed with Basques of the previous wave(s) imposing their nationalistic ideals, despite the fact that members of both waves tended to be Christian conservatives.

The fourth wave, on the other hand, was made up almost entirely by left-wing refugees that were generally *Abertzale* with some sort of link to ETA<sup>78</sup> as well as a small percentage of exiles still fleeing from the Francoist regime and a few running from ETA itself.

The group was the result of the radicalization of a younger generation<sup>79</sup> who would put an end to the PNV monopoly of the Basque society,<sup>80</sup> and who would be successful in creating “a community with a totalizing vocation”.<sup>81</sup> The PNV kept its hegemony over the Basque Country population, and the same happened to the diaspora, but it now faced a challenge with a more radical group disputing the same spaces. Among those spaces were the *Euskal Etxeak*.

One of the main difficulties of ETA exiles and left wing *Abertzales* in general was not only the fact that PNV was already well implanted throughout the diaspora, but, additionally, due to its non-racial ideal of Basqueness<sup>82</sup> as well as its socialist ideals instead of the catholic/conservative ideology of the PNV.

This new nationalist wave had a new discourse: class struggle, emancipation, workers struggle. The nationalist goal came together with the emancipation of the working class, and the idea of the Basque nation was not just of a nation made up by Basques, but of Basque workers. Such groups tended to approach other left-wing groups within the guest nations and organise solidarity committees and join different and local struggles, while the PNV members and supporters were still closer to the political elites and bourgeoisie.

In other words, the left-wing nationalists brought to the *Euskal Etxeak* a new ideology of class and workers struggle and spoke of a nation less in terms of race or blood/heritage or isolationist rhetoric, (though PNV also dropped such

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<sup>78</sup> *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*, or Basque Land and Freedom, a group that for over 50 years has been struggling for the independence of the Basque Country and is considered by Spain and France a terrorist group.

<sup>79</sup> Granja Sainz, *El Nacionalismo Vasco: Un Siglo de Historia ...*, 76.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 179.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 180.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*.



‘classical’ concepts over time), but rather as a broad political and social construction built on the basis of emancipation.

Left wing nationalists tended to form ties with local political groups. Rather than just promoting an idea of “basqueness” through isolation, they tended to seek support for their struggle (from class to ethnic) among host nation groups and individuals and gave support to such groups forming chains of solidarity.

*... the Basque diaspora is reifying the Basque nationalist project of building a nation-state based on an imagined ancestral territory formed by seven historical provinces under the nineteenth-century nationalist motto of Zazpiak Bat.<sup>83</sup>*

During the 1970’s some of the *Euskal Etxeak* changed their statutes to impose some ‘non-political’ or ‘apolitical’ status to them.<sup>84</sup> In other words, to some degree they kept defending the independence of the Basque Country on the lines of the PNV’s Aranist ideology, but forbade the political activities of the newcomers, generally left-wing nationalists or *Abertzales*.

During the 1990s one way for homeland political groups such as the *Herri Batasuna* (the radical left wing party of that time) to communicate with the diaspora was through sending e-mails and publications to the *Euskal Etxeak* and for it to then be distributed among members. Yet, there were many times the material was simply deleted or destroyed by the then PNV-led clubs.<sup>85</sup>

*Excluding Australia, the PNV had the advantage of a developed network and established communications with diaspora Basque centres, and the majority of Civil War exiles were familiar with PNV names, strategy and goals. The ETA disagreement with the PNV, and subsequent splits within ETA, confounded an already extremely complex nationalist movement. The change in rhetoric of the New Left to class struggle and class identity rather than ethnic and cultural struggle and identity was not well received by Basques who had not lived in the provinces perhaps for decades.<sup>86</sup>*

It is important to keep in mind that the migration wave of the 70s was not as large in number of arrivals as the previous ones, but it had just as great an impact because it created visible tensions that continue to exist today in the *Euskal Etxeak* and in the diaspora itself, as it imposed a need to take a political stand in otherwise so-called ‘apolitical’ institutions<sup>87</sup>—despite the fact that most, if not all, Basque organisations claim a territorial unity that is part of a

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<sup>83</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s ...*, 154.

