

NABO

URA ZAN DI





colección
urazandi
bilduma

19

THE NORTH AMERICAN BASQUE ORGANIZATIONS (NABO), INCORPORATED

IPAR AMERIKAKO EUSKAL ELKARTEAK

1973-2007

by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar

EUSKO JAURLARITZA



GOBIERNO VASCO

LEHENDAKARITZA

PRESIDENCIA

Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia

Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco

Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2007

CAMUS ETCHECOPAR, Argitxu

The North American Basque Organizations (NABO), Incorporated : Ipar Amerikako euskal elkarteak, 1973-2007 / by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar. – 1st ed. – Vitoria-Gasteiz : Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia = Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco, 2007

p. ; cm. – (Urazandi ; 19)

ISBN 978-84-457-2593-1

1. North American Basque Organizations-Historia. I. Euskadi.

Lehendakaritza. II. Título. III. Serie

061.237(793 Nevada)(091)

Edition:	1 st edition, july 2007
Print run:	750
©	Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoko Administrazioa Lehendakaritza Administración de la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco Departamento de Presidencia
Executive director:	Josu Legarreta Bilbao
Internet:	www.euskadi.net
Published by:	Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco Donostia-San Sebastián, 1 – 01010 Vitoria-Gasteiz
Designed by:	Canaldirecto • www.canal-directo.com
Phototypesetting:	mccgraphics
Printed by:	Artes Gráficas ELKAR, s. Coop.
ISBN:	978-84-457-2593-1
Legal Deposit:	BI-1933/07

Note: The printing department of this publication is not responsible for the content or opinions contained within the pages of the individual books of this series.







Table

of Contents

Aurkezpena / Presentation	14
Hitzaurrea / Preface	18
Acknowledgements	20
Introduction	24
Chapter one: The Phenomenon of Basque Migration and the Definition of Key Concepts	30
The Phenomenon of Basque Migration Over the Last Five Centuries: An Analysis	31
Basque Migration or Basque Migrations?	35
The Adaptation Process	39
Basque Emigration in the New Millennium	44
Diaspora and Ethnicity	45
Diaspora: A Term Adapted to the Basque Immigrant Experience?	45
The Significance of Ethnicity and Ethnicity Maintenance	53
The Social Psychology Perspective	58
Literature Review	60
Hypotheses	64

Chapter two: The Early Years of NABO: 1973-1986	68
Factors that Eventually Led to the Creation of NABO	69
No Distinct Basque group Before the 1950s	69
Important Developments within the Wider Society after the 1950s	70
The 1959 “Western Basque Festival:” The Catalyst	71
Early Exchanges Between the Clubs	83
The origin of the idea	84
Jon Bilbao and the Basque Studies Program: Catalyst of the Idea	85
Miren Rementeria Artiach, Al Erquiaga and the Boise Basque Studies Center (IBSC)	91
Suspicious Reactions	94
First Western Basque Convention: Sparks, March 1973	95
The Representatives	96
Topics for Discussion	97
From the “Western States Basque Federation” to the North American Basque Organizations	99
Preparation Meeting of the First NABO Convention	99
First NABO Convention: August 1973 in Reno, at Louis’ Basque Corner ...	100
Main Objectives and the Membership	102
Difficult early years	105
Overcoming the Political Anathema	105
Convincing the Other Clubs: A Difficult Task	106
Slow Take Off of the Activities	107
The Important Role Played by Jacques Unhassobiscay and the Commitment of the Officers	111
Lack of Funding	113
The Philosophy of NABO, What it Has Achieved	114
Get the Clubs Together	115
NABO as a Vehicle of Preservation of Basque Culture	115
Make the Basque Culture More Visible	116
The Turn of the Year 1986	118
Chapter three: Toward a Basque American Identity: the “NABO Effect”	120
Overcoming Regional Barriers	121
A Community Fragmented Before the 1970s	123
The Key Role of NABO	125
Communication Has Increased	126
A sense of Basque American identity	127
A Dual Identity	127
<i>Zazpiak Bat</i>	128
Claim of a Distinct Basque American Identity	132

Old World Basques vs. U.S. Born Basques	133
Differences	133
What Basque Culture for the Future?	136
The Basque Country Is More Aware of its Diaspora	137
Chapter four: NABO's Main Activities	140
Pelota	141
Brief History of Pelota in the Western United States	142
The U.S. Federation of Pelota and NABO	148
Relations with the Basque Country	153
Pelota in the United States Today	163
Mus	165
NABO Mus tournament	165
Federación Internacional de Mus	166
International Mus Championships in the United States	169
NABO Music Camp or Udaleku	172
1973: First Music Camp in Boise	172
NABO Music Camp	176
The Key Educational and Community Building Role of Udaleku	181
NABO Calendar	183
NABO's Euskal Kantari Eguna	186
Singing and <i>Bertsolari</i> Contest	186
NABO's Euskal Kantari Eguna	188
Chapter five: Gender and Migration	190
Literature on Migrant Women: Historical Approach	192
Invisible Women Until the 1970s	192
1970s Paradigmatic Shift	193
Current Reflections	195
Much Remains To Be Investigated	196
Current Knowledge on Women and Migration	197
Basque women in the Basque institutions of the diaspora	198
The Necessity to Study Women as Part of Basque Immigration	198
Emigrating, Women Re-negotiate Their Roles	200
Role Re-negotiation in the Basque Institutions of the Diaspora	202
Gender Perspective Applied to NABO and its Member Clubs	204
Gender and Leadership within the Basque American Institutions	204
The Activities of NABO as Seen Through a Gender Perspective	210
Public/Private Dichotomy	212

Chapter six: Basque Government-NABO Relations	220
NABO-Basque Government Relations, 1982-1994	222
First Contact: 1980, Culminated by the 1982 Congress.	222
First Basque Government Representative to the United States and Visit of the <i>Lehendakari</i>	225
1990 Basque Government Grant and the Issues it Raised.	229
NABO-Basque Government Relations after 1994	232
The Issue of Registration	234
Is NABO Dependent on the Basque Government Money? Does the Basque Government Expect Something in Return?	237
Modern/Traditional Dichotomy.	240
Relations with Nafarroa and Iparralde	241
Chapter seven: NABO Today	244
NABO and its Member Clubs (1987-2007)	245
New Clubs After 1987	245
A Varied Membership	247
Recreation/Education	249
“Recreate+Educate=Perpetuate”	250
Educational Organizations within NABO	256
<i>Euskara</i>	258
Expanding Relations with Other Diaspora Basques	261
Early Exchanges with Other Countries	261
Relations with Canada and Mexico	263
Youth	265
Youth Directors	265
<i>Gaztealdi</i>	267
Challenges	269
Structural/Organizational Challenges	269
Identity Crisis and Purpose Crisis	271
Attract New Members (Clubs and Individuals)	273
Conclusion	276
Glossary	280
Sources	284
Appendices	294



Aurkezpena

JUAN JOSÉ
IBARRETXE
MARKUARTU
Lehendakaria



1994 urtean *Eusko Legebiltzarrean Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoaz Kanpoko Euskal Gizatalde eta Etxeekiko Harremanei buruzko Legea* onartu zen, kontrako botorik jaso gabe. Legebiltzarreko Taldeen jarrera bateratu hau, Euskaditik kanpora bizi diren euskal herritarrekin eta euren ondorengoekin Euskal Gizarteak duen konpromiso atzeraezinaren erakusgarri onena da. Konpromiso horrek, halaber, Euskal Etxeen aitorten ofiziala eta Euskal Erakunde Publikoekiko harremanen instituzionalizazioa ahalbidetzeko duen borondatea adierazten du.

Lege horren bidez, lau urtero egin beharreko Euskal Gizataldeen Biltzarra instituzionalizatzen da ere bai, euren helburuak betetzeko lau urteko plana prestatu ahal izan dezaten.

Ikuspegi horretatik, Euskal Etxeen eta Euskal Erakunde Publikoen arteko harremanen instituzionalizazioa, horiek etorkizunean jarraipena izateko asmoaren seinale da, ekintza bateraturako estrategiak, aldian-aldian, gaur egungo mundu gero eta globalagoaren errealitate historiko berrietara egokituz.

Hain zuzen, etorkizun asmo horrekin jardun zuten euren jaioterritik urrun elkartzea eta euren “Euskal Etxeak” sortzea erabaki zuten euskal herritar ospetsuek. Elkarri laguntza eta babesa ematea eta Kultura sustatzea zuten helburu, Euskal Herriaren partaide izatearen sentimenduak eta harrera egin zieten herrialdeekiko elkartasuna uztartuz.

Gaur, Euskal Etxeen historiaren berreskurapenean berriro lagundu nahi izan duten profesionalen ikerketa-bilduma aurkezteko ohorea dugu. Euskal Etxeak nazioarteko euskal presentziaren historia instituzionalaren zati dira eta, aldi berean, kokatuta dauden herrialdeen araberrako legediaren aitorten ofiziala izan dute.

Bilduma honetatik, milaka euskal gizon eta emakumeri elkartasunez harrera egindako herrialde horiei omenaldia egin nahi diegu, baita Euskal Etxe eta Gizataldeei ere, fundazioko helburuak betetzeko eta Euskal Herriak historian ezaugarri izan dituen baloreak defendatu nahiz zabaltzeko egindako ahaleginagatik, adibidez lanerako gogoia, nazioarteko elkartasuna, printzipio demokratikoen defentsa eta emandako hitza betetzea.

Espero dut ahalegin profesional eta instituzional berri honek Euskadiren errealitate soziopolitikoaz ezagutarazten lagunduko duela, baita Euskal Etxe eta Gizataldeek Euskal Erakunde Publikoekin duten harremana estutzen ere.

Presentation

JUAN JOSÉ
IBARRETXE
MARKUARTU
Lehendakari



In 1994 the Basque Parliament passed the Law on Relations with Basque Associations and Centers with no dissenting votes. The Parliamentary Groups' unanimous attitude clearly demonstrates the desire of Basque society to lend their unequivocal support to the Basque people and their descendents residing outside of Euskadi. It also leads the way to the official recognition of Basque Centers, and to formalizing their relations with Basque Public Institutions.

The law also establishes the celebration of a World Congress of Basque Organizations every four years to draw up a four-year plan of action aimed at achieving the objectives.

From this perspective, by institutionalizing relations between the Basque Centers and Basque Public Institutions the long-standing nature of the project is understood. New joint action strategies must be adapted regularly to meet the new historic realities brought about by today's increasingly globalized world.

Far from their native land, the illustrious Basques who decided to form partnerships and create "Basque Centers" also had their sights set on the future. Spurred on by mutual support and the desire to defend and promote their culture, they managed to combine their feelings as part of the Basque nation with their feelings of solidarity towards the countries that took them in.

Today we have the honor of presenting a collection of research projects put together by experts who, once again, have made an effort to recover the history of the Basque Centers. Officially recognized in accordance with the laws of the host countries, the Basque presence around the globe is further enriched by these contributions to Basque history.

We would like this collection to be seen as a tribute to the countries that welcomed, protected and supported so many thousands of Basque people. It is also meant as a tribute to the Basque Associations and Centers themselves for their work in carrying out the organizations' objectives and in defending and disseminating the values that have characterized the Basque nation throughout history—hard-working spirit, international solidarity, defense of democratic principles and a people who keeps its word.

I trust that this new professional and institutional effort will contribute to a better understanding of the social and cultural reality of Euskadi, and to strengthen the bonds between the Basque Associations and Centers and the Basque Institutions.

Hitzaurrea

1959an egin zen Ameriketako Estatu Batuetako euskaldunen lehen jaialdi erraldoia Sparksen (Nevadan). Atzean gelditu ziren Ipar-Ameriketako euskaldunentzako urte zailak eta bazterketa. Garaia zen kalera ateratzeko euskaldun izatearen harrotasuna. Nork pentsatu orduan lehen jaialdi hori antolatzean EEBBetako euskaldun guztiak batuko zituen erakunde baten hazia ereiten ari zirenik.

1973 urtean sortu zen North American Basque Organizations, Inc. Ez zen eginkizun erraza izan, Argitxu Camusek bere lan honetan erakusten digunez, Kaliforniako “frantsesak” eta Idahoko “bizkaitarrak” bat etortzea. Baina argi baino argiago ikusi da urteekin zein inportantea izan zen.

NABOk urte hauetan zehar aurrera eraman dituen programak beste herrialdeetako euskaldunentzat adibide izan dira, dela Udalekua, dela ikastola, dela Boisen bost urtean behin egiten den Jaialdi erraldoia,...

Zer esanik ez Nevadako Unibertsitateko Euskal Ikasketen Zentrotik euskal kultura eta Euskal Herria ezagutarazteko egiten den lana, Jon Bilbaok eta William Douglasssek hasi zutena. Bertatik bidaltzen ari dira euskaldunen inguruko hainbat material eta argitalpen munduko ehundaka unibertsitatetara, eta ingelesez dugun produkzio zentrorik garrantzitsuena bilakatu da Reno gaur egun.

NABOtik kanpo bada ere, ez da ahaztu behar Boiseko erakunde publikoetan euskaldunek duten presentziari esker 2002 urtean onartua izan zen Senate Memoriala, Pete Cenarrusa eta David Bieter, gaur egungo alkateak, bultzatu zutena. Azken urtean Kaliforniako Gobernadore-ondokoa ere euskaldun bat da: John Garamendi. Horrek esan nahi du euskaldunen presentzia handia dagoen Estatuetan euskaldunak gorenko mailetara iristen ari direla, eta hori oso kontuan hartu beharrekoa da Euskal Herriko erakundeetatik.

Gaur egun NABOko kide diren 35 euskal etxe ditugu erregistratuta Eusko Jaurlaritzaren erregistro ofizialean, eta gure lankidetzak eskaintzen jarraitzeko asmoa dugu datozen urteetan. Horren lekuko, New Yorken irekitzera goazen Euskadiren Ordezkaritza ofiziala.

NABOk euskal erakundeekin izan dituen harremani dagokienez, esan behar dizuet Jokin Intxaustirekin harremanok ekin zirenetik beti izan garela ongi-etorriak. Horren adibide Lehendakariari 2005ean egin zitzaion harrera beroa.

Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoaren lehen gobernua eratu zenetik hasi eta azken 25 urte hauetan hemendik hara eta handik hona eraiki ditugun zubiek alde bateko eta besteko euskaldunen ezagutza handiagoa izateko balio izan dute eta horretan jarraitzeko prest gaude, gaur inoiz baina gehiago.

IÑAKI AGUIRRE ARIZMENDI
Kanpo Harremanetarako idazkari nagusia

Preface

It was in 1959 when the first great Basque festival was celebrated in the United States, in Sparks (Nevada). The North American Basques had left behind years of poverty and marginalization. It was a time to take Basque pride to the streets. None of those people who organized that first festival could then believe that they were establishing the foundation of an institution that would unite all the Basques in the US.

In 1973 the North American Basque Organizations Inc was created. It was not easy, as Argitxu Camus shows us in her work, the work of getting the “French” from California and the “Vizcainos” from Idaho to agree. However, the importance of this act has been proven over the years.

The programs developed by NABO, like the Udaleku, the Ikastola, the macro Festival that is celebrated every five years... have been an example to follow for Basques in other countries.

As well as the work carried out from the Centre for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada to educate on the Basque Culture and Euskal Herria, driven by Jon Bilbao and William Douglass in the beginning. The centre sends material and various publications to hundreds of universities across the globe, converting Reno into the largest English production centre we have nowadays.

We should not forget that, in addition to NABO, the presence of Basque people in Boise’s public institutions led to the approval of the Senate Memorial in 2002, supported by Pete Cenarrusa and David Bieter, currently the city’s mayor. Likewise, this year a Basque will hold the position of Deputy Governor of California, John Garamendi. It all points to the fact that in states with a large Basque presence, Basques rise to high standing positions, something that institutions in Euskal Herria must pay a great deal of attention to.

Today there are 35 euskal etxeak, belonging to NABO, registered in the Basque Government’s official registry, which we expect to continue collaborating with over the next years. Proof of this is the impending opening of Euskadi’s Official Delegation headquarters in New York.

With respect to NABO’s relationship with Basque institutions, I must say that from the start of our relationship with Jokin Intxausti, we have always been welcome; an example is the warm welcome that the head of the Basque Government received in 2005.

Since the Basque Country’s first Autonomous Region Government was formed and during these last 25 years, the bridges we have built on either side of the ocean have served to create a greater mutual understanding of Basques on each coast and we are prepared to continue this work, now more than ever.

IÑAKI AGUIRRE ARIZMENDI
General Secretary of Foreign Action

Ackno

wledgements

I would like to gratefully acknowledge several people whose support, guidance, and presence helped me produce this book.

I am particularly indebted to my advisor, Dr. Gloria Totoricagüena for her guidance, her worthwhile suggestions and her corrections of the manuscript.

Thank you also to Dr. Oscar Alvarez Gila of the University of the Basque Country for reading the manuscript and offering valuable criticism.

I must also mention my family and friends for their encouragement and assistance during the entire investigation, and particularly my mother, Laureen, Veronica, Cecilia and Luis.

Acknowledgments are due to the following families for welcoming me to their homes: The Etcharren and Arrechea

families (Pierre, Denise, Evelyne, Valérie, Daniel, Joana, Gexan, Peio), as well as Bernadette Iribarren from San Francisco; my relatives, the Dickson Etchecopar family, in Bakersfield; Mike and Jeanette Bidart, as well as John and Jenny Ysursa in Chino; and Monique, Jean Flesher and their children, Jean-Jules and Dominika from Salt Lake City who so nicely took me under their wing on the way to and from the NABO 2006 Convention in Buffalo Wyoming.

A special thank also to Frantxoia Bidaurreta from San Francisco, Kate Camino, Nere Erkiaga and Jill Berner from Reno who answered to a myriad of questions.

I acknowledge all those people who participated in the study by sharing valuable information with me and/or by making documents and photographs available to me.

This investigation was supported by a grant received by the Basque Government. A special thanks to Josu Legarreta and Benan Oregi for their hard work and patience.

Esker mila züer oroer. Bai eta ere lista hontan ahatze dütüdaner.

