

Landaburu, the Pro-European from Araba

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1920s and 1930s: FROM VITORIA TO EUROPE

Francisco Javier Landaburu, born in Vitoria, has been—and still is—one of the most important politicians in the history of Basque Nationalism. Alongside José Antonio Aguirre, Manuel Irujo, Jesús María Leizaola, Telesforo Monzón, and José María Lasarte, he was part of a new generation of leaders who gave the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party) its moderate and innovative tone after 1930. While never breaking with the old guard and orthodox doctrine, this new class still fought for a more flexible interpretation of Sabino Arana's principles and the *modus operandi* of the party, and that set it on the path towards Christian Democracy. During the 1930s, this young generation took more pragmatic positions, and then became the exiled generation, fervently believing in a united Europe, indefatigable defenders of federalism.

And it is these two ideas, a united Europe and federalism, which make up the most important aspects of Landaburu's profile. In exile, this journalist and lawyer from Araba was the main European representative of the PNV and of the Basque Government. In the following pages, we'll see how this European conviction started appearing and developing in his ideological corpus, alongside its demands for Europeanism to be part of the political debate inside the PNV. Landaburu was the main proponent and voice for that Europeanism while in exile.

Francisco Javier Landaburu Fernández de Betoño was born in Vitoria-Gasteiz in 1907. In the 1920s, he combined his law studies with the publication of articles and literary collaborations in local newspapers. His writings generally covered his city and the cultural habits of Vitoria and Araba. Immensely inquisitive, he soon started taking part in pro-Basque culture groups and organizations which promoted the use of the Basque language. Young Landaburu's life was still quite focused on his immediate surroundings.

The same was true of the PNV. It had been started in 1895, and in the first decades of the 20th century, it was still more worried about setting its ideology and internal structure than any outside problems. But, little by little, their interest in outside action grew, especially once the Great War broke out. The international conjunction set up after the First World War favored growing interest in Europe. Basque Nationalism was aware of the demands of the nationalities and minorities of Europe who were unsatisfied with the resolution of that conflict and the rise some of those minorities experienced, and began to note that Europe could itself become the solution to the international recognition of the Basque Country. In fact, from then on, the Europeanism of the PNV was linked to the problems of national minorities. It is in those post-war

years where we find the first explicit allusions to Europe in the writings by nationalist ideologue Luis Eleizalde (2).

During the 1920s, that interest for international, and primarily European, topics grew little by little, and while we cannot yet say there was a true Europeanist discussion, Europe was acquiring an ever greater role in the PNV discourse. Basque Nationalists at that time took on the pan-European ideas of Coudenhove-Kalergi, and began to place great value on the ideas put forward by integral federalists; they soon got in touch with important Christian Democratic leaders, which were consolidated throughout the Second World War (3).

That progressive assessment of Europe in nationalist thinking was reflected in a growing attention to the nationalist press's coverage of events in Europe, and on the presence of nationalist leaders at the Third Congress of European Nationalities, held in Lausanne in 1916, and at several European Nationalities Congresses. The first *Aberri Eguna*, the Day of the Homeland, in 1933, under the slogan "Euzkadi-Europe", was a huge milestone.

By then, Landaburu was a militant member of the PNV. In fact, in 1931, he represented the PNV at the Management Commission at the Government of Araba, which was debating several autonomy projects, and between 1931 and 1932, he was a member of the Euzkadi Head Committee (EBB). In the 1933 parliamentary elections, he was elected to represent Araba, which he did until 1936. That same month, he then became a member of the PNV delegation which was traveling to Rome to interview several people at the Vatican. That would be the first of a long list of voyages.

After the start of the Spanish Civil War, Landaburu was arrested twice. After going into hiding for almost a year, in the summer of 1937 he managed to escape to France. When he reached the Northern Basque Country, after having crossed the border with the help of the "Álava Network", Lehendakari Aguirre requested he come to Paris to work for the Basque Government. His work would initially be to represent the Executive in informational forums of many different types: conferences for peace, Red Cross committees, etc. More and more traveling.

At the end of 1938, Landaburu reached a milestone. That December, he took active part in the founding of the International League of Friends of the Basques (LIAV). The creation of this body was directly linked to the progress of the war. While the seed of the idea had been planted in May of that year by its main proponent, Manuel Ynchausti, the League was not officially constituted until December, when the defeat of the Spanish Republic seemed near, as did the recognition of the new *régime* by the European powers and the consequent impossibility of the Basque Government to act in public.

In that inaugural LIAV meeting several leading figures in French political, religious, and cultural life were present, including Cardinal Jean Verdier; the Archbishop of Paris, author and thinker François Mauriac; and journalist Pierre Dumas, among others. Among the representatives of the Basques were Vice-Lehendakari and Minister of Justice and Culture Jesús María Leizaola, Manuel Ynchausti himself, and a new protagonist, Francisco Javier Landaburu. Dumas was elected the League's delegate of propaganda, and Landaburu the provisional secretary (4).

The LIAV was created with basically humanitarian goals (the creation of local committees to help exiled Basques, organizations to help find work, etc.), as well as the cooperation to make the

Basque problem known (establishing an Information Office, promoting Basque institutions and culture, etc.). But when Francoist Spain was recognized by the French Government on February 27, 1939, the Basque Government ran the risk of Francoist authorities laying claim on its property, and so the LIAV became the perfect camouflage for the help and legal support organizations for Basque action in exile. Under the leadership especially of propaganda delegate Pierre Dumas, the League deployed everything it had and, thanks to the renowned people who filled its ranks, for a few years, it became a valuable instrument to directly influence the French administration. During those years, Landaburu focused on giving the organization a more dynamic character, and established contacts with European diplomats.