<sup>84</sup> Totoricagüena, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*, ... 75.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, 94-95.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 75.

<sup>87</sup> Oiarzabal, Pedro. J., "'We Love You': The Basque Government's Post-Franco Discourses on the Basque Diaspora", 26 *Sancho el Sabio* (2007), 95-131;

nationalistic ideology, an imagined community with nationalist ideals and goals of independence.

The *Euskal Etxeak* are political institutions *per se* and they have also been used or manipulated by consecutive PNV-led Basque governments since the end of the Franco dictatorship<sup>88</sup> sometimes as proxies for the spread of the PNV-view of Basque nationalism, other times as ‘ambassadors’ of the Basque Country or simply as a tool for propaganda, to demonstrate, for instance, that Basque Country is more than ETA and that Basques are a peaceful people.

Younger members of the Basque houses, refugees,<sup>89</sup> and sympathisers of ETA’s struggle imposed pressure on the *Euskal Etxeak* to support the fight of the Basque group which was considered a fight for the Basque Country and the Basque people. This triggered consistent pressure from local governments, some with ties to the Spanish Francoist regime or the previous democratic regime. The political activities of some of the ‘radical’ members of the diaspora and of the *Euskal Etxeak* embarrassed and created trouble for the directors of the clubs.<sup>90</sup>

*The institutional diaspora is not a community free of tensions and disagreements. This divisiveness, in my understanding, cannot be read in white and black tones. That is to say, it is not much about being in favour or against ETA, but about perceiving to be utilized so overtly for political partisan purposes, which defy, somehow, the defining nature of many of the diaspora associations: inclusiveness, openness, and, in theory, non-partisan allegiances and apolitical principles. These divisions tend to neutralize any preconceived interpretation of the diaspora as a homogeneous and passive entity. It shows that the Basque diaspora is as plural, even politically, as the Basque homeland society itself.<sup>91</sup>*

Basques from the diaspora compared their situation and ETA’s struggle to the struggle of the *Tupamaros* in Uruguay, to the civil movements in the USA, the “*desaparecidos*” (Disappeared) situation in Argentina, etc., as a way to expose the suffering of the Basque people and, to some degree, to show support for ETA.<sup>92</sup>

In 1992-94, a series of demonstrations in Uruguay in support for seven alleged ETA members living in the country, who were subject to an extradition request by Spain, resulted in fights with the local military police and the death of one demonstrator and the serious injury of over 100, amidst a huge demonstration near the Filtro Hospital, where three of the political prisoners had been taken

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 110-125.

<sup>89</sup> Kurlansky, Mark, *The Basque history of the world: The story of a nation*, (Penguin Books, 2001), 285.

<sup>90</sup> Totoricagüena, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*, ... 83-100.

<sup>91</sup> Oiarzabal, Pedro. J., “We Love You’: The Basque Government’s Post-Franco Discourses on the Basque Diaspora” ..., 124

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*.

due to a hunger strike.<sup>93</sup> The episode is known as the *Massacre del Hospital Filtro* (Filtro Hospital Massacre) and mobilised not only the Basque community, but a considerable portion of the Uruguayan population defending the refugee status of those people allegedly persecuted by Spain.

The then president of the Autonomous Basque Government, Antonio Ardanza, asked the president of the *Euskal Erria* club to publically denounce ETA, which he refused. Ardanza, then, accused the Basque club to be under the control of “a position close to ETA”, a declaration that damaged relations between Uruguayan Basque houses and the Basque Government (and the PNV).<sup>94</sup>

Oiarzabal<sup>95</sup> gives us an example of the political tensions within the *Euskal Etxeak* for the support of some of its members or organisations within its structure by describing the expulsion of the *Eusketxe*<sup>96</sup> of the premises of the *Laurak Bat* in 2004.

