Political Lineages in Catalonia, 1939-2014: From Dictatorship to Independence?

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There have been 129 presidents who have led the regional government of Catalonia (Generalitat) since Berenguer de Cruïlle first took office in 1359. The year holds significance for many in Catalonia as it establishes what many Catalans claim as one of Europe’s oldest parliamentary bodies at any level of government. However, to understand the current political and social climate of the Autonomous Community (AC) in Northeast Spain, only the previous five regional premiers hold relevance. Beginning with Josep Tarradellas who was appointed the 125th president in 1954, not in Barcelona (the capital city of Catalonia) but in Saint-Martin-le-Beau, located in Central France. Tarradellas’ significance laid not so much in his political practice but in his ability to outlive his adversary, Francisco Franco (1892-1975), the once fascist dictator of the Spanish state. To ensure a peaceful transition to democracy in post Franco Spain, Tarradellas oversaw the newly reestablished Generalitat in its current form from 1977 until 1980 back in his native land. The dawn of the 1980s then produced the most charismatic political figure in Catalonia of the entire twentieth century: Jordi Pujol. The one time prisoner during Franco’s regime, Pujol would hold onto office for twenty-three years, making him the longest serving regional president in Spain’s still young parliamentary democracy. Pujol symbolized a Catalonia that had survived its greatest threat of extinction since the Borbón Felipe V’s troops overtook Barcelona in 1714, in an attempt to centralize and ‘castilianize’ the state. Running parallel to Pujol’s tenure as Generalitat president was an also venerated figure: Pasqual Maragall. The mayor of Barcelona from 1982 to 1997, Maragall is most remembered for bringing the Summer Olympic Games to the capital city in 1992, resulting in an urban rejuvenation that still persists today (much to the chagrin of some local residents). Two decades of rivalry (and some might say jealously on the part of both) finally ended when Pujol stepped down in 2003 and Maragall became the 127th Generalitat president in December of that year. However, Maragall’s presidency lasted just three years as he reluctantly handed over the reigns to fellow
member of the *Partit Socialistes de Catalunya* (PSC); José Montilla. What marks Montilla’s election as significant, is not only the fact that he was not born in Catalonia (Córdoba, 1955) but that the personality of leadership linked to the Franco generation had now passed, signifying a new chapter of Catalan Politics. Furthering that disconnect is the current regional premier: Artur Mas of Pujol’s party, *Convergència i Unió* (CiU), who has been in office since 2010.

In examining political dynasties in Catalonia during the past seventy-years, two figures stand out: Pujol and Maragall. Yet, the two men most responsible for establishing, shaping and furthering the Catalan nation of today were unable to create a network of nepotism and selective partisanship so prevalent in other democracies (see: United States, Japan, Philippines, India). Pujol, the father of seven children, it seemed had hand picked his son Oriol to follow in his footsteps, until the *Cas ITV* scandal hit the front page of newspapers in the summer of 2012. In terms of Maragall, his successor Montilla signified a change of political ideology for their respective party due to obligatory interactions with the PSOE (Partido Socialistas Obrero Español) in Madrid. Pasqual’s brother, Ernest, also left the PSC in order to establish a party of his own: *Nova Esquerra Catalana* (NEC) also in 2012. Ultimately, what remains as arguably significant in Catalan politics is not the hereditary bloodline entrenched in the bourgeoisie of Catalan society but that Pujol (still Honorary President of CiU) has been able to influence the selection of Mas as current party leader and thus, 129th president of the Generalitat. Mas is not a departure from Pujol, but an embodiment of him. The current drive for self-determination in Catalonia and the referendum due to take place in November of this year are not the result of spontaneous knee-jerk reactions to the Spanish economy as many claim. It is the juxtaposition of post Franco policies directed at more autonomy for Catalonia, and arguably, and perhaps more important, the personification of Pujol and his vision of Catalan society which still resonates not only within his party but also directly and indirectly to all ambits of *la terra de pas*. 
I. Leading From Exile: Josep Tarradellas

Tarradellas was born in Cervelló, a small modest town in the Baix Llobregat, located within the province of Barcelona. The future president of the Generalitat came from humble beginnings, moving to Barcelona at an early age, not amidst a family looking to influence the political landscape, his father was a glass blower by trade, but to help run a family café. Political association came early as Tarradellas involved himself with numerous youth organizations during his teens and early twenties. The most prominent of the organizations was La Federacio Democratica Nacionalista (FDN), which Tarradellas joined in 1919. The significance here lay in the fact that the FDN was led by Francesc Macià who was the 122nd president of the Generalitat and a key figure during the early years of the Republic of the 1930s. Thus, the Tarradellas-Macià relationship would implant the former into the upper echelon of Catalan politics when they would establish Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) in 1931. Esquerra was the collaboration of multiple parties looking to consolidate the political Left as well as re-establish the concept of the Catalan Nation in the face of militant Spanish objectives. Although Macià was unanimously elected as ERC’s first leader, Tarradellas was selected as its Secretary General in 1932.

