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In this new book, 35 experts explore Catalonia’s history, economics, politics, language, and culture, in order to explain to the rest of the world the fascinating story behind the march, the new legislature, and the upcoming vote on whether Catalonia will become the next new state in Europe.

With contributions from: Ignasi Aragay • Laia Balcells • Germà Bel • Laura Borras • Alfred Bosch • Nuria Bosch • Roger Buch i Ros • Joan Canadell • Pau Canadell • Salvador Cardús • Muriel Casals • Andreu Domingo • Carme Forcadell • Josep Maria Ganyet • Salvador García-Ruiz • Alex Hinojo • Edward Hugh • Oriol Junqueras • M. Carme Junyent • J.C. Major • Pere Mayans Balcells • Josep M. Muñoz • Mary Ann Newman • Elisenda Paluzie • Vicent Partal • Cristina Perales-Garcia • Eva Piquer • Enric Pujol Casademont • Marta Rovira-Martinez • Vicent Sanchis • Xavier Solano • Miquel Strubell • Matthew Tree • Ramon Tremosa • F. Xavier Vila

And a prologue by Artur Mas, President of Catalonia
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And a prologue by Artur Mas, President of Catalonia.
February, 2013

What’s up with Catalonia? in which 35 experts explain Catalonia’s current push for independence from Spain, is about to be published, and will be available through major distributors in the North America, Europe, and Australia, in both print and electronic editions.

This document contains the cover, Table of Contents, Editor’s note, extracts from some of the articles, and a full Index.

Queries may be sent to Liz Castro (lcastro@cookwood.com).

More information can be found on Catalonia Press’ website: http://www.cataloniapress.com

Please feel free to share this document with anyone who might find it of interest.

Febrer 2013

What’s up with Catalonia?, amb el qual 35 experts expliquen la lluita actual de Catalunya per la seva independència, està a punt de sortir publicat. Estarà disponible via els distribuidors principals a Amèrica del Nord, Europa, i Austràlia, tant en edició impresa com electrònica.

Aquest document conté la portada, taula de continguts, nota de l’editora, extractes d’alguns dels articles i l’índex complert.

Per més informació, poseu-vos en contacte amb Liz Castro (lcastro@cookwood.com).

O consulteu el web de Catalonia Press: http://www.cataloniapress.com

Si us plau, compartiu aquest document amb qualsevol persona que el pugui trobar d’interès.
Contents

Editor’s note 7  
Liz Castro

Prologue: A new path for Catalonia 9  
Artur Mas i Gavarró  
President of Catalonia

Catalonia, a new state in Europe 13  
Carme Forcadell Lluís

2013: The transition year toward the referendum on independence 19  
Oriol Junqueras

Premeditated asphyxia 23  
Elisenda Paluzie

It’s always been there 31  
F. Xavier Vila

Catalonia, land of immigration 39  
Andreu Domingo

Opening the black box of secessionism 45  
Laia Balcells

Schooling in Catalonia (1978–2012) 51  
Pere Mayans Balcells

The view from Brussels 59  
Ramon Tremosa i Balcells

Keep Calm and Speak Catalan 67  
Josep Maria Ganyet

Wilson, Obama, Catalonia, and Figueres 75  
Enric Pujol Casademont

News from Catalonia 79  
Josep M. Muñoz

On the prickly matter of language 85  
J.C. Major

Is the perfect always and everywhere the enemy of the good? 89  
Edward Hugh

What has happened to us Catalans? 95  
Salvador Cardús

Our place in the world: the country of Barcelona 101  
Vicent Partal

How did we get here? 105  
Cristina Perales-García
Judo in Madrid 113
Alfred Bosch

European patriots 119
Muriel Casals

The battle for the audience 123
Ignasi Aragay

Strangers in our own land 129
Germa Bel

Yet another wiki? 135
Alex Hinojo

The languages of the Catalans 139
M. Carme Junyent

Non-nationalist independence 143
Laura Borràs

Catalan language literature: What’s going on? 147
Matthew Tree

Catalonia or Catalan Countries? 153
Vicent Sanchis

Time to say “yes” 157
Eva Piquer

A Scottish referendum for Catalonia 167
Xavier Solano

Language in education 173
Miquel Strubell

What happened on November 25? 177
Pau Canaleta

Americans ♥ Catalonia: A geometric progression 183
Mary Ann Newman

The viability of Catalonia as a state 189
Núria Bosch

To my Spanish friends 193
Salvador Garcia-Ruiz

The Catalan business model 197
Joan Canadell

The CUP: the oldest and newest independentists 201
Roger Buch i Ros

Our September 11th (1714) 207
Marta Rovira-Martinez

Index 215
Ever since I started studying the Catalan language at the University of California at Berkeley in 1985, I have felt an unusual kinship with the Catalan people and an undeniable connectedness with Catalonia. And so, I was pleased with the increased media coverage after Catalonia’s massive pro-independence march of September 11, 2012, but at the same time frustrated with its relatively shallow depth. On November 29, 2012, shortly after Catalonia’s snap elections, it occurred to me that with the contribution of Catalan experts, the help of new technologies, the power of social networks, and some good translating, I might be able to edit a comprehensive collection of articles so that people outside of Catalonia could get a much clearer idea of just what’s going on there. The product of that effort is the book you have before you.

All of the articles were written in December 2012 and January 2013 in an attempt to capture the current situation in Catalonia. There is one particularly significant event that happened just after the book was completed: on January 23rd, the Parliament of Catalonia voted in favor of a Declaration of Sovereignty. The process continues to move forward.

The book’s subtitle “…the causes which impel them to the separation…” is a direct quote from the United States Declaration of Independence, which is also featured on the cover.
Editor’s note

I knew some of the writers who contributed articles for this book, but others put their trust in me sight unseen. I am indebted to both groups for their confidence, their collaboration, and their insights. I hope I have captured the spirit of their articles with my translations.

A few notes: many Catalans prefer to refer to Spain as the Spanish State, since they consider it an administrative, and not national, construct. I have followed their example here. I give place names in English if there is an existing translation (that is not simply Spanish), and Catalan when there isn’t. The concept of Catalonia and the Catalan Countries is so complex that there is an entire article about it (Vicent Sanchis).