Eskerrik asko



Introduction

In 2003, the Central Publications Service of the Basque Autonomous Government published the Collection Urazandi¹ (“From Overseas”) compiling fifteen histories of the major Basque diasporic communities spread all around the world, therefore contributing greatly to the historiography touching the Basque immigrant experience. Most of the historiography touching this theme has traditionally dealt with the causes of such a phenomenon (economic and demographical approach) but we have gradually moved toward a new trend; additional research projects focus on the lives of the actual immigrants and their descendants in the host country, and its evolution. Our study on the North American Basque Organizations, Inc., is part of this actual effort to give the Basque immigration phenomenon the place it deserves within the broader scope of Basque history.

While working on my Ph. D. dissertation at the Center for Basque Studies of the University of Nevada, Reno (United States), my advisor, Dr. Gloria Totoricagüena, asked me if I would agree to work with her on the compiling of a history of NABO. I realized that the research suited perfectly part of what I was intending to achieve with my own doctorate research,² and accepted her offer. I ended up becoming the principal

1 Among others: Totoricagüena, Gloria. *Diáspora Vasca Comparada*, Douglass, William A. Global Vasconia, Camus Etchecopar, Argitxu, *Pariseko Eskual Etxea-La Maison Basque de Paris*. 2003. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Central Publications of the Basque Autonomous Government.

2 My Ph.D research consists of a comparative historical study of Basque institutions in the United States and in Argentina; in other words, a study of Basque associationism.

researcher on the project, and I am really grateful for this unique opportunity that was offered to me. I received a generous grant from the Basque Autonomous Government to conduct my research and was given the opportunity of seeing my work published within the Urazandi Collection 2007 next to four other valuable monographs on Basques in Australia, in Uruguay, in Chile, and an analysis of the relations between the Basque Government and the various diaspora communities.

Nowadays, in the United States, even though immigration from the Basque Country is quasi non-existent, according to the 2000 United States Census, approximately 58,000 people define themselves as Basques; a number composed of both immigrant generation and their descendants.

The North American Basque Organizations, Inc., commonly known as NABO, is in its 34th year of existence, and regroups thirty six Basque clubs which together work toward the promotion of Basque heritage in the United States. Until the creation of NABO, there was no formal communication and cooperation between the Basque clubs. With the objective of unifying Basques in the United States, representatives from several clubs met in Sparks, Nevada in March 1973 and formed a federation



The researcher conducting a personal interview with Ricardo Yanci, at the Boise Basque Center in December 2006. Photo by Estibalitz Ezkerra.

which created a network within the Basque community. NABO functions similarly to a confederation because it may not infringe on the autonomy of any individual Basque institutions. It is a service organization.

We are aware that NABO, although comprising most of the Basque American Clubs, does not represent the majority of the self-defined Basques in the United States. Only ten percent of this population takes part in the different Basque clubs. We have to keep in mind that 90 percent of those who feel Basque enough to self identify as Basque in the U.S. Census do not belong to any Basque club. So our study of NABO and its individual clubs represent an already highly self-selected population.

The time period in which NABO was formed (1973) prompts an important first question: Why did Basques wait until the 1970s to form a federation? Also, in any host country, the needs of the migrants are constantly changing, as well as their ways of living their identity. And the ethnic institutions have to follow these changes. They have to adapt in order to respond to the needs of the Basque community. We must discuss identities in plural, as this identity can have different manifestations through the time period we are studying, the geographic areas we are studying, as well as the generations and the type of people we are studying, which leads us to the second question: What role has NABO played in the construction of an original Basque American identity? Finally, while the immigration of Basque men is largely covered, we cannot say the same thing about women, thus putting aside a significant population of immigrants. Consequently, our research will give as much importance to women as men and will intend to track the status of women in these institutions and the evolution of this status.

Thus, this research on one particular institution, NABO and therefore the clubs within it will help the reader better understand the phenomenon of Basque associationism in the United States.

Very little has been written on the North American Basque Organizations, Inc. I was able to find three articles which stated the mission and the main activities of the organization, as well as various brief mentions of it in books on Basque emigration/immigration.³ Thus, I had to create and look for my own data.

The methodology used consisted of qualitative field research. First, archives on NABO were gathered and analyzed: meeting minutes, various business correspondence, treasurer's reports, newsletters and photographs.⁴ Then, the monthly newspaper

3 Ammons, Darlene and Inda, Janet. 1984. "Forging a Link: the North American Basque Organizations, Inc. *Basque Studies Program Newsletter* Issue 24; Totoricagüena, Gloria. December 2002-January 2003. "The North American Basque Organizations, Incorporated". *Euskonews and Media* 193.zbk. Franchomme-Dzimmiel, Véronique. 1999. "La NABO, "National American Basque Organization", in *PhD dissertation Basquitude et Américanité chez les fils d'Aitor, une approche diachronique et synchronique des nouvelles générations basques aux Etats-Unis*, Université Paris VIII, dirigée par Jacques Laporte.

4 The archive on NABO gathered during this study is located at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno. Mentions to it will be frequent throughout the development, and will be identified as "NABO Archives".

Voice of the Basques appeared to be a good source of information for the years comprised between 1974 and 1977, providing a general idea of what Basques were accomplishing in different places as well as various other media papers such as the ones published by the Basque Autonomous Government and distributed to the members of the Basque diaspora, the magazine *Euskal Etxeak*. At the same time, personal interviews represented an important part of the data gathering process as well. I did not propose any standardized questionnaire. I structured the interviews with open-ended questions, in order to allow people to speak freely. The face-to-face encounters enabled the researcher to guide the subject when necessary, and clarify some confusing questions. The interviews were tape recorded, with the participant's consent and interviews would usually last approximately two hours. I also conversed with other people over the telephone. Thus, I contacted or met with over sixty people –68 to be more exact– from several Basque communities in the United States: San Francisco, Los Banos, Fresno, Bakersfield, Chino, Ventura County, Susanville in California; Boise, Mountain Home, Gooding in Idaho, Ontario in Oregon; Reno, Gardnerville, Battle Mountain, Winnemucca, Elko in Nevada, Salt Lake City in Utah and Rockspring in Wyoming. Those people were carefully chosen according to the period



Gloria Totoricagüena, François Pedeflous, Mary Pedeflous and Argitxu Camus Etchecopar at the Pedeflous'house in Fresno, in May 2006. Photo by Zuriñe Velez de Mendizabal.

they were involved in NABO, the positions they held in NABO as delegates or officers, and according to their age, immigrant generation (immigrants, or children/grand children of immigrants), and their gender.

Then it was important to go to different events organized by NABO and the various clubs such as NABO meetings, festivals, music camp, and handball and mus tournaments, where I performed non-participatory observations. All of the events are open to the public. In 2006 and beginning of 2007, I attended various Basque functions held in Bakersfield (picnic), Chino (monthly lunch), San Francisco (anniversary and fall festivals), Gardnerville (annual picnic and mus tournament), Fresno (NABO handball tournament), Elko (Music Camp, Kantari Eguna, annual festival), Reno (San Martin dinner, picnic, mus tournament, annual festival) and Buffalo Wyoming (NABO Convention).

In a first chapter, it appears necessary to bring a brief analysis of the Basque emigration/immigration phenomenon and to define key concepts related to our topic such as diaphora or ethnicity. The chapter will also bring an analysis of the creation of Basque diaphoric institutions (including NABO) in the United States. Then, in a second chapter, we will mention the factors that led to the creation of NABO in 1973, and we will analyze the early years of the organization comprised between the years of 1973 and 1986. Later, our third chapter will try to show how NABO contributed (and is contributing) greatly to the elaboration of an original Basque American identity in the United States. Chapter four describes in detail the main activities undertaken by NABO. The issue of gender and migration is discussed in chapter five, and is applied to the Basques in the United States. Chapter six analyzes the relations between NABO and the Basque Autonomous Government, the discussions it brought among the Basques and its implications. Finally, it was felt important to end on the analysis of NABO in recent years, “NABO Today”, and the challenges the organization will have to face in the future.

The Pheno Basque and the of Key

(01)

menon of Migration Definition Concepts

THE PHENOMENON OF BASQUE MIGRATION OVER THE LAST FIVE CENTURIES: AN ANALYSIS

Leslie Page Moch, in her work called *Moving Europeans*, demonstrates an essential point that has to be taken into consideration when studying migration: it is not a new phenomenon. Thereby, Leslie Page Moch tears apart a well-established idea according to which Europe has been—before the massive emigration waves of the nineteenth century—sedentary. “People were on the move”.⁵ Moreover, even when historians try to understand the massive emigration phenomenon that departed from Europe in the nineteenth century, they tend to do so as if it was a marginalized phenomenon: as if it was not connected to the general history of the area from which the emigrants departed—either a village, region, country, etc. It is time to give this phenomenon the place it deserves.

5 Moch, Leslie Page. 1992. *Moving Europeans*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

This section focuses on a specific migration phenomenon, the movement of Basques out of the Basque Country (emigration)⁶ over the last five centuries. When one looks at the Basque historiography on emigration, a lot remains to be done in order to integrate Basque emigration studies in the scope of Basque history. This historical phenomenon affected deeply the everyday life of numerous Basques in the Basque Country (not only those who departed). It is thus a relevant chapter of Basque history as emigration influenced various areas of life in the Basque Country, such as politics, economy, religion, media, art, literature. Pierre Lhande's now classic words illustrate very well the significance of emigration in the life of many: "Pour être un authentique Basque, trois conditions sont nécessaires: avoir un nom sonnante Basque, parler la langue d'Aïtor, et... avoir un oncle en Amérique".⁷ Nowadays, still, emigration is alive in the memories, and a lot of Basque families in the Basque Country keep in touch with their relatives outside of the Basque Country. Although an important part in Basque history, it is still often mentioned as a strange or marginalized phenomenon, as if these men and women migrants, once outside of the Basque Country, disappeared. Fortunately, some valorous social scientists are working hard to reverse the situation, and contribute to the understanding of such a complex but essential part of Basque history.



Boise Basque Center before the recent renovations (Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

Before going further in the analysis of Basque emigration, it appears essential to define some key concepts first. What do we mean by “Basque migration”? “Basque” is a word that is subject to a lot of polemics in the current socio-political conjuncture. I personally take the emigration from the area called *Euskal Herria* as point of departure (constituted of seven provinces). I integrate therefore in my analysis the autonomous administrative communities of *Euskadi* (Araba, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa) and *Nafarroa*, as well as the three French provinces (Xiberoa, Baxe Nafarroa, Lapurdi). This choice is justified by the character of Basque emigration itself, and is really well summarized by Óscar Álvarez Gila in these words:

Posiblemente no exista otro fenómeno en la historia contemporánea de Euskal Herria, a excepción de la religiosidad, que haga más necesario una análisis que tome en consideración la totalidad de Euskal Herria. Una cabal comprensión de los fenómenos que condicionaron la formación y el desarrollo histórico de dichas colectividades exige al historiador adoptar una imagen completa y compleja del País Vasco. En todos los países americanos que recibieron inmigrantes vascos en los siglos XIX-XX, indefectiblemente se ha acabado por constituir unas particulares identidades vasco-americanas en las que integraron inmigrantes procedentes de todos los territorios vascos, tanto españoles como franceses. Sin caer en interpretaciones simplistas o tautológicas, y reconociendo en modo alguno este proceso fue unívoco o uniformador, resulta innegable que en Argentina, Cuba, Uruguay o Estados Unidos se produjo, antes o después, una unificación identitaria de la colectividad vasca. Y esto, que duda cabe, condiciona el modo en el que el investigador debe encarar el entramado de explicaciones históricas sobre las que sustentó la formación de estas colectividades.⁸

What do we mean by “migration”? Leslie Page Moch chooses a broad definition of the word: “a change in residence beyond a municipal boundary”.⁹ Although interesting, this definition does not apply to our particular case, as our plan is to study migration leaving the Basque Country. Consequently, the concepts “emigration” and “immigration” seem more suitable here. “Emigration” is the act and the phenomenon of leaving one’s native country to settle abroad. It is the same as “immigration” but

6 I discuss the different key concepts such as migration, immigration, and emigration below.

7 Lhande, Pierre. 1910. *L’émigration basque*. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale. Translation : In order to be an authentic Basque, three conditions are necessary: Have a Basque name, speak the language of Aïtor and... have an uncle in America.

8 Translation: There is probably no other phenomenon, with the exception of religiosity, that makes it necessary to take the Basque Country in its entirety. In order to adequately understand the phenomenon of creation of Basque collectivities, the historian has to have a complete and complex view of the Basque Country. In all the countries that received Basques in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, original Basque American identities were eventually formed including Basques from both France and Spain. Without falling in a simplistic interpretation of the phenomenon, and aware that the process was by no means uniform, it is however undeniable that in Argentina, Cuba, Peru or the United States, sooner or later, a unification of Basque identity in the Basque communities took place. This reality conditions the way the researcher must undertake the explanation of the creation of these communities. Álvarez Gila, Óscar. 2005. «De “América y los vascos” a la “octava provincia”: 20 años de historiografía sobre la emigración y presencia vasca en las Américas (siglos XIX-XX)», *Vasconia*, 34, Donostia-San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza, pp. 275-300. This point could also be applied to other countries that received Basques, such as Australia or some European countries.

9 Moch, Leslie Page, *op.cit.*

from the perspective of the country of origin.¹⁰ But this “classic” understanding of both concepts is not entirely satisfactory when analyzing Basque migration outside the Basque Country. In effect, how could we qualify the movement of people from a province like Xiberoa (French Basque province) to Paris? The same question applies to the movement from Bizkaia (Spanish Basque province) to Madrid or Barcelona. According to this “classic” definition, they cannot be labeled as “emigration” but “migration” (movement within one state). These distinctions are due to the fact that the Basque Country is not considered a sovereign political entity. However it is worth considering these migration movements mentioned above as part of the general movement out of the Basque Country. I will consider the people moving out of the Basque Country as “emigrants” regardless of their destination (French city or overseas). This choice is far from being arbitrary if we consider the Basque Country as a cultural entity. The French Basques who settled in Paris consider themselves as “emigrants”, and they talk about the Basque Country as their “country” (“pays” in French), even though this word has no political meaning. The feeling of the people on the move is essential when it comes to choosing and defining concepts. Moreover, Berry and Kim give a definition of the immigrant that goes beyond the “classic” conception. According to them, immigrants are “those who move from one cultural or national situation to another (Scott and Scott, 1989, p.3)”.¹¹

This section intends to analyze the phenomenon of Basque migration over the last five centuries. What were the factors and the reasons that influenced Basque out-migration through time and space, from the seven provinces to the continents of Europe, North and South America, and Australia? How was the migration experience affected by gender¹², political events in the Basque provinces and in France and Spain; religion, economic status, and family and village networks? Depending on the time period and host society, what networks, problems, and advantages could Basques expect upon arriving in their new community? How is this similar or different to contemporary Basque emigration in the new millennium?

It is important to make another clarification concerning the time period under study: “over the last five centuries”. A choice had to be made concerning the point of departure. So, we will be analyzing Basque emigration in a time period comprised between the years 1492 and 2007. 1492 is a key year as it marked the discovery of the Americas and its following colonization by the Spanish Crown; an effort in which many Basques were going to participate.

The development will consist of three main parts. First we will describe the reasons influencing such a phenomenon, then the process of adaptation of these migrants to their new environment, before concluding on the characteristics of the current Basque emigration.

¹⁰ Human movement before the establishment of state boundaries or within one state is termed migration.

¹¹ Scott and Scott. 1989. *Adaptation of Immigrants: Individual Differences and Determinants*, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

¹² The gender factor will be further developed in chapter 5.

Basque Migration or Basque Migrations?

The political, economic and social factors pushing or pulling people out of the Basque Country are numerous.

General Trends of Basque Migration

How many people left the Basque Country? Where did they go? These questions are directly related to this section which we dedicate to the reasons of the phenomenon. These last five centuries, Basque emigration has taken many forms in terms of the number of people leaving, the reasons of such a departure, and the kind of people it included (unskilled or skilled workers, students, etc). Some general trends can be distinguished according to the points developed before. How many people left the Basque Country? This is a question that will probably stay unanswered. However, it is possible to determine the magnitude of the phenomenon in relative terms. Thus, we can discern a first phase going from the colonization of the Americas to the beginning



2006 Gardnerville Basque anual picnic, crowd looking at the San Francisco Basque dancers performance. Photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar.

of the nineteenth century. Then starts the phase that the historiography qualifies of “massive” (1830-1930). As stated by Alvarez Gila, 200,000 Basques left the Basque Country during that time but it is most probable that this number has to be taken as a minimum reference, considering the fact that official documentation does not allow us to measure the intensity of illegal immigration.¹³ After that period, Basque emigration dropped dramatically, even though some specific regions (rural areas) of the Basque Country kept “feeding” the emigration process long after the Second World War (to the French and Spanish capitals, to the United States and to Australia).

The Early Basque Migration

The early Basque emigration (1492-1830) went to South America mainly.¹⁴ The Spanish apparatus needed a lot of people to participate in this transatlantic adventure, and many Basques went to South America for trade, military purposes, and as clerics (missionaries), builders or explorers.¹⁵ In parallel, there are some other features specific to the Basque Country that come to explain this movement. Until the nineteenth century, emigration to Latin America implied a very easy land and status access for Basques because of the concept of “collective nobility” of the Basques. Traditionally, because of the Basque Country’s physical possibilities, many Basques proved their expertise as fishermen, traders or builders. It is also important to mention that in South America, many Basques could find a similar religion and language since they might also know Spanish. These characteristics have their importance when it comes to the decision to emigrate.

Nineteenth Century Migration and the Immigration Policy

In general, the preferred destinations for the Basques have been Argentina and Uruguay. Other Latin American countries that have received a significant number of Basques are Chile, Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela, as well as Mexico in North America. Then, after the mid-nineteenth century, Basques started going to the United States. The choice of one destination over another depends on a lot of different factors, such as the immigration policy of both the host and the sending country. For example, until the 1850s, most of the Basques were going to Uruguay, and were from the French provinces. Afterwards, when Spain started opening its frontiers and

13 Alvarez Gila, *op.cit.*

14 Before that, there was already some movement overseas. Throughout the late Middle Ages, the fishermen and merchants of the Bay of Biscaya had to enter in contact with other coastal regions of Scandinavia and Terre-neuve. But this movement was usually seasonal.

