

CATALANISM TODAY

**CREATION, LANGUAGE
AND CULTURE COMMISSION**

**CATALANIST AND
DEMOCRAT FOUNDATION**

CATDEM FOUNDATION

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PROLOGUE

THE CATALONIA THAT DECIDES

On November 20th, 2007, Artur Mas delivered a speech at the conference “Catalanism, energy and hope for a better country.” From the very beginning, after stating that no one should forget that he was also Secretary General of a nationalist political party, *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (Democratic Convergence of Catalonia), he also wanted to make it clear what he wished to set in motion starting that very moment: “It is from the perspective of this outlook and commitment [to Catalanism and Catalonia] that I want to invite the Catalan society, particularly those who share my concerns and wish to build a new Catalan nation, to rethink, update, modernize and, in a way, re-establish Catalanism as a source of energy and a bridge of hope for a better Catalonia. Like all invitations, it is an open and integrating one that does not exclude anyone.” This is where the conversion of the Ramon Trias Fargas Foundation into today’s Catalanist and Democrat Foundation began, better known today as CatDem. To be more exact, the Foundation CatDem was given the task of bringing together various intellectuals and professionals from January 2008 until the date of this publication, who in turn had the job of making this project a reality.

Politics does not tend to be reflective. But Catalan politics is progressively becoming even less so. It is admirable that a political force would decide to create a think tank and that, on top of this, decide to leave it in the hands of people who are not members of

that political party. In fact, the Foundation CatDem is the result of a happy coincidence between the CDC's interest in finding out why - despite being the number one political force in the Catalan Parliament – it was losing electoral support election after election, and the concern of various nationalist professors and intellectuals about the lack of Catalanism's answers to globalized modernity. If, as those who have studied the issue point out, the Catalanism of the end of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century had been one of the engines of Spanish reformism – introducing the idea that Catalonia should be the economic powerhouse but also the conductor of political change – it makes sense to ask ourselves what it should be at the start of the 21st century and the years to come. The old Catalanism had certainly been a factor of Spain's modernity for many reasons (among them, for having wanted to exercise the right of citizenship – democracy in fact – but also for having demanded a reorganization of the State), and it needs to take up this role once again to provide solutions to a complex, plural and democratically consolidated society that is the Catalonia of the third millennium. As Arthur Mas pointed out at the aforementioned conference: “The Catalanism that was born in the mid-19th century, was developed during the first third of the 20th century and intensified in the last quarter of that century, has been a success story. Success is always measured by the degree to which the initial goals are achieved. Regarding Catalanism, a great deal of what was proposed 100 to 150 years ago has been achieved. And it was achieved despite enormous difficulties, which at times may have seemed insurmountable.”

What were these grand objectives? To put it briefly, they were: the survival the Catalan nation, which depended on the recovery of the institutions of self-government and the diffusion of a national culture; the social and economic progress of Catalans (or in other words, the modernization of the country and the welfare of society) and the regeneration of Spain, subdued by the scourge of a militarism that did not allow democracy to take root until the final third of the 20th century. The death of general Franco was precisely what cleared the way for the longest democratic period in Spanish and Catalan contemporary history, which has also coincided with the spread of globalization. The changes in both Spain and Catalonia have been extraordinary. Inevitably, this would also have an effect on the emerging social model. Spain's entry into NATO and the EU; a change in Catalonia's and Spain's production model and the development of the State of the Autonomies that has allowed us to build a more or less efficient Catalan self-government, reconfigured the Spanish political scene and in consequence, the role of Catalanism beyond Catalonia and within Catalonia. Said differently, the dream of the cultural-political movement of *noucentisme* - of building a national culture dedicated to classicism, but also European and modern, next to the Catalonia-city ideal— it is clear that this dream has reached its limit. Modern Catalonia is thus the result of this movement, since it was capable of finding the necessary political support to advance its program.

But the Catalonia of today has little to do with what was central to Catalanism at least from 1906 onwards. There are controversies that are no longer relevant – such as that of bilingualism or the co-existence of Catalan and Spanish – because the reality has been so transformed that it is ridiculous to keep this debate going on the

same terms. If it is true that 300 different languages are spoken in the city of Barcelona, as reputable studies have shown, why would it make any sense to keep rehashing the same debate that is no longer based on reality? The Catalonia of the future will never again be monolingual or bilingual, but multilingual. In the same way, religious diversity, which had previously existed in Catalonia but not nearly with today's intensity, is also a characteristic of the future that awaits us. As a result, in this context - one that Eugeni d'Ors would have had difficulty imagining - we must determine the role of Catalonia's local language and what must be done for it to survive while co-existing with all the other languages in the country. And this is the attitude that we must adopt with everything.

For two years now the Foundation CatDem has been reflecting on Catalonia's future from the perspective of Catalanism, the democratic ideal and freedom. Beginning in January 2008, the Foundation's task has been to put together different teams of experts who would attempt to rethink Catalanist discourse, adapting it to the 21st century's new realities, and also to the need for political regeneration, which is something that today's Catalan society has been demanding for some time now. Therefore, we have had Commissions that have reflected on a range of topics, such as Catalan culture and identity, the presence of women in society, the international projection of Catalonia, the policies of historical memory, immigration, etc. At the same time, three Areas of Reflection were created to debate the positioning of Catalonia in a globalized world (*Catalunya Global*; Global Catalonia), the infrastructure, production and environmental models in Catalonia (*Catalunya en Xarxa*; Networked Catalonia) and the social aspects and values shared among the citizenry of our country (*Catalunya Plural*; Plural Catalonia).

What must we do to guarantee that Catalonia has an important place in the world over the next few decades? How can we strengthen our country's projection to the outside world in the areas of business, science, technology, culture, development cooperation, sports, etc? Can Catalonia become a relevant actor on the international stage? What must we do to make it happen? A dozen experts from different disciplines, with solid professional trajectories and valuable personal experiences, have been working for more than a year in the Global Catalonia Ambit to find answers to these questions. The final result of this process of collective reflection can be found in the articles in the first of these volumes, and further synthesized in the 48 strategic proposals for the country with long and short-term goals. Among these proposals we can highlight the following: Catalonia's external presence is a direct consequence of its internal reality. Catalonia will only have a key role on an international level if it is successful as a country. We must encourage the desire and search for excellence (through effort, merit and the recognition of quality) in all parts of society, for all of society and not just reserved for an elite. Education must be improved, and the bar must be raised in the creation of human resources, promoting careers in science and technology, encouraging an enterprising mindset, and ensuring that Catalan society becomes English-speaking. In economic terrain, we must adopt a model of competitiveness that is responsible and sustainable, in such a way that the generation of wealth does not undermine social cohesion and the delicate environmental balance. With regard to the ICT (Information and Communication Technologies), together with the Government and the Catalan civil society, we must start up a project that will bring fiber access to all the homes in Catalonia. We must strengthen the role of the Catalan civil

society, especially at an international level, making the Federation of Internationally Recognized Catalan Organizations (FOCIR) a fundamental instrument for coordination and stimulus.

Regarding the Plural Catalonia Ambit, the experts who have helped elaborate the materials that went into this second volume point out that the national identity of Catalonia in the 21st century is strengthened through its undeniable plurality. “Plurality” is not an opposing concept to that of the notion of “identity.” Catalan culture has had to assume a strict attitude of resistance throughout many periods of its history, and this has simultaneously generated an understandable hypersensitivity about identity issues, especially linguistic ones. We must assume this legacy, but bring it up to date and proactively model it to advance towards a national plenitude that is coherent with the country’s plural reality.

