

Olympic Games as showcase

Sandra Ann Harris



The Centre d'Estudis Olímpics (CEO-UAB) publishes works aimed to facilitate their scientific discussion. The inclusion of this text in this series does not limit future publication by its author who reserves the integrity of his rights. This publication may not be reproduced, neither partially or totally, without the author's permission .

Ref. WP013

To refer to this document you can use the following reference:

Harris, Sandra Ann (1992): Olympic Games as showcase [online article]. Barcelona: Centre d'Estudis Olímpics UAB.
[Consulted: dd/mm/yy] <http://olympicstudies.uab.es/pdf/wp013_eng.pdf>

[Date of publication: 1992]

SUMMARY

- 1. Introduction: nationalism and the Olympic Games**
- 2. Paragraph I: Overview of Barcelona politicization themes**
- 3. Paragraph II: Madrid centralists seek to unite**
- 4. Paragraph III: Maragall the bridge builder**
- 5. Paragraph IV: Separatists shake things up**
- 6. Paragraph V: Pujol the chameleon**
- 7. Conclusion: Cooling the flames**
- 8. Tallying the score: United they stood; no one fell**
- 9. Footnotes**

1. Introduction: nationalism and the Olympic Games

A reward was set in the 6th century B.C. for athletes who won at the Olympic Games. Five hundred drachmas, Solon said, to any athlete from Athens who triumphs.

Solon was the archon of Athens. The reward offer was a political manoeuvre in an ongoing nationalist rivalry between the city of Athens and the ancient state of Greece. A bigger image - not better sport - for his city Athens was at the heart of Solon's strategy. ¹ Winning means greater prestige, attention and, hopefully, Solon reasoned, political influence.

Some 25 centuries have passed, names and places have changed, but the Olympics' political games remain. While the Olympic Games officially endorse internationalism and unity, in practice the international event serves as an excuse for heightened nationalism, also benignly called patriotism, and competition. With the spread of mass communication, especially television technology, throughout the world, the political echo of the Games is growing, the stakes are rising, and the drive to politicize the Games is stronger than ever. In 1992, approximately 3.5 billion people - via approximately 1 billion television screens around the world - witnessed the 16-day Olympic Games celebration.²

1.1. Showing off on the Olympic stage

Typically, the Olympics are a backdrop for country-versus-country showdowns, whereby nationalities seek to show superiority through the universal, non-verbal language of sport. Athletes speak with actions, not words, for their countries' superiority. Medal counts are taken and even though the Games are considered competitions between individuals, not countries, the media declares the top-ranking countries as Olympic winners.

For the host, which is a city designated by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the opportunity for aggrandizement via the Olympic Games is even more dramatic. Preparations for the international sports festival, which typically last for six or more years, serve not only as a showcase for the sports prowess of the host city and nation but also as a catalyst to economic revitalization and, provided all goes well during the Olympic celebration itself, enhanced political status. Such was the case, for example, in Seoul, Korea, where city and state officials used the Olympic Games as an economic stimulus to rev the economy and gain new investors as well as a diplomatic tool to improve political relations with socialist countries, like China, the Soviet Union and Hungary.³

The 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, the focus of this study, set the stage, however, for even more complex political dynamics. In addition to the country-versus-country aggrandizement and the economic and political impulses for the host city, there was a third factor complicating the celebration: rivalry between the Catalan hosts and the Spanish state.

The Olympics have occasionally prompted this type of intra-state rivalry since their beginnings in ancient Greece in 776 B.C. No rewards were posted for the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, but Catalan politicians' -like Solon, the archon of Athens - clearly articulated their desires to use the Olympic Games to project Barcelona and the autonomous region of Catalunya. Barcelona is the capital of Catalunya, the north-eastern autonomous region of Spain that seeks greater self-rule from the central state government. Catalan nationalists saw the Games as a springboard toward greater political resonance within their mother state of Spain, the European framework and the international community. Some of the radical nationalists saw the Olympic Games as an opportunity to promote independence from the Spanish mother state.

Political wrangling started immediately following the city's selection October 17, 1986 as host: "Whose Games were they?" Spain's? Catalunya's? Barcelona's? "Who pays for the Games?" Spain? Catalunya? Barcelona? "Who reaps benefits of the Games?" Spain? Catalunya? Barcelona?

1.2. The Catalan differential

The Olympic celebration added heat to an already simmering rivalry between the Catalan provincial capital in Barcelona and the Spanish state capital in Madrid. The rivalry is based on dramatic historical differences that led to cultural-linguistic differences and eventually the repression of the Catalan people, most recently during the four-decade Francisco Franco dictatorship from 1936 to 1975.⁴ During that era, which is clearly and bitterly remembered by the Catalan people, the Catalan language was banned and the region was stripped of its tradition of self-government that dates back to 1250 when Catalunya was home of the first and only democratic parliament, called "Council of 100," in Europe.⁵ During this time, Catalunya was the best-qualified European country to be considered a "Nation State." Self-government has come and gone in Catalunya over the last 700 years with the changing tides of leadership in Madrid, but Catalans have consistently remain conscious of (and demanded, when possible) their political and cultural differences from the rest of Spain.

In this context, the Olympic Games were seen by many Catalans as a golden opportunity to project this Catalan differential - to greater and lesser degrees - to an international audience. In Madrid, however, the Olympics were seen, in conjunction with the Seville World Expo and the Madrid Cultural Capital of Europe celebrations, as Spain's chance to kick its lingering Franco-fascist image and debut as a stable and united nation under democratic rule. There were actually more than two teams in the political games at Barcelona's XXV Olympiad, as we will discuss later in this report, but for now let's just look at the overall picture: Catalunya and Spain. Two distinct groups. Two different messages to project.

What was at stake? National identity. By guiding the development of and eventual Olympic projection of national identity, Catalan and Spanish politicians hoped to create resounding rallying point around which they could unite disparate individuals.⁶ The key was to define the common history, common interests and common destiny of the public at hand in order to foster psychological bonding.

What kind of bonding? In the case of Catalunya, bonding Catalans into an ever distinctive group separate from the rest of Spain. In the case of Spain, bonding all Spaniards, including the Catalans, the Basques, the Andalusia's and others, into a cohesive Spanish society. The solidarity resulting from the common acceptance of the newly defined national identity would form a backbone of support for political leaders with consistent views of the nation - be it Catalunya or Spain - at hand.

2. Paragraph I: Overview of Barcelona politicization themes

While the two main contenders for the Olympic limelight were the Catalan nationalists in Barcelona and the Spanish centralists in Madrid, the political wrangling was further complicated by radical Catalan nationalists.

Like water thrown into an already simmering pan of oil, these radical nationalists stepped into the political hotbed periodically to agitate hostilities and maintain alienating-producing tensions between Barcelona and Madrid. These groups, for the most part, were not interested in fostering relations with Madrid. The agitators' aim was to turn the Olympic Games into a nationalist showdown.

Tides of nationalism were swelling among Catalan separatists, many of them university students, who feared the Olympic Games would be turned into a showcase for Spanish rather than Catalan culture. The protests were rippling into the mainstream citizenry in the form of requests for representation of Catalan symbolism during the Olympic Games presentation.

So on the eve of Barcelona's international debut, Catalans and Spaniards debated what banner their Olympic city should wear, what language she would speak and what hymn she would sing.

Catalans nationalists - a full spectrum ranging from moderate nationalists 'to radical nationalists/separatists - were determined not to be lumped in with the "Year of Spain" promotion that Spain's central government had launched to capitalize on the tri-fold celebration taking place in 1992: Barcelona's Olympic Games, Sevilla's World Expo and Madrid's Cultural Capital of Europe events. Additionally, 1992 was seen as an especially powerful milestone in Spain's history because the year marked Spain's 500th anniversary as a nation. But how strongly should the Catalan symbols be used during the Olympics as tools of political vindication? Will Catalunya step forward as a unique partner within the Spanish autonomous system? Or as an unwilling participant trying to break away?

"Controversies like the one provoked by Catalan nationalism regarding the Olympic Games have highlighted even more clearly the opportunism of some people and the delay in the construction and recognition of a system of symbols that identify democratic Spain. The fact that Franco regime held hostage and manipulated patriotic sentiments, it contributed to the creation of this hole."

El País editorial, April 19, 1992⁷

2.1. Shaping the future Spain, Catalunya?

There was widespread conviction that the nationalist slant presented during the Olympics would have ramifications on future relations between Catalunya and the central government. Sociology Professor Salvador Cardús of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona said the Olympic projection of Catalunya and Spain's relations was especially important because Catalunya is "a nation undergoing reconstruction."

"Catalunya is undergoing national reconstruction. It's a nation that's not finished; it doesn't have a definitive political structure. Although some people say that the reconstruction ended when the system of Spanish autonomies was created, I believe that everyone realizes that is not the case. And it isn't the case, because there is clearly popular desire to supersede the limits of this model. Looking at Catalunya in this way, as a nation under reconstruction, an initiative such as the Olympic Games can clearly have one of two consequences: they can promote the process of reconstruction or stymied it. That is to say, the Games can give the impression that they are Catalan Games or Spanish Games. Specifically, in terms of language, this could result in increased use and recognition of the Catalan language in international circles or exactly the opposite, less Catalan and more Spanish."

-Salvador Cardús, Sociology professor⁸

On the other side of the fence, Madrid leaders incorporated Barcelona into a tri-fold "1992 Year of Spain" debut. On the sidelines, a quincennial commemoration of Christopher Columbus' discovery of America was scheduled. In an informational booklet - published by the Ministerio del Portavoz del Gobierno in Spanish, English, Portuguese, French and German and, not surprisingly, distributed internationally - 1992's significance is summed up as follows:

"The world has fixed its gaze on the Spain of today and sees it as a symbol of the universal unity of all people ... The forthcoming events of the year 1992 show just how important Spain's relations are with the rest of the world ... The celebration of these events in 1992 is not merely due to a coincidence in time and space. It is due to the fact that Spain - with 500 years as a modern state - is proudly proclaiming its links with the rest of the world. The nations of the five continents, having acknowledged this fact, are entrusting Spain with the organization of the world's most important showcase."