The *Eusketxe*, an umbrella organisation for the *Ekin* editorial and the *Euskaltzaleak* (Basque-language initiative), was evicted from the *Laurak Bat* in Buenos Aires after decades, because of its support for left wing ‘radical’ nationalist ideology and Basque political prisoners (ETA and alleged ETA members).<sup>97</sup>

*Dictatorial regimes in Argentina and Uruguay supplied daily reminders to Basques in those countries of how life in homeland continued. Worldwide attention to the plight of the Basques as an oppressed people lent credence and justification for ETA actions. However, soon media coverage focused on ETA activities themselves, not the rationale or objectives behind them, leading host-country populations to equate Basques with violence and terrorism, a burden that diaspora Basques everywhere have had to carry.*<sup>98</sup>

For years, groups such *JO TA KE Rosario*, *Asociación Venezolana de Amigos de Euskal Herria* (Venezuelan Association of Friends of the Basque Country), *Asociación Diaspora Vasca* (Basque Diaspora Association), the *Euskal Herriaren Lagunak* (Friends of the Basque Country), the *Red Independentistak* (Independentist Network) among others, have been competing both online and offline for the space and the minds of the Basques in the Diaspora, promoting a more radical nationalistic agenda, maintaining ties with the Basque Nationalist or *Abertzale* left wing parties in the homeland and spreading support for Basque political prisoners.

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<sup>93</sup> Mintegiaga, Jon, *El Filtro: Memorias de los refugiados vascos en Uruguay*, (Txalaparta, 2009).

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 97-99.

<sup>95</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s ...*, 180-181.

<sup>96</sup> *Eusko Kultur Etxea*, or Basque Culture House.

<sup>97</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s ...*, 180-181.

<sup>98</sup> Totoricagüena, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora, ...* 77.

Despite the so-called ‘apolitical’ status of the *Euskal Etxeak* and FEVA,<sup>99</sup> during the 90s and the first years of the 21st century, these groups were repeatedly called by the Basque government to stand up against the ETA's violence.<sup>100</sup> This means that they were supposed to make political declarations towards a political matter of the homeland in order to improve the image of the homeland and the Basques themselves. During the Third World Congress of Basque Communities, the PNV Basque government pressured delegates to approve a document condemning ETA's violence. Many delegates “did not welcome the draft, and some delegates were angered by it”.<sup>101</sup> In fact, this declaration caused tensions within the homeland with the then Basque Nationalist Left party (*Sozialista Abertzaleak*)<sup>102</sup> stating that the PNV and the Basque government were “manipulating” the diaspora.<sup>103</sup>

On the one hand, the *Euskal Etxeak* occasionally made political declarations in order to satisfy the needs of the PNV and the Basque government for support from their 8th “*herrialde*” or province. On the other hand, most of the solidarity work towards political prisoners was made by organisations and individuals outside the *Euskal Etxeak*, meaning that the sensitive political issues, especially those that are not of the interest of the PNV leaders, were left outside the Basque clubs.

## 6. Conclusions

I have analysed the history and the political tensions within the *Euskal Etxeak* or ‘Basque clubs’ and the Basque diaspora from the first waves of migration to the first years of the 21st century. This history of conflicts, ruptures and ideological disputes of a diaspora can be traced back to the first years of Europe's maritime explorations.

The Basque clubs were initially safe heavens and aid centres for Basques as they were able also to promote their language, culture, dances—their identity—to younger generations. They were also a place for those who were born in the Basque Country and needed to feel at home and among equals.

The first tensions came soon; in some cases, such as the *Euskal Etxea* of Montevideo, just a few years after its foundations. Basques who felt more Spanish ended up founding their own clubs, in some cases also Basques from the French side (*Iparralde*) or from Navarre sought to create their own institutions.

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<sup>99</sup> Arrondo, Cesar, “The Argentine Basque Diaspora: Origin, Role and Political Participation”, in Cruset, Maria Eugenia, *Migration and New International Actors: An Old Phenomenon Seen with New Eye*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 32.

<sup>100</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s ...*, 110.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, 111.

<sup>102</sup> *Sozialista Abertzaleak*, *Herri Batasuna*, *Batasuna*, *Euskal Herritarrok* are the different names of basically the same political party by which the left-wing political movement was known during the years in the Spanish side of the Basque Country. Once one party was illegalized by the Spanish justice system, another came to life.

