

Culture, language and politics. The Catalan cultural resistance during the Franco regime (1939-1977)

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Received 12 February 2019 · Accepted 30 September 2019

ABSTRACT

The Franco regime attempted to commit cultural and identity genocide against Catalonia, but only the combined action of resistance inside the country and in exile prevented it. The 1940s were a decade of pure resistance, but by the 1950s there was a revival inside the country which paved the way for the cultural and political blossoming of the 1960s. In the ensuing decade, self-governance was attained in the Catalan Lands after the final crisis of the Franco regime, but there was no compensation for the repression it had undergone, nor was a sufficiently steadfast policy adopted to guarantee the future of Catalan language and culture.

KEYWORDS: Catalan language and culture, anti-Franco resistance, Franco regime, exile, political transition

INTRODUCTION

Catalan culture, which dates back to the Middle Ages, has gone through particularly difficult times in its history, when it has suffered from adverse restrictions and its very continuity as a distinct culture has been seriously threatened by two very powerful cultures: Spain and France. Therefore, political factors have weighed heavily in its development. The dictatorship of General Francisco Franco (1939-1977), especially in its early days, set out to undertake what several scholars have described as a veritable cultural genocide. The Franco regime sought to put an end to Catalan language and culture, since they were the clearest feature of its status as a specific culture and a key part of Catalan national identity. Therefore, during that era, the cultural resistance particularly emphasised defending the local language in all the cultural and social spheres, with the distant goal (then and still today) of reaching full normality. Thus, in this article we have particularly focused on the connection between culture, language and politics at the time. Naturally, the fight over language and culture was associated with the struggle for freedom of expression and other civil liberties; however, they were subjected to iron-fisted political censure that imposed the values of an authoritarian, anti-democratic dictatorial regime which upheld a Spanish nationalism with a Castilian core that denied the existence, within its

jurisdiction, of other national realities like those of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia (and obviously their cultural expressions).

Catalan culture at that time was mainly anti-Franco (either explicitly or implicitly). The intensity of the repression and the reaction to this offensive varied over the course of a regime that lasted almost 40 years. The 1940s marked a period of resistance to the repressive onslaught on two fronts: from inside the country (with few resources at the time, but with a clear desire to survive) and from exile (where the first Catalan cultural revival actually took place). The 1950s were characterised by the start of a clear revival inside the country, which allowed for a true cultural blossoming in the ensuing decade. The degree of maturity attained in the 1960s made it possible to prepare a veritable attack on the institutions in the first half of the 1970s, when the Franco regime was showing clear signs of crisis. This challenge took programmatic shape in the *Congrés de Cultura Catalana* (1975-1977).

Indeed, this famous congress, which started with a very broad (almost anthropological) conception of the term “culture”, determined what “Catalan culture” meant and what its scope was, while it also claimed that “as we understand it, Catalan culture has never been a minority culture”.¹ Thus, it stated that “Catalan culture is the culture of all of the Catalan Lands”, that is, of the Principality of Catalonia (the current provinces of Barcelona, Girona, Lleida and Tarragona), the País Valencià or Region of Valencia (Valencia, Castelló de la Plana and Alicante), the Balearic Islands (Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza and Formentera), Andorra, Catalunya del Nord or Northern Catalo-

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nia (the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales in France), and Alguer or Alghero (a Catalan-speaking town on the island of Sardinia). It was also claimed that the Catalan language was “the Catalan Lands’ own language and culture”, and this is why it demanded that it be the “language of normal use and the official language of these lands”.

FRANCO’S VICTORY AND EXILE

Not only did the military victory of the forces commanded by General Franco in 1939 unleash extraordinarily harsh repression against those who supported the republican side (executions, exile, mass imprisonment, etc.), this repression was also particularly traumatic in the cultural realm. The new regime simply sought to make Catalan disappear from all spheres of public life (public administration, schools, universities, religion, radio, entertainment, books and magazines, etc.) in an attempt to undo the great strides made by Catalan culture in the first third of the 20th century, first with the Mancomunitat de Catalunya (1914-1923) and then with the republican Generalitat (1931-1939). The goal was to implement a final solution, a definitive one, to what the leaders of the Spanish state had viewed as the “Catalan problem” for many years (since the 17th century, with the Catalan Revolt, also called the War of the Reapers). This was a long-term embroilment grounded upon failure to recognise the Catalan nation and culture, which is why scholars like Josep Benet, Josep M. Solé Sabaté, Joan Villarroya, Josep Massot i Muntaner and Santi Cortés have considered it an attempt at cultural genocide.² The impact was particularly harsh in the Principality of Catalonia, which was regarded as its core, but it was felt all over the Catalan Lands. Because of the revolutionary repression unleashed against them, this goal of extermination even stunned some civil and religious sectors that prior to the conflict had been on the side of conservative Catalanism and at the start of the war had lent their support to Franco’s side. Albert Manent asserts that “Catalonia lost the civil war” because of the intensity of the repression and the goal of putting an end to Catalan identity.³

In the early years of the Franco regime, the exiles were able to assure incontrovertible continuity and undertake an initial cultural revival, given the almost complete annihilation suffered by the Catalan lands under the thumb of the dictatorship. The *crème de la crème* of Catalan intellectuals, led by Pompeu Fabra (who became a living symbol of the persecuted language and culture), went into exile, aware of what Franco’s victory would mean. Other leading figures who chose exile were Antoni Rovira i Vigili, Lluís Nicolau d’Olwer, Pere Bosch Gimpera, Josep Pous i Pagès, Ferran Soldevila, Carles Riba, Joan Oliver, Joaquim Xirau, Aurora Bertrana, Pau Casals, Ventura Gassol and Josep Carner.⁴ The victors’ February 1939 execution of the writer Carles Rahola, based on the

sole fact that he had written several articles against the bombardments in Girona, betrayed the danger that the intellectuals who had supported the Generalitat were in. Likewise, many professors and teachers also left, since the modernisation and Catalanisation of education had been one of the main accomplishments during the Republic.

But most importantly, the Generalitat de Catalunya itself went into exile, which enabled different cultural initiatives to be launched, from magazines and publications to helping create institutions like the Fundació Ramon Llull. This was a foundation with government participation created in Paris in 1939 on the initiative of Antoni M. Sbert (former Minister of Culture of the Generalitat), which not only designed an action programme but was also able to help economically sustain the leading writers and intellectuals. However, the outbreak of World War II and the Nazi occupation of France quashed its development and forced its promoter to move to Mexico. Likewise, the Nazi invasion led to the deportation of the president of the Generalitat, Lluís Companys, who was executed in Barcelona in 1940 without any kind of fair hearing. He was replaced by Josep Irla, who presided over the Catalan government until 1954, during the difficult years of the global conflict and the start of the Cold War.

The great cultural institution sustained in exile – great because of its sheer duration and the rigour of its tenets – was the Jocs Florals de la Llengua Catalana, a Catalan-language poetry contest. Between 1941 and 1977, gatherings were held in different cities around the world which helped bring together the intellectual diaspora and make contact with the intellectuals inside the country. The first one was held in Buenos Aires and the last one in Munich. They all were extremely stringent in their criteria with the goal of showcasing the level Catalan culture had reached despite all the adversity it had faced.⁵ Josep Carner articulated this mission explicitly in his speech at the Jocs Florals de la Llengua Catalana in Paris in 1948: “Allow me (...) to address the *crème de la crème* of both the exiles and those who are impotent in Catalonia today (...) I want to tell them that they must attain the discerning level of the great literatures and sciences. I ask that the criticism be harsher, I call for the extinction of the last possible traces of provincial benevolence, which is almost as dangerous an affront as persecution itself (...) Each of us must grow, and can grow.”

Many magazines were published in exile, and they played a key role, since for many years they were the only local means of expression in Catalan and the only place where the existing ideological pluralism could be shown. They also served the clear purpose of binding the intellectual diaspora together and serving as its mouthpiece. Some of these titles, such as *Ressorgiment* from Buenos Aires and *Germanor* from Santiago de Chile, had been founded by the considerable wave of emigrants in the late 19th century, but they underwent a profound revitalisa-

tion with the contributions of the anti-Franco exiles. Throughout the entire period of exile, some 300 magazines and newsletters appeared, as tallied by Albert Mament and Robert Surroca.⁶ Those published in the 1940s included *Revista dels Catalans d'Amèrica* (Mexico 1939-1940), *El Poble Català* (Paris 1939-1940), *Quaderns de l'exili* (Mexico 1943-1947), *Lletres* (Mexico 1944-1948), *Quaderns d'Estudis Polítics, Econòmics i Socials* (Perpignan 1945-47), *La Nostra Revista* (Mexico 1946-1954) and *Revista de Catalunya* (Paris 1939-1940 and 1947, and Mexico 1947).

