

Continuity and change in Spanish colonial Africanism, 1875-1975*¹

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SUMMARY

Abstract: This text traces the history of intellectual and institutional thinking on Africa that took place in Spain throughout the colonial period. Europeans established a new relationship with Africans, while Spain became a minor power following the loss of the remnants of its empire. In Madrid, Barcelona, Granada and Las Palmas groups and publications advocated intervention in the continent to the south. They constructed images of the African, Arab or Muslim “other” in order to legitimise their submission, and accompanied them with images of the colonising “us”. These discourses became inevitably transformed over a hundred years, given the participation of the diverse groups from liberal intellectuals to Francoist military officials. Still, some of the initial arguments persisted. While conceptualising Africa as a backward and colonisable space, Spanish Africanists often insisted on the geographical, historical, and cultural unity on both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar. They thus participated in the construction of a certain idea of a Spanish nation, which was portrayed as both a civiliser of peoples and a product of the fusion of peoples.

Keywords: colonialism, Africanism, national imaginary, Protectorate of Morocco, Spanish Guinea, Spanish Sahara.

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1. Precedents

When the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy began in 1874, Spain was a minor European state, a product of the disintegration of the Spanish Empire half a century earlier that kept "a group of widely scattered islands and archipelagos".¹ But whereas the Canary Islands or Balearics were understood as an integral part of what in the nineteenth century was conceived as the "Spanish nation", Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines remained as dependent colonial territories, which shaped a little "colonial system".²

In Africa, Spain held a number of enclaves and interests which were the only ones to experience some expansion during the decade of military expeditions of 1857-1866 in the times of Elisabeth II. In 1858, the first Spanish governor arrived to the island of Fernando Poo, whose sovereignty was claimed on the basis of a treaty with Portugal in 1778. Here, the British foundation of Port Clarence during the 1820s, had forced the original population to share the island with European and African settlers, who controlled the trade of palm oil.

In North Africa, the French conquest of Algeria in 1830s, encouraged the Spanish government to imagine a similar control of Morocco, and inspired the war against the neighbouring sultanate in 1859-1860. Although the war did not entail great gains for Spain –the extension of Ceuta's borders, the temporary control of Tetouan and the right to establish fisheries off the Canary Islands–, the Sultanate of Morocco had to assume a wartime indemnification and its progressive consideration as a territory subordinated to European interests. However, apart from this imperialist fury, the dominant policy during the reign of Isabella II was to conserve, more than to enlarge, the colonial territories, and to keep Spain allied to the British and French Empires, far away as much as possible from their rivalries.³

The few thinkers who argue in favour of a colonial policy towards Morocco, in the years before to the "war of Africa", were conservatives and, according to Álvarez Junco more Catholic than nationalist.⁴ DONOSO CORTÉS claimed the missionary fate of Spaniards, economic interests and the need to avoid the expansion of France on the

¹ José María JOVER ZAMORA: *España en la Política Internacional. Siglos XVIII-XX*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 1999, p. 251.

² Josep Maria FRADERA: *Colonias para después de un Imperio*, Barcelona, Bellaterra, 2005.

³ JOVER ZAMORA: *España...*, p. 136.

⁴ José ÁLVAREZ JUNCO: *Mater Dolorosa. La idea de España en el siglo XIX*, Madrid, Taurus, 2001.

southern border, as reasons for decisive action in North Africa. For his part, the young CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO stated, in a phrase that became very popular, that the Spanish fate was extending its border to the Atlas. This imperialist outburst, however, slowed down very soon, and shortly after the end of intervention in Morocco, CÁNOVAS himself retracted from these expansionist impulses.

More liberal intellectuals denigrated the imperial past and emphasised the times before the Habsburg dynasty. Since the nation imagined in the Constitution of 1812, formed by "the reunion of all Spaniards from both hemispheres," perished under the American independences, the liberals strove to circumscribe the history of Spain to barely peninsular limits. The colonial remnants did not fit well with a national history that was no longer imperial, while in the peninsula they identified "liberal traditions" in a medieval period characterised by peaceful coexistence between Christians, Muslims and Jews.⁵ The Orientalists (Arabist and Hebraist scholars), who claimed the Andalusian past as part of an incipient national history, made a fundamental contribution to this.⁶

Only when conservative thinkers definitively adopted a nationalist language, in the last years of the Elizabethan period, the imperial past and its role in the expansion of Catholicism were once again vindicated, this time as part of their own version of the national history.⁷ Before the Restoration, however, neither of the two currents incorporated the actually existing Spanish colonies in Africa, or other possible ones, as a central element in their reflections on Spain.

This changed in the mid-1870s: at this time, the main European powers began to consider Africa as a conquerable space and a number of intellectuals directed their studies and reflections towards the African continent and the Spanish presence there. What follows is a historical journey through the vicissitudes of this "Africanist" thinking, first more liberal and then more conservative, which developed within the framework of a variety of institutions until the withdrawal of the last colony in 1975.

⁵ José ÁLVAREZ JUNCO & Gregorio DE LA FUENTE MONGE: "La evolución del relato histórico" in José ÁLVAREZ JUNCO (coord.): *Las historias de España. Visiones del pasado y construcción de Identidad*. Vol 12 de Historia de España, Barcelona, Crítica-Marcial Pons, 2013, p. 211.

⁶ Xavier ANDREU MIRALLES: *El descubrimiento de España. Mito romántico e identidad nacional*, Madrid, Taurus, 2016; Aurora RIVIÈRE GÓMEZ, *Orientalismo y nacionalismo español Estudios Árabes y Hebreos en la Universidad de Madrid (1843-1868)*, Madrid, Dykinson, 2000.

⁷ ÁLVAREZ JUNCO: *Mater Dolorosa...*

2. The liberal and modernising Africanism (1876-1898)

The 1870s started a period of colonial expansion of major industrialised powers in Africa and Asia. British hegemony of previous decades was now disputed by old empires like France and Russia, and new ones such as Germany, the US or Japan. Rivalries between them and an economic crisis that pushed many European governments toward protectionism, largely explain the beginning of the scramble for Africa. In this context, Spain became a minor player, whose foreign policy after the Six Revolutionary Years (1868-1874) looked mainly to ensure support for the restored monarchy, and initially involved to line up with the new German Empire.⁸ In colonial issues, the retreat politics of prime minister CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO prevailed, as he became aware of the Spanish weakness to participate in the scramble.⁹

That notwithstanding, a number of scholars and intellectuals would show a growing interest for potential and actual Spanish colonies. Africa in particular became a standard reference for advertisers, geographers or Arabists, and played a role in their reflections on Spain, its past and its future. Most of them share modernising and liberal ideas on the political situation of the country and many of them would share the "regenerationist" proposals at the end of the century. This interest was reflected in the creation of a number of associations and scientific societies that tried to influence Spanish policy towards the African continent.

In 1877, the *Asociación Española para la Exploración de África* (Spanish Association for the Exploration of Africa, AEEA) was founded as a subsidiary of the *Association internationale pour l'exploration et la civilisation de l'Afrique*, sponsored by King Leopold II of Belgium after Brussels Geographic Conference (1876). Many of its members belonged also to the brand-new *Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* (Geographical Society of Madrid), created the previous year under the presidency of FRANCISCO COELLO. As main purposes of the SGM were "to recover documentation of geographical discoveries and actions taken by the Spaniards in America", and secondly, to study contemporary colonial issues.¹⁰

Intellectual and commercial elite in Granada and the Canary Islands also created institutions concerned with the neighbouring continent, although with very different

⁸ Rosario DE LA TORRE DEL RÍO: "El factor colonial en la política exterior española, 1789-1898", in CERIH, *I Encuentro Peninsular de Historia de las Relaciones Internacionales*, Zamora, Fundación Rei Afonso Henriques, 1998, p. 260.