For ongoing coverage of Catalonia’s path toward independence, you can follow me on Twitter (@lizcastro) or read my blog, News Catalonia (http://www.newscatalonia.com). I published two other excellent books in English on Catalonia: Toni Strubell and Lluís Brunet’s beautifully photographed collection of interviews of leading Catalan personalities, What Catalans Want: Could Catalonia be Europe’s Next New State?, and Matthew Tree’s collection of essays on life in Barcelona, Barcelona, Catalonia: The View from the Inside. Both are available in print and electronic editions. I also highly recommend following the Col·lectiu Emma (Emma Network: http://www.collectiuemma.cat/) and the Wilson Initiative (http://www.wilson.cat/en/), both of which offer excellent English-language stories and articles about Catalonia’s independence movement.

Thanks to Andreu Cabré for a fabulous cover, and to Margaret Trejo for proofreading and corrections. Thanks also to the kind folks who already follow me on Twitter who helped with translations and clarifications, sent me information and encouragement, and listened as I told them, in 140 characters at a time, what was happening in Catalonia.

Finally, I would especially like to thank all of the people who supported this book through our crowdsourcing campaign (http://www.verkami.com/projects/4146-what-x27-s-up-with-catalonia), and whose names can be found on Catalonia Press’ website: http://www.cataloniapress.com). Many of them sponsored sharing a copy of this book with a friend, library, journalist, newspaper, or politician outside of Catalonia, in order to send around the world a more precise picture of just what’s up with Catalonia. Catalans are not waiting for anyone to rescue them, but they’ll be happy if you know what’s going on there. Next time you visit lovely Barcelona, take a long look around, and realize what country you’re in.
Prologue: A new path for Catalonia

Artur Mas i Gavarró
President of Catalonia
Catalonia is at a historic crossroads, our most exciting and significant moment in many years. There is a lot of excitement around building our country. A country that in part will be new. It is an immense, collective project that involves us all. It won’t be an easy road, it’ll be steep, and the process will be full of difficulties and obstacles, but, if we stick together and if we persevere, we can make it.

Catalonia, our country, is a nation. A nation that, in order to maintain its identity and to move forward, needs tools of state. This nation has existed for many centuries. It has its own identity, culture, and language, and its own institutions. Catalonia wants to follow, and indeed must be allowed to follow, its own path.

It has been thirty years since we in Catalonia have been doing our best to collaborate with the Spanish State in order to build a democratic, modern, European Spain. We have repeatedly tried to help transform the State to make it ours. We had hoped that Spain would be understanding, tolerant, and above all, respectful of Catalonia’s personality, of its culture and its language, and of the hopes for progress and well-being of the Catalan people.

But what do we find has been the answer from the State over these past three decades? We find that we contribute a huge amount, too much even, and that though we help as much as we can, we are neither understood nor respected for who we are. We find ourselves with an immutable annual fiscal deficit of 16 billion euros between what we bring to the State each year and what we receive. We find that our jurisdiction is continually violated, that some debts are recognized but never paid, while other debts are not even recognized. We find a ruling of the Spanish Constitutional Court that is contrary to the Statute of Autonomy approved by the Parliament of Catalonia in 2006. And we find, finally, a categorical NO in response to our proposal of a fiscal pact, approved by our Parliament, in a last attempt to seek a fairer agreement, more fitting of equal partners, on the difference between our monetary contribution to the State and what it gives back. That proposal neither broke nor lessened our commitment to solidarity with the other territories of the State, but nevertheless we were told that there was no margin for negotiation.

In that context, on September 11, 2012, on Catalonia’s National Day, there was a massive demonstration, in which 1.5 million people—that is, a fifth of our population—demanded that Catalonia become a new State in Europe. This huge demonstration came on the heels of the march that took place on July 10, 2010, with the slogan, “We are a nation. We decide.” shortly after the Constitutional Court’s ruling against Catalonia’s Statute of 2006.
Catalonia, a new state in Europe

Carme Forcadell Lluís

Degrees in Philosophy and Communication Sciences from the Autonomous University of Barcelona and Masters in Catalan Philology. Professor of Secondary Teacher Education. Since 1985, Forcadell has worked in the Department of Education, as coordinator of linguistic normalization for the Catalan Teaching Service and currently as consultant on language, interculturalism, and social cohesion for the Western Vallès area. She has published several books on pedagogy, together with other authors, as well as a dictionary. She has written for several media publications. She has been active over the years in various organizations and is currently the president of the Catalan National Assembly.
Since September 11, 1714, as a consequence of a military defeat, Catalonia has formed part of the Kingdom of Spain. And each September 11 we commemorate our National Day, not to remember our defeat, but on the contrary, to remember that despite the defeat, and the subsequent suffering and the attempts to wipe us out, we continue to exist. During the almost 300 years that Catalonia has lived as part of the Spanish State, we have tried several times to recover our national freedoms that we lost by force of arms, but it hasn’t been until now, in the 21st century, that we have had the political, social, cultural, and economic conditions necessary to achieve independence.

On September 11, 2012, more than 1.5 million people came out on the streets of Barcelona to demonstrate behind a placard that read Catalonia: New State in Europe. A demonstration of 1.5 million people in a country of 7.5 million inhabitants can easily be qualified as one of the largest, if not the largest, in history. And if we add to this the fact that the demonstration was celebrated in an absolutely democratic and peaceful manner, and that it was convoked by the civil society, it is even more extraordinary.

This demonstration was in fact convoked and organized by the Catalan National Assembly (ANC), an entity formed by people of various ideologies and different social classes that pursue a common objective: the independence of Catalonia. We plan to dissolve once we have achieved our goal. The Assembly was formally constituted six months before the demonstration, on March 10, 2012, even though we were working on this project a full two years earlier. I was invited to join by Miquel Strubell, one of the founders of the Assembly, when there were only 20 members.

From the very beginning, we were clear that the goal of the ANC was to achieve Catalonia’s independence, and thus the only thing that we had to decide was how and when. To do so, we elaborated a road map which explained the steps necessary for reaching our goal. One of the first proposals that emerged was organizing a demonstration on September 11, Catalonia’s National Day, or Diada. We wanted to have a different kind of Diada, where for the first time the independentist political parties and the civic organizations could come together in a joint demonstration, instead of everyone having their own separate ones, as in previous years.