-" 1992 Spain & The World"⁹

On top of the fence, trying to keep his balance, sat Barcelona's socialist mayor, Pasqual Maragall, whose goal was to organize an Olympic celebration that would meet the needs of both the Catalan public and his socialist counterparts in Madrid. In a press dossier, for example, the host site of the Olympic Games is described in a carefully worded, nonpartisan statement: "Barcelona is a Spanish city lying on the shores of the Mediterranean and is the capital of Catalunya."¹⁰ The crux of Maragall's stance keyed on the promotion of the Olympics as a three-fold expression of Barcelona, Catalunya and Spain.

The political players are outlined above. This is a study of the interests they were protecting, the challenges they faced and the steps they took to insure their projection during the 1992 Games.

3. Paragraph II: Madrid centralists seek to unite

A railway map of Spain looks like a bicycle wheel. Nearly all the lines radiate from a central point called Madrid, the capital. Taking the train is a constant reminder of the centralized power structure that is emblematic in Spain's 500-year history. The railroad system, a powerful visual reflection of this long-standing political reality, was built when Francisco Franco won the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and started his 36-year dictatorship based in Madrid. Fascism was replaced with democracy in the peaceful transition that followed Franco's death nearly 17 years ago in 1975, but the centralized power structure continues to bind disparate cultural and linguistic entities together under the auspices of the Spanish state.

Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) who has been in charge for the last 10 years since 1982 is responsible for maintaining the delicate balance of power between the central government and the autonomous regions that were constitutionally delegated certain powers when democratic rule was officially established in 1975.

3.1. Olympics: a motor to change

In 1986, less than ten years following the establishment of democracy, Barcelona won the bid to host the Olympic Games. The centralists recognized this international sporting event as a tool to reinforce Spain's centralist power structure and as a motor to overhaul Spain's collective image as an outdated country suffering from, among other things, 40-years of brutal dictatorship and a troublesome "manana" attitude. This aim is reflected clearly in a quote from an international advertisement funded by the central government:

"For every Spaniard, the arrival of 1992 is the culmination of a lengthy countdown. For this is the long-heralded year of Spain, when the country will take center of the global stage and demonstrate its emergence as a modern democratic nation... 1992 has given Spain a refreshing sense of national direction that is lacking in many European countries. "

- 1992 - *The Year of Spain*¹¹

The other two motors, Seville's World Exposition and Madrid's Cultural Capital of Europe celebrations, were set in motion later to form a three-pronged, image-improvement strategy.

The central government believed that organization of these three international events would force pan-Spanish cooperation, foster better working relationships throughout Spain, and serve as an equalizing force throughout Spain's disparate regions. More than one billion pesetas of new infrastructure, such as highways, pavilions, railroad lines, Olympic stadiums, telecommunications systems, airports, etc... ", was

constructed in 1992 to "integrate Spain more so that there wouldn't be a Spanish north and a Spanish south," rather just one Spain, according to Prime Minister Gonzalez. ¹²

By serving as coordinator between the various autonomous regions hosting the three events (The Olympics in Catalunya, The World Expo in Andalusia and Cultural Capital of Europe in Madrid), the centralists could secure their seat at the centre of power. And subsequently, if all the events were carried out successfully, the central government would reap a second dividend: increased international acclaim.

This boost in Spain's external image would most likely lead to higher international confidence in Spain as she took her first steps into the European Community and probably result in an influx of economic investment that would continue to stimulate the Spanish economy. Many of these desires were reflected in government-backed publicity, as the following quote illustrates, to draw attention to Spain's transformation.

"The end of 1992 marks Spain's full-fledged membership in the European Community and its integral role in Europe's emerging single market. These events together have created a six-year economic surge in which Spain has had the fastest growth rate in Europe. Not only did the Government embark on a massive public-spending campaign to prepare for 1992 and upgrade an outmoded infrastructure, but foreign companies flocked to Spain to take advantage of the thriving domestic economy."

- 1992 - The Year of Spain ¹³

3.2. Olympic challenge: a risky business

The potential gains were significant, but there were serious challenges and risks involved in taking on the Olympic Games and complementary 1992 events, the World Exposition and Cultural Capital of Europe.

Firstly, infighting among the autonomous communities involved, including Catalunya of which Barcelona is the capital city, was a threat to Spain's debut as a united, stable nation. Political instability sparked by nationalist demands would negatively affect cooperative planning Catalan leaders and the Madrid leaders were coordinating for the Olympic Games celebration. Secondly, if the Olympic Games were not carried out successfully - including effective organization for glitch-free functioning and security to repel attacks from Basque or Catalan terrorist - there would be negative ramifications regarding Spain's international status. A fall in status could result in the withdrawal of existing international investors and the repulsion of potential future international investors.

In order to avoid infighting, the centralists knew they must be sensitive to nationalist sensibilities, both cultural and financial, that might arise in the course of dealings between Madrid and the three autonomous regions involved in hosting the 1992 events.

In the case of the Olympic Games, the sole focus of this study, the primary sensibilities revolved around the cultural and linguistic sensibilities prevalent in Catalunya. Of secondary concern, was the central government's distribution of monetary support to the autonomous region destined to finance infrastructure

improvements and other projects that were being carried out in conjunction with Olympic preparations. Centralists wanted to avoid jealousies between Catalunya and Andalusia as well as avoid the perception of unequal treatment. Given the fact that Catalunya is the strongest economic region in Spain and Andalusia is one of the weakest, there was a wide disparity of needs and carrying out such egalitarian treatment was extremely problematic.¹⁴

3.3. Motoring right along

The centralists proceeded by cooperating with the socialist mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall, to form an Olympic Games organizing committee, called COOB, with broad-based representation from both the central government and the various Catalan nationalist factors. Their aim was to gain a toehold in the Barcelona organizing committee. These way centralists would be able to participate in the planning of the Olympic Games and keep an eye on the Catalan nationalist tendencies.

Mayor Maragall, a Catalan socialist, served as a link between Catalunya and the socialists in power in Madrid. Madrid leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) put all their support behind Mayor Maragall and the Catalan Socialist Party (PSC) in power at city hall because they were not on friendly terms with Catalunya's autonomous government, called La Generalitat. La Generalitat, led by conservative President Jordi Pujol of the Convergencia i Unió Party (CiU), is traditionally at odds with the central government over demands for greater self-government in Catalunya.

The central government's support of the socialists at Barcelona's city hall was subsequently extended to encompass all socialist-run city halls in the Barcelona metropolitan area. Thus, the socialist coalition called the Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation, which created in the 1970s as a counter-power to La Generalitat government, gained substantial clout. (President Jordi Pujol, however, successfully disbanded the coalition in 1987 on grounds that the group formed an unfair counter-power to his institution.)

By taking the above-mentioned steps, Madrid centralists hoped to keep Catalan nationalists in check. Madrid's jockeying for position within Catalunya did not go unnoticed in Barcelona, as journalist Manuel Vázquez Montalbán chronicles in his book, *Barcelonas*.

"Some in Barcelona pictured this tripartite celebration as a suspected criminal flanked by two Civil Guard officers. The Spanish state still had to keep an eye on the Catalans. The Barcelona Olympics could, after all, imply not only the promotion of the city but also of 'Catalanness,' especially in the context of a growing nationalist radicalization among youth."

- Manuel Vázquez Montalbán¹⁵

3.4. Getting to work cooperatively

The bulk of the organizational responsibility for the Olympic Games was assumed by Mayor Maragall and his supporters, since the bid was awarded, as is customary in Olympic tradition, to the city of Barcelona, not the region of Catalunya or the state of Spain. In this respect, the powers of the central government were limited. Representatives from the Spanish Olympic Committee and other centrally based Spanish organizations participated in COOB planning, but essentially, the Spanish state was in an inferior role. The tactics they used to protect their interests were mostly defensive. Had the centralists opted for a more offensive role, i.e. proactive promotion the Olympics as a showcase for the Spanish state, they stood to invoke the ire of the centralist-wary Catalan people who still harboured vivid memories of Franco repression. In this respect, the centralists opted for a back-seat position in the planning process, and if the planning seemed to be veering off course, they played back-seat driver and tried to direct the driver back to the correct trajectory.

The central government knew, for example, that the Olympic symbolism must stay on course. The centralists could not allow the Catalan nationalists to take over the symbolism of the Olympic Games, The centralist leaders wanted to insure the use of Spanish symbols during the opening and closing Olympic ceremonies, as reflected in following comment made by the president of the Spanish Olympic Committee:

"It's important and fundamental that the opening and closing ceremonies of the Games help to modernize the image that foreigners have of Spain, because currently we continue to be bullfighters and flamenco dancers. If we are able to do this, this will be the best benefit possible and compensation for the effort it takes to organize the Games."

- Carlos Ferrer Salat

President Spanish Olympic Committee and COOB '92 1st vice president ¹⁶

Over the course of the six years of Olympic planning, the centralists were under constant pressure from Catalan agitators, including separatists of the Crida a la Solidaritat pressure group and Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) political party, who were pushing for the "Catalanization" of the Games. Additionally, the agitators were seeking to exacerbate tensions between Catalunya and Madrid.

In order to avoid playing into the agitators' strategic hand, Madrid centralists tended to deflect or duck attacks rather than confront them head-on. Press reports do not show comments from Madrid centralists overtly engaging in the symbolism debate. It is assumed that the centralists ensured their interests behind-the-scenes through their representation in the COOB committee.

The head-on confrontation with the agitators was instead taken on by members of the very conservative, rightist Partido Popular (PP), which was campaigning to depict socialist Prime Minister González as a weak leader. It was part of a campaign to win the 1996 presidential elections. For example, a La Vanguardia headline read: "Partido Popular wants Spanish flags during the Games." An El Observador headline read:

"Partido Popular thinks COOB uses Catalan excessively." The article quoted two Partido Popular senators stirring up hard feelings by saying that Spain was already the loser in the Barcelona Games.

"Castilla will always be marginalized, lending its human and economic resources for the benefit of other regions.' All of Spain shared the joy of Barcelona's selection as Olympic site, but now there's unease because of the current Catalanization drive."

- José Maria Bris Gallego y Rafael Hernando Fraile
Partido Popular senators ¹⁷

It's important to note that the Partido Popular protests were registered by the Partido Popular political party, a party with centralist convictions, but not aligned with Prime Minister Gonzalez and his socialist supporters in power in Madrid.

Despite the centralists' limited influence, there were several proactive strategies the centralist government put in place to insure the projection of their image. Firstly, as previously mentioned, an international advertising campaign was put in motion to link the Barcelona Olympics with the other two "Year of Spain" events. For example, a nine-part series of advertisements were published in Time magazine from November 1988 to January 1992. The supplements were titled: "Goodbye Mañana, Hello Tomorrow," "Renewing Spanish Industry," "Fashionable Spain," "An Olympic Champion," "Telecommunications and High Tech," "A Thriving Cultural Paradise," "Spain Spearheads Europe," "Spanish Banks Go Global," and the final advertisement in the series was a 16-page special supplement titled "1992 - The Year of Spain."