During this period, a range of titles by prominent expatriate authors in exile were published as well. As a sample of the diversity of genres and languages in which they published, we can cite Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *Els darrers dies de la Catalunya republicana* (1940); Carles Cardó, *Histoire spirituelle des Espagnes* (1946); Josep Trueta, *The Spirit of Catalonia* (1946); Salvador Dalí, *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* (1942); Pere Bosch Gimpera, *La formación de los pueblos de España* (1945); and Josep Ferrater Mora, *Diccionario de filosofía* (1941).

Communication between those in exile and those who remained in the country was tricky because of the Franco regime's censorship, and only a minority of the works published actually reached Catalonia. One iconic example of these difficulties is the poetry book *Elegies de Bierville* by Carles Riba. This book, written in the Bierville mill in Boissy-la Rivière (near Paris), states that it was published in Buenos Aires in 1942, when it was actually published in Barcelona in 1943. The complete edition did not appear in Santiago de Chile until 1949, but many readers were unaware of it until it was published in Barcelona in 1951.

The exiles also contributed to a re-engagement with the Catalan Lands outside of Spain, such as Andorra and Northern Catalonia, which became places of refuge and welcome. Indeed, the avalanche of refugees that Northern Catalonia had to harbour led them to be placed in concentration camps with extraordinarily harsh living conditions.⁷ However, the very harshness of the time led to contacts between the local population and the exiles, many of whom ended up staying there for life.

The notion of unity among the Catalan Lands was not shattered until after the war, and in exile it found ambitious theoretical expressions, such as the aforementioned *Quaderns de l'exili* spearheaded by Joan Sales, Raimon Galí, Lluís Ferran de Pol and Josep M. Ametlla, whose founding slogan was "Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands are three Countries and a single Nation". In defence of this unitary vision, too, the historian Ferran Soldevila published the article "Catalonia" in the journal *Revista de Catalunya* (1943), where he used the concept of "Països Catalans" (Catalan Lands). These and other formulations created in exile were particularly important inside the country, but they were never expressed in public until the 1960s via the figure of Joan Fuster, when they were fully embraced.

THE CULTURAL RESISTANCE INSIDE THE COUNTRY

In the early post-war years, the intellectuals dedicated to defending Catalan language and culture came upon many hurdles to organising themselves. One of these intellectuals, the poet Josep Palau i Fabre, aptly defined the situation: "Barcelona was an exhausted body because of the huge bloodbath of the war and the exodus".⁸ The city had been (and would become once again) the main engine of cultural institutionalisation, which gives a rather accurate idea of the precarious state of the nation as a whole. However, as early as 1940, a small group, including Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, Miquel Coll i Alentorn and Ramon Aramon, started to rebuild the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC).⁹ In 1942, the entity regained an iconic figure upon the return of Josep Puig i Cadafalch. Indeed, he had been the president of the Mancomunitat, a founding member of the IEC, an extremely prestigious architect and historian and one of the few leaders of the conservative Catalanist party Lliga de Catalunya who did not support Franco, which led him to play a crucial role in maintaining the IEC during the years of greatest hardship.

One decisive factor that helped make it possible to create a resistance front was the return of other significant figures, such as (in order of arrival): Josep M. de Sagarra (1940), Maurici Serrahima (1940), Joan B. Roca i Caball (1940), Carles Soldevila (1941), Francesc Pujols (1942), Enric Casanovas (1942), Carles Riba (1943), Alexandre Galí (1943), Ferran Soldevila (1943) and Josep Pous i Pagès (1944). The harshness of the living conditions in the French republic under Nazi rule (where the majority had taken refuge), the unravelling of the world war (which started going in favour of the allies in 1943) and the need to choose between heading to the Americas or going back home were all important factors behind the choice to come back. Furthermore, as Jordi Galí noted, "Upon return, quite soon work took on meaning, a clear sense of forging ahead, which was the real resistance".¹⁰ The number of intellectuals who came back at that time was not quantitatively large, but it was qualitatively important, hence their warm welcome. When the poet Rosa Leveroni, who had remained in the country, found out about the return of Ferran Soldevila, she wrote to the aforementioned Palau i Fabre: "Now there's one more of us".¹¹

The end of World War II in 1945 signalled a true turning point. According to the democratic anti-Franco opposition, who had overwhelmingly sided with the allies, their victory was supposed to mean the end of the dictatorial regime. They believed that the allies would disembark and bring down the Franco regime, just as they had already done in France and Italy. There was even an attempt by the anti-Franco Maquis to occupy the Vall d'Aran in October 1944 in a bid to force an allied intervention, but it was harshly repressed. Yet after World War II, General Franco became an ally of the Atlantic bloc during the Cold War which started soon thereafter. The consolidation of the regime meant that exile and re-

sistance were going to last many years, and this required substantial strategic changes in the political and cultural opposition.

However, the prospect of giving up their own language and making a total break with their own cultural tradition was difficult to accept even for large swaths of intellectuals who had supported Franco at the beginning of the war. Particularly telling of this was the group behind the magazine *Destino*, which was published in Spanish, who had included Josep Pla, Manuel Brunet, Josep Vergés, Joan Teixidor and Nestor Luján.¹² According to Brunet's own definition, they were the "defeated victors" who wanted to make "an anti-Franco Francoist magazine".¹³

In addition to that publication, Pla, Brunet and Teixidor published their literary works in Catalan as soon as they could, and from the end of this decade until his death, Pla became an extraordinarily successful writer. Other intellectuals outside this group also found themselves in a similar situation, such as Carles Fages de Climent, who evolved from initial support of Franco towards more critical stances in the 1960s.

A similar position was held by some industrialists and independent professionals; led by Fèlix Millet i Maristany, they founded the "Benèfica Minerva", an entity that provided patronage for Catalan culture which subsidised the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, the *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* (unofficial and taught by prominent figures in private homes) and a series of extremely important publishing initiatives.¹⁴ As Joan Samsó notes, this support for Catalan culture by some members of these industrial and professional sectors (as well as by people associated with the world of culture: publishers, writers, theatre people, etc.), such as Fèlix Millet, did not contradict "their political assimilation, to a very large extent, by the Franco regime".¹⁵ Naturally, there were others from this group of industrialists, such as Josep Vila Sivill, who remained staunch supporters of Catalonia's independence before the war and during the Franco regime, albeit without making this stance public.

The cultural resistance had no guiding organisation, which contributed to its dispersion and the formation of nuclei which were not only not connected, but also at times even at odds with each other (for aesthetic, ideological, political or personal reasons). But this also made it possible for very different kinds of people (either in groups or on personal initiative) to act in favour of the Catalan language and culture even if they were not in favour of an open confrontation with the regime. This circumstance enabled there to be a heterogeneous bloc that was broader than the anti-Fascist front during wartime (which was very well organised and quite cohesive) and the anti-Franco political opposition. Yet this does not detract from the fact that disputes among different groups of intellectuals or prominent personalities were routine, and the accusation of playing up to the Franco regime was quite common, especially from the press in exile, the only ones who could express themselves freely.

In the early days, what Joan Samsó had described as "dignified possibilism" prevailed, which sought to take advantage of the chinks in the regime to gain a foothold for Catalan language and culture. However, almost everyone was aware that in order to guarantee their survival and permanent expansion, the Franco regime had to be defeated. Therefore, there was no categorical divide between the political and the explicitly cultural resistance. As Joan Triadú noted, "the culture was to serve as the core of the politics and the way to the politics".¹⁶ In the 1940s, defending their own language and culture meant "reaching back to prehistory" for the intellectuals, as Triadú put it, which ran totally counter to "switching to Castilian, which was tantamount to the present and a kind of assured promotion".¹⁷ Thus, according to this same author, "whoever wrote in Catalan stood beside those who were condemned or persecuted, and with the exiles, perhaps even unwittingly".