2. 1940s: DURING THE RISE OF EUROPEANISM

In June 1940, as Germany advanced and then occupied Paris, Landaburu and his family, following the orders of the PNV, left for La Rochelle. Back in Paris, Landaburu drew up the draft of an unpublished book titled *Un pueblo Viejo en la Europa nueva* (*An Old People in a New Europe*), which was an expansion on his earlier *Euzkadi ante la Europea nueva* (*The Basque Country before the New Europe*), written 1938-1940. So, as his international contacts grew, his discourse on Europe took up an ever greater presence in the mind of this politician.

The same was happening in his party, and in the Basque Government. During the Second World War, the PNV's foreign activities were conditioned by both the exile (the geographical dispersion of its leaders, limited means, etc.) and by the war itself. The most noteworthy event in Basque Government foreign relations was the adoption of a pro-Allied stance, which meant political relations with the United Kingdom and free France—run via the Basque National Council in London—and the establishment of collaborative links in the military and in intelligence. These contacts gave rise to the creation of several organizations, such as the Cultural Union of the Countries of Western Europe, or the Federal Union. The Cultural Union conceived a Europe organized around cultural communities. The Basque and Catalan groups joined in March 1942. For the Basques, this was like enrolling in an international project in which the Basque Country had reserved seating. However, the existence of the Union was brief, as the pressure of the British Government led to its practical closure in 1943. The second organization mentioned above was the Federal Union. Founded in 1938 and promoted by British Labour and Liberal politicians, it proposed the constitution of a federation on an international scale. While never very operational, it was one of the associations which favored the rise of the European Federal Union and the European Movement after the war.

Another front the PNV faced in those years during the Second World War, which opened the gates to an eminently important path towards Europe in the following years was made up of the relations with Christian Democrat leaders and associations. These links were mostly created in two ways: those established by Lehendakari Aguirre and Landaburu with important Christian Democrat leaders, and those created by Alberto Onaindia after his arrival in the UK in July of 1940. It is necessary to point out that these contacts were not part of a plan that had been laid out by the PNV, quite the contrary: they were the natural consequence of the very convictions of the party that were reflected in the Christian Democrat movement that was coming up in those years. Thanks to those contacts, the Basque group took part, for example, in the International Christian

Democratic Union, born in 1941, and also in People and Freedom, founded by Luigi Sturzo (who also founded the Italian Christian Democrat People's Party).

As the conflict started tipping in favor of the Allies and proposals for European reconstruction upon a base that wasn't the States started being heard, hope rose for a favorable resolution for the Basque Country in that future Europe. It was ever more apparent that the Basque Country needed to be ready and attentive, to take advantage of any opportunities that new Europe might offer. Basque Nationalist political hopes were closely linked to international relations and, specifically, the contacts that had been established across Europe. Europe came to be seen as an echo chamber of nationalist claims and as the appropriate stage to take the Basque Nationalist question global.

Moreover, after the war, the rise of Europeanism and of several private organizations that were proposing federalism as the base for the constitution of a new Europe fueled the Nationalists' hopes even more. Europe appeared before them as a large gate towards their destiny, towards the arena that would allow them to fulfill their greatest ambition: finally getting self-government. Europe was the appropriate forum to share, express, and spread the will of the Basque people, making their claims known and garnering material and moral support. In Europe, they sought the international recognition of Basque Nationalism so that, in that new Europe that was emerging, there would be a safeguard of the PNV's own corpus of theory. Furthermore, it was an excellent framework from which to try to stoke the political hostility of European and New World states against Franco's régime, all while building better walls to protect stateless nationalities.

Thus, the first years of the second post-war were the golden age of the PNV's Europeanism, as that was when its pro-European discourse was set and its relations with European bodies established, all which allowed Basque Nationalists to take part in the process of integration which would, however, as we'll mention later, turn out to be a European reality far removed from that so longed for by the party.

The PNV's Europeanist discourse was focused on the idea that has come to be known as the Aguirre Doctrine. This expression arose from the fact that President Aguirre was one of its most fervent defenders, though this must however not lead us to the wrong impression that the Lehendakari was the only one who was promoting these ideas. There were also contributions by José María Lasarte, by Manuel Irujo, by Jesús Galíndez, and, especially, by our protagonist, Francisco Javier Landaburu. They all enriched and filled out its base theory. And what is the Aguirre Doctrine? Nothing less than the international affirmation of a Free Basque Country that would contribute to the construction of a Federal Europe made up of nations. This idea was based on the supposed crisis of the nation-state and the need for a supranational Europe that not only would not exclude stateless nations from entering into this, but would also help restore and gain international recognition for political autonomies in intra-state environments. This idea is the same that Landaburu explained in his first book, *La causa del pueblo vasco (The Cause of the Basque People)*, which we'll discuss below, and we'd dare say that it is the same Europeanist perspective the PNV defends even today (5).

In the first five months after the end of World War II, the importance the Nationalists gave Europe was such that the PNV became the largest Iberian anti-Franco force in Europe, serving as the vanguard in European issues, sometimes as the only representative from the state in continental

organizations. That's why, in February 1949, Landaburu defended that "if we've always fought the slander that made us out to be some kind of masons building a wall to isolate ourselves from the world along all our land boundaries, now we can prove that we are the most advanced force from Iberia in international progress. And following that path, we're still who we were." (6).