"After centuries of isolationism and protectionism, Spaniards are today fervently inspired by democracy and their participation in new Europe. With any luck, 1992 will be a springboard rather than a finale. The Spanish spirit, more important than any government decree, is what will keep Spain running. Whatever happens, there is no turning back. Spain, Western Europe's last frontier, has definitely proclaimed 'Goodbye Mañana, Hello Tomorrow. "

- "1992 - The Year of Spain" ¹⁸

Secondly, they launched an anti-terrorist drive to decapitate the ETA Basque terrorist group. A sweeping majority of Spanish society, including Catalans, most Basques and residents of all the autonomous regions, oppose ETA's terrorist campaign that has taken more than 600 lives over the last 25 years. The police attacks, which resulted in the arrest of most ETA leaders, earned broad public support and resulted in a wave of positive feedback for the central government. Additionally, the arrests were made to prevent attacks during the Olympic Games.

4. Paragraph III: Maragall the bridge builder

Pasqual Maragall, mayor of Barcelona, was the link that bridged the gap between Catalunya and the central government in Madrid. As a member of the Catalan Socialist Party (PSC), at all times, Maragall attempted to keep one foot firmly anchored in his Catalan roots and the other in his Madrid socialist affiliations. The technique seemed to work: the Olympic Games were successfully carried out and over the course of his 10-year tenure in office leading up to the games, and Maragall won the confidence of the electorate at the ballot box three times in a row following his appointment as mayor in December 1982. Maragall, who was a councilman at the time, was appointed by former mayor Narcís Serra who was appointed minister of defence for the Spanish central government.

While Maragall was the head politician responsible for carrying out Olympic plans, he was essentially carrying out the vision of the previous mayor, Narcís Serra, who was responsible for proposing and - with patronage of King Juan Carlos I, the backing from the Spanish central government and the strong support of the Catalan President of the International Olympic Committee Juan Antonio Samaranch - winning Barcelona's bid to host the 1992 Olympics.

4.1. Olympics: Ticket to civic revitalization

Maragall, like his predecessor Serra who proposed the Olympic Games bid only six years after the fall of Franco, envisioned the Olympics as a spark to civic renovation. Nearly forty years under an anti-Catalan dictator had taken a toll on the city's infrastructure, business and morale. City leaders envisioned the Olympics as a massive economic magnet that would draw money from the public and private sector for the construction of new roadways, the redevelopment of an abandoned industrial area on the waterfront, the development of new parks and the creation of numerous top-rate sports facilities. In short, the Olympics were seen as a cure-all for Barcelona.

Additionally, the international event would boost the status of the Catalan socialist mayor and perhaps force an opening in La Generalitat government that has been controlled since the first democratic elections following Franco's fall by the conservative nationalists of the *Convergència i Unió* party. The elections of 1996 will speak for the success of this consideration.

In this aspect, Maragall stood to benefit politically from the Olympic celebration. However, unlike the Madrid centralists or the Catalan nationalists, Maragall did not aim to control the national content of the symbolism to be presented during the Olympics for his political benefit. Maragall tended to stay out of debates regarding the Catalan "sardana" versus the Spanish "flamenco" ¹⁹ dance, the Catalan "senyera" versus the Spanish "bandera" flag, the Catalan "Els segadors" hymn versus the Spanish national anthem and other symbolic hotbeds.

4.2. The cooperation challenge

Maragall's primary challenge was to build the bridge between Madrid and Barcelona and, then, hold it firmly in place during the 6-year organizational period of the Olympic Games. For he knew that if the bridge broke the Olympic celebration would be seriously jeopardized, both financially, if Madrid withdrew financial

support, and politically, if the Catalan separatists overtook the planning and upset the delicate political balance in Spain. The projection of an unstable political image in Spain could seriously damage Spain and Barcelona's international images and subsequently drive away the desperately needed private investors that the city was banking on to help shoulder the economic burden of the Olympic preparations.

4.3. How did Maragall build bridges?

The key element of his bridge-building plan was to create the Barcelona Olympic Organising Committee (COOB), a large committee with representation from all the sectors of Spanish politics. On March 12, 1997, a consortium was formed by the Spanish central government, La Generalitat of Catalunya, Barcelona City Council and the Spanish Olympic Committee.

"These four institutions share the challenge of organizing the Olympic Games The General Assembly (of the COOB organizing committee) is formed by over 100 people, representatives of the four institutions of the consortium, of the Spanish sports federations and the Catalan and Spanish economic, social and cultural worlds."

- COOB press dossier.²⁰

The 134-person General Assembly broke down in terms of representation as follows: Barcelona City Council, 33 representatives; Diputació de Barcelona, 3; Spanish Olympic Committee and Union of Catalan Federations, 33; Spanish Government, 5; Generalitat of Catalunya, 12; International Olympic Committee, 1; Co-opted members, 37.²¹

The COOB committee expressed its intention every step of the way to promote the Olympic Games as a three-fold expression of Barcelona, Catalunya and Spain. An international advertising campaign backed by COOB, for example, was developed to "strengthen the 'Friends for Life' campaign and place Barcelona, Catalunya and Spain in their geographical context. The general aim of this publicity campaign," according to the COOB press dossier, "is to use the attention focused on the Olympic Games to promote Barcelona, Catalunya and Spain abroad in terms which go beyond 1992." This desire to unite, rather than divide, was reflected in news stories²² and an opinion piece Josep Miquel Abad, chief executive officer of COOB, published in *La Vanguardia* regarding the organizers' desire to spread the glory of the Olympics among Barcelona, surrounding Catalan cities chosen as sub-sites and the Spanish community at large.

"It would have been feasible to adopt a centralist attitude in regards to the planning of the Games, because the city named as host was Barcelona. Instead, organizers decided from the very beginning to create a network of cities serving as sub-sites for Olympic competitions in order to recognize the specific sporting traditions that some of these cities have as well as to share and disseminate the Olympic message throughout the Catalan territories. In the same sense, the Olympic torch will undergo an emblematic run throughout the entire Spanish state and an exhaustive route throughout all the Catalan regions, including the sub-sites, the important cities and the especially symbolic cities of Empúries and Montserrat."

- Josep Miquel Abad, CEO of COOB²³

Secondly, in order to minimize his vulnerability to nationalist attacks, Maragall, as previously mentioned, attempted to stay out of the debate over the Catalanization of the Games. By opposing the symbolism debate but not taking sides, Maragall tried to keep his nationalist sensibilities off the public-opinion chopping block. The following quote that appeared in a commentary written by the city's sports director reflects the non-partisan tactic employed by Maragall and his followers. "Symbols are being abused as a political tool that is dividing not unifying, Catalunya," wrote Enric Truñó, city-hall sports director.

Maragall supported all the Olympic players: the centralists, the nationalists and, when called to do so, defended the controversial IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch against attacks from a pair of English journalists.²⁴ In a book called "Lord of the Rings," the authors describe Samaranch as a hypocrite. Specifically, they highlight his political roots as president and former sports director of the Franquist National Movement.²⁵ However, in the "Olympic spirit" Socialist Mayor Maragall, an ex-militant in the Catalan Workers' Front (FOC), stood tall next to an ex-Franquist while encouraging peaceful collaboration among all the other Olympic players, such as Ferrer Salat, the first president of the democratic CEOE (Spain's confederation of industrialists) and Josep Miquel Abad, once a communist militant, and now head of the Barcelona Olympic Committee (COOB).²⁶

Thirdly, to please Madrid centralists, Maragall and his COOS organizing committee organized an unprecedented Olympic torch run throughout Spain. The 5,570-kilometer run, which traversed all 17 Spanish autonomous regions, was organized to foster a common sense of pride among all Spaniards regarding the hosting of the Olympics.

"The torch's journey may be witnessed by 75 percent of the population of Spain in their home towns as it will pass through the most densely populated parts of the country, including the Mediterranean coast and, in addition, by the thousands of tourists on holiday here at that time. It is estimated that 35 million people will have the opportunity of watching the torch go by.... Olympic volunteers, athletes, the handicapped, senior citizens, sponsors and representatives of all the sections of Spanish society will make up the 9,172 relay runners who will bear the torch half a kilometer."

- COOB press dossier²⁷

In a sense, this run was a counterattack to the Catalan nationalists' drive to capitalize on the Games as an exclusive projection of "Catalanness."

Fourthly, to pacify the Catalan nationalists, Maragall reached an agreement (that will be discussed later in this study) with nationalist President Jordi Pujol of La Generalitat regarding the Catalanization of the Games. The widely publicized agreement, announced less than two months before the opening of the Games, guaranteed minimums for the representation of the Catalan symbols and language in the opening and closing ceremonies.

5. Paragraph IV: Separatists shake things up

While politicians at Barcelona City Hall and Madrid's central government were getting friendly, a group of agitators were busy driving wedges into the developing working relationship. These agitators* formed a coalition to capitalize on the Olympic Games as a showcase for the Catalan differential. In other words, they wanted to emphasize, not the unity of Spain and the good working relationship that was developing between the autonomous region of Catalunya and the Madrid centralists, but the fundamental differences between the two entities.

The group consisted of nationalists and separatists from Associació per a la Delegació Olímpica de Catalunya (ADOC), a group working toward the recognition of a Catalan Olympic Committee (COC), Omnium Cultural/Cacao Olímpica, a Catalan cultural group with backing from the Convergència i Unió party in power at the La Generalitat; Crida a la Solidaritat, a group lobbying for the Catalan independence; and Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC), a nationalist/separatist political party with representation in the Catalan Parliament.

* In the context of this paper, the word "agitator" is being used according to its definition as stated in the Thorndike Barnhart dictionary: 1) A person who stirs up public feeling for or against something: one who tries to make people discontented with things as they are. 2) A device or machine for shaking, stirring, or mixing." In no way does this English word connote violence. The author considered using the word "activists" to refer to this group of Catalan people, but decided against the selection because the words sounded too weak.

