

1. contradictions, developed in the realms of a group of particularities that make
2. it worthy of being studied independently from other continental contexts.

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9. **LA VOLUNTAD DEL GUDARI: GÉNESIS Y METÁSTASIS DE LA**
10. **VIOLENCIA DE ETA, GAIZKA FERNÁNDEZ SOLDEVILLA (2016)**

11. Madrid: Editorial Tecnos, 366 pp.,

12. ISBN: 9788430968442, p/bk, €20
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15. *Reviewed by Diego Muro, University of St Andrews*
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18. Gaizka Fernández belongs to a new generation of historians born in post-1975
19. Spain who are writing some of the most stimulating accounts of the terror-
20. ist campaign conducted by Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA, Basque Homeland
21. and Freedom). Scholars such as Raúl López, Fernando Molina, Javier Gómez
22. and Gaizka Fernández have common origins, similar ages and all published
23. their best work shortly after the Basque terrorist group declared a unilateral
24. ceasefire on 20 October 2011. A selection of their work on the 43-year terror-
25. ist campaign that resulted in 845 killings, thousands of displaced and injured
26. people and an estimated economic cost of about 10 per cent of the Basque
27. region's GDP has also been recently published by Routledge (*ETA's Terrorist*
28. *Campaign* [Rafael Leonisio, 2017]).

29. *La voluntad del gudari* is the latest book by a solid scholar who has previ-
30. ously written two excellent books: one on radical Basque nationalism (*Sangre,*
31. *votos, manifestaciones* [G. Fernández Soldevilla, 2012]) and another on the
32. political party Euskadiko Ezkerra (*Héroes, heterodoxos y traidores* [G. Fernández
33. Soldevilla, 2013]). On this occasion, Fernández examines the historical origins
34. of ETA and offers a comprehensive explanation of terrorism, which he defines
35. as 'a type of armed violence that seeks a psychological, political, and symbolic
36. effect superior to that of the simple material and personal damages caused
37. by its attacks' (21). The key argument here is that members of ETA freely
38. decided to use violence to pursue their political goals. Contrary to struc-
39. turalist approaches that develop a grievance model to account for political
40. violence, Fernández argues that neither undemocratic institutions nor ancient
41. ethnic hatred can explain indiscriminate violence. Instead, he puts forward a
42. story that emphasizes the role of 'agency' and the free will of ETA members
43. in starting a violent campaign for territorial change. Despite providing an
44. agency-based explanation that highlights the capacity of individuals to act
45. independently and to make their own choices, he also acknowledges the role
46. of social structures in shaping political outcomes.

47. *La voluntad del gudari* provides a multi-causal explanation for Basque
48. terrorism which identifies a long list of factors that are both internal and
49. external to ETA. With regard to the external factors, the author cites the
50. Francoist dictatorship, the retreat of the Basque language, the immigration
51. of the 1960s, the passivity of the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) and the
52. model of anticolonial movements. In terms of internal factors, he alludes to

the precedents of radical groups such as Aberri and Jagi-Jagi, the influence of the ultranationalist groups in exile, the intergenerational clash, the role of war memories, ETA's ideological evolution, and the organizational dynamics of the terrorist group. Fernández reiterates that ETA's violence was not inevitable. While most clandestine organizations used peaceful means to oppose the Franco dictatorship (1939–75), ETA became an outlier by adopting illegitimate violence as politics by other means. Its militants argued that regardless of regime type, Spain would not make policy concessions voluntarily and that it only understood the language of violence. And yet, with the exception of a handful of tactical successes in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g. the closing down of the Lemóniz nuclear plant and the modification of the Leizarán highway), terrorism was wholly ineffective in bringing about its ultimate political goal of an independent socialist state for the Basque homeland. The interesting puzzle, then, is to explain why ETA laid down its weapons so late given the strategic failure of violence. Fernández convincingly argues that terrorist violence between 1975 and 2011 had considerable popular support, partly due to a legitimizing narrative of myths and memories provided by radical Basque nationalism, the social and political movement that sustained ETA's campaign of political violence, extortion and threats.

