

Referat af Alfonso Botti: Cielo y dinero. El nacionalcatolicismo en España (1881-1975) (Alianza; Madrid; 1992)

Introducción (p. 17).

Botti starts with asserting that the Spanish identity comes from the interpenetration of the catholic and the national, which as an ideology uses the past from the Visigoths onwards as legitimacy. From this viewpoint all heterodox (from illustrated to the anarchists) are considered anti-national. It is born as a vulgar, popular, phenomenon and does therefore not need translation.

The aftertime has interpreted NC as premodern, anti-liberal, archaic etc. but that interpretation dates from the reaction against Francoism. If one tries to overcome this simplification, one can identify NC with the ideology that has tried to secure the conditions, within which the capitalist development of Spain could take place without endangering the national construction (with its elements of revolution and secularisation implicit in the capitalist modernisation).

The 1898 generation which gives rise to the regenerationists were unhappy with Spain as it was and their literature was a patriotic and proto-nationalist literature.

The historiography which originates in the opposition to Franco has had difficulties in recognising the transformations occurred during the regime. And the historiography of Spanish nationalism is virtually inexistent (nationalism has become nationalisms in the case of Spain). Considering that Spanish nationalism has been expelled from the species of modern nationalisms, it is worthwhile asking how Spanish Communism and Spanish Socialism has been able to exist.

Capítulo 1: De los orígenes a los años veinte (p. 31)

NC has its roots in the catholic reaction against the Illustration, against the French Revolution and against the napoleonic invasion in 1808. The important figures for its formation are: Juan Donoso Cortés, Jaume Balmes, Menéndez y Pelayo (*Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*), *el Carlismo* in general.

El liberalismo "bueno". At the end of XIX the transition to capitalism had been concluded and the Catholic Church had been integrated. So while the upper classes were being re-catholicised, the Church was being turned bourgeois. NC reacted strongly against the rising "bad" nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia (the word "bad" is the contrast to the "good" nationalism of Spain).

Around the 1st WW Spain experienced a rise in patriotic literature after several years of pessimism. (Names: Francisco Ferrer, José María Salaverría)

Maeztú argues in *El sentido reverencial del dinero* for the coexistence of capitalism and catholicism and thereby trying to do for catholicism what Weber did for protestantism.

But he ends up confusing democracy and capitalism, talking about the first but referring to the second. Maeztu argues for a reverential sense of both money, work and patriotism (laying the ground for NC, which consubstantiality of Spanish nationalism and a certain kind of capitalism). When the Republic comes, Maeztu directs his energy towards an authoritarian regime as the best way of bringing together Catholicism and capitalism, i.e. that the Spanish modernisation will only come if enforced from above.

Capítulo II: Los años treinta. La oposición a la república y la Guerra Civil.

Acción Española is born both as an association and a review. Fascist ideas begin to influence the writing. The idea of Hispanism, of a community of Hispanic people. This community is threatened, according to Maeztu, because of the religious principles underlying it has not been respected.

In the Civil War the NC is used to explain the nature of the war, it is in other words not born in the Civil War. It is the only vision, which is able to recognise everything as it happens, to reinterpret the event within a coherent narrative of the historical processes, and last but not least it the only vision able to unify all the groups around Franco. The church invents the Civil War as a “Cruzade” (*Hmmm, according to other accounts Franco invents it and the Church tries to resist it for quite a long time*)

Capítulo III: De los años cuarenta a los sesenta. La ideología del franquismo (p. 101)

Fascism was viewed positively in the beginning. The Franco regime was said to be the translation of the Italian and German experiences. The work of Maeztu is continued (conjugate Catholicism and capitalism)

Names: José María de Areilza, Fernando María Castiella, García Morente.

Opus Dei quickly becomes significant after the war and works towards the sanctification of the work, which is in reality a sanctification of the capitalist division of work

When the fate of the II WW changes the writers try to dissociate Spain and the Franco regime from fascism putting emphasis on the particularly Spanish “caudillaje”. Francisco Javier Conde García describes in his *Contribución a la doctrina del caudillaje*: Acaudillar is to rule with charismatic legitimacy. The leader and government has a *religious mission* tied to the country in an *identity of destinies*. Calvo Serer is another Opus Dei member who writes about Spain. According to him Spain stopped being a “problem” in 1939, now it is instead Europe (and North America and Russia) which is sick (Europe is somewhere else). The medicine he proposes is Catholicism. The philosophy underlying the thinking is that of “restoration” of historical theology created by Christendom and thereby overcoming the tradition of Revolution (which

takes after the French Revolution). His ideals are an authoritarian confessional state above which he installs a “social monarchy”.

In the 5th government of Francoism formed in February 1957 the so-called technocrats of Opus Dei. The term “technocrat” has been used to signify ‘technician without ideology’ which is not true. Their de-ideologized approach permits to set them firmly within the NC ideology (p. 131). Laureano López Rodó is the prime example of this tendency (maximise operationality and minimise ideological references), whereas Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora is the opposite, though still within the technocratic movement. The function of the technocratic movement is the definitive merger between the traditional Catholic ethics and the instrumental ethics of modern bureaucratic capitalism, a synthesis of the values of 1939 (or of 18th of July) and the demands of capitalist modernisation.

Talking of periodisation of the economic development in Spain, Botti emphasises that the rapid and enormous growth after 1959 can only be understood together with the former period. There was relative poverty, but within certain sectors like agriculture and the Basque industry (which was almost intact after the Civil War and therefore took off immediately after) a rather large accumulation of wealth was achieved. So there is a clear connection between the choices of economic policy and the political demands of Francoism (primarily directed towards its own survival). So the usual affirmation that the boom of the 1960s came from heaven or was the merit of the technocrats or the international tendencies is not enough to explain it. It would not have been possible if the regime had not guaranteed a certain set of political conditions, if the 1940s had not been a time of accumulation and wellbeing of the oligarchy (and hunger and misery for the majority).

Conclusiones (p. 141)

NC is an elastic ideology based on the consubstantiality between the national and the religious (Spain and Catholicism) especially influenced by traditionalism and Carlism, Menéndez Pelayo, certain ecclesiastics, and the clerical-fascist tendency. The second main component is the distinction between political and economic liberalism, which aims at bringing Catholicism and capitalism together. The first component offers a rhetoric; it creates and uses symbols, elaborated discourses which affect the collective imagination, it works for the integration, the nationalization of the masses, the legitimization of the existing order and the consensus. It represents the form of NC whereas the second component is more the content.

NC has always attracted intellectuals and one of its great merits is precisely that it has been able to determine the themes of the cultural and historiographical debate. It has shown able to influence the intellectuals, which were farthest away from it. Most of the prime exponents of NC were either Basque or Catalan, which Botti ascribes to a

reaction against the nationalist reaction against the repression (a reaction against regional nationalism).

The roots of NC are in the reaction against the liberal and bourgeois revolution. 2) Together with the development of capitalism, industrialization, creation of the unions and the Socialist Party and the birth of Catalan and Basque nationalism, NC achieves its physiognomy. 3) Therefore NC is a modern nationalism equivalent of the contemporary European nationalisms. 4) The Republic makes NC become the flag of the opposition. The masses have entered the scene and they want to stay, and the boundaries between democratic transformation and revolution are judged weak. 5) The Civil War does not mean any changes in NC, and Francoism is the result of NC. The regime and all the changes it undergoes find their justification in NC. 7) After Francoism the regime appears more and more to have been a peculiar post-revolutionary regime: a society where the danger of radical change does not exist any more or where it at least not is thought of in the same way as in the last century. According to Botti the ideological dimension of the New Spain dates from far back. So Francoism and NC were different only in what regards politics, not in what regards economy.