We knew that the demonstration had to be unified, massive, and peaceful and that we had to get all the parties and organizations together that were in favor of creating our own state in order to show the strength of our national objective, both to ourselves and to the world. The Government of Catalonia publicly asked that our demonstration be in support of the fiscal
2013: The transition year toward the referendum on independence

Oriol Junqueras

President of Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya [Republican Left of Catalonia], MP, and Leader of the Opposition in the Parliament of Catalonia. Mayor of Sant Vicenç dels Horts. B.A. in Modern and Contemporary History, Ph.D. in History of Economic Thought. Until 2012 Professor at Autonomous University of Barcelona. Member of European Parliament between July 2009 and December 2011, as an independent candidate from ERC, and head of the European Free Alliance coalition in Spain.
On November 25, 2012, Catalonia celebrated what we hope will be our last “Autonomous Community” elections. We have arrived at this point after the largest demonstration that Catalonia has ever seen, with a million and a half Catalans marching in the streets of Barcelona, demanding independence and their will to have their own state within the framework of the European Union and the international community.

During the entire electoral campaign, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, the Republican Left of Catalonia, the country’s oldest party—founded in 1931—and the one that has historically defended the independence of Catalonia, insisted on the plebiscitary character of the election, and on how important it was for Catalans to vote so that on the day after the election, nobody might negotiate away their dreams for freedom that at that moment, after the march, seemed more real than ever before.

And they listened. The result of the November 25 election made it essential for those of us who believe in a sovereign Catalonia to get along. The mandate from the polls was crystal clear: There must be joint leadership toward the right to self-determination and, at the same time, an application of economic alternatives that are more fair and more effective at getting us out of the financial crisis. And that is, in so many words, the goal of the pact agreed on by the two principal parties in Catalonia: CiU (Convergència i Unió), which with 50 seats in Parliament is by far the most voted party in the country, and Esquerra, which with 21 seats is the second force, and the Leader of the Opposition.

We are convinced that in a crucial moment like this one, where the difficulties of a profound financial crisis coincide with the most important process that a nation can undertake—that of becoming a state—we must have a strong government, which can only result from having solid parliamentary support behind the most important key decisions facing the country. For that reason, the major agreements consist of, on the one hand, confronting the financial crisis with fiscal policies that reduce the budget cuts by establishing new taxes in sectors that still have an ability to pay: banks, nuclear power plants, large estates, and large commercial ventures.

On the other hand, we have agreed on the steps necessary for celebrating a Referendum on Independence in 2014. These steps, which are to be carried out during 2013, will make it possible for us to be ready to celebrate the referendum in 2014. This means finding and guaranteeing the legal framework in which such a referendum can occur, whether that be Catalan, Spanish, or international law, and at the same time negotiating the terms with
Premeditated asphyxia

Elisenda Paluzie

Professor at the University of Barcelona since 2001 and dean of the School of Economics and Business since 2009. Paluzie holds a M.Sc. in International and Development Economics from Yale University (1996) and a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Barcelona (1999). She has published papers in journals, reports, and books on international trade, economic geography, Catalan fiscal flows, and the regional financing system.
Catalonia might appear to the external eye as a selfish region trying to avoid its duties toward poor regions in a time of distress. To a great majority of its population, the feeling is more similar to that of an exhausted cash-cow, tired of paying Swedish-level taxes in exchange for sub-par public services, and of being made a scapegoat for the debt crisis in Spain, to boot. The current state of the Catalan government’s finances are the consequence of a premeditated asphyxia just as was predicted by the late public finance professor and former Catalan treasury minister, Ramon Trias Fargas, all the way back in 1985. Let’s take a look.

Since the transition process to democracy in the late seventies, Spain has been organized as a decentralized state. It is not a federal country, but there is an important degree of political decentralization. The country is composed of seventeen autonomous communities, each one with its own parliament and some degree of legislative power. The fiscal decentralization model is asymmetric: there are two systems, the common and the foral regimes.

Under the “foral” regime, the Basque Country and Navarre are governed by an Economic Agreement (“Concierto” and “Convenio”, respectively), which gives each the power to collect and manage its entire tax system. The contribution of the Basque Country to the central government to cover statewide expenditures is called the “cupo”; and that of Navarre, the “cuota”. Hence these autonomous communities have fiscal sovereignty.

The common regime regulates the tax system of the other fifteen autonomous communities, including Catalonia, and is basically a decentralized unitarian model which has evolved over time, characterized by high expenditure decentralization but low fiscal sovereignty over revenues. Tax sharing and transfers are the keystones of this model.

Under the common regime an important process of inter-regional redistribution has taken place over time. To measure the degree of regional redistribution, net fiscal flows (the difference between the revenues collected in a region and government direct spending in the region) are calculated. If the net fiscal flow of a region is negative, we say that the region has a fiscal deficit. If it is positive the region runs a fiscal surplus. Catalonia’s fiscal deficit has increased over time and is on average around 8 percent of Catalan GDP, a figure that is particularly large by international standards. While as a relatively rich region (the fourth in GDP per capita), Catalonia’s net transfers to other regions could be understandable, its magnitude is not at all reasonable. Table 1 shows the fiscal balances of all Spanish autonomous communities in 2005 by the cash-flow approach as calculated by the Instituto de Estudios
It’s always been there

F. Xavier Vila

Associate professor at the University of Barcelona. Vila obtained an Extraordinary Degree Award in Catalan Philology in Barcelona and a Ph.D. in Linguistics at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

He was the first director of the CRUSCAT Research Network on sociolinguistics and is the current director of the University Centre for Sociolinguistics and Communication at the University of Barcelona (CUSC-UB). He has published a wide range of books and specialized articles in the areas of sociolinguistics, demolinguistics, and language policy, among them Survival and Development of Language Communities. Prospects and challenges (Multilingual Matters, 2012).
When visitors arrive at any of Catalonia’s airports, they soon realize they are welcome not in two languages, as in most European cities, but in three: English, Spanish, and Catalan. At first glance, they may be tempted to believe that this presence of Catalan is just a benevolent concession to local pride. But during their trip to the hotel, newcomers rapidly perceive that this is not the case. In fact, most written information, from commercial posters to traffic signs, including all place names, street names, and so on, are written at least, and very often exclusively, in Catalan. Of course, at the hotel, they may be served in several languages, most restaurants offer a multilingual menu, and a very large percentage of the music heard on the radio consists of international hits. Spanish-speaking visitors will manage to communicate in this language with virtually everybody they encounter. But if the visitors keep alert and look beyond this initial curtain, they will soon see how a complex, fascinating, linguistic landscape is slowly revealed before their eyes. Catalan is a crucial piece of this idiomatic puzzle.