The deaths of Macià (1933) and Lluís Companys (1940) who was famously executed by Franco’s firing squad on Montjuic in Barcelona after the conclusion of the Civil War would result in Tarradellas becoming one of Catalonia’s most important political figures of the period. Tarradellas’ survival however was dependent on his decision to flee Catalonia, first to Switzerland during the Second World War and then finally to France where he would stay until October of 1977. During his leadership of exile, which began in 1954 after Josep Irla i Bosch stepped down (also in France), Tarradellas ran the Generalitat through a close network of other exiled ex-pats in both Europe and North America (primarily Mexico). It is argued that Tarradellas “ruled” with “tozudez y pasión, con la precaria y desinteresada ayuda de unos pocos colaboradores de su más estricta lealtad, a mantener encendida la llama de la legitimidad democrática histórica de la Generalitat” (Garcia i Soler, 1999). It seemed that there existed paranoia by Tarradellas of sorts with the nationalists who

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1 Stubbornness and passion, with the precarious and selfless help of a few contributors their strict loyalty, to keep the flame of the historic democratic legitimacy of the Generalitat.
had stayed behind to endure the onslaught of Franco policies which sought to expel Catalan identity and language from the fabric of daily life. García i Soler (1999) also notes that Tarradellas was unknown to most of the Catalan public during this time, but that the lack acknowledgment was secondary to the endurance and preservation of the Generalitat.

Ultimately, Tarradellas outlived his nemesis Franco when the latter passed in November of 1975. Not only did the 125th president of the Generalitat survive but so too did it seem were many aspects of Catalan culture and language by means of its underground networks and organizations (see Conversi, 1997). However, the return of Tarradellas was not straightforward, as leaders from different nationalist groups, had their own specific vision of what post Franco Catalonia would look like. “At the elite level, only a few party leaders spanned the two democratic regimes, among them...Josep Tarradellas” (Gunther, Montero, Botella, 2004, p.215). Was tenure enough to maintain Tarradellas as a key figure during the transition, or was he too far removed and too old to relate to what mattered most to Catalans? Of first significance was perhaps the largest popular demonstration of post war Europe to that point when more than a million people called for ‘freedom, amnesty and statute of autonomy’ in Barcelona on 11 September 1977, the national holiday of Catalonia (Conversi, 1997, p.142-3). Conversi continues to write that the impact of the demonstration, mainly instigated by the Left was instrumental to the return of Tarradellas the following month (ibid). Thus, due to popular mobilization, even though Tarradellas was known more as a mystic figure, and because the old Esquerra had “been the majority party in most Generalitat governments of the republic...it assumed a right of inheritance to some of the most powerful nationalist symbols” (Pi-Sunyer, 1985, p.116). Arguably, the most prolific of those symbols being the institutional framework of the Generalitat itself.

According to Hooper, because Tarradellas valued the re-establishment of the Generalitat with such rigor, it was Adolfo Suárez (first democratic president of post Franco Spain) who seized the opportunity to quell the more radical rhetoric of younger nationalist movements in Catalonia to ensure a more peaceful transition to democracy (Hooper, 2006, p.37). Ultimately, it was not a vote but the stroke of a pen which saw Tarradellas return to Barcelona to an ecstatic reception, proclaiming “Ja
“soc aqui” so famously as he first stepped onto Catalonia soil (ibid).\(^2\) As it relates to the context of this paper, the transition to democracy and thus ultimately the transition from Tarradellas to Pujol, was not one of fluidity or of dynasty. In fact, Tarradellas’ presence remained largely symbolic since his return to the pre-autonomy government of Catalonia 1977 established an institutional framework with relatively little to no power (Gunther and Montero, 2009, p.157). The lack of political power no doubt infuriated Pujol who was quoted as saying in June of 1977:

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\text{El presidente Tarradellas debe volver a Barcelona y presentar su dimisión, hasta que la Asemblea de Parlamentarios Catalanes no acabe sus negociaciones con el Gobierno para que las nuevas Cortes nos reconozcan las mismas atribuciones que teníamos en el año 1932. Tarradellas, en realidad, no es más que un símbolo de continuidad. Tarradellas es una illusion} \quad (\text{Garcia i Soler, 1999}). \quad ^3
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Ultimately, the significance of Tarradellas remains in his ability to connect old Catalonia with the new, and no doubt to ensure a peaceful transition to democracy for the entire Spanish state, but it can also still be debated that it put the AC in a position of wanting more autonomy, a struggle that would endure throughout the entire twenty-three years of Pujol’s presidency and after. Fortunately, Pujol would not have to wait long to ascend to Presidency of a Generalitat that by 1980 had become the legitimate government institution of Catalonia, had relevance, and ultimately, had the backing of a constitution to further promote and work towards greater autonomy in the years following. One issue remains certain here, the dynasty of Macià, Companys, Irla and finally Tarradellas, ended on the 24th of April 1980 with the election of Pujol as 126th president of the Generalitat.