A pluralist society allows its citizens, who have equal rights, to be able to enjoy vital aspects of their respective cultures and profess diverse moral codes. To acknowledge difference does not necessarily mean social atomism, but quite the contrary: we can differentiate ourselves as individuals only from a collective framework of shared values. Liberalism has been a good defender of the political equality of rights, and socialism has been a good defender of the social equality of rights. But neither classic liberalism nor socialism has been able to effectively include difference – linguistic, gender, religious, or of any other sort – nor make its political acknowledgement effective. This acknowledgement of difference inevitably goes hand in hand with the defense of pluralism. Language has been, and continues to be, the distinctive trait of Catalan identity, but more and more

Catalans are Spanish-speaking, or speakers of other languages, that feel nationally identified and politically committed to the country's aspirations of sovereignty. It is important to keep in mind that according to the thorough 2008 Inquiry on the Linguistic Uses of the Population, (*Enquesta d'Usos Lingüístics de la Població de 2008*), Catalan is no longer the primary language in Catalonia, either as a primary language or a language of communication.

Among the essential tools needed for managing pluralism, there are those supplied by judicial ordinance, that mark - with more or less precision - the framework in which we should recognize, respect and promote. The accommodating of plurality goes beyond the strictly political or cultural sphere: it also requires the appropriate legislation to make it effective. Numerous academic studies exist on the plural reality of Quebec, Flanders, Scotland, etc., which can help to correctly contextualize the topic, despite the fact that the specific conditions of each place, especially the linguistic ones, do not permit establishing generalizations that could end up being used politically.

Because identities are human constructions, it makes sense to reveal their true origins; and since the perception of plurality is not an objective truth, but also obeys extremely varied contingencies, it would make equal sense to situate it on the same plane. We freely assume certain identities just as we can freely assume certain pluralities that would have been impossible on other occasions. Along the same lines, depending on what the dominant values are at that time, the next generations might modify or model what today we simply assume.

In the Networked Catalonia Ambit, the question the participating specialists might have asked is: for Catalonia to work, what do we need to do? Faced with such a question, it is immediately tempting to fall into the trap of concretion, of the action plan, of putting the cart before the horse. In fact, this is a weakness of the Catalanism – and probably of the country and politics – of a former time: we have so idealized the *doing* of things that, too often, we have not paid enough attention to *why* we should do them.

Thus, the real question that this Ambit set out to answer was not to ask what we need to do to make Catalonia work – which is more like an electoral program -, but instead, what are the relevant themes and challenges that need to be answered in order for Catalonia to work – which is an approach that resembles a political doctrine. As a result, what does Catalanism need to reflect and decide on, what issues must be included in the agenda of the new Catalanism, one that has been renovated and situated in line with current times.

Catalanism is characterized by two elements – even defining Catalanism in its main historical trend -, which are the identification with modernity and reformism. At the same time, the values of modernity have been questioned up to the point that, today, the biggest concern is how to sustain the society and the economic model while leaving from different premises. On the other hand, we are coming to better understand that reformism, positive at the start, can become a handicap if it is not combined on key occasions with an indispensable vanguardist spirit that will allow us to take great leaps forward. These two aspects have also determined the reflection on the networked Catalonia.

At the same time, we need a spirit of difference. Catalonia does not have to aspire to be the same as others, but to be as differentiated as others are – this does not mean focusing only on the essentials, but quite the contrary, it means searching for aspects that we can identify with, that make us valuable to interact with, and that makes it interesting to work with us. To achieve this goal, and by valuing internal diversity as an important asset, we must understand Catalonia as a unit of global projection. This means assuming that the metropolitanism of Barcelona has extended throughout the country, that Catalonia is a metropolitan phenomenon (in reference to the metropolitan phenomena that are emerging today, and not how they were a half-century ago) and that we should stop stubbornly dividing the country in two realities that are deliberately conflicting and contradictory. The success of the Catalonia-city ideal, sought by the *noucentistes*, is an undeniable fact today. In consequence, the design of how the territory should be governed, instead of being inspired by archaic models, should provide a more creative solution to these new realities.

This change of model – preparing for the future instead of insisting on out-of-date approaches – has to have an effect on other equally relevant aspects. We will give a few examples. Urban planning has to overcome a vision that focuses solely on the occupation and the transformation of new territories, to understand that the combination of urban spaces and open or free spaces shape the country's reality, and have both complementary and necessary functions. Thus urban planning must contemplate reinventing or recycling the territories that are already occupied and favoring mixed-use spaces.

Education needs to be reformed so that it can become truly useful for meeting the needs of diffuse talent, of creativity, of job flexibility, etc. Thus, it must evolve not only in tools, but above all in content. The energy model must substitute the hegemony of petrol and energy waste for a real – and mental – diversification, in which the difference between being a consumer and an energy producer is reduced, and answers to the challenges of climate change. The industrial model of past centuries has to make way for a new model built on different productive foundations, including the green economy. The list of reforms is longer, but this still means that it is of utmost importance to act in each one of these fields with a spirit of innovation and renewal.

Inevitably, we must include sustainability in the aims that we have just indicated. Otherwise it will not be long before they go out-of-date. To clarify, the sustainability that Catalanist thinking is interested in is not the kind based on local environmental conflicts, but instead, that of getting involved in answering to the great social challenges, as a convinced actor and not a resigned spectator.

Obviously, the network has an elementary role in this reformulation, but not the network that is spread out as a collection of supporting infrastructures, but instead, as a way of conceiving the territory and civil society based on interaction – far from poorly understood self-sufficiency. An interaction that stimulates the country's openness, that encourages ambivalent hierarchies, that favors all forms of interaction (not only as receivers to what is going on outside, but also as active emitters), and so on.

This focus does will not dissolve the unity of the country, on the contrary; it will allow us the possibility of putting together a plan for our country – something indispensable – that is molded by both the “yes’s” and the “no’s”. It is absurd to aspire to be good at everything, scattering our efforts in a thousand different directions, because we wear ourselves out without obtaining satisfactory results in hardly anything. We must choose, from a realistic and pragmatic perspective, what areas we can and want to excel in. This has been attempted many times, but it has been done when only looking at the “yes’s”. Success depends on the “no’s”, or in other words, on if we also know how to say no to alternative options that disintegrate our limited capabilities.

We can deduce from this that we need effectiveness and efficiency to reach the stage of execution. Here we enter the terrain of governance, of the still-pending reflection on what kind of public administration we really want – and not how we introduce variations into the State’s model already in force, which is invalid and incapable of facing the challenges, complexities and needs of this new age. Without taking significant steps – and even radical ones – in this field, it will be difficult for other ambitions to advance as well. We must also “rewrite” the way we govern and organize public administration: Catalanism cannot risk patching up the current situation anymore, one that, any way you look at it, is inoperative.

Along this line of thinking, we must demand and reformulate the complementary - and not anti-ethical – role that the public and private sectors have. We must push for collaboration between these two enterprising spheres. The public sector should not seek out a

paralyzing interventionism, and the private sector should not feel disconnected from common interests. On the contrary, there are ways that the roles of both sectors can be optimally united. This means, on the other hand, that the country's renewal cannot be in the hands of politicians alone. In fact, without coordinated participation of the different spheres that make up society, this renewal is not viable.

In the end, and as the reader will see, the Networked Catalonia Ambit argues that in the new model for our country there must be a more creative spirit about what we can become, and not one that focuses on what we could have been. Above all, there must be a sense of urgency, because postponing the changes that our society needs is not an option.

At the conference on November 20th, Artur Mas had already been aware by intuition of several of these – let us call them recipes – which the experts have displayed here. Mas said, “Where Catalanism sought the survival of the nation, we must replace it with the fully-fledged nation, to experience national plenitude. Where it favored modernization, we must now put our faith in a country that leads the way. Where the regeneration of Spain was sought, we must now also ensure Catalonia's place in the world: constructing the global Catalonia. Where we spoke of independence and self-government, we must now speak of the right to decide for ourselves about the things that belong to us.” The materials that you have in your hands right now greatly widen this brief but accurate diagnostic.