In fact, if our visitors leave the hotel and start listening to people on the street, they will soon realize that a large percentage of them speak Catalan to each other. Most immigrants from outside Catalonia communicate either in Spanish—in Castilian, as the language has always been called here—or in their own languages, so don’t expect to hear Catalan on every corner in the neighborhoods where Andalusian, Latino, or Moroccan immigrants settled during the last decades. But although locals are at least bilingual and willing to accommodate speakers of other languages, immigration has not led locals to give up Catalan. On the contrary, Catalans use it in all societal domains, from home to the parliament, on the playgrounds, at work, and in the hospitals. Catalan is the main language of instruction in all schools and universities, and it is used by scientists to do research as well as by caretakers to help elderly people. It is the first language used in the Barcelona Football Club stadium, but also in the Liceu, Barcelona’s opera house, and in all museums as well. It is the language of most local theater productions, that of hundreds of music bands, and used by the two most followed radio stations (and by many others). Catalan finds itself among the 20 most used languages on the internet, and there’s a Catalan version of several widespread software applications such as Windows, Office, YouTube, and Twitter. Not everybody in Catalonia masters Catalan: according to data from the official EULP poll (Enquesta d’usos lingüístics de la població [Linguistic usage poll]) in 2008, 94.6 percent of the residents older than 14 years declared they could understand it, while 78.3 percent could speak it, 81.7 percent could read it, and 61.8
Schooling in Catalonia (1978–2012)

Pere Mayans Balcells

Professor of Secondary Catalan Language and Literature Education. Mayans was previously director of the Catalan Teaching Service and the Service of Immersion and Language Use and currently is director of the Language Immersion and Welcome Service (all of which are part of the Education Department of the Catalan Government). These departments are responsible for linguistic immersion, education in Catalan, welcoming newly arrived students, managing languages in educational centers, promoting Catalan literature, and so forth. Author of several books and more than 200 articles on sociolinguistic reality of the Catalan Countries and of other minority languages in the world.
Catalonia has been, without a doubt, the part of the Catalan Countries in which the political and social consensus have had the broad support necessary to make Catalan the principal language of the educational system—even more so than in Andorra, currently the only independent state where Catalan is spoken.

It must be pointed out that the model came out of democratic decision making. Right from the start, the Catalan Statute of Autonomy of 1979 established Catalan as its own official language (though sharing official status with Spanish). In order to level out the situation of the two official languages, and keeping in mind the situation of the Catalan language, which at all levels is clearly and indisputably inferior to that of Spanish (indeed, it’s appropriate to use the word “precarious”, the term that appears in the preamble of Law 7/1983 of April 18, for linguistic normalization in Catalonia), Catalan was made the primary language of certain public arenas. These arenas include toponomy, Catalonia’s local government offices, public (Catalan) media outlets, and non university education. Keep in mind that the Linguistic Normalization Law was approved by a vote of 132 votes in favor, out of a total of 135.

In this article, we’ll focus on reviewing the process that was followed in order to make Catalan the language of instruction in Catalonia and which can be divided into five principal stages (the fifth of which is just beginning).

1. Establishing a model for Catalan in Education (1978–1983), right in the midst of the democratic political transition of the Spanish State after the death of the dictator Francisco Franco. The newly created Catalan Autonomous Administration was able to make Catalan a required subject, with three hours of classroom instruction per week. By 1983, 90 percent of the student
News from Catalonia

Josep M. Muñoz

Historian and editor. Ph.D. in Contemporary History from the University of Barcelona. Muñoz is the author of Jaume Vicens i Vives (1910–1960): una biografia intel·lectual [Jaume Vicens i Vives: An Intellectual biography] (1997). He has held a variety of professional positions, and since 2000 is the editor of a cultural monthly magazine, L’Avenç, and the related tiny publishing house that publishes books on history and literature.
In 1954, right in the middle of General Franco’s dictatorship, the most European Spanish historian of the moment, the Catalan Jaume Vicens Vives, published a book that was destined to make a small fortune. The conditions in which it was written and published were that of harsh censorship, in which many things could not be called by their proper names. To start with, Vicens Vives had originally titled his work *We the Catalans* but he was obliged to change it to the more innocuous *News from Catalonia*. Only 15 years had passed since the end of the devastating civil war and the Catalans, defeated as a people, needed to know “who they were” before they could move into the future.

In 1960, Vicens reedited his small book. He added new chapters, products of the evolution of his own thought processes. In particular, he now focused his reflections on the relationship that, historically, the Catalans had established with the structures of power. Using the metaphor of the Minotaur, Vicens considered that since Catalonia had been integrated into the Spanish monarchy, Catalans had gotten out of the habit of being in power, which they saw as something more and more foreign. Vicens had described in his books the evolution of Catalonia as two sides of the same coin: the decadence of the 15th century, with the consequent loss of the political “charter for navigation”, had been followed by a renaissance that began in the economic sphere and followed in the political and cultural.

In that way, the 19th century in Catalonia—known precisely as the *Renaixença* or renaissance, in which Catalonia ended up transformed into “Spain’s factory”—was characterized by a decided desire of the Catalans, who up to that moment had been kept away from power, to intervene in Spanish affairs. Catalonia wanted to fashion Spain after itself, which was nothing more, according to Vicens, than another way of being European. That is, the Catalans wanted to modernize and Europeanize a backward Spain, which was in the hands of the dominant Castilian classes which socially and economically had little to do with the industrialization that Catalonia had experienced. Therefore, for a period of years the Catalan industrialists and politicians proposed various ways that Spain could recognize Catalonia’s singularity, at the same time as it attempted to construct an efficient Spanish State. *Political Catalanism*, the name that this movement ended up adopting, was always a movement that simultaneously tried to regenerate Spain.

But Catalonia found it very difficult to have its proposals for *regeneration* accepted. The crisis of 1898, in which Spain had lost the last remains of its old colonial empire on the other side of the ocean after a humiliating defeat
On the prickly matter of language

J.C. Major

New York-based linguist. Major is co-founder of the Col·lectiu Emma (Emma Network), an opinion group about Catalan issues, and chief editorial writer for its website, “Explaining Catalonia”.
“The importance of making the language uniform has always been recognized as great, and it is a sign of dominion or superiority by princes or nations . . .”
Jose Rodrigo Villalpando, senior officer of the Council of Castile, 1716

“The utmost resolve shall be applied in introducing the Castilian language, to which end the most guarded and surreptitious measures should be taken, so that the effect is accomplished without the intent being noticed.”
From the secret instructions issued to government officials deployed in Catalonia, 1717

“It is our interest to ‘hispanicize’ Catalan children.”
Jose Ignacio Wert, Spain’s Minister of Education, 2012

What, then, makes a nation? Not race or religion—at least not for Catalans. Nor the trappings of power—a state, an army—whose unquestioned benefits they lost a long time ago. The right place to look for proof of Catalonia’s unique personality is in the broad field of culture—in the set of values and customs that are shared by a community and are specific to it, the common way of doing things that is recognized as such by the people living in a certain land and also by those coming into contact with it for the first time.