⁹ During the 1880 Madrid Conference, Spanish government lined up with London against French ambitions, in defending the territorial integrity of Morocco represented by the Sultan.

¹⁰ José Antonio RODRÍGUEZ ESTEBAN: *Geografía y colonialismo: la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid (1876-1936)*, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1996.

objectives and perspectives. In the capital of the old Nazari Kingdom, Arabists scholars around ANTONIO ALMAGRO CÁRDENAS founded, in 1883, the *Unión Hispano-Mauritánica* (Spanish-Mauritanian Union), which re-launched the magazine *La Estrella de Occidente* created in 1879 and later transformed in the Bulletin *Boletín de la Unión Hispano-Mauritánica*. The objectives of this circle were to promote awareness of the historical and cultural ties that linked Spanish and Moroccan people, and the promotion of trade and travel to the south neighbour.¹¹ Their activities, in intense collaboration with Moroccan colleagues, included translations and publications in Arabic and Spanish.

From a very different perspective, the local bourgeoisie that flourished around Puerto de la Luz (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria) and the growing European shipping to Africa, tenaciously vindicated the establishment of a Spanish enclave on the nearby mainland, as had been established by the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1860. Commercial institutions such as the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Las Palmas* (Economic Society of Friends of Las Palmas) or the *Círculo Mercantil de Las Palmas* (Mercantile Circle of Las Palmas), hoisted, between 1874 and 1883, commercial and fishing interests to support its ongoing requests, but also signaled the danger of Spain's marginalisation in the incipient European carving up of Africa.¹²

Concern for the prestige of Spain in the new international context, and for being able to "place our country in the history of Europe" was a constant of the Geographical Society of Madrid, already expressed in its inaugural act.¹³ Nonetheless, the great impulse to colonialist concerns happened in 1880s, after some leading members of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Education Institution), such as JOAQUÍN COSTA and GONZALO DE REPARAZ, joined the Society introduced by RAFAEL TORRES CAMPOS. In the words of RODRÍGUEZ ESTEBAN (2015, p.123) "they sought, from Geography, a means of regeneration, incorporating Spain in the new European movement".¹⁴ That meant participating in the colonial and expansionist policy in the southern continent.

¹¹ Bernabé LÓPEZ GARCÍA: "Arabismo y orientalismo en España: radiografía y diagnóstico de un gremio escaso y apartado", *Awraq*, vol. XI, 1990; Cristina VIÑES MILLET: *Granada y Marruecos. Andalucismo y africanismo en la cultura granadina*, Granada, Sierra Nevada 95, 1995.

¹² Francisco QUINTANA NAVARRO: "Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña y las tentativas "africanistas" de la burguesía grancanaria, 1860-1898", *VI Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana 1984*, Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1987.

¹³ José Luis VILLANOVA: "La Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid y el colonialismo español en Marruecos (1876-1956)", *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 34, 1999, p. 166.

¹⁴ José Antonio RODRÍGUEZ ESTEBAN: "Discursos geográficos en España (1876-1936): alianzas y fronteras entre España y Portugal", *Revista de Historiografía*, 23, 2, 2015, p. 123.

To this end, this circle promoted several expeditions of exploration and occupation of the African coast. All of them were made following previous incursions of private character, such as the one of JOAQUÍN GATELL in the Saharan coast or that of MANUEL IRADIER in the Gulf of Guinea¹⁵. After the celebration of a *Congreso Español de Geografía Colonial y Mercantil* (Spanish Colonial and Commercial Geography Congress) in 1883, organised by the SGM, an *Asociación de Africanistas y Colonialistas* (Association of Africanists and Colonialist) was created, soon transformed in 1885 into the *Sociedad de Geografía Comercial* (Commercial Geography Society). This association organised two more expeditions with financial support from particulars and the Parliament. MANUEL IRADIER and AMADO OSSORIO went into the rivers Muni and San Benito, in the Gulf of Guinea; whereas Bonelli Rubio took the task of occupying the territories between Cape Bojador and Cape Blanco "to go from there to the Atlantic fisheries and inland, through the desert route that communicated with Timbuktu".¹⁶

These voyages of exploration gained certain relevance at the European division of the African continent, which was taking place at that time, to give arguments to the Spanish government to demand territories in the Western Sahara coast and in Rio Muni. However, the ambitious aspirations of the Spanish Africanists were harshly confronted to the subservient role of Spain with respect to the major powers of Britain, Germany and France; but also, to the policy of prudence and withdrawal of conservative CÁNOVAS government, in power during the celebration of the Berlin Conference (1884-1885). The President of the SGM, FRANCISCO COELLO, who attended the conference as a technical delegate of the Spanish representation, lamented that "due to the neglect and indifference with which all (Spanish) governments have looked at these issues, we have lost possession of the coast of Cameroon", in front of the island of Fernando Po.¹⁷

In order to try to overcome the "indifference" of political and public opinion, Africanists began an intense propaganda campaign. This work was carried out through

¹⁵ In 1878, the AEEA financed the ship *Blasco de Garay* under the command of Cesáreo Fernandez Duro, to locate the site of the old Castilian enclave Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña. Here, The Canary Islands' commercial interests had also previously financed some expeditions. For his part; Juan Víctor Abargues de Sostén travelled to Ethiopia in 1880 with the aim of founding a Spanish port enclave on the shores of the Red Sea, in the new context created by the opening of the Suez Canal. José Antonio RODRÍGUEZ ESTEBAN, "Expediciones españolas. Un sueño efímero", *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica Española*, 20, 2005. QUINTANA NAVARRO: "Santa Cruz..."

¹⁶ RODRÍGUEZ ESTEBAN: "Expediciones españolas...", p.30.

¹⁷ *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, tomo XIX, 1885, p.199, <https://archive.org/stream/boletndelareals03madrgoog>.

various conferences and journals, such as the *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica* (Bulletin of the Royal Geographical Society, 1876), or the *Revista de Geografía Comercial* (Journal of Commercial Geography, 1885) and the *Revista de Geografía Colonial y Mercantil* (Journal of Geography and Colonial Trade, 1897). The arguments developed in the *Congreso Español de Geografía Colonial y Comercial* (Spanish Conference on Colonial Geography and Trade) in 1883 and the subsequent Meeting at the Alhambra Theatre in Madrid on March 30th of next year, gave a good account of the nature of their arguments.

Africanists emphasised on the geographical and racial unity and shared history between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa. JOAQUÍN COSTA defended this in the Meeting of the Alhambra, saying it was "a duty imposed by history which brings us back to Morocco, to give back to our teachers, the civilisation they have forgotten after having transmitted it to us".¹⁸ This viewpoint was a consequence of decades of Arabism, some of whose members such as EDUARDO SAAVEDRA participated in the SGM and Africanist associations emerging later, and which generally held a positive assessment of the Arab past¹⁹. As Parra Montserrat states, "the Africanist discourse [...] drew directly from the topics provided by the Arabists and used them according to its interest".

Arabists commitment to rescue the Arab and Muslim elements of Spanish history and culture always placed them in a difficult situation when it came to justifying the subjugation of the Maghreb populations in terms of inferiority. These scholars had taken advantage of the presence of Spain in the north of the Sultanate of Morocco since the 1859 war and during the First Spanish Congress of Africanists, in 1894, organised by the Grenadian Arabists, the cries in favour of imposing more and more obligations on the Sultan of Morocco, for the benefit of Spanish (and Grenadine) interests were widespread. Over time, however, the Arabists disassociated themselves from colonialist positions would remain fundamentally interested in the Arab past in the peninsula.²⁰ Some of their arguments about the shared culture on both sides of the Strait would, however, be extensively used in the following decades.