<sup>103</sup> Oiarzabal, *The Basque Diaspora Webscape: Identity, Nation and Homeland, 1990s-210s ...*, 112.

The initial pledge for respect of the *Fueros* soon changed to a more nationalistic approach, and within a period of less than fifty years, the *Euskal Etxeak* were generally connected to, or under the influence of, the PNV and their ideology. Then, new nationalists emerged with new ideas and a different view of the needs of the Basque Country and its independence process. Sometimes, they had a more radical approach, but in general Basque clubs in Latin America tended to welcome refugees or those seeking the refugee status and sustained long debates on the ‘ETA issue’, many times disagreeing with the Basque government in condemning the group and its political violence.

As demonstrated, tensions were innate within the Basque clubs as they reflected, to some degree, the “homeland” politics and even geographical divisions of the Basque Country or *Euskal Herria*.<sup>104</sup>

It is also important to mention the role of the internet in helping the process of maintaining the Basque identity, as well strengthening diaspora-homeland ties while promoting even more politicisation of the Basque diaspora members.<sup>105</sup> With the widespread use of the internet, Basques have no longer to depend on the *Euskal Etxeak* to get information from “home”, which, as mentioned simply didn’t distribute some information when the direction of the club did not agree with the kind of information or its ideological origin. Instead, they can acquire information directly from Basque sources and even create a dual or multi-communication channel.<sup>106</sup> Left wing nationalist groups strive, with the use of social media tools such as blogs,<sup>107</sup> Facebook,<sup>108</sup> Twitter, etc. not only to increase communication, but also to expose political activity on the margin of the *Euskal Etxeak* of already mentioned groups such as *Jo Ta Ke Rosario*, the *Euskal Herriaren Lagunak*, etc.

With the process of the ending of ETA, and in the midst of a long process of disarmament and international verification (despite the lack of interest on the side of the Spanish government), Basque diaspora tends to change once again with the influx of migrants escaping the deteriorating economic conditions of Europe and more specifically of Spain and the Basque Country. It is interesting to keep in mind that two common traits among most of the Basque waves have been economic hardship and political oppression.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Muru Ronda, *Las colectividades vascas de Sudamérica...*, 102

<sup>105</sup> Tsavkko Garcia, Raphael, “Cuestiones sobre identidad y nación vasca en internet”, 684 *Euskonews* (2014.1), 1-3.

<sup>106</sup> Totoricagüena, Gloria. *Shrinking World, Expanding Diaspora*, in Douglass, William A., Urza, C., White, L. and Zulaika, Joseba, *The Basque Diaspora/La Diaspora Vasca*. (Reno, University of Nevada/Basque Studies Program, 1999), 284-301.

<sup>107</sup> Tsavkko Garcia, Raphael, *Comunidades online e blogosfera: Questões sobre identidade e nação vasca*. 24 *Prisma.com* (2014.2), 40-60.

<sup>108</sup> Díaz Bizkarguenaga, Koldo and Tsavkko Garcia, Raphael, “Transnacionalismo e Internet. El caso vasco” in F. J. García Castaño, A. Megías Megías, & J. Ortega Torres (Eds.), *Actas del VIII Congreso sobre Migraciones Internacionales en España* (Granada, 16-18 de septiembre de 2015), (Granada, Instituto de Migraciones, 2015), 82-94.

<sup>109</sup> Totoricagüena, Gloria, *Basque diaspora: migration and transnational identity*, (Reno, Center for Basque Studies, 2005).

From spaces for the basic promotion/maintenance of ethnonational identity<sup>110</sup> to proxies of the Basque government (not without tensions and disputes) and spaces for the promotion of a diasporic identity and of homeland-diaspora politics, the *Euskal Etxeak* are not only a reflection of the homeland. They are also autonomous and in constant evolution which reflects the complicated and special relationship between homeland and a diaspora, which is a living organism and with the *Euskal Etxeak* as its nerve centre.

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<sup>110</sup> Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The quest for understanding...*



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