However, it cannot be denied that there was a group of prominent Catalan intellectuals who chose to make an apologia for the Franco regime and gave up using Catalan in their written works. They include the philosopher Eugeni d'Ors (who had left Catalonia in the 1920s and joined the Spanish Falange in 1937), Joan Estelrich (a former Lliga intellectual associated with the leader of this party, Francesc Cambó), the historian Ferran Valls i Taberner (the author of "La falsa ruta", a text where he claims that political Catalanism, which he had previously supported, was a grave mistake), Ignasi Agustí, Carles Sentís, Manuel de Montoliu, Felip Mateu i Llopis, Martí de Riquer, Llorenç Ribera and others. This group must also include the painter Salvador Dalí, who returned in 1948 (after having garnered success as an artist in the USA and Europe) and fiercely defended the dictatorship at the time, which enervated the cultural resistance because they had considered him an exile and a creator committed to the artistic and political avant-garde.¹⁸

Despite the harsh conditions, in addition to the initiatives already discussed, several underground cultural magazines also popped up in Barcelona, such as *Poesia* (1944-1945) and more importantly *Ariel* (1946-1951), spearheaded by J. Triadú, J. Palau i Fabre, Josep Romeu, Miquel Tarradell, Frederic-Pau Verrié and Rosa Leveroni. Also from 1948 is *Dau al set*, an avant-garde art group and magazine from the era which brought the artists Antoni Tàpies, Modest Cuixart, Joan Ponç and Joan-Josep Tharrats together with the writers Joan Brossa (who had named the group and the magazine), Arnau Puig and Juan Eduardo Cirlot. They formed a second avant-garde which managed to connect with members of the pre-war avant-garde, such as J. V. Foix, a personal friend of Joan Miró and Salvador Dalí. Francesc de Borja Moll stands out on the Balearic Islands; working in conjunction with Manuel Sanchis Guarner for 15 years, he made it possible for the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (1943-1962) to resume. In Valencia, the prominent names during this period were Xavier Casp and Miquel Adlert (who found-

ed the “Torre” group), Carles Salvador, Miquel Duran and Adolf Pizcueta.

In 1946, publishing in Catalan was allowed once again. The date is no coincidence, since the allies’ victory forced Franco to make certain concessions which did not change his goal of annihilation but did help conceal the authoritarian and repressive nature of his regime. However, the number of titles published in the years immediately thereafter is extremely low. Thus, until 1951, a total of around 200 titles in Catalan were published inside the country, whereas 180 books and tracts were published in exile between 1939 and 1949.¹⁹ It should be borne in mind that one of the censorship criteria, as Maria Josepa Gallofré has explained, was that the Catalan language should only be used as the vehicle of minor, unessential products, which meant that publishing more major or prestigious genres in Catalan (research in all fields, translations, cookbooks, children’s books, novellas or magazines) was systematically banned.²⁰ Nonetheless, different publishing initiatives were undertaken during this period, such as the *Selecta* publishing house by Josep M. Cruzet (which, according to Joan Samsó, “is the origin of the revival of the post-war Catalan book”), Aymà (1944) and Ed. Dalmau i Jover (later Ed. Rafael Dalmau), which played a major role in the subsequent decades.

Likewise, during the second half of the 1940s, theatre resumed in Catalan with very modest success except for the plays by Josep M. de Sagarra, which were met with public acclaim. Nonetheless, the cultural output from this period was extremely important, despite the fact that it did not manage to permeate the public sphere because of the restrictions imposed. The writer Pere Gimferrer actually said that it was a “brilliant era”, since “for chronological reasons, there was a group of remarkable people who had reached maturity”.²¹ Oftentimes, the fruits of this period were not revealed until the ensuing decade, which was characterised by an overall revival.

TOWARDS AN OVERALL REVIVAL

The cultural resistance of the 1940s, on both its internal and exiled fronts, achieved its prime objective: to prevent the sheer disappearance of Catalan language and culture. However, the objective of bringing down the dictatorship seemed more like a pipe dream. And in this sense, the 1950s were very paradoxical. Even though it was the decade in which the Franco regime solidified through the agreements signed with the USA and the Vatican in 1953 (which signalled the Western bloc’s full recognition of the regime), it was also a time of cultural revival, and there was even a highly popular grassroots mobilisation, the streetcar strike of Barcelona (1951), although it did not lead to other similar protests. In view of this situation, a new strategy was devised in both politics and culture. The communists had already accepted giving up the armed struggle to bring down the Franco regime back in 1948,

and it was only carried on by libertarian groups with acts like sabotage, attacks and theft that would continue into the 1960s. A platform of republican parties had been formed inside the country back in 1944, led by the writer Josep Pous i Pagès (it was first called the *Aliança de Partits Catalans* and later the *Comitè Permanent de la Democràcia Catalana*, popularly known as the “Pous i Pagès Committee”), which sought to lead the opposition politics inside Spain, but was dissolved upon his death in around 1952. The government of the Generalitat in exile also witnessed an extremely important change in presidents: Josep Irla was replaced by Josep Tarradellas in 1954, who turned the institution into a one-man government.

In this context, culture came to the fore as a tool to combat the Franco regime and a means of Catalan self-assertion. Yet a new strategy was adopted, as explained in this way by J. Triadú: “as the regime survived, exile and the [cultural] underground lost some of their meaning or became unsustainable, and the main job revolved around a public revival and with it the long, hard resistance against discouragement, routine, enclosure in a cultural preserve (...), in short, against a new decline to avoid dying off”.²² In turn, Albert Manent clarified: “Therefore, we had to strive to expand the chink which the regime allowed to open discreetly in 1946 in order to carve out more ground bit by bit”.²³

The deaths in exile of major figures like Pompeu Fabra (in 1948) and Antoni Rovira i Virgili (in 1949) left room for new names to take their place as referents. In philology, Joan Coromines, Francesc de Borja Moll and Manuel Sanchis Guarner stood out. In history (which was always closely tied with politics and literature), Ferran Soldevila and Jaume Vicens Vives excelled. In poetry (at that time considered the peak form of literature), the figure of Carles Riba became indisputable, although Josep Carner (in exile) retained his status as the “prince of poets”. Riba’s death in 1959 strengthened names that had taken off in the previous decade, such as Salvador Espriu (who released his celebrated play in verse, *Primera història d’Esther*, conceived in 1948, in 1957), and, to a lesser extent, Joan Oliver (who came back from exile in 1948 and combined his personal literary work with publishing). Indeed Oliver, who used the pseudonym “Pere Quart”, perfectly embodied the twofold difficulty that Catalan culture and the entire anti-Franco struggle was facing at the time. On the one hand, it was very difficult to connect with the vivid pre-war cultural world (which many generations were simply unaware of), while it was equally difficult to connect and coordinate the action and cultural potential of the exiles. Based on his personal experience, Oliver was someone who had returned from exile (and was familiar with the cultural world it had generated), and he had also been an important figure in literature during the republican era. He was able to serve as a “bridge” with both the immediate past and the exiles.

In fact, many people served this role as transmitters of what had been done during the republican era to the new

generations, and despite the difficulties, they did a successful job in spite of the inevitable tendency to idealise that culturally vibrant era. This cultural world included extraordinarily important figures who went beyond the strict ranks of intellectuals, such as Pau Casals and Josep Trueta, and others who had been trained as writers such as Agustí Bartra, Vicenç Riera Llorca, Avel·lí Artís Gener (working under the pseudonym of “Tísner”), Pere Calders, Lluís Ferran de Pol, Joan Sales and Mercè Rodoreda.

The writer Rafael Tasis’ actions stand out for his attempt to connect the exiles and those inside the country; he was a correspondent for the magazine *Pont Blau* (1952-1963), published in Mexico by Vicenç Riera Llorca, and its mission was precisely that: to serve as a bridge. Albert Manent (who later replaced him in this role as liaison) described Tasis as a “veritable consul of exiles”.²⁴

Another leading intellectual from the Region of Valencia who forged a rich connection with *Pont blau* was Joan Fuster. Several years earlier, he had published an article entitled “València en la integració de Catalunya” (1950) in *La Nostra Revista* from Mexico; in this article, he upheld the unitary vision of all the Catalan Lands that characterises much of his subsequent work. The secretary of the publication was Vicenç Riera-Llorca, with whom Fuster engaged in a rich, fruitful, long-term exchange of letters. In the 1940s, Riera-Llorca had participated in *Quaderns de l'exili* and was a fervent supporter of the unitary conception of the Catalan Lands, which he also defended in *Pont blau*. Fuster engaged in correspondence with other intellectuals in exile as well (Agustí Bartra, Domènec Guansé, Ramon Fabregat, Miquel Ferrer, etc.). Indeed, this connection with the intellectuals in exile helped him join the “hard core” of the cultural resistance in Barcelona, whom he first encountered in 1954 on a famous journey to the Catalan capital which enshrined him as one of the great names of the day and truly enabled him to exert an influence around the country, as became evident in the subsequent decades.²⁵

The economic, social and intellectual awakening that Western Europe was experiencing after World War II did not reach the Catalan Lands until the 1960s. However, the changes underway did resonate enough with the intellectuals of the 1950s that they saw it as a referent worth following. One prominent figure in this sense was the historian Jaume Vicens Vives. He became quite famous mainly for his *Notícia de Catalunya* (1954), an interpretative synthesis of Catalonia’s past whose slogan was “let’s know ourselves” and which contained his ideas on the country and the politics it should undertake.²⁶ The underlying purpose of the work, and of Vicens Vives, was to use political Catalanism to leave behind reluctance towards the Spanish state and for Catalonia (led by its newfound business sectors) to spearhead a democratisation and modernisation of Spain that would ensconce it among the developed countries in Western Europe. In exchange, this should ensure political recognition of Catalonia, although in his book Vicens did not specify what exactly this would

look like. His theoretical proposal was associated with a political act, namely the creation of a lobby that included the president of the Generalitat in exile, Josep Tarradellas, the writer Josep Pla, and Manuel Ortínez and Joan Sardà. Vicens’ death in 1960 suddenly thwarted the development of this political group and halted a historiographic work which had reached full maturity, precisely the same year that a second, expanded edition of his *Notícia de Catalunya* had been issued with major changes.