Upon realizing the huge amount of work meeting with so many European people and organizations would be, and how it would be impossible to fulfill, in April 1946, the EBB decided to create a Secretariat to take charge of information, studies, foreign relations, etc. Given the volume of work, a year later, in April 1947, an *ad hoc* Specific Commission was created to handle relations with European and American Christian Democrats. This commission was made up of Julio Jáuregui, José María Lasarte, and Landaburu himself. Landaburu was named the representative of the Secretariat in Paris. It is at this time that the Vitorian becomes the visible face of the PNV in Europe, and becomes the right-hand man of Lehendakari Aguirre, with whom he shares all the same thoughts about Europe. They agreed on everything.

The PNV entered through the open door that personified Europeanism by two routes, the Christian Democrat one, and the Federalist one: two paths, which do not diverge but rather run parallel; as José Mari Lasarte said, "they answer to the same spirit and are naturally joined", and they offered, according to the PNV leadership, "immense possibilities for the Basque cause" (7). The Nationalist Party identified with the Christian Democratic ideas that were in vogue in Western Europe from 1945 on, and knew how to best take advantage of that path to ensure and strengthen its presence in Europe. That way, it could transmit its democratic and Christian foundations, promote relations with the main leaders of Christian Democracy, and even take part in the creation of the New International Teams (NEI, the leading European Christian Democracy body), thereby becoming the only representative of Iberian Christian Democracy in the European framework. Who was the leading representative of the PNV and the Basque Government in the Christian Democratic forums in which they took part? Landaburu.

The second was to access Europe, federalism, was mainly defended, and known, by a handful of Nationalist representatives. After World War II, the PNV adopted federalism as the means that would allow them to participate in other European forums, in addition to Christian Democratic ones, and thus enhance their presence not only in the European Movement, but also, in general, in the process of building the New Europe. Who was one of the most fervent defenders of federalism inside the PNV, and one of the most assiduous representatives at European federalist events? Landaburu.

After the Second World War, Christian Democratic parties bounced back, thanks to presence of men like George Bidault and Robert Schuman in the Popular Republican Movement (MRP) in France, Alcide de Gasperi in the Italian Christian Democrats, and Konrad Adenauer in the German CDU, all in the core of their parties. European Christian Democracies began to define themselves as a political tendency, and one of their most important features was precisely their interest in building Europe. It is therefore no surprise that the PNV, a Catholic, Democratic, and Pro-European party, would identify with that tendency. That said, the PNV's integration into that trend was progressive, starting from a minority position among some members during the Second Republic. One of those members was the Lehendakari himself. Another was Landaburu. Proof of that can be found in a letter the former wrote to the latter in 1938:

Conviene exaltar mucho nuestro papel en el futuro como representantes genuinos de una democracia cristiana que fuera de Euzkadi no ha encontrado concreción política práctica en ninguna parte. Este foco, que es para mí como una pequeña metrópoli espiritual, debe ser conocido, respetado y puesto en condiciones de desenvolverse en su vida, que constituye toda una civilización y puede servir de ejemplo a pueblos territorialmente más extensos. Todas estas ideas que Maritain, por ejemplo, las comprende tan bien, deben ser advertidas a todas cuantas personas podáis ahí tratar, repitiéndolas uno y otro día, sin temor al cansancio” (8).

It’s important to extol our role in the future as genuine representatives of a Christian democracy which, outside Euzkadi, has found no practical political precision anywhere. This focus, which for me is like a small spiritual motherland, must be known, respected, and in such a condition that it can get on in life; it must constitute a whole civilization and be a role model for peoples with more extensive lands. All these ideas which Maritain, for example, understand so well must be shared with as many people as you can find, repeating them day in and day out, with no fear of tiring,” (8).

The blossoming of this Christian Democratic trend opened new perspectives for the PNV, which made sure to point out at every like-minded meeting it attended that it was a Christian and Democratic party. The reinforcement of Christian Democracy and the triumph of these parties in Italy, France, and later Germany, supported the publication of articles referring to this doctrine in the nationalist press. Many of them were written by Francisco Javier Landaburu, who, as the head of international relations for the Basque Government, was the one who best knew the arena and Christian Democratic positions. In these articles, whose goal was to share the Christian Democratic discourse with the Basque people themselves, Landaburu defined it as a political and social movement that attempted to organize the national and international life of each people according to the principles of Christianity. Moreover, he introduced Christian Democracy as a firm defender of natural entities (the family, the nation, and even humanity) which would guarantee their existence and the respect they deserved. Our protagonist considered the family to be “the fundamental cell of society and the permanent source of all the virtues of the race” (9).

There can be no doubt that the Basque Nationalist Party, which defined itself as Democratic and Christian, and which claimed that Democracy was part of the DNA of the Basques, could only smile with satisfaction at the triumph of these ideals. So, when the contacts with likeminded parties started up to help found the Secretariat of Christian Democratic Party Relations, the EBB decided to dive in. Like others, Landaburu believed that, thanks to the contacts with parties like the MRP and the CDU, and “thanks to our behavior in the last decade”, the Basque Nationalists were acquiring “certain titles” that would allow them to even come together as the “driving force of a Christian International” (10). This undoubtedly exaggerated optimism was, according to Landaburu, thanks to all the meetings he’d had in which the Basque Nationalists had been asked to create that Secretariat of Relations, especially by the French and Belgians, in order to carry out that essential work to create and develop said organization.

“La razón de que la aportación vasca fuese tan solicitada en el origen de este movimiento se explica no sólo por la convergencia de inquietudes de aquel aspecto entre los demócratas cristianos de Francia y Bélgica y nosotros, sino porque esos amigos extranjeros y otros muchos de distintos países continentales habían sabido, bien por leer a Maritain y Mauriac, o bien por su información personal, que el caso vasco representaba en medio de mucha confusión y de sobrada parcialidad, que la guerra civil española había provocado, un ejemplo evidente de la eficacia práctica del cristianismo en la defensa de las libertades y de la dignidad de la persona humana” (11).