5.1. Olympics: A chance to draw battle lines

The participants worked together toward the Catalanization of the Games but their reasons behind supporting more Catalan symbols in the Games differed. The moderates believed the projection of the Catalan differential was a good step toward achieving greater self-government for Catalunya within the framework of the Spanish state. The radicals were striving toward a break with the Spanish state and possible independence, which they thought could be achieved peacefully with international support, as such was the case in Lithuania and Estonia²⁸

Typically, the radicals organized pressure tactics (demonstrations, demands, press conferences, attacks on public figures) to force more Catalanization. At the same time, moderates tried to work within the system (via negotiations with COOB, city hall and the central government) to affect change while implicitly lending support to the radical acts in a behind-the-scenes way.

For Esquerra Republicana, there was another good reason to lobby for 'Stalinization': Votes²⁹ Results of the March 1992 elections showed growing support, especially among university students, for more radical Catalan nationalist parties. Esquerra Republicana gained 5 seats in the Catalan Parliament to increase their representation from 6 to 11 in the 135-seat body. This support among the youth could be the result of programs La Generalitat has put in place to "normalize" the use of the Catalan language. Catalan students, unlike their parents who mostly grew up during the Franco era when Catalan language, culture and expression were repressed, are increasingly identifying with their Catalanness.

Esquerra Republicana leaders believed that consistent press coverage of their efforts, in conjunction with the other agitators, to insure the Catalanization of the Games could very well have desirable effects at the ballot box during the next election in 1996. To gain these votes, Esquerra Republicana intended to clearly delineate its superiority as a radical nationalist (in some ways, independence-seeking) party over the more moderate nationalist party, *Convergència i Unió*, led by President Jordi Pujol of La Generalitat. To this end, Esquerra Republicana and their fellow activists provoked a nationalist "showdown."

In Catalunya, nationalism is a key word for winning political campaigns and all of the political parties claim to be nationalists to some extent. The agitators wanted to stage a "survival-of-the-fittest" competition among nationalists. Their strategy was to throw into question the nationalist convictions of all the politicians who did not support their Catalan Olympic Committee plan and their demands for greater representation of Catalan symbols during the opening and closing Olympic ceremonies.

Whenever possible, these agitators attacked the nationalist convictions of President Pujol, Mayor Maragall and IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch. They wanted to shame leaders into supporting greater Catalanization of the Games or force them to admit their lack of nationalist convictions. It was a game of poker where nationalism was the winning ace. Agitators sat on one side of the table; politicians on the other. The agitators' winning strategy was to call the politicians' bluff, force their hand and see what was really behind the big nationalist talk. Were true nationalist convictions and the will to act behind the poker

face? For example, La Crida tried to call Samaranch's bluff by demanding that he "translate his wishes for more Catalanization into acts that will make Barcelona clearly recognizable as the capital of Catalunya." Otherwise, La Crida threatened, the Catalan people will be forced to stage demonstrations.³⁰

5.2. Pressure tactics. But how much?

The agitators' plan to use the Olympics as a showcase for the Catalan differential promised significant benefits for the nationalist and separatist factions, but there were risks as well.

If the agitators overstepped their bounds and lost the sympathy and support of the public they could lose carefully earned support for the nationalist and separatist causes.

In this respect, it was very important for the agitators to know how much pressure could be applied and when to back off. If, for example, they drew too much attention to the political unrest in Catalunya, international business could be scared away from the region. Studies show that international and Spanish business has steadily pulled out of Basque country because of the political unrest there.³¹ In a region like Catalunya, which has been dubbed the economic "work horse" of Spain because it pulls in 25 percent of the Spanish GNP, finances are at the heart of politics. If the economy was hit, as a result of upsetting political moves, the radical nationalist and separatist parties would undoubtedly lose support from the electorate and, accordingly, seats in Parliament.

When the Olympic Games were approximately six weeks off, the media, which was previously moderately supportive or at least seemingly impartial, started reflecting an anti-agitator mood. The change in attitude keyed on demonstrations staged during the arrival of the Olympic flame in the Catalan coastal city of Empúries on June 13, 1992. Partway through the torch-welcoming ceremony, during a touching saxophone solo of "El Cant dels Ocells," a member of La Crida jumped up to the stage with a sign reading "Freedom for Catalunya."

The disruptive act sparked the ire of many journalists, both inside and out of Catalunya, who thought the act was "shameful," and then, following negative press, the ire of the public. A news story in *La Vanguardia* on June 14, 1992, poked fun at what the reporter saw as a completely inane demonstration by characterizing the young sign bearer as "a lad, light-footed and athletic, emerged from the rocks like a bunny from his den (smiling and estranged in his new environment) and with a decided gesture, he unfolded a sign reading "Freedom for Catalunya." "The headline read: "The young lad that didn't make it on TV."³² This incident was the beginning of a turn in the tides of public opinion, which will be discussed again later in this study.

5.3. Staging the showdown: COC and Catalanization

How did agitators play these "showdown" games? A series of demands were made regarding the establishment of a Catalan Olympic Committee (COC) and the presence of Catalan symbols in the opening and closing ceremonies.

Since World War II, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has extended membership to citizens emerging nations. Studies show that emerging nations consider a national flag, a seat at the United Nations, a national airline and Olympic gold as significant symbolic steps toward recognition as independent nations.³³ One step toward getting this Olympic gold "for Catalunya" was the establishment of a Catalan Olympic Committee (COC), which would ensure that the Catalan banner, hymn and other identifying symbols would be utilized if a Catalan athlete won an Olympic medal.

"The medal ceremony is a tribute to the individual, the winning athlete, but it also is a tribute to his country. The ritual of awarding the medals constitutes an important symbolic representation of nationalism within the Olympic movement. The medals symbolize individual honour; the national anthem and the raising of the flag symbolize membership to a group, enabling, in this way, the identification of the athlete's homeland and the shared feeling that his countrymen are also Olympic winners."

- Miquel de Moragas, "Los juegos de la comunicación."³⁴

The "shared feeling" of winning would be a symbolic step toward further uniting the Catalan people behind nationalist and separatists political ideals. Demands for COC and the heightened symbolism were presented in the form of a series of "do-it-or-else" threats. For example, an *El Periódico* headline read:

"La Crida warns that if the police are overly strict, the Olympic Games 'will become complicated.' "³⁵ In an *El País* story, Jordi Sanchez, spokesman for La Crida pressure group, warned Olympic organizers that "security can always be broken."³⁶ These quotes are typical of the threats made as the controversy was followed extensively in the media.

Organizers of the CDC petition were the first to begin the Catalanization campaign. Under the leadership of their president, Josep Mira i Ardevol, started building support for the establishment of a Catalan committee in January 1987, only three months after Barcelona's selection October 17, 1986 as 1992 Olympic host.³⁷ (It is interesting to note CDC's connection with President Pujol and his political party, *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (CDC). Mira i Ardevol represented CDC while serving as deputy in the Catalan Parliament.

News stories appeared regarding the proposed committee. Public enthusiasm was generated. In January 1990, CDC organizers claimed that, according to a poll taken, 86 percent of the Catalan public supported recognition of a Catalan Olympic Committee.³⁸ Spanish and Catalan sporting federations were approached for their support with little success, but organizers moved ahead anyway.³⁹

On April 14, 1991, organizers of the CDC petitioned the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the deciding body regarding petitions for recognition of Olympic committees. Petitioners argued that Catalunya has a unique cultural and sporting tradition. Since other nations without a state in similar situations, such as Scotland, Palestine and Gibraltar, have established their own Olympic committees, Catalunya should be

able to as well. The application's final hook was a threat. "In this way, a confrontation with the Catalan people could be avoided," petitioners warned the IOC in their official request for recognition.⁴⁰ (It is interesting to note the reference to "the Catalan people." This was an oft-used strategy used to try and identify the entire Catalan population as the alleged base of support for the COC movement as well as other radical nationalist movements.) A ruling was not made on the application, however, since the IOC deemed it incomplete.

"The IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch, responding to questions from journalists, said that Lausanne (headquarters of the IOC) 'has its doors open to all.' But, he added, that only the national Olympic committees that meet the prerequisites demanded in the Olympic Charter, among those the requirement that petitioning committees must have the support of their national federations as well as five international federations. "

- *ABC Catalunya*, 18 April, 1991⁴¹

President Jordi Pujol of La Generalitat and IOC President Antonio Samaranch never outright rejected the possibility for COC's acceptance, nor did they come out in full support.⁴² The politicians wavered back and forth between supporting the petition and saying it wasn't the right time to present it. For example, while Pujol said the petition would have to wait until after the 1992 Olympics, there were news reports that the La Generalitat sports minister Josep Lluís Vilaseca, was trying to build support for the proposal among Catalan sporting federations.⁴³

But as more than five years passed and no action was taken by the Parliament or the IOC, it became clear to COC petitioners and the public that the politicians were trying to stave off the request until the 1992 Olympics were over. By outright rejecting the proposal, La Generalitat and IOC stood to suffer sharp attacks from the petitioners and their followers. By accepting the proposal, there could be reprisals from Spain's central government and athletic organizations that were not in favor of breaking up the Spanish delegation of athletes. In light of the numerous political risks, the approach taken was to duck the petition all together and wait for the Olympics to pass before confronting the issue. Following the Olympics, Samaranch came out in opposition to the petition. Pujol has once again delayed its discussion before Parliament (as of October 1992).

5.4. 'Stalinization': Pressure for more Catalan symbols

The drive to incorporate more Catalan symbolism, including the Catalan language, the Catalan "sardana" dance, the Catalan "senyera" flag, and the Catalan "Els segadors" hymn, was more successful. Due to the repression of the above-mentioned Catalan symbols during the four-decade Franco regime, their use or disuse have strong emotional resonance among the Catalan people. The overriding fear, which agitators used as a rallying point, was that the Madrid centralists would "Hispanicize" the ceremonies and turn them into bullfighting, flamenco-dancing spectacle. The degree of Catalan symbolism present during the Olympic inaugural and closing ceremonies was the question at hand.

The symbolism debate, which had started simmering in 1987, got hotter in early April 1992, at which point general accusations were directed against the COOB organizing committee regarding the alleged lack of Catalan symbols in the Olympic ceremonies. COOB spokesmen denied the lack but refused to specify exactly how Catalunya's symbols were incorporated into the ceremonies. The ceremonies, COOB spokesmen said, are an Olympic secret and their contents cannot be divulged. The debate continued in this way: with agitators saying there was too little Catalan symbolism in the ceremonies; and organizers saying not to worry there was plenty Catalan symbolism but the specifics were an Olympic secret.

