

Bikes Not Bombs

The History and Importance of Cycle Sport in the Assertion of Basque National Identity

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Introduction

For the second year running (2004), the World Cycling Road Race Championship has been won by a Spaniard. Incredibly Spain has won five out of the last nine World Championships and two World Time Trial Championships. It is also worth noting that the top ten of the 2004 edition of the Vuelta a España were all Spaniards.¹ However, for occasional viewers and cycling *aficionados*, it is hard not to notice the preponderance of Basque names and teams which have dominated the sport in recent years.² Last year's World Champion Igor Astarloa is a fine example and his successor, Oscar Freire, although Asturian, like so many other non-Basque stars came through the Basque amateur 'farm' route.³

Spain is one of the world's most successful cycling nations in all cycling disciplines. Though in terms of prestige, public popularity, TV ratings, sponsorship value and sheer spectacle, road racing is king. During the 1996 edition of the Vuelta a España, on each day of the three week race, two in five of the available television audience for day time 'live' TV tuned in to coverage of the race; a figure of six million.⁴ In 2002 the toughest mountain stage finish of the Angliru achieved a 37.3% market share of viewers.⁵ However, the Basque Country is the heartland of Spanish cycling where the sport is second only to football.

The role and importance of sport in popular culture, specifically with regards to its use and adoption as a nationalist tool is well recognised.⁶ The aim here is to explain the historical development of bicycle racing (particularly road racing) in Euskadi; its connectivity to the evolution of the Basque nationalist movement and

crucially just how cycle sport with all its related activity, has become such a regional phenomenon.

The Basque provinces within Spain (*Euskadi*), are concentrated upon because there is little doubt that it embodies all major elements which define nationalism; expression through traditional cultural means, historical claims, ethnic exclusivity, myth, religion, natural boundary and crucially language.⁷ Euskadi is comprised of three provinces; Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, and Alava. For many Basque's though, the neighbouring region of Navarra, famous for Pamplona's running of the bulls and fine wine, particularly its north western side, is also considered Basque.⁸

To give some idea of cycling's popularity in the region, Euskadi with its population of approximately 2.5 million, has over 290 competitive cycling clubs and boasts over 1,500 sporting and leisure cycling clubs, in an area about the size of New Hampshire.⁹ For the British reader this best compares to Wales which has only 60 federation registered clubs.¹⁰

Despite this popularity and high media profile in Spain, there have been no in depth studies of cycle sport's role in the region's popular culture, politics or specifically nationalism. Football has been discussed by both Raymond Carr and Paul Preston, in terms of General Francisco Franco's development of a nationalist, 'Spain, united, free and great.'¹¹ There has also been phd study of Spanish nationalism in football, but cycling seems to remain overlooked.¹²

Many studies of Basque nationalism tend to focus on the activities of the separatist terrorism of ETA (*Euskadi 'Ta Askatasuna*) and whilst ETA have attacked races in the Basque Country and across the French border, to highlight their separatist cause, the moderate methods of the business sector, have used the sport to promote the region and nationalist politics in a more subtle fashion.¹³ The culmination of this was the 1990s establishment of *Equipo Euskadi*, the sport's first regional professional cycle team, demonstrating the existence of a clear nationalist project symbolising the sense of national unity, status and pride that underlines

Basque cycle sport.¹⁴ For the team's business contributors as articulated by its stoical co-founder, key financier and manager Miguel Madariaga, it has also been an opportunity to promote and "sell the country and the country's products and prove that we aren't just a place where people throw bombs at each other."¹⁵

Nationalism, industrialisation, modernity and cycle sport to 1936

The Establishment of Basque Nationalism 1895-1932

To link early Basque nationalism to the development of cycle sport, it is necessary to briefly account for the founding of the nationalist movement established by Sabino Arana-Goiri in 1895.¹⁶ Basque nationalism is historically based on uniqueness of culture and language, although after the hegemonic rise of Castile in the late Fifteenth Century, regional autonomy was eroded via political federation and centralisation to Castile.¹⁷ The beginning of the Nineteenth Century exposed Spain to liberalism through the Napoleonic Wars and the revived European Romantic movement. Nationalism was partly inspired by this exposure, as historical and cultural myths were reawakened across Europe.¹⁸

Spain's belated industrialisation, by the 1890s was mostly concentrated in the Basque Country and Catalunya.¹⁹ Modern Basque nationalism initially developed in the more industrialised Vizcaya province and spread to the other provinces.²⁰ In 1895 Arana created a working nationalism, reviving the myths, history, language and claims of racial superiority based upon the *fueros* notion of a separate nation from Spain.²¹ Arana's ideas drew little initial interest, but industrialisation brought an influx of immigrants, socialism, trade unionism and anti-clericalism, which Arana considered a threat to Basque culture and ethnicity.

Consequently, nationalism was more obvious in the form of xenophobia directed at the immigrant workers, especially in 1890's Vizcaya.²² However, the basis

for Basque nationalism (other than race, which was later discredited by most), was its unique language (*Euskera* or *Euskara*), which Arana effectively revived. Previously it had declined dramatically, lacking literary history and adaptability to modern language structures.²³ This was enough however to enable the establishment of the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) in 1895. Early electoral progress was slow but was aided by merger with the Euskalerico business group led by shipping industrialist Ramón de la Sota. This was the first seed, which would create the social, political and economic conditions through which Basque cycle sport would later find commercial sponsorship with a distinct nationalistic agenda.

The anti-regionalist policies of Franco's precursor, Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) pushed nationalist activity underground. The 1931 collapse of the monarchy did not witness PNV participation in the San Sebastian Pact of the Republicans and Catalan nationalists, but the potential for autonomy was recognised. The second most critical event, which would later have profound ramifications for Basque nationalist cycling claims occurred in 1932, as Navarra opted to remain outside of Euskadi.²⁴ This subsequently fuelled the nationalist sporting debate of the 1990s, as to whether the legendary Miguel Indurain was a Navarran, a Spaniard or indeed a Basque.



Angel Castresana and Lopez de Munain

Industrialisation, Modernity and Cycling

Basque industrial development by 1900 was predominantly based around the supply of iron-ore, steel production, metallurgical industries (especially in Bilbao) and associated industries such as shipping and arms manufacture.²⁵ The Basque Country and Catalunya (which focused on merchant trades) developed as Spain's only examples of modernity, in terms of an industrialising Europe. Most of the rest of Spain remained predominantly agricultural.²⁶ The nature of Basque industrialisation was extremely compatible with cycling, as steel related industries provided the raw materials for bicycle manufacture and artisan engineers. When a temporary halt to arms manufacture occurred in the early 1900s a number of local factories refocused to bicycle production, in a precursor to the fate of companies such as British Small Arms (BSA).