Those who continued to encourage Spanish participation in the colonial enterprise also used a number of other historical and political justifications. In his address at a

¹⁸ *El Día*, 31/3/1884.

¹⁹ David PARRA MONTSERRAT, "¿Reescribir la "historia patria"? Diversas visiones de España del africanismo franquista", in Ismael SAZ & Ferran ARCHILÉS, *La nación de los españoles. Discursos y prácticas del nacionalismo español en la época contemporánea*, Valencia, PUV, 2012 (p. 228).

²⁰ LÓPEZ GARCÍA: "Arabismo y orientalismo..."

Meeting at the Alhambra Theater (organised by the SGM in October 1885 in honour of two Portuguese explorers visiting Madrid), Joaquin Costa lamented:

"If Spain does not react immediately against the oblivion of its traditions and its interests, if it does not imitate Portugal, I am not saying our race will be absorbed and cancelled in the future, because America will be able to avoid it, but it will remain in a state of irremediable inferiority to the Saxon, Slavic and perhaps some other race, and having had the opportunity to be the first in population, wealth and power, it will be the last".²¹

These ideas around the imperial past in America, the unavoidable conflict between "races" and their relationships of supremacy or subordination, and the Portuguese example,²² would appear regularly recombined in different ways to claim a more active policy in Africa.

The practical implications of the Spanish Africanist vocation that these men intended to emphasise were not always evident, though. For some of them, like GUMERSINDO DE AZCÁRATE and GABRIEL RODRÍGUEZ in the Meeting of the Alhambra, trade and cultural influence were the main instruments that Spain had to use in its mission in Morocco. There were also those who, like Costa himself, defended the agricultural colonisation. However, formal occupation, especially in the case of Morocco, was not considered essential by all.²³ Paradoxically, the free-market credo was shared by most intellectuals who gathered around the Geographical Societies, at a time in which the main European governments turned to protectionism.²⁴

Indeed, it was the Liberal Party, when governing, who encouraged the most Spanish participation in the division of Africa. As we have pointed out, political conservatives adopted more cautious attitudes towards Spanish colonial capabilities. This was patent in the speech of CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO, at the closure of the Spanish Congress of Colonial Geography and Trade in 1883: "Do distrust, in sum, of excessive expansion,

²¹ *Revista de Geografía Comercial*, 15/11/1885, <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0003304388&search=&lang=es>

²² The intensification of ties with Portugal (and to a lesser extent with France), constituted an ideal developed by geographers as GONZALO DE REPARAZ, who brought together in a single project *Africanism, iberism, and later federalism*. RODRÍGUEZ ESTEBAN: *Geografía y colonialismo...*

²³ Jesús MARCHÁN GUSTEMS: "Costa, los congresos africanistas y la colonización agrícola en Marruecos", in Francisco Javier MARTÍNEZ ANTONIO & Irene GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ (coord.): *Regenerar España y Marruecos: Ciencia y educación en las relaciones hispano-marroquíes a finales del siglo XIX*, CSIC, Madrid, 2011.

²⁴ Azucena PEDRAZ MARCOS: *Quimeras de África. La Sociedad Española de Africanistas y Colonialistas. El colonialismo español de finales del siglo XIX*, Madrid, Eds. Polifemo, 2000.

and mainly colonial conquests that may cost more than they are worth, or that are, worthy or not, above your current capacities".²⁵

In short, during the last third of the nineteenth century, relations between Africa and Spain, and commercial and colonial policies in the continent, became part of the discourse on the Spanish nation. If during the war with Morocco in 1859 it was traditionalist intellectuals such as Donoso Cortés who used Africa to shape a certain image of Spain, in the period of the Restoration and the expansionist fever in Europe, it was liberal and modernizing intellectuals who were fervent colonialists. And, as Martín-Márquez (2011) points out, they were crossed by numerous tensions (or "dramatic ambivalence").²⁶ This intellectual environment was transformed due to the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

From "disaster" to "disaster". *Marroquinist* Africanism (1898-1936)

In 1895 and 1896 respectively, rebellions broke out in Cuba and the Philippines, and in 1898 the United States went to war with Spain for the control of its colonies: this would lead by the Treaty of Paris of December of that same year, to the end of Spanish rule and the beginning of American hegemony in both islands and in Puerto Rico. The following year, another treaty with Germany liquidated the last Spanish power in the Pacific (Carolinas and Mariana Islands). Jover Zamora has considered these events as part of a colonial redistribution of old empires such as the Spanish one at the hands of the major powers of the time.²⁷

1898 was known in Spain as the year of "the disaster" and reinforced the images of a weakened power. Decay and Spanish exceptionalism, already present in many arguments in recent decades, fanned the flames of nationalism with a victim mentality, nostalgic for past greatness.²⁸ Whatever the more progressive or more conservative, more optimistic or more pessimistic version of the Spanish nation, a common element was the "allusion to America, which was presented as a "compensatory myth" of

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.142.

²⁶ Susan MARTÍN-MÁRQUEZ: *Desorientaciones. El colonialismo español en África y la performance de la identidad*, Barcelona, Bellaterra, 2011, p. 72.

²⁷ JOVER ZAMORA: *España...* (p. 170-172)

²⁸ This was already part of conservative accounts of the nation, such as that of Menéndez Pelayo, who had vindicated Spain's imperial past and its evangelising role in America. ÁLVAREZ JUNCO, *Mater dolorosa...*, p.456.

weaknesses and obstacles to overcome".²⁹ The idea of *Hispanismo* was now consolidated, as the set of cultural values, traditions and ways of life, including language, that link the former territories of the Spanish Empire on both sides of the Atlantic.³⁰

While the Spanish legacy in America was claimed by intellectual circles, the enthusiasm for new colonies in Africa decayed significantly. Indeed, the new situation largely entailed the gradual disappearance of the Africanism of end of the century.³¹ Personalities that during the previous era had spurred the various governments, such as Joaquín Costa, were increasingly opposed to colonial policies in Africa, adding to the general opinion among popular classes, not very inclined to expansionist adventures. As discussed in this section, Africanism survived around Catalan business groups who advocated for a strategy of peaceful and commercial intervention in Morocco, which was seen as compensatory market to those lost in 1898. Only from 1920s, another discourse, openly pro-conquest, was assembled among the military commanders posted in North Africa. In either case, the Africanism of this period was primarily *marroquinism*.

In the political arena, however, it was precisely the crisis of 1898 which led the governments of Alfonso XIII (1902-1931) to complete the colonial projects that had come together in previous decades, and to abandon the policy of withdrawal and *status quo* promoted by CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO. This policy required the search for an "*international guarantee* in order to close definitively the *colonial redistribution* process that the state had suffered".³² This search led to a realignment of Spain with the major European powers in Africa, Britain and France, which, after the crisis of Fashoda, consolidated an Entente increasingly confronted to the Triple Alliance.

France was, on the other hand, the European empire with more interests in all areas of Spanish expansion potential: the Gulf of Guinea, the coast of the Sahara and Morocco. In 1900, a Convention between Spain and France for the Delimitation of the Two Countries' Possessions on the Coast of the Sahara and in the Gulf of Guinea was signed in Paris. Then, in 1904, another agreement and a joint statement established two

²⁹ Nuria TABERNERA GARCÍA: "El horizonte americano en el imaginario español, 1898-1930", *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*, vol. 8, n.2, 1997.