Political oversimplification has sought to reduce the project of the Meeting House of Catalanism to an attempt by CDC to hire

people that they would later incorporate, for example, into their list of electoral candidates. This was not Artur Mas's intention for the program he started up at the end of 2007. To avoid any misunderstandings, this should be made clear from the beginning. More than a handful of important names, the Meeting House of Catalanism was – and is – a concept based on three principles that are broad enough to make it easy for many people to fit inside: humanism, democracy and Catalanism. What began two years ago had more to do with the intellectual debate and with the impact that ideas should have on political actions, and less to do with general formulas or personages.

Our objectives were modest and ambitious at the same time, because it is clear that trying to conduct a debate on the future of Catalanism and how to go from traditional Catalanism (as the leaders of the 19th and 20th century saw it) to a new Catalanism, is neither easy nor does it end with the publishing of these three volumes and the booklets presented in a digital format. It seems an even more difficult undertaking if we hope to spread Catalanism to the sectors that show indifference or hostility to it today, and above all, within the younger generations. While this internal debate has been going on, people have often asked us how we were going to manage to spread Catalanism beyond its current “frontiers.” Over the last few years, however, we have noticed that there are two different ways of approaching the issue of Catalanism and the right to decide. The first talk is to talk nonstop about sovereignty through propaganda. The technique is quite simple: exalt the objective without explaining how it will be achieved, or who will call for a referendum, and on what legal grounds. Can someone really believe that the UN or the EU will

endorse a process like this if we haven't achieved a wide enough social majority to demonstrate its suitability and validity? Since 2006 and the appearance of different pro-sovereignty platforms, the idea has spread that the Catalan society is growing increasingly pro-independent. At the moment, there is no reliable indicator that can support this. What is clear is that the pro-independence movement has permeated Catalan society. However, we should not be blinded by the electoral strength of multifaceted Catalan nationalism, which could even have formed a government in 2003 and 2006, because the weakness of Catalanist coordination (or those of sovereignty, or however we may call it) is a fact, and one that everyone recognizes. In addition, the current President of the Catalan Government doesn't believe in sovereignty either, and never passes up an opportunity to say so.

The second road to sovereignty is based, in exchange, on the idea that we need to be conscious that before we do anything, we need to build up a social majority that has no qualms about accepting the sovereignty postulates. Wouldn't it have been nice if we had already passed the autonomist phase! It is easy to fool ourselves, but actually touching reality, daring to touch it, is much more difficult. If we are so convinced that the pro-independence movement is an unstoppable tsunami, why then do we go on complaining about the weakness of our day-to-day Catalan-ness? Why do we lament that Catalan is dying when there are so many advocates for sovereignty prepared to defend it? And so on. As Daniel Innerarity says: "Governments are chosen, not nations." So, we truly have a long way to go before we convince Catalonia's citizenry that sovereignty is not a whim, but a necessity. It is important to widen the social base of Catalanism beyond the political parties, to incorporate

as many people as possible into the cause, because the enemy of sovereignty is, precisely, indifference.

To advance towards sovereignty we must abandon the tacitness that enslaves Catalan politics in an ephemeral and often insignificant battle. To strengthen Catalan-ness, what is needed from the start is to promote a Catalanist hegemony and also consolidate a network of civil associations that work for people's welfare and create a better image of the pro-independence movement for those who look upon it with indifference. We will be able to determine this project's success on the day that Catalanism has shifted to incorporate the country's new needs, many of which have been highlighted in these three volumes. If we have managed to construct a discourse on the right to decide that is acceptable to the majority of Catalans, and if Catalan citizens that are not aligned with the pro-sovereignty movement have joined this project (or at least, they do not see it as attack, but instead as a political thinking that also defends their interests) then we will be ready to go even farther. This is the ultimate meaning of the proposal of the Meeting House of Catalanism. In addition, success can also be measured when we have been able to strengthen the international prestige of Catalanism and the Catalan cause; of the Catalonia that decides and that wants to decide.

AGUSTÍ COLOMINES

Director of the Foundation CatDem

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**Coordinators of the ambits of *Global Catalonia*,
Plural Catalonia and Networked Catalonia.**

INTRODUCTION

For nearly a year, the Creation, Language and Culture Commission met up at the Catalanist and Democrat Foundation on a monthly basis, and focused on defining, clarifying, and debating the need for Catalanism. As one of the members of the Commission expressed it:

“I don’t like the word Catalanist at all if it implies that there are some Catalans that are Catalanist and some that are not, but what I like even less is the escapism of those who want us to believe that our submission as a nation is due to a problem or defect that is inherent in our customs, wealth, spiritual or pedagogical dimensions, simply because we do not explain ourselves well enough. Thus, something essential is at stake within the space that surrounds Catalanist expression, and we cannot afford to drop our guard nor become distracted again. It was painful to watch Raimon sing at the Castle of Montjuic in celebration of the fortress’s revival - but what kind of “revival” is not clear, as the only thing that the Castle symbolizes is our forced submission since 1714. What was once a voice of liberation has now become, after a number of years, a voice at a strange celebration, which clearly illustrates what has come to an end. We are alone, and we need to work alone. The forcefulness of Joan Sales - who can say with the required bluntness the things that can truly awaken us, keep us steady and force us to act with sobriety, tenacity and success - is evident when he writes to Mercè Rodoreda: “That Catalans have been acting like idiots

for nearly three hundred years does not justify that they stop being Catalan, but instead, this makes us obligated to stop acting like idiots.”

Already in the first meetings the question arose: Why should we continue to discuss Catalanism? The mere idea that we still need Catalanism would likely make the author of that “big little book” (according to Nicolau d’Olwer, *The Catalan nationality* by Enric Prat de la Riba) roll over in his grave after only a century, along with his fascinated readers of that period: artists, writers, intellectuals, etc. As one of the members of the Commission informally expressed it, we often ask ourselves why, after so many years with a revived Generalitat, or Catalan Government, we have not been capable of doing things comparable to what was achieved by the Mancomunitat and the first Republican Generalitat (at the beginning of the 20th century), which had fewer means available, fewer powers and a lesser Statute! Regardless, we can say that the members have reached a quorum (please see the brief “Who’s Who” of the Commission) of people with different ways of thinking and from different geographical regions, on the necessity of encouraging Catalanism and putting it into practice (or enticing people towards Catalanism). Why is Catalanism still necessary? Maybe because in order to survive globalization we need to imagine Catalanism to still be a contemporary issue – and do so by way of glocalization, or thinking locally and acting globally (which we will discuss later on) - or because through Catalanism we can contribute our unique point of view to the world. Underlying all of this, however, was the understanding that the point of departure would be CULTURE and not politics, and not only high culture, but also low culture

(equally known as “popular culture”). We wanted to include both within our definition, keeping in mind the limitations of being a small group, but nonetheless a group with a strong interest in the two Snowian¹ cultures (the Sciences and the Humanities) As one of the Commission members expressed it, surely all members would like to be the sons and daughters of a sovereign country within the EU – such as Malta or the Czech Republic - where they should not have to be anything more than good citizens who pay taxes and follow common laws. (In Malta, curiously enough, very little is known about their Catalan past, or at least they are as unaware of it as a large number of Catalans today are ignorant of our glorious medieval chroniclers). In order to have a healthy Catalan national identity, we must have a clear idea of our personal identity. In addition, nor have we forgotten the danger of today’s much-discussed global society, one that is capable of extinguishing national sentiment especially when those who defend it do not have their own State. This is where the possible interest in *glocalization* comes in.