The reason the Basque contribution was in such high demand at the start of this movement is explained not only by the convergence of preoccupations regarding that between the Christian Democrats of France and Belgium and ourselves, but also because these foreign friends and many others from several countries on the continent have known, either by reading Maritain and Mauriac or from firsthand knowledge, that the Basque case represented, in all that confusion and excessive partiality caused by the Spanish Civil War, a clear example of the practical efficiency of Christianity in the defense of freedoms and human dignity”.

Landaburu, ever the optimist, trusted that acting to create this Secretariat would catapult the PNV to the leading position of Iberian Christian Democratic groups and would safeguard their position in the core of European Christian Democracy. However, the process went down a different path, and the Basque leading role was never as great as had been hoped (12).

But, while not as good as expected, the fact that the PNV participated in the 1947 founding of the NEI, the most important Christian Democratic organization in Europe, was still extremely important. The Basque delegation at the first congress was Landaburu and Joseba Rezola. The participants in the Congress had been invited not as party representatives, but rather personally. The organizers had invited the Lehendakari and Landaburu directly, as they were well known in Christian Democratic circles and thanks to their previous contacts with Maritain, Sturzo, et al. The hosts also took interest in the fact that one member of the Basque delegation was a representative of the domestic Basque resistance. At first, Ajuriaguerra was the one being discussed to represent the Basque resistance, but after the May strikes and subsequent unrest, it was decided Rezola should go (13).

The Lehendakari could not attend until the closing ceremony due to scheduling conflicts, so, in the end, only Landaburu and Rezola went to Chaudfontaine. Later, Aguirre’s arrival at the closing ceremony was, according to the Basque press, received with great applause. The attendees, at the behest of the Basque delegation, approved a message of support and sympathy for the Basques. But, if anything, what makes this congress important for the PNV is that in it, the Basque team fully achieved its goal of appearing as a founding member of the body, which gave it full membership. What’s more, the Lehendakari was named a member of the honor committee, and Landaburu was given a place on the board, representing the Basque Country.

Appearing as a founding member of the NEI allowed the PNV to participate with full rights, directly and indirectly, thereby preventing the Basque Team from being seen as simply a team in exile; it also conferred them an advantage over the joining of other Iberian Democrats, which would happen in 1950, when the Democratic Union of Catalonia expressed their desire to join the International.

The Basque Team, which had worked *de facto* since the foundation of the NEI, was officially constituted on October 12, 1948. Francisco Javier Landaburu and José María Lasarte, representing the PNV, and Iñaki Renteria and Iñaki Aguirre, representing the *Euzko Gaztedi*, were the core of that team, though occasionally others participated.

In fact, in addition to his intellectual contributions in defining the PNV's political discourse, Landaburu's greatest contribution was leading the officially-denominated "Basque National Team of the NEI", more well known as the Paris Group, which was in charge of making contact with both Christian Democratic and European Federalist organizations.

As we stated earlier, federalism was the second way the PNV was able to enter into Europe. After World War II, federalist movements, which had already been flying high for thirty years, were rejuvenated. Personalism, the doctrine based on the preeminence of the human being which sought global alternatives to the society of the day, had ceased to exist, but its principles were taken up by the federalist movements that were born and reborn in the second post-war. They all believed in a Federal Europe that overcame state borders, defended diversity and natural collectivities, and empowered the human being. These features of the so-called integral or Proudhonian federalism were also shared by some in the PNV, though not by all. There were also those who defended the idea of a Federal Europe, but not a Federal Spain.

Landaburu was not a member of that group. Without a doubt, he was one of, if not the most, dynamic defender of federalism at the core of the PNV. This is his definition:

"El federalismo es la proyección democrática de la nación en el Mundo y es de tesis federalistas que el federalismo es integral, que no hay uno para fuera y otro para adentro, como practican muchos Estados actuales, no hay un federalismo interno y otro externo, sino un solo federalismo".

"Federalism is the democratic projection of the nation in the World, and it is known in federalists theses that federalism is integral, that there is no such thing as one for within and one for without, as many modern States practice, there's no domestic and foreign federalism, there is only federalism".

And he continues, saying that federalism is a doctrine "that seems to have been initially created and practiced by the Basques and for the Basques." "We are unaware we're federalists, which is the best way to be" (14).

Being an enthusiastic federalist was not innate in Landaburu. Actually, Juan Carlos Basterra, the leader of Basque National Action (ANV) at the Federalist World Congress in Luxembourg in October 1946, got him hooked. It was Basterra who informed Lehendakari Aguirre that it would be a good idea to go, while at the same time transmitting to him that deep conviction in

federalism. The Lehendakari decided that Landaburu and Basterra should represent the Basque Government there. What happened to them on their arrival gave rise to the Basque Federalist Movement (MFV). Landaburu himself tells the story in his slightly unorthodox and peculiar way:

“Basterra y yo penetramos en el salón de sesiones y, al entrar, se nos preguntó a quién representábamos. Nos miramos y a uno de los dos se le ocurrió responder que al Movimiento Federalista Vasco. Nos indicaron un sitio para sentarnos junto a la delegación francesa y pocos instantes después, al hacer el presidente nuestra presentación, los congresistas, que eran rubios, morenos y hasta negros, nos hicieron objeto de ovación calurosa. Basterra y yo, muy asustados, no sabíamos si agradecer el homenaje o salir corriendo. Lo cierto es que nos quedamos, que seguimos los debates de aquella reunión internacional y que allí me convertí al federalismo en menos tiempo del que tardé en hacerme, hace muchos años, nacionalista vasco” (15).