The book also examines the myth-symbol complex of radical Basque nationalism used by ETA and its supporters to justify the use of terror as a weapon of the weak. It is worth highlighting two of the myths that portrayed a nationalist continuity between the past and the present: the importance of Francoist repression in explaining ETA and the existence of a primordial conflict between Spaniards and Basques. The first mobilizing myth sustained that the Franco dictatorship created ETA. Unjust institutions provided a window of opportunity for clandestine organizations around Spain to assemble and fight the dictatorship, but the Basque region was the only one to produce a terrorist group that had the blessing of moderate nationalists, in this case the PNV. Furthermore, autocracy could not be the only explanation for ETA's death toll, as the organization continued to kill for an additional 36 years after the death of the dictator. ETA murdered 845 individuals during its 52-year history, 802 during the democratic period (95 per cent) and 43 under the dictatorship (5 per cent) (López Romo 2015: 34). The second mobilizing myth of radical Basque nationalism, sustains Fernández, was an 'imaginary war' that had pitted Spaniards against Basques for generations. The alleged roots of this 'Basque conflict' could be found in the pre-modern period, well before the leviathan of the state was able to disseminate nationalism through the army or mass education. According to this ahistorical myth in which national identity preceded nation states, the sacrifice of the Basque soldier or *gudari* was inserted into a fanciful narrative of 'Basque resistance' against 'Spanish invasion'. ETA members were simply the latest addition to a long lineage of heroes and martyrs who had voluntarily sacrificed themselves to halt invaders, at least since the Battle of Roncevaux Pass (778).

This excellent volume examines the ideology that legitimized ETA terrorism long after there was proof that indiscriminate violence against civilians was ineffective and even counterproductive to the separatist cause. Unfortunately, the chapters presented here have previously been published as journal articles and the book lacks a coherent thread pulling together all the building blocks of radical Basque nationalism both as ideology and social movement. A concluding chapter that integrated the author's findings on the origins of ETA's violence would have made it easier for the reader to evaluate

1. the contribution of this disparate collection of articles on myths and memo-
 2. ries. In spite of this minor shortcoming, *La voluntad del gudari* is an essential
 3. read for anyone who wants to understand why the deadliest terrorist group in
 4. southern Europe decided to kill in the name of the nation for 43 years.

6. REFERENCES

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 14. vasca*, Madrid: La Catarata.
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21. **CARAJICOMEDIA: PARODY AND SATIRE IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN,** 22. **FRANK A. DOMÍNGUEZ (2015)**

23. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 609 pp.,
 24. ISBN: 9781855662896, h/bk, \$120

25. Reviewed by Roser López Cruz, King's College London

26. Frank A. Domínguez offers a cultural approach to *Carajicomedia*, a *contrafac-*
 27. *tum* poem published in 1519 that he edits and studies as a parody of Hernán
 28. Núñez's *Las Trezientas* (1499), itself a gloss of Juan de Mena's mid-fifteenth-
 29. century *Laberinto de fortuna*. Parts I–III of the book contextualize the anon-
 30. ymous poem, identifying literary, cultural and historical referents. Part IV
 31. follows with the text of *Carajicomedia*, offered in a palaeographic edition with
 32. notes and in a modern Spanish edition, face to face with an English transla-
 33. tion (Appendix A).

34. Domínguez's study and interpretation focus on *Carajicomedia's* parodic
 35. features and ideological background on one hand, and the political targets
 36. of its satire on the other. The first chapter studies the parody and its model,
 37. giving the latter a particular, albeit not conclusive, relevance, as he expands
 38. on details of its composition, historical setting and transmission. Domínguez
 39. points out that *Carajicomedia's* parody goes beyond the formal aspects of
 40. Mena's poem. It mocks Hernán Núñez's 'intrusive' gesture of annotation, by
 41. surrounding Mena's poetic text with extensive glosses and also inverts the
 42. original themes and ideology by presenting a world of whores, corrupt cler-
 43. ics and impotent knights. By doing so, *Carajicomedia* subverts the purpose
 44. of the parodied original and inadvertently launches harsh judgements about
 45. contemporary individuals. This is what Domínguez finds to be the main
 46. reason for the *Carajicomedia's* anonymity.

47. Chapter 2 reviews previous hypotheses about possible authors and
 48. concludes that several hands intervened in the poem's composition. In turn
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