³⁰ Ángel G. LOUREIRO: "Spanish nationalism and the ghost of empire", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, vol. 4, n.1, 2003, p.65.

³¹ Costa expressed a quitter position on different occasions: see the dissertation "Crisis Política de España" at the *Juegos Florales Salamanca* (15 September 1901) or "Sobre la cuestión del Rif y de la Prensa", *El Liberal*, 5 October 1909.

³² DE LA TORRE DEL RÍO: "El factor colonial...", p. 77.

zones of influence in Morocco; two years later the International Conference of Algeciras ended with the formal compromise to establish a protectorate of France and Spain over the Sultanate.

The same year of the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1904 on the distribution of Morocco, the Hispano-Moroccan Trade Centres (*Centros Comerciales Hispano-Marroquíes*) were created in Barcelona, Madrid, Ceuta and Tangier.³³ As their name suggests, its main objective was to turn the Sultanate into a privileged market for Spanish products and promote investment and trade in the Spanish southern neighbour.³⁴ These centres published the magazine *España en África* (Spain in Africa) —which would join other publications such as *África. Revista política y comercial* devoted to the defence of Spanish interests in Morocco, the Sahara Coast and the Gulf of Guinea (Madrid-Barcelona, 1905) and *África. Revista Española Ilustrada* (Madrid, 1906). They also organised Africanist Conferences between 1907 and 1910 in Madrid, Zaragoza and Valencia.³⁵

Beyond the formal participation of the Royal Geographical Society and the role of old figures of Arabism and Africanism such as EDUARDO DE SAAVEDRA,³⁶ or RAFAEL MARÍA DE LABRA, the overwhelming representation at these conferences was from the Commercial Chambers and other institutions interested in trade and investment in Morocco. The main weight corresponded to Catalan business groups and individuals, such as the founder of the Spanish-Moroccan Trade Centres, EMILI CORBELLA I GUINOVART (BOSCH 1985). Commercial interest had moved the Africanist attention to Barcelona, where the industrialisation process had led to a flourishing bourgeoisie. As a result, in March 1909, a *Sociedad Geográfica Comercial de Barcelona* (Commercial Geographical Society in Barcelona) was created, as heir to a previous *Sociedad de Geografía Comercial* (Commercial Geography Society, 1884) and the *Sociedad Geográfica de Barcelona* (Geographical Society of Barcelona, 1896), with short life. The main objective that the SGCB assumed was to support the export of Catalan

³³ *Los Centros comerciales hispano-marroquíes y el problema de Marruecos: la elocuencia de un inventario (1904-1921)*, Madrid: *España en África*, 1922. <http://mdc.cbuc.cat/cdm/ref/collection/comercUPF/id/40801>. Access 5 February 2016.

³⁴ Bernabé LÓPEZ GARCÍA: "España en África: Génesis y significación de la decana de la prensa africanista del siglo XX", *Almenara*, 4, 1973; MARCHÁN GUSTEMS: "Costa...".

³⁵ José Luis VILLANOVA: "La actividad africanista de la Sociedad de Geografía Comercial de Barcelona (1909-1927)", *Revista de Geografía*, 5, 2008.

³⁶ At the opening of the First Conference, SAAVEDRA tried to link the event with the Meeting of the Alhambra Theatre almost and the Granada Congress the past century. *Primer Congreso Africanista en el Ateneo de Madrid, Documentación, Reseña de las sesiones y acuerdos tomados*, Madrid, Impr. de la Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1907.

products with information that "explorers and scholars engaged in Economics and Geography" could provide.

The views expressed in the meetings and publications of the Hispano-Moroccan Trade Centres shared confidence in the strategies of "peaceful intervention" through commerce. The closing speech of the First Conference, led by the president of Barcelona Commercial Centre, JOSÉ ROIG Y BERGADÁ, well illustrated the ideas there articulated: the need to defend the national interest against other European (mainly French and British) ambitions; the pacific and superior character of the market intervention; the historical, and neighbourhood reasons of the Spanish presence in the North of Africa; the shared history and race with Moroccan people... but Together with demands of economic liberalisation and elimination of tariff barriers with the Sultanate, in line with the liberal credo of the previous generation of Africanists, they also asked for protectionist measures to ensure special rights to Spanish merchants against other Europeans.³⁷ At the end of this cycle, the document addressed to the President of the Government at the last of the congresses continued to insist on commercial action over military action, the need for investment in public works, agricultural colonisation and support for private entrepreneurial initiatives.³⁸

Finally the idea that colonial interests could be met by peaceful means and that Africans would not resist them was revealed as naïve, and more violent discourses would succeed over the peaceful and commercial ones. In 1909 the opposition within the khabilas to the mining activities of Spanish and French companies led to a period of armed uprisings, which would be answered militarily by the Spanish government.³⁹ The militarist positions were openly expressed in the issue number 61 released by *Spain in Africa* in October,⁴⁰ in clear contrast with the pacifist and commercial proclamations of previous issues. They were also very distant from the opinion of the popular and working classes, increasingly opposed to colonial adventures: their most dramatic expression was the Tragic Week of Barcelona, provoked by the mobilisation of army reservists during the summer of that same year.

In 1912, the Protectorate on Morocco took final shape with the Treaty of Fez, in which the sultan ABDELHAFID was forced to formally cede sovereignty to the French government. This in turn fulfilled the partition agreed in Algeciras, and recognised

³⁷ *Primer Congreso Africanista...*

³⁸ VILLANOVA: "La actividad africanista...", p. 84.

³⁹ Maria Rosa DE MADARIAGA: *En el barranco del Lobo. Las guerras de Marruecos*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 2005.

⁴⁰ LÓPEZ GARCÍA: "España en África...", note 21.

Spanish sovereignty over two small strips north and south of the Sultanate. The following year, the SGCB organised the *II Congreso Español de Geografía Colonial y Mercantil* (Second Spanish Congress of Geography and Colonial Trade) in Barcelona, when occupation of Morocco was no longer a disputed possibility but a fact on which to propose different policies. The SGCB took over from the RSG in the organisation of the Congress, when the latter declined to participate in the event because it was organising the Spanish-American Geographical Congress.⁴¹ This anecdote reflects well how the interest in Africa had moved from Madrid to Barcelona at this point.

However, shortly after the formal establishment of the protectorate over Morocco, the *Liga Africanista* (Africanist League) was established in Madrid, driven by representatives of the SGCB in the capital and a group of senators.⁴² Its key members included among others JOAQUÍN SÁNCHEZ DE TOCA, a constitutionalist conservative, EMILIO BONELLI RUBIO, a soldier, explorer and member of the Royal Geographical Society, the liberal RAFAEL MARÍA DE LABRA, big businessmen like the Catalan JUAN ANTONIO GÜELL and the Valencian TOMÁS TRÉNOR Y PALAVICINO, the first professor of anthropology at Madrid and conservative politician MANUEL ANTÓN Y FERRANDIS, or pro-Falangist politician ANTONIO GOICOECHEA. The League promoted studies, conferences and the publication of magazines *África Española. Revista de colonización* (1913-1917), *Boletín de la Liga Africanista Española* (1918-1922) and *Revista Hispano-Africana* (1922-1931).