The debate was essentially emotional, since it was grounded in very few specifics, and did very little to affect the degree of symbolism. However it did serve to raise the consciousness of the public and brought them together as a supportive group pressing for "more" Catalanization of the Games. Newspapers published numerous reports and editorials. Citizens wrote letters to the editor.⁴⁴

The next step the agitators took to pressure Olympic organizers was to establish a list outlining the minimum Catalan presence that would be acceptable during the Games. The list was announced May 7, 1992, at a press conference hosted by COC, La Crida, Esquerra Republicana and Omnimium Cultural / Acció Olímpica⁴⁵. The five minimums were as follows: Catalan athletes must march separately under the Catalan flag; the Catalan hymn must be presented seriously with other national anthems, not in folklore section of opening ceremony; Catalan athletes who win medals must be able to choose between the Catalan and Spanish hymn and flag for the awards ceremony; the participating countries must march according to the alphabetic order of the Catalan language; and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) must publicly state that there is no legal reason that COC cannot be recognized. The "do-it-or-else" refrain was stated in the last paragraph of the press release. If the minimums weren't met June 10, 1992, the agitators threatened to mobilize the Catalan community to convoke demonstrations.⁴⁶

In order to reinforce their threats, intermittent peaceful demonstrations were staged, including the widely publicized creation of the largest banner in the world. Esquerra Republicana and its supporters circled the Olympic stadium with a 3-kilometer banner to draw headlines and gain a slot in the Guinness Book of Records.⁴⁷ Additionally, La Crida volunteers widely distributed stickers, posters and clothing as well as an 8-page newsletter, called .. "Imatge de Catalunya," detailing the debate over Catalanization of the Games and accusing Olympic organizers of giving in to the demands of the Spanish centralists in Madrid. When the Olympic flame arrived from Greece on June 14, 1992, as mentioned previously, a La Crida activist displayed a sign reading "Freedom for Catalunya" and later when the torch run crisscrossed Catalunya demonstrators surrounded the torch runners with Catalan separatist flags and chanted separatist slogans. The Olympic controversy seesawed back and forth - demand, threat, talks, demonstrations, new demand, same threat, talks - from April to June 1992 until an accord (which will be discussed later in this report) was reached regarding the representation of the Catalan symbols during the Olympic ceremonies.

6. Paragraph V: Pujol the chameleon

If Catalan agitators were on one end of the political seesaw, Madrid centralists were on the other, Mayor Maragall was sitting smack in the middle, and President Pujol was running end to end.

Pujol likes to throw his weight around and keep the political plank off balance. It's a strategy he used extensively during Olympic planning to keep his political colleagues on their toes, constantly on the lookout, constantly forced to adjust to another new posture. Pujol, the man who refuses to take a seat on the political plank, is the most complex player in this Olympic Games controversy.

While Pujol has a strong nationalist reputation, unlike the agitators he works within the system to achieve his political goals. By slowly chipping away at governmental powers constitutionally allotted to the Madrid centralists, Pujol hopes to slowly gain more and more self-government for Catalunya. At the same time, as will be illustrated later in this section, Pujol lends implicit support to the radical nationalist movement. He's a member of the *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) party, a fiscally conservative nationalist coalition established in 1980 between the *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (CDC) and the *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya* (DDC) parties.

In order to maintain the support of the Catalan voters, Pujol maintains a fiercely nationalist stance on the home front while showing a softer, more diplomatic side to the centralists in Madrid. His approach has won him consistent support from the electorate since 1979 when Pujol won the first democratic elections held in Catalunya following Franco's fall.

Critics, however, charge Pujol with double-talking: saying one thing at home and another in Madrid as well as saying one thing and supporting another behind the scenes. No one disputes, however, that Pujol is a multi-dimensional politician who, like a chameleon, is constantly changing his suit to best suit the political environment.

6.1. Olympics: Showcase for Catalunya

The Olympic Games event provided an opportunity to promote Catalunya and gain greater recognition for the cultural, political and economic differences within the autonomous region.

The promotion of these differences stood to benefit Catalunya in several ways. Firstly, Catalunya hoped to legitimize, in the international eye, Catalunya's push for greater self-government, over which negotiations with the central government are ongoing. This legitimization could result in pressure on the Madrid centralists to grant greater governmental powers to Catalunya and treatment from the international community as a region apart from Spain.

Secondly, Catalunya, which is known as the "work horse" of Spain because the autonomous region brings in 25 percent of the national GNP, hoped to use the Olympic Games publicity to draw international

business to the autonomous community. As the expression goes, "Money talks."

Accordingly, by increasing the stature of Catalunya, Pujol would most likely increase the scope of his political influence, both within the Spanish framework and the international community.

6.2. Will Maragall steal limelight?

One of the major challenges for President Pujol, however, was to maintain protagonism during the Olympic Games organization stages. Mayor Maragall was president of the COOB organizing committee since the Olympics are awarded to a city, not a region or a state. In this respect, Pujol's official role was clearly secondary. Pujol could not allow the socialist mayor, however, to steal the entire Olympic limelight.

If Pujol allowed his protagonism to slip, Maragall could pose a serious threat during the 1996 presidential elections of La Generalitat. The Madrid centralists were putting their full support behind socialist Mayor Maragall and socialist mayors in charge of cities in the Barcelona urban area. At one point (as mentioned in the section on Madrid centralists), Maragall and the socialist mayors formed a coalition and started making decisions and lending/withdrawing support for projects in the Barcelona metropolitan area as a unit. The organization formed a serious threat to the power of La Generalitat and following a court dispute initiated by Pujol, the organization was dismantled for legal reasons.

The Olympic Games preparations became the backdrop for an attention - getting contest between Catalunya ' s advocate Pujol and Barcelona's advocate Maragall. A deputy from Pujol's party summed up the tug-of-war in ABC Catalunya newspaper: "The Games should be as well a nationalizing element that serves, most importantly to introduce Catalunya to the world. Barcelona should not be allowed to overshadow Catalunya." ⁴⁸

6.3. Watching out for Catalunya

One of the clearest actions Pujol took to further Catalunya's international recognition was pay approximately 560 million pesetas (± \$5.6 million dollars) for an advertisement that was published in international newspapers on the eve of the Olympics. ⁴⁹ It was designed in two parts. Part one was a blank map of Europe with a dot next to Barcelona. "What country do you situate this city in?" the text asked the lector. Page two read: "Catalunya, of course. This is where Barcelona is, in Catalunya, a country in Spain with its own culture, language and identity." On the accompanying map, the region of Catalunya was highlighted and the rest of Spain was left blank with no identification. Farther down in the small-font supplementary text, there was a brief, easily overlooked explanation that Catalunya is not really a country, rather it's an autonomous region within Spain.

Most of the time, however, Pujol's pro-Catalunya tactics were more subtiles. In order to maintain broad-based support from the Catalan public, Pujol presented himself as a watchdog for Catalan interests - interests that were being (allegedly) overlooked by the socialist mayor who was cooperating with the Madrid centralists. It was a delicate business. While he wanted to protect Catalan interests coveted by the electorate, he didn't want to be seen as an "unreasonable" or radical Catalan nationalist. Nor did he want to

alienate the Madrid centralists with whom he was negotiating over increased self-government rights for Catalunya. An *El Periódico* newspaper report published after the Olympics summed up the double-talk strategy.

"Jordi Pujol has needed confrontation with Madrid like the air he breathes in order to consolidate his absolute majority in Catalunya. Sweet and sour is how relations between La Generalitat and Moncloa can be summed up since Pujol was elected president. Pujol has been from Spanish man of the year, according to ABC newspaper, to the politician that said "Catalunya is like Lithuania."

- *El Periódico*, September 29, 1992 ⁵⁰

"Love you, love you not" was the theme song for the coy game Pujol played with Mayor Maragall, the Madrid centralists and the Catalan agitators. In some instances, Pujol joined the chorus of agitators calling for more "Catalanization," in other moments he sided with Maragall and told agitators to pipe down because Catalanization of the Olympic ceremonies was already secured. "It's not a sin, as Mr. Pasqual Maragall himself has recognized" to "Catalanize" the Olympics, Pujol was quoted in *El Periódico* newspaper. ⁵¹ Shortly thereafter, he was praising agitators for their enthusiastic Catalan flag-waving demonstrations at Montserrat and telling Madrid centralists not to get nervous about a "joyful," "positive" display of nationalism "that doesn't hurt anyone." ⁵² In the next moment, Pujol was firmly telling agitators not to demonstrate during the Olympic Games because it would earn Catalunya an undesirable international image.

Underlying the mixed messages from Pujol and *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (CDC), was a steady push for more Catalanization by the *Omnium Cultural* agitators. *Omnium Cultural*'s drive to catalanize the Olympics, called *Acció Olímpica*, counted with the support of many leaders and activists of the CDC party, including Marta Ferrusola, Pujol's wife. ⁵³

6.4. How did Pujol watch and double-talk?

A section of the controversy is outlined below with a chronological timeline, including paraphrasing from news articles, of the events that transpired between the end of March and the end of June of 1992. The timeline shows how Pujol used conflicting statements and double messages to promote Catalunya's presence in the Olympic Games.

Pujol takes the offensive.

"The king represents Spain, and I should represent Catalunya during Olympic Games opening ceremony," Pujol announces. (March 28, 1992)

La Crida supports Pujol.

"Pujol should get the same treatment as the king during the ceremonies," announces a La Crida agitator. (April 21, 1992)

Public opinion sours.

"Catalan symbols have been incorporated enough into the Olympic celebrations. To push for more would only put the good taste of Catalunya at risk," says a journalist in a personal commentary, (April 24, 1992)

Agitators demonstrate.

Esquerra Republicana activists circle Montjuïc with the largest banner in the world. Demonstrators burn a cardboard representation of Cobi, the Olympic mascot. (April 24, 1992)

Maragall highlights civic renovation.

Maragall inaugurates the new pelota court the Plaza de Colon and calls the new construction "the Catalanization that counts." (April 26, 1992)

Centralists mad at agitators.

"Catalans who demonstrate during the Olympics should be taken by the lapel and thrown out of the country," a Madrid centralist says. (May 9, 1992)

Pujol backs down.

"Let's have Catalan not conflictive Games" Pujol announces. (May 12, 1992)

Pujol's youth party gears lip.

Youth branch of Pujol's party join the agitators' campaign for more Catalanization and threaten demonstrations during Games if demands aren't met. (May 16, 1992)

Pujol reconciles with Maragall.