Catalans are no different from any other society in the world in that their culture has a particular language as its proper vehicle. And, no differently from every other society in the world, they see in their language a central element of their national character. This should be easy enough to understand. And yet, a common criticism of Catalans is that they give too much importance to their language. That is chiefly because, in spite of its remarkable past as a self-governing nation, of having preserved to this day its distinctive culture and of having belatedly recovered a fraction of its political institutions, Catalonia is not thought about as an independent community but merely as part of something else. To be sure, if Catalans are defined as only a subset of the general Spanish population, their insistence on speaking something different from the rest may be seen as an anomaly. And a silly one to boot. Wouldn’t they be better off, a pragmatic outsider might reasonably ask, if they restricted their local tongue to family use or gave it up altogether to embrace their neighbors’ formidable language, which
Index

A
ABC, Spanish daily 126
Abelló, Montserrat 163
Adrà, Ferran 103
   New York Times Magazine 186
airports
   centralization of 198
   language use at 32
   mismanagement of 161, 198
   monopolization of by Spanish State 60
Almunia, Joaquín 62
American Economic Review 63
anti-secessionist bias 47
Ara, Catalan daily 126
Aragay, Ignasi 123–128
asphyxia of Catalan Government finances 23–30
athletes, Catalan 186. See also sports
autonomous communities. See also State of
the Autonomies
and Catalan Countries 155
definition of 24
failure of model 97
history of 107–112
Avery, Graham 61

B
Balcells, Laia 45–50
Balearic Islands
   and Catalan Countries 155
   and Catalan language literature 148
Catalan in schools 52
Catalan usage 124
fiscal capacity after equalization 28
fiscal deficit 25, 130
newspaper market 126
schooling in Catalan 52, 174
Spanish in schools 57
TV in Catalan 125
Baltic independence 90, 92
Barça. See Futbol Club Barcelona
Barcelona 154, 169
   and alternative movements 204
   and September 11th 20, 210, 212
   as brand 199
   as gateway to Catalanness 103
   audiovisual industry 125
   bombing of, in 1714 209
   capital of Catalonia 60, 103
   fall of, 1714 208
   global visibility of 103
   November 25 elections 180
   referendum for independence in 118
   September 11, 2012 demonstration 14
Barcelona, Catalonia: The View from the
Inside 8
Basque Country
   and Spanish Constitution of 1978 109
   and State of the Autonomies 108
   federalism 63
   fiscal deficit 25
   frustrated aspirations of 97
   historical rights 107
   mistrust of by Spanish State 82
   taxation system 24, 27, 62
Bel, Germà 129–134
bilingualism in Catalonia 33. See also lan-
guage usage, Catalan language,
Spanish language
blood, non-importance of 43, 86
books
  publishing 127
  publishing in Catalan 35
Borràs, Laura 143–146
Bosch, Alfred 113–118
Bosch, Núria 189–192
Bourbons 209
  siege of Barcelona 208
Brunet, Lluís (photographer for What Catalans Want) 8
Brussels, view from 59–66
Buch i Ros, Roger 201–206
budget. See also fiscal pact, fiscal deficit
  affect of cuts in November 25 election 180, 204
  cuts to, and culture 125, 162
  deficit, narrowed with independence 191
desire to manage own 121
for highways 131
in Scotland 168
reducing cuts 20
reversing cuts 21
uncertainties 29

C
Cabrè, Andreu 8
Cabrè, Jaume 162
Calvo Sotelo, Leopoldo 107–108
Canadell, Joan 197–200
Canaleta, Pau 177–218
Candidacies for Popular Unity. See CUP
Cardús, Salvador 95–100, 160
Casals, Muriel 119–122
Casanova, Rafael 209
  September 11, 1976 march 212
  statue saved 212
Castile
  and Catholic Monarchs 208
  and Hapsburg Empire 34
  and War of Succession 35
  confederacy with Crown of Aragon 208
  conversion into Spain 146
  division of into Spanish regions 170
  instructions for conquering Catalan language 72
  nationhood of 170
  castellanization 35
  after War of Succession 35, 170
  and Catalan language literature 150
Castilian language. See Spanish language
Catalan Army 137
Catalan business model 197–200
Catalan Countries 102, 153–156
  and CUP 202, 203, 205
  Nacionalistes d’Esquerra 164
Catalan language 85–88
  21st-century immigrants 140
  asset in job market, social mobility 37
  attacks on 161
  banned from school 35
  book publishing 127
  danger of in Spanish State 121
defining characteristic of Catalans 40, 155
description of 124
  Franja d’Aragó 36
  Hapsburg Empire 34
  immigrants 32
  immigration 40
  judicial system 35
  Keep Calm and Speak Catalan 70
  literature 147–152
  media 123–128
  newspapers 35, 126
  normalization 35, 52, 53, 55, 71, 125, 141
  number of speakers 87
  Òmnium Cultural 120
  prohibited by Franco 81
  radio 127
  relationship with State 34
  required in school 52
  situation 31–38
  Statute of Autonomy of 1979 52
  technology 67–74, 135–138
  translation of literature 149
  unfulfilled promise of recognition 98
  usage 32
  used to divide people by Spanish State 43
  War of Succession crisis 34–35
Catalan language literature 147–152
Catalan Nation 154
Catalan National Assembly
  and support of Government 16
  objective 14
  organization of September 11, 2012 14
  president of 13
Catalan newspapers 126–127
Catalan TV (TV3) 124–125
Catalonia. See also specific topics and Cuba 76 and European Union 64, 91 and Scotland 167–172 and United States 75, 183–188 as a country 101–104 as an old nation 169 as seen by EU 59 as Spain’s factory 80 at turn of 20th century 81 business model 197–200 community involvement 136 economic viability 90 explaining to friends 194 exports 199 growing awareness 154 growth of independence 96 history 79–84 Industrial Revolution 198 language as defining characteristic 40, 155 languages (besides Catalan and Spanish) 139 loss of institutions after 1714 208 National Day (September 11) 207–214 national symbols 210 ranking before and after equalization 28 vs Catalan Countries 153–156 wealth of vs well-being of 146 Catalonia Press 8 Catholic Monarchs 208 causes which impel them to the separation (US Declaration of Independence) 7 central government. See Spanish State centralization 132, 198 CiU (Convergència i Unió) and CUP 205 and Statute of Autonomy of 2006 98 November 25 election 180, 181 pact with ERC 20 secessionism of 48 “coffee for all” (creation of autonomous communities) 108 Col·lectiu Emma (Emma Network) 8, 85, 187, 193 common regime 24 community involvement in Catalonia 136 Companys, Lluís, President of Catalonia 213 Competitiveness Fund 27 Connery, Sean 169 Constitutional Court ruling of 2010 10, 82, 98, 110, 115, 195 and growth of independence movement 144 Catalan language not required 36 schooling in Catalan 54 Convergència i Unió. See CiU (Convergència i Unió) Cooperation Fund 27 Crida a la Solidaritat en Defensa de la Llengua 158 crowdsourcing, for this book 8 Crown of Aragon 208 definition 155 Cuba 76 cuisine, Catalan 186 culture, importance of 101–104, 120–122, 137, 161. See also Catalan language literature CUP 201–206 emergence of 180 November 25 elections 180

D Dalí, Salvador 199 part of US exhibition 186 Declaration of Independence of the United States 172. See also cover, and title page Declaration of Independence, US 7 Declaration of Sovereignty, Parliament of Catalonia 7 democracy 65. See also transition to democracy (Spain) and independence drive 90, 161, 164 radical 205 right to self-determination 195 shortage 115 vs laws 17 Dida. See September 11th, Catalonia's National Day Dictionary for the Idle 148 diglossia 124, 136 Domingo, Andreu 39–44

E economic stranglehold 117 Economist, The 62 economy, Catalan 89–94. See also fiscal deficit, fiscal pact and Omnium Cultural 121 asphyxia by Spanish State 23–218 relationship between Catalonia and Spain 195 viability of independent state 90, 189–192 Edinburgh Agreement 171
education and immigration 54
attacks from Spanish State 195
Catalan as guarantor of equal opportunity 57
Catalan as language of instruction 71–72
Catalan language 53, 56
Catalan usage 70
estimating model for 52
in Catalonia (1978–2012) 51–58
language choice 73
language in 173
monolingual vs bilingual 36
Omnium Cultural 120
testing 56
El Hachmi, Najat 151
El Mundo, Spanish daily 126
El País, Spanish daily 126
El Periódico, Barcelona daily 126
El Punt-Avui, Catalan daily 126
Emma Network. See Col·lectiu Emma (Emma Network)
equality of rights 132
equalization 27–29
affect on autonomous communities 28
Equalization Fund 27
ERC (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya) 179
and CUP 203, 204
and Oriol Junqueras, president of 19
November 25 election 179, 180
pact with CiU 20
European Commission
positive report on multilingual schooling in Catalonia 57
preparations for internal enlargement 61
European Free Alliance coalition 19
European Union
and Catalan independence 91
and Scotland 61
and secessionism 61
existence of which facilitates independence 99
fiscal deficit objectives 29
Joaquín Almunia 62
membership of Catalonia 64, 91, 97
openness to efficient states 64
tries to remain impartial 61
view from 59–66
excise taxes, increased 27
exports from Catalonia 60, 81, 144, 199
and Catalan business model 199

F
federalism 63, 98
Ferdinand and Isabella 208
Fernández, David 203
#15M. See Indignants movement
Figuers 75–78
financial crisis 145. See also economy, Catalan
motive in November 25 election 178
recovery from 21
revelation of unfair fiscal treatment 98
Financial Times 62
fiscal cliff, US compared with Catalonia’s forced primary surplus 29
fiscal deficit 10, 117, 190
2005 table 25
and equalization 28
Catalonia’s 24–26
definition 24
drain on economy 161
growing awareness of in Catalonia 82
increasing for Catalonia 191
objectives 29
regions with highest 130
article 190
fiscal flows, table 25
fiscal pact 117
and September 11, 2012 demonstration 14
negotiation with President Rajoy 16
proposed by Government 10
fiscal plundering 16, 43, 98, 144, 146, 161, 178. See also fiscal deficit
discouraging growth 191
motive in November 25 election 178
formal regime 24
Forcadell Lluís, Carme 13–18
and Catalan National Assembly 14
Fossar de les Moreres, and Catalonia’s National Day 210
Franco, Francisco and Francoism 164
and democratic transition 202
and Wilson monument 78
assassination of Catalan president 213
attempted assimilation of Catalan people 96
banning of Catalan language 35
devastating effect on Catalan language literature 151
dictatorship 81
persecution of Catalan differences 40
repression of September 11 212
Franja d’Aragó. See Franja de Ponent
Franja de Ponent
Catalan language 36
schooling in Catalan 52
Fuster, Joan 155
Futbol Club Barcelona 103, 154, 186
and language 32
celebration of Catalonia’s National Day 210

G
Galicia
castilianization of 170
fiscal capacity after equalization 28
fiscal surplus 25
highway tolls 131
historical rights 107
presence of Spanish in 57
Spanish Constitution of 1978 108
Ganyet, Josep Maria 67–74
Garcia-Ruiz, Salvador 193–196
Gaudi, Antoni 103, 154, 199
part of Barcelona and Modernity exhibition 186
GDP, Catalan 26
GDP, Spanish 26
German economic system and länder 63
GLAMwiki initiative 137
globalization, and independence 99
Global Sufficiency Fund 27
Gonzalez, Felipe 107
Gorbachev, Mikhail 90
Government of Catalonia
and education in Catalan 71
and September 11, 2012 demonstration 14
and transition toward independence 110
development of structures of state 12
financing system 27
support of Catalan National Assembly 16
Great Britain. See United Kingdom
Great Madrid 82
Greece, and euro exit 91
Guerra, Alfonso, and whittling of Statute of Autonomy 195

H
Habsburg Empire 34
hard power 102
High Level Group on Multilingualism 57
high-speed rail
badly organized 161
book on 129
comparison between Madrid and Catalonia 131
grandiosity of Spanish network 82
inefficiency of 198
highways
inefficiency of 198
radiality of (e.g., through Madrid) 198
tolls concentrated in Catalonia 198
tolls in Madrid vs Catalonia 131
Hinojo, Àlex 135–138
Hugh, Edward 89–94
humiliation of Catalonia 98, 160

