**Research Bibliography: Nationalist Basque Terrorism**

**Prepared for HIE477 Essay Assignment**

Payne, S. (1971). Catalan and Basque nationalism. Journal of Contemporary History, 6(1), 15-51. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/002200947100600102?casa_token=vqsWdBlhOfkAAAAA:-VOJX43jAtmKy5ZpiVAtwW_tcgFkieg6kE_EfNdb5J26vZSroSZs1HCl6L7K8yKusuzrPsAkiVYM>. “Basque nationalism developed more slowly and weakly than the Catalan movement and was partly derived from its example.”(31) “The final abolition of the fueros was met by the hostility of nearly all politically conscious elements in the Basque country and Navarre. During the early years of the restored monarchy a Foralist party was organized but attracted only limited support.” (35). “In 1893 the Spanish government first tried to raise Basque and Navarrese tax quotas, which were still set at the very modest levels of 1841. This led to violent public demonstrations; the quotas were finally raised, but still remained proportionately well below the taxes paid in the rest of Spain. It was at this time that the first nucleus of Basque nationalism took form.”(35) [1893-1903] see rest of article for connections between political efforts and violence – possible connection to frustration-aggression hypothesis? See also greed vs grievance?

Muro, D. (2005). [Nationalism and nostalgia: the case of radical Basque nationalism. Nations and Nationalism](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2005.00220.x?casa_token=SUyL9L2yIZ8AAAAA:RIM94JFrQICPlQLJsyZjzcKl9iBCDhzjthJwx8GlnFSEq3eYz82vJskceroltJf1TTR-iurX-wAzmg), 11(4), 571-589. “ABSTRACT. This article argues that the myth of the Golden Age is a key mobilising element within radical Basque nationalism. By using an ethno-symbolist approach, this article argues that nostalgia, a catchword for looking back, usually relates to an idealised past. It then proceeds to explain how ETA in particular has domesticated the past to justify its political violence which is currently exalted as a means of honouring the fighting spirit of their ancestors. From this perspective, violence is presented as a redemptive act that can stop the decay of the Basque nation and bring a new political future in which the inspiring ancient virtues will be rediscovered. This nostalgic gaze upon the past continually ‘reminds’ radical Basque nationalists of an imaginary, yet familiar, past which can only be regained by using revolutionary violence.” [typical of the Romantic era in which Basque nationalism originated – does this still fit frustration-aggression, or is it a different causal mechanism?]

Sullivan, J. L. (1988, 2015). ETA and Basque Nationalism: The Fight for Euskadi 1890-1986. Routledge (RLE: Terrorism & Insurgency). [kindle $65] Amazon: “This book traces the formation of ETA (Euskadi ta Askatasuna) and the tensions created by its combination and aims: socialism and Basque nationalism. The Basque Nationalist movement emerged in the late nineteenth century as a response to the rapid transformation of Basque society by industrialisation. The influx of Spanish-speaking workers to Basque territories seemed to threaten the stability of Basque society. Gradually the immigrants became absorbed into the radical struggle, with the creation of illegal trade unions and the need to resist the Franco regime by whatever means. Over the next half century Basque consciousness developed until the radical nationalist organisation ETA was formed in 1959.” [Looks like chapters 2&3 will have the most useful content about its campaign strategy]

Zabalo, J., & Saratxo, M. (2015). [ETA ceasefire: Armed struggle vs. political practice in Basque nationalism](http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.939.8909&rep=rep1&type=pdf). Ethnicities, 15(3), 362-384. Abstract: “In October 2011, the Basque armed organization ETA announced an end to its activities. This article aims at studying the reasons leading up to this unilateral decision which had been taken without prior negotiations or agreements. To this end, a large part of existing bibliography on the subject was consulted and most of the documents released by ETA in recent years, including those for internal use, were also reviewed. In our opinion, ETA reached this decision on the basis of two conclusions and an overall view of the state of affairs. The first of these conclusions found that the two main channels opened up in 1975 to reach its tactical goals, namely, negotiation with Spain and a national front, had been fully exploited. The second concerns the great difficulty in continuing to defend armed struggle on the grounds that it helps reinforce these two channels. Moreover, the belief that it is possible to make greater advances without, rather than with, armed activity, was widespread, paradoxical as that might seem. Forty years after its political positioning with respect to post-Franco Spain, convinced that both channels had been exhausted, and of its limited legitimacy to explore new ones in its capacity as a political movement, ETA reassessed the situation, and once again changed its discourse and practice, with an aim to attaining its strategic goals.” [the end of violence in 2011 provides a good bookend if we want to focus on period of violence – what started it, what stopped it; could also relate this to advances in theory of nonviolent civil resistance, see [www.nonviolent-conflict.org](http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org) for related resources, but this might be more a politics paper than a history paper. Check with instructor. Need to look into this further to distinguish between tactical and strategic goals. Was there also a generational change? Technology and policing influences?]

Ruiz, D. M. (2004). Ethnicity and violence: The case of radical Basque nationalism. London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom). <https://core.ac.uk/reader/46519284> [this is a doctoral thesis from LSE, and it seems Diego Muro Ruiz is sometimes listed as Muro and sometimes as Ruiz, but it’s the same guy]

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