II. Waiting Their Turn: Pujol and Maragall

In a political career that would span twenty-three years, Pujol would become synonymous with Catalonia and vice versa. Born in Barcelona in 1930, six years before the start of the most recent Spanish Civil War, Pujol’s youth was characterized by its development in a staunch Catalan republican family. Pujol’s passion for his

\(^2\) I made it.

\(^3\) President Tarradellas must return to Barcelona and resign, until the Catalan Parliamentary Assembly does not end its negotiations with the Government (Cortes) until they recognize that we have the same powers as in 1932. Tarradellas in reality is nothing more than a symbol of continuity. Tarradellas is an illusion.”
homeland came early, by the age of eleven he had already thought about his long-term ambitions of one day becoming the man who would construct a post Franco Catalonia (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.13). Pujol’s Catalan ideology, and the way he relates his concept of country to the world expands far outside the borders of Northeast Spain. His stance on nationalism, autonomy, religion, language, immigration, Europe and economics has become the measuring stick for subsequent leaders of the Generalitat to follow. Pujol’s tenure as Catalan president would not avoid what plagues so many politicians in Spain; political scandal. However, his stature during the 1960s and 1970s made many of his supporters look the other way. After six terms in office, Pujol would eventually step down from government in 2003, yet his legacy can still be felt throughout the politics and society of Catalonia today.

Pujol was born into a Catholic family with strong Catalan sentiment. His early years were characterized by the Spanish Civil War (1936-9), and its aftermath would set the tone for the rest of his life. However, Pujol did not suffer the experiences of extreme famine or hunger that had plagued much of Spain (Pujol, 2007). At an early age he attended the elite German School of Barcelona, which at the time seemed out of place for the Pujol family since it was a pro Nazi establishment (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.91). Pujol stayed clear of pro Nazi rallies held at the school, and instead developed friendships with other boys who would later become professional and political allies (ibid). At the age of eight Pujol experienced the war firsthand when he witnessed troops marching down his street in Barcelona. After travelling through the countryside at the age of eleven and seeing the destruction of war, Pujol (www.jordipujol.cat) claims to have had an epiphany that he would one day reconstruct the damage that had literally and figuratively eliminated the Catalan element of society. A year later he vowed to become the future president of a Catalonia free of fascism (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.13). A major influence in his early life, Pujol’s uncle Narcís Pujol (the two shared a bed for much of Jordi’s earlier years) would tell stories of Catalan history and of the ideology of the ERC (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.95). Pujol’s near photographic memory would serve him well, and by 1946 at the age of sixteen he had begun to study medicine at the University of Barcelona, even though he did not really have any intention of becoming a medical doctor (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.97). It was also in 1946

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4 Narcís Pujol would later replace Lluís Prenafeta as the Secretary General during the Pujol presidency.
that Pujol began to publicly resist the Francoist regime with regard to their views on religion (only Catholicism) and the suppression of the Catalan language and culture when he joined the anti Franco group, *Grup Torras i Bages* (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.101). Over the next fourteen years, Pujol’s political activism began to grow, running parallel to other developments in both his personal and professional lives.

Much of Pujol’s early political activism was directed at religion, more specifically at the treatment of Catalan Catholics within the greater context of Spanish Catholicism. In 1950, Pujol was inspired by the Statute of Grup Torras i Bages which stated ‘*Catalunya serà cristia o no serà*’ (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.99). Pujol (2006, p.27) states that Catholic Bishops had been an instrument of Castilianization since the early 17th century in order to shape Spanish nationalism. The lack of Catalan Bishops was troubling for Pujol, who grew up and remains deeply religious; it remains a core value not only of his politics but his personal life. By 1954 Pujol and his colleagues set up *Crist Catalunya or Communitat Catalunya* (CC) on a Catholic platform. In mostly an informal setting the group was successful at organizing intellectuals in attempts to reconnect with Catalonia from a neo-traditionalist point of view (Conversi, 1997, p.129). In 1956, Pujol married the also deeply religious Marta Ferrusola, and the couple would eventually have seven children (Pujol, 2007, p.123).

Four years into his marriage, Pujol made his most significant political maneuver against the Franco regime: *Els Fets Del Palau* in 1960. Els Fets was a political statement made in the Palau de Música in Barcelona when the audience began to sing the anthem of Catalonia, *El Cant de la Senyera* written by poet Joan Maragall (Pasqual’s Uncle) to celebrate the centennial of his birth (Pujol, 2006). Although Franco was not present at the concert, some of his ministers were. As a result twenty people were arrested and Pujol was questioned and then arrested for organizing the affair. Although Pujol denied involvement (after a brutal beating by police), the CC group, which he led, was admittedly responsible (Conversi, 1997, p.120). Pujol was already under suspicion by authorities for organizing a boycott against the Barcelona based daily newspaper *La Vanguardia*. In 1959, former La Vanguardia director Luis de Galinsoga was attending a mass and proudly proclaimed that ‘Todos los catalanes son una mierda’ in an outburst directed at Catalan language

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5 ‘Catalonia will be Christian or it will not be’.

6 CC never officially defined the two words of their acronym. The group was also referred to as *Católicos y Catalanes*. 
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(Pujol, 2007, p.145). A boycott of the paper ensued and was so successful that Franco had no choice but to give Galinsoga the sack (Conversi, 1997, pp.199-200). Language for Pujol has always been a central theme of his nationalist and political ideology, having said in a 1975 speech, “la llengua no es negociable, amb ningu” (Pujol, 2006, p.46).

Pujol was sent to prison in the Aragonese city of Saragossa and handed a sentence of seven years for his involvement in Els Fets (www.jordipujol.cat and Pujol, 2007, pp.154-5). Pujol’s previous training as a medical doctor allowed him to work and live in the infirmary where conditions were notably better than other areas in the prison (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.121). Pujol would serve only two and half years of his sentence, with a further year of home imprisonment in the northern Catalan city of Girona. Once back in Barcelona, Pujol was back at work strategizing a collective Catalan movement, one way in which he did this was by working for his father who had previously established Banca Catalana in 1959 with the goal of creating a national bank of Catalonia (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.123).

During the Franco years Banca Catalana provided a legitimate business opportunity for Catalans to further modernize the infrastructure of their society through the practice of banking (Dowling, 2005, p.109). For Pujol, the objective was to not only create an important Catalan bank but one that could be considered a grand Spanish bank. Pujol outlined three elements that were necessary: firstly, to have its headquarters in Catalonia, secondly, to show a presence of Catalan capital, and finally to establish the mentality that the bank is a Catalan establishment first and foremost (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.123). Furthermore, Pujol argued that without a bank a country does not have the possibilities to create large companies and avenues of wealth (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.133). Banca Catalana would provide these necessary avenues, yet as Pujol started to progress into politics the line between banker and politician became blurred.

Pujol’s release from prison marked the reawakening of Catalan nationalism for many in the underground movement. Pujol defines nationalism as a voluntat de ser, the will to have a particular way of being which excludes ethnic or racial factors (Guibernau, 1993, p.199). Pujol strongly defends his civic inclusive nationalism as part of his rhetoric, so that Spaniards can be incorporated in Catalan society and

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7 ‘All the Catalans are shit’.
8 ‘The language (Catalan) is not negotiable with anyone’.
conversely so that Catalans can be included in a pluralist Spanish society. In 1964 Pujol wrote *Construir Catalunya*, a short proclamation to the youth of Catalonia in order to explain the reasons necessary for rebuilding the Catalan country (Pujol, 2006, pp.36-41). In *Construir* Pujol also reinforced his vision of community by saying that nationalism is not valid if it is not a community, requiring a democratic political system and social reform that allows everyone to participate (*ibid*). By the early 1970s, as Franco’s reigns were starting to loosen, Pujol and his colleagues began to organize and strategize their nationalist ideologies into political ambitions.

Up to, during and after the foundation of the CDC (*Convergència Democrática de Catalunya*), Pujol’s *Banca Catalana* began to acquire various Catalan media outlets in print and radio. Pujol saw the incorporation of media outlets such as the periodical *El Correo Catalán* as key promotional tools for the Catalan movement even though it had to be published in Spanish (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, pp.153-5). Financed by *Banca Catalana*, the periodical did not generate a profit but it did signal the changes that were taking place around Catalonia as Francoist policy began to weaken. In November 1974, Pujol and 125 other people who were primarily representative of the business and financial sectors met at the religious center of Catalonia, the monastery of Montserrat where they agreed on the establishment of the new CDC political party (Dowling, 2005, p.110). Pujol proclaimed his party to be social democratic at first; however he later acknowledged that this was simply rhetoric, and that the main aims of the party were the development of the Catalan economy. In a 1974 speech at the ESADE business school, Pujol remarked:

> The most important development of the Catalan economy has almost always been the product of private enterprise, under the existence of a strong political regime, with industrial peace, the expansion of the western economy, tariff protection of the entrepreneur, [who] is the creator of wealth (*ibid*).