The League worked for two decades as the main lobby in the capital of Spanish interests in Morocco, although sporadically attended the Spanish presence in the Sahara Coast and the Gulf of Guinea. In 1918 the League issued a manifesto *El problema de Marruecos. Contra asechanzas intolerables*, (The problem of Morocco. Against intolerable wiles), in which they proposed policies aimed at countering the French action and to ensure *Hispanisation* of Spanish protectorate fringes. The ideas of peaceful intervention had no sense in the context of military occupation, and as Nogué and Villanova indicated, the League suffered the "discredit that fell in the peaceful and conciliatory approach advocated by many of its members" in the context of "the military escalation of the Twenties" and the subsequent pacification.⁴³

⁴¹ VILLANOVA: "La actividad africanista..."; Bernabé LÓPEZ GARCÍA: "El arabismo español de fines del XIX en el debate historiográfico y africanista", in Felice GAMBIN (ed.): *Alle radici dell'Europa. Miri, giudei e zingari nei paesi del Mediterraneo occidentale*. Volume III: secoli XIX-XXI, SEID Editori, Firenze 2011, p. 21.

⁴² Joan NOGUÉ & José Luis VILLANOVA: "Las sociedades geográficas y otras asociaciones en la acción colonial española en Marruecos", in *España en Marruecos. Discursos geográficos e intervención territorial*, Lleida, Editorial Milenio, 1999.

⁴³ NOGUÉ & VILLANOVA: "Las sociedades geográficas...", pp. 213-214.

The Rif War and the military Africanists

The occupation of the two strips of territory that had corresponded to Spain in the Treaty of Fez generated an intense period of colonial wars for two decades, which characterised the reign of Alfonso XIII. After the victory of ABD EL-KRIM in the Annual Battle of 1921 and the subsequent proclamation of a Rif Republic, the thesis of abandoning Morocco spread between politicians (especially Republicans and Socialists). Even members of the military like MIGUEL PRIMO DE RIVERA joined the cause.⁴⁴ The growing animosity against a colonial policy in Africa among broad sectors of society, was expressed in mutinies of recruits destined to Morocco such as the one of August 23, 1923 in Malaga,⁴⁵ and affected intellectual circles that had done so much to convince governments of the need for colonial expansion in the neighbouring continent.

In this context, military approaches gained importance in the Spanish Africanism, vis a vis ideas of peaceful intervention. The war in the Rif was shaping the generation of military who, a decade later, carried out the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. These soldiers identified themselves as Africanists, and created institutions to develop their approaches. The most important was the magazine *África. Revista de Tropas Coloniales*, founded in 1924 in Ceuta by General QUEIPO DE LLANO and directed between 1925 and 1928 by then Lt. Col. FRANCISCO FRANCO.⁴⁶

In its pages, they denounced the abandonment and lack of patriotism on the part of politicians and intellectuals critical of the war, and opted for vengeance and a military solution to the situation created by the Rif's rebels. As VELASCO DE CASTRO recounts, the leitmotif of the magazine was "to exalt the spirit of the Spaniards, to unify it around the need to restore lost honour, to fulfil international commitments and to exercise our civilising mission as a colonial power". For officers like QUEIPO DE LLANO, military action in the protectorate of Morocco was consistent with the "Spanish spirit", "vigorous and always willing to sacrifice for the homeland". A spirit that had

⁴⁴ Andrée BACHOUD: *Los españoles ante las campañas de Marruecos*, Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1988.

⁴⁵ Rocío VELASCO DE CASTRO: "De periodistas improvisados a golpistas consumados: el ideario militar africanista de la Revista de Tropas Coloniales (1924-1936)", *El Argonauta español*, 10, 2013.

⁴⁶ Lluís RIUDOR: "Sueños imperiales y africanismo durante el franquismo (1939-1956)", in Joan NOGUÉ & José Luis VILLANOVA (eds.): *España en Marruecos. Discursos geográficos e intervención territorial*, Lleida, Editorial Milenio, 1999, pp. 249-276.

plunged into a "huge depression" after the 1898 colonial losses, because of those politicians and intellectuals.⁴⁷

Despite its previous defeatist positions, it was during the dictatorship of PRIMO DE RIVERA (1923-1930) when the joint Spanish-French action, initiated with the landing in Al Hoceima in 1925, crushed the Rif's revolt two years later. Also in 1925, the General Directorate of Morocco and Colonies was created, reporting directly to the Presidency of the Government, which would be responsible for the government of the African territories for a quarter of a century. The Moroccan preeminence for Spanish policy was evident in the very name of the organization itself.⁴⁸

The end of the war and the beginning of the "pacification" eased the vindictive tone of militarist Africanism. Therefore, articles of military character in the *Revista de Tropas Coloniales* were reduced, with an increase of those on "history, economy, culture, society, customs and geography of different Moroccan areas and cities".⁴⁹ Shared history and culture between Spain and Morocco also constituted a constant here, which linked this new Africanism to the most liberal one of late nineteenth century. The other colonies, in the Sahara and especially in the territories in the Gulf of Guinea, were much less represented: the magazine only devoted ten articles to the latter in its twelve years of life.

It was during the 1930s, through the Second Republic, when the occupation of the African territories awarded to Spain, in the Sahara and Rio Muni, was completed. The new constitutional order did not democratise African colonies, as it did with the metropolitan political order. It only mitigated the military character of administration of African territories, which came to be headed by a High Commissioner in Morocco and two civilian governors in Sahara and Guinea.

The military Africanist core in Ceuta continued to publish its magazine, now called simply *Africa*, while Madrid's Africanist League stopped publishing its *Revista Hispano-Africana* in 1931 and was finally dissolved in 1932. Two years later a new civil association was created in Madrid: the *Sociedad de Estudios Internacionales y*

⁴⁷ VELASCO DE CASTRO: "De periodistas improvisados...", pp. 6-7.

⁴⁸ José Luis VILLANOVA: *El Protectorado de España en Marruecos. Organización política y territorial*, Barcelona, Bellaterra, 2004; Miguel HERNANDO DE LARRAMENDI, Irene GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ & Bárbara AZAOLA PIAZZA: "El Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y la política exterior hacia el Magreb" in Miguel HERNANDO DE LARRAMENDI & Aurelia MAÑÉ ESTRADA (eds.): *La política exterior española hacia el Magreb. Actores e intereses*, Barcelona, Icaria, 2009.

⁴⁹ Explanatory note to the *Revista de Tropas Coloniales* at the Digital Archives, Biblioteca Nacional de España: <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/details.vm?lang=es&q=id:0003620784> Access 5 February 2016.

Coloniales (Society of International and Colonial Studies), with similar objectives as the institutions previously mentioned: "to raise awareness of Spanish society about international and colonial affairs" and lead the Spanish foreign policy, which was accused of "disorientation and indifference" in African affairs.⁵⁰ The Society combined old Africanist figures as REPARAZ, and young professionals like JOSÉ MARÍA CORDERO TORRES or FERNANDO MARÍA CASTIELLA MAÍZ, who would play a balancing role in next period of military Africanism.

The Francoist Africanism (1939-1975)

Small Spanish colonies played a crucial role in the overthrowing of the Republic and the establishment of a new dictatorship. The 1936 military uprising began precisely in the garrison of the protectorate of Morocco, and colonial troops provided up to 10% of the rebel army.⁵¹ On the other hand, the military Africanism articulated since the Rif War, contributed to the ideology of the new regime and became an official thinking. However the new institutional Africanism also experienced, as we shall see, several transformations over time.⁵²

Until the mid-fifties, the protectorate of Morocco continued to be the main reference of this official Africanism. The dictator himself repeatedly expressed the importance of the military destination in North Africa for his military coup to "rescue Spain". In economic terms, however, the Spanish Sahara and especially the Spanish Guinea had more potential in times of shortage and external isolation. Whereas cocoa, timber and coffee productions, and to a lesser extend rubber, palm oil and yucca, intensified in Guinea,⁵³ Sahara continued to ensure the Canary-Saharan fishing bank to archipelago fishermen, while the potential mineral wealth was investigated.⁵⁴ Morocco was perceived more as a market for metropolitan products and as investment location, such as that made by the communications company Empresa Nacional Torres Quevedo.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ NOGUÉ & VILLANOVA: "Las sociedades geográficas...", p. 215.