“Basterra and I entered the meeting room and, upon entering, we were asked who we were representing. We looked at each other and one of us decided to reply ‘The Basque Federalist Movement’. We were taken to our seats next to the French delegation, and moments later, when the president introduced us, the attendees, who were blond, brunette, and even black, gave us a warm ovation. Basterra and I, quite afraid, didn’t know whether to thank them for their homage or run away. But we stayed, we continued in the debates at that international meeting, and there I became a federalist in much less time than it had taken me, years ago, to become a Basque nationalist”.

Upon registering as representatives of the MFV, Basterra and Landaburu unofficially became its founders. Thus, in October of 1946, this Basque federalist body was born, made up of members of the ANV and PNV, and later, when it was officially created in March 1947, also Socialists and Republicans. Its effective President was Manuel Irujo (PNV); the Vice Presidents were Juan Carlos Basterra (ANV), Laurean Lasa (Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party, PSOE), and Ramón María Aldasoro (Republican Left, IR). Landaburu worked as a secretary, but he was actually also the main representative of the MFV in European forums.

So, by 1946, we find Landaburu representing his party and the Basque Government in numerous Christian Democrat and Federalist bodies. Among the former, he attended the French MRP National Congresses in 1947, 1949, 1951, 1952, 1954, and 1959; the Italian CD congress in 1946 and the Italian CD Youth Study Days in 1948; the NEI Congresses of 1947, 1948, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1959, 1960, and 1961; and finally, at the Second Intercontinental Christian Democratic Conference in 1958. Among the latter, he was at the World Federalist Congress in Luxembourg in 1946; at the European Federal Union congresses in 1948 and 1955; at the French Federal Union congresses in 1948 and 1949; and at the Congress of European Communities and Regions (later the Federalist Union of Ethnic Communities) in 1949 and 1950.

And that doesn’t include the European Movement congresses and conferences he attended, including the Hague Conference in 1948, which is now seen as the starting point for building

Europe; after overcoming many complications, or impediments, Landaburu, Basterra, and Lehendakari Aguirre attended as observers.

3. 1950s AND EARLY 1960s: DASHED HOPES

The 1950s were critical for the PNV for several reasons. Firstly, there was a severe internal crisis which shook the foundations of the party. Secondly, this structural weakness caused the PNV to lose its leading position at the head of democratic opposition to Franco. And thirdly, the friends they'd once had in the United States was now looking too amenably at Franco, causing other Western European countries, still waiting for help from their friend Marshall, also started adopting conservative positions that slowly began accepting the rehabilitation of the Franco régime in Europe. This had gotten its start at the beginning of the Cold War in 1947. As it progressed, so did the ideas on the new Europe that the functionalists were imposing upon the integral federalists; that is, they wanted to build the new Europe atop the States rather than natural communities or nations. This triumph was clearly reflected in the aforementioned congress in The Hague.

So, despite this 180° turn, the PNV still considered its plans to achieve its aspirations via the open door to Europe more valid than ever, especially as they saw the US turn its back on them. Landaburu, "as a result of disappointments and setbacks," still had faith in the federal Europe they advocated for because "if the heart is absent, Europe will be nothing more than a distraction, accepted by sociologists and politicians, but indifferent to the masses" (16). Those words are quite prescient, given the general feelings of Europe's population today.

However, despite the PNV still grasping at the European straw, the strengthening of the States at The Hague and the comings and goings of international politics did a number on the Europeanists, and it should be noted that the PNV's participation in European forums slowly decreased, in intensity and frequency. Even though the Basque Council on the European Movement (CVME, now Eurobask) was created in 1951, and there were continual attempts to found an Europeanist group within the country, auspiciously and logically promoted by Landaburu, these initiatives ended up going nowhere.

In addition to these factors, there were also internal debates and confrontations also related the European politics the party should follow. These divergences had gotten their start a few years prior. The different ideological, political, and strategic perspectives within the party also set out diverse ways to observe the reality of Europe and the possibilities of what the PNV could do in that context.

The activities of the Paris Group, led by Landaburu, were occasionally harshly criticized by the more radical factions within the party. The divergences were laid bare in 1949 at the constitution of the Spanish Federal Council on the European Movement (CFEME), where some PNV leaders, including Landaburu, played a decisive role; this was severely frowned on by other sectors in the party.

Also subject to debate was to what point the orders issued by the EBB were to be followed. The absolute necessity of being in everything, of making the most of every opportunity the context could provide, repeatedly meant that practice preceded theory; that is, that the *doers* among the

leaders in Paris, Landaburu and his team, had to improvise and act before receiving guidance from the EBB. The EBB, on the other hand, controlled the activity of those in Paris due to the fear that the Nationalist message would not be conveyed clearly, or that it would be lost among representatives of Spain. Moreover, there was also the clash of powers between the Basque Government and the PNV, who could not figure out who was being represented at these European engagements.

The first tipping point of these confrontations was in 1949, and the second between 1951 and 1952. Critics vented their rage mostly on Lasarte, who decided to move to the New World and temporarily leave the front lines of politics. Landaburu was considered to replace Lasarte at the CFEME, but the former, always conciliatory and not wanting to add more fuel to the fire, declined.

The distance between Paris and the Homeland reached its height at the end of 1957 and beginning of 1958, right at the moment of the greatest crisis within the party. In a November 1957 report, Leizaola, Irujo, and Landaburu gave their opinion on the party's situation and proposed, as a means to end the crisis and as a bit of shock therapy against passiveness, to lead an open discussion between the Basque nationalists at home and those in exile. Among other criticisms, those in Paris blamed the loss of prestige in Europe on the lack of support from the homeland, and their inability to create a dynamic group that would work alongside the one in Paris.