Pujol comes to an agreement with Maragall regarding the representation of Catalan symbols during the Olympic celebrations. (June 2, 1992)

Public opinion positive.

Pujol and Maragall's agreement is "an Olympic example." The press praises the politicians for working together. (June 3, 1992).

Maragall strikes out.

"We came to an agreement, but that doesn't mean that I have dismissed my criticism against him," Maragall says of Pujol. (June 8, 1992)

Agitators demonstrate.

An agitator jumps out of the rocks with a "Freedom for Catalunya" sign during the Olympic torch welcoming ceremony in Empúries. (June 14, 1992)

Pujol reassures centralists.

"The central government is overly worried about the representation of Catalan symbols, After all, Catalan symbols, represent Spain too," Pujol says. (June 17, 1992)

Pujol denies controversy.

Pujol tells 60 foreign correspondences invited to have lunch at La Generalitat that relations with Mayor Maragall are "perfect." (June 17, 1992)

Pujol's son demonstrates.

Pujol's son carries the Olympic torch. He is flanked by agitators carrying "Freedom for Catalunya" signs. (June 18, 1992)

Agitators attack Maragall.

One thousand agitators engulf Olympic flame at Montserrat in Catalan symbols and shouts.

Maragall is booed and insulted. (June 20, 1992)

Pujol supports agitators.

"It was a patriotic affirmation of Catalunya's identity that was positive, happy and didn't go against anyone. I think it's great and I celebrate the success," Pujol says. (June 20, 1992)

Maragall's men attack Pujol.

Catalan socialists accuse Pujol of playing a dangerous "subtle double game." On one hand, encouraging agitators to demonstrate: on the other dissuading. (June 20, 1992)

Pujol denies charge.

"Maragall's charges have no basis in truth. La Generalitat supports the Olympics 100 percent and would do nothing to jeopardize them," Pujol says. (June 21, 1992)

Pujol's point of view is constantly changing, seemingly unpredictable. In one moment, as illustrated above, Pujol's pushes to be in the ceremony, then he backs down, he tells the foreign press there's no controversy, then his party's youth division gears up, then he pacts with Maragall, then his son demonstrates, then agitators demonstrate, he supports the agitators, Maragall attacks. Pujol denies attacks. It should be recognized that the following timeline only highlights the key events during a three-month period of extensive Olympic planning process that lasted five and a half years from October 17, 1986, when Barcelona was awarded the bid until July 25, 1992, when the Games were opened.

7. Conclusion: Cooling the flames.

By the time the thousands of international journalists (4,500 of them accredited and hundreds more free-lancers) arrived ⁵⁴ for the Olympic Games celebration, the controversy had subsided. The agitators were no longer threatening to demonstrate. President Pujol and Mayor Maragall had stopped throwing insults at each other via the press. Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of the Spanish central government was signed up to attend the opening ceremonies.

All of a sudden Spain was a big happy family accepting the differences of its odd but loveable family member called Catalunya. What happened? How were the nationalistic differences worked out? Why weren't there any demonstrations staged as threatened?

"Look at it this way, we're having a party. We can discuss the food, the timing, the seating arrangement, the music, etc ..., but there's a limit. If a child comes in and kicks the table in the middle of the party and throws it into the air, because he doesn't like how it turned out, no one will be in favour of him. No one will be in favours of someone who ruins the family party. The time for discussion is before, not during, the party. Well, this is what we have here. There's a party, the Olympics, there are a series of pacted agreements on how it's going to be held and we're going to pull it off peacefully. You can discuss all you want but the moment the guests start arriving, the talking stops and the hosting begins."

- Albert Viladot, director of AVUJ ⁵⁵

That's what happened. When the guests started arriving, the talking stopped and the charming started. The pre-Olympic debates were in-house debates, as President Pujol made clear when, in the heat of a fight with Mayor Maragall, he told international journalists in June 1992 that relations with Mayor Maragall were "perfect."⁵⁶

Additionally, anyone responsible for an effort risking the success of the Olympic Games or drawing negative attention to Catalunya or Barcelona would have been chastised by the public, which, of course, is the electorate. Accordingly, the agitators - Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) supporters, Pujol's Convergència Democràtica, de Catalunya (CDC) supporters, members of the CDC youth party, members of Omnium Cultural as well as all the others - realized that playing with the Olympics was like playing with fire. So, following the pact between Pujol and Maragall regarding the representation of Catalan symbols, everyone stepped back and let the Game» play themselves out peacefully.

7.1. What was the Pujol-Maragall pact?

The pact included five items: 1) Congratulations to all participants in successful planning effort for Games, 2) Games should be carried out peacefully in order to add to Barcelona and Catalunya's prestige, 3) The importance of the Games as a showcase for Catalunya and her symbols must be recognized. 4) Catalan is an Olympic language, Catalan symbols will be represented in a "dignified" manner throughout Olympic events. The Spanish, Catalan and Barcelona flags will enter the Olympic stadium together, with equal emphasis, during the opening ceremony. Next, King Juan Carlos I enter the stadium to the sound of the Spanish national anthem and the Catalan. Els Segadors' hymn. 5) Residents of Catalunya are encouraged to show their support for the Olympics by hanging banners of all types outside their homes.⁵⁷

The press rejoiced over the "Olympic Example" the two politicians set by ending the controversy.

"A good example has been set by Jordi Pujol and Pasqual Maragall. They came to an agreement over a question that could come back like a boomerang and destroy the hard work and illusion of the citizens."

- *La Vanguardia*, June 3, 1992⁵⁸

Once the public, which was overwhelming supportive of the Olympic celebration, was reassured that the Catalan symbols would indeed be represented during the Olympic ceremonies, they wanted the debate to die. (The public supported is evidenced by the surge of volunteer sign-ups - more than 20,000 people- to help with various tasks prior to and during the Olympic Games.) Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) political party seemed to realize the public had had enough of the Olympic controversy. ERC publicly stated its support for a pact Pujol and Maragall signed regarding the representation of the Catalan symbols. In a *La Vanguardia* news story, Angel Colom, president of ERC, announced his party's acceptance of the accord and a cease-fire over the symbolic content of the Olympic ceremonies. Thanks to the support of the public, Colom said, enough pressure was generated to stop the Spanish centralists from hijacking the Games.

"The leader of ERC wanted to clearly state that the actions of his party and the rest of the groups 'have enormously contributed to the fact that the level of Catalanization has reached this high,' and, he added, that they had managed to dismantle 'the plan of the PSOE to mount the Games of Spain.' "

-*La Vanguardia*, June 10, 1992 ⁵⁹

The other members of the agitators' coalition, however, were insistent that the symbols were still not sufficiently represented and they continued to protest. The coalition of agitators broke up, and some of the more radical members of La Crida and the Catalan Olympic Committee's (COC) began to accuse members of Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) of falling down on their nationalist ideals. These radical members thought the pact should refer to COC (in regards to its immediate or future recognition) and ensure the use of the 'senyera' flag during the awards ceremonies for Catalan athletes. ⁶⁰ Additionally, COC demanded that ERC pull the request for recognition of the COC off the Parliament's agenda. But ERC refused to listen to COC's plea and went ahead to request a decision regarding the formation of a Catalan committee, COC never reached the Parliament, but bad feelings between the agitators' that once worked in tandem had developed. ⁶¹

7.2. What happened to the agitators?

Meanwhile, however, the continued demands of the left-over group of agitators for more and more Catalanization started to look unreasonable to the public, as expressed in published letters to the editor and the newspaper editorials. ⁶² Support for the Catalanization debate had climaxed and fallen. A *Diario 16* editorial criticized the agitators for their continued insistence:

"The Olympic Games are the basis of great pride for all Spaniards ... the Spanish people are going to live proudly, with and through Barcelona, the great Olympic event. On this basis, the hurtful and undeserved nationalist insistences that frequently seem to go against the well-known fact that the Olympics are celebrated in a determined city (not country) ... the Games serve to unite peoples, beginning with those closest to home."

- *Diario 16*, June 22, 1992 ⁶³

In an editorial headlined "Olympic disloyalty", *El País* criticized the agitators for continuing their symbolism drive and criticized Pujol for his double-talk games that indirectly lent support, via CDC, to the agitators' movement.

"A nationalist sector has developed a systematic campaign of independence signs and banners with the intention of identifying the Olympic enthusiasm and the logical pride felt when the Catalan banner is raised with separatist demonstrations that incongruous with the Spanish whole ... The campaign has a motto with a double meaning, that in reality boils down to just one, the rejection of the solidarity of the Spanish people; the text reads: "Freedom for Catalunya." Just like that, ridiculously in English!

"And it's headed by an association controlled by the Convergència Democràtica activists. It's another twist on the familiar contrasts between politicians' official postures, institutionally supported by the nationalist government, and the actions of some of their supporters. It's one thing to fight for greater self-government within the autonomous framework and it's something very different to question the system, with clever tactics that raise the curiosity of our TV stations as well as journalists from around the world who have come to witness a civic and sporting event."

- *El País*, June 22, 1992 ⁶⁴

Aside from the across-the-board realization that he who played with the Olympic-flame was bound to get burned, there was another overriding reason behind the cease-fire. The public didn't support continued political wrangling anymore. In fact, there was an overwhelming desire (to present Catalunya as a peaceful nation, not a politically unsteady, demonstration-plagued nation without a state. As late as July 17, only one week before the beginning of the Olympic Games, La Crida activists were demanding booths from city hall so they could distribute literature to visitors during the Olympics regarding the Catalan separatist drive. But by this time, the "'do-it-or-else-we'll-protest'" threats, which received little press coverage and very little public attention.

But other than a few nervous moments immediately following the arrest of approximately two dozen suspected Terra Lliure Catalan terrorists (most of whom were subsequently released), the agitators had stopped their symbolism showdown. Agitators and the public, for that matter, had accepted the fact that Prince Felipe de Borbón would carry the Spanish flag and lead tilt: Spanish delegation of athletes (including the Catalans) and that the Catalan athletes would receive the medals to the tune of the Spanish national anthem under the Spanish national flag, rather than the Catalan equivalents.

As the countdown spiralled to just a few pre-Olympic days, Maragall, Pujol and the Madrid centralists publicly recognized the joint effort each government had invested toward the success of the Games and the symbolic battle gave way to a peaceful celebration of the largest Olympic Games celebration in history.

8. Tallying the score: United they stood; no one fell

Record times, heights, scores and bull's-eyes are of no help in determining the political winners of Barcelona's 1992 Olympic Games.

In the aftermath, however, some conclusions can be drawn. Most importantly, the Olympic Games appear to have been 1) successful, because all the involved parties wanted to highlight their participation in [the event, and 2) an adequate representation of the political reality in Spain because there were no demonstrations following the Olympics to protest their presentation.

Given the fact that the Olympic Games were presented as a joint venture (multi-cultural, multi-symbolic,

multi-lingual) between the Barcelona, Catalan and central Spanish governments, it seems fair to assert that Mayor Maragall's bridge-building between his socialist counterparts in Madrid and his Catalan compatriots was successful. No one political group was allowed to dominate. Secondly, a press study conducted at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona by Xavier Coller, Ph.D. in Sociology, indicated that Pujol was very successful in projecting Catalunya as a distinct region of Spain with a distinct culture, language and history.

To take these conclusions a step further, it seems clear that the lack of domination by one political group indicates that there is currently a balance of power between the central government and the Catalan autonomous region in place. If this balance had not been in existence, one of the governments, the central or Catalan, would have overpowered the other. The overpowering would have been apparent not only in a one-sided (rather than multi-cultural, multi-symbolic, multi-lingual) Olympic presentation, but also in post-Olympic press accounts that would have inevitably reflected bitter bickering and heightened tensions between the involved parties. Such was the case in Canada, for example, where the Parti Quebecois, a nationalist party movement, capitalized on the discontent concerning the financing of the 1976 Montreal Games in order to gain power in Quebec shortly afterwards.

Since the post-Olympic period has been lived out joyfully and peacefully, it is fair to assume that all parties, with the exception of the radical nationalists who have voiced some discontent regarding the Olympic presentation, are content with how the Olympic Games turned out. This across-the-board contentment seems to 1) add credibility to the existing Spanish political framework that is based on shared powers between autonomous regions and the central government and 2) weaken the radical nationalists' campaign to convince Catalans they would be better off if Catalunya were declared independent from Spain and its central government that strives to (allegedly) obliterate cultural and linguistic differences.

The long-term affects on Spain's international image and standing are much harder to identify. There are no statistics indicating how many international businesses have decided to set up shop in Spain and Catalunya as a result of the Olympics. There is no indication that Spain and/or Catalunya will have a stronger voice in international politics as a result of the Olympics. The 1996 elections for presidency of the Spanish central government and La Generalitat have not been held. So it's impossible to tell if Prime Minister Gonzalez maintained the support of the Spanish electorate during this banner year and it's unclear whether Mayor Maragall and the Catalan socialists have managed to carve an opening for a socialist president of La Generalitat. For these matters, perhaps time, the natural sifter of chaff from grain, will be the telling factor .

9. Footnotes:

1 Aegrave, Jeffrey O. and Chu, Donald of Skidmore College. "The Olympic Games in Transition." *Human Kinetics Books*, Illinois: 1988 (compilation of scholarly articles on Olympics). "Politics and Nationalism in the Olympic Games" by Jean M. Leiper. Pg. 329.

2 de Moragas Spà, Miquel. "Los juegos de la comunicación. Las múltiples dimensiones comunicativas de los Juegos Olímpicos." Fundación para Desarrollo de la Función Social de las Comunicaciones, Madrid: 1992. Pg. 164

3 Kim, Jong-gie; Rhee, Sang-woo; Yu, Jae-cheon; Koo, Kwang-rno; and Hong, Jong-duck, "Impact of the Seoul Olympic Games on National Development." Korea Development Institute, Seoul: 1988.

4 NOTE: The Catalans were not the only Spanish citizens repressed during the Franco dictatorship. It's important to note that the Basques, the Galicians, the Valencia's and even Castilians who did not support the dictatorship were repressed economically, culturally and linguistically. Communists, socialists and other political dissenters were executed, jailed or repressed.

5 Parés i Maicas, Manuel. "Communication and Cultural Identity in Catalonia." Unpublished paper.

6 Parés i Maicas, Manuel. "Communication and Cultural Identity in Catalonia." Unpublished paper; de Moragas Spà Miquel. "Los juegos de la comunicación. Las múltiples dimensiones comunicativas de los Juegos Olímpicos." Fundación para Desarrollo de la Función Social de las Comunicaciones, Madrid: 1992.

7 Editorial, *El País*, "Expo de todos," April 19, 1992, pg. 8.

8 Cardús i Ros, Salvador. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona sociologist interested in cultural and political aspects of Olympics. May 13. ("Catalunya está en un proceso que llamaremos de reconstrucción nacional, es decir que no es un país acabado o un país con una forma política definitiva. Aunque se pretenden que la construcción se haya resuelto en la construcción de las autonomías, yo creo que todo el mundo sabe que no es cierto. Y no es porque por una parte hay una voluntad popular de superar los límites de este modelo. En este marco de país provisional en construcción, una iniciativa de los juegos olímpicos podría tener o podrá tener consecuencias en cualquiera de los dos sentidos. Es decir, en el sentido de ayudar a favorecer el proceso de reconstrucción nacional o de dificultarlo. Es decir que pueden dar la impresión de que estos son unos juegos catalanes o que son unos juegos españoles. En el terreno de la lengua, puede suponer un avance al infundir en el estatus internacional del catalán, pero puede suceder exactamente lo contrario, es decir que es un retroceso en el uso real de la lengua catalana y un avance de la lengua española.")

9 Dirección General de Cooperación Informativa. "1992 Spain & The World:' Ministerio del Portavoz del Gobierno. Madrid. Spain: 1991. Page 1.

10 COOB '92, S.A. "Press Dossier." Barcelona, Spain: February 1992, Pg. 17

11 "1992 - The Year of Spain"

12 L. Lucio, *El País*, "González apela a los éxitos del 92 para demostrar que España puede superar la crisis económica." October 13, 1992. ("Las infraestructuras realizadas con motivo de la muestra - se calcula la inversión en un billón de pesetas - fueron valoradas por el jefe del Ejecutivo, quien subrayó el esfuerzo realizado para integrar más a España como España de forma que no hubiera un Norte y un Sur,")

13 Special advertising section. *Time Magazine*. "1992 - The Year of Spain." January 3, 1992.

14 The construction of the expensive high speed AVE train from Madrid to Sevilla, for example, was widely criticized. The train would be more useful between Madrid and the industrial developed region of Barcelona, critics argued. Supporters said, however, that the train could spark greater industrial development in Sevilla and strengthen that region's connections with the state capital of Madrid.

15 Vázquez Montalbán, Manuel. "Barcelonas." *Verso*. London: 1992. Page 192-193.

16 Unknown author, *ABC Catalunya*, "Ferrer Salat: "Los atletas españoles no lucirán otros símbolos que no sean los del comité olímpico nacional". July 25, 1990. ("Lo importante y fundamental es que las ceremonias de inauguración y clausura de los juegos ayuden a modernizar la imagen que de España tienen los extranjeros. porque popularmente, seguimos siendo toreros y flamencos. Si esto se consigue sería la mayor venia que podemos hacer y compensaría el esfuerzo de organizar unos juegos," Carlos Ferrer Salat, President Spanish Olympic Committee and COOB'92 1st vice president.) NOTE: Interestingly. Ferrer Salat is a Catalan.

17 Europa Press, *El Observador*, "El PP piensa que el COOB usa el catalán en exceso", April 21. 1992 , Page 4. ("Castilla sea casi siempre marginada. prestando sus recursos humanos y económicos para el engrandecimiento de otras regiones. Las tensiones de regionalización que se están produciendo, ya que toda España compartió con Barcelona la alegría que produjo su nominación", según José Maria Bris Gallego y Rafael Hernando Fraile, senadores del Partido Popular.)

18 *Time Magazine*. Special advertising section. "1992 - The Year of Spain." January 3, 1992. (Other publication dates were Nov. 14. '88. Jan. 2. '89. May 15. '89. Oct. 30. '89. Jan. 1. 490, Sept 24, 90, Jan. 7, '91. Sept. 16. 91) Find out if Telefónica, who published, is part of Spanish central government.

19 Flamenco is actually a dance from Andalusia that has come to be recognized as a Spanish symbol.

20 COOB'92, S.A. "Press Dossier." Barcelona. Spain: February 1992. Page 7.

21 COOB'92. S.A. "Press Dossier:" Barcelona, Spain: February 1992. Page 7.

22 Editorial, "El paso de la antorcha", *La Vanguardia*, June 20, 1992, Page unknown.

23 Josep Miquel Abad, *La Vanguardia*, "Juegos Olímpicos y catalanidad". April 10. 1992. Page 25. ("Se podían haber adoptado unos criterios de localización centralista ya que, en definitiva, la ciudad nominada era Barcelona. Se optó en cambio, por proponer desde el principio una red de ciudades subsede para recoger la tradición de esta poblaciones en deportes determinados, pero también para compartir y diseminar el mensaje olímpico por todo el territorio catalán. En el mismo sentido la antorcha olímpica realizará un recorrido emblemático por todo el Estado y exhaustiva por las comarcas catalanas pasando por todas las subsedes, ciudades importantes y lugares especialmente notorios, como Empúries o Montserrat." Josep Miquel Abad. CEO of COOB.)

24 Ventura, Xavier. "Maragall defiende a Samaranch contra la 'campana de especulaciones y envidias' ". *La Vanguardia*. May 31, 1992. Page 37.

25 Simson, Vyv and Jennings, Andrew. "The Lords of the Rings." Simon & Schuster Ltd. London: 1992.

26 Vázquez Montalbán, Manuel. "Barcelonas." Verso. London: 1992. Page 193-194.

27 COOB'92, S.A. "Press Dossier." Barcelona. Spain: February 1992. Pg. 89.

28 Sanchez, Jordi, President of Crida a la Solidaritat (also called La Crida) pressure group for Catalan separatism. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona political sciences Ph.D. student. May 6, 1992 interview. Tresserras i Gaju, Joan Manuel. Director Departament of Journalism, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. June 19 interviews.

29 Juan, Jordi, "ERC acepta ahora el pacto entre Pujol y Maragall sobre los Juegos", *La Vanguardia*, June 10, 1992. Page unknown.

30 Novell, Montse, "Juristas de prestigio apoyan las reclamaciones del COC". *El Observador*, March 28, 1992, Page unknown.