15 Some of the renown conquerors were Basques: Francisco Ibarra, Cristobal de Oñate who founded the city of Guadalajara, or Juan De Garay who founded the city of Buenos Aires in 1580.



*Christophe Alfaro from San Francisco wood chopping during the 2006 Elko National Basque Festival.
Photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar.*

Argentina developed its massive immigration policy, the emigration wave, constituted of more Spanish Basques, went massively to Argentina.¹⁶

Classic “Push” and “Pull” Factors

The limited resources (poverty, famine, limited agriculture production) represent the number one factor for pushing the Basques out of their land. This feature, combined with a high fertility rate in the nineteenth and early twentieth century underlines even more the crisis. Moreover, at that time, only one child was inheriting the farm (system of primogeniture¹⁷). Then, different political struggles played their role in the matter as well. The Spanish side of the Basque Country experienced two Carlist Wars in the course of the nineteenth century, as well as the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s. This latter event sent 150,000 refugees out of the Basque Country.

The main pull factor is of course the economic opportunities that one may find in the new environment. Thus, for example, the Basque migration to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century is directly related to the 1848 Gold Rush.

The Role of the Network and the Individual

The available information about job opportunities depended upon a strong network system between the people in the Basque Country and those who were already settled in the new host land. This feature may explain how, for a person living in a Basque village, San Francisco (United States) could seem less “far” than a city like Bilbao (Bizkaia): he or she had no family connection in the Basque city. Another explanation in the matter has been the one advanced by Douglass and Bilbao in their *Amerikanuak* book¹⁸. In their view, Basque people feared the life in the city. But when one looks at the different destinations of the Basques, as well as the activities they took, this thesis loses its accuracy almost immediately. Then, the reality of a circular migration combined with the exchange of letters built some mental factors to leave (or not) home. The different stories about the available opportunities in the New World were often aggrandized. There are a lot of other factors that are person-specific: psychological reasons that are difficult to capture, but that we have to be aware of.

16 The year 1853 marks a turning point in Argentina: consolidation of the national Argentina and its pacification. Between 1870 and 1880, different laws were voted that facilitated the installation of immigrants in Argentina (Ley Avellaneda of 1879). But it must be said that the point developed above was calculated according to the legal immigration, and does not take the clandestine immigration into account.

17 Primogeniture: the system by which a property owned by a family goes to the eldest son or daughter. But in some parts of the Basque Country, custom allowed the parents to elect which one of their children would inherit the house, not necessarily the eldest.

18 Douglass, Bilbao. 1975. *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*, Reno: University of Nevada Press.

Basque migration is not a uniform phenomenon. Emigration has touched some regions in the Basque country more profoundly than others for example. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to talk about Basque migrations in plural.

The Adaptation Process

The first and major issue migrants have to face upon arrival is the problem of adaptation to the new environment.

Problems Encountered as a Group

Thus, some people are more advantaged than others according to the area they are going to, the type of culture and reactions they will have to face. Sometimes, language is a real barrier to adjustment. In the early migration to the Americas, most migrants were either “educated people” or “professionals”, so such a barrier was inexistent.¹⁹ On the other hand, in the nineteenth century, the language barrier was a real issue for the French Basques as well as some Spanish Basques who were not educated in Spanish language and could only speak the Basque language. This feature was even more problematic in the Anglophone countries such as the United States or Australia.

In none of the countries have researchers found data to demonstrate that Basques experienced discrimination directed to their ethnic group. In Argentina for example, they even enjoyed (and still enjoy) a real positive stereotype that was attached to their group: Basques are viewed as being hard workers, people that can be trusted. But there are some unfortunate stories that demonstrate that Basques sporadically could have been the victims of discrimination from the dominant culture (or at least some representatives of that culture). These attacks were not targeting the Basques as a group, but what they represented: a minority. On January 1st, 1872, in the small town of Tandil (200 miles south of Buenos Aires), a band of armed men killed 36 people, all foreigners. The victims were some Basque drivers, British settlers and a French owner and his family. During that night the murderers used cries such as: “Long live religion”, “Death to Masons”, and “Kill Gringos and Basques”. These killings were openly anti-foreigners. In the United States there is evidence demonstrating that Basques experienced discrimination related to their occupation. In the Western part of the United States, at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth

¹⁹ William Douglass explains the following in an article: “The new emigration of Basques to the Río de la Plata region differed markedly from the former colonial emigration of administrators and merchants. The majority of the new emigrants were peasants from modest rural circumstances or unskilled urban dwellers”. In Hinshaw, Robert, “Basque Immigrants: Contrasting Patterns of Adaptation in Argentina and the American West, Currents in Anthropology, Essays in Honor of Sol Tax, The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton Publishers, p.290.



century, arguments were frequent between ranchers and shepherders (an activity quasi monopolized by Basques) in the use of free land.

Spanish Civil War refugees experienced a different situation whether they fled to the United States or to Argentina. In the United States, the Spanish media and the Catholic Church worked hard to demonize the Republican side: it was depicted as anti-Christian and communist. The new Basque arrivals had to keep quiet in the United States.

As an Individual

There are various stressors and facilitators that will determine the reaction of one individual to the host country. Scott and Scott in their *Adaptation of Immigrants*²⁰ book distinguish some of the most important determinants. First, the “demographic” facilitator: for instance they give the example of female sex as a disabling characteristic (a point that will be further developed in chapter 5), and the age that could be either

20 Scott and Scott, *op.cit.*



Elko dancers in 1977 (postcard).

a facilitator or a stressor (the younger the migrant, the easier the adaptation). Then, in their view, religious affiliation may offer a sense of confidence and comfort. Moreover, they demonstrate how personality characteristics play an important role depending on one's ability to communicate, ambition, or need for novelty and change. Finally, they explain how any previous contact or experience of the migrant with the same or similar culture has to be assessed.

These questions concerning the individual are essential. These could help our understanding of why the migration experience is such a trauma for some people and not so much for others. Migrants, upon arrival to the new country find themselves between two cultures. This state is frequently described as “cultural conflict”: a problematic situation for the migrant. The native people tend to form stereotypes of migrants. Thus, the migrants internalize these derogatory views of themselves resulting in identity conflict and devalued self-images in migrant offspring. Although this approach is valid in a lot of instances, we cannot assume that all migrants will take these views of themselves as valid. In *Identity Development in Migrant Offspring*,²¹ Peter Weinrich distinguishes “vulnerable identities” from “threatened identities”. According to Weinrich

21 Weinrich, Peter. 1986. “Identity Development in Migrant Offspring: Theory and Practice”, in *Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants in a Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Lars Ekstrand (ed): Swets North America.

vulnerable identities are likely to be in trouble whereas people whose identities are not vulnerable are likely to recognize threats to their identities, accept their existence, and take appropriate action to maintain and defend their own integrity.

Formal and Informal Networks

Basque immigrants in each country have organized themselves for economic, religious, and cultural reasons as early as the sixteenth century. Thus, in 1612, Basques founded the Fraternity of Our Lady of Aranzazu in Lima. These formal and informal organizations were essential tools for the adjustment of the newcomers in the Basque Country.

The proliferation of Basque hotels throughout the United States and Argentina (and to a minor extent in Uruguay) deserves special attention. These hotels functioned like a home for Basque emigrants. Newcomers could find a place to stay, employment information, as well as psychological support. Social events were also held in these places. There were important places of sociability for the members of the Basque community.²² There also existed other informal places of reunion for Basques. For instance, Marcelino Iriani²³ studied some stores owned by Basques in which the community used to meet.

Social clubs (formal associations) appear relatively late in the development of Basque settlements (at the end of the nineteenth century). In most cases it is an emerging generation of American-born Basques who work in concert with the immigrant generation to form the organization. The first Basque Center, Laurak Bat, was created by a group of Basque people in Uruguay in 1876, in reaction to the abolition of the *Fueros* or *Fors*²⁴ after the Second Carlist War. The next year, the Argentine Basques did the same in Buenos Aires, by creating a formal association and calling it the same name. Their purpose was to unite Basques in the area, and provide aid to the new comers. In the United States, the first formal association was founded in 1913 in New York. Later, the majority of the associations that still exist nowadays was founded in the 1930s-1940s in Argentina, and 1960s-1970s in the United States.

Consequently, Basque Centers enhanced migrants' capacities to adapt to new circumstances. Basque associationism evolved as have the demands from their members. As the emigrants were adapting to the new country, they no longer needed temporary room or employment information, but a place to socialize: the formal

22 Echeverria, Jeronima. 1999. *Home Away From Home: a History of Basque Boardinghouses*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

23 Iriani, Marcelino. 2000. *Hacer América: los vascos en la pampa húmeda, Argentina (1840-1920)*, Universidad del País Vasco, Servicio Editorial.

24 *Fueros* in Spanish, *Fors* in French: Local charters and laws that formed the traditional basis for government in the Basque Country.



*Pelota Court in Stockton,
California in the 1900s*
(University of Nevada
Basque Library).

network of informal organizations gave place to the Basque Centers. The founding of NABO (with the need to create a link that would unite Basque communities of the United States) is representative of an additional evolution related to new circumstances: the end of the emigration from the Basque Country, and gradually, people of first or second generation Basques being in charge of the Basque institutions.

The Case of the United States

Once pertaining to the Spanish Crown, the southwestern region of the United States has a long history of Basque involvement.²⁵ The discovery of gold in 1848 attracted a new wave of Basques to California, first as a re-emigration, coming from the already established Basque communities in South America.

Douglass and Bilbao found no evidence of success stories in the California goldfields. Rather, Douglass and Bilbao discovered that, as early as the 1850s, a large number of Basques established themselves in the livestock business with the model

²⁵ For more information about that, read Douglass and Bilbao, *Amerikanuak, Basques in the New World*, *op.cit.*

of open range herding. This process stimulated Basque emigration from the Basque Country as sheep owners would call for their kinsmen to work for them. As California became overstock, newcomers gradually went to Nevada, Idaho, Oregon, Arizona, Colorado and Utah in search of public lands. But soon, the itinerant sheepherders were viewed as invaders by the settled ranchers. The end of the nineteenth century saw an emerging national forest regulation and additional legislation blocked access to the open range. In 1934, the enactment of the Taylor Grazing act that put all the remaining public land under federal control and giving privileges to American citizens and settled ranchers resolved the issue of the itinerant sheepherder. Many Basques left the United States, while improving the situation of those who stayed. But quickly, during and in the immediate aftermath of World War II, a shortage of herders began to be felt. As a consequence, “the Congress began to pass ‘sheepherder laws’ legalizing the status of the individual Basque aliens who had entered the country clandestinely. Special provisions were made during the war years to allow sheepmen’s associations to recruit Basque herders in Mexico and in Europe. In 1950 Senator Patrick McCarran of Nevada introduced a legislation which created a program under which herders were contracted in Europe for employment in the sheep industry (Douglass, 1979, p. 296-7).”²⁶

Basques and their descendants in the Western United States, until the 1970s, remained closely identified with rural life. Those who would leave the sheep business would work as construction laborer, gardener or milker. Those Basques who are still involved in sheep business are owners. Nowadays, U.S. born Basques can be found in all types of jobs.

Traditionally, French Basques and Navarrese entered California, western Nevada, Arizona and small parts of Wyoming and Montana, whereas Bizkaian immigrants went to northern Nevada, eastern Oregon and southern Idaho.

Basque Emigration in the New Millennium

We witness a constant decrease in the emigration from the Basque Country after 1930, with the exception of the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War when 150,000 refugees left the Basque Country (meaning that from that point, immigration to the Basque Country exceeds emigration from the Basque Country). However, some areas kept “sending” people outside. Thus, people from Xiberoa left the province for Paris until the 1970s. At the same time, people from Baxe Nafarroa and the Baztan region were going to California. Moreover, in the 1930s started a significant movement

²⁶ Douglass, William, 1979. “Basque Immigrants: Contrasting Patterns of Adaptation in Argentina and the American West”. 1979. in Hinshaw, Robert, *Currents in Anthropology, Essays in Honor of Sol Tax*, The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton Publishers, p.296-7.

of people from Bizkaia to Australia (and more precisely to the Northern region of Queensland), with a second wave in the 1960s.²⁷

The Basque Country is now a receptor country. But people are still “on the move”. The current migration, compared to the previous “massive” emigration phase is different. The people “on the move” are either students or “professionals”. They move to different European cities (Paris, London, Milan). We could say that the current emigration phenomenon is more voluntary than the previous one. Moreover, with the recent developments in the means of transport and communication, the emigrants experience a less traumatic change (telephone, internet, frequent flights to the Basque Country).

But both nineteenth century migrants and recent migrants, when in the new country, feel the need to keep their identity alive via the creation of Basque associations. Both phenomena can be considered transnationalists as, according to Bash, “they forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Bash, 1994, p.7)”.²⁸

DIASPORA AND ETHNICITY

When, why, and how does an immigrant group decide to maintain its ethnicity and form diasporic communities that maintain relations with its homeland? This single question summarizes perfectly the purpose of this section. But it also raises questions about two of the concepts mentioned: What do “diaspora” and “ethnicity” mean?

Diaspora: A Term Adapted to the Basque Immigrant Experience?²⁹

Introduction

Nowadays, the term “diaspora” is used –I would say– arbitrarily. It has become a “catch-all” concept. Thus, this vague definition of “diaspora” makes it suitable for a wide

27 Douglass, William A. 2006. “The Basques of North Queensland, Australia”, in *Global Vasconia*, University of Nevada, Reno: Center for Basque Studies. “In numerical terms the Basque presence in Australia probably peaked some time in the late 1960s and early 1970s (p.65)”.

28 Bash, Linda. 1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers S.A., p.7.

29 This part on “Diaspora” was published online: Camus Etchecopar, Argitxu. “Diaspora: a Term Adapted to the Basque Immigrant Experience?” In *EuskoneWS and Media*, December 2006 (issues 374 and 376).

range of phenomena. It has become a fashionable term en vogue in social sciences. As a consequence, because of this imprecise understanding of the concept, it is used as an equivalent of “community”, “minority”, or “immigrant community”. But what is the point of having all these different concepts if they all mean the same thing?

Diaspora finds its etymological origin in the Ancient Greek “diaspeirein” meaning “fruitful scattering away of seeds” or “dispersion”. It was originally used by Greeks to refer to the migration and colonization. Later, the term included a more brutal and sinister sense –expulsion from a territory– and was applied to Jews, Africans, Palestinians, and Armenians. But nowadays, other groups define themselves as diasporas –groups which did not experience any persecution–, implying that the term has once again evolved over time. Its meaning is still debated. Several social scientists specialized in the question come up with different categories on how to differentiate an ethnic community/a minority/a migrant group outside its homeland and a diaspora. Moreover, the character of contemporary migration, transformed by forces such as globalization or transnationalism, is forcing researchers to rethink their assumptions and ideas about migration.

What are the different elements involved when categorizing a group as a diaspora? How are ethnic diasporas simultaneously local and global forms of social organization?



Basque mass celebrated by Father Cachena at the Basque Cultural Center located in San Francisco, California, in 1983, in conjunction with the mini world championship of pelota (courtesy of Bernadette Iribarren)

What roles do globalization and telecommunications play in the development of diasporas?

We will discuss the current debate on the theme of diaspora and will underline the term's most important characteristics, while discussing its adaptability to the Basque case.

The Debate

Although not the original significance of the word –in ancient Greek it meant “dispersion”–, the term diaspora has a deep-rooted catastrophic connotation to it, mainly due to the later Jewish experience. Even though the Jewish experience is a key element in the understanding of the term, it is essential to go beyond it, for two main reasons: not all of the Jewish communities have been dispersed by force; nowadays the term is used in a more general sense including groups that did not experience such a catastrophic situation.

According to James Clifford, “we should be able to recognize the strong entailment of Jewish history on the language of diasporas without making that history a definitive model. Jewish (and Greek and Armenian) diasporas can be taken as non-normative starting points for a discourse that is traveling in new global conditions”.³⁰ This “classic” catastrophic notion has to be enlarged by the realities experienced by the transnational communities. Thus, several of the world's leading social scientists have proposed a definition.

According to Robin Cohen, diasporas exhibit several of the following features:

1) dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically; 2) alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions; 3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland; 4) an idealization of the supposed ancestral home; 5) a return movement; 6) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time; 7) a troubled relationship with host societies; 8) a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries; 9) the possibility of a distinctive, creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries.³¹

William Safran develops another interesting definition. According to him, only the Jewish diaspora fully conforms to all characteristics of his “original homeland model”. This definition has the disadvantage of being “Jewish-centered”, in the sense that it

30 Clifford, James. 1997. “Diasporas”, in Montserrat Guibernau et John Rex (ed). *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*. Cambridge: Polity Press

31 Cohen, Robin. 1997. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, UCL Press, Cornwall, p.180.

does not take into consideration recent important transformations in the realities of current migrant communities, such as transnationalism.

1) Dispersal from an original center to two or more peripheral places; 2) retention of a collective memory, vision or myth about their original homeland; 3) belief that they are not and perhaps cannot be accepted into their host society; 4) belief that they or their descendants would or should eventually return to their homeland; and 6) collective consciousness and solidarity importantly defined by this enduring relationship with the homeland.³²

There is a third definition that is worth mentioning as one of the references in diaspora studies: the one advanced by Gabriel Sheffer as the “ideal type of diaspora”:

1) A diaspora is a transtate political entity; 2) which results from voluntary or forced migration, 3) The members of a diaspora reside permanently in the host country, 4) They share an explicit ethnic identity, 5) In the host country they do not look for individual but for communal forms of integration, 6) Transtate networks play an important role in the life of diasporas, 8) Diaspora members maintain contacts and exchange with their homeland, 9) The strategies open to a diaspora create potentials for both conflicts and cooperation with the host society.³³

Taking his definition as a reference, Sheffer considers that 400 million people are members of diasporic communities.