This call to action, at least for a moment, woke the homeland leaders up from their lethargy and made them face up to the awful situation the PNV found itself in. But, as could be expected, their words angered some and, after a decade of bickering, the embers that had been smoldering between those in the homeland and those in Paris, which had barely been kept under control until then, finally burst into a conflagration of criticism that had previously been swept under the rug. They criticized the men in Paris for acting behind the back of those in the homeland, for always considering the basic, fundamental institution of all Basque activities the Basque Government, and for not having correctly confronted the sorrow that came up when it was finally apparent that the decisive blow against Franco would not come from a concerted international effort from abroad. The resentment of the PNV leaders had also arisen from their claim that those in Paris had turned Basque Europeanist associations into their own clubs, and only sending minimal information back home (17).

We're not sure if these documents ever reached those in Paris; they most likely did. But even if they hadn't, the echo of these accusations and the tense atmosphere boiling over at the PNV headquarters at the time were more than enough to understand the anguish Landaburu expressed in a letter he sent to Iñaki Unceta, the secretary of the EBB, in October 1958:

"Si en un momento dado dejásemos de existir como colectivo, nadie se daría cuenta. Estamos perdidos en el espacio como un "robot" americano. Se me están derrumbando todas las ilusiones mantenidas durante años y en tiempos que parecían más catastróficos. No hemos sabido hacer nada contra Franco, nada que fuese eficaz, y ni siquiera sabemos ahora esperar, aprovechando ese plazo para mantener nuestras características nacionales (...).

¿Soluciones a este drama? No sé si queda otra cosa que la de los problemas muy íntimos: la oración, la voluntad de Dios... hace años le llamábamos el afiliado número 1. Espero que no se haya dado de baja del Partido. O que no haya puesto entre el Zadorra, el Urumea y el Nervión un taller mecánico. En ese caso, estamos perdidos (18).

"If at some point we stopped existing as a group, no one would notice. We're lost in space like some old American robot. All the illusions I've held on to for years, through more catastrophic times, are crumbling. We have done nothing against Franco, nothing that worked, and we don't even know how to wait, taking advantage of that time to maintain our national characteristics...

Solutions to this drama? I don't know if there are any beyond the very personal ones: prayer, God's will... Years ago, we called Him member number 1. I hope that he hasn't left the Party. Or that he hasn't set up a garage between the Zadorra, the Urumea, and the Nervion. If that's the case, we're done for."

Even such a staunch optimist and Europeanist like him could tell that not even the European way had worked out. This is one of the few times Landaburu really lost hope.

A few years prior, in 1956, he'd written his magnum opus, *La causa del pueblo vasco* (*The Cause of the Basque People*), which had contained his reflections on the present and the future of Nationalist thinking and the European discourse the PNV had been defending for years. In the prologue to the 1977 edition, Irujo classed Landaburu's writings as "the statement of an attorney defending his client." Salvador de Madariaga, however, thought the work was a "separatist book" and accused the author of lacking any solid arguments, basing them on fallacies and also milking "outdated notions" (19). These "outdated notions", however, still have validity in the PNV's current policies. In fact, this book, dedicated to the Basque youth, is still a guide to understanding those ideas and even today's Basque Nationalists' claims better. The ideas about Europe Landaburu wrote there will be analyzed in the epilogue.

So while the 1950s may have finished with a sad, if not distraught, Landaburu, the 1960s couldn't have had a worse start: in March 1960, Lehendakari Aguirre unexpectedly passed away. Months later, Landaburu wrote:

"Me ha costado mucho superar sentimental y hasta físicamente la emoción que nos causó la muerte brutal de José Antonio. A mí, que estaba tan cerca de él, esa tragedia me dio la impresión de quedarme huérfano, completamente desamparado y sin guía. Pero, como todos, he tenido que rehacerme, y muchas cosas, entre ellas la manifestación tan serena y tan digna de la adhesión de nuestro pueblo en los funerales por el primer, nos obligan, a todos, a responder sin vacilación a nuestro cometido patriótico. Nadie sabe las amarguras que tendremos todavía que pasar, ni se pueden predecir las dificultades que aún nos esperan en la lucha por la libertad de Euzkadi; pero, si

antes nos obligaban las convicciones, ahora, además, nos obliga también el deber de lealtad a aquel hombre que se nos fue” (20).

“It’s been hard for me to sentimentally and even physically overcome the emotion caused by José Antonio’s brutal death. As I was so close to him, this tragedy has given me the impression I’m an orphan, completely unprotected and unguided. But, like all, I’ve had to reinvent myself, and many things, including that serene and dignified manifestation of the support of our people at the funerals held for him, oblige us, all of us, to fulfill our patriotic duty without hesitation. No one knows what hardships we have yet to face, nor can they predict what difficulties lie ahead in our struggle for the freedom of Euzkadi; but, if it was once our convictions which obliged us, now, duty and loyalty to the man we have lost also do so.”

These words were written in August 1960, after he had already been the Councilor and Vice President of the Basque Government for two months, having been designated in March by the EBB to cover the vacancy in the PNV. As he predicted, the “patriotic duty” of the party faced an incredibly difficult situation: on the one hand, there was the fear that the Franco régime could be here to stay, an even be helped along by certain orientations within the European project, and on the other, the ETA. Finally, there was the still fraught situation within the PNV.