In the field of history, Ferran Soldevila also stood out during this period. This historian and literati had become a prime intellectual in the 1930s after having written *Història de Catalunya* (1934-1935); indeed, this work became the embodiment and symbol of the cultural (and historiographic) advances achieved in the first third of the century. Back from exile in 1943, he embarked on writing a *Història d’Espanya* which was a plurinational vision of Spain’s past that sought to contest the uniform, Castile-centred vision upheld by the official historiography. Initially written in Catalan, it was not published until the 1950s in an eight-volume Spanish version issued by Editorial Ariel (1952-1959), after overcoming many difficulties with censorship by the regime. He worked in conjunction with Joan Sales, with whom Soldevila had a fruitful relationship which lasted into the following decade.

Historians were key figures at that time and throughout the entire Franco regime. In fact, in that period they played a legitimising role, as they had in the 19th century. Given the absence of Catalan political institutions (or only those that remained in exile), proof that Catalonia and the Catalan Lands as a whole were historically one nation which had tried to assert its rights over the course of centuries was a weighty argument for the anti-Franco cultural resistance. And the regime put stringent restrictions on historical works for precisely this reason. Vicens Vives’ *Notícia de Catalunya* was supposed to be called *Nosaltres els catalans*, a title that was changed to prevent it from being banned by the censors. Likewise, the “Biographies Catalanes” series, collectively written and promoted by Vicens Vives, had to be given that name to conceal what it really was: a History of Catalonia.

In some cases, historians’ status was bolstered by their literary or cultural activity, as in the case of Ferran Soldevila; in addition to his plays, poetry and stories, he also became the president of the Agrupació Dramàtica de Barcelona. This entity, which started operating in 1952 (although not officially until 1955), was crucial in the revival of Catalan theatre. The decision to appoint him president must have been connected to the success he had garnered with his pieces *L’Hostal de l’amor* (1949) and *Albert i Francina* (1953).

And the opposite also held true during that period: there were writers who contributed to merging personal and collective memory via their memoirs and literary portraits. In the genre of memoirs, Carles Soldevila wrote *Del llum de gas al llum elèctric. Memòries d’infància i joventut* (1951), Josep M. de Sagarra wrote *Memòries*

(1954) and Agustí Calvet (under the pen name “Gaziel”) wrote *Tots els camins duen a Roma* (1958). Calvet said: “Imagine what will be left of that Barcelona and that Catalonia from the early 20th century at the end of the century if we memoirists do not rectify it? And to me, every day it is truer that despite all its flaws, even monstrous ones, that Catalonia was one of the most extraordinary moments it has ever had”.²⁷

What also stand out in this struggle to preserve memory are the biographies from the extremely successful “Homenots”²⁸ series which Josep Pla started in 1958 and completed decades later, after 60 portraits had been published.²⁹ In exile, with the same purpose, *Retrats literaris* (1947) by Domènec Guansè appeared in Chile, and the memoirs of Amadeu Hurtado, *Quaranta anys d’advocat. Història del meu temps* (first published in Mexico in 1956-1958 and later in Barcelona in 1964) became an indispensable source for historians in the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, in this period, the exiles were still a prime cultural referent, and further proof of this is the impact of the philosopher Josep Ferrater Mora’s *Les formes de vida catalana*, published in Chile in 1944. This book prompted Jaume Vicens Vives to rewrite the last chapter of the second edition of *Notícia de Catalunya*, dedicated to collective psychological triggers according to the theses of the exiled philosopher, which led to a rich exchange of letters between the two.³⁰ Indeed, the correspondence among intellectuals living far from each other is an extraordinarily important source when reconstructing the debates and concerns among the leading figures in this period, even though they were not made public until recently. In addition to the cases cited above, we should also cite as examples the correspondence between Josep Ferrater Mora and Joan Oliver, and between Joan Coromines and Lluís Nicolau d’Olwer.³¹

Publishing inside the country also experienced significant growth. The 43 titles published in 1950 grew year after year until reaching 183 in 1960.³² The number of publishing houses also rose, including El Club dels Novel·listes (1955), Estela (1958) and Nova Terra (1959), and erudite editions like those from the Fundació Bernat Metge, Editorial Barcino and the Fundació Bíblica Catalana resumed publication. After 1951, different publishing houses started awarding prizes for unpublished works in Catalan in different genres at the Nit de les Lletres Catalanes or the Nit de Santa Llúcia, which gave visibility and publicity to Catalan-language culture.³³ However, many of the restrictions placed on Catalan publishing in the previous decade were still in place. This explains why the pre-eminent publishing house at the time was Editorial Selecta, which specialised in new Catalan literature and published almost half of the 800 books issued from 1946 to 1961. The first magazine in Catalan was not issued until 1959, *Serra d’Or* (under the aegis of the Monastery of Montserrat, which maintained a clear anti-dictatorial stance), a publication that played a crucial role as an organ of cultural resistance in the ensuing decades.

Despite the restrictions placed on publishing, there were now essential tools like Catalan dictionaries and grammars. Popular books like *El que s’ha de saber de la llengua catalana* (1954) by Joan Coromines were published, and seminal works by Pompeu Fabra were also re-issued, such as *Converses filològiques* (1954-1956), *Gramàtica catalana* (1956, under the supervision of Joan Coromines) and especially *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* (1954, with a preface by Carles Riba). However, this latter book did not escape censorship, since numerous ideological restrictions were placed on the examples of the expressions that the dictionary provided.³⁴

In the 1950s, despite the stringent restrictions, Catalan culture became a modern culture on par with the new winds blowing in Western Europe in the post-war period. It regained the values of cosmopolitanism, Europeanism and political and ideological pluralism (with the incorporation of the newest currents like existentialism, the second artistic avant-gardes and the neo-Marxisms which arose after the war) which had emerged in the first third of the 20th century. It also had heterodox figures like Francesc Pujols (a thinker who envisioned a rational, Catalan religion) and Alexandre Deulofeu (the author of a “mathematics of history” which sought to explain the logic of the rise and fall of civilisations). For all of these reasons, Catalan culture now stood in clear contrast with the official ultra-conservative, authoritarian, rigid Spanish culture that was enclosed upon itself, resistant to new ideas (and even to the very notion of democracy) and upheld on eliminating any dissidence and on the existence of implacable ideological and political censorship. However, it is worth noting that during the decade there was a hopeful, albeit ultimately thwarted, dialogue between Catalan and Castilian intellectuals (led by Carles Riba and Dionisio Ridruejo, respectively) within poetry conferences held outside Catalonia (especially in exile). Nonetheless, Jordi Amat has noted that during the brief span from 1952 to 1953, Catalan literature garnered attention in Spain that it had never had before and would never have again thanks to critical Castilian intellectual elites.³⁵

THE EXPLOSION OF THE 1960s

The 1960s brought intense economic growth and swift social changes to the Catalan lands which should be seen as an effect, albeit quite delayed, of the huge sea change that Western Europe experienced after World War II. The massive influx of migrants from the impoverished rural zones of Spain, the arrival of foreign tourists, the tertiarisation of the economy, industrial development and the entrenchment of consumer society were some of the main changes in the Catalan lands at that time, which inevitably had repercussions on the culture of the period. For example, universities underwent a radical shift which enabled them to become nuclei of critical consciousness against the regime. At the Universitat de Barcelona, Cata-

lan language and literature could even be taught after 1961, and in 1965 a Catalan chair was created, occupied by Antoni Comas. The civil society of the day revealed its complexity in its ability to create cultural initiatives and entities of all sorts while assuring an audience and a market capable of sustaining them. Attending a given event (lecture, exhibition, recital) or buying a certain book, record or magazine could become a sign of anti-Francoism and a defence of Catalan culture.

Despite the economic, social and cultural advancements, the Franco regime still held onto its immobilism and repressive attitude until the dictator's death in 1975. Nonetheless, there were also deep-seated political changes. The opposition to the regime organised itself better, and workers began to voice their claims, even though large strikes and public demonstrations were not an uncontested reality until the first half of the 1970s. In 1960, the "fets del Palau de la Música" were held in Barcelona, a tribute to the poet Joan Maragall organised by the Orfeó Català. Despite the fact that it was banned, the audience sang *El cant de la senyera* (which along with *Els segadors* is the anthem of Catalonia), and anti-Franco pamphlets written by Jordi Pujol, who was arrested and sentenced to seven years in prison, were handed out.