Basque bicycle manufacturers which evolved this way include *GAC*, *Orbea* and *BH*, the two latter examples very buoyant today. However, many early bicycle manufacturers across Europe seldom only produced bicycles. A dedicated example of the industry did emerge in 1929 when Nicolas Arregui established the Basque cycling components company *Zeus*. A few years later *Orbea* switched exclusively to bicycle manufacture.²⁷

Significantly cycling was seen as symbolic of industrial modernity in an era pre-dating the car. Politically, claims to industrial modernity were significant and predominantly nationalistic as international tensions grew between the 1890s and the start of the First World War. These tensions also articulated themselves through sport, not least bicycle racing. Britain, Belgium, France and Germany regarded as developed industrial nations all promoted national cycling teams and participated in the first modern Olympic Games. Nonetheless, Russia and Spain, popularly perceived as examples of comparative economic backwardness, also promoted national cycling teams as symbols of national superiority.²⁸ Czarist Russia was especially keen to build national cycle teams capable of winning Olympic medals at the games of 1908 and 1912, having already won a major European cycling title in 1898.²⁹ Few other sports could demonstrate such a clear link to industrial developments symbolic of national modernity.

The early popularity of the bicycle in the Basque country therefore, is coterminous with industrialisation. The domestic bicycle industry, in a region richer than most, made the cost of bikes less than elsewhere in Spain. Practical factors also mitigated as anyone who has visited Euskadi and experienced its terrain will testify. Miguel Madariaga, co-founder of the Fundación Euskadi team stated in a recent interview that, “The bike played a key role in transport as far back as the 19th Century. For people moving goods around between towns separated by mountains it was a case of the donkey or the bike. That helped get the bike established. In the same way men would often use the bike to go to mass on Sunday and then they

would get together afterwards and organise races on bikes that were still fitted with wooden rims”³⁰ This is supported by José Antonio Díaz’s recent homage to Vizcayan cycling tracing the province’s cycling history as far back as 1884.³¹

Table 1: Establishment of National Cycle Federations or Unions

USA	Great Britain	Germany	Russia	Italy	Spain
1880	1878	1884	1884	1894	1902

Table 1 shows the establishment of national cycling federations which in general reflect the order of industrial development. In all cases industrialisation, in terms of heavy production industries or manufacturing had begun to some extent, at least in the major cities or in specific regions as in the Spanish, Italian and Russian examples.³²

However, the establishment of the Spanish federation does not reflect the penetration of the sport in the Basque Country. As local demand for bicycles increased so did demand for competition especially around Eibar, the town where most of the early industry was based and in 1910 the town organised one of the region’s first official races. Consequently, by 1920, the number of cycle clubs in the region already outnumbered those in other Spanish regions. Before the outbreak of Civil War in 1936, all three Basque regions had established cycling federations.³³ With respect to communications Madariaga also explains that the region’s rapid industrialisation led to a comparatively extensive paved road network, which enabled more racing and better competition between regional town clubs.³⁴

Cycle Sport, Capitalism, Early Nationalism to Franco

Lenin once remarked that, “a nation cannot be strong, unless it is strong in sports”, but the ideals and motivations of Arana and nationalist Basque business leaders, like de la Sota, were far from revolutionary.³⁵ Economic and social crisis took hold in 1920, undermining the support for the bourgeois wing of the PNV. Problematically for the movement, economic crisis forced prioritisation of business before nationalism as the region’s business leaders focused energy on their own survival rather than on nationalist politics.³⁶

Conversely, the creation and co-ordination of mountaineering, walking, women’s’ groups and other cultural societies, was largely the work of orthodox nationalists such as Sabino’s brother Luis Arana. This helped continue and nurture grassroots nationalist sympathies and awareness across the urban and rural spectrum. General Primo de Rivera’s 1923 military coup and its subsequent suppression of regionalist claims ensured that cultural and sporting societies would become a core element of clandestine nationalist survival. Cycling clubs, inevitably played their role as a continued base for nationalistic discourse and organisation. Cycling’s inherent mobility and lack of need for a constant venue or meeting place, gave greater fluidity, enabling participants, nationalist sympathisers among them to escape to the comparatively safer rural wilds to talk politics or indeed *Euskara*. Fortunately, cycle races were not suppressed, as is best demonstrated by the establishment of the Tour of the Basque Country stage race, just one year into Primo’s dictatorship.

The nationalist potential of the Tour of the Basque Country, was well realised by its organisers, the *Excelsior* newspaper. Previously, the Tour de France known in France as ‘*La Grande Boucle*’ (the big loop), had been established by Henri Desgranges in 1903, as an indirect result of the Dreyfus Affair (1894-1906). When the cycling newspaper *Le Velo* published a pro-Dreyfus article, its main financial backer, the bicycle builder Baron de Dion, pulled out and started a rival paper, *L’Auto Velo*. Its editor, Desgranges organised the Tour de France to generate support for

the paper through a race looping all of the French 'departments', with the dual aim of unifying the French people.³⁷ Similarly, the establishment of the Giro d'Italia in 1908 by the newspaper *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, was in part motivated by the national sporting challenge represented by the French Tour.

Basque participation in the Tour de France was notable in its early years. Proximity to France made participation viable and Madariaga argues again that the Basque road infrastructure provided a strong base of contenders for the Tour. In 1933 Basque rider Fermin Trueba became the Tour's first King of the Mountains and by 1936, Orbea supported the team of Basque stage winner Federico Ezquerro.³⁸

The owners of *Excelsior* perhaps optimistically, claimed that the Tour of the Basque Country would rival both the Giro and the Tour, projecting a national challenge to the French and Italians and not least to the Spanish State. Converse to Primo, Franco later recognised the nationalist potential of a race demarcating 'Euskadi', preventing its re-establishment at the end of the Spanish Civil War until 1969.³⁹ Ironically, *Excelsior* was bankrupted by a printing strike in 1930, after which only one more edition of the race occurred prior to the outbreak of Civil War on 18 July 1936.

The first edition of the Vuelta a España (1935), was organised by yet another newspaper *Diario Ya* but political uncertainties in Spain forced a shortened 1936 edition. Established during the Second Republic's last full year, hopes to unite Spain's regions and dissolve political polarisation, as had been the intent of the French Tour, were thus dashed.⁴⁰

Spain's international status as a cycling nation was recognised during 1936 when British Labour organisations co-operated in an international cycle ride from Glasgow to Barcelona, to raise awareness and Republican funds against the insurgent Fascist threat. The same year, the British Labour newspaper *The Clarion*, authorised its cycle club to pledge funds to the Spanish Medical Aid Committee, the National Youth Food-ship Committee and the International Brigade, which a number

of its members subsequently joined.⁴¹ The Basque Country was overrun by the insurgents in 1937, the attacks on Gernika leaving a bitter taste.⁴² The Republic's defeat ultimately stalled any open regionalism curtailing the partisan nature of regional sports events, as Franco imposed Spanish nationalism, thwarting regional expression and culture. In the spring of 1941, Franco, the sports fanatic, however allowed revival of the Vuelta, recognising its Spanish nationalist potential.⁴³

The Franco Years 1936-1975

Cycling Pariah

The fortunes of Spanish cycle sport were mixed during the Franco regime reflecting his policies and economic, national and international factors to 1975. The Second World War brought a halt to international competition in all sports. The last pre-war Giro D'Italia was held May 1940 recommencing in 1946; the last Tour de France occurred in July 1939, only resuming in 1947. By contrast, cycle sport tentatively continued in Spain despite infrastructural disruption caused by the Civil War, economic uncertainty and the imposition of a police state.