As Georges Prévélakis recalled in one of his talks delivered in Larnaca (Cyprus) in 1993, “pour avoir une diaspora, le simple fait de la dissémination ne suffit pas”.³⁴ The main characteristic that distinguishes a diaspora from a migrant community is the concept of network between the community and its homeland. Jonathan Okamura brings an interesting alternative to a definitional model of diasporas: “First, and perhaps foremost, a diaspora is transnational in scope”.³⁵ It involves displacement from a homeland and connects people with those at home and (or) those dispersed in other lands.

Although some social scientists still consider the forced dispersal experience as the key element of a community in order to be labeled as “diaspora” (Safran’s definition), in general, most go beyond this idea. We will take the following approach: Diasporas transcend national, cultural, and spatial boundaries rather than being mere ethnic or immigrant minorities situated in a given nation-state.

32 Safran, William. 1991. “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of homeland and return”, *Diasporas: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, vol.1, pp. 83-98.

33 In Prévélakis, Georges. 1996. *The Network of Diasporas*. Paris: Cyprus Research Center Kykem. pp.439-440.

34 Prévélakis, *op.cit.* Translation : Dissemination alone is not sufficient in order to define a community as diaspora.

35 Okamura, Jonathan Y. 1998. *Imagining the Filipino American Diaspora: Transnational Relations, Identities, and Communities*, London: Garland Publishing, Inc. p.17

This idea of constant connection between the homeland and its diaspora is present in all the definitions developed above, and could be considered as the cement of it. Nicolas Van Hear,³⁶ regarding the dispersion of the diaspora to two or more territories, mentions the movement between the host country and the homeland as well as the exchange between the spatially separated populations as the three main features that characterize a diaspora. The mention of “dispersion to two or more territories” has to be underlined, as not all the specialists make this distinction. He argues that this mention permits him to distinguish “diasporas” and “transnational communities”. The latter is a broader concept than the former as it includes people that straddle just one border.

An Ethnic Group is Not Necessarily a Diaspora

A sentiment of belongingness in ethnic terms is essential for a migrant community to be characterized as diaspora. But this statement does not work in the opposite direction. An ethnic group is not necessarily a diaspora. In effect, it is rare to find a nation-state composed by a homogenous ethnic community (of course, they are ethnic communities, not diasporas). But let us direct our attention to the particular case of ethnic groups that are in a new host society.

Okamura distinguishes the two kinds of groups in these terms: “While diasporic peoples defy assimilation and acculturation, ethnic minorities have been integrated to varying degrees into their host societies”.³⁷ So, according to this quotation, diasporic people would be more likely to keep their ethnic roots than other ethnic groups. Perhaps the difference between them is not a question of assimilation.

As mentioned above, Prévélakis brings an interesting point when he says that the network concept “est la condition de la survie historique des diasporas:”³⁸ network as the relation with the homeland and (or) with other scattered diasporic groups.

Okamura’s view differs a little bit from Prévélakis’ idea just mentioned. Instead of a “relation with the homeland and (or) with other scattered diasporic groups”, Okamura would say: a relation with the homeland *and* with other scattered diasporic groups. This makes a difference in terms of which group can be considered as diasporic and which cannot. Robin Cohen himself, in his definition of diaspora, mentions “a sense of community with co-ethnic members in other countries”.³⁹ If we take Prévélakis’ more inclusive definition of diaspora first, the Basque community abroad could be described

36 Van Hear, Nicolas. 1998. *New Diasporas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities*. London: UCL Press.

37 Okamura, *op.cit.*

38 Prévélakis, *op.cit.* Translation: conditions the historical survival of diasporas.

39 Cohen, Robin, *op.cit.*

as a diaspora since the early migrations (early sixteenth century). However, if one takes Okamura's more exclusive definition, the Basque diaspora fits it only recently. The relations between the different Basque communities in the United States really started in the 1950s, and the relations between the communities scattered in different host countries are even more recent, and still on the making.

Okamura chooses this exclusive definition, in my view, for one reason: his work focuses on a recent massive population movement, the Filipinos to the United States. And the relations with other communities are made possible because of a new reality context: the speeding up of telecommunications and transportation. Consequently, I think that Prévélakis' definition has the advantage of being more inclusive and of taking into consideration the evolution of the diasporas over time (due to external factors such as globalization).

Finally, another feature unique to diasporas concerns their consciousness that it is global and local at the same time.

Diasporas are Global and Local at the Same Time

It is worth mentioning Clifford's words on the matter: "Diaspora cultures are ways of conceiving community, citizenship, and identity as simultaneously here and elsewhere".⁴⁰

Paul Claval argues that diaspora is a process that has to be explained in terms of local and global terms: Diasporas "preserve their identity because they consider themselves as parts of a wider community the center of which is often far away".⁴¹ They maintain relations with it and (or) with other scattered groups. Diasporas have to be explained in terms of macro and micro-social and spatial organization. Migrants reconfigure their space so that their lives are lived simultaneously within two or more spaces.

The Basque example can be really illustrative in the matter as the members of the diasporic community start considering themselves part of the global Basque ethnic community. According to Totoricagüena, "while the physical limitations of distance are increasingly eliminated as factors in separating ethnic diaspora populations, there has resulted an expansion of the imagining of a worldwide diaspora Basque identity".⁴²

40 Clifford, in Okamura, *op.cit.* p.102.

41 Claval, Paul, "The Challenge of Diasporas", in Prévélakis, *op.cit.* p.436.

42 Totoricagüena, Gloria, "Shrinking World, Expanding Diaspora: Globalization and Basque Diasporic Identity" in *The Basque Diaspora/La Diáspora Vasca*, edited by William Douglass et al. Reno: University of Nevada Reno, Center for Basque Studies, p.300.

44 Held, David. 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, Stanford: Stanford University Press. p .15

These “processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement”⁴³ have a name: transnationalism. This process and the people inside (transnational migrants) are inextricably linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism.

Globalization and Telecommunications in the Development of Diasporas

Globalization “refers to the widening deepening and speeding up of global interconnectedness”.⁴⁴ It is by no means a novel phenomenon, but there has been a quantitative and qualitative shift in recent times.

A few decades ago, hyperglobalizers predicted the globalization of culture, and the eradication of differences (national as well as cultural). Although it is true that states and societies across the globe are experiencing a process of profound change as they try to adapt to a more interconnected world, there is no evidence of a process of uniformization. Instead, the intermingling of cultures and peoples are generating cultural hybrids and new global cultural networks.



John and Jenny Yursa at the 2006 NABO Convention parade in Buffalo Wyoming. Photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar.

In this particular context, diasporas are going through a transformation as well. Stanly Brunn sees the impact of modern technological progress as the major factor in the contemporary proliferation of diasporas. Claval takes this idea even further. In his view, the progress in technology made diasporas from dormant ones to political ones: “The political significance of diasporas grows, thanks to the globalization of the economy and the development of international relations. They influence the attitudes and aspirations of the home country, experience conflicts and cooperation with their host societies, and contribute massively to the functioning of the international networks which are central to our world”.⁴⁵ Concerning the political role that the diaspora might play in its homeland, there is not yet such evidence with the Basque diaspora. Though the relations between the diaspora and homeland institutions have progressed, the Basque diaspora institutions keep reminding the Basque Autonomous Government of their politically independent positions. But in other cases such as Ireland, and Galicia, the diaspora can and have played an instrumental role during the homeland elections.

Since the 1970s, it is frequently said that the growth of migration from the so-called “Third World” countries to Western Europe and Northern America led to the formation of “new diasporas” (expression used to qualify these new transnational populations). In this context of globalization and enforced transnationalism, these transnational communities have the means to make themselves more visible inside the host country. Gérard François Dumont, in a talk delivered in 1993 in Cyprus, talks about a phenomenon of “diasporization” taking place in France since the 1970s in which the new waves of immigrant communities challenge social cohesion “à la française”.⁴⁶

These transnational networks are even more enhanced with the accessibility of global communications. The flowing information influences diaspora consciousness. The satellite Euskal Irrati Telebista (Basque radio and television) is now transmitted to South America and eastern United States. The Internet plays an important role too. These new technologies open new possibilities and serve the interests of diasporic communities.

“However, I emphasize that globalization and diasporization are separate phenomena with no necessary causal connection, though already existing Basque ethnic-identity maintenance and diaspora strength are increased by the effects of globalization”,⁴⁷ argues Totoricagüena.

Conclusion

The main element that characterizes a migrant community as diaspora is its constant relation with the homeland. Therefore –although the emigration from the

45 Claval, Paul in Prévélakis, *op.cit.* p.439

46 Dumont, Gérard François, “The Challenge of Diasporas”, “Diasporas et valeurs républicaines en France”, in Prévélakis, *op.cit.* p.356.

47 Totoricagüena, Gloria. 2000. “Downloading Identity in the Basque Diaspora: Utilizing Internet to Create and Maintain Identity”. *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 43 (summer): 140-54

Basque Country is quasi-inexistent nowadays–, the Basque immigrant community can be labeled as such. Second, third, and fourth generation Basques born in the host country perpetuate these relations with the homeland. The Basque diaspora has to be distinguished from the ones we call “new diasporas”, whose population is still on the move.

The concept “diaspora” has become overly prominent and discussed. It has become a hot topic in all the social sciences and humanities, as well as in the media, and now in the general populace. As mentioned above, there exist different definitions. Moreover, “when we talk about the Basque diaspora, who are we talking about?”, asked William Douglass in an interview conducted at the Center for Basque Studies of the University of Reno. The six million Basque people that live outside of the Basque Country (a number often mentioned by the Basque Autonomous Government)? The people involved in the Basque institutions? This would mean that we are talking about 50,000 people around the globe.⁴⁸

The diaspora seems to be a pretty good neutral term, a kind of strange word, to which we can add meaning to. Therefore I would like to open a discussion on the possibility of adding another characteristic to the term. Everybody agrees that to talk about a diaspora, the immigrant community has to be turned toward its homeland. And why not the other way around? With the homeland turned toward its diaspora?

The Significance of Ethnicity and Ethnicity Maintenance

Ethnicity is a part of the identity. Identity is a person’s source of meaning and experience, and is constructed by a personal history, positive and negative experiences, the social status power, the role of gender, ethnicity, and more. So we have to think of identity as a construction giving meaning to what I am and what the others want me to be. In the same way, ethnicity is a social construction and a way for social classification. It is a founding structure of giving meaning, creating social significance and granting social recognition. It is based on cultural or biological differences from another ethnic group; but these differences are not objective, they are perceived from the members of an ethnic group –but finally, the perception becomes a kind of subjective reality.

What are the different theories which attempt to explain the significance of ethnicity and ethnicity maintenance in these diasporas? Which combinations of them would best explain Basque diaspora communities and the individuals in them? There are several theories attempting to explain ethnicity and ethnic identity maintenance.

48 Interview with William Douglass in Reno, Nevada.



THE NORTH AMERICAN BASQUE ORGANIZATIONS, INC. with great pride dedicates the month of December to the many thousands of **BASQUE IMMIGRANTS** that came to the United States as sheepherders, maids, etc., and then stayed to become part of this great country, to start families, and a new way of life. Their contribution to the Basque heritage and culture is something for which we will forever be grateful. Visit the Basque Studies Library in Reno, Nevada to which many Basque have made contributions of artifacts to perpetuate the Basque contribution to civilization.

Basque sheepherder and his dog. Picture taken from the 1977 NABO calendar.

The Theories Applied to the Basque Case

The primordialist approach stretches a psychological explanation to explain ethnicity. Its theorists (Edward Shils, Clifford Geertz, Pierre Van den Berghe) argue the importance of an ineffable emotive attachment to the ethnic group. In their opinion, we are born ethnic. Genes influence the psychology, which in turn influences individual perceptions and group relations. This approach cannot explain accurately the evolution/transformation of the Basque identity after the migration process: in fact, many Basques lose their identity in the host country. This should not be happening according to the ideas developed by the primordialists. If these ethnic ties are so “natural”, why do so many people stop defining themselves as Basques? However, the emotional strength of ethnic bonds developed by the adepts of the primordialist approach can be found in some occasions. For instance, when one asks a self-defined Basque to define his or her identity, the reply is most likely to be evasive: “Why I am Basque? I am Basque, this is it. I just know it. This is not something you can explain, but something that you live”.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ These are the answers that Basques living in Paris would give me each time I would ask them about their Basque identity. Camus Etchecopar, Argitxu. 2003. Pariseko Eskual Etxea, La Maison Basque de Paris, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzua.

Consequently, not all the ideas claimed by this approach have to be thrown away. The identity is subjective by definition; therefore emotions play a very important role.

The circumstantial approach claims a behavioral explanation. They explain ethnic identity as a social construction, depending on the circumstances. Moreover they argue that people use ethnicity differently according to the circumstances. For example, French Basques in the United States could highlight their Basque identity in some circumstances, and choose to put their French identity forward in some others. The example of Northern Basques in San Francisco is significant in the matter. Until 1960, there was no formal Basque association in San Francisco: Basque people would gather in restaurants owned by other Basques and they would also go to different events organized by the French associations in San Francisco (Les Jardiniers, Les Faneurs). Thus, as usual, in 1959, a big group of Basques attended the annual picnic held by Les Jardiniers. Mattin and Xalbador (*bertsolari*)⁵⁰ were in San Francisco for a few days and attended the party as well. At some point in the course of the picnic, asked by the Basque people in the crowd, Mattin and Xalbador went up on stage and started improvising some *bertso* (verses). But somehow their microphone got cut off during the performance. There are differing versions concerning what happened: “some Béarnais purposely cut it off” or “the bad quality of the material”. But the outcome of it is important: the feelings of the Basque people got hurt, and they decided it was time to create their own organization. But even after what happened, the relations between French and Basques were by no means undermined. Basques would keep attending French events, and the Basque dance group with the *klika*⁵¹ would perform every year for the *14 juillet*. There are several other examples illustrating how being French and Basque at the same time was not a contradiction in the mind of these people. A lot of Basques were going to the French church Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, situated near the French Consulate. Moreover, a lot of Basque children were baptized in that church. One of the founders of the “Lycée Français” in the 1960s was Jean Leon Iribarren, who has also been president of NABO in the late 1980s. He was president of the Comité Officiel de la Colonie Française in the 1970s (whose main activity was the organization of the *14 juillet*). The “us” and the “them” change according to circumstances.

Spicer’s oppositional approach has its interest as well. According to him, the opposition between groups plays the major role in maintaining ethnic identity. This constant opposition defines the boundaries between groups. It is true that a Basque, when immigrating to the United States for example, will remember stronger his or her identity when comparing himself/herself with someone from Africa or Korea. Different degrees on the opposition have also to be noted, leading to different degrees on the opposition between groups. The circumstances under which the first Basque association was created in San Francisco give real credit to this approach. As long as there is some sort of “other” or “opposition”, there is reason for unity and “us”. Group

50 Bertsolari: the Basque version of troubadours. They improvise verses (*bertso*) as they go along.

51 Basque marching band.

solidarity persists as long as the “opposition” establishes the need for a reaction from the “us”. The history, and more importantly wars, remain the most important feature in this opposition between groups. For example, the opposition Spain/Spanish Basque is clearer than the opposition France/French Basques because of the more traumatic experience in the Southern part of the Basque Country (Spanish Civil War). In France, the centralism and the imposition of the French values and rule were more gradual and further back in history. Does this feature make a Spanish Basque more likely to perpetuate and pass on his/her Basque heritage compared to a French Basque? There is no clear evidence for that.

Then the instrumental theory adds an important new feature: the concept of “appropriateness”. Thus, an individual could choose his or her identity depending on if the latter could bring him/her a positive status or some benefit.⁵² Gloria Toticagüena, in an article published in *La inmigración Española en la Argentina*,⁵³ tries to understand the recent proliferation of Basque institutions in Argentina: “se han creado 46 nuevas asociaciones vascas desde la Guerra de las Malvinas”.⁵⁴ Her hypothesis is the following: “Puede ser que sintieran la necesidad psicológica de distanciarse de la imagen negativa argentina y acercarse más a la positiva vasca”.⁵⁵

The concept of transnational identity matches well with diaspora consciousness. “Basques are physically connected to the host countries where they currently live, and emotionally and psychologically connected to ancestral homelands”.⁵⁶ It implies the ability to superpose identities without having to choose one over the other. But in this case of hybrid identity, is one identity necessarily going to “dominate” the other in the life of an individual? This question applies more specifically to the individuals of second, third, or fourth generation Basques who appear to claim both Basque and American identities.

New Ethnicity or Symbolic Ethnicity?

In recent years, Neil Sandberg’s straight-line theory has been seriously criticized. This theory views acculturation and assimilation as secular trends that culminate in

52 In the case of Argentina, looking at the actual socio economic difficulties experienced by this country, people might suddenly “realize” they are Basque and showcase it publicly in order to be eligible for the advantages offered by the Basque Autonomous Government.

53 Toticagüena Gloria. 1999. “Los Vascos en la Argentina”, in Alejandro Fernandez and José Moya (ed). *La Inmigración Española en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos.

54 Translation: Forty six new Basque associations were formed since the Malvinas War.

55 It is possible that they felt the psychological need to distance themselves from the negative Argentinean image and to get closer to the positive Basque image.

56 Toticagüena, Gloria. 2000. “Downloading Identity in the Basque Diaspora: Utilizing Internet to Create and Maintain Identity”. *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 43 (summer): 140-54

the eventual absorption of the ethnic group into the larger culture (Basques into the larger American culture). But against this theory, some other scholars claim the reality of an “ethnic revival” that is taking place among the European descendants in the United States. This persistent ethnic identity is called “new ethnicity”.