⁵¹ Shannon FLEMING: "North Africa and Middle East", in James CORTADA: *Spain in the Twentieth Century*, Londres, Aldwych Press, 1980.

⁵² David PARRA MONTSERRAT, "¿Reescribir...?"

⁵³ Gervase CLARENCE-SMITH: "The Impact of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War on Portuguese and Spanish Africa", *The Journal of African History*, vol. 26, n. 4, 1985.

⁵⁴ Alicia CAMPOS & Violeta TRASOSMONTES: "Recursos naturales y segunda ocupación colonial del Sáhara español. 1959-1975", *Les Cahiers d'EMAM*, 24-25, 2015.

⁵⁵ Sergio SUÁREZ BLANCO: "Las colonias españolas en África durante el primer franquismo (1939-1959). Algunas reflexiones", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie V. Hª Contemporánea, t. 10, 1997.

The ideological and political role of small Spanish colonies was particularly strong during the early years. During the Second World War, the alignment of General Franco with his main fascist supporters allowed to conceive a colonial redistribution that would re-build a Spanish Empire in Africa. In fact, part of the negotiations with the German *Reich* regarding a possible intervention of Spain in the war, was developed around the Spanish territorial claims to the detriment of French possessions and Italian aspirations. The occupation of Tangier by Spanish troops in 1940, after the French defeat against Germany, was justified as a first step of these ambitions. The final Spanish not belligerence was due, in part, to Hitler's refusal to accept these conditions.⁵⁶

In this context, since the end of the Civil War until the end of the World War II, several books were published that justified the need for expansion of the Spanish colonies in Africa. *Puntos cardinales de la política internacional Española* by Camilo BARCIA TRELLES (1939), *Reivindicaciones de España*, by José María de AREILZA y Fernando María CASTIELLA (1941 *Reivindicaciones de España en el Norte de África* by Tomás GARCÍA FIGUERES (1944)⁵⁷ or *Aspectos de la misión universal de España* by CORDERO TORRES (1944), concretised the imperial aspirations ("voluntad de imperio") contained in one of the ideological points of the Spanish Fascist Party, *Falange Española y de las JONS*. In these works, Spain appears as a builder of empires, selflessly willing to assume, as in the past, the burden associated with the civilisation of other peoples. In addition, its geographical location was interpreted as an imperative to ensure a broader "vital space" to the south of the Strait of Gibraltar. At the same time, they used imperial aspirations as an argument against liberal and Spanish Republicans, who would be accused (quite unjustly, as we have seen) of being defeatist and unpatriotic.⁵⁸

As one may well imagine, this demanding and exalted Africanism dissipated with the defeat of the Axis in 1945. But with the exception of AREILZA and of CASTIELLA (who would later be confronted by the decolonisation movement as Minister of Foreign Affairs) many of these intellectuals participated in the new institutional Africanism that would now be consolidated. For, despite having been clearly aligned with the defeated powers, the new regime did not only survive, but maintained its African colonies. And

⁵⁶ Gustau NERÍN & Alfred BOSCH: *El Imperio de nunca existió*, Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 2001.

⁵⁷ In fact, GARCÍA FIGUERES was secretary general of the High Commissioner in Morocco and "adviser to Serrano Suñer on Spanish aspirations in Africa during his visit to Berlin in September 1940" (SUÁREZ BLANCO, "Las colonias...", p. 328).

⁵⁸ RIUDOR: "Sueños imperiales..."; Gustau NERÍN: "Mito franquista y realidad de la colonización de la Guinea Española", *Estudios de Asia y África* XXXII, 1, 1997; David DÍAZ SÁNCHEZ: "Los intelectuales del Imperio durante el primer franquismo", in Leandro MARTÍNEZ PEÑAS, Manuela FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, David BRAVO DÍAZ (coords.): *La presencia española en África: del "Fecho de allende" a la crisis de perejil*, libro electrónico Revista Aequitas, 2012.

new organisations, under strict government control, would generate a large colonial literature around those territories.

The same year that concluded the Second World War, the *Instituto de Estudios Africanos* (Institute of African Studies, IDEA) was created under the direction and tight control of General JOSÉ DÍAZ DE VILLEGAS, head of the Directorate General of Morocco and the Colonies (BOSCH 1985). This body was responsible for colonial administration, and was subordinate to the Ministry of the Presidency of Government, under LUIS CARRERO BLANCO. The IDEA formally ascribed to the CSIC (*Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas*), and published the informative magazine *África. Revista de estudios hispano-africanos*, which was the re-edition of the previous *África*, and the magazine *Archivos del IDEA*, of more academic aspirations.⁵⁹

Despite the monopoly intended by IDEA on Africanist production, the jurist JOSÉ MARÍA CORDERO TORRES led an alternative section, in some way heir of the Society of International Studies, under the Institute of Political Studies. This had a section of African, Eastern and Colonial Studies and published *Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos*, later *Cuadernos Africanos y Orientales*, from 1946 to 1957. On the other hand, based in Tetouan, TOMÁS GARCÍA FIGUERES led the *Instituto Muley el Mehdi de Investigaciones Marroquíes* (Institute Muley Mehdi of Moroccan Research) and the *Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigación Hispano-Árabe* (General Franco Hispanic-Arab Studies and Research Institute), which were created during the Civil War and developed an important editorial work with which he tried to revive the old convergence between Arabism and Africanism.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, in Barcelona, commercial Africanism was rekindled, with the creation in early 1940 of the *Casa de la Guinea Española* (House of Spanish Guinea), in order to defend the colonial interests of economic groups, mainly cocoa planters and timber companies.⁶¹ Although much less productive than previous institutions with regard to studies, it was a major meeting place for political and economic personalities linked to Guinea, and it often published speeches of organised conferences.⁶²

⁵⁹ Alfred BOSCH: *L'Africanisme franquista i l'IDEA (1936-1975)*, Bachelor Thesis, Departament d'Historia, Facultat de Lletres, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Bellaterra, 1985.

⁶⁰ DÍAZ SÁNCHEZ: "Los intelectuales..."; BOSCH: *L'Africanisme...*; SUÁREZ BLANCO, "Las colonias españolas..."

⁶¹ DÍAZ SÁNCHEZ: "Los intelectuales..."; BOSCH: *L'Africanisme...*; SUÁREZ BLANCO, "Las colonias españolas..."

⁶² Victoriano DARIAS DE LAS HERAS: "El africanismo español y la labor comunicadora del Instituto de Estudios Africanos", *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 46, 2002.

The hegemonic institution was undoubtedly the IDEA, thanks to strong official character. The speeches developed in its publications were heirs to a greater or lesser extent, of different trends developed since the nineteenth century.⁶³ Inevitably militaristic Africanism developed since the Rif War until the end of the Second World War was present, and many of its protagonists remained main figures of Francoist Africanism. But they resumed ideas first developed by previous Africanism.⁶⁴ History was used, as before, to legitimized the Spanish presence in Africa, although now it will be the more conservative nationalist version. The testament of Queen Isabella the Catholic, in which she had encouraged her successors to expand their conquests in Africa, served to base the Francoist image of Spanish nation, and to justify its African vocation.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the claiming tone of the forties was transformed into nostalgia, and the main target of criticism was no longer rival empires like the British, whom the government was now trying to court, but the political and intellectual sectors excluded from the "new Spain", which were accused of being traitors, and the cause of Spanish decadence.

In the more Arabist spaces, such as those directed by GARCÍA FIGUERAS, it was the history of al-Andalus that was the basis for a powerful rhetoric on Spanish-Arab brotherhood.⁶⁶ This discourse not only justified the maintenance of the protectorate over Morocco, but was also useful for a foreign policy that sought the support of certain Arab countries to overcome the international isolation of the regime.⁶⁷ On the other hand, geographical arguments Geographical arguments also recovered nineteenth century images: according to RUIDOR, "one of the ideas of strong geographic content that was further developed in this period was referred to the parallelism between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa".⁶⁸ References to "vital space", used during the Second World War, disappeared.

⁶³ BOSCH: *L'Africanisme...*; NERÍN: "Mito franquista..."

⁶⁴ RIUDOR: "Sueños imperiales...", p. 271; David PARRA MONTSERRAT: "El Magreb y «la buena y tradicional postura nacional». Las relecturas del africanismo decimonónico durante el franquismo" in Angeles BARRIO ALONSO, Jorge de HOYOS PUENTE & Rebeca SAAVEDRA ARIAS (coord.), *Nuevos horizontes del pasado: culturas políticas, identidades y formas de representación*, Santander, Publican, 2011.

⁶⁵ DÍAZ SÁNCHEZ: "Los intelectuales..."

⁶⁶ Josep Lluís MATEO DIESTE: *La hermandad hispano-marroquí. Política y religión bajo el Protectorado español en Marruecos (1912-1956)*, Barcelona, Edicions Bellaterra, 2003.

⁶⁷ Maria Dolores ALGORA WEBER: *Las relaciones hispano-árabes durante el régimen de Franco la ruptura del aislamiento internacional: (1946-1950)*, Madrid, Ministerio Asuntos Exteriores, 1996.

⁶⁸ RIUDOR: "Sueños imperiales...", p. 271.

As can be appreciated, this argument served more to legitimise the government of Morocco and the Sahara, than the territories of the Gulf of Guinea. As suggested by MORALES LEZCANO, one Maghrebi branch and another Guineist branch can be distinguished in this literature.⁶⁹ The image of Spain as a mother of peoples was more evident in the later case, whose effort had never been "colonialist", but rather "colonizing", at a time when economic advantages could no longer be used so openly as a legitimising argument. On the other hand, the intense cultural, political and economic presence of the Catholic Church in Guinea, and particularly the Claretian order, made Christianity a hallmark of the Spanish mission south of the Sahara.⁷⁰

Despite the uneven historical context, the continuities of arguments about Spain and its role in Africa, previously generated within the Africanist institutions of the late nineteenth century, were evident.⁷¹ However, differences are also significant, in both the content and objectives and social groups that maintained them. Firstly, some vague ideas like "peaceful intervention" or linking free trade with colonialism had disappeared, in a context where large economic groups strongly linked to the state and the military establishment itself controlled the main economic sectors in each colony.

Secondly, these texts were not made to influence government policies, encouraging a more active participation in the European colonial expansion in Africa, but to justify what was already being done in the occupied and incorporated territories. In fact, this production was greatly encouraged and controlled from official bodies and, as can be expected in a regime based in the absence of freedom of expression, it lacked the more dialectical and deliberative tone of earlier reflections. Finally, if nineteenth-century arguments in favour of colonialism had been defended in the name of modernisation and Europeanisation of Spain, this new Africanism was part of the most conservative and immobile ideologies, which were increasingly becoming defensive as the processes of decolonisation and disintegration of the European empires advanced. There were, however, some discrepancies between Franco Africanists regarding these dynamics, as discussed below.

⁶⁹ Víctor MORALES LEZCANO: *Africanismo y orientalismo español en el siglo XIX*, Madrid, UNED, 1988.

⁷⁰ NERÍN: "Mito franquista..."

⁷¹ DÍAZ SÁNCHEZ: "Los intelectuales..."; PARRA MONTSERRAT: "El Magreb..."

Africanists in the face of decolonisation

Despite tight official control and avocation of immobile positions, Franco Africanism was inevitably affected by internal transformations of the colonies, as much as international. Since the fifties, social movements of different characters were consolidated in Asia and Africa that, along with the profound changes caused by the Second World War and the dynamics of the Cold War, called into question the survival of colonial empires. The Spanish government faced the winds of decolonisation as soon as it was admitted to the UN in 1955.⁷² This was the culmination of an rapprochement policy with United States and of the pursuit of a degree of autonomy through substitution policies, with which Spain sought to gain the support of Arab and Latin American states.⁷³ But these alliances put Spanish foreign policy in a difficult situation regarding the decolonisation process.

IDEA publications of the early 1950s reacted against the anti-colonial movement accusing it of communist, and claiming for resisting it. References to the Hispanic-Arab brotherhood no longer served the purpose of preserving the Spanish colonies, so a defensive and militaristic tone was established. However, the alternative *Cuadernos Africanos y Orientales* of CORDERO TORRES shared conciliatory views: they proposed different solutions to conflicts in the Moroccan protectorate, from a greater integration to a political autonomy or even a federation.⁷⁴ Pressures of DÍAZ DE VILLEGAS caused this magazine to disappear in 1958, becoming a section of *Revista de Política Internacional* of the *Instituto de Estudios Políticos* (Institute for Policy Studies).⁷⁵ The reality is that the Spanish government itself did not keep the intransigence advocated in the pages of *África*, and often adopted pragmatic attitudes to events.

In the protectorate in Morocco, the policy of High Commissioner García Valiño during the early fifties consisted of a rapprochement with the nationalist movement: this was being articulated fundamentally on the French side and in the open expression of support for Sultan Mohamed V, after his dismissal by the Paris Government in 1953.⁷⁶

⁷² The same year of 1955, the Spanish government received a letter from UN Secretary-General inquiring about the "Non-Self-Governing Territories" under its "administration". Alicia CAMPOS SERRRANO: *De colonia a estado: Guinea Ecuatorial 1955-1968*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2002.

⁷³ Pedro Antonio MARTÍNEZ LILLO: "La Política Exterior de España en el marco de la Guerra Fría: del aislamiento limitado a la integración parcial en la sociedad internacional (1945-1953)", Javier TUSELL, Juan AVILÉS & Rosa PARDO (eds.): *La Política Exterior de España en el Siglo XX*, Madrid, UNED, 2000; ALGORA WEBER: *Las relaciones...*

⁷⁴ PARRA MONTSERRAT: "El Magreb..."

⁷⁵ Alfred BOSCH: *L'Africanisme...*

⁷⁶ The National Reformist Party or *Islah* would always be more tolerated in the Northern Protectorate than the majority *Hibz al Istiqlal*, ALGORA WEBER: *Las relaciones...*

When the latter, immersed in a bloody war in neighbouring Algeria, decided to change strategy and negotiate independence with Mohamed V and the Istiklal nationalists, the Franco Government was involuntarily dragged into recognising it in 1956.⁷⁷ However, Madrid tried to keep the south of the protectorate, the enclave of Ifni and the settlement of Sahara under its sovereignty, which led the 1957 armed uprising by the army of Moroccan Liberation (ELM), joined by many young people of the Saharan khabilas. The so-called war of Ifni-Sahara between ELM and a Spanish-French coalition resulted in the integration of the southern part of the protectorate in independent Morocco, and the suppression of the armed rebellion in the Spanish Sahara and Ifni.⁷⁸ These territories would be soon claimed by the new independent Moroccan regime as unredeemed territories of the nationalist project of Greater Morocco.

For its part, exile groups from Spanish Guinea emerged demanding the independence of the tropical colony: given the oppressive situation in the territory, they found in the United Nations a privileged scenario to claim. There, the Afro-Asian movement submitted Spain and Portugal to a permanent inquisition, especially after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, that contained the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which considered colonial rule contrary to the principles of the UN Charter.

The initial response from the Spanish government to these pressures was inspired by the Portuguese reaction, which had denied the existence of colonial populations under its sovereignty, arguing that African territories were part of its national territory.⁷⁹ In 1959, a new law promoted by the Ministry of the Presidency considered the Sahara, Fernando Po and Rio Muni (the two main parts of Spanish Guinea) as provinces, and although they did not end with the colonial character of their political order, it increased the number of Africans in the administration. The Spanish government would not keep, however, the recalcitrant attitude of its neighbour and Portuguese ally. The economic and symbolic insignificance of the colonies for the Franco regime, especially after the independence of Morocco, contributed to this, as well as the different insertion of the two States in the world order.

Thus, in Spanish Guinea, the colonialist interests of a few economic and political groups were being sacrificed in favour of a foreign policy whose first objective was the international acceptance of the Spanish state. In 1964 an Autonomous Regime was

⁷⁷ María Concepción YBARRA ENRÍQUEZ DE LA ORDEN: *España y la descolonización del Magreb. Rivalidad hispanofrancesa en Marruecos 1951-1961*, Madrid, UNED, 1998.

⁷⁸ Carlos CANALES & Miguel DEL REY VICENTE, *Breve Historia de la Guerra Ifni-Sáhara*, Madrid, Nowtilus, 2010.

⁷⁹ CAMPOS SERRANO: *De colonia...*

established, where some of the nationalist elites enjoyed certain political responsibilities, and the population would gain some liberties still unknown in the metropolis. The process of independence, however, proved to be unstoppable, and between 1967 and 1968, they carried out a British-style transfer of power, through a Constitutional Conference.

In this context, the more official Africanism hardly changed its reluctant tone toward the profound changes that the southern continent was experiencing. But DÍEZ DE VILLEGAS died the same year as the decolonisation of Guinea: thereafter, the *Instituto de Estudios Africanos* decayed with regards to government funding, and its publications decreased in number.⁸⁰ The end of Spanish colonialism in Africa replicated the distance between Africanist intellectuals and politicians responsible for the foreign policy of a century ago.

Regardless of the IDEA, some publications on the decolonisation process appeared in Madrid: in the one by well known Africanist CORDERO TORRES, *La descolonización. Un criterio hispánico* (IEP, 1964 and 1967), an effort was made to adapt to the "winds of change" of decolonisation without repudiating the "civilising mission" of Spain. In those same years, young researchers, unrelated to the more institutionalist Africanism, approached Africa from a more academic and less nationalistic view: it is the case of JOSÉ ANTONIO DE YTURRIAGA (*Participación de la ONU en el proceso de descolonización*, CSIC, 1967), TOMÁS MESTRE (*África como Conflicto, Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, 1968), and diplomat FERNANDO MORÁN (*Revolución y tradición en África Negra*, Alianza, 1971).

After the handover of Ifni to Morocco in 1969, the only Spanish file pending in the UN was the Sahara case. But this proved to be much more complex than that of Guinea: independence movements were formed in the late 1960s, but then had to compete with alternative claims of integration with Morocco. In addition, Madrid's foreign policy from 1969 had closed the door to claims for decolonisation, after the departure of the CASTIELLA Ministry. Only the Green March driven from Rabat, in the dying embers of the dictatorship, forced the Spaniards to hastily withdraw its last colony, without having successfully solved the new status of the territory, which was occupied by Morocco and Mauritania.

After the dictator's death and the disappearance of Spanish Sahara, official institutions like the IDEA Africanists who had not managed to get rid of its colonial and Francoist character, also disappeared. Nearly ten years later, one of its members, CARLOS GONZÁLEZ ECHEGARAY, along with members of the Institute of Political

⁸⁰ BOSCH: *L'Africanisme...*

Studies such as JULIO COLA ALBERICH and scholars unrelated to the old institutions like TOMÁS MESTRE, founded in Madrid the still existing *Asociación Española de Africanistas* (Spanish Association of Africanists, 1984). Subsequently, centres and research groups emerged at universities in Barcelona, Madrid, Granada, Murcia and Valladolid of purely academic character. But the relationship of this new Africanism with the one we have been discussing is another story.⁸¹

Final Thoughts

If they never constituted a large number, scholars, thinkers and ideologists that developed their work around Africa from a diversity of associations and journals, contributed to the development of the Spanish nationalist imaginary. As in other cases, the construction of the nation in Spain took place within the context of European nationalist competition, which in the last quarter of the nineteenth century had its most agitated scenario in Africa.

The arguments and imaginaries displayed in the framework the Spanish Africanist institutions from the last third of the nineteenth century until 1975, offered a series of recurring themes, as much as unavoidable discontinuities, over a hundred years of intense historical transformations in the peninsula, in the African territories and in the world. During this time, Europe completed its hegemony, plunged into two world wars and lost its colonial empires, while the Spanish government, after losing its last colonies in America and Asia, built a small colonial system in Africa, which would also disappear during the general process of decolonization.

The dramatic historical transformations over a century remarks the repetition of arguments among Spanish Africanists. This is partly explained by the conservative and archaic character of Francoist arguments of the last period. But it is important to remember that Africanism was never popular for the bulk of the population after the War of Africa of 1859-1860, and lost the importance that it had always had among intellectuals who deliberated about the Spanish nation. Hence, decolonisation hardly had an impact on the idea of Spain, as happened with the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

The end of the regime and the last Spanish colony in Sahara, also led to the virtual disappearance of Africa in the new Spanish nationalist imaginaries, or for that matter,

⁸¹ Germán SANTANA PÉREZ & Mariví ORDÓÑEZ DEL PINO: "Los estudios hispanos sobre el África subsahariana: una perspectiva histórica", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie IV, Historia Moderna, t. 20, 2007; Jordi TOMÁS & Albert FARRÉ: *Los Estudios africanos en España. Balance y perspectivas*, Documentos CIDOB Desarrollo y Cooperación, 4, 2009.

their Catalan or Basque rivals. The democratic and civic foundation of the new constitution and Europeanist policies of successive Spanish governments discouraged the idea of a common past with some African territories and populations. The notion of *Hispanidad* and a common past with Latin American countries had, however, better luck, now transformed into the concept of *Iberoamérica* and institutionalized at the Ibero-American Summits since 1991⁸². In an intermediate situation is the project of integration of the whole Iberian peninsula, or *Iberism*, regularly claimed by personalities of Spanish and Portuguese culture.

In some European countries, former overseas empires also generated collective imagery that, unlike the Spanish, specifically incorporated African countries: this is the case of Lusophony or the *Françafrique*, although the latter has acquired increasingly negative connotations. However, in the European Union as a whole, the imperial past in Africa is barely remembered, either in laudatory terms, or in terms of the possible responsibility of Europeans to the former African subjects. If in the early twentieth century Spain's European aspirations aimed to participate in the partition of Africa, at the end of the century, Europe was no longer identified with the great colonial empires created in Africa and Asia, and earlier in America.

The institutional Africanism of our study was so linked to the Spanish colonial presence in Africa that it disappeared along with the colonies. The one that appeared later, would maintain diverse positions, generally more critical towards the African history of the current Spanish state. In any case, neither has managed to incorporate the neighbouring continent into the Spanish democratic imaginaries and national histories. Otherwise, it would be impossible to understand the amnesic, exclusive, and even inhumane policies, deployed nowadays by our governments, in the southern border.

⁸² Equatorial Guinea is also present in these Summits since 2009.