Within the Catalan church, too, critical voices started to surface. The abbot of the monastery of Montserrat, Aureli M. Escarré, had to go into exile in 1965 after speaking out against the dictatorship in the newspaper *Le Monde* in 1963, and there was a demonstration of clergy against the dictatorship in Barcelona in 1966. Even the regime itself wanted to change its image, and in the middle of the decade it promoted what it described as "*aperturismo*" (openness), which, according to Joan B. Culla, was nothing more than a "mix of neo-capitalist *desarrollismo* (pro-development), pseudo-liberalisation and basic authoritarianism".³⁶

In the sphere of culture, too, a certain permissiveness on the part of the regime could be sensed, with different measures promoted by minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne in 1962 that allowed Catalan to be used in certain public conferences; in publishing, permission was secured to translate into other languages. However, the censorship continued, and Catalan was still totally excluded from newspapers, radio stations, cinemas and the vast majority of shows and compulsory education, as well as television, which was just appearing as a mass media. The newspaper law of 1966 eliminated prior obligatory censorship because, as Albert Balcells has stated, it trusted "in self-censorship and dissuasion by means of fines, the seizure of publications and suspensions of newspapers", as in the case of the journal *Destino*, which was fined half a million pesetas in 1968 and its director, Nèstor Luján, was stripped of his title.³⁷

The government restrictions were compounded by the fact that from 1940 to 1960, the population of the Principality of Catalonia was calculated to have increased by a million people as the result of massive migration. Sixty-

eight percent of the population at that time spoke Catalan, compared to 75% in 1930.³⁸ In 1930 as well, 75% of the population in the Region of Valencia had spoken Catalan and 90% on the Balearic Islands, while by the 1960s these figures were hovering at around 60% and 80%, respectively.

The changes in the world of ideas were also spectacular. New names appeared, like Joan Fuster, who became the leading intellectual of the period after publishing three key works in 1962: *Nosaltres els valencians*, *Qüestió de noms* and *El País Valencià*. All three articulated what we could call "the Fusterian proposition". His formulation not only made it clear that the Region of Valencia belonged to the Catalan world but also suggested a name for the whole: the "Catalan Lands" which at that time, for the first time, was warmly welcomed by society. "The name does the job", said Fuster.

There had been a vivid awareness of belonging to the same linguistic and cultural community among sectors of intellectuals since the *Renaixença*, which reached its peak in the republican period and survived in exile. The new development was that it was now accepted as a watchword by the majority of anti-dictatorship intellectuals, and by many opposition leaders and parties, which also gave clear meaning to the political project which was to be enacted upon the end of the dictatorship (with opinions split on its timeliness and feasibility, of course).

Fuster's proposal fell within what was called the "reflection on the country" which Jaume Vicens Vives had begun with his *Notícia de Catalunya*, although Fuster had major discrepancies precisely around the need to analyse the land as a whole. A series of works which reflected on the Catalan space or the phenomena which had transformed it during those years also fell within this far-reaching debate. Among the former we should cite *Alacant a part* (1966) by Josevicente Mateo (with a prologue by Fuster), *Els mallorquins* (1967) by Josep Melià (also with a prologue by Fuster) and *Què cal saber de Catalunya* (1968) by Ferran Soldevila (who also took a stance in favour of the idea of the Catalan Lands and had the not explicit but inestimable collaboration of Joan Sales). In terms of essays which inquired into the major changes of the era, worth citing are *Els altres catalans* (1964) by Francesc "Paco" Candel (who suggested that the massive influx of migrants should join their host society and be considered fully-fledged Catalans) and *Turistes, sirenes i gent del país* (1966) by Manuel Costa-Pau (which addressed the impact and importance of the phenomenon of tourism precisely when it was in its infancy). In this general debate on the country, *Com hem estat i com som els catalans* (1968) by Rodolf Llorenç i Jordana (exiled in Venezuela) deserves particular mention, as it sought to respond in an iconoclastic, provocative tone to the theses of Ferrater Mora, Vicens Vives and others about the true nature of the Catalans.

History was still a weighty argument in Catalan national claims throughout the entire 1960s and 1970s. After Vi-

cens Vives passed away, his disciples (Jordi Nadal, Emili Giralt, Joan Reglà, Santiago Sobrequés, etc.) carried on with his work, and Ferran Soldevila once again played an emblematic role with the second revised and much-expanded revision of his *Història de Catalunya* (1962-63), which incorporated the most important contributions since the first edition. Indeed, this act of rewriting the same book twice after more than twenty years is still unique in Catalan historiography. After the second half of the 1960s, Pierre Vilar gained a foothold as a prominent figure in this field thanks to his doctoral thesis *Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna* (1964-68). Using a Marxist methodology, he criticised Spanish historiography, showcased the classic Catalan historians and most importantly asserted the existence of a national reality which was denied by the Spanish and French states. This book was enormously successful since, as the author himself admitted, "Catalan society needed a historical justification". Vilar's prestige reinforced the intellectual Marxism which was gaining ground at the time as a hegemonic current not only in the discipline of history but also in all of thinking, literature, arts, humanities and social sciences. The undergirding of this influence was the political pre-eminence attained by the different parties that followed this ideology in the struggle against the dictatorship. Jaume Lorés even spoke about a "Marxist Enlightenment" that was educated and open and "put Catalan culture in touch with many themes of universal culture". However, it did not flourish since the "textbook Marxism" that predominated among the political parties and leaders ultimately won out.³⁹

In the field of historiography, we cannot fail to mention that the end of the decade witnessed the death of Alexandre Galí, the author of a transcendental work on the topic at hand, the monumental 23-volume *Història de les institucions i del moviment cultural a Catalunya 1900-1936*, which was started in 1944 under the sponsorship of Benèfica Minerva but not published until 1978-86. Joan Fuster could also be included in the list of historians, because of both his written oeuvre and the way he guided the new generations, who kept up the rekindled contemporary intellectual Valencianism, including Eliseu Climent, Alfons Cucó, Joan-Francesc Mira, Ricard Pérez Casado, Màrius Garcia Bonafè and Lluís E. Alpera. And during this same period, figures like Joan Reglà and Ernest Lluch also played this role of intellectual mentors at the Universitat de València, where many of today's crème-de-la-crème of Valencian intellectuals were educated.

The notion of the "Catalan Lands" had extremely deep roots in society, and the main cultural expressions of the day (entities, magazines, movements, publishing initiatives) followed this globalising vision, which was mainly undergirded by the shared language and history. Thus, the "Nova cançó" (New Song) movement had prominent members from all over the land and a huge social and public impact not only in the Catalan Lands but also internationally. It initially centred on a group called "Els

setze jutges" led by Miquel Porter Moix, Remei Margarit and Josep M. Espinàs. Even though they got their start in the late 1950s, they did not emerge until the early 1960s, largely thanks to the creation of record labels like Edigsa (1961) and Concèntric (1965). Their goal was to modernise and popularise songs in Catalan which reflected the concerns of the day, just as the French singer Georges Brassens had done, who was one of the band's initial referents. Other names soon appeared, with different styles and inspirations, including Raimon, Joan Manuel Serrat, Maria del Mar Bonet, Lluís Llach, Ovidi Montllor, Guillermina Motta, Guillem d'Efak, Quico Pi de la Serra, Núria Feliu, Teresa Rebull, La Trinca and many others, some of whom forged solid careers as singers for decades.

In terms of the entities that emerged on the initiative of a very dynamic civil society, the most prominent one is the Òmnium Cultural founded in 1961 by Joan B. Cendrós (who was its secretary for 23 years), Lluís Carulla, Fèlix Millet i Maristany (who was its first president), Pau Riera and Joan Vallvé. Its objective was to defend Catalan culture by training teachers and holding Catalan classes, as well as sponsoring a range of initiatives and assisting to institutions like the Institut d'Estudis Catalans. However, it was shut down by the Spanish police in 1963 and unable to resume its work until 1967 (although in the interim it continued working underground).⁴⁰ After that, it reactivated its activities, primarily by offering language classes and sponsoring different awards, including the Premi d'Honor de les Lletres Catalanes. Founded in 1969 on the initiative of Josep Benet, the purpose of this prize was to recognise "a person who has contributed notably and continuously to the cultural life of the Catalan Lands through their literary or scientific work in Catalan and because of the importance and exemplary nature of their intellectual efforts". The first recipient was Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, a literary scholar and director of the Biblioteca de Catalunya before the war. This prize is still awarded today with 48 recipients to date.⁴¹

In 1961 as well, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans and Òmnium Cultural created the Junta Assessora per als Estudis de Català (Advisory Board for Catalan Studies) in order to train a corps of Catalan teachers, and its first certificates were issued in 1962. Throughout the decade, the IEC made different attempts to secure some kind of recognition and funding from the Barcelona Provincial Council, although to no avail, as it received no subsidies until the end of the dictatorship. However, strong bonds were forged between the IEC and Òmnium Cultural, which funded the IEC and gave it a home in its headquarters in the Palau Dalmau.