And what’s more, Europe was no longer the Europe Landaburu had dreamed of in 1945, a Europe made up of nations, a federal Europe that could bring together all the existing diversity into its core. The Europe Landaburu had before him at the beginning of the 1960s was based on strong States in which smaller infra-state units could not participate freely; a Europe in which the constituting States were ensuring their leading role. Despite this, he still believed in a Europeanist strategy. Europeanism was once again part of a long line of the “internationalist and universalist tradition” of Basque Nationalism and seen as a vocational and intrinsic characteristic of the Basque people. “The Basques are Europeanists out of conviction,” he often said (21).

The adjective most used for the Europe the PNV defended in that decade was the “Europe of the Peoples”. The use of this term, which had earlier been used quite sporadically, started to come into common use at the end of the 1950s, when Landaburu adopted it to explain the concept of the Europe he longed for. “Europe of the Peoples” became the term the PNV used, and still uses, to define its vision of Europe. The adoption of this concept coincided with the resurgence of integral federalist ideals that were speaking about “Europe of the Regions” or “Europe of the Ethnicities”. However, Landaburu and his team did not consider these terms to be the most appropriate to define the Europe they were advocating for. They preferred to discuss the Europe of the Peoples, a federal Europe which safeguards the small nationalities and stateless nations.

In practice, following the lead of earlier years, the Nationalist presence in European forums diminished, and what did happen was carried out via statewide bodies, with no opposition. That was the tone set by the 1960s.

Landaburu died in 1963. But up to the very day of his death, he continued to be the leading Basque representation in European bodies. Thus, for example, he was the PNV’s representative in

the Federalist Union of Ethnic Communities (formerly the Congress of Communities and European Regions) and one of the leaders of the Basque exile who was present in 1962 at the Conspiracy of Munich (so called by the Franco régime), which brought together people who were fighting against the régime, from within and from exile. When Landaburu passed away, Joseba Rezola took over his international work.

4. EPILOGUE: THE CURRENT SITUATION OF HIS IDEAS

Author Salvador Madariaga called the ideas supported by Landaburu in *La causa del pueblo vasco* (*The Cause of the Basque People*) “outdated notions.” However, many of those same ideas are still part of the current ideological corpus of the PNV. Specifically, the discourse on Europe on those pages he wrote has hardly changed. The Europe Landaburu defended since even before 1945 and the Europe the party actually works towards is the same Europe, a federal Europe based not on States but on infra-state bodies.

The comparative analysis of the ideas Landaburu laid out in Chapter 8, titled “On the Basque Nation in Europe and the World”, and the reflections stated by Lehendakari Juan José Ibarretxe in Bilbao in 2007 during the “Europe at a Crossroads” Conference is a clear sign of the similarity of the ideas.

Firstly, Landaburu analyzed the problem of nationalities. He concluded that a Federal Europe would be the perfect safeguard for these small nationalities, and he urged them to unite. “The aphorism of the big fish and the small fish,” he explained, “is countered by the idea that union means strength, but, moreover, the grandeur of nations is no longer measured in kilometers or inhabitants.” In his speech, Lehendakari Ibarretxe also focused on this matter, stating, “Only respect for identity can guarantee the European Union.” He continued, “We are still putting forward the idea that Lehendakari Aguirre” (here we must also add in Landaburu) “had that held that the world was marching towards reunifications; diversity is ever more important, but it is still marching towards universality.”

Secondly, Landaburu insisted on the crisis of the State, and underlined that the State is a changing concept, still evolving, always undergoing decentralization. Ibarretxe started his speech by also claiming that “In Europe, things are changing. Now we have the examples of Scotland, Flanders, Kosovo, etc.” And he went on to say that Europe today is basically an agreement between States, and that it must develop a project to become a sort of social contract between people and peoples. In the opinion of the current Lehendakari, when making a decision today, the opinions of all need to be born in mind: “Who if not everyone? Not only the States; also the States. But we nations that are not States, regions, civil society...we all have to give our opinion on this European project, this project to create Europe. Very few points of view have been born in mind when making policy. There should have been more than there were.”

Thirdly, firmly convinced of the existence of the national characteristics of the Basque Country, Landaburu firmly believed that the Basque could and should work towards achieving a Basque nation with its own specific features. In his opinion, the Basque nation is convinced it is such, and only by executing its right to self-determination could it decide its place inside Spain. Ibarretxe also had words to this effect, demanding greater participation and a right to referendum: “I

believe that domestic politics must start recognizing new actors. The recognition of identity, of the right we have to develop our own identity as stateless nations in Europe seems to me to be the central axis of this inward reflection in Europe.” “This must be done through referenda of these peoples, of these nations that are not States.”

Closely related to the above, fourthly, Landaburu insisted in *La causa del pueblo vasco (The Cause of the Basque People)* that it was necessary to reinforce and reorganize Europe, opining that there was no contradiction at all between nationalist aspirations and Europeanist hopes. Regarding that, the Lehendakari had very similar words: “There are nations which have the right to go deeper into our own identity. It is possible to integrate into Europe and to go deeper into our identity as peoples.”

Fifth, in his defense arguments for Europeanism, Landaburu repeated the oft-evoked argument of the internationalist, federalist, and Europeanist vocation and tradition of the Basque people, and Ibarretxe, at the end of 2007, also referenced this ancestral belonging to Europe: “May no one try to place stateless nations outside the space of the European Union based on the relationship we might have, because we have always been Europe.”

Finally, the chapter dedicated to Europe in *La causa* ends with an optimistic message from Landaburu for the Europe of the Peoples: “Today, we’re only making the Europe of the States, which was the easiest thing to do, as were in a hurry, because one of the stimuli in organizing Europe is fear. Once the fear passes and the doctrine matures, there will be talk of creating a Europe of the Peoples, and in that Europe, no one will be able to deny us, this federalist and pacifist people, its place, as Europe will have no other goal than peace.”

The Lehendakari’s speech at the Europe Conference also ended on a message of hope. While admitting that Europe was still going through a crisis of confidence and of the deep selfishness of the States, as well as a lack of democracy and of leadership, Ibarretxe stated that even though it’s not the Europe we wanted, “it’s better to sleep under a roof full of holes than with no protection at all”. He finished by saying, “I am part of the European dream.” “I’m optimistic because there’s a line to enter and no one wants to leave.” “I still believe Europe is a cause of hope.” (22)

The similarities between the two messages are quite obvious. The hard work of Landaburu and others in exile who dreamed of and fought for a better Europe was not in vain. The new classes of political leaders have inherited the deep Europeanist roots of that generation, as can be seen by how, even though today’s Europe is far removed from that supported by Landaburu and modern-day Basque Nationalists, the PNV, even with its nuances and internal debates, is still backing Europe every time it’s needed it. Therefore, we can conclude by saying that Landaburu’s contribution to the Europeanist discourse within the PNV, and we daresay in Basque Nationalism as a whole, was, and still is, fundamental.

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NOTES

- (1) This article was part of a research Project funded by the Science and Innovation project (HAR2008-03691/HIST).
- (2) Luis de Eleizalde Breñosa (1878-1923) was the leader of the PNV and then the Basque Nationalist Communion (CNV), more specialized in international affairs. He is the author of a series of articles published in the Basque Country and compiled, in part, in his work *Países y Razas: Las aspiraciones nacionalistas en diversos pueblos (Countries and Races: the Nationalist Aspirations of Several Peoples)*
- (3) Austrian Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is the founder of the Pan-European Union. Based on the idea that the internal fragmentation of Europe into several States was the start of the crisis it was undergoing, Coudenhove-Kalergi proposed a “political concept” of Europe, which he called Paneuropa
- (4) Pierre Dumas (1891-1968). This journalist, considered one of the leading analysts of the Spanish situation, fully identified with the Basque Nationalists. His articles were hugely influential among Basque exiles.
- (5) Francisco Javier LANDABURU: *La causa del pueblo vasco*, Editorial Geu, Bilbao, 1977.
- (6) Francisco Javier LANDABURU: “De lo nacionalista a lo internacional”, *Alderdi*, nº 23 February 1949, p. 18.
- (7) Word of José María Lasarte at the NEI Congress held in The Hague in 1948. “Informe del Representante Vasco en el último Congreso de las Organizaciones Democráticas Cristianas”, *Euzko Deya* (Buenos Aires), nº 340 30/10/1948, pp. 1-2
- (8) Archived letter from José Antonio Aguirre to Francisco Javier Landaburu, May 1938, AN I Nacionalismo Vasco, Artea, Vizcaya), Fondo GEC, 120-10.
- (9) “El Partido Nacionalista Vasco en 1949” (Contestación al cuestionario enviado por los NEI). Francisco Javier LANDABURU: *Obras Completas*, Idatz Ekintza, Bilbao, 1982-84, 90-109. vol. III, pp.
- (10) “Notas de Italia. El viaje de la delegación vasca en 1946”, May 1946, Francisco Javier LANDABURU: *Obras Completas*, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 344-366.
- (11) Francisco Javier LANDABURU: “Cristianismo y federalismo. La Segunda Conferencia de los Nuevos Equipos Internacionales”, *Azkatasuna*, nº 38 y 40, February-March 1948.

- (12) Francisco Javier LANDABURU: "Secretariado de relaciones de los partidos demócrata cristianos", París, December 1946, AN, Fondo EBB, 174-1.
- (13) Letter from Francisco Javier Landaburu to Joseba Rezola, 23/05/1047, AN, Fondo DP,138-1; Letter from Francisco Javier Landaburu to Doroteo Ciaurriz, 28/02/1947, AN, Fondo EBB, 209-4.
- (14) All quotes in Francisco Javier LANDABURU: La causa del pueblo vasco, op. cit., pp. 224-226.
- (15) Francisco Javier LANDABURU: "De Luxemburgo a Estrasburgo", Alderdi, nº 32, November 1949, p. 19.
- (16) The first quote, Francisco Javier Landaburu,: "Nacimiento de Europa", OPE, nº 574, 08/081949, pp. 1-2; with the title "Ante el resurgir de Europa", Euzko Deya (Buenos Aires), nº 3 66, 30/08/1949, p. 1. The second, Francisco Javier Landaburu,: "L'Ame populaire de l'Europe", Euzko Deya (Paris), nº 309, 30/04/1949, p. 3.
- (17) Bizkai Buru Batzar (BBB) Report, January 1958, AN, Fondo EBB, 58-27.
- (18) Letter from Francisco Javier Landaburu to Iñaki Unceta, Paris, 23/10/1958, AN, Fondo EBB, 81-7.
- (19) Quotes, Francisco Javier LANDABURU: La causa del pueblo vasco, op. cit. p. 5; Salvador MADARIAGA: Memorias de un federalista, Editorial Sudamericana, Buenos Aires, 1967, pp. 132-139.
- (20) "Don Francisco Javier Landaburu", Euzko Deya (Mexico), nº 242, August 1960, p. 4. This is a letter from Landaburu to a compatriot which *Euzko Deya* published.
- (21) "Euzkadi-Europa", Alderdi, nº 182, May 1962, p. 3; "Ante la nueva Europa. Vocación universalista", Euzko Deya (Buenos Aires), 30/12/1962, p. 8; "Somos europeístas desde siempre", Euzko Deya (Mexico), nº 391, February 1973, p. 5.