All in all, it is a story of the disenchantment of the *cultural nation* (or, a miniscule part of it) towards the *political nation*, using the terminology of Joan Francesc Mira. If all the members of the Commission had felt satisfied with the current cultural and/or political Catalan reality, our proposals would have been nothing more than mutual congratulations. On the contrary, there was even talk of the triumph of Francoism - today, more than thirty years since the death of its defender. Despite this, all of the blame has not been laid on politics. Culturally, the

¹ Charles Percy Snow, First Baron Snow of Leicester (1905-80), novelist and scientist. He is best known for his eleven novels, beginning with *Strangers and Brothers* (1940) and his conference *Two Cultures* (1959).

blame can be shared among different entities, beginning with those that represent high culture (universities, specialized institutes, etc.), and ending with those that represent popular culture (the media). Apart from this, and as a footnote, we would advise politicians to do politics in a way that does not make them appear too much like politicians, considering the disrepute of politics today (see the statistics of participation in electoral meetings). The question – or questions – could be: Is a part of the blame to be found in the highly lauded Catalan civil society? Is politics responsible for the partial deactivation of this civil society? Or is this civil society responsible for the completely unsatisfactory state of politics today? To this we could add the inadequate coordination of the Catalan cultural spaces (Catalonia, Valencia, Mallorca) coupled to politics (the banishment of the *Països Catalans* at the start of the restoration of democracy in Spain), and there is no doubt that all of this minimizes the scope of Catalanism, certainly within the cultural domain.

Within the Commission, however, history was not “banished” from our discussions, and we have established the year 1948 as a disastrous date for Catalan life and culture: confirmation that the world was not interested in the case of Catalonia (the Cold War took precedence); the return that year of a large number of exiles who were cultural representatives, etc. Nonetheless, there are also data that should be mentioned that are often not taken into account, such as: 1. In 1943, Josep Maria Cruzet (Editorial Selecta) published the *Complete Works* of Jacint Verdaguer, in the spelling - required by the Ministry of Culture of that period - prior to Pompeu Fabra's standardized orthography). Its sales were so successful that in 1946 a new edition was published. Finally, in 1949, permission was given

for its publication in the standardized spelling; 2. In 1946, Josep Pla started to publish in Catalan again, with an extended edition of *Viatge a Catalunya* and a new edition of *Cartes de Lluny*. Pla decided to take up his role of a writer in the Catalan language once again. He declared that the works that he had been forced to publish in Spanish had to be translated into Catalan, and could only be considered originals in that language; and 3. Also in 1946 Josep Maria de Sagarra started using the Catalan language again in his drama productions. The theaters filled with people who went back to hearing Catalan spoken on stage. The sudden appearance within Catalan society of the works of these three writers in their different literary genres (Verdaguer in poetry, Pla in prose and Sagarra in theater) contributed more to the normalization of Catalan culture – and in Catalan – than the small number of (clandestine) publications of poetic works of Josep Carner (*Nabi*, 1941) Carles Riba (*Elegies de Bierville*, 1942) or J.V. Foix (*Sol, i de dol*, 1947). In any case, in 2009 the almost complete silence that enveloped the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Carles Riba, solely commemorated within universities, made it obvious that the respect for high culture had also drastically dwindled, to the disgrace of the departments of Catalan Philology and the Catalan media. A footnote: remember that when we speak of Catalan theater in the 1940s, we are only referring to the Teatre Romea of Barcelona. Aside from this, of course, we could include the parochial centers as an example of places that timidly incorporated the Catalan language into their performances in the greater postwar period. It is also significant to note that only a few years ago the National Theater of Catalonia (TNC) simultaneously staged both *Don Gil de les calzas verdes* (on the main stage) and a play by Salvador Espriu (on the small stage).

Related to these considerations, the following paper – a theme in itself – emerged:

1. 1948-2008:
A POPULAR
PERSPECTIVE
OF CULTURAL
CATALANISM

“ **I**n 1948, Salvador Espriu wrote *Primera història d'Esther* (The Story of Esther²) in order to save the Catalan language from disappearing in what he saw to be the very near future. During the 2006-2007 theater season, 40% of the 2.6 million spectators that filled the theaters of Barcelona attended shows in Catalan (31% chose to see them in Spanish). 46% of the premières were created by local writers. At the beginning of the 1960s, the New Song phenomenon was born in an attempt to have Catalan music be heard playing in people's patios and backyards once again. In 2008, half a million people regularly listen to music in Catalan, the concerts of groups such as Antònia Font or Gossos sell out in only a few days, and in 2007 seven Catalan-speaking groups or soloists sold more than 15,000 albums, no small achievement in the face of the sharp decline in this business. They range from new high quality singers and songwriters, such as Roger Mas - equally as talented as the masters of the 1970s - to hip-hop groups that rap in the local language.

This is all objective data that is easy to grasp, and comes from the Association of Theater Companies of Catalonia or from the General Society of Authors and Editors of Spain. At the same time, one only needs to tune in to any radio station's top hits, read a newspaper or take a walk through Barcelona while paying close attention to the signs and posters, to see that Catalan expression of popular culture is everywhere. The Catalan language is more notable every day. The language is not a barrier at all, not even to success outside of Catalonia's linguistic borders; nowadays singing

2) English translation taken from: *The Anglo-Catalan Society*, translation by Philp Polack, 1989.

in Spanish does not ensure you a better future. If you don't believe it, tell that to the Valencian group Obrint Pas, who in the last year must have held about fifty concerts in Europe and Latin America. Nonetheless, does this have anything to do with Catalanism? Is this jumble of artists who sing and write in Catalan indeed Catalanist, or is it somehow related? Well, yes and no. I believe that one of the most important advancements in this country has been to partially separate cultural production from politics, especially the kind that is produced by the popular base. The problem is, however, two-fold: on the one hand, there is a certain invisibility of emerging proposals in Catalonia that paradoxically receive the acclaim they deserve in neighboring cultures; and a noticeable Catalan emulation (or even complete imitation) of everything that is Spanish. This is because Spain is the frame of reference, and we still compare the 5,000 copies sold per week of the latest album by Miguel Bosé to the 1,500 that Els Pets sold, when in fact, if we were to compare them by respective populations (Spain versus Catalonia), they would be more or less on the same level. As a result, however, Miguel Bosé is more important than Els Pets to the Catalan mass media.

The creators of Catalan popular reference points, especially the youngest among them, evade politics as much as they can, believing that politicians know very little about what is happening on the street. These artists see it best not to mix two things that have nothing to do with each other, and believe that they would gain very little if they politically defined themselves – indeed, this is usually the case throughout the Western world! It is not necessary for us to brandish our flags of independence if the audience itself is carrying them. Are there any songs of protest, songs that demand for rights,

or songs that are even Catalanist? Of course there are, and even more explicit ones exist, but today it is normal to hear such songs, and new ones come out year after year. In 1948, we did not have a Duke Ellington or a Dizzy Gillespie, and now there is a series of Catalan jazz musicians playing around Europe. A musical style called Barcelona Sound, which is a mix that also uses Catalan, is equally popular among young people. In 1948, nor were there thousands of readers signed up to reading clubs at the libraries. Surely, yes, we are living through a critical moment in which the scales could tip out of our favor once again, but what lies underneath, the base, has a considerable thickness. Can we be optimistic? I would like to say yes. Another thing is to believe in ourselves in the present, the year 2008, at the start of the 21st century.”

The author of the paper adds a *post scriptum*: “A future theme that should be discussed, beyond of the scope of this paper, could be about the little respect that we find in Catalonia for high culture, especially within official circles. We only need to take a look at what schoolchildren are reading, or what authors are on the (end of high school) *Selectivitat* Exams in Catalonia, and compare this to France or Spain. I recall a reflection by Peter Sloterdijk, I believe from the short essay, entitled in Spanish *En el mismo barco* (In the Same Boat³), in which he makes it clear that nations are defined by required school reading. I agree completely.” The following paper offers a conclusive discussion of popular culture:

3) Goethe Institute, biography of Peter Sloterdijk “Cultural Critic, Scandaliser and TV Philosopher” they mention the essay: “Im selben Boot. Versuch über die Hyperpolitik (In the Same Boat. Attempt at a Hyperpolitics, 1993)”

CATALAN POP CULTURE?

“Catalonia is a curious country, and with regard to cultural consumption, even more so. It must be the only Western nation where, on average, more books than CDs are sold: every year there are more novels written in Catalan than albums that sell over 10,000 copies. Could we say that our country is cultured, that it prefers to read? No. What is happening is merely that Catalan popular culture does not make use of one of the most powerful unifying elements in history: music. Is it that there are no groups, bands or soloists that attract young people, that express what they are feeling, that tell them stories that speak to them? Again, no. Is another manifest necessary, fifty years after the one by Lluís Serrahima⁴, calling for contemporary songs? Absolutely not.

Before entering into the matter I would like to make it clear from the beginning what I understand to be popular culture, today, in the summer of 2009. On the one hand, popular culture is made up of artistic manifestations - of a higher or lower degree - which everyone has heard of, from Joan Pera to Joan Manuel Serrat, by way of Bruce Springsteen or Steven Spielberg, Albert Sánchez Piñol, Carlos Ruiz Zafón or Stieg Larsson, Dagoll Dagom or Comediants. On the other hand, popular culture is made up of cultural manifestations that regularly appear in the mass media. And herein lies our problem, since the Catalan media are those that talk the least about their own culture of all the media in Europe. When it comes to praising the virtues of Larsson they use up tons of ink and minutes of video.

4) Founding manifest of the New Song phenomenon “We need contemporary songs” (“Ens calen cançons d’ara”) by Lluís Serrahima, published in the magazine *Germinabit* in January of 1959.

Shouldn't they treat Albert Sánchez Piñol the same way, when *La pell freda* (Cold Skin) has sold as much as the Catalan translation of *The Girl With the Dragon Tattoo*? When it is a foreign cultural product – including Spanish – its originality is never questioned, but when it is a local product, doubts abound. If you don't believe it, ask the groups Sau, Sopa de Cabra or Els Pets. On the other hand, no one would ever question Estopa's⁵ strength as a genuine product, since it has benefited from direct marketing – public and private – while the bands of the so-called Rock Català (Catalan Rock) that were previously mentioned have not.

I will give another even more clarifying example by comparing two equally exceptional guitarists: Vicente Amigo and Toti Soler. A few weeks ago the Sevillian Vicente Amigo presented his latest album, *Paseo de Gracia*, at a concert in Barcelona, and the city's media dedicated extensive interviews to him. Months ago, the Catalan Toti Soler released an album just as good as *Paseo de Gracia*, called *La vida més alta*, and it was only featured in two papers that write in Catalan, *El Punt* and *Avui*. Is one artist better than the other? No. Isn't it a journalist's job to be aware of what is being produced in his or her own backyard? It should be, but here in Catalonia this is not the case. Shouldn't we be proud of a guitarist who fills concert halls in Central Europe or Brazil? Well, it seems that nobody cares about this. At least until they are given a Grammy, which is when everyone will come running.

5) Estopa is a Catalan group that sings in Spanish

CONTEMPORARY SONGS?

I will go back to the beginning. We might ask, are songs of today necessary? Before my answer had been a resounding “no”, because these songs do exist, and a great number of them, but the masses are just not aware of it. Today’s young people, however, maintain a simpler relationship with music than they did decades ago. There are few who buy a CD or go to a concert because they are intellectual militants; they go instead because they like the music. In addition, a great number of people go to musical recitals sung in Catalan, far more than the media makes note of. I will go over the examples again. Last year Antònia Font sold out, in four days, the 2,000 tickets to their concert at the Liceu. Now with the launch of their next album approaching, there is a good possibility that they will also take Palau Sant Jordi by storm. Els Gossos, for their concert at the Auditori of Barcelona in celebration of fifteen years on the road, sold out their 2000 tickets in a few days. On the other hand, Ojos de Bruja, a band that is favored by the media and is a symbol of Barcelona’s modernity, had a difficult time bringing together enough people to fill the large hall of the Rafael Moneo building.

The musical scene of Catalan expression is extremely rich, comparable to any corner of the Western world, something that was nonexistent a mere ten years ago; nonetheless, the *establishment* refuses to see it. They only started to perceive it with the eruption onto the musical scene of Manel, a band made up of four talented young men from Gràcia that, over the last few months, has been a clamorous success wherever it goes. Only two national newspapers written in Catalan mentioned the Manel phenomenon when it was just starting, while the rest ignored the approaching snowball.

Until it was on top of them, that is. The same thing happened to the Spanish media. Their inertia made them ignore the fact that Manel was the event of the year, but in the end they had to give in to the evidence; when everyone was already talking about Manel they were left with no choice but to spread the word as well. They did not do this with Estopa though. In any other European country, the members of Manel would not be able to walk down the street without being recognized, they would be everywhere, and surely would have appeared in some sort of television series by now. But we are different here. Nonetheless, people are beginning to change.

CONTEMPORARY FILMS AND MUSICALS?

The problem with cinema is of a different sort, as there has not been a local phenomenon produced in Catalonia for years. Basically, people watch films that come from abroad, and if a Catalan film is successful it remains an oasis in the middle of the desert. Cinema is the most industrial of arts, the one that requires the greatest amount of investment, and the technical production tools are what make the difference. In addition, local artists appear to live on the margins of society, and it seems impossible today for someone here to film a movie such as *Lions for Lambs*, *Il divo* or *The Queen*. Works of art are made, yes, such as films by Marc Recha, Cesc Gay or Pere Portabella, in addition to many documentaries. The few local mass productions are always shown in Spanish, which is the case of *Rec* or *El orfanato*, and no one thinks of Catalan, as if the Catalan-box office equation were impossible. When the only thing that really matters is the quality of the mass product, and if two Swedish films such as *Let me in* and *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* can be box-office hits, why shouldn't a movie filmed in Catalan (V.O.) do the same?

It is only a question of the willingness (and a little bit of desire for risk) of businessmen and women, as well as the willingness of the administration. It now seems that they have decided to invest in this area, and films are being prepared that could have a great impact, such as the adaptation of the *Mecanoscrit del segon origen*⁶ or *Pa negre*⁷. Maybe here we *do* need a manifest like Serrahima's that is applied to cinema as well: we need contemporary films. What is incomprehensible is to see how an audiovisual collective imagery exists with large followings, thanks to TV3 and its soap operas, but that this does not directly translate to the world of cinema, which is what happens in the rest of the world. In addition, compared to ten years ago, we cannot say that audiovisual production is concentrated in Madrid and that here there are no producers, as currently 40% of the films, advertisements, series, etc., of the Spanish State are made in Catalonia.

When it comes to theater and its manifestation most visible to the masses, the musical, the scarce penetration of Catalan is a business problem. When the proposals in the local language have been good ones, such as *Mar i cel*, they have enjoyed success. But today, no company in this sector would take such a risk. The productions that are most frequently found playing in theaters are of low quality, and despite this, they rake in about 200,000

6) by Manuel de Pedrolo (L'Aranyó, 1918 - Barcelona, 1990). Novelist, playwright, poet and translator. The novel *Mecanoscrit del segon origen* (Manuscript of the Second Origin) was one of the most widely-read books during the 1970s. (Source: www.escriptors.com)

7) by Emili Teixidor (Roda de Ter, Osona, 1933). Writer, Pedagog and Journalist. His most acclaimed novel is *Pa negre* (Black Bread) published in 2003. (Source: www.escriptors.com and www.lletra.net)

Euros each week. Should we create easily marketable products like *Beauty and the Beast* or *Mamma Mia*? This would be necessary, yes, but no one feels like investing three million euros in this kind of proposal, or most importantly, “buying” the media of Barcelona, which is what is usually done today by “successful” businessmen and women in this sector.

Regarding text-based theater, the situation improves. It is surely the product of mass consumption, aside from literature (despite everything), that is the healthiest. There are many productions that have over 10,000 spectators. Here we can see the influence of the collective imagery created by TV3, since most people, when they go to the theater, don't ask whether the production is in Catalan, because nearly all of them are. Today quality theater can only be conceived as such if it is in Catalan, from the most experimental of proposals to those of mass consumption.

ARTISTS AND THE PAÏSOS CATALANS?

“A common characteristic among artists that use the Catalan language is that the great majority, especially the youngest, do not have political motivations. They write or sing in Catalan naturally, they know that their market is the Catalan language, and even in the cinemas the industry's tendency is to shift towards using the local language, despite what I stated earlier. In addition, there are children of the most recent waves of immigration that adopt Catalan as the language they artistically express themselves in. I know members of music groups in Barcelona, for example, who come from Argentina, Algeria, or Venezuela who are involved in Catalan-speaking projects.

If we wished to politically identify bands such as Antònia Font, Mishima, Mazoni or Manel, we would have a hard time doing so if we only used their lyrics to guide us. In fact, any sort of identification is something that they deliberately avoid. They evade questions on this topic and prefer to not talk about it, except those groups that are protest groups *per se*. The majority of them avoid the institutional umbrella and the worst that the authorities could do would be to interfere. This explains the success of the musical policy of the current Catalan Institute of Cultural Industries, which awards subsidies to businesses for including musicians born in Catalonia into their programs, and they receive an extra bonus if these artists sing in Catalan. What the institutions should do is leave aside questions regarding identity and fully promote music and theater circuits – strong in communications as well as in physical and practical terms - so that this excellent crop of emerging artists has access to spaces where they can show their work, live off of their music and become truly *popular* to the masses.

No one speaks of the *Països Catalans*, or Catalan Countries⁸, but they are a fact, even if it is only a question of market. This is because, where could a group from La Bisbal d'Empordà be most successful, in Gandia (a town near Valencia) or in Malaga? The answer is clear. Movement between Catalonia and the Balearic Islands is very fluid, and between Valencia and the rest of the territories where Catalan is spoken there is an increasing interchange from the north to the south, while from south to north it has been going on for quite a while now. On a literary level, the interconnection is even more

8) *Països Catalans* - Catalonia, Valencia, *Franja d'Aragó* (Western Aragon Strip), Balearic Islands, Alghero (Italy) and Northern Catalonia (France)

evident, with authors from here publishing there, poets from there reciting their work over here, etc. Surely the movement has never been so intense. Even the newspaper *La Vanguardia* felt obligated to publish a map of the *Països Catalans* last December to illustrate the good health of the new wave of musicians from the Balearic Islands, Catalonia and Valencia. If on the popular level it is evident that the term *Països Catalans* does not work, on the intellectual or artistic level it is glaringly obvious that the *Països Catalans* do exist. For the term to *filter down* to those on the popular level, it is only a question of time or for some enlightened mind to come up with a different name. Then we will be able to speak of a true Catalan pop culture, as inter-class as the music of young people is today, confident, capable of explaining today's world to everyone. This will only be possible through a collective effort; that all of us talk about the new album of Roger Mas or Antònia Font, of the latest film by Cesc Gay or Mar Coll, of the most recent novel by Albert Sánchez Piñol or Joan Francesc Mira, whether they are good or bad.”

This is a theme that relates to the following paper, which also refers to the controversy – that is still alive – of the supposed imposition of the Catalan language on the Spanish language:

2. REFLECTIONS ON A FICTITIOUS LINGUISTIC CONFLICT

The recent release of data from the 2008 poll carried out by the Catalan Government on linguistic uses demonstrates how unjustifiable and irresponsible the position is of those who would like to create a fictitious linguistic conflict in Catalonia, one that is based on the apparent persecution that the Spanish language suffers here. This argument reappeared, for example, when José María Aznar affirmed that the objective of the Education Law of Catalonia was to “eradicate the teaching of Spanish in school,” while the Law states, literally: “The curricula must guarantee the full command of the official languages Catalan and Spanish at the end of the period of obligatory schooling.” The numbers speak for themselves: 99.9% of the population understands Spanish, 99.7% can speak it, 97.4% can read it and 95.6% can write it. The politicians and media that become scandalized over the hypothetical disappearance of Spanish in Catalonia should take another look at the situation after having calmly evaluated this reality - so neatly reflected and so far removed from their menacing predictions. No linguistic conflict exists, and it is important to firmly repel any attempt at manipulation that focuses on provoking such a conflict. There are politicians and media that believe (or perhaps end up believing) their own lies. When a firm response is needed, Catalanism should be inflexible and unified in the face of this attempt to deteriorate coexistence.

THE TRUE SITUATION OF CATALAN: NEITHER EUPHORIA NOR CATASTROPHISM

When it comes to Catalan, the percentage data from 2008 are: 94.6% understand it, 78.3% can speak it, 81.7% can read it and 61.8% can write it. It is also true that, comparing the data from 2003

to those of 2008, there is a significant decrease in the percentages regarding knowledge of Catalan: 1.9% fewer people understand it and 3.3% fewer people speak it. Not even in this case should this data be a basis for catastrophic interpretations because, although the immigrant-derived population increase has lowered the percentages of people who know Catalan, from 2003 to 2008 the total number of people who understand it has increased by more than 400,000, and those who can speak it, by 240,000. It is clear that we must continue to dedicate our efforts to encouraging the learning of Catalan. This, unfortunately, could easily be shelved because many new immigrants who have a good command of Spanish might consider it unnecessary to learn Catalan - or because those that know neither Catalan nor Spanish could be tempted to concentrate their efforts on learning Spanish, thinking that it could be useful to them outside of Catalonia. Nonetheless, it is essential that new immigrants realize that Catalan is a decisive gateway, one that will allow them to share the country fully with those who live in it. Catalan is a language with a history that brings us back to Ramon Llull, Bernat Metge or Ausiàs March, that rediscovers the fullness of its literary expression with Verdaguier, Modernism, *Noucentisme*, and the Avant-gardes of the beginning third of the 20th century, but above all it is a reality that is completely alive and defines the Catalan society of today, as a means of identification, but also as a tool for communication and participation in the modern world. Those who prefer bad omens are out of luck, as no language can die while the number of people who understand and speak it increases. Aside from the work of institutions, the work of entities, schools and the media is decisive for the integration of newcomers into the country and its linguistic reality. Catalonia has traditionally been a

country with an excellent capacity for integration. Once again we need to strongly encourage a Catalan identity that is not closed in on itself, but instead, one that is open to the world, that recognizes itself in a local language, that values the importance of Spanish and that aspires to an extensive command of other languages. Regarding this point, it could be interesting to focus on a specific place in Catalonia (for example, the city of Olot) and statistically evaluate the Catalan linguistic capabilities of its immigrants, the majority of them of Maghrebin origin, without forgetting to establish the capabilities of the native speakers as well. At a glance, when the host community where the immigrants have ended up is strong, their adaptation is faster, better, and most importantly, conflict-free (the “language friends”). This would be a certain way of putting glocalization into practice.

PRIORITIES FOR ACTION

So now, what sort of linguistic policy should be encouraged when formulating a new Catalanism? Fundamentally, what is needed is to:

Give the Catalan language prestige, not as an act of nostalgia, but connecting it to modernity, identity and quality:

a. Reinforce its use as the *lingua franca* in all of the Catalonia's institutions: Parliament, Government, Town Halls, Justice Administration, public transportation, etc. There is a risk of dropping our guard, which we can see, for example, with the increased use of Spanish within the Catalan police force or among auxiliary personnel of archives and libraries that followed the mass incorporation of new members. Thus, not only would new training need to be provided in Catalan to all civil

servants - as well as materials and official forms in digital format to favor the use of a Catalan administrative language that is perceived as an instrument of modernity - but the institutional role of civil servants and their identification with the country and its language would also need to be strengthened.

b. Associate Catalan with literature and other quality cultural products (theater, cinema, song, etc)

2. Popularize it:

a. Encourage a culture of the masses in Catalan within the media (Internet, television, radio, and the press), sports, popular culture, comics, shows and events of mass participation.

b. Normalize Catalan, make it a common presence in leisure activities, and take advantage of what mobilizes young people.

3. Expand the use of Catalan within the sphere of economic activity, beyond the commercial ambit:

a. Today, the signage of commercial establishments is increasingly incorporating Catalan, and it also has a significant presence in advertising. Nonetheless, there should be greater encouragement for the labeling of products in Catalan, as well as increasing the language's use on establishments' internal signage, in order to normalize its use.

b. Encourage the use of Catalan as an instrument for work within companies, both verbally and written, above all the documentation related to management, where it is very scarce.

3. LINGUISTIC UNITY

Linguistic unity with Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Andorra, the Franja d'Aragó and Alghero is impossible to renounce; in a common cultural market that is increasingly dense and intertwined, that overcomes political barriers, stereotypes and irrational doubts, etc., this unity should be made visible and tangible. At the same time, however, when acting from Catalonia we must always respect how the local language is lived and perceived in the other territories. This includes the language's denomination, especially in the case of Valencia, where it is preferable to call it *Valencian* if this means that linguistic unity is no longer questioned. In Catalonia, favored for historical reasons, there is a risk of involuntarily using language that could be perceived as neocolonial when talking about relations with other territories. What is needed, in exchange, is to build a common understanding that recognizes that the subordination of others is unacceptable; instead there should be confluence and teamwork in order to achieve a greater plenitude of the Catalan language - and all of the culture connected to it - throughout the territories where it is spoken.

GENERAL CRITERIA

The new Catalanism should not transmit an image of a culture of resistance, romanticism, idealism, going against the current, having its head in the clouds, etc. Instead it should calmly, lucidly, and without confrontations or renunciations, advocate for the creation of the necessary conditions so that identification with Catalonia will naturally and indisputably be correlated to adopting Catalan as the language of everyday use.

It is important to concentrate on having young people adopt the Catalan language as an expression of the collective personality that they are a part of, but also as a means of participation in modernity (Internet, music, games, shows, concerts, etc.). Thus, the youth entities and business activity associated with cultural, sports and leisure consumption of young people can play a decisive role.

We must also make a special effort to have the new immigrants' process of assimilation culminate in having Catalan become the principal symbol of their rootedness to the country. With this objective, the official institutions must play an important role, but what is especially determining is the role of the civil society, from individuals to cultural, civic and welfare entities.”

Regarding the linguistic and/or territorial topic:

WHAT WE SAY AND HOW WE SAY IT

The name of the language

“Reviewing the current situation, although the name “Catalan language” is the denomination that is by far the most accepted and in use today (in fact, fully accepted outside of its linguistic domain), we must not ignore that fact that, internally (within the *Països Catalans* but outside of Catalonia), it is still hotly contested, especially in Valencia; and not only contested by an opposition that is politically aligned - there are a great number of speakers (while not against it) who *do not identify at all* with the denomination *Catalan language*. I believe that this is the case above all – but not only - in Valencia. And Valencians make up one third of the Catalan-speaking population.

It is important to make a note of this: in Valencia, from *Acció Cultural* (Cultural Action)⁸ to the *Federació Escola Valenciana* (Valencian School Federation⁹), the denomination *valencià* (Valencian) is used when trying to reach out to the general public (a public either more or less informed about the unity of the language).

If the name of the language gives us problems, we hardly need to mention the name of the linguistic domain. The Fusterian proposal¹⁰ of calling it the *Països Catalans*, or Catalan Countries (making special note of the plural) made progress and still seemed plausible in the 1980s among militant activists. Throughout the 1990s, however, it was extensively fought against, demonized, and today has become impossible to use.

SO, WHAT MUST BE DONE?

We need to make sure that our proposals do not contradict reality, generate rejection, and thus: we need proposals that are useful and immediately viable.

When it comes to the name of the language the diversity of denominations is unavoidable. Luckily for us, the Spanish or Castilian language also has two names. This could be an example that we could follow, and therefore our own situation would not seem so unusual (it is always better to present ourselves as normal).

8) taken from www.gencat.cat, “*Acció Cultural del País Valencià* (Cultural Action of Valencia)”

9) taken from www.gencat.cat/llengcat/ “*Federació Escola Valenciana* www.fev.org (Valencian School Federation)”

10) named after Joan Fuster, 1922-1992, a Valencian writer

Aside from the name of the Catalan language, we consider *valencià* (Valencian) (even the *llengua valenciana*, or Valencian language) important from various points of view, such as cultural tradition, rootedness, and the demographic factor. Both should be synonyms and not in opposition, preferred depending upon the place and the moment. The compound *catalano-valencià*, Catalan-Valencian (or *valenciano-català*, Valencian-Catalan) is too long, unfeasible, unnatural, and unacceptable for those who are neither Valencians nor Catalans. The term could be useful for an official document or one used for protocol purposes, but is clearly less adequate than the alternated use of the synonyms *valencià* and *català*. Within the group (our commission) there was a certain amount of disagreement, because there are those who believe that even within the pan-Catalanist approach to *Fusterism* of Valencian-Catalan (with the hyphen added by the Institute of Catalan Studies) of the 1970s, there was more tradition – although relative – of calling it simply Catalan instead of Valencian. This is certainly an issue that will be difficult to solve.

On one hand this synonymy (of Catalan/Valencian) needs to be used more frequently in current, colloquial and formal speech (such as Castilian and Spanish) and, on the other hand, we should put together and make good use of a compilation of texts where this synonymy has already been recognized (such as in legal sentences and judgments) to make people aware that it already exists.

In particular, the use of this synonymy should be insisted upon within the legal texts (with administrative or political ramifications) that refer to the Catalan language.

What seems to be clear is that we cannot do without the name *valencià* for the Catalan language. *If we abandon it, they will use it against us.*

With regard to the linguistic domain in the societies where Catalan is spoken, it would be difficult for these societies to be considered a nation. Politically speaking, as of today, *they do not act as a nation*: Spanish Catalonia, French Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands and the Pitiüses, etc., are not a space where primary, fundamental and autonomous solidarities – that politically define the conduct of a nation – are produced. If within Catalonia itself, when drafting its latest Statute, the only nation that is recognized is Catalonia (and *no political party* proposed the *Països Catalans* instead), it is not necessary to mention how this issue is faring in the other territories.

Language identity is not necessarily accompanied by a national identity. Everything cannot be thrown into the same bag: language identity is a confirmed fact, scientifically established, while national belonging is a debatable political fact, one which, in our case, is a matter of hopes and desires of a still-reduced minority (and an extremely reduced one outside of Catalonia). Arguments such as *since we have the same language, we are the same nation* could be effectively answered with another argument, such as: *if we are not the same nation, we don't have the same language.*

In reference to our case, the difference that Joan Francesc Mira established in *Crítica de la nació pura* (Critique of the Pure Nation¹¹) between the *cultural nation* and the *political nation* is correct and useful without a doubt; it is not so clear, however, whether this terminology

11) in reference to Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*

could achieve any level of fluid public circulation, among other reasons because the “cultural nation” is vague, debatable and, to a certain extent paradoxical. Following Mira’s line of thought, it would be important to define our linguistic domain, perhaps as a group of nations (three?) that share a same language.

We say *nations* in a way that is deliberately ambiguous, which allows us to add the various national sensibilities (and ambiguities) to the different Catalan language countries.

We share the language, and therefore, everything that the language entails: a communication space, a cultural industry and market, and supportive strategies regarding the promotion of the local language and culture. It would mean a great deal if we were able to make this a reality and achieve a certain degree of effectiveness, but at the moment we are far from achieving this. The existing civic-political commitment between Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands, etc., should thus take what we have in common into consideration above all else, in addition to the usual collaborations between good neighbors on joint interests (such as communications, infrastructure of all kinds and financing). These specific interests should always act as a base for this civic-political commitment (but this already exceeds the cultural space, which is the subject that we are discussing in this document).

To conclude, what remains to be discussed is the entire aspect of *standardization and language models*, mainly the standard model, both of which remain problematic (but, for the most part, have fortunately been resolved).

We could say that we have a unifying language, but one that is hardly - or simply not - unified enough. This is our situation, one that has been culturally inherited and that cannot be forced to take on whatever shape we may desire. As of today it would be neither prudent nor possible to encourage a greater unification of the language. Increased unification, if it happens, will only be due to the frequency of cultural exchanges. The circulation of all different kinds of cultural products in Catalan should be encouraged throughout all of our territories. All small linguistic differences have to be accepted by everyone.

This means that, in the long run, those with the most power to influence will probably make valuable use of it, but from now on this does not need to be stated as such, nor should we assume that it is an irreversible fact and thus not debatable. It would not be smart, in addition to it being unjust, for those in Barcelona to reject products with any foreign linguistic nuance.”

4. MOVING ON TO A NEW TOPIC: GLOCALIZATION

Starting from the provisional definition of the concept of **glocalization (to think global and act local), proposed by the Social Sciences**, we can ask ourselves how globalization has affected Catalonia, a country without a State, or if we prefer, without a distinctive colored mark on world maps. In economic and social terms, globalization has brought with it new distribution networks, which is one of the weak points of Catalan culture. The need to develop networks to better exchange cultural information – networks that cover the entire linguistic territory - has been discussed at length. Up until today, territorial fragmentation has been more common, representing a great loss for cultural, social and political cohesion. In addition, this situation impedes the consolidation of a single internal market for Catalan cultural products.

On the other hand, globalization is seen, according to very broad interpretations, as a phenomenon that causes all demands for national rights and identities to be rendered archaic. According to this mentality we should become citizens of the world, thus converting ourselves into travelers and permanent nomads who have been uprooted from any nation whatsoever. This interpretation has done a lot of damage, and it also attempts to make us give up our demands for rights. We have to be careful when talking about interpretations of globalization, because oftentimes they tend to be misleadingly general or simplistic. To begin with, and following a principle of asymmetry that often disfavors us, this interpretation of globalization is not applied to the nations that have their own State simply because these nations do not have to rethink anything. Thus, if we think globally but act locally, we ensure our role in the international arena.

Today we can detect a marked decline of the traditional Catalan internationalism. For example, when throughout Catalonia there was a strong feeling that the Nobel Prize could be awarded to Baltasar Porcel, now unfortunately deceased, there was no (or little) mention of it in the international media. Thus, the instruments – and we do have them – for the external promotion of Catalan culture must be used wisely and profitably. As of now the existing means and resources are not being used correctly enough. Catalan culture can be competitive, and therefore what is needed is a much more entrepreneurial, creative and effective policy.

On the other hand, we must remember that even in a period with the greatest ease of global communication, Catalan culture is becoming increasingly provincial. It must therefore make itself more international, with local artists and intellectuals actively taking part in the key global cultural debates, from those of the Humanities to the Sciences. To start with, there should be more interaction between these two fields at home. For example, we are missing a census of Catalan artists capable of communicating on a global level, which means by way of the English language (that is, for the moment, the *lingua franca*.) On the other side of the spectrum, do we have our own understanding of the landscapes associated with - and that inspired - our artists? Inserting this knowledge of local artists into the tourist offering could be important.

5. THE FUTURE OF CATALONIA AND OF PERSONAL VIRTUES

The success of the New Catalanism, of Catalonia and the Catalan identity depend on many conditions.

Most importantly, people should be able to make any of the activities that they propose a reality, whether they be artistic, cultural, academic, professional, economic, business, or family activities. The success of the Catalan identity depends on the success of the identity of its citizens. Surely, it also depends on whether the concept of Vicens Vives – one currently being revised to see whether it is still relevant today, which describes Catalans to be driven by the “tool and the job”- continues to be valid. To achieve this goal regarding identity, citizens must reaffirm or acquire an enterprising mentality, a spirit of achievement through effort (work), a confidence in themselves and in the future, a solidarity with others, a sense of prudence, good sense or wisdom, a justice ideal, courage to face all situations and a steady temperance throughout. The State (and we mean the Catalan State), naturally must provide the “tool.”

Unfortunately these virtues are scarce. The United States, which traditionally values personal success through effort, has recently taken a step backwards regarding these values. The *subprime* mortgages, for example (buy this house with a mortgage that you will have difficulty paying, but this way you will live above your means. If a few years from now they foreclose on the house, since the prices will have gone up you will still earn money on it. All of your neighbors are doing it, so you should not be the idiot who doesn't) have greatly contributed to the financial crisis. Imitating the behavior of those who have been successful is a strong force in society, even though the media has explained the economic crisis to us through traditional narratives that identify only a few culprits.

We needn't mention that certain spectacular slip-ups of the civil society will hardly help.

A NEW CIVIL SOCIETY

Our civil society must have a more active and dynamic role in the development of culture. In a word, it must start to *exist* again. Currently almost nothing is being done to stimulate the civil society, and to a great extent the disinterest in culture is the natural result of a poorly focused political and ideological interventionism. Catalonia's citizen participation in associations is subdued and needs to redefine its objectives in today's society.

6. PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS

The Commission has been focusing its reflections on the need to reformulate the concept of a nation from the cultural point of view. Our way of understanding the nation has a clear linguistic and cultural dimension, which makes a budget cut for culture – simply because we happen to be going through an economic crisis – incomprehensible. If we cut back on culture, we are also cutting back on our identity. On the other hand, the claim that a cultured society survives a crisis better is still valid. This understood; *the political and linguistic demarcations do not coincide*. Surely it does not help us move forward if we still refer to Valencia as a part of the Catalan political nation, even if we share what we might call a cultural nation. What is required, therefore, is to reconsider the ways we approach the issue - currently too far removed from the sentiments of the majority - and defuse nominal confrontations in order to encourage effective collaborations and involvement.

Leaving aside the issue of national borders, the Commission starts from the premise that the cycle of Catalanism forged to combat Francoism and that led the institutions of the Transition is becoming *worn out*. The latest generations have not suffered under Francoism nor have they experienced the enthusiasm of the period of reconstruction: they have grown up in a context of a less epic scale, where the Catalan culture was not a victim to persecution. Thus, this culture has developed in an apparent state of normality, although still with significant needs to be met. To strengthen the link between these generations and Catalanism, it is important to start over and re-launch it. Catalanism continues to be necessary because Catalan-ness continues to be problematic for - and argued and negated by - those who advocate for a uniform Spain.

Maybe what is needed is to map out a neo-Catalanism associated with leadership, prestige, quality and belonging to an identity that is not stuffy or conventional, but instead firmly a part of modernity. We need an identity that transforms us into positive examples that stand out and act as a counterpoint in a globalized setting that tends to homogenize ideas, symbols, and modes of conduct.

The *new Catalanism* must be capable of bringing about the identification and involvement of extensive sectors of Catalan society. With regard to culture, it must try to: a) give prestige to and spread the word about local cultural production, with a canon that has been defined with consistent criteria of excellence as a guide; b) create a culture of the masses in Catalan; c) strengthen a cultural market that unifies all of the territories where the Catalan language is spoken; d) combat attitudes of self-hate, resignation or renouncement and resolutely advocate for Catalan culture; and e) consolidate, in addition, an internal cultural market that permits, for example, the building of a literary canon that reflects the true Catalan culture.

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