The Catalan-language magazines and publishers either founded or consolidated at the time continued. *Serra d'Or* became the benchmark publication for the intellectual resistance. Issued by the Abadia de Montserrat (the reason it was authorised), it was directed by a monk, Maur Maria Boix, although the bulk of the journalism was initially borne by Antoni de Rosselló and later Jordi Sarsanedas.⁴²

It was governed by an Editorial Board on which Josep Benet, Ramon Bastardes and Max Canher had a great deal of clout.⁴³ It managed to connect Catalan-ness with cosmopolitanism, create a platform of debate which encompassed the different sensibilities of the democratic opposition and showcase a plurality of ideas that was unique on the journalistic scene at the time (as far as allowed by the regime's censorship, which turned quite active against the magazine). It is the only magazine that appeared around that time that still exists today, with the exception of the children's magazine *Cavall Fort* (1961), which is also sponsored by the Church and is still published today.

In 1961, *Oriflama* appeared in Vic, particularly targeted at youths, although publication stopped in 1977. In 1966, the cultural weekly *Tele-Estel* appeared, directed by Andreu-Avel·lí Artís (known as "Sempronio"); even though it obeyed the requirement not to discuss political claims or protests, it was temporarily suspended in 1969 and closed in 1970.⁴⁴ In Valencia, the magazine *Gorg* appeared in 1969, led by Joan Josep Senent, with the premise of being a bibliographic newsletter; it continued to be published until 1972, when it was forced to close by government order.

New media appeared in exile as well, such as the *Butlletí d'Informació Catalana* (1961), published in Mexico by Josep M. Murià i Romaní, which was later renamed the *Butlletí d'informació dels Països Catalans* and survived until 1975. And most importantly *Xaloc* (1964-1981), also published in Mexico, which was the continuation of *Pont Blau* and served to keep up the bonds between the intellectuals in exile and those in the Catalan Lands. Directed by Ramon Fabregat (with Vicenç Riera Llorca as secretary), it managed to become a free tribunal for the discussion of ideas that could never have been discussed at home, which is the reason for its lengthy run. It is also worth noting that during this period, several magazines founded earlier were kept alive in exile. The most emblematic example is *Ressorgiment*, from Buenos Aires, directed by Hipòlit Nadal Mallol, which had been founded by emigrants back in 1916 but was updated with the arrival of the exiles and remained in publication until 1972.

As a result of the revival the previous decade and the relatively liberalising measures of 1962, the world of publishing experienced considerable growth between 1961 and 1966 (when 548 titles were issued), and then went through shaky ground until it stabilised in 1972. This temporary slump has been explained by the status of Catalan, which was almost completely excluded from public life and education. The importance of the impetus that came from the authorisation of translation explains why 55% of publications were in Catalan in 1965.⁴⁵

One of the most famous and powerful publishing houses to emerge at that time was Edicions 62, a name that – rather effectively – sought to pinpoint its founding date as emblematic for Catalan publishing. Other smaller publishers also appeared at the time, such as Rafael Dalmau (1959), Ed. Alcides (1961) and Pòrtic (1963), and some



FIGURE 1. The cover of issue 185 of the children's magazine *Cavall Fort*, published in October 1970, reproduced a poster that the great cartoonist Cesc had made for the *Català a l'Escola* campaign.

took on quite ambitious projects. One example is Rafael Dalmau, which launched the "Episodis de la Història" series in 1960, presented in the guise of a collection of brief books on the history of Catalonia, which made up for the lack of a history magazine in Catalan (which would only have been authorised if 75% of its content was in Spanish) and still exists today. Another is the publisher Santiago Albertí, which undertook a four-volume *Diccionari biogràfic* in 1966, which was completed in 1970.

Some of the publishing houses that had only worked in Spanish until then also began to publish in Catalan (such as Teide, Alfaguara, Destino, Ariel, etc.). And this uptick in publishing spread around the Catalan Lands. In Valencia, *Estel* (1962) appeared, while on Mallorca the *Diccionari català, valencià, balear* was concluded in 1962 and its editor, Francesc de Borja Moll, spearheaded the Biblioteca Raixa, which had been created the previous decade.

One peculiar case was Edicions Proa, which was initially founded in Badalona in 1928 by Josep Querat and Marcel·lí Antic and reappeared in Perpignan in 1951 (thanks to Josep Querat); in the 1960s, it returned to Barcelona and became part of the Aymà publishing house, directed by Joan Oliver. One very clear sign of the crisis in Catalan publishing in exile abroad is that, unlike magazines, it was negatively affected by the rise in publishing

inside the country. However, there were also new initiatives promoted from Barcelona but published abroad to avoid censorship, such as Edicions Catalanes of Paris, spearheaded by Jordi Pujol, Josep Benet and Albert Mament. It was able to publish titles like *Catalunya sota el règim franquista. Informe sobre la persecució de la llengua i la cultura de Catalunya pel règim del general Franco* (1973) and as ambitious a work as the six-volume *Panoràmica del nacionalisme català*, (1975-1976) by Fèlix Cucurull, which has not yet been reissued in Catalonia.

In terms of the literary world, Mercè Rodoreda emerged with *La plaça del diamant* (translated as *The Time of the Doves*, 1962), which was considered the best novel of its genre since the war. It was published by Club Editor, founded in 1959 with Joan Sales at the helm, which played a significant role in the recognition garnered by the author.⁴⁶ Indeed, in 1969 Sales also published an expanded version of his Civil War novel, *Incerta glòria* (which appeared in a mutilated version in 1956), that did not earn the recognition it deserved until the following decade. Writers from the Balearic Islands also became prominent, such as Llorenç Vilallonga with *Bearn* (1961) and Blai Bonet; a decade earlier, Bonet had published the novel *El mar* (1958), and at that time he issued his poetry book *L'evangeli segons un de tants* (1967). In poetry, the changes were also ground-breaking, as is evident in the comparison between the anthology prepared by Joan Triadú in the early 1950s and the one assembled by Joaquim Molas and Josep M. Castellet in 1963, which enshrined what was known as “historical realism” with Neo-Marxist inspiration and showcased the works of authors like Joan Oliver and Gabriel Ferrater.⁴⁷ In Valencia, the figure of Vicent Andrés Estellés stands out, about whom Fuster said that “it’s been centuries since such an intense, powerful voice in poetry has emerged from the Region of Valencia”.⁴⁸

In terms of theatre, for different reasons related to the obstacles put up by censorship, the Agrupació Dramàtica of Barcelona had to fold in 1963, although in its place the company that would later be known as Els Joglars appeared in 1962. The Escola d’Art Dramàtic Adrià Gual picked up where they left off, led by Ricard Salvat and M. Aurèlia Capmany (a writer with an extensive dramaturgy output), which became the Companyia de Teatre Adrià Gual in 1966. At that time, the great international playwrights were Bertolt Brecht and, to a lesser extent, Jean-Paul Sartre. Auteur theatre gained ground, as did a niche for the theatre of the absurd and avant-garde, most prominently via Manuel de Pedrolo and Joan Brossa, who also branched off into novels and poetry, respectively. In fact, Pedrolo cultivated almost all genres and was one of the most prolific Catalan writers, and one of the most heavily punished by the censors.

The May ‘68 events in Paris and similar movements seeking liberation in politics and everyday life fell on deaf ears in Spain and had no visible consequences until the subsequent decade. However, as Triadú noted, since early in the decade, “youthful winds, new ones, have been shak-

ing up Catalan culture, imposing rhythms on it, creating distinctions and laying the groundwork which through the entire decade has been shaping the practice which has been, without previously calling it thus, a cultural policy”.⁴⁹ Civil society’s desire to articulate a cultural policy had been the driving force behind the Primer Congrés de Cultura Catalana (1964).⁵⁰ Planned since 1961, it covertly ended in 1964 at a gathering of 300 participants, with official representatives from all over Catalan Lands (with the participation of Joan Fuster and Josep M. Llompart as emblematic figures from the Region of Valencia and the Balearic Islands, respectively). Some talks had to be improvised, and even though it was a premature initial attempt in the judgement of the organisers themselves, it was like a large-scale general rehearsal of what would be done in the ensuing decade, after the dictator was dead, and had enormous public resonance.