31 Taylor, Philip B. Jr. "Public Power in Catalunya. Incomplete Power Under Ambiguous Constraints." American Institute of Catalan studies. Houston. TX: 1983.

32 Madueo, Eugenio. "El efebo que no salió en televisión". *El País* June 14. 1992. Page 34. ("El muchacho, liviano y atlético, emergió de entre las piedras como un conejo de su madriguera (sonriente y ajeno a lo que se concia en su entorno) y con gesto decidido, desplego una pancarta con la inscripción 'Freedom for Catalunya.' "The headline read: "El efebo que no salió en televisión.")

33 Aegrave, Jeffrey O. and Chu, Donald of Skidmore College. "The Olympic Games in Transition." Human Kinetics Books, Illinois: 1988 (compilation of scholarly articles on Olympics). "Politics and Nationalism in the Olympic Games' by Jean M. Leiper. Pg. 334.

34 de Moragas Spà. Miquel. "Los juegos de la comunicación. Las múltiples dimensiones comunicativas de los Juegos Olímpicos." Fundación para Desarrollo de la Función Social de las Comunicaciones. Madrid: 1992. ("En la entrega de medallas se exalta al individuo, al atleta ganador, pero también se exalta a su

nación de origen. El ritual de entrega de las medallas constituye una importante representación simbólica del nacionalismo dentro del movimiento olímpico. Las medallas simbolizan el honor individual: el himno nacional y el izamiento de bandera simbolizan la pertenencia a un colectivo, permitiendo así la identificación de sus conciudadanos, que se sienten, ellos también, vencedores olímpicos.") Pg.116

35 Tapounet, Rafael. "CDC colaborará en catalanizar los Juegos", *El Periódico*, May 6. 1992, Page unknown. ("La Crida advierte que si la policía se extralimita, los JJOO 'se complicarán.' ")

36 E.C., "La Crida advierte: "La seguridad siempre es vulnerable", *El País*, June 17, 1992. Page 26.

37 Ambros, Carme and Boada, Maite. "ADOC (Associació per la Delegació Olímpica de Catalunya)." Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona unpublished student paper: Marc 1990.

38 Rituerto, Ricardo. "Al ADOC pide el reconocimiento del Comité Olímpico Catalan a la Federación Internacional de Atletismo", *El País*. January 5. 1990. Page 42.

39 Europa Press, "La idea de un Comité Olímpico catalán no es posible", *El Independiente*. January 8, 1991, Page unknown.

40 COC, Petition filed with IOC. First line reads: "The Catalan Olympic Committee wishes to address the International Olympic Committee with a view to seeking the former's recognition ... " April 14, 1991.

41 Carles Valero, Joan, "Los activistas del COC ensombrecen la clausura de la 'cumbre' olímpica", *ABC Catalunya*, 18 April, 1991, Page unknown. ("El presidente del IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch, a preguntas de los periodistas, respondió que Lausana (home of the IOC) 'tiene las puertas abiertas a todos.' pero que sólo puede reconocer aquellos comités olímpicos nacionales que cumplen los requisitos exigidos en la 'Carta Olímpica, entre los que destacan el apoyo de las federaciones nacionales y de cinco internacionales. ")

42 Sánchez, David, "Camisetas con escudo catalán" *El Mundo Deportivo*, May 8, 1990, Page 34. (NOTE: This is an example of wavering back and forth on support of COC committee. In this article, Samaranch agrees to possibility that Catalan were Catalan emblem, doesn't discard COC possibility, but says Catalan emblem goes on sleeve not on chest, that's where COE emblem goes.)

43 Unknown author. "Más federaciones catalanas confirman que la Generalitat les ha planteado la segregación", *El País*. April 1, Page 26.

44 Nearly every day in every newspaper from April 1 to mid-June 1992 there were articles on the Catalanization of the Olympic Games. Here are a few of the opinion pieces that were published. Miquel Abad, Josep, "Juegos Olímpicos y catalanidad". *La Vanguardia*, April 10. 1992. Page 25. Mercè Varela, Andres, "Catalanizar más los JJ.OO.?" *La Vanguardia*, April 24, 1992. Page 20. María Perceval, José, "¿Un pueblo de Guinness? *El Periódico*, April 27, 1992. Page 3. Editorial, "El buen nombre de Catalunya", *La Vanguardia*, May 14, 1992. Page unknown. Editorial "Ejemplo Olímpico", *La Vanguardia*, June 3. 1992.

Page unknown.

45 Omnium Cultural is a group that was created in the 1960s during Franco's dictatorship to promote Catalan culture in a non-political way. There are about 20 thousand members, Presently, this group enjoys support from President Pujol's *Convergència i Unió* political party.

46 La Crida a la Solidaritat, etc Press release regarding Catalanization. First line reads: "Reunits a Barcelona, el 7 de Maig de 1992, el Comitè Olímpic de Catalunya, la Crida a la ... May 7, 1992'.

47 Morales, Rafael, "ERC rodea Montjuïc con la mayor bandera del mundo". *El Observador*, April 24, 1992, Page 12.

48 Carles Valero, Joan, "CiU reclama catalanizar más el 92", *ABC Catalunya*, March 14, 1991, Page unknown. ("Los Juegos deben ser también un elemento nacionalizador que sirva, primordialmente para dar a conocer Cataluña en el mundo. Debe evitarse que el barcelonismo ensombrezca al catalanismo," dijo diputado convergente Joan Colominas.)

49 Antich, Jose, "La Generalitat se ha gastado más de 500 millones en su campaña olímpica en la prensa internacional", *El País*, July 21. 1992. Page 13.

50 September 29, 1992. *El Periódico*. ("Jordi Pujol ha necesitado la confrontación con Madrid como el aire que respira para poder consolidar así su mayoría absoluta en Catalunya. Una cal y una arena es el resumen de las relaciones entre la Generalitat y Moncloa desde que Pujol accedió al cargo de president. Pujol ha sido desde Español del Año, según el diario ABC, hasta el político que afirmó que 'Catalunya es como Lituania.' ..)

51 Barrera, Joan, "Jordi Pujol acepta un 'decálogo' de los socialistas sobre los JJOO". *El Periódico*, April 10, 1992, Page 53.

52 Sierra, Lluís, "La llegada de la antorcha a Montserrat pone a prueba el pacto entre Pujol y Maragall", *La Vanguardia*, June 20. 1992. Page 19.

53 Editorial, "Olímpica deslealtad", *El País*, June 22. 1992, Page 14. Mauri, Lluís, "CiU suscribe en el Parlament las demandas de 'libertad para Cataluña' en los actos olímpicos". *El País*, June 18, 1992, Page 24.

54 COOB'92, S.A. "Press Dossier." Barcelona, Spain: February 1992. Page 38

55 Viladot, Albert. Director of *AVUI* newspaper. May 20.

56 E.C., "Pujol cree desmedida la inquietud del Gobierno por la politización en torno a la llama olímpica", *El País*, June 17, 1992. Page 26.

57 Unknown author El Rey será recibido en el estadio a los acordes de los himnos de España y de

Cataluña", *El País*. June 13, 1992. Page 21.

58 Editorial Ejemplo Olímpico", *La Vanguardia*, June 3. 1992. Page unknown. ("Buen ejemplo el que han dado Jordi Pujol y Pasqual Maragall al llegar a un acuerdo sobre una cuestión que podía volverse como un bumerán contra el esfuerzo y la ilusión de un pueblo: Los Juegos Olímpicos de Barcelona en 1992.")

59 Juan, Jordi, "ERC acepta ahora el pacto entre Pujol y Maragall sobre los Juegos' "; *La Vanguardia*, June 10, 1992, Page unknown. (El líder de ERC quiso dejar claro que las acciones de su partido y del resto de grupos 'han contribuido enormemente a que se haya llegado a este nivel de Catalanidad,' y añadió que habían logrado hacer fracasar "el plan del PSOE de hacer unos Juegos de España," Àngel Colom, president of ERC.)

60 EFE, "Roto el pacto entre las entidades a favor de la presencia de símbolos catalanes en los Juegos", *El País*. June 19. 1992. Page unknown.

61 Pastor, Carles. "El COC pide a Esquerra que retire del Parlament una propuesta para que la Generalitat le reconozca", *El País*. June 11, 1992. Page 24.

62 Starting in mid-June, the newspaper started to published reports, editorials and letters to the editor expressing distaste for the continued demands for more Catalanization, Here are a few examples of such stories. June 19, 1992, *El País*: June 20. 1992. *La Vanguardia*: Viladot, Albert. Director of *AVUI* newspaper, May 20. Secondary sources: June 17, 1992. *La Vanguardia*: June 18, 1992; *El País*. June 18; 1992, *La Vanguardia*.

63 Excerpt of editorial from *Diario 16* reprinted, "Juegos Olímpicos y nacionalismo", June 23, 1992, *La Vanguardia*, Page unknown. (Text: "JJOO constituirán motivo de orgullo para todos los españoles ... el pueblo español que va a vivir orgullosamente, con y a través de Barcelona, el gran evento olímpico. De ahí que resulten dolorosas e inmerecidas estas insistencias nacionalistas que, con frecuencia, parecen más pensadas ir en contra de como expresión natural del hecho obvio que las Olimpiadas se celebren en una ciudad determinada ... los Juegos sirven para hermanar, empezando por los más próximos y cercanos.")

64 Editorial, "Olímpica deslealtad", *El País*, June 22. 1992. Page 14. ("Un sector nacionalista ha desarrollado una sistemática siembra de pancartas y banderas independentistas con el objetivo de identificar el entusiasmo olímpico y el lógico orgullo del despliegue de la 'senyera' con manifestaciones reivindicativas de una ensoñación disgregadora e insolidaridad con el conjunto de España ... La campaña tiene un lema de doble lectura, que en la práctica se reduce a una sola, la negación de la solidaridad de los pueblos de España: su texto reza "Freedom for Catalunya," ¡Así, ridículamente en inglés! Y está encabezada por una asociación controlada por militantes de Convergència Democràtica. Se reproduce, pues, el consabido contraste entre las posturas oficial e institucionalmente sostenidas por los gobernantes nacionalistas y la actuación práctica de algunas de sus gentes ... Y que una cosa es reivindicar mayores

cotas de autonomía, discutir regímenes competenciales o fórmulas de financiación, y otra muy distinta es cuestionar el sistema, con especial habilidad para suscitar la curiosidad de televisiones propias y de periodistas llegados de todos los rincones del mundo al socaire de un evento cívico y deportivo.").