The complexion of the government after the Civil War, with its undertone of fascism, also hindered international events. Despite relative Spanish neutrality during World War Two (fascist Spain had supported the Axis until 1943) the war prevented any truly international events, even with Franco's ideological allies. Nonetheless, in 1941 competitive road cycling resumed in Spain with the 3rd edition of the Vuelta. Of a meagre field of 32, only four Swiss gave any foreign flavour. Of significance was the very fact that this edition was and remains the longest ever (4,406kms over 22 stages⁴⁴), reflecting a keen desire of the Franco regime to demarcate the Spanish State, across the regions and the former Republican strongholds.⁴⁵

The staging of long single day races and stage races, including the Vuelta, remained economically problematic. Despite this the public were engaged by the sport. A number of protagonists gave the Spanish at large plenty of entertainment,

among them the Basque rider Trueba. The 1941 edition of the Vuelta was won by the Madrid born rider Julián Berrendero. 1942's edition revealed a partisan divide between supporters of Berrendero, who supported football club Real Club Deportivo Espanyol and his main rivals who supported F.C. Barcelona. An incredible 100,000 people covered the streets of Casa de Campo, to watch the final stage.⁴⁶

The reliance of such races upon private finance, often derived from newspapers, was certainly disrupted. Due to increasing pressures caused by World War, the 5th Vuelta did not take place until 1945 when Diario Ya only just managed to resume organisation.⁴⁷ The implementation of autarky, Franco's classic example of fascist economic policy (1945-1957), whilst almost crippling any hope of Spanish post war recovery, also took its toll on cycling sponsorship. This corporate state model, backed by a repressive police and spy apparatus was not best disposed to unfettered newspaper publication, containing the development of capitalist links and professionalizing sponsorship of teams and events. Many Basques left for effective exile in France, some riders based themselves in the safety of the French Pays Basque departments, or further to the United States and Latin America.

Thus, Diario Ya in 1950, had to cease organisation of the Vuelta, but significantly transferred responsibility to Basque publishers *El Correo Español – Pueblo Vasco*. The Basque economy did not escape the impacts of post-war isolationism, with the consequence that the new Vuelta organisers did not stage the next Vuelta until 1955.⁴⁸ The most able Spanish cyclists were forced to prove themselves abroad. In 1952 Barnardo Ruiz achieved third place in the Tour de France, having won the Vuelta in 1948. In 1954 Federico Bahamontes won the gruelling 'King of the Mountains' jersey in the Tour, confirming a Spanish renaissance at an international level in the sport.⁴⁹

Despite these negative conditions the 1955 Vuelta comprised 15 stages, 106 riders and 18 teams. Importantly it was also the first edition which did not start or

finish in Madrid, instead running in a loop from Bilbao to Bilbao. It also featured Vizcayan hero Jesús Loroño, who later assumed iconic cycling status amongst the Basques by winning the 1957 Vuelta overall. The Vuelta to 1950 had always featured the Basque Country and northern provinces, but the *El Correo Español – Pueblo Vasco* organisers ensured that the ‘Spanish’ race always at least started or finished in a Basque town until 1978.⁵⁰

Despite Franco’s pariah status in the free world, the mid 1950s economy survived, largely because of US funds designed to secure Spain as an anti-communist ally.⁵¹ By February 1957, the inclusion of economic technocrats from the Catholic Opus Dei order and abandonment of autarky indicated the regime’s move towards economic modernisation and integration into world capitalism.⁵² Loroño’s 1957 Vuelta victory thus symbolically referenced a transition in Basque economic and cycling fortunes.

Spanish fortunes also improved, as Loroño’s rival Federico Bahamontes, nicknamed ‘The Eagle of Toledo’ became the first Spaniard to win the Tour de France ahead of Loroño. In 1957 Bahamontes had conversely been second in the Vuelta, after which he based his career in France. Bahamontes did not support the regime, though objections remained subdued allowing inclusion in the national squad enabling these performances to be claimed in the name of Spain and indirectly the regime.

The 1960’s Spanish economic boom, coincided with the continued rise of Spanish cycling, as Julio Jimenez continued where Bahamontes had left off, dominating the Tour’s ‘King of the Mountains’ jersey, winning in 1965, 1966 and 1967. In 1967 he also achieved second place in the Tour’s overall classification. The strengthening Spanish and Basque economies of the late 1960s were evidenced by the appearance of a number of strong commercially sponsored teams. The most prolific was KAS (a Vitoria based soft drinks company).⁵³ In 1968, the strength of Spanish cycling was further evidenced by Spain’s overall *points* win in the Tour de

France.⁵⁴ The renewed commercialisation of the professional sport enabled Basque business to again rally behind the region's cycling and other sports clubs as Franco lost grip. The introduction of television in Spain during the early 1960's was a state run enterprise, dominated by movies and especially sport, but crucially this new medium enabled fans to share their hero's achievements with a new cathartic immediacy, whilst giving sponsors valuable exposure.



Angel Castresana and the author, Mark Hill

The Spanish nationalist project of Franco prevented overt Basque or Catalan nationalist expression through sport, culture or language. Franco regarded Basque culture, especially the language, as an excuse for and sign of separatism.⁵⁵ Football, basketball and cycling though, were all elements in Franco's concept of sport as an instrument of nationalism. The Real Madrid football team and national squad were essential ingredients of this at national and international levels. Franco's prohibition

of the European Nations Cup football match against the USSR in 1960 and the eventual 1964 win against the USSR, hosted by Spain demonstrated this; the latter hailed by the press as the 'logical culmination of Franco's victory in the Civil War.'⁵⁶ In 1965 Spain gained further sporting kudos by hosting the cycling World Championship at Lasarte.

Franco's rejection of international criticism and attempts by the most reactionary in the regime to denounce liberalisation, were out of kilter with reality, especially in the Basque Country. The opening of Spain to tourism and the slight liberalisation of the regime enabled economic growth, but also allowed the resurgence of overt Basque nationalism.⁵⁷ Franco also resented the social political shift of the Second Vatican Council, which added fuel to young Catholic priests. Such priests were influenced by the general concept of liberation theology giving Basque nationalist discourse and cultural pursuits a sanctuary to some extent.

In 1960 the first *ikastolas* (schools in which Euskara is the language of instruction) opened since the Civil War, but the best known militant form of Basque nationalism was embodied in the emergence of the radical separatist terrorist movement ETA (*Euskadi' ta Askatasuna* - Euskadi and Liberty), which developed during the late 1950's. It is often argued that many ETA activists came from or were influenced by the seminaries and convents of the rural Catholic Church.⁵⁸ Whilst increasing interest in the nationalist issue as a whole, its role with regards to sporting events has been paradoxical to that of the PNV (from which it split in 1959).⁵⁹ ETA commenced its military campaign in 1961 focusing activity upon symbols of the Spanish State and Franco. In 1968 ETA organised clandestine demonstrations that coincided with *Aberri Eguna* (Basque national day), which erupted into riots. The same year, Txabi Echevarrieta became the first ETA militant shot by police. In revenge ETA assassinated the head of the political police in Guipúzcoa.⁶⁰ Consequently the Spanish authorities imposed a state of emergency in the province and Vizcaya.⁶¹

Consequently May 1968, a reference point for European social unrest, particularly in France, was no less so for Basque cycling. The 15th stage between Vitoria and Pamplona of that spring's Vuelta was marked by a terrorist bomb placed on the route. This detonated shortly before the race's arrival and caused the suspension of the stage.⁶² Despite this atmosphere the Tour of the Basque Country resumed in 1969, but the new stars of the late 1960's and 1970's were consequently more politicised than many of their predecessors.

The stars and rivals of the first half of the 1970s were Luis Ocaña and José Manuel Fuente of the still dominant KAS team. Ocaña won the Vuelta in 1970 and the Tour de France in 1973 and based most of his training in France, endearing him to the Basques.⁶³ The Worlds arrived in Barcelona in 1973 finishing at Montjuich where Ocaña achieved third place, but cycling again suffered the activities of ETA as protesters forced a stage of the Vuelta to be abandoned during 1973.⁶⁴ The rivalry between the Asturian José-Manuel Fuente and Ocaña reached its peak during the 1973 Tour when Fuente achieved third place eighteen minutes behind his rival. Fuente won the Vuelta in 1972 and 1974,⁶⁵ but to many, their rivalry was symbolic of the difficult times in Spain between 1970 and 1975, as the regime underwent a turbulent transition to democracy.⁶⁶

Surprisingly no editions of the Vuelta or Tour of the Basque Country were cancelled by the atmosphere of political crises brought about by the Burgos trials, or indeed the reactionary activity of the fascist civilian or military 'bunkers' that favoured *continuismo* as Franco's health deteriorated⁶⁷ State insecurity came to the fore after ETA assassinated Franco's right hand man, the Prime Minister Admiral Carrero Blanco with a car bomb in Madrid on 20 December 1973. The April 1974 coup d'état in Portugal also increased fascist paranoia.⁶⁸ Amid increased suppression of Basque nationalism during 1975 and especially as a result of the trials and executions of ETA activists in September, international criticism and internal concerns from economists and industrialists grew, echoed by most of the Basque population.⁶⁹

As with the late 1960s, it has to be remembered that most of the Basque professional cyclists of the 1980's (notably Marino Lejarreta) and 1990's were brought up during this time or would have been influenced by the accounts of their parents and relatives. Thus, the death of Franco on 20th November 1975, although removing the figurehead of the extreme right, also heralded the beginning of a new era in not only Spanish politics, but in the politics and economics of Basque cycle sport as a nationalist force.

Transition, Autonomy and Basque Domination in Cycling 1975-1996

A Divided Sport

Following Franco's death Spain's political future faced immediate crisis, but the abandonment of Francoism was completed by the first general election in forty years, on 15 June 1977.⁷⁰ In the Basque Country, the elections indicated Basque nationalism had returned through party representation, despite very high levels of abstention in the region. The key divide within the movement remained the question of PNV style autonomy or the separatist agenda of the more intransigent *Herri Batasuna* (HB).⁷¹

The drafting of the Spanish Constitution added to frictions, as it was seen as a violation of and non-recognition of the historic *fueros*. The Constitutional referendum achieved an overall majority of 66 per cent, but in the Basque region it received a 51 per cent abstention rate and a 25.3 per cent negative vote.⁷² The Statute of Autonomy negotiations 1978-1979 did ameliorate some discontent as the PNV were involved its drafting, which was accepted by all major parties, apart from Herri Batasuna. The referendum to approve the Statute was a success for the PNV, with 60.7 per cent of those entitled to vote doing so. Despite this the Statute was felt ambiguous, suggesting a semi-federal status within Spain.⁷³

Bicycle racing did not escape this climate and political tensions precipitated a divide in Basque and Spanish cycle sport. Amid the confusing social and political

crisis, the 1977 Vuelta's finish in Guipuzcoa was re-routed to Miranda de Ebro, as the organisers believed the original route too dangerous – especially following the attack of 1968.⁷⁴ The following year provided more problems as the last stage (divided into two sections concluding in San Sebastián), had to be cancelled due to barricades and obstacles placed to disrupt the race.⁷⁵

Ultimately in January 1979, organiser *El Correo Espanol – Pueblo Vasco* was forced to resign, precisely because the race was perceived by militants as symbolic of the Spanish State. With just three months left before the race's planned start, Spanish cycling figurehead Luis Puig stepped in and sought the collaboration of new organiser Unipublic and co-sponsor Lois, saving the 1979 edition.⁷⁶ Bitter memories ensured Unipublic would never run another stage of the Vuelta a España in Euskadi. Due to nationalist activity and sensibilities a divide and transition in Basque / Spanish stage racing was confirmed.

Basque Cycling After 1975: New Era - New Heroes

The revival of the Tour of the Basque Country in 1969 had signalled the potential softening of the regime. The *Voz de España* newspaper first put the race back on the road by running the race in conjunction with the Bicicleta Vasca stage race for four years. It was not until 1973 that the Tour of the Basque Country regained its old explicit identity. The *Voz de España* bought the rights to the race in 1973 and began to run it as a separate event to the summertime Bicicleta Vasca. The *Voz de España* bankrupted in 1980, but the post-Franco era enabled the newly re-established *Federación Vasca de Ciclismo* and Unipublic to take over the race for a further two years.⁷⁷

Critically, the regional press was now free of Francoist shackles that had stifled commercialisation of sport and in 1982 the newspaper *El Diario Vasco* became the new organisers. The newspaper considered the race so important in terms of Basque national identity, that they established a sporting organisation within

the paper to run the event. Furthermore, in 1981 the paper helped establish the San Sebastian one day race.⁷⁸ Economically, *El Diario Vasco's* support of the region's cycle sport was unparalleled, indicating a virtually unique form of sporting autonomy within Spain.⁷⁹

The Basque economic revitalisation of cycle sport during the 1980's was aided by a new breed of riders influenced by the national cause during the transition to democracy 1975-1982. Most notable amongst these was Marino Lejaretta. Explicit about his Basque identity, in a manner previously ill-advised under Franco, Lejaretta became the region's new hero. In 1981 and 1982 Lejaretta won the San Sebastian Classic allowing *El Diario Vasco* to bask in reflected glory. In 1982 he won the Vuelta and achieved second in 1983 where he made the mountain pass of Lagos de Cavadonga famous through an audacious attack.⁸⁰ Lejaretta enjoyed a long career, winning the first fully professional San Sebastian Classic again in 1987 and placing third overall in the 1991 Vuelta behind none other than Miguel Indurain.

Lejaretta's retirement from the peloton did not remove him from promoting the Basque identity. Significantly, it was Lejaretta who with Madariaga provided much of the impetus for the establishment of the *Fundación Euskadi* and the development of the unique Euskadi Cycle team in 1992/3.⁸¹ Marino Lejaretta's success at international level also helped revitalise Spanish cycle sport as a whole.

Between 1975 and 1980 Spanish cycling achievements were fewer than in previous years as if suspended by national uncertainties. The 23 February 1981 attempted coup of Colonel Tejero in the Cortes, marked the last gasp of the military right. The October 1982 election of the socialist government of Felipe González (PSOE) saw the Socialists achieve a 47.6 per cent landslide.⁸² In the Basque Country the PSOE share of the vote was good at 29.4 per cent, whilst the PNV gained 32.1 per cent. Herri Batasuna suffered from acquiescence to ETA's terrorist activity and the widespread indignation this caused in the region, polling 14.8 per cent.⁸³

In the mid-1980's Spanish cyclists returned to dominate the international sport. If Lejaretta represented a Basque icon then Perico Delgado's rise represented a rejuvenation or rebirth of Spanish national pride in the new democratic era. Delgado embodied a sportsman around whom Spaniards could rally, without the legacies of Real Madrid or the regionalist limitations of Barcelona and Athletic de Bilbao.

The most bizarre incident in Spanish cycling surrounded the events of the 17th stage of the 1985 Vuelta. The race leader by over six minutes by stage 16 was the Scottish rider Robert Millar, but during the following aggressive stage he became isolated from his French Peugeot team-mates by a closed level crossing barrier. His team waited for several minutes for a train that apparently never came, by which time Delgado and some other Spanish riders, including the Basque Ruiz Cabestany, were able to work together to ensure Delgado's ultimate victory and Spanish domination of the national event.⁸⁴ Recriminations have abounded ever since, with supporters of Millar suggesting foul play, but the race organiser Unipublic has always maintained that Delgado's win was one of the greatest Spanish cycling achievements, whilst conversely suggesting sour grapes on the part of Millar.⁸⁵

Delgado's team sponsor from 1990 was the Spanish bank Banesto. In 1987 Delgado was second overall in the Tour de France, whilst his 1988 victory in the Tour returned Spain to the pinnacle of the sport.⁸⁶ Occasional controversies may have marked Delgado's career, but his achievements in the sport ensured greater commercial interest nationally and especially within the Basque Country. Though not Basque, his sponsor Banesto had significant Basque connections and was based in Navarra. Delgado's time as team leader at Banesto also gave rise to a new talent in the wings, the Navarra born, Miguel Indurain.

Basque Icon or Navarran Farm Boy?

Miguel Indurain achieved more than any other cyclist since the Frenchman, Bernard Hinault's domination of the sport in the early 1980's. In 1995 Indurain set a unique record, winning five consecutive editions of the Tour de France (since surpassed by Lance Armstrong); becoming only the fourth rider ever to win five Tours.⁸⁷ This placed Indurain amongst the ranks of the cycling legends Eddy Merckx, Jacques Anquetil and Hinault. Indurain's Navarran birth place, Villava and the province's historic links to the Basque Country led to him becoming an undeniable icon to many Basques. Unlike Lejaretta and Delgado, Indurain's national identity was not a simple claim.

Delgado's domination of the sport ensured Indurain was able to rise within the Reynolds and Banesto teams without excessive media focus and pressure until the inevitable questions as to who would be Delgado's successor. Banesto team manager José Miguel Echavarri was asked by a Spanish journalist in 1989, "Hey we are really worried about what's going to happen after Delgado." Echavarri's response was "Take it easy, we've got Miguel Indurain." Echavarri recalls the response, " the journalist just spat out, 'Miguel?' as if I was nuts."⁸⁸

Indurain's victory in the 1990 Paris-Nice stage race did however gain media attention, but the Spanish media discovered that Indurain's personality was not easily penetrated. In 1994 a journalist for *El Pais* summed up, "He has never said anything interesting...like all peasants he is ashamed of talking on the record, he is afraid to show emotion in public."⁸⁹ These characteristics ensured that interest in Indurain remained low late as 1987. His unwillingness to be drawn proved a clear limitation initially in media terms.

During his first professional season in 1985, Indurain won a stage of the Vuelta, but it was not until 1990, that Banesto realised his potential and his potential to replace Delgado. In 1991 Indurain won his first Tour de France with a 3 minute and 36 second advantage over the Italian Giani Bugno. It was a stylish win and was

only Spain's third ever overall Tour victory. From then on Indurain's career became the focus of competing nationalist messages.⁹⁰

Indurain's Navarran status ensured his adoption by Basque cycling fans and nationalists. The sport appeared to reassert its regional bias as wherever, Indurain rode, the distinctive *Ikurriña* dominated the stage routes to 1996. Navarran or Basque, Indurain was the sports icon of Spain as a whole, but the question of Navarra's status as a part of Euskadi remained an issue. In 1989, a survey by the journal *Diario 16*, revealed that 60 per cent of respondents in Alava, Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya, regarded Navarra as inextricably part of Euskadi and that it should be annexed accordingly. To the Basques, Navarra and Indurain were part of Euskadi.⁹¹

Indurain's success as a Navarran, represented a new challenge to the sporting nationalism of the Madrid based media. Indurain was continually projected as Spanish or Navarran and never as a Basque. This situation revealed the existence of Spanish sports nationalism and oppositional Basque sports nationalism throughout the height of Indurain's career. Indurain, remained keen to avoid being brought into nationalist dialogue and debate. In June 1996 when asked about being Navarran he stated, "I was born here, I like this region and its customs, but I don't feel especially patriotic." On ETA activities he stated that, "ETA terrorists have the same lack of respect for life as any other group of delinquents. The Basque Country is not the only place to have terrorists in that respect. What hurts is that human values have been cast aside." On politics in general he claimed it did not interest him.⁹²

Indurain found himself part of a nationalist discourse that existed despite his opinions, but the media continued its subtle manipulation of the nationalist dialogue surrounding the sportsman. In 1996 the Spanish press and public awaited an historic sixth Tour de France victory. The Tour route passed through Indurain's hometown, Villava, on route to Pamplona. *Ikurriñas* dominated the route and especially the

towns. The victory was not to be, but whilst ETA threatened to sabotage the Tour and set off bombs in Pamplona, the Madrid based sports daily, *Marca* failed incredibly to picture the sea of Ikurriñas.⁹³ Conversely, *Meta 2 Mil*, a Basque based cycling newspaper succeeded, as did most of the international press, in showing the mass of Basque flags.⁹⁴

After the 1996 Tour, as the Indurain dream seemed to fade, the Spanish press appeared to come to terms with the end of the Indurain era. Indurain was unanimously lauded as a hero by all the Spanish press. *Marca* even established a phone-in so that supporters could give their appreciation of Indurain's achievements.⁹⁵ Behind the scenes however, Indurain's relationship with the team management of Banesto had been souring since 1995.

Indurain's January 1997 decision, to retire completely from the sport and return to his Villava farm, caused a media sensation and a sense of national sporting crisis. Indurain's enforced participation in the 1996 Vuelta by Banesto is widely believed to have been the last straw of a crumbling relationship. The poor showing by Spanish cyclists and Indurain's retirement, during the 1996 Vuelta prompted the Spanish newspaper *ABC* to report that Spain's cycling had descended into "revolting crisis."⁹⁶ The *Marca* headline following the Atlanta gold medal read, "The King is back - long live the King!" But, he retired despite negotiations with other teams such as Spain's ONCE.

Spanish sports commentators believed Spanish cycling faced a similar fate to that of Belgium and France after long spells of success. This situation had effectively been produced by the nature and focus upon Indurain in a manner detrimental to wider sponsorship of the sport. Meanwhile, in the Basque Country youth and amateur cycling boomed. During an interview in 2004, Basque professional Igor Gonzalez de Galdeano, now thirty, recalled lining up in fields of more than 200 riders as a juvenile and over 300 when he moved up a category.⁹⁷

Indurain's hero status remained intact especially in Pamplona, where he received Navarra's gold medal of honour in December 1996. Additionally, 60 per cent of Spaniards interviewed by *Hablan* magazine believed Indurain should be named Duke of Villava.⁹⁸ Indurain's guest appearance at the Six Hours of Euskadi track race received a standing ovation from the 10,000 strong crowd and was used by the Basque organisers to highlight his Olympic time-trial gold medal gained at Atlanta.⁹⁹ Whether Navarran farmboy or Basque icon, it is important not to underestimate the role of Miguel Indurain to the projection of Basque nationalism.

Euskadi – Cycling's Heartland

Whilst Indurain's status as a Basque remained open to question, during 1994-95 his heir apparent Abraham Olano represented an unquestionable demonstration of Basque nationalist expression through the sport. Olano's Basque credentials and willingness to demonstrate them by speaking Euskara, represented a God send to nationalism not seen since Lejaretta. Olano embodied so many of the requirements of Basque identity. Olano lived in a traditional Basque farmhouse remaining resident in the tiny farming village of Altzo, 50 kilometres south of San Sebastián. His home province of Guipuzcoa, unlike Navarra is unquestionably Basque. His second place in the 1995 Vuelta and victory ahead of Indurain at the 1995 World Championships in Colombia ensured his elevation to Basque cult status, but placed on him the burden of public expectation that he would be the new Indurain.

However, Olano's importance is in terms of what he symbolised as a representative of Basque sporting nationalism and as evidence of life after Indurain. The years of expansion in Spain's economy during the late 1980's ran out of steam just as Indurain began his domination of the sport. In 1990 Spain had eleven fully professional cycling teams, by 1996 there were only five. This apparent contraction of the sport's economy was as a result of unwillingness on the part of sponsors to risk money on teams whilst Indurain dominated the sport.¹⁰⁰ Manuel Castillo of *Marca*

however noted that, the Basque Country was the only region where this crisis could be overcome because, “the Basque Country is the heartland of Spanish cycling”.¹⁰¹

Fundación Euskadi – An Emancipation of the Basque People

Whilst the major Spanish cycling teams of the 1990s (Banesto, ONCE and Kelme), typified the international pattern of sponsorship, motivated by the popularity of the sport in terms of TV and newspaper coverage, in the Basque Country a new unique phenomenon germinated. The establishment of Fundación Euskadi and Equipo Euskadi was the logical culmination of the sport's historic popularity, the extent of Basque racing and manufacturing achievements and the region's desire to promote and assert its national identity.

The original idea was that of José Alberto Pradera, former PNV parliamentary deputy for Vizcaya and Miguel Madariaga (owner of a Bilbao taxi business). In 1990 Pradera visited the Tour de France with Madariaga and some other local politicians. Aware of the imminent crisis in Spanish cycling sponsorship, concrete plans evolved after the Tour's visit to San Sebastian in 1992, to create a Euskadi team. The vision was a team which represented a country, but which was paid for by individuals in partnership with business. The three Basque provincial cycling federations co-operated with the scheme, encouraged by none other than Marino Lejarreta.¹⁰²

A subsequent survey of local cycling fans revealed 20,000 promises of support for a Euskadi team. By Christmas 1992 the team's existence was officially announced. The team's requirement for riders was that they were Basque or had been based in Basque teams as amateurs, including the French Basque departments and Navarra, which Madariaga explained as accepted as part of Euskadi by most people in the region.

Euskadi's debut in the professional peloton came in 1994. The original jersey displayed no sponsorship names, only the colours of the Ikurriña and the word

'*Euskadi*'. All sponsors, including businesses were simply listed in the back of the team's yearly brochure.¹⁰³ However, the 20,000 promises of 1992 were slow to materialise in 1993 with only 3,500 individual sponsors each paying the equivalent of £60 a month. By 1994 this increased to 4,520 and in 1995 to around 7,000. During 1995 the aim was to achieve 45 per cent of the budget through fans alone and the remaining portion from business contributions. The biggest sponsor in 1994 was Petronor, providing £125,000. By 1995 the budget increased to £1.5 million with over 800 businesses involved and during 1995 Euskadi negotiated a deal with Basque television, whereby in exchange for the display of the TV company motif on the jersey, the company would make up any shortfall in the budget.¹⁰⁴

The idea to promote the region and simultaneously deliver a nationalist message through the team's symbolic imagery, received a further boost in 1995. At this time the Société du Tour de France invited Euskadi to participate in a number of the organisation's races with a view to a place in the Tour itself. However, during 1996 the team failed to qualify and its financially precarious set up was highlighted by delays in paying the riders during August 1996.¹⁰⁵

In September 1996 ABC predicted the imminent demise of Equipo Euskadi.¹⁰⁶ However, Basque bicycle manufacturer Orbea/Zeus received payment for two years worth of bikes and Basque cycle clothing manufacturer Etxe-Ondo continued to produce the jerseys.¹⁰⁷ During 1997 lack of funds, led to Madariaga mortgaging his home and taxi business, but news of his plight resulted in support from Euskaltel, the Basque Country's omnipresent telecommunications company, securing the team's future.

This marked a radical shift from the national colours of the team, to the sponsor's corporate colours and the renaming of the team as *Euskaltel-Euskadi*. In 2000, a radical change to bright orange and navy kit, later prompted one of the most successful and spectacular nationalist statements in any modern sport. The shrewd adoption of the words *Pays Basque*, on the kit issued for races held in France paid

off and in itself represented a challenge to the contrary nationalist point of the Grand Boucle itself. Qualification to the 2001 Tour de France ensured a step change for the team which resulted in an epic stage win. The greatest image of Basque nationalism in cycling was witnessed at Luz Ardiden, where an incredible sea of orange clad fans waving Ikurriñas marked Roberto Laiseka's impressive mountain top victory.

The orange team's reputation for attacking riding continued and in 2003 another classic Tour stage to l'Alpe Duez, was won by the new Basque star Iban Mayo, with the team achieving fifth (Haimar Zubeldia) and sixth (Mayo) in the overall classification. However, the impact of Euskaltel-Euskadi on Basque cycling and a projection of national identity has been best evidenced by the now synonymous masses of flag waving fans dressed in orange particularly in the Pyrenean Tour stages since 2001. Madariaga, recently observing the team's history and present 6 million Euro annual budget commented, "This team has been like a child that was born into a poor family...this kid has nearly always been in shorts with dirty legs, but now it wears trousers."¹⁰⁸

As the 2004 Tour team prepared to leave Derio's farewell celebration Jesús Garitaonandia the parish priest of the Basilica Begoña blessed the caravan saying, "Who would have thought five or six years ago that we were going to have a team of Basque riders competing at the Tour." Politicians also realise the journey made by the Euskadi project. Basque Minister for Culture, Miren Azkarate's has said that, "The team represents the Basque people and they have all the spirit and support of Basque society." Comments echoed by the head of the provincial government of Vizcaya, Jose Luis Bilbao, "Millions of people will follow you and you go to represent this country, Euskadi."¹⁰⁹ For the Basques the team is undoubtedly a nationalist demonstration, of pride and identity as best articulated by Haimar Zubeldia's simple statement, "We are an emancipation of the Basque people."¹¹⁰

Conclusion

Early Basque industrialisation and nationalism has clearly acted as a driving force, around which bicycle racing and cycle sport evolved. In particular the capitalist nationalist seeds set by de la Sota, nurtured by the popularity of the bicycle in the region grew in tandem with the development of Basque cycle sport, culminating in the realisation of Euskaltel-Euskadi.

This is no imagined façade. The strength and depth of Basque cycling remains embodied in the still vibrant cycling manufacturing industry. Orbea with its 33.5 million Euro annual revenue cannot be sniffed at. Other companies like BH, Spiuk / Kuips and Etxe-Ondo thrive on a strong local and international market.¹¹¹ The Basque Country is also the registered home of several top teams such as Paternina and Café Baques and Basque personnel dominate most other Spanish teams such as Liberty Seguros and Illes Balears-Banesto. Over seventy Division 1 professional cyclists live in the region and there are more amateur teams than anywhere else in Spain. As San Sebastián Classic organiser Fernando Urgate said, “The Basque people love their cycling.”¹¹²

Euskara spoken by nearly 700,000 Basques has also played its part in cycling. Despite a minor conflict in 2003, between the former Spanish foreign affairs minister and the Tour organisers, international recognition of Basque sensibilities and their contribution to the sport, has been made by the Société du Tour de France, through production of race publicity and information in French and Euskera.¹¹³ Similarly all Euskadi Foundation material is published in Euskera and Spanish, whilst *El Diario Vasco* has published all San Sabastián Classic information in Euskera, Spanish and French.¹¹⁴

Nationalist symbolism through the Ikuriña and the awarding of large Txapelas (Basque berets) to local race winners is a major feature of cycle racing and a specific youth development team (Euskadi Selection) has also been established through the

Basque Federation underpinning the sport's future still further whilst reinforcing the nationalist message through its bright green Ikuriña emblazoned jerseys.

There is a definite link between Basque nationalism, identity and traditional sports including pelota and wood chopping, but also modern sports, not least cycling. Few countries can boast presidents who ride up mountains to watch their favourite sport such as the Lehendakari (Basque president) who has said, "We are a sensible and ancient people...Basque society wants to look forward to the future without renouncing the past." Basque nationalism is a continuum and as demonstrated here, its cycling achievements are woven in its past and spell out its future, "Sport is part of Basque culture and also the suffering and sacrifice..."¹¹⁵

NOTES

- ¹ The Vuelta a España is Spain's equivalent three week stage race similar to the Tour de France.
- ² The Spanish word 'aficionado' means fan similarly to the Italian term 'tifosi.' However the word confusingly is also used to describe the highest level of Spanish amateur road racing.
- ³ The term 'farm' is used by cycling journalists to describe the productive output of Basque amateur teams to the larger professional teams. A large number of non-Basques also progress this way.
- ⁴ *Marca*, Spanish national daily sports newspaper (19 September, 1996).
- ⁵ See cyclingnews.com (October 2002).
- ⁶ J.A. Mangan (ed), *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport* (London 1996), p1.
- ⁷ J. Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, (Manchester University Press, 1993), p373.
- ⁸ Marianne Heiberg, *The Making of the Basque Nation*, (Cambridge UP, GB, 1989), P49.
- ⁹ See *Orbea.com* - marketing literature produced by the Basque bicycle manufacturer for USA (2004).
- ¹⁰ *British Cycle Federation Year Book* (Manchester, England. 1996).
- ¹¹ P. Preston, *Franco* (London, Fontana, 1995), p700.
- ¹² D.R. Shaw, *The Political Instrumentalization of Football in Francoist Spain, 1935-75*, Phd Thesis, (University of London 1988). This study is held in the University library Phd archives.
- ¹³ *Marca* (July 1992); In addition most Spanish and indeed international daily newspapers reported the ETA car bombing of British Channel 4 vehicles in San Sebastián during the 1992 Tour de France.
- ¹⁴ *Cycle Sport* (IPC, UK, November 1995), p50.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p53
- ¹⁶ Sabino Arana is regarded as the architect of Basque nationalism.
- ¹⁷ J. Harrison, *The Regenerationist Movement in Spain After the Disaster of 1898*, *European Studies Review*, Vol 9, No. 1 (January 1971), p2.
- ¹⁸ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London, Verso, 1983).
- ¹⁹ S.G. Payne, *Catalan and Basque Nationalism*, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 6, No 1 (1971), p16.
- ²⁰ See Heiberg, *Making of the Basque Nation*, p11.
- ²¹ S.G. Payne, *Basque Nationalism*, (University of Nevada Press, USA, 1975), p5. The ancient Fueros laws and privileges (varying province to province, but including exemption from military service and duty taxes) were recognised by Castile from the Eleventh Century, but were abolished after the Second Carlist War 1873-74.
- ²² See Heiberg, *The Making of the Basque Nation*, p50.

- ²³ J. Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism: The Fight for Euskadi 1890-1986* (Routledge, London and New York, 1988), p3.
- ²⁴ See Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism*, p12.
- ²⁵ J. Harrison, *Big Business and the Rise of Basque Nationalism*, *European Studies Review*, no 7 (1977), p372.
- ²⁶ See Payne, *Catalan and Basque Nationalism*, p23.
- ²⁷ See Orbea historical literature 2004.
- ²⁸ Gerschenkron.
- ²⁹ See Mangan, *Tribal Identities*, p173.
- ³⁰ P. Cossins, *A Race Apart*, Peter Cossins, *Procyling Magazine* (Highbury-Cabal, January 2004), p63.
- ³¹ J.A. Diaz, *La Gran Historia del Cicilismo Vizcaino*, *Federacion Ciclismo de Vizcaya*, (2000).
- ³² Spanish Cycle Federation (*Federe Ciclismo*) and *Tribal Identities*, p167.
- ³³ *Fundación Euskadi* - information booklet (1996), p2.
- ³⁴ See P. Cossins, *Procyling Magazine* (January 2004), p64.
- ³⁵ S. Jones, *The European Workers' Sports Movement*, *European History Quarterly*, vol 18 (1988), p6.
- ³⁶ See J. Harrison, *Big Business and the Rise of Basque Nationalism*, p379.
- ³⁷ *Cycle Sport*, (IPC Magazines, UK, May 1995), p72.
- ³⁸ See *Procyling Magazine* (2004), p64.
- ³⁹ J. Evans, *The Guinness Book of Cycling Facts and Feats* (Guinness Publishing & IPC Magazines, 1996, London), p49.
- ⁴⁰ Unipublic, current owners of Vuelta a España archives, www.lavuelta.com, (España 2004).
- ⁴¹ S. Jones, *European Workers' Sports Movement*, p21.
- ⁴² Bilbao capitulated to the insurgents after Gernika and other cities were bombed by the Luftwaffe.
- ⁴³ *Federe Ciclismo*, *Vuelta information leaflet*. (1994).
- ⁴⁴ See Unipublic archives, (2004). At a time when riders carried their own tyres and a spare inner tube (which was used frequently) and had to conduct all their own repairs this edition was particularly gruelling as evidenced by the fact that only 16 riders finished.
- ⁴⁵ Statistics obtained from *Federe Ciclismo*. (1996).
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ See Carr, *Modern Spain*, p155.
- ⁴⁸ See Unipublic archives 2004.
- ⁴⁹ See Evans, *Facts and Feats*, p40.
- ⁵⁰ See Unipublic archives (2004).
- ⁵¹ See P. Preston, *Politics of Revenge* (1995), p143.
- ⁵² R. Carr and J.P. Fusi, *Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy* (UK, 1979), p53.
- ⁵³ See Unipublic archives (2004).
- ⁵⁴ *Cycle Sport* (August 1995), p29.
- ⁵⁵ See Preston, *Franco*, p717.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., p717.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., p90.
- ⁵⁸ See Heiberg, *The Making of the Basque Nation*, pp94 – 103.
- ⁵⁹ ETA split from the PNV as the latter's leadership refused to support a military response to Francoism.
- ⁶⁰ Significant repression and arrests culminated in the Burgos trials of sixteen people, including two priests and two women, implicated in the killing.
- ⁶¹ See Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism*, p72.
- ⁶² See Unipublic archive (2004).
- ⁶³ *Cycle Sport* (August, 1994), p50.
- ⁶⁴ *Marca* (July, 1994).
- ⁶⁵ See Evans, *Facts and Feats*, p60.
- ⁶⁶ *Cycle Sport* (October, 1995), p10.
- ⁶⁷ See Preston, *Franco*, p768.
- ⁶⁸ See Preston, *Politics of Revenge*, p156.
- ⁶⁹ See P. Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain* (Edn. 1996), p75.
- ⁷⁰ See Carr, *Modern Spain*. P174
- ⁷¹ Herri Batasuna is seen as the political party of ETA similar to Sinn Fein and the IRA.
- ⁷² See Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy*, p21
- ⁷³ Ibid. p26

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- ⁷⁴ See *Unipublic* archives (2004).
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ Unipublic's involvement reflected the fact that this was a Basque race unlikely to attract militant disruption.
- ⁷⁸ Later this became part of the World Cup Classic series from 1987, which its sporting organisation also ran in addition to the world class track event the Six Hours of Euskadi.
- ⁷⁹ *Cycle Sport* (May 1995), p73
- ⁸⁰ See *Unipublic* archives (2004).
- ⁸¹ See *Fundación Euskadi, Team Brochure*, Number 3 (1996).
- ⁸² See Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain*, pp225-226
- ⁸³ See L. Shand, LSE, MA thesis. p9
- ⁸⁴ *El Pais* (15 July, 1994), p60
- ⁸⁵ See *Unipublic* archives, (2004).
- ⁸⁶ This win, though marred by a positive drugs test, which detected the masking agent probenecid, did not result in disqualification due to it not being on the UCI's (the international cycling governing body) banned list.
- ⁸⁷ In 2004 Lance Armstrong surpassed Indurain's record, however most commentators agree that Indurain's achievements were wider than just focus on the Tour de France.
- ⁸⁸ *Cycle Sport* (March 1997), p20.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p21
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p61
- ⁹¹ *Diario 16* (19 February 1989).
- ⁹² *Cycle Sport*, *Interview with Indurain* (July 1996), p20.
- ⁹³ *Cycling Weekly* (6 and 20 July 1996), p6.
- ⁹⁴ *Marca* (18 July 1996).
- ⁹⁵ *Marca* (17 July 1996).
- ⁹⁶ *ABC* (29 September 1996), p92.
- ⁹⁷ See P Cossins, *Pro Cycling* (January 2004), p64.
- ⁹⁸ *Cycle Sport* (February 1997), p10.
- ⁹⁹ *Cycle Sport* (April 1997), p40.
- ¹⁰⁰ Jeff Van Looy, *Meta 2 Mil.* (1996) See *Cycle Sport* for related article in English (March 1996), p61
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p47
- ¹⁰² *Cycle Sport* (November 1995), pp50-53.
- ¹⁰³ *Fundación Euskadi Equipo Euskadi Ciclista*, Team brochure (1996).
- ¹⁰⁴ *Cycle Sport* (November 1995), p53.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Cycle Sport* (November 1996), p11.
- ¹⁰⁶ *ABC* (29 September 1996), p92.
- ¹⁰⁷ M. Tarrant, *Prendas Ciclismo*, Information obtained from conversations between the author and UK sole importer of Etxe-Ondo clothing.
- ¹⁰⁸ M. Hardie, *A Little More Clockwork Orange*, cyclingnews.com (February 2004).
- ¹⁰⁹ M. Hardie, *Get Set for the Orange Tide*, cyclingnews.com, (July 2004).
- ¹¹⁰ See M. Hardie, *A Little More Clockwork Orange* (February 2004).
- ¹¹¹ C Henry, *Inside Orbea*, cyclingnews.com (April 2004).
- ¹¹² A Hood, *Tour of the Basque Country* (Velo News USA, April 2000).
- ¹¹³ *Eurosport.com* (July 2003): The dispute centred on the inclusion of Basque as one of the race's official languages during the stage to Bayonne. The deal was agreed by the TDF and the French wing of Batasuna (which had recently been outlawed in Spain).
- ¹¹⁴ *El Diario Vasco: Organizaciones Deportivas, San Sebastián Clásica programme* (1996).
- ¹¹⁵ M. Hardie, *Interview with Euskaltel's David Etxebarria*, cyclingnews.com (September 2002).