The initiative to publish the *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, whose first volume was released in 1969, also reflected a desire to lay a solid groundwork for a future cultural policy. In the prologue, its director, Jordi Carbonell, explained that the idea of translating a foreign encyclopaedia had been rejected and instead the decision was taken to “start from scratch” because the editorial team believed that the “GEC could be the effort of a generation of Catalan intellectuals to create a reference work that corresponded to the present cultural, social and economic situation of the Catalan Lands”.⁵¹

In a similar vein, in 1968 the Universitat Catalana d’Estiu was held in the Northern Catalonian town of Prada del Conflent, outside Spanish jurisdiction. This experiment was supposed to carve the model that a future sovereign Catalan university would follow, which sought to reconcile an innovative, universal approach with the need to elevate Catalan language, culture and sciences. The Deixonne Law of 1951 paved the way for a favourable context for languages categorised as “regional” in France, which enabled the Grup Rossellonès d’Estudis Catalans to be created, an entity which along with the Grup Cultural de la Joventut Catalana promoted that university initiative which still exists today.

THE ATTACK ON THE INSTITUTIONS

The 1970s were years of major political upheaval. The death of General Franco in 1975 precipitated the end of the dictatorship. However, there were no democratic changes until 1977, and they would not have been possible without keen, intense grassroots pressure. The writer Isabel-Clara Simó, then the director of the combative magazine *Canigó*, recalls that in 1976 not a day went by without a demonstration. And alongside the political protests there was also a huge upswing in strikes thanks to the surge in the union movement.

Since the beginning of the decade, the democratic opposition movement had managed to coalesce in united

groups which gave it a strength it had not had in the past. The world of culture played a major role in this, since in 1970 an *Assemblea Permanent d'Intellectuals, Professionals i Artistes de Catalunya* was formed, the outcome of the lock-in at the monastery of Montserrat to protest the dictatorship. This became the embryo of a broader movement that the following year gave rise to the *Assemblea de Catalunya*, which brought together the main opposition parties, civic entities and individuals. The idea of holding another *Congrés de Cultura Catalana* encompassing all the Catalan Lands was gestated within this assembly of intellectuals, and it was indeed held in 1975-77.

This congress, unlike its underground counterpart in 1964, had far-reaching social repercussions. After a call issued by the *Col·legi d'Advocats de Barcelona*, 15,000 people and more than 1,500 entities joined it, and it held an organised, systematic debate which discussed topics extending beyond what the term "culture" usually encompasses, such as land planning, healthcare structure, agriculture and (political) institutions.⁵² An expanded, almost anthropological, notion of culture was chosen because the goal was to determine the policies that should be pursued not only in the sphere of culture but also globally, given the expectation of a regime change that would make it possible to create self-governing entities around the Catalan Lands. And, in fact, it was spearheaded by intellectuals, professionals, scientists and artists. Therefore, for the first time, Catalan intellectuals met in a huge, long-lasting assembly to take decisions on key issues in the survival and modernisation of the Catalan culture and nation. This would never again be repeated on this scale and with this social impact.

The congress played an essential role in the spread of the term "Països Catalans" (Catalan Lands), since it confirmed the existence of a shared culture and language. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that throughout the decade this topic was at the core of the debate about the country beyond the Principality of Catalonia. In the Region of Valencia, the works *El País Valencià i els altres* (1972) by Emili G. Nadal and *Els veritables altres catalans* (1973) by Domènec Valls appeared, while in Northern Catalonia in 1974, Pere Verdaguer released his *Defensa del Rosselló català* and Llorenç Planes issued his *El petit llibre de la Catalunya Nord*, which made a decisive contribution to the widespread acceptance of this term around the land.

The cultural resistance of the era was characterised by being what some have described as a popular front effort because it combined national claims with social justice, as it was heavily tinged by Marxism (which was the dominant current within the political opposition), even though it encompassed a much broader range of ideologies which even included social democracy, progressive Catholicism, Christian democracy and Catalanist republicanism inherited from the pre-war period. In reality, it was like a kind of Catalan-style "historical compromise" to ensure the continuity and modernisation of Catalan language

and culture and to topple the dictatorship. It managed to build a feasible cultural market under extremely adverse conditions which started in the 1960s, exploded in the 1970s and made steady headway in the subsequent decades under more favourable circumstances. It even created its own aesthetic, which is quite evident not only in the literature, theatre and music of the day but also in art. In this latter sense, posters illustrated by artists like Joan Miró, Antoni Tàpies and Guinovart played a key role in showing the artistic avant-garde's commitment to political and cultural claims to the public at large. At that time, the anti-Franco artistic aesthetic was openly avant-garde, thanks to the political commitment of artists who were quite internationally renowned at the time, like Miró and Tàpies. The former, a member of the pre-war avant-garde and active until his death in 1983, was able to witness the foundation bearing his name open in Barcelona in 1975. The latter, an indisputable figure in the second-wave avant-garde, imbued his works from the 1970s with a strong dose of political commitment, as attested to by his paintings, which often include the Catalan flag, such as *L'esperit català* (1971).

However, there was a crackdown in government repression against culture between 1969 and 1974, putting an end to the relative tolerance of the 1960s precisely because of the headway made. Albert Balcells has recalled that between 1971 and 1975, illegal repression was also waged by fascist and Spanish ultra-nationalistic groups which acted parallel to the law, with attacks against bookshops, publishing houses, distributors, magazines, etc.⁵³

The first newspaper in Catalan after the war was *Avui*, which did not appear until 1976, after the dictator's death. The next one was *El Punt*, in 1979, which falls outside the period discussed in this article. Previously, there had only been a weekly section or occasional articles written in Catalan in newspapers like *El Correo Catalán*, *Tele Express*, *Diario de Barcelona* and *Mundo Diario*, especially after 1974. That same year, a few programmes began to be broadcast in Catalan on the radio and even on official television stations (TVE). In terms of magazines for a general readership, *Canigó* was prominent; it was founded in Figueres in the 1950s, moved to Barcelona in 1971 and was completely Catalanised under the leadership of Isabel-Clara Simó.

It is worth noting that both *Avui* and *Canigó* (the latter more systematically and consistently) upheld the idea of the cultural and linguistic unity of the Catalan Lands, which was also shared by many other cultural magazines which emerged during that period, such as *Els Marges* (1974), *Fonaments. Prehistòria i món antic als Països Catalans* (promoted by Miquel Tarradell in 1978), *L'Espill* (spearheaded by Joan Fuster in 1979 in Valencia) and *Randa* (founded in 1975, focused on the Balearic Islands and directed by Josep Massot i Muntaner). At first, even the magazine *L'Avenç* (1977) had a section entitled "Història dels Països Catalans", which was omitted when the magazine was reissued in 1978.

In terms of publishing in Catalan, after the stabilisation in 1972 (with 444 titles), it rose slightly until it reached 611 titles in 1975, a figure on par with 1936.⁵⁴ In 1976, it began an upswing (with 872 titles) that lasted into the 1980s and 1990s, with figures that would have been unthinkable in the 1970s (6,994 titles in Catalan were published in 1997 alone). This spectacular about-face reveals the heavy pressure that the Franco regime's restrictive measures had put on Catalan publishing. We only have to consider the sheer volume that came from the possibility of publishing manuals and textbooks (when Catalan-language instruction at all levels was instituted in 1977) or the importance of there being institutional publications and public bodies (Generalitat de Catalunya and Generalitat de València, regional governments, provincial councils, town halls, etc.) that were able to support publishing in Catalan after the 1980s.

Large print runs were possible in this favourable context. Thus, *Mecanoscrit del segon origen* by Manuel de Pedrolo, which was issued in 1974, sold 450,000 copies by the late 1990s (only counting commercial editions). Sales of the short story compilation by Pere Calders, *Cròniques de la veritat oculta*, published in 1955, which revealed him to be a master of the genre, took off in 1978, when the company Dagoll Dagom made a theatrical version of it, *Antaviana*. After that, its sales continued apace and reached 170,000 copies by the end of the 1990s.⁵⁵

In the second half of the 1970s, there was also a considerable upswing in the number of Catalan speakers. In 1975, Catalonia hit a historically low number of Catalan speakers (60%), while this figure was 55% in the Region of Valencia and 75% on the Balearic Islands. In 1981, Catalonia began to recover (62%), but the rate dropped in the Region of Valencia (52%) and the Balearic Islands (73%). Clearly, the Generalitat de Catalunya's 1977 policy of making Catalan official and normalising it was having positive effects.

The public restoration of Catalan made it possible for there to be quite notable audience theatre hits, especially in politically-conscious plays at the start of the decade, such as *El retaule del flautista* (1970) by Jordi Teixidor and *Preguntes i respostes sobre la vida i la mort de Francesc Layret, advocat dels obrers de Catalunya* by Maria Aurèlia Capmany and Xavier Romeu. The latter, written in 1970, was staged semi-underground in different venues until it officially premiered in Barcelona in 1976. Likewise, the new climate made it possible for cinema in Catalan to exist, which clearly tended to be political and pro-Catalan, in the guise of either documentaries such as *La Nova cançó* (1976) and *Canet Rock* (1976), both directed by Francesc Bellmunt, and *Informe general* (1977) by Pere Portabella, or historical films, like *La ciutat cremada* (1976) by Antoni Ribas and *Companyys, procés a Catalunya* (1979) by Josep M. Forn.

The list of fiction writers was growing incessantly in this decade, which witnessed the consolidation or emergence of Baltasar Porcel, Terenci Moix, Marta Pesarrodo-

na, Montserrat Roig, Pere Gimferrer, Robert Saladrigas, Quim Monzó, Joan Francesc Mira, Jaume Cabré and Maria Àngels Anglada, along with Josep M. Benet i Jornet and Rodolf Sirera in dramaturgy.

At the start of the decade, the field of poetry was shaken by the death of Josep Carner in Brussels, shortly after he had made a brief visit to Catalonia. And the 1970s were when names like Miquel Martí i Pol (who garnered extraordinary public success) Maria Mercè Marsal, Miquel Bauçà, Joan Vinyoli, Feliu Formosa and Vicent Andrés Estellés truly gained a foothold. Poetry had a significant public presence, primarily thanks to the Nova Cançó singers who spread works by authors that otherwise would hardly have left the circles of poetry connoisseurs. One example of such a singer is Raimon, who sang poetry by Salvador Espriu in the 1960s "like nobody else could", as the poet himself acknowledged; in the 1970s, he sang songs with lyrics from 15th-century poets, especially Ausiàs March. The singers also wrote their own lyrics for songs that became major hits and even anthems of the period, such as *Diguem no*, also by Raimon, and especially *L'estaca* by Lluís Llach, which today remains a song of struggle and freedom that has spread beyond our borders. M. Àngels Anglada gives an idea of the prominence of poetry at the time, when she says that the Catalan Lands are fertile in poets and that the print runs of poetry books at the time were outstripped by very few other countries.⁵⁶

The political commitment of the great musician Pau Casals, in exile since the instatement of the dictatorship, also earned international recognition in 1971, when he composed the "Hymn to the United Nations" and was awarded the Peace Medal. On the occasion, he delivered his famous speech where he asserted his status as a Catalan and spoke about Catalonia as "the greatest nation in the world" because back in the 11th century it had been the site of the Assemblies de Pau i Treva (Peace and Truce Assemblies), the forerunner of parliamentarianism in Europe.

The general interest in history not only remained as it was in the 1960s but it even surged, especially the most recent stages in history, when the dictatorship's version had long been the only one. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the historians who became quite publicly famous were those who specialised in the contemporary period, especially the triad comprised of Josep Fontana (the top representative of historiographic Marxism), Josep Termes (an expert in social movements and defender of the existence of a grassroots Catalanism back in the 19th century) and Albert Balcells (who studied the workers' movement and Catalanism and wrote the best syntheses of the period). One major new development in the period was the advent of female professional historians at universities, a world that until then had been almost the exclusive realm of men. As examples we can cite Eva Serra, Núria Sales and Eulàlia Duran, all three of whom specialised in the modern age (16th-18th centuries) and played a decisive role in studying a period which had barely been examined until then. Other prominent names

include Carme Batlle and M. Teresa Ferrer Mallol specialising in the Middle Ages.

The issue of gender had arisen in the 1960s, but it truly came to the fore in the 1970s because of the social importance of the feminist movement at that time. The writer M. Aurèlia Capmany reveals this change in two of her works, as she first published *La dona a Catalunya. Consciència i situació* (1966), and then *El feminisme a Catalunya* (1973) became an essential referent on this issue. One important expression of the degree of maturity that the women's movement had reached by then were the Jornades Catalanes de la Dona (Catalan Women's Conference, 1976), held for four days in the auditorium of the Universitat de Barcelona, where the complexity and plurality of the feminism of the day stood out. The following year, a feminist publishing house appeared in Barcelona, La Sal, which promoted the "Clàssiques catalanes" collection with the goal of reviving female authors from the Middle Ages to the contemporary era.

The feminist claims, the new role of youth, the criticisms of everyday life, sexual liberation, pacifism and communalism were all topics that had emerged worldwide with the social shift in the late 1960s, with movements like May '68 in Paris and the student mobilisations in the United States, Germany, Italy and Mexico. However, they did not emerge in Catalonia until the following decade. Coupled with these new concerns, an interest in psychedelic experiences, rock music, the hippie movement and the counterculture also sprang up, all of which had repercussions on the Catalan Lands, where these alternatives to technological progress and capitalist society took on a somewhat anarchic bent. What we could broadly encompass under the umbrella term "Catalan counterculture" was particularly noticeable in music, with events such as the Canet Rock Festival (started in 1975), figures like the singers and poets Pau Riba and Jaume Sisa, mythical places like the islands of Ibiza and Formentera (havens of the international hippie movement), certain underground comics and paintings, and even films centred on personalities who reflected the aesthetic of the movement – like Ventura Pons' *Ocaña, retrat intermitent* (1978) – or their aspirations – like Francesc Bellmunt's *L'orgia* (1978).

The liquidation of the Franco regime made it possible for prominent figures to return from their cultural exile, such as the mythicised Minister of Culture, Ventura Gassol, but most importantly it allowed President Tarradellas to come back and the Generalitat de Catalunya to be recognised by the Spanish government in 1977. This marked the end of the exile that had been prompted by the Civil War. With the return of the most representative political institution, Tarradellas became the last exile of anti-Francoism. Naturally, this does not mean that other people did not stay outside the country, or that other exiles did not begin then, reflecting the politics of the day.⁵⁷ In fact, even today we can find a very different, not so large exiled community, but it represents a high political stripe.

The contributions made by the personal testimonials of the returned exiles in the 1960s and 1970s were crucial in retrieving the memory of the culture, society and politics from the republican era and the experience of exile itself in the ensuing decades. While our current knowledge of the pre-war period is beginning to be quite complete, even beyond the experts, the culture and world of exile has not managed to become fully integrated into global visions of the 20th century. Even today, it is a kind of historical parallel which we are challenged to reclaim, especially its cultural dimension, since extraordinarily important contributions were made which we cannot afford to lose.

It is undeniable that since the 1980s, especially thanks to the efforts of the Generalitat de Catalunya and the regional governments of the Region of Valencia and the Balearic Islands (when the pro-Spanish right was not there, which governed them for many years), as well as Andorra, Catalan language and culture have experienced meteoric development, even though linguistic normalisation has come upon (and still does today) outrageous constraints and realms where Catalan can only play an incidental role (film, comics, private television stations, electronic games, etc.). But what is most surprising is that at no time has the idea of compensation for the repression suffered throughout so many years ever arisen, even though it had such adverse sociolinguistic consequences for Catalan culture and language. The state public institutions should have taken measures to make reparations for the ground lost during the dictatorship.

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- [2] Josep Benet, *Catalunya sota el règim franquista*; Paris, 1973; reissue: Barcelona, 1978; Josep M. Solé and Joan Villarroya, *Cronologia de la repressió de la llengua i cultural catalanes*, Ed. Curial, Barcelona, 1994; Santi Cortés, *València sota el règim franquista*, Institut de Filologia Valenciana – Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Valencia – Barcelona, 1995; Josep Massot i Muntaner, *Cultura i vida a Mallorca entre la guerra i la postguerra (1930-1950)*, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona, 1978.
- [3] In an article with the same title in the newspaper *Avui*, 28 January 1995, p. C4.
- [4] By 1939, Casals, Carner and Gassol were already away from Catalonia, but they remained faithful during an exile that lasted virtually until their dying days. The same holds true for Picasso, who always proclaimed his identity as a "Catalan born in Málaga who lived in Paris", according to his own self-definition.

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- [9] Albert Balcells, Santiago Izquierdo and Enric Pujol, *Història de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Vol II. De 1942 als temps recents*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, 2007.
- [10] Personal letter dated 19 December 1995.
- [11] J. Palau i Fabre, "Temps..."
- [12] Even though he was not a member of the group, we could also include Agustí Calvet, known as "Gaziel", on the list.
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- [21] Interview in *Avui* newspaper, 5 April 1994, p. 14.
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- [24] "Albert Manent o la memòria de l'exili" in Enric Pujol (coord.), *L'exili català del 1936-1939. Un balanç*, Cercle d'Estudis Històrics i Socials, Girona, 2003, p. 228.
- [25] This led to a split between Fuster and the "Torre" group in Valencia, led by Casp i Adlert.
- [26] Enric Pujol, "Notícia de Catalunya i el projecte polític vicencià", in *Tres imprescindibles: F. Soldevila, J. Vicens Vives i P. Vilar*, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2015.
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