I
ICV(Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds 179
and CUP 203, 204
November 25 election 179
immigrants
and identity 40, 43
Catalan language literature writers 148–149
reading in Catalan 35
usage of Catalan 33
immigration 39–44
21st century wave 140
and schooling in Catalan 54
other languages 142
overview 20th, 21st centuries 40–41
independence
acceptance of 65
and CUP 202
and globalization 99
and multiple languages 142
and pragmatism 146
and reinforcement of culture 162
and sports 144
as choice 160
as necessity 161
Baltic countries 90
base reaction from Spain 99
beyond identity 146
early 20th century demands for 77
economic analysis of 89–94
effect on Catalan economy 191
explaining to Spanish friends 194
growth of movement 144
importance of international law 116
increased costs 191
lack of arguments against 196
legal blockade tactics 115
legitimized by democratic process 90
mainstream 165
movement in Catalonia 96–100, 143–146
of Baltic countries 92
polls 73, 83
provocations for 171
September 11 marches 211
viability after 189–192
indignants movement 204
Industrial Revolution in Catalonia 198
infrastructures
lack of 98
spending 27
underspending in Catalonia 26, 82, 130
Institut Ramon Llull 185
internal enlargement 61

J
judiciary system, and Catalan 35
July 10, 2010 demonstration 10, 111
Junqueras, Oriol 19–22
Junyent, M. Carme 139–142
jurisdiction, invasion of 36

K
Keep Calm and Carry On, history of 68–69
Keep Calm and Speak Catalan 67–74

L
Lagarde, Christine, IMF Director 92
language usage 31–38. See also Catalan language, education, Spanish language apart from Catalan and Spanish 139–142
at school 70–71
attitudes toward 141
competency 55, 174
doeficial status 55
equal opportunity 57
La Razón, Spanish daily 126
La Vanguardia, Barcelona daily 126
laws vs democracy 17
leftists. See also ERC, ICV, PSC, CUP
alternative 204
and Woodrow Wilson 77
Basque 109
pro-independence 202
suspcion of secession 47
legal blockade 115
legal framework of referendum 12, 17, 20
linguistic immersion. See education
Llach, Lluís 146

M
Madrid
financial power 82
growing industrialization 198
opinions on pro-independence 144
radiality benefits 198
working for independence in 113–118
Major, J.C. 85–88
Mancomunitat of Catalonia 76, 81
Maragall, Pasqual 98, 184
Marès, Frederic 77
Mas, Artur, President of Catalonia 9–12
129th president 169
meets with Catalan National Assembly 15–16
speeches in Madrid 114
“This may turn out well” 164
Mayans Balcells, Pere 51
media
anti-secessionism bias 48
effect on November 25 elections 180
in Catalonia 123–128
November 25 elections 180
Metropolitan Museum in New York 186
murgen coup of 1981 (attempted) 107
effect on cultural exchanges 184
minority veto 46
Miro, Joan 103, 199
Modernista movement 150
monolingual Catalan speakers 34
Monzó, Quim 151, 152, 183
Morgas, General Josep 209
multinationals, and independence 63
Muñoz, Josep M. 79–84

N
Nacionalistes d’Esquerra 164
nation
and Spain 106, 109
Catalan 154
National Day. See September 11th, Catalonia’s National Day
nationalities
as defined by ID card 145
Spanish Constitution of 1978 106, 108
national teams 90, 145, 194
nation, Catalonia as 10, 86
Navarre
and tax collection 24
Newman, Mary Ann 183–188
News Catalonia, blog 8
News from Catalonia, by Jaume Vicens Vives 80
newspapers 35, 126
New York University 184
normalization. See Catalan language: normalization
November 25, 2012 election 177–218
Ciutadans Party 180
CUP 180, 202, 204
higher turnout 180
plebiscitary character 20
sovereign votes split between CiU and ERC 179
Nye, Joseph 102
O
Obama, Barack and self-determination 78
Occupy Wall Street 205
official language status 52
Olympic Games, Barcelona 1992 185, 199
Òmnium Cultural 111, 119–122
and July 10, 2010 march 111
Open Catalan University 174
open community 137

P
Paluzie, Elisenda 23–30
Pàmies, Sergi 151
Parliament of Catalonia
- ceremony for September 11 211
- composition after November 25, 2012 179
- Declaration of Sovereignty 7
- dissolved after September 11, 2012 179
- November 25 election 126
- Statute of Autonomy of 2006 170, 195
- support for Catalan language education 175
Parris, Matthew 171
Partal, Vicent 101–104
Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya. See PSC
- (Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya) People's Party. See PP (Partit Popular)
- Perales-García, Cristina 105–112
- Perpignan 155
- Picasso, Pablo 103, 199
- Piquer, Eva 157–166
population growth, and immigration 40, 42
- PP (Partit Popular) 179
- and Catalan on TV 125
- and ruinous economic model 60
- and Statute of Autonomy of 2006 82
- anti-autonomism 97
- negative campaign against independence 62
- November 25 election 179, 181
- pact with CiU of 2000 180
- Prat de la Riba, Enric 155
- primary surplus 29
- Primo de Rivera, dictatorship 81, 212
- prologue 9–12
- PSC (Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya) 179
- November 25 election 179, 181, 204
- Puig, Miquel 63
- Pujol Casademont, Enric 75–78
- Puntí, Jordi 151

Q
Québec 96, 170
secessionism 47, 48

R
radiality
- highways in Madrid 131
- infrastructure investment 60, 131
Rajoy, Mariano, President of Spain 178
- fiscal pact negotiation 16
- referendum 11
- and Catalan National Assembly 17
- legal framework for 12, 20
- legitimized by democratic process 65
- movement of 2009-2011 104, 111, 118
- steps necessary for 20
- transition toward 19–22
- “reform” education bill 2012 56. See also Wert, José, Spanish Minister of Education
- reaction in social media 68
Renaixença 80, 150
Republican Left of Catalonia. See ERC (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya)
- research & development 59
- respect (of UK for Scotland) 168
- revenue. See also economy, Catalan
- increased under independence 191
- Rodoreda, Mercè 148
- Rogoff, Kenneth, IMF economist 90
- Roig, Xavier 171
- Rovira-Martínez, Marta 207–214
- Rubert de Ventós, Xavier 184

S
Sales, Joan 145
Salmond, Alex, First Minister of Scotland 168, 171
Sanchis, Vicent 153–156
- schooling. See education
- scorn 144
Scotland
- and Catalonia 167–172
- British Parliament report 61
- loss of sovereignty 168
- membership in EU 62
- secessionism 49
- secession 45–50
- and anti-secessionist bias 47
- and violent conflict 48
- in media 48
- precedents 61
- self-determination 169
- and ICV 204
and violent conflict 48
and Woodrow Wilson 77
basis of Catalan national transition 11
Declaration of Sovereignty 7
delayed until after democratic transition 109
demanded by Artur Mas in Madrid 114
early political groups 164
in Barack Obama’s speech 78
legal blockades in attempt to impede 115
peaceful, democratic 97
recognized by global treaties 116
referendum movement of 2009-2011 111
wide support among Catalans 99
selfishness, accusations of 24, 47, 90, 97
September 11, 1714
and September 11, 2012 14
defeat in War of Succession 208
September 11, 1976 212
September 11, 1977 212
September 11, 2001 208
September 11, 2012 demonstration 10, 73, 212
and Catalan National Assembly 14
and CUP 203
and growing awareness of Catalonia 154
and growing independence 178
Catalonia: New State in Europe 14
importance of 98
organization of 13–18
peacefulness of 103
self-defeatist feelings prior to 163
turnout 10, 14, 15, 73, 154, 187, 212
September 11th, Catalonia’s National Day 207–214. See also September 11, 2012 demonstration
300th anniversary commemoration 213
origins of 14
under Franco 212
Size of Nations, The 63
small and medium-sized businesses 199
smaller nations/states 63, 87, 102, 140, 168
and language 140
benefits of 62
socialism, and CUP 202
Socialist Party of Catalonia. See PSC (Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya)
social justice 11, 161
and CUP 203
soft power 102
Solano, Xavier 167–172
Sovereignty, Declaration of 7
Spanish Constitution of 1978 132
and CUP 202
and historic nationalities 106
and unitary state 116
as roadblock 116
autonomous communities 81
Catalan reaction to 109
used against Catalonia 61
Spanish language
as imposed “common” language 131
hating 163
imposition of 87, 146
in Catalonia during Franco era 35
in school 52
level of competency in Catalonia 56–57, 72
number of speakers 87
official status 52
used to promote discord 43
Spanish nationalism 97, 145
and blood/religion 43
and sports 144
Spanish State
accuses Catalonia of indoctrination 73
and emulation of France 130
and Spanish American War 76
attempts to modernize 132
attempts to recentralize 82
broken promises to Catalonia 195
centralization 60
collaboration with 10
credibility in EU 64
danger to Catalan language 121
definition of in Constitution 108
democratic shortage 115
disregard for Catalan differences 40
economic model 198, 199
economic viability of 90
expenditures 26
failure to make required transfers 29
imposition of Spanish 87
inability to deal with Catalan question 83
inefficiency of 131
interference in language matters 36
refusal to allow vote 170
refusal to listen to Catalonia 90
resistance to autonomic model 97
sovereign debt 91
squandering of funds 161
taking advantage of Catalonia 117
term 8
terrible reputation 60
underfunding on infrastructures 26, 82, 130
unfair distribution of fiscal deficit objectives 29
sports 186
and image of Catalonia 154
and independence movement 144
awareness of Catalonia 186
national teams 194
State of the Autonomies 81, 96. See also autonomous communities
and cultural exchange 184
Statute of Autonomy of 1979
and Catalan language 52
and CUP 202
Statute of Autonomy of 2006 110, 115
and growth of independence 144
as attempt to shield self-government 82
Catalan language 36
economic provisions 27
economic reform 27
failure of process 98
frustration with 195
Strubell, Miquel 173–176
and Catalan National Assembly 14
Strubell, Toni (author of What Catalans Want) 8
structures of state
desire for 97
early 20th century attempts 76
Suárez, Adolfo 107
symbols, Catalan national 210

T
taxation system 117. See also economy, Catalan
absence of collecting powers 29
as solution to economic crisis 62
common regime (e.g., of Catalonia) 24
tax collection 194
technology and Catalan 135–138
67–74
Texas, and secessionism 48
Tisner 145
tools of state
development of 12
need for 11
tourism, Catalonia as leader in 199
transition, Catalan 11, 19–22, 181
transition to democracy (Spain) 24, 81,
105–112
Catalan in school 71
Catalan language literature 151
minimizing Catalonia’s differences 40
schooling in Catalonia 52
Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 209
Tree, Matthew 8, 147–152
Tremosa i Balcells, Ramon 59–66
Twitter 8, 68–74, 165
@lizcastro 8

U
unionists scares 164
United Kingdom
and England 169–170
and Scotland 168
and Scottish referendum on independence 116
Keep Calm and Carry On 68
movement to leave EU 64
United States
and American Revolution 83
and Catalonia 75–78, 183–188
and Spanish American War 80
awareness of Catalonia 185
Declaration of Independence 7
negative view of secessionism due to US Civil War 47
Obama, Barack 78
September 11 208
Woodrow Wilson 77

V
Valencia
and Catalan Countries 155
and Catalan language literature 148
and media 125
book about 153
Catalan in school 52, 56, 132, 174
Catalan usage 124
fiscal capacity after equalization 28
fiscal deficit 25, 130
in Spanish Constitution 108
newspapers in Catalan 126
relationship with Catalonia 155
schooling in Catalan 52
schooling in Catalan language 174
Spanish in school 57
television in Catalan 125
Valencian Country. See Valencia
VAT tax increases 27
Verkami campaign, for this book 8
viability of Catalonia 189–192
Vicens Vives, Jaume 80–84
Vila, F Xavier 31–38
Villalpando, José Rodrigo 72, 86
Viquipèdia (Catalan Wikipedia) 135–138
W
War of the Spanish Succession  155, 208–209
  300th anniversary commemoration  213
defeat  208
effect on Catalan language literature  150
repression of Phillip V  209
We are a nation. We decide. (slogan)  10, 111
welcome classrooms  54
Wert, José, Spanish Minister of Education
desire to hispanicize children  36, 73, 86, 92
  “reform” education bill  54, 73
What Catalans Want: Could Catalonia be
  Europe’s Next New State?  8
Wikipedia  135–138
Wilson Initiative  8
Wilson, Woodrow  77

X
xenophobia, accusations of  97