Pujol would later use his political party to influence other media outlets, such as the Catalan daily newspaper *Avui* and the magazine *Oriflama*, while continuing to push for radio and television programming entirely in the Catalan language (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.159). With the death of Franco in November 1975, CDC finally became legalized in March 1976 with the assistance of one of Pujol’s most intimate colleagues, Roca, who was also a key player during the transition to democracy (Martinez and Oliveres, 2005, p.171).
In order to be competitive in the 1980 election, Pujol and the CDC formed a coalition with the UDC (*Unió Democràtica de Catalunya*), which had been founded in 1931 before the Civil War and had illegally remained underground during the dictatorship. Dowling (2005, p.107) states that the Catalan business community supported the CDC/UDC campaign because they had fears ‘that ‘Marxists’ would turn the Catalan autonomy statute into an instrument of class struggle’. ‘Red Scare’ tactics led by the business community led to CiU victory, although they only won forty-three seats, which was short of an absolute majority (*ibid*). Thus, Pujol offered a pact with the socialists in order to form a government but it was rejected, and in the end the CiU formed a pact with the ERC and *Centristes de Catalunya* (the Catalan branch of the UCD) (www.jordipujol.cat). In 1980 Pujol was able to finally fulfill his childhood dream at the age of fifty, and it was a position he would not surrender for twenty-three years.

With the issues of the Estatut behind him, Pujol and his government began an era that would be dubbed Pujolisme (Castiñeira, 2006, p.84). As Dowling (2005, p.111) states, “the Pujolist discourse equated any attack on, or even lack of support for, Pujol or CiU with an attack on Catalonia”. Although Pujol and *Banca Catalana* were being investigated by the Banco de España for inconsistent financial reporting between 1980 and 1982, the business community continued to support his public projects at a rapid pace (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.190). As mentioned above, Pujol also focused on the Catalan media during the early 1980s, starting with periodicals and radio and eventually helped to establish a Catalan television channel and on September 11, 1983, TV-3 de Catalunya began transmission across Catalonia (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.213).

The *Banca Catalana* crisis involved the lack of productivity and monetary loses in the industrial and real estate sectors of the bank (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.142). Pujol was steadfast in his justification of the activities because they had been done in the name of Catalonia and therefore he had felt no guilt of misconduct (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.231). Pujol took the investigation as a personal attack, not only upon himself, but also on the rest of Catalonia. Public opinion swayed, but Pujol was finally exonerated by the Spanish courts in Barcelona by a vote of thirty-three to eight in November 1986, the middle of his second term (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.219).
Examining Maragall’s life spanning the Franco period was much more reserved when compared to Pujol. Born into a large family in the Barcelona suburb of Sant Gervasi in 1941, Maragall’s surname is most synonymous with his uncle Joan, one of the most famous Catalan poets of the *Modernisme* movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Associated with the anti Franco movements *Front Obrer de Catalunya* (FOC) and *Frente de Liberación Popular* (FLP), Maragall spent much of the Franco period in academia, first as a student at the University of Barcelona between 1957 and 1964, then as a graduate student in New York at the New School between 1971 and 1973 (www.pasquallmaragrall.cat). His family lineage on his mother’s side lies outside of Catalonia, in Madrid but one that support an environment of Catholicism and Republican values (Muñoz, 2010, p. 94).

A student of economics, Maragall claims the study of political science was not an option during his time at university, he began his political movement in February of 1962 when police entered the university as Maragall hid from view and thus began the MF62 Movement (*Moviment Febrer-62*) (Muñoz, 2010, p.97). However, none of the groups Maragall would attest would rise to the level of revolutionary, and indeed, each would have a short shelf life, as FOC (the most prominent of them all) would disband in 1971 (Muñoz, 2010, p.103). By the late 1970s, Maragall had firmly placed himself within local politics of Barcelona. Following the first election on 15 June 1977 together with Narcís Serra who directed the PSC campaign in Barcelona. Maragall’s return in 1979 meant placement on the electoral list of the PSC in the first municipal elections in the City Council of the new democratic era. First as deputy mayor of Administrative Reform, which led the modernization of local public administration and then as Deputy Mayor for Finance (www.pasqualmaragall.cat). Finally in 1982, Maragall would top the PSC electoral list and win the mayoral election of Barcelona a position he would hold until 1997.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s Barcelona was preparing to host the 1992 Summer Olympic Games. Hosting the games was the greatest opportunity to showcase the Catalan nation outside the political sphere. However, it was not so much Pujol who was responsible for bringing the games to Catalonia but Barcelona mayor Pasqual Maragall. Maragall who had held the Mayor’s office since 1982 felt he deserved to be managing the Games since he felt he was responsible for winning the opportunity to host. Pujol was not pleased with the idea and was often jealous of Maragall’s standing in the organizational committee, which created a lot of tension.
between the two, both publicly and privately (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.293). Pujol then focused his attention on attempts at building a theme park somewhere outside Barcelona, preferably in the southern coastal city of Tarragona, as a counter to Maragall’s success. The theme park plan included talks with Disney, but was eventually settled with the Anheuser Busch Company, based in the United States (Martínez and Oliveres, 2005, p.292). The theme park *Port Aventura* was completed in 1995 and has been a success to date. However no theme park would have been able to match the long term benefits the Olympics brought to the city of Barcelona, which literally transformed its skyline, and brought with it an improved infrastructure, making it one of Europe’s top tourist destinations. Although Pujol and Maragall would continue their disagreements following the Olympics, a year later the Catalan president would come to the aid of the Socialists in Madrid by helping Prime Minister González form a government.

Both Pujol and Maragall’s views of greater autonomy and federalism in general with regard to Catalonia had always come with no official intention of calling for outright independence. In 1989, Pujol declared, “we are a nation without a state, we belong to the Spanish state but we have no secessionist ambitions” (McRoberts, 2001, p.67). Pujol never publicly called for a vote of referendum for independence while in office, even though a significant number of CiU MPs currently would have been in support of such a measure (CiU Interviews, 2010). Pujol rejects the current quasi-federalist system of Spain because of the fact that it reduces Catalonia to a mere region. However, for Pujol, the decision to work with the central government seemed a logical choice, taking into account that he considers Catalonia to have had a significant role in the history of the development of Spain (Pujol, 2006, p.168). It is a balancing act that the former president walks at all times, separating himself from the center but not by too much. His relationships with Madrid in 1993 and 1996 were not pacts nor were they even compromises, but were collaborations, as Pujol (2003, p.158) states in his book *El Llibre Roig*:

*No hem tingut mai un accord o un compromís amb el Partit Popular. Ni tampoc amb el Socialista. Per que el nostre compromís es amb el país, i el país, per nosaltres en el primer sentit, el mes immediat es Catalunya. Tenim un segon compromís amb el conjunt de l’estat, que procurem complir tan bé com sabem i compaginar-lo amb el primer i prioritari. Vam col.laborar amb Saurez, vam fer el mateix amb Felipe Gonzalez i ho hem fet amb el PP.*
Pujol may have felt that he was pulled into radical and destructive politics by being part of the Spanish process, but he cannot look the other way when this relationship has proved successful for him and for Catalonia, especially when he has argued that political pacts with Madrid have helped progress Spain “in a new cycle of history” (Pujol, 2006, p.168).

The impact Pujol has had on Catalan politics since stepping down from office remains relevant, even today. The PSC’s pact with the ERC and ICV may not have happened without the influence of Pujol. As Dowling (2005, p.116) states, “Maragall…had two possibilities to defeat CiU: mobilisation or Catalanisation. The fact that Maragall chose the latter is a confirmation of how much CiU has transformed the terrain”. When Pujol finally left politics in 2003 he remained as President of CDC, keeping one foot in the political sphere (www.convergencia.cat). He continued to remain outspoken about everything from immigration to politics. Books written by him and about him continued to be published. As recently as 2009, El Pais interviewed Pujol; the interview was in reference to the second part of Pujol’s memoirs, which focus on the period of his presidency to the current political climate in Spain. Pujol continues to talk about Spain’s “Catalanophobia”, especially with regard to language, his problems with the Catholic Church, and how he dealt with the Olympic Games. Interestingly, Pujol seems to skip over details regarding the Banca Catalana Crisis, his involvement with the media during the 1970s, and his collaborations in Madrid with both the PSOE and the PP, experiences which ultimately do not put him in the most positive of light. Pujol it seems, is still dissatisfied with the entire process of nationalism and language, issues which he cites as being more important than a scandal over which he was exonerated (Basset, 2009).

For Pujol, the current political climate in Spain still radiates questions about Catalan nationalism; autonomy, economics and language that will continue to give him unsatisfying answers, and thus the cause (and perhaps need) for the future vote of self-determination. Even though he kept his private life out of the media, Pujol was

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9 ‘We have never had an accord or a compromise with the PP. Neither with the Socialists. Because our commitment is with our country, and the country for us in the first sense which is more immediate is Catalonia. We have a second commitment with the state overall, which tries to comply very well. We have collaborated with Suárez, González and with PP. Always with the intent to avoid having Spain pull us along into activities that are politically destructive and radical’. 
never one to shy away from the media when it came to progressing Catalonia. Throughout his life, he has sought to promote Catalonia worldwide, visiting forty-five countries during his presidency, treating each official visit as if he were the head of state (Pedrós, 2003, p.10). He was not only President of Catalonia but also their spokesman, their marketing coordinator, almost a mascot of sorts. Pujol’s message hardly wavered on any topic from the time he was eleven until the time he left office at the age of seventy-three. Arguably, not only did Pujol’s life and the experiences he had before his official political career began in 1980 influence his politics, but also, his popularity was a result of those actions carried out during Els Fets, and the establishment of the CDC to name a few. Even when in time was office concluded, he remained Honorary President of the CiU, no doubt maintaining influence on the party and Catalonia as whole, as will be explained below.

For Maragall, the ability to influence was more limited when compared to Pujol. For one, Maragall’s time in office as Generalitat president was much shorter than Pujol’s. However, a more important factor is the political party each represented. CiU has never really prescribed to be a statewide party of the Spanish state. Therefore the head of CiU is also the head of party activities both in Madrid and Barcelona. Therefore, Pujol was never constrained by what party officials wanted to negotiate between center and periphery. However, with Maragall, the constant struggle between PSC and PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español) was constant, first with Felipe Gonzalez (Spanish President from 1982-1996) and then with Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero (Spanish President from 2004-2011). As stated above, Maragall chose Catalanization above all else, sometimes frustrating those above him in Madrid. This is further propounded by the fact, that although there was a slight departure in his political ideology, the election of Montilla in 2006 signalled further policy mandates with regard to the 2006 Estatut and further autonomy measure for Catalonia.

III. The New Era of Catalan Presidency: Montilla and Mas

The vacuum caused by Pujol’s departure after twenty-three years in office left Catalan politics in what Pallarés and Muñoz describe as “turbulent” (Pallarés and Muñoz, 2008. p.449). The constant debate of a new statute of autonomy are also what caused its premature end and the replacement of Maragall with Montilla, which had created tension within the PSC (ibid). Montilla, had to convince voters and supporters
of his party, that he genuinely cared about Catalan issues. Born in Cordoba in 1955, Montilla would become the first Generalitat president of the post-Franco era born outside of Catalonia.\(^\text{10}\) Although, he had lived in Catalonia since the age of sixteen and had been a public servant for the PSC since 1978, the symbolism of a Castilian name and his often confused spoken Catalan, no doubt cast doubt with some voters. Montilla, like Tarradellas, came from very humble beginnings, his father worked in construction, as Montilla became an adult in the working class suburbs of Barcelona. However, by 2006 Montilla had the political weight and experience as an admirable candidate for the presidency. He had previously served as mayor of Cornellà de Llobregat, from 1985 until 2004, after being re-elected by an absolute majority on five occasions (www.president.cat).

What is remarkable about the 2006 regional elections of Catalonia is that although PSC lost twenty five percent of their vote when compared to 2003, they still emerged as victorious, due to coalition support from ERC and ICV (Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds) (Pallarés and Muñoz, 2008, p. 458). The process was not however completely fluid:

The pressures being felt by the Spanish socialist government, tensions between Maragall and Zapatero, and the replacement of Maragall by Montilla, were the consequence, to a great extent, of problems deriving from the interaction of the competitive strategies at the central and autonomous level during the previous term of office (Pallarés and Muñoz, 2008, p.461-2).

Again, the constraints imposed by the PSC by its big brother PSOE have impacted not only policy continuity but also division within the party members themselves. Simply put, Maragall’s relationship with Zapatero was not strong, as they did not share an overall vision of Spain and Catalonia, and thus the former was no longer required of his services. Although Maragall’s brother Ernest had stayed on to serve as Counsellor of Education until 2010 and then Member of Parliament until 2012 (still with PSC) he then left the party to start his own, which has currently aligned itself with ERC in European Parliament elections (as mentioned above). Maragall it seemed was unable to hand pick his successor, as ultimately he most surely wanted to stay in high office as long as voters would have allowed him. Ultimately, Maragall’s “Federal

\(^{10}\) It appears the first Generalitat President born outside of Catalonia was Juan Payo Coello who served from 1488-91 (37th President) and was born in Zamora (Castile y Leon).
Catalanism” was perhaps was “too Catalan” for PSOE members in Madrid, who, ironically enough, some ten years later are adopting this concept in the face of self-determination momentum in both Catalonia and the Basque Country.

In terms of CiU, there is a completely different dynamic at play. When Pujol decided to pass the torch, he did so not because he forced out of the party but because declining election results and twenty-three years office signalled that a fresh face was necessary in the forefront. Pujol remains the face of CiU and without him the party would arguably struggle to find an identity. There remains little doubt the selection of Mas as CiU party leader was arguably at the discretion of Pujol who had two choices: the other being Josep Antoni Duran i Lleida. As a result, while some in CiU, may have been disgruntled with the choice of Mas over Duran i Lleida, the process becomes much more fluid with respect to overall policy goals. The push from Mas for a November 2014 referendum is undoubtedly influenced by Pujol’s changing stance on Catalan independence, which was also further solidified by the November 2012 call for elections and the re-appointment of Mas as regional premier.

The significance here is that Pujol remains a very influential member of not only his party but of Catalan society as well as it relates to strengthening Catalan institutions and identity. In numerous interviews with CiU party members in 2010 this was universally exemplified, as one interviewee stated ‘Pujol took control of the situation and told the members to support the agreement and they did. When he spoke, they listened’ (CiU Interview, 2010). It also became evident during the interviews that Pujol’s influence even among high-ranking members of the CiU was very substantial. Yet it was not always clear where Pujol’s priorities stood, within the party or within the government. One interviewee stated ‘Yes (he had a strong influence), but the first priority was president of the Generalitat’ (CiU Interview, 2010). Another interviewee backs this claim, stating, ‘As far as the party, Pujol’s leadership was not very deep, it was focused more on government’ (CiU Interview, 2010). As one interviewee stated ‘the job of Catalonia is to pressure Madrid to get more things for Catalonia’ (CiU Interview, 2010). In his twenty-three years as president of the Generalitat, Pujol was able to do just that, convincing not only party members but also the Catalan public that he could make pacts with both of Spain’s statewide parties.

Comparing the PSC/PSOE and CiU is difficult because they are parties with different organizational structure. The regional branch of the PSC only operates
within Catalonia, where their relationship with the statewide PSOE has a greater affect on how they produce and influence policy. Whereas the CiU, which operates at both regional and national levels (but clearly not statewide), does not face those institutional constraints.

Currently for Mas, leadership of Catalonia has taken on an entirely new challenge, one not seen in the contemporary era of Catalan politics. The current drive for a referendum for an independent Catalan Nation is unprecedented. Thus, the break between old and new Catalanisme has ruptured. But as the path down Nou Catalanisme takes shape it does with Pujol still intact. First mentioning the right for Independence in 2010 (Avui, 2010), it was not long after that Mas also hinted at a shift in opinion. The current premier has tried to distance himself from his predecessors but ultimately he even admits that the political program of the aforementioned has remained constant:

Enceto aquest camí en què estem, en la part que em correspon a mi... perquè arribo a la conclusió que no ens en queda cap altre, després d’haver-los intentat tots durant un segle, perquè això no ve només de Jordi Pujol i de Convergència i Unió. Això ve d’en Pujol, passant per Tarradellas, després d’en Pujol va venir el senyor Maragall, després el senyor Montilla, abans del senyor Tarradellas, el president Companys, abans el president Macià, abans l’Enric Prat de la Riba i abans en Cambó, o en paral·lel en Cambó. I tots aquests, que formen part d’espectres ideològics completament diferents, gairebé tots els partits que han pesat tradicionalment en el catalanisme, en el fons van fer més o menys el mateix (Castiñeira and Nadal, 2013, p.159).

Ultimately, this is where the political dynasty of Catalonia is laid, not in family ties, but in its connection to Catalonia. There have been some examples of nepotism, the three most significant being during Pujol’s term in office. Uncle Narcis serving as a Generalitat Counselor for some time during the 1980s, wife Marta serving as President of the Catalan Olympic Committee and son Oriol as Member of Parliament for CiU from 2010-2013. When Oriol (and his wife for that matter) was found to be involved with irregular income as a result of his position as a government official

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11 I Start this way that we are, in part for me, because I conclude that we do not have no other, having them all tried for a century, because this is not only Jordi Pujol and Convergència i Unió. This comes in from Pujol, to Tarradellas after Pujol came in Mr. Maragall and after Mr. Montilla, before Mr. Tarradellas President Companys before President Macià before Enric Prat de la Riba before Cambó or in parallel to Cambó. And all those who are part of the ideological spectrum completely different almost all the parties that have traditionally weighed in Catalan, at the bottom were more or less the same.
(Cas ITV), the chance of any political family political dynasty within Catalan failed. Although Pujol (Jordi) and Mas have also been accused of financial advantage themselves, it was not the heir to the throne who was saved but Mas, signifying perhaps a greater good for the party as whole.

Conclusions

Because Spain exists within a two dimensional political space which contains not only the left-right ideologies of politics but also the nationalist-non nationalist ideologies of parties, the transfer of power in the Generalitat established a status quo in Catalonia, by which the nationalist issue has become a-political, thus garnering growing support in the lead up to a proposed referendum on self determination in November 2014. Thus, it can be argued that the current drive for independence began not recently, but with the exile of Tarradellas seventy-five years ago. Yet, the one person so vehemently opposed to self-determination for so long: Pujol, would ultimately be the man responsible for the current shift in societal norms within Catalonia. As explained above, Pujol’s actions both during the Franco regime and then after during his presidency have been the most influential not only on his party but also on the Presidents who followed him. Although Mas has returned CiU to power in Catalonia, Pujol still maintains influence over the party and thus over the region as a whole.
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