But Herbert J. Gans does not share this opinion. In his view, ethnics are adopting a new form of ethnic behavior and affiliation that he calls “symbolic ethnicity”. “The secular ethnic cultures which the immigrants brought with them are now only an ancestral memory, or an exotic tradition to be savored once in a while in a museum or at an ethnic festival”,⁵⁷ argues Gans. Nowadays, people can choose when and how to play ethnic roles. It has become more and more a matter of choice, more of a leisure-time activity. In his view, this new ethnicity he labels as “symbolic” fits in the straight-line theory: “What appears to be a revival is probably the emergence of a new form of acculturation and assimilation”.⁵⁸

Howard Stein and Robert Hill advanced the “dime store ethnicity” concept. In their opinion, this form of identity is fake because the “ethnics” consciously choose an ethnicity and parade it in public. These “new ethnics” have to be distinguished from the “real ethnics” because these latter are not conscious of the subtle influence their ethnic heritage continues to assert in their daily lives.

Compared to the first generation migrants, ethnicity is not something that influences the life of Basque Americans, unless they want it to. Progressively, the process of ethnic maintenance has been cantoned to the family sphere, and now more and more it is a matter of individual choice. This evolution changes literally our way to approach the field: “Instead of studying the ethnic group as a collectivity, the attention has shifted to the ethnic identity of the individual”,⁵⁹ argues Waters. It is essential to know how Basques themselves, perceive their individual ethnicity before labeling it as “real” or “unreal” ethnicity.

Ethnicity maintenance in the host country is illustrated in many and various ways. From the attendance of different Basque picnics throughout the year to the decoration of one’s home with ethnic Basque symbols. The home is an important place to recreate the homeland for immigrants. These everyday actions or behaviors that reinforce ethnic identity constitute what Michael Billig calls “banal nationalism”.⁶⁰

As we can see, all the different theories cited in that section bring some element of understanding to ethnicity maintenance. The debate about the “new” or “symbolic” ethnicity refers to the white European population’s ethnic maintenance pattern in the

57 Gans, Herbert. 1979. “Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Volume 2, No.1. p.7.

58 Idem, p.12.

59 Waters, Mary. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p.8.

60 Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.



United States. It would appear interesting to see if this evolution on ethnic maintenance will also characterize current active migrant populations with the passage of time (Hispanic immigration for example).

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

The purpose of this section is to question why and how Basque people decided to form these formal Basque institutions including NABO.

The formation of migrant communities is a characteristic proper to quasi all human migrants, so was the case of the Basques in the United States and in many other countries. Alexander Murphy and Nancy Leeper⁶¹ distinguish different ethnic institutions, when each of them plays an important role in the maintenance of ethnic networks: familial and community institutions (that can be formal or informal), religious institutions, economic institutions, cultural institutions. If Basque migration

61 In Totoricagüena, Gloria Pilar. 2003. *Diaspora Vasca Comparada: etnicidad, cultura y politica en las colectividades vascas*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Centro Vasco.



Susanville Basque dancers
(courtesy of Janet Goñi).

to the Americas started in the late sixteenth century, Basques started emigrating massively from the Basque Country at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, even though the reality of a Basque community organization is obvious since the early years of the colonization –religious institutions–, the first formal Basque institutions are formed in the late nineteenth century and the mid twentieth century for most of them. Before that, Basque people would meet and promote their identity in some informal places like hotels and restaurants owned by compatriots. Why did they wait so long? Why did they suddenly feel the need to organize themselves around a formal association, and in some cases around a place that would belong to them as a community? Could we distinguish some conditions under which an institution is formed, regardless of the area and the time? These questions can be developed inside the scope of social identity theory.

In order to approach our research, a literature review will be presented first. This latter will include literature about Basque institutions in general, as well as some theories from the social identity approach. Then, taking what has been written about Basque institutions, and taking existing theories in the matter as a departure, some hypothesis about the question will be presented. In doing so, we will be able to understand better how and why these institutions came to birth.

Literature Review

This section will be divided in two main parts. First, we will focus on what has been written by Historians specialized in Basque emigration concerning the creation of these Basque formal institutions of the diaspora. Then, we will show how the topic fits in the social identity approach.

Literature on Basque Formal Institutions of the Diaspora

The year 1876 symbolizes the beginning of formal Basque associationism, as Basques in Montevideo (Uruguay) create the Center Laurak Bat, followed by those in Buenos Aires (Argentina) in 1877. Those two were exclusively open to Basques from the Spanish side of the Basque Country. Later, French Basques in Buenos Aires decide to build their own Center, in 1895 and call it Centro Vasco-Frances. But the proliferation of these formal associations all over Argentina happens in the 1940s. Concerning the United States, the first formal association is created in 1913, in New York, and the majority of the other Basque institutions were born in the 1960s.⁶² Consequently, one general trend can be found: the institutions first emerge in urban areas. Moreover, their birth in Argentina arrives prior to those in the United States. There is a simple explanation to that: the massive Basque emigration toward Argentina started 50 years earlier (early 1800s) than in the United States and stopped in the 1930s, whereas it started in mid 1800s in the United States and stopped in the 1960s.⁶³

Different hypotheses exist concerning the late apparition of formal Basque associations (compared to the beginning of the massive emigration to these countries). Douglass and Bilbao, in their *Amerikanuak* book⁶⁴ state that they are the consequence of a necessary encounter: Basque people installed for at least one generation and those newcomers. An important encounter that brings together two important resources: money provided by those installed in Argentina, and labor provided by the newcomers. Then, Gloria Totoricagüena⁶⁵ advances another interesting idea: the progressive assimilation of emigrants to the host country, and the evolution of their needs. Marcelino Iriani⁶⁶ explains why in Argentina, Uruguay, or in the United States these associations first appeared in urban areas. Big cities are not very well suited for an informal encounter between Basques. Thus, the creation of a definite formal place where to meet was felt to be indispensable. Iriani also provides another important idea

62 Some institutions were founded in the early 1920s in the American West.

63 I am talking about the so called massive emigration. Of course Basques started immigrating to Latin America since the 1600s.

64 Bilbao, Jon and William A. Douglass. 1975. *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

65 Totoricagüena, Gloria Pilar. *Ibid.*

66 Iriani Zalakain, Marcelino. 2003. *Centro Vasco Argentino Gure Etxea de Tandil: la punta de un gran iceberg? Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Centro Vasco.*

that could have helped this creation of formal institutions process: the massive arrival in the 1930s of Basques exiles escaping the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. This new wave constituted a new chance for the Basque community as their political motivation made them active agents of Basque action in the diaspora. All the different hypotheses advanced above are of special interest. They appear to be as necessary conditions under which an institution will appear: the notion of resources, assimilation, and leadership.

Social Identity Perspective

On the other hand, social psychology brings some useful tools in the understanding of this particular process. The understanding of the process of formal Basque institutions implies basically to see how Basques in the diaspora preserve and promote their identity. Therefore, the social identity theory is perfectly suited to an analysis of Basque institutions. The social identity perspective is an analysis of intergroup relations as well as intragroup phenomena. According to the social identity theory developed by Henri Tajfel, “groups, [are seen] as collections of people sharing the same social identity, [and they] compete with one another for evaluatively positive distinctiveness”.⁶⁷ This original idea brought by Henri Tajfel was completed by Turner’s self-categorization theory. Turner showed “how social categorization of self and others underpins social identification and the associated array of group and intergroup phenomena”.⁶⁸ As a consequence, group membership is a matter of collective self-construal, building a sense of “us” versus “them”. Each group wants to evaluate positive in-group distinctiveness, made possible by a constant intergroup social comparison.

But these concepts are far from being static. In fact, during times of transition –such as emigration–, we notice a change on the relationship between the individual and his/her environment. According to Kathleen Ethier and Kay Deaux, in that context, “the ways in which the person has previously maintained the identity are no longer valid or useful in the new context, and the person must change the way in which he or she maintains the identity”.⁶⁹ Thus, previous bases of identification are challenged by assimilation. The in-group perceives these challenges as identity threats. In this theory, identity threat is the sense that the group is in danger of losing its distinctiveness from other groups, which would ultimately mean the end of its existence. Thus, Basques will try to respond to identity threat in order to fulfill the need for positive self-esteem. Moreover, as the emigrants establish themselves in a new environment, the second

67 Hogg, Michael A., Dominic Abrams, Sabine Otten and Steve Hinkle. 2004. “The social identity perspective”, *Small Group Research*, 35, 3: 246-276.

68 Hogg, Michael. *Ibid.*

69 Ethier, Kathleen and Kay Deaux. 1994. “Negotiating social identity when contexts change: Maintaining identification and responding to threat”. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 27: 243-251.



New York Basque dancers
(University of Nevada, Reno
Basque Library).

generation assimilates, in many ways, the values of the new society, threatening the very point of distinctiveness. Basques adapt and respond to identity threat in several ways. The creation of Basque institutions is one of the ways. To summarize, social identity theory predicts mobilization to occur when the identity of social group is threatened and that the positive and distinct image of the group is attacked.

But this sense of threat alone does not lead to action. Some internal and external conditions have to be fulfilled. Specifically, MacCarthy and Zald emphasize the nature and variety of available resources.⁷⁰ They argue that resources must be controlled or mobilized before action is possible. Here are some examples of resources that have to be mobilized: link to other groups, need of external support for success, tactics used by authorities, study of the aggregation of resources (money and labor), some form of organization, a favorable climate, etc. Didier Lapeyronnie successfully applies this approach to a particular case: North African second-generation immigrants in France.⁷¹ Didier Lapeyronnie emphasizes the assimilation process they experience

70 McCarthy, John D and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory". *American Journal of Sociology*, 82: 1212-1241.

71 Lapeyronnie, Didier. 1987. "Assimilation, mobilization et action collective chez les jeunes de la seconde generation de l'immigration maghebine", *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 28, 2: 287-318.



as the driving force behind their mobilization. However, even though the threat is real, “aucune action ne peut se former à partir d’un groupe uniquement défini par la privation, sans organisation [internal factors] et sans appui [external factors]”.⁷² Consequently, it would appear important to apply this approach to the formation of Basque institutions.

As mentioned earlier, social categorization is key for social identity processes. People represent the group in terms of ideal membership behavior. A characteristic that Turner calls “prototype”. The prototype includes attributes that capture similarities within groups (intragroup comparison) and differences between groups (intergroup comparison). This is an essential process as it prescribes membership. So, people around the Basque institution project define a prototype. It changes through time. The definition of the ideal member in the first years of the institutions is different compared to current prototypes assigned to these same institutions. Who is more likely to define the prototype? Within a group, some people are more “prototypical” than others. Therefore, this process may involve differentiation among people and may lead some people to leave the group.

72 Translation: No group can get formed as a consequence of privation alone, without organization or support.

One structural differentiation within groups is the leaders/followers one. Do leaders have to fulfill personality types or are they products of the situation? Related to the previous paragraph, according to social identity theory, leadership choice is based on how prototypical the leader is considered to be. Leaders are important in a group as they mobilize people to achieve collective goals. But here again, this feature is context specific. “Over time and across contexts, the leader may decline in prototypicality whereas other members become more prototypical, opening the door to a redistribution of influence within the group”⁷³ argues Hogg. Leaders are part of the resources needed in order for mobilization to occur.

All these works cited bring a lot to think about the process of creation of institutions. It seems that some general similarities come out when institutions are created. A Basque Club may not only be of practical social purpose (people interacting) but it is also a symbol, with which people announce their presence and claim “reality”. Moreover, there are some conditions that are necessary in order for any given Basque institution to appear. Why is it that some Basques decide to build a Basque Center at some point in time (regardless of the place and time period)? What are the necessary conditions under which an institution is created? In other words, we are planning to apply the social identity theory to the study of Basque institutions of the diaspora, including NABO.

Hypotheses

As stated earlier in the development, we aim to understand how and why Basque people decided to form formal associations in the United States. To do so, we will more precisely focus on three main concepts defined in the previous part:

- The concept of identity threat.
- The concept of prototype.
- And the concept of resource mobilization.

Based on what has been written so far about Basque institutions, as well as on the theories advanced by social identity approach, it is time to develop some hypotheses.

*Hypotheses number one: Basque institutions come to birth due to a sense of identity threat.*⁷⁴ There are two main sources of identity threat: the assimilation process and the decrease in emigration.

73 Hogg, Michael A. 2001. “A social identity theory of leadership”. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5, 3: 184-200.

74 We defined it earlier as a sense that the group is in danger of losing its distinctiveness from other groups.

As the emigrants assimilate, identity threat occurs because the degree of positive distinctiveness between one's ethnic group and the majority group is reduced. There are various indicators that illustrate that. First, there are several people that once in the host country stop interacting with other Basque people and choose to assimilate instantly, leaving behind their previous ethnic identity. Then, there is this younger generation, born in the new country that wants to fit perfectly in the majority group. Many of them reject their parents' culture. Finally, after the second generation, intermarriages with non-Basques are frequent, bringing the culture of the host country (or another ethnic identity) into the family and mixing up the references. In that context in which the boundaries between Basque culture and the culture of the host country are blurry, some people feel that it is time to define more clearly what it means to be Basque, and the institutions represent an important means in that project.⁷⁵

Then, a correlation can be depicted between the birth of most of the institutions (except for those in the cities) and the decrease in immigration. But our point is precisely to show that this is more than a correlation. As the number of Basque immigrants decreases, the number of direct witnesses of contemporary life in the Basque Country decreases. Moreover, activities traditionally taken by Basques start attracting non-Basques (sheepherding). In parallel, the new generations prefer to work on more "modern" activities. Consequently, Basques feel that they are losing part of who they are, all that have been their references so far. This brings a real need to build a fix definition of what it is to be Basque. Finally, there is a last point related to the decrease in immigration. As activities traditionally attended by Basques collapse, as well as a way of life that had been there so far, old places of socialization collapse (hotels, restaurants, stores owned by Basques, neighborhoods) being attended more and more by non-Basques. This feature makes them realize that it would be important to have a place that would belong to them (groups and identity as places to belong) or at least an institution which purpose would be to organize gatherings between Basques.

We mentioned earlier that the first formal institutions were organized first in cities. Why is the situation of the cities so unique that the institutions come to birth earlier

⁷⁵ In some cases, regardless of whether one wants to assimilate or not, members of the ethnic group face a great deal of rejection. This leaves them no choice but to identify with their group leading to a stronger ingroup identity and the will to make it more apparent (by building institutions). This rejection did take place at some point in time in the United States for different reasons: the barrier of the language, as well as religious (Catholic vs. a majority of Protestant) and political reasons. After the defeat of the Republican side during the Spanish Civil War, a lot of Basques migrated to the United States. Though their strong faith, all Basque new comers were depicted as "red" by the American media for having fought in the Republican side. But in general, Basque immigrants, and further more their children can blend into majority society. From social identity theory, the threat from assimilation is something very different than threat because of exclusion from the majority. Strictly speaking, only the former counts as "identity threat" because assimilation, decline of addition of new group members while old ones pass away present a challenge to the factual and symbolic existence of the group. By contrast, people who are excluded from majority society do not have this problem: their group's existence, especially its symbolic existence is manifested every time a group member is excluded, stereotyped and discriminated against. In this situation, threat is real in the sense that the group's existence is a precondition for experiencing a threat that is direct to all members of the group. In this situation, groups typically attempt to define their own identity in more positive ways than what they are defined by the majority, and they seek strategies to advance their situation through collective action. Assimilation could be a strategy of group members to escape, say an inferior status within a larger society, but it represents an individual or individualist strategy.

than in other areas? The community in urban areas is threatened earlier because of circumstances that are particular to cities, such as the distance separating Basques from others, the promiscuity with other ethnic groups and the varied jobs Basques can undertake. All these different social circumstances lead the community to search for a place and a definition for Basqueness to “fix” the threatened community.

Hypotheses number 2: The threats surrounding the community lead to a redefinition of Basqueness (prototype). The definition or reaffirmation of a given prototype is a direct response to assimilation. It is a radical way to differentiate itself from the majority by marking some definite boundaries.

This process includes a strict list of what it is to be Basque, crystallized around the creation of these institutions. First, the prototype stipulates restrictive criteria to access the institutions. Thus, membership is meticulously defined. Non-Basques cannot join the associations except in some circumstances (married to a Basque). As a consequence, when the institutions are erected, Basque institutions are open to the immigrants and to the first generation born in the host society.

Moreover, how a Basque is supposed to behave is also defined. As in the outside new ways of life take over the traditional ones, in the context of the institution, the members emphasize the need to develop a traditional idea of Basqueness. So, each time Basques meet for a particular event, they will eat Basque food, listen to Basque music, dance Basque dances, and wear Basque traditional costumes and so on.

Hypotheses number 3: In order for the institutions to come into existence, the Basque community has to gather resources. Some internal and external factors have to be present.

The reality of an organized Basque community (informal organization) in a given area precedes the establishment of an institution (formal organization). Informal institutions such as hotels, restaurants, bars, and stores owned by Basques favor the maintenance of connections and networks between people of the community. These connections are also made possible in the case of an activity (shepherding) with a majority of Basque people in it, as well as neighborhoods constituted of mostly Basque families.

Then, of course, money and property represent a big challenge. In fact, the existence of a Basque Center implies that someday, somehow, the Basque community owned or rented land and built a house. Some rich family could have given it to the community. Another possibility is that the Basque community got mobilized in order to gather the capital, or take out a loan. In this latter case as well, it helps to have some influential people among the members.

There is another influential factor to take into account: The Catholic Church institution in the Basque Country (external support). They helped in the purchase of

the Basque Center in Paris. And its presence in the United States and in Argentina is real as well: a Basque priest is in charge of the Basque mission in the United States, sent by the bishop of Baiona –Bayonne in French– (Lapurdi), and there are several missions held by Basque monks and nuns in Argentina.

Finally, leadership represents an important resource as well when it comes to concretizing a challenging project like a Basque Center. A leader has to emerge in order to head up the center, and effectively direct the efforts. Leaders can be of different types. Among others, it is possible to think that these Basques that are in exile because of the Spanish Civil War want to maintain strongly their identity and pull up the entire community with them.

In order for a Basque institution to get off the ground and sustain itself, identity threat has to be present, there has to be a clear prototype available, and necessary human and material resources have to be present. Identity threat is inherently a psychological variable; group members must perceive at some level that the integrity of their group is at stake. The following chapters will bring some responses to the ideas developed until now, taking the institution NABO as reference.



Mass celebrated by Father Tillous and Father Cachenaout at the 25th Anniversary Celebration of the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center, February 2006 (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

The Early NABO:

(02)

Years of 1973-1986

FACTORS THAT EVENTUALLY LED TO THE CREATION OF NABO

Although NABO was founded in 1973-1974, it might appear important to mention the factors that led to its creation.

No Distinct Basque Group Before the 1950s

William A. Douglass, in his article “Basque American Identity: Past Perspectives and Future Projects”⁷⁶ lists the factors that militated against the persistence of Basques as a distinct ethnic group before the 1950s. First, Basque immigration lacked the necessary female dimension for the formation of family life; it also lacked the leadership, “the opinion makers who might have provided the initiative and vision to found the publications, voluntary associations, and religious associations that marked ethnic life for some other American immigrant groups (Douglass, 1996, p. 185)”; then, the involvement of many Basques in the sheep industry precluded population concentrations of Basque Americans; moreover, the regional distinctions

⁷⁶ In Tchudi, Stephen. 1996. *Changing in the American West, Exploring the Human Dimension*, Reno and Las Vegas: Nevada Humanities Committee and University of Nevada Press, pp 183-199.

further complicated the creation of a collective action (French Basques versus Spanish Basques); finally, the negative imagery linked to the sheepherders at the time did not lead to ethnic pride. Consequently, Douglass argues that due to the reasons mentioned above, we find very few examples of collective actions before the 1950s. Basques mostly sought to be assimilated within the American society.

This leads us to ask what happened after the 1950s that led to an increase of formal Basque organization. Douglass rightly argues that “for these several collectivities to catalyze into a self-conscious Basque American ethnic group, with activities that transcended particular localities, there had to be developments within the wider society”.⁷⁷

Important Developments Within the Wider Society after the 1950s

The context of the U.S.A. roots phenomenon of the 1960s brought a sense of ethnic pride among Basque Americans (along with other ethnic groups). Being “ethnic” brought social status as a group and as an individual. It created a need to be ethnic. Nowadays, people seek positivity by entering a group, by being ethnic.⁷⁸

After the 1940s, the legislation started to favor the entry of Basque sheepherders who had come to be seen, in William Douglass’s words, “as an esteemed and necessary part of the ranching labor force”.⁷⁹ From that point forward, in the second part of the twentieth century, the image of the sheepherder gradually gained in positivity. At that time, urban Americans increasingly started romanticizing rural pursuits.⁸⁰ Thus, the process of invention of a Basque American identity started. I choose to talk about an “invention” and not a “reinvention” (or “ethnic resurgence”) because it was a new phenomenon that was going to take place.⁸¹

“During this first immigration phase [before the 1950s], Basque ethnicity was more a fact of life, a lived reality, than a project”,⁸² argues Douglass. Then, along with the

77 Douglass in Tchudi, Stephen, *op.cit.*, p.190.

78 See first chapter for Henri Tajfel’s and social identity theory’s insight on this.

79 Douglass, William A. 1991. “Inventing an Ethnic Identity: the First Basque Festival”, *Basques of the Pacific Northwest*, Pocatello: Idaho State University Press, pp79-85, p.81.

80 Iidem, p.81: “Articles began to appear regularly in popular magazines and newspapers which idealized the sheepherding way of life. No longer was the herder treated pejoratively and his occupation belittled. Rather he became an heroic figure, leading an uncomplicated, solitary existence, profiled against breathtaking mountain scenery and sunsets”.

81 Therefore agreeing with William Douglass in his article “Basque American Identity: Past Perspectives and Future Projects”, in Tchudi, Stephen (ed). 1996. *Changes in the American West, Exploring the Human Dimension*, Reno and Las Vegas: Nevada Humanities Committee and University of Nevada Press, pp183-199. “I consciously avoid the expression “ethnic resurgence”. [...]The term invokes, quite wrongly in my view, the notion of recapture or return to some former state. I hope that it is clear from all that I have said thus far that there was no Basque-American ethnic identity to be reclaimed; rather the very concept as well as its content had, in several senses, to be invented (p.191)”.

82 Douglas ss, W. 2000. “Interstitial culture, virtual ethnicity, and hyphenated Basque identity in the new millennium”, in *Nevada Historical Quarterly*, 43-2, p.156.

roots phenomenon and the need to be ethnic, “ethnic identity maintenance became a salvage operation, something that had to be worked out, a project rather than a lived daily reality”.⁸³ It was expressed by the creation of Basque formal clubs, which in some cases culminated in the building of Basque houses.

The 1959 “Western Basque Festival”:⁸⁴ The Catalyst

The festival held in Sparks (near Reno), Nevada in 1959 was the first one in history in the American West to display Basqueness publicly. And it appeared to be the catalyst for the same type of festivals to take place in more and more Basque local communities.

Several communities had their own annual picnics before the date of 1959, such as Buffalo, Wyoming since 1918, Boise, ID since 1933, Bakersfield, CA since 1938 and La Puente, CA since the 1940s. From 1950 to 1956, Reno, NV too had its picnic tradition, held at the California building in Idewild Park. In Reno, in 1950, four local Basques formed the Basque American Club. But all these events were organized by Basques for Basques; they were private gatherings. Basque hotels also, before the 1960s, were little frequented by Americans.

The earliest Basque associations in the United States were founded around specific needs. Their primary goal was to help their members in emergency medical situations, playing the role of insurance agencies, social security and providing death benefits or repatriation.

Basque associationism in Boise, ID was institutionally established in 1908 with the creation of La Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos, The Mutual Aid Society. This endeavor resulted from individual cases of Basques who could not afford their own medical expenses, had suffered disabling accidents that left them without any income or support, or from funeral expenses for herders who had no family in the Boise area to cover the costs. Prior to this organization, those who could afford to would donate money to indigent care or to special charity cases to help a friend get home to the Basque Country after an accident. Basques in Boise attempted to help pay each other’s emergency costs. However, by 1908, several boarding house operators decided it might be a good idea and more efficient to establish a mutual aid society to which members would pay an initiation fee and then annual dues in exchange for insurance that would cover medical emergencies, a stipend for long term disability, or even pay funeral expenses when necessary. Basque immigrants united to pool their funds and create a financial safety net for themselves that was open to all Spanish and Basque males. Basque women were funded free beds if they were a “poverty case”. After the flu endemic in 1918 many more joined the mutual aid service.

83 *Idem*, p.159.

84 Douglass, William A., 1991. “Inventing and Ethnic Identity: the First Basque Festival”. *Basques of the Pacific Northwest*. Pocatello: Idaho State University Press, pp.79-85.

La Fraternidad Vasca Americana, the Basque American Fraternity was established for Basque men in 1928 and gave financial assistance to its members. Basque men were urged to learn English, and the Fraternity also worked to “encourage, foster and promote Americanization of its members, by aiding and assisting those who are not naturalized citizens of the United States to familiarize themselves with its constitution and laws and become citizens thereof”. [...] In 1930 the American Basque Auxiliary was formed for Basque women to reach the same goals of learning English and becoming citizens (Totoricagüena, 2003, p.222)”.⁸⁵

In New York, “in approximately 1905, several Basque men began meeting informally in the basement of one of their homes on Water Street to discuss organizing some sort of Basque mutual aid association. [...] They deliberated and planned the possibility to create an insurance fund for Basques who took ill, died without family to care for funeral services, or needed repatriation to Euskal Herria and could not afford the costs of travel. [...] In 1913, a group of thirteen Basque men decided to formalize their mutual assistance association with an official legal charter. [...] The Centro Vasco-Americano Sociedad de Beneficencia y Recreo was incorporated in New York City in 1913 (Totoricagüena, 2003, p.99)”.⁸⁶

The associations whose primary goals were to gather Basques on special occasions such as balls or picnics came later. According to Kepa Fernandez de Larrinoa,⁸⁷ an association was founded in Stockton in 1907, which did not last long; in San Francisco also, in 1924, the Zazpiak Bat Club was founded, but eventually fell apart due to Old World regional distinctions (French Basques versus Spanish Basques);⁸⁸ in Bakersfield in 1944, and La Puente in 1939 (officially formed in 1947); in the east coast, in New York, the Centro Vasco Americano was formed in 1913 which eventually bought property in

-
- 85 Totoricagüena, Gloria. 2003. *Boise Basques: Dreamers and Doers*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Central Publication of the Basque Autonomous Government, p.222.
- 86 Totoricagüena, Gloria. 2003. *The Basques of New York: A Cosmopolitan Experience*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Central Publication of the Basque Autonomous Government p. 99.
- 87 Fernandez de Larrinoa, Kepa. 1992. *Estatu Batuetako mendebadeko urrutiko Euskal Jaiak*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko Jauriaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia, p.73.
- 88 Jean Francis Decroos. 1983. *The Long Journey: Social Integration and Ethnicity Maintenance Among Urban Basques in the San Francisco Bay Region*, University of Nevada, Reno: Associated Faculty Press, Inc. and Basque Studies Program: “The Zazpiak Bat Club was founded in 1924. Little is known about this structure except that it was riddled by internal tensions between the Spanish and French Basques. It finally succumbed after roughly a decade of existence. At its zenith it had approximately 80 members (p.32)”.
- 89 Robert Laxalt grew up in Carson City of Basque immigrant parents (father from Xiberoa and mother from Baxe Nafarroa). He graduated from the University of Nevada, Reno. In 1954 Laxalt served as University of Nevada, Reno’s Director of News and Publications and later as director of the University of Nevada Press, which he founded. He is best known for his books that have received international critical acclaim (information taken from the 1999 Reno Aste Nagusia booklet).
- 90 As cited in Douglass, William. “Inventing an Ethnic Identity: the First Basque Festival”, *op. cit.* p.81.
- 91 *Idem.*
- 92 Dick and Flora Graves were both natives of Boise, Idaho. Flora was the second of three children of Spanish Basque immigrants (Francisco and Gabina Goitino Aguirre). Flora introduced Dick to the Basque culture. The original Nugget in Sparks opened in 1955.
- 93 Peter Echeverria was born on June 29, 1918, in Shoshone, Idaho, to Marie Sarrasqueta (from Apotomonasterio) and John Echeverria (from Lekeitio, Bizkaia). He was admitted to the Nevada State Bar in 1949, and practiced law in Reno until 1983. Then Peter operated a consulting firm specializing in gaming, real estate and legal matters. Peter was elected to the Nevada State Senate from Washoe County from 1959 to 1963 (information taken from the 1999 Reno Aste Nagusia booklet)
- 94 Joe Micheo was born in the Spanish side of the Basque Country on April 4, 1891 and immigrated to the US in 1908. He moved to Gardnerville in 1937 where he run the French Hotel. Later he opened the Pyrenees hotel. He died on May 11, 1968 (information taken from the 1999 Renoko Aste Nagusia booklet).

1928. Besides the ones we just mentioned, most of the institutions were formed after the key year of 1959. It goes to the symbolic aspect of having an institution, a claim that is being laid on social reality (a “visible” institution). Also, in 1957, with the publication of *Sweet Promised Land*, Robert Laxalt⁸⁹ became the literary spokesperson of the Basques. The book is a memoir of his father’s life in the United States as a shepherd, and his nostalgic return to his native Basque Country after nearly a lifetime as a shepherd in the American West. This helped a lot in the making of group imagery.

The first Western Basque festival held in Sparks on the 6th and the 7th of June 1959 was “a chance to put on public display their growing ethnic pride. As Peter Echeverria later put it, ‘I felt it was time for we Basques to come out of the woodwork (Douglass, 1991, p.81)’.”⁹⁰ An estimated 5,000 people drawn from throughout the American West were in attendance making it the largest Basque gathering ever held. “Prior to 1959, Basques of the American West were little noticed and consciously maintained a low group profile”,⁹¹ argues Douglass. The owner of a Nevada casino in Sparks, Dick Graves,⁹² decided to sponsor a Basque event (his wife and his casino manager, John Ascuaga, were Basques). Hence he contacted Peter Echeverria⁹³ (State senator in the Nevada legislature and trial lawyer) and Robert Laxalt, two important figures of the Basque community in Reno. Together, they named an organizing committee consisting of both Old World and New World Basques; a necessary feature if the function was to be accepted by the Old World Basques. The participation of Joe Micheo,⁹⁴ Martin



Committee members of the 1959 Western Basque Festival in Sparks, Nevada (University of Nevada, Reno, Basque Library).



Crowd at the 1959 Western Basque Festival (University of Nevada, Reno, Basque Library).

Esain,⁹⁵ and Dominique Gascue⁹⁶ guaranteed the committee the support of the local Basque community. In addition to Robert Laxalt and Peter Echeverria, the committee contained four other members, all of whom were Basque Americans: John Laxalt,⁹⁷ Paul Parraguirre,⁹⁸ Peter Supera,⁹⁹ and John Ascuaga¹⁰⁰.

“What emerged was a syncretic event, a generic Basque festival, one which incorporated elements of Old World [mass, dances, songs, music, mus, sports] and New World Basque [sheep camp exhibit, the food served in the Basque hotels] experience and which confounded Old World regional distinctions (Douglass, 1991, p.81)”.¹⁰¹ The organizers’ desire was to display Basque culture from both parts of the Pyrenees. Hence, the location, Sparks/Reno, a kind of “neutral” place geographically played its role in the unification for one day of the Basque community in California made up of mostly French Basques and Basques from Nafarroa, and Idaho consisting of Bizkaian Basques. The organizers made a particular effort to advertise it among the different local Basque communities of the West, by physically traveling to the communities and attending their functions. A contingent of Basques from New York also came unannounced. Various U.S., French (consul from San Francisco, ambassador from Washington D.C.) and Spanish dignitaries (consul and ambassador)¹⁰² traveled to Sparks for the occasion. The festival served as a catalyst within the entire Basque

95 Martin Esain was born on August 22, 1905 in Aldude, France. He came to the United States in 1927 to work as a sheepherder in Elko, Nevada. In 1942 he started bartending for Louise Etcheverry at the Santa Fe Hotel in Reno, and they became partners in 1944. In 1948, the hotel burned down, and the following year Martin opened the new Santa Fe Hotel. Martin died in 1966 (information taken from the 1999 Renoko Aste Nagusia booklet)

96 Domingo came from the village of Banka, in the Pyrenees of France. He herd sheep and worked and run several Basque hotels. In the 1950s, Dominique served as president of the Basque American Club in Reno (information taken from the 1999 Renoko Aste Nagusia booklet).

97 John Laxalt is Robert Laxalt’s brother. He graduated from Santa Clara University. He passed the Nevada Bar examination in 1957 and practiced law until 1971. He has been a legislative/business consultant in Washington D.C. since 1981 (information taken from the 1999 Renoko Aste Nagusia booklet).

98 Paul Parraguirre was born in 1989 in San Francisco. Until 1920, he managed the Parraguirre family sheep ranch in Nevada until 1920. He became associated with the Union Oil Co. and then worked for the Mono County Assessor’s office for sixteen years. He died in 1980 (information taken from the 1999 Renoko Aste Nagusia booklet).

99 Pete Supera was born in Carson City in 1921, to Bernard and Marianne Supera. He worked for the State of Nevada and was elected Justice of the Peace for Carson City. He was later elected Recorder/Auditor and retired in 1985. He passed away in 1997 (information taken from the 1999 Renoko Aste Nagusia booklet).

100 John Ascuaga’s father came to the United States in 1914 from Orozko in the Pyrenees mountains, his mother, Maria arrived soon after, and settled in Notus, Idaho. John began working with Dick Graves in Idaho as food manager and moved with him to Nevada. Together with his wife, Rose, native of Eureka, whose family was from the French side of the Basque Country, they built John Ascuaga’s Nugget Hotel/Casino into the major resort destination in the Reno area (information taken from the 1999 Renoko Aste Nagusia booklet).

101 Douglass, William A., 1991, *op.cit.*, p.81.

102 The Spanish ambassador in the United States from 1954 to 1960 was José María de Areilza, born in Portugalete (Bizkaia). During the Spanish Civil War, he fought in the national side (against the Republican side) and became the Maier of Bilbo (Bizkaia) in 1939, and the general secretary of the Ministry of Industry before being nominated Spanish ambassador in Argentina (1947-1950), in the United States (1954-1960) and later in Paris (1960-1964). It is interesting to see how the Western Basque Festival organizers were ignorant concerning important Basque Country political realities. William Douglass describes an important point that derived from the ambassador’s presence in Sparks for the occasion: “The Basque flag (which was outlawed in Spain at the time) was prominently displayed on the stage along with the American, Spanish, and French standards, prompting the Spanish ambassador to refuse to make his appearance until it was removed (his demand was met but the flag was replaced immediately after his departure). Again, the organizers were unaware that the Spanish ambassador and the director of the New York musical group, a refugee of the Spanish Civil War, were long-standing political enemies. The musical director announced that he was the representative of the Basque government-in-exile, which bewildered most of the audience while precipitating an awkward moment with the Spanish and French ambassadors (p.84)”.



Sheep camp displayed at the 1959 Western Basque Festival (University of Nevada, Reno, Basque Library).

community. “Today’s festivals all date from the original 1959 event and are almost carbon copies of it”, argues Douglass.¹⁰³ Nowadays, each community’s Basque festival is still a big part of the Basque ethnic display in that local Basque community.

The festivities began on a Saturday evening with a testimonial dinner for visiting dignitaries. This was followed by a public dance featuring the music of Jim Jausoro, a well-known Basque accordionist from Boise, Idaho. Sunday morning there was a Catholic mass celebrated by a priest from California before an overflow crowd in Reno’s Saint Thomas Aquinas cathedral. This was followed by a graveside memorial service for Nevada’s Senator Patrick A. McCarran, author of much of the shepherd legislation. Next there was a sheepdog exhibition, a tournament for players of the Basque card game called mus, and folk-dance performances by dancers from Reno, Boise, and San Francisco. The choral group from Winnemucca presented Basque songs, as did a professional Basque txistulari, or flute and drum player, from New York City. The musical selections were representative of all of the Old World-regional music traditions. There were athletic contests, including weight lifting and carrying (popular sports in Bizkaia), woodchopping (which is favored in Navarre), and a tug-of-war between shepherds and cattlemen. A sheep camp was set up as a display for

103 Douglass, William. 1980, *op.cit.* p.84.

104 1999 *Renoko Aste Nagusia*, booklet, “The First Basque Festival” by William Douglass, p. 20.

105 Zubiri, Nancy. 2006 (2nd ed). *Travel Guide to Basque America*, Reno, Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, p.336

those who were curious about the herder's lifestyle. In the late afternoon there was an enormous barbecue featuring the fare common to the Basque hotels of the American West. The festival concluded on Sunday evening with another public dance.¹⁰⁴

Progressively, in different Basque communities of the American West, Basques started coming together around formal institutions, and putting on Basque functions displaying a version of both European and Western American legacies. A lot of Basques who attended the Sparks Basque festival went back to their communities with the idea of organizing something similar. Thus, in Nancy Zubiri's *Travel Guide to Basque America* the following can be read: "As soon as a group of young Ely Basques returned home from the 1959 Basque festival extraordinaire in Sparks, they asked themselves, "why can't we do something like that?" said Marie Ordoquy of Ely. By 1960 a small group of Basque Americans had organized the Ely Basque Club with a great deal of encouragement from the older generation".¹⁰⁵ The same happened with Basques in Elko who got organized in 1959.

The First National Basque Festival of Elko in 1964 deserves special attention. Basque people in Elko had their private annual picnic since the 1940s, and after the creation of the club in 1959, they made their picnic open to the public. From 1964 on,



Elko Basque dancers in the 1970s (photograph taken from the NABO 1977 calendar).



it grew in scale: Elko's picnic became one of the biggest in the area, attracting people from other areas. As Larrinoa argues, it also defined further the imagery set up by the First Western Basque Festival in 1959: the display of both Basque and American identities. In 1964, the First National Basque Festival was held on the 4th of July, the United States Day of Independence. The year also was important as it commemorated the Centennial of the state of Nevada. In doing so, Basques emphasized their contribution to the building of Nevada, and therefore the United States.¹⁰⁶

For most Basque clubs, the Basque festival remains their major activity. The structure of the Basque festival is pretty much as follows: 1)a mass in the Basque language, 2)Basque dances, 3)Basque sports, 4)A barbecue lunch, 5)a dance, 6)exhibits or activities featuring the Basque American experience as linked to shepherding. All the clubs were formed with the will to preserve Basque heritage, and to teach and educate Basques and non-Basques about Basque culture. In order to illustrate that point and to better understand the goals of these newly created institutions, we include below a short history of four clubs: Elko, NV; Bakersfield, CA; San Francisco, CA; and Ely, NV. These histories were written in 1974 and sent to

106 Fernandez de Larrinoa, Kepa. 1992. *Estatu Batuetako mendebadako urrutiko Euskal Jaiak*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko Jaurilaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia, pp. 90-94.



Kern County Basque Club, CA, Basque dancers and klika in the 1970s, picture taken from the 1977 NABO calendar (NABO archives located at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

the NABO officers at the time.¹⁰⁷ They all show some common characteristics: the will to teach old country traditions to the children (dance classes), the importance of exposing and showcasing Basque culture to the wider public (festivals), and the recreational goal of the institutions.

HISTORY OF THE ELKO BASQUE CLUB: The first formally organized Basque Club in Elko was organized in December of 1959. During that first year, a major picnic with games and dancing was held in July. Dances and picnics were held annually, and in 1964, which was the Nevada Centennial Year, the Elko Basque Club held the First National Basque Festival. The National Basque Festival was a tremendous success and was recognized as one of the States' outstanding centennial events. The festival has been the annual function of the club since then. In the early 1960s, the picnics were small and in 1960, only 300 tickets were printed for the picnic. From that time, the National Basque Festival has grown in size and stature, and this year [1974] the club will expect approximately 4,000 to attend the traditional Basque games to be held at the Elko County Fairgrounds, the Festival dance and the picnic.

In addition to the annual National Basque Festival, the Elko Basque Club sponsors an annual Sheepherder's Ball, which is held in March. The first Ball was held in 1968, and has been

¹⁰⁷ NABO archives, correspondence 1973-1974.

held on an annual basis since then. The club also holds a number of picnics and dinners for club members only. It has become traditional to hold one such picnic in the early fall after all of the work and activities of the National Basque Festival has been completed. It is also becoming a tradition to have an annual New Year's Eve dinner party. Some of the other activities of the club are the weekly dance lessons for children and an active social concerns committee.

In 1971 the Club was incorporated as a non-profit corporation and the corporate name is the Elko Euzkaldunak Club, Inc. [...].¹⁰⁸

KERN COUNTY BASQUE CLUB:

Dear Mr. Erquiaga,

This refers to your former letter of May 1, 1974, to all member organization.

As records have been forwarded from secretary to secretary since this club's inception many of our records have been lost or destroyed, however I will try to give you a bit of our history.

When I came to Bakersfield in September of 1945 as the bride of Gracien Ansolabehere the Basque Club was going in full swing and had been doing so for a number of years. Dances were held once a month at the Swiss Hall about five miles south of town. Guest lists were maintained and many enjoyable moments have been brought back by reading same. The Kern County Basque Club was incorporated under the laws of the State of California on March 28, 1944. It is a non-profit organization whose sole purpose is to promote the culture of the Basque heritage and all money made is put into a building fund for our future club house. At the present we are in the process, at long last, of purchasing property on which to build our club-house and handball court.

Memberships are available to Basque people and their friends. A lot of interest has always been shown by the community toward the club. Each year numerous functions have been held to raise money, however this past year all were combined into one Basque Festival which was held in October [1973] at the Kern County Golf Course Picnic Grounds. [...]

We have a dance group that has been together for at least ten years and they are in great demand for many social gatherings and conventions. They have been to Colorado, many California cities and will on the 23rd of this month go to Fresno to dance for the Bank of America convention. Expenses will be paid by the Bank of America through a donation to the Club.

Yes, a klika also. Eight bugles have been donated by member Charlo Moutrousteguy who is currently on a visit into the Basque Country. We are hoping to have our first performance at the kern County Fair on September 21, 1974 at which time 400 Basque flags (made by the prisoners at Tehachapi prison) will be flying for BASQUE DAY AT THE FAIR. [...]

¹⁰⁸ The letter was not signed.

¹⁰⁹ Letter sent by Jo Frances Ansolabehere on May 8, 1974. NABO Archives.

Recently a blood bank was started for members of the Basque Club and any needy Basque regardless if member or not. [...]

On May 19th the Club will travel by bus to the Los Banos Basque Club picnic as we do each year. [...]

Our most active project at the moment is the building of a concession stand at the Kern County Fair Grounds for a permanent Basque building to sell Basque foods. We were approached for this project by the Fair Board so this alone shows the interest shown toward anything Basque. [...]¹⁰⁹

The BASQUE CLUB OF SAN FRANCISCO was founded on June 1, 1960 with Claude Berhouet acting as the first President. At the time, activities consisted of a picnic and one banquet. Soon after a group of dancers, named Group “Zazpiak Bat”, developed to animate the festivities; and a year later the Basque Marching Band, named “La Clique Basque” was added.

In 1963, a Mus tournament was organized and in 1965 a handball tournament. These tournaments are held yearly and are open to all Club members. During the past few years, the Club has sponsored Handball Tournaments between the Champions of France and our local winners.



San Francisco Basque dancers and klike in the 1970s (courtesy of Bernadette Iribarren from San Francisco).

The San Francisco Basque Club's schedule of events begins in January with a free dinner for men featuring a typically Basque menu "Odolki Yatea". February in the month for the Mus Tournament then follows handball. The Basque Club picnic is always held on the first Sunday of June. Barbecued lamb is served to over two thousand persons and the afternoon program features performances by our dancers and clique, and the Los Banos dance group. October is the Basque Club banquet and the winter months are livened by a Bowling Tournament. The year is ended with a highly successful New Year's Eve Dinner-Dance. The San Francisco Basque Club is considered one of the most active of California.¹¹⁰

ELY BASQUE CLUB: [...] Many old Basque friends were here – many younger ones too. It would be wonderful if our children could all share the warmth and traditions of old-country customs. Many of the old traditions were fading and it would be such a shame if our young children were never presented an opportunity of at least knowing about them.

[...] A short list of people considered to be interested in forming a group was compiled and telephone calls began. [...] Response was good and a meeting was called at Dorothy's [Jensen] house.

After a brief discussion of possibilities and chances of success, Dorothy was instructed to place an ad in the local paper setting the time and place for an organizational meeting.

The meeting was held on February 20, 1960, in the Saint Lawrence Hall, with incredible response and the Ely Basque Club was on its way! [...] Original membership was 45.

On July 4, a float was entered in the parade and won first prize. Resulting publicity gave us a lift for the upcoming festival.

Work began on the first annual festival, to be held on the fourth week end in July. Our treasury held about 75 dollars so the men were called to do all the heavy work and the women donated and cooked all the food. Local ranchers donated six lambs. [...] The dance was public but the barbecue was limited to Basques and their invited friends. Jim Jausoro and his band from Boise provided the music. Four young Boise dancers came and performed at intervals throughout the dance and during the barbecue. [...]

For the first few years, funds were low and the work-load was heavy, but so many benefits were experienced. Old friendships were renewed and new ones were formed.

Jota lessons were started with Hazel Novick, Dorothy Jensen and Louie Echegaray as instructors. The children's group, under direction of Hazel became widely known around the state.

110 Letter sent by Pierre Etcharren, on May 9, 1974. NABO Archives.

111 Letter sent by Fran Jensen, secretary of the Ely Basque Club, January 5, 1974. NABO archives.

112 Article of Douglass, William A. 1996. "Basque-American Identity: Past Perspectives and Future Projects", *op.cit.*, p.192. We will have the opportunity to discuss the theme of identity in our third chapter.

As each year passed, the festival increased in size and scope and today it has become an integral part of White Pine County's affairs. Other things too contributed to the success of the Ely Basque Club – Basque style dinners, Christmas parties, cultural programs and other events brought the members and their families an opportunity to share an experience not to be gained any other way.¹¹¹

As stated by Douglass, “the creation of North American Basque Organizations in 1973 was another watershed event in the invention and maintenance of a Basque-American identity”.¹¹²

Early Exchanges Between the Clubs

Before the 1970s, it was quite unusual for Basques in the American West to create exchanges or to travel the long distances to attend each other's functions. But some networks existed among the boardinghouses and between groups of families and friends from the same hometowns in the Basque Country.



Ely, Nevada Ankariñak Basque dancers, year unknown (Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

In fact, the brief histories of the clubs developed above illustrate this idea very well. The San Francisco dancers and *klika*, and the Bakersfield dancers would go to the Los Banos picnic every year, a tradition that started in the 1960s. In 1960, for the first Ely picnic, dancers and musicians from Boise performed. Every year, the National Basque Festival in Elko welcomed dancers, musicians and other performers (Basque sports) at least from San Francisco and Boise. Thus, a network was established by the end of the 1960s.

Many individuals wanted to see joint endeavors taking place between different localities. Pierre Etcharren explains how “nous on avait cette idée plus ou moins, quand on a formé le club basque à San Francisco, c’était le Club Basque de Californie”.¹¹³ When Basques in San Francisco formed their club in 1960, they were in contact with some Basques in Los Banos, and they discussed the idea of forming a club, which would gather Basques from these two locations; so, when San Francisco Basques finally decided to form a Basque Club, they called it the Basque Club of California. This idea did not catch on and Basques in Los Banos formed their own club in 1964 with the help of the San Francisco Basques. The two clubs attend each other’s picnics every year.

According to Frantxoa Bidaurreta from the San Francisco Basque community, in 1968, the idea of forming a club that would combine the individual Californian clubs was discussed. Also, he explains how this idea was mentioned again around 1970, to federate Basque clubs from California and Nevada.¹¹⁴

Moreover, we have to keep in mind that often, Basque families had relatives in other parts of the American West. Also, Jeronima Echeverria in her book *Home Away From Home, a History of Basque Boardinghouses*,¹¹⁵ shows how numerous Basque couples, for their honeymoon, would spend some time in a Basque hotel in the location of their choice. Therefore, we know that connections existed and information was passed on.

Then, with the creation of NABO in 1973, the network established for information sharing increased drastically.

THE ORIGIN OF THE IDEA

When I started my research on NABO, I had read Gloria Totoricagüena’s book on the Basques in Boise. This book dedicates a few pages to the creation of NABO, “Creating Communications between Basques: The North American Basque Organizations (p.165-

113 Interview with Pierre Etcharren in San Francisco. Translation: when we formed our club in San Francisco, we had more or less this idea; we called it the Basque Club of California.

114 Interview with Frantxoa Bidaurreta in San Francisco. This meeting around the year 1970 could very well be one of the two pre-meetings that took place in 1971 or 1972 in Reno, and that was going to lead to the first initial meeting of NABO in March 1973.

115 Echeverria, Jeronima. 1999. *Home Away From Home. A History of the Basque Boardinghouses*, Reno: University of Nevada Press.

167)”, and explains how people from Boise used the 1971 National Endowment grant to the Idaho Basque Studies Center to contact Basque community representatives and propose the idea of a federation in 1973. The chapter ends on this note: “NABO’s 2002 President Pierre Etcharren, a founding delegate from San Francisco, stated, ‘Al Erquiaga convinced us of his dream, and thanks to those Boise Basque volunteers we have been able to accomplish much, much more than we ever could have separately’”. However, an article written by William Douglass in 1993, “Through the Looking Glass or Becoming the Datum”, in the *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos* (Year 41, Volume XXXVIII, number 2 (1993), p. 49-61) states the following:

When Jon Bilbao and I were in Argentina researching *Amerikanuak* we visited several Basque clubs there. Jon was struck by the fact that most belonged to an overarching organization called FEVA or the Federación de Entidades Vasco-Argentinas.¹¹⁶ Back in Reno he urged me to call a meeting of representatives of Basque Clubs in the American West to explore forming a similar organization here. I resisted the idea as being inappropriate as a Basque Studies Program activity, but agreed that we might serve as a catalyst. Janet Inda was a frequent volunteer with the Program at the time and was an officer in the Reno Basque Club. Jon won her over to the idea and she contacted key people in San Francisco. We had our own connections in Boise. An organizational meeting was held here at the university in a room at Jot Travis Union. It was clear that for the idea to be viable it would have to appeal to Boise, Reno, and San Francisco Basques at minimum. At the meeting we made it clear that we stood ready to help, but that the real leadership had to come from the community.

It therefore appeared important to meet with people in Boise, and Reno in order to find out how the idea of creating NABO came about.

Jon Bilbao and the Basque Studies Program:¹¹⁷ Catalyst of the Idea

It might appear beneficial to the understanding of this part to remember something about Jon Bilbao’s background. He was born in Cayey, Puerto Rico in 1914. So he could

116 FEVA or Federación de Entidades Vasco-Argentinas was constituted in 1955, January 7 in Argentina. It regroups most of the Argentinean Basque Clubs. For more information see the newly published research on FEVA, Mignaburu, Magdalena. 2006. *Historia de la Federación de Entidades Vasco Argentinas*, Buenos Aires: FEVA.

117 History of the Basque Studies Program by William Douglass (*The Basque Studies Program Newsletter*, N.27, May 1983): “The Basque Studies Program was conceived in 1961 when the University of Nevada System decided to create an independent research division to be known as the Desert Research Institute. [...] Three consulting anthropologists recommended that the Desert Research Institute establish a Basque Studies Program. [...] The University of Nevada accepted this recommendation and [...] in 1967 the Desert Research Institute hired William A. Douglass to launch and coordinate the Basque Studies Program. [...] The following year Professor Jon Bilbao, the world expert on Basque bibliography joined the staff. [...] Until 1972 the Basque Studies Program (BSP) remained a function of the Desert Research Institute. [...] In 1972, in light of the fact that the Program had developed many non-research activities such as instruction, maintenance and development of a library collection, a summer school in Europe and a book series, the BSP was transferred from the Desert Research Institute to the University of Nevada Campus”. William Douglass remained director of the BSP until he retired in 1999, and Joseba Zulaika took the direction in 2000, and Gloria Totoricagüena in 2006. The program was renamed in 2000 as the Center for Basque Studies.

speaking English and was an American citizen. Bilbao was a student in Madrid at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, studying History (he wanted to become a Middle Ageist). Then he enrolled in the republican army and became an officer. He followed the officials of the Basque Government into exile in Paris, and later to New York. In New York, he was in charge of gaining support from the newly created United Nations. Later, president Aguirre sent him to Boise to educate the Basque Americans on the situation of the Basque Government in exile. But he struggled in his mission and had a very disappointing personal experience there in Boise due to little interest in Basque politics. There was always ambivalence amongst the Basques from Bizkaia because of the Civil War. They sent war relief to the Basque Country, but in a very neutral way, to families. They were very nervous because the American Catholic Church was strongly behind Franco and the anti-Communist lobby was really anti-Spanish Republic. They were afraid they would be depicted as “Reds”. “And here comes Jon Bilbao, as a representative of the Aguirre mission of the Government in exile (William Douglass)”.¹¹⁸

Right after that, he stayed out of politics for a while and studied at U.C. Berkeley and Columbia University shifting his focus to linguistics. This is when he started his



William Douglass and Jon Bilbao in a restaurant in Argentina, in the course of their field work on Basques outside of the Basque Country (Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World), Spring 1971 (Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

intensive work, *Eusko Bibliografia*, or Basque Bibliography. In the 1950s, he lived in Cuba where he had mining interests, and wrote *Los Vascos en Cuba*.¹¹⁹ Then he moved to Getxo (Bizkaia) and became a businessman. But in 1960 he was expelled from Spain for his political activity and went to Donibane Lohitzune –Saint-Jean-de-Luz in French– (Lapurdi), and came back to the United States where he taught Spanish to earn a living at Washington College (Maryland).

In 1968, he accepted employment in Reno as researcher for the newly created Basque Studies Program (1967) where he had a chance to meld his professional and political interests into a single effort. Jon Bilbao wanted to facilitate Basque research but also establish it as a legitimate academic enterprise. Lacking *Eusko Bibliografia*, he felt that it was too fragmented and that Basque studies did not have cohesiveness. According to long time friend William Douglass, “that was his mission in life. [...] There was a piece of Jon that was much distanced from the Basque community, and very oriented around books and the program building”. Douglass was more in contact with the local Basque community than Bilbao was (maybe partly due to his earlier experience in Boise). “But”, continues Douglass, “there was another piece of Jon that was very committed to the idea of maintaining Basque identity in the United States, in the diaspora, and in the world”. He was interested in pedagogy and political activism. In his opinion, the Basque Studies Program should strive to conserve the Basque language in the United States as the key to preserving Basque American culture. It should publicize Basque culture to non-Basques as a means of ultimately molding American sentiment for the Basque cause. It also should serve as a conduit between the old and the New World. But Douglass, the director of the Basque Studies Program, did not share that idea. Douglass’ main concern was “studying the Basque American experience, not in configuring it”.

Jon was ok with studying it but he also wanted to configure it and influence it, and see that it lasted. And this, for me as an anthropologist, was somewhat problematic because I did not see it as the proper role of this program to be really proactive of the Basque Clubs. And in fact from the very beginning, we always offered our expertise to the Basque Clubs, in the form of lectures, and slideshows. We were always available that way, but we were not proactive in the Basque American scene, and that was really my choice (interview with William A. Douglass).

Douglass did not want to cross a questionable line: He did not want to organize something that he was going to study. Bilbao did not have so much this concern as he was a prehistorian, and a linguist. But they did not really debate things. “Bilbao would drive ideas all the time”, while Douglass would say what he liked or did not like. It was not an adversarial kind of relationship that they had. So Bilbao would sometimes come up with ideas that had to do with maintenance of Basque identity and culture in

118 Interview with William Douglass in Reno.

119 Bilbao, Jon. 1958. *Los Vascos en Cuba 1492-1511*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Vasca Ekin.



the United States. The concept of study abroad for example is one of Bilbao's legacies. "Some of the great things that this program accomplished were ideas that Jon Bilbao came up with that I would have never come up with, like USAC, the University Studies Abroad Consortium", stated Douglass.¹²⁰ Bilbao wanted to expose Basque American students to Basque culture and the first Basque Summer Program in the Basque Country organized by the Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada, Reno, was held in 1970.¹²¹ "He very accurately predicted that if we did that, the graduates of

120 In the 1970s, at Jon Bilbao's suggestion, the Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada, Reno organized several summer programs in the Basque Country. It consisted of a six weeks session of classes, with English as the language of instruction and included evening programs and excursions throughout the Basque Country. It was designed to provide the students with the opportunity to earn six university level credits. The courses proposed were: Basque language, Basque culture (history, geography, etc.), and Basque literature in 1970. In the second program organized in the summer of 1972, classroom instruction consisted of seven courses, from which the students had to elect two. The students stayed in Uztaritze (Lapurdi) at the Landagoyen facility in 1970 and 1972, and from 1972 on, they stayed both in Uztaritze and Arantzazu (Gipuzkoa). In the mid-1970s, Boise State University (Idaho) began its year-long course in the Basque town of Oñati (Gipuzkoa) which lasted a few years. Then, in 1983, the University of Nevada (Reno) and Boise State University co-sponsored a year-long abroad program, the University Studies in the Basque Country Consortium, for American students held at the Donosti-San Sebastián campus of the University of the Basque Country (Gipuzkoa). If this program originally started sending students to the Basque Country, the program has significantly increased over the years and is now known as USAC (University Studies Abroad Consortium). It counts 30 university members and develops programs all over the world.

121 The Basque Studies Program previously organized it for the summer of 1969, but had to eventually cancel it (see *Basque Studies Program Newsletter*, issue N.2).



Picture of several participants of the first Basque Summer Studies in 1970 organized by the Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada, Reno.

this experience would come back here and work for the Basque American culture”, said Douglass. Many leaders of this generation of leadership such as Carmelo Urza, Miren Rementeria Artiach or Julio Bilbao were exposed through that summer program.

Bilbao and Douglass were researching *Amerikanuak*, in the Spring of 1971,¹²² when they went to Argentina (among other countries). Bilbao spent most of his time at the Basque Center in Buenos Aires, Laurak Bat, microfilming documents. Meanwhile, Douglass would interview people. Altogether they were there for two or three weeks. Douglass remembers: “In the course of that, of course, we all caught up in FEVA [...]. We both [Jon Bilbao and William Douglass] were impressed by FEVA and when we got back here to Reno, Jon came back with the idea basically that something like FEVA would be a good idea here in the Unites States”.

Bilbao brought it up more than once to Douglass, and he finally gave in: “I said ok Jon, I will do one thing, I will call people in Boise whom I know, and some in San Francisco whom I know, and I know somebody here in Reno, and we will have an initial meeting here at the university”. Janet Inda from Reno also remembers how this idea

¹²² In May-June 1971, Douglass and Bilbao conducted field work in various countries such as Argentina and Mexico.

of forming a federation in the United States was important to Jon Bilbao. In those days, Janet Inda was involved in the Basque Studies Program, helping them with various projects such as the *Basque Studies Program Newsletters*. She was a teacher and she really liked the idea that there was an educational or academic dimension to the Basque experience. Janet Inda said: “Jon and I got into talking, and he was all enthused and animated which was something I had never seen of Jon. [...] And he was just talking about this organization in Argentina, and that we had to start it up here. No matter where I saw him, he would hit me with that; he would keep bringing it up”. Inda remembers that it took all summer for Bilbao to convince Douglass and her of the idea.

During the Reno festival in 1971 or 1972 (the third Saturday in August), Inda recalls discussing the project with John Bastida from Boise. Douglass made a telephone call to Jean Leon Iribarren in San Francisco whom he had met the year before in France: they went together as guests of Air France to inaugurate the flight from Paris to Biarritz and Iribarren became Douglass’ main contact in San Francisco. Douglass also contacted John Bastida from Boise.¹²³ From this, they all decided to meet in Reno.

In September 1971 or 1972 (according to Janet Inda) they reserved a room (at the JTSU building on the University of Nevada campus) and Bilbao, Douglass (Basque Studies Program) and Inda (Reno Zazpiak Bat Club) met with representatives from Boise (John Bastida)¹²⁴ and San Francisco (Jean Leon Iribarren and a second person) on a week end to discuss Bilbao’s idea of forming a federation in the United States. Douglass contacted these people because they were from the three main communities in the American West. He thought that the idea had to be approved by these three first. And it was difficult to know how the idea was going to develop afterwards, as there was not too much contact between the communities. “It was not that they were totally unaware of each other, but they just did not have a lot to do with each other”, explained Douglass. During that meeting they talked about what each community was doing. Bilbao explained what FEVA was and how it helped the clubs in Argentina. They discussed the fact that the Boise community was mostly from Bizkaia, and that the one in San Francisco was mainly French Basque and that this could represent a barrier to working together. “So we sat and talked about those kinds of things, and at that time the ETA organization was really big, you had news in the newspaper almost every day (Janet Inda)” so they also discussed “the fear of ETA¹²⁵ (Janet Inda)”. After that first meeting, they

123 Douglass knew Bastida through Ben Goitiandia. Douglass stayed at the Goitiandia’s farm when he was doing field work in the Basque Country (Murelaga). Then he met Ben much later. He was weight lifting around the American West as part of the festival circle. Bastida was a contractor and had an airplane. He would fly Ben around the American West for these festivals.

124 I met with John Bastida in Boise who told me that he might have been to a meeting in Reno, but he was not certain.

125 ETA or Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, Basque Country and Freedom, is an independist organization created in 1959 that uses violence.

decided they would go to their respective clubs to check people's feelings about a federation and to report it back. They met a second time at the main library of the University of Nevada, Reno, in the Special Collections section. From Boise, according to both Inda and Douglass, Al Erquiaga came and he mentioned a grant the Boise community received from the National Endowment, and told them he would check if there was some money remaining to get the federation idea off the ground.

Neither Douglass nor Bilbao was telling the clubs' representatives what to do; Bilbao talked about FEVA, exposing it as something they might want to do. It was clear to them that they could not impose it and as Douglass mentioned, "we can provide a venue, we can facilitate, we can bring a few people together that would be key people, and if they want to run with it, fine, but the program [Basque Studies Program] is not going to do it. [...] I don't think he [Bilbao] had a problem with me saying we are not going to organize it, we are not going to run it. But he really thought that it was an idea with promise for the Basques in the United States, which in fact history tells us that it had a lot of promise".

After these first two initial meetings, neither Douglass nor Bilbao remained very involved with NABO. They would occasionally go to meetings when invited or when it was held at the University of Nevada, Reno Campus. Douglass often played the middleman between NABO and groups (musicians, dancers) from the Basque Country who wanted to perform in the United States and who would contact the Basque Studies Program. Later on, Douglass was asked if the NABO artifacts could be displayed at the University of Nevada, Reno Basque library and he accepted them.

"So basically NABO took on a life of its own (William Douglass)".

Miren Rementeria Artiach, Al Erquiaga and the Idaho Basque Studies Center (IBSC)

The testimony I collected from Al Erquiaga and Miren Rementeria Artiach quite differs from Douglass' and Inda's. Al Erquiaga does not recall going to Reno before the first initial meeting in Sparks in March of 1973. Unfortunately I could not find any document mentioning the two pre-meetings in the Reno University library.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ I looked at the archives of the Basque Studies Program stored in Stead (property of the University of Nevada, Reno, library), as well as the Basque Studies Program Newsletter without success.

According to the documents found¹²⁷ and some testimonies gathered, everything started with the Idaho Basque Studies Center. It goes back to 1971, when the Division of Continuing Education of the Idaho State Department of Education submitted a proposal to the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington D.C.

The idea was to create a Basque Cultural Appreciation Program calling for various activities including: 1) Formal University level instruction in various aspects of Basque culture, 2) a six-week summer session in the Basque Country for university credits, 3) informal educational and cultural activities designed to interest adults, 4) development of a basic library of materials relating to the Basques and their culture, and 5) publication of a newsletter containing information about Basque culture in general and this Idaho program in particular (Totoricagüena, 2003, p.158).¹²⁸

127 I am transcribing two of these documents below. The first one is a letter sent by the Idaho Basque Studies Center on February 9, 1973 to the various Basque communities of the West (NABO archives Correspondence 1973-1974, located at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno). The second one is an article that was published in an Idahoan newspaper following the first NABO meeting (same location as the first one, but second gathering of Basque community representatives), August 1973 (The name of the newspaper is unknown).

1) "In February of 1972 under provisions of a two-year federal grant received from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Idaho Basque Studies Center was established. One of the major goals of this organization is to promote an increased appreciation for Basque culture by Basques as well as non-Basques of the West. In line with the philosophy of our grant, we are making every effort to establish communication with all of the Basque communities and organizations of the Western United States.

In order to unite the efforts of all of these Basque communities and organizations, it has been proposed that a federation be established such as has been the practice of the Basques of various countries of South America. This federation of Basque organizations and communities would offer an unequaled opportunity for a coordination of efforts and the establishment of a firm channel of communication. In addition, there are many other advantages which could be gained by the establishment of such a federation. The Nevada Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada has endorsed our efforts in founding this proposed federation.

Various representatives of Basque communities and organizations from Idaho, Oregon, California, Nevada, Colorado, and Utah are being invited to attend a general meeting regarding the formation of this federation. Because of your continued interest and involvement in promoting Basque activities in your community, we wish to cordially invite you and one another person as official delegates of your community or organization to take part in this initial conference. Enclosed is a list of all organizations and communities invited to attend this initial meeting. If you have any additions which should be made to this list, please inform us immediately.

Three sites have been proposed for this initial meeting: Carson City, Reno, and Elko. Since a week end seems to be the most convenient meeting time for most, the conference has been tentatively scheduled to take place on Friday evening, March 9 and Saturday, March 10. A short questionnaire is enclosed with this letter so that you might list your particular preferences as to the meeting place and conference dates.

In order to make this initial meeting a success, we need your feedback. It is the utmost importance that we receive your acknowledgement by Friday, February 23 so that final arrangements may be made and information returned to you before the conference date. So that the meeting may progress efficiently, we would like to have a planned agenda. This agenda will be most beneficial if it is designed to answer all of your questions as well as implement any suggestions you might offer. A conference chairman will be appointed to lead the discussion.

If we all work with another, we can make this planning conference a real experience to share with other fellow Basques. We urge you to please acknowledge our request for your wholehearted support for this effort. Won't you please let us hear from you?

Please remember your suggestions are most sincerely appreciated! We have enclosed a return envelope for your convenience.

Most Sincerely,

Al Erquiaga, Basque Studies Directorate and Miren E. Rementería, Executive Secretary, Basque Studies Program

2) "Boisean Heads Newest National Basque Group".

... The idea for the organization grew out of the Holiday Basque Festival held in Boise in the summer of 1972. In publicizing the festival, Boise's Basques discovered a number of Basque groups hitherto fore unknown to them, and it was decided that the national lines of communication needed improving..."

128 Totoricagüena, Gloria. 2003. *Boise Basques: Dreamers and Doers*, Basque Autonomous Government Press: Vitoria-Gasteiz, p.158.

In October 1971, they received a \$52,285 grant for a two year period of time to carry out the programs mentioned above. They also had the opportunity of some additional matching funds (\$10,000) if they could raise it in their community. The Idaho Basque Studies Center (IBSC) of the Idaho State System of Higher Education was established to organize this effort and administer the federal grant. Miren Rementeria Artiach was hired as the Executive Secretary, and Al Erquiaga was a member of the board. "Al Erquiaga accepted the responsibility of attempting to raise the needed \$10,000 matching funds from local supporters (Totoricagüena, 2003, p.159)".¹²⁹ "I always kind of thought of a festival. Boise never had anything bigger than the picnic",¹³⁰ explained Al Erquiaga. Thus, Al Erquiaga with his co-chairman Diana Urresti Sabala sponsored the three-day long 1972 Holiday Basque Festival in Boise, in June, a premiere for Boise. During the planning of the festival, Al Erquiaga remembers: "we had a hard time contacting other clubs from out of states. We did not have any contacts, name or anything, so after the festival was all over we kind of had a meeting and said what the problems were. And the thing that really kept coming up was the fact that we could not contact other clubs because we did not have any contact person or any way to contact them... There needs to be something to put together to do that". Thus, at one of the meetings of the IBSC, the desire to create some kind of communication between the clubs was brought up, and Al Erquiaga and Miren Rementeria Artiach started contacting people. The North American Basque Organizations, Inc. is one of the projects the IBSC justified to the National Endowment as having accomplished.

It is very much possible that different people in different places had the same idea at the same time, pushed by different reasons. It has also to be said that the persons in charge of the Idaho Basque Studies Center and the people of the Basque Studies Program in Reno knew each other and communicated frequently in those years. The grant proposal was submitted with the assistance of William Douglass and Jon Bilbao. Through their knowledge of Jon Bilbao's and William Douglass' field research in South America, they were aware of the existence of FEVA in Argentina.¹³¹ To illustrate that idea, in the archives of NABO stored at the Basque library of the University of Nevada, Reno (Correspondence 1973-1974) a letter from the Secretary (Ramon I. Arozarena) and the President (Andoni Astigarraga) of CEVA (Confederación de Entidades Vascas de América, Euzko Amerikako Bazkun Elkartasuna) was sent to the Executive Secretary of the IBSC, dated of July 30, 1973. In this letter, we learn that they have been in contact since at least January 6th, 1973, when Miren Rementeria wrote them a letter requesting some material from them (NABO was not constituted yet). CEVA was constituted in Paris in 1956, during the World Basque Congress organized by the Basque Government in exile (September 23-29), and the Basque community in the United States was represented by Jon Bilbao. There is a

129 *Idem*, p.159.

130 Interview with Al Erquiaga, in Boise.

131 Also, Miren Rementeria Artiach participated in the very first summer program organized by the Basque Studies Program in Uztartize (Lapurdi) in 1970, as well as in the 1972 summer program.

high probability that Jon Bilbao informed the IBSC members about the existence of such an organization.¹³²

Suspicious reactions

As stated by Janet Inda, one week after they had their second meeting at the University of Nevada, Reno campus library, Al Erquiaga called to let her know they had to start calling people and explaining to them the project of forming a federation. Janet Inda, Miren Rementeria¹³³ and Al Erquiaga started calling people around the Western United States from the phone book listings. Rementeria Artiach recalls: “Some of the responses we received were amazing. They did not know who we were, and we did not know who they were, and there was a little bit of apprehension on both sides”.¹³⁴ “I can’t tell you how many people hung up on us”,¹³⁵ said Inda. Rementeria Artiach remembers one gentleman saying that he wanted to speak for his own club and that he did not want to be bothered any longer. And his group is now a member of NABO. “There was a time when ETA was at its peak, and most of these clubs in California were primarily French Basques, I think they really thought we were part of some political root. And we had some really nasty turn aways, “just leave us alone, we don’t want anything to do with you” and that kind of things (Al Erquiaga)”. There was this fear that ETA might be involved in this thing. Basque politics in general were anathema. People were suspicious. Inda was in charge of contacting Los Banos. She called six or seven persons in that location when she finally got a hold of Mary Currutchet, married to Ambroise Currutchet, who eventually came to the initial meeting in March 1973 held in Sparks. Little by little, they did contact quite a few clubs by February 1973. Enclosed with the letter sent to the different Basque communities on February 9, 1973, there was a “List of expected participants”. According to this list, they had contacted people in twenty four different Basque organizations or communities: Boise, Caldwell, Mountain Home, Homedale, Emmett, Jerome, Bruneau, Payl, and Twin Falls in Idaho; Ely, Elko, Reno and Winnemucca in Nevada; Ontario, Burns, Vale, Arock, and Portland in Oregon; Salt Lake City in Utah; Los Banos, San Francisco, Bakersfield, and Patterson in California; and Grand Junction in Colorado.

Rementeria Artiach and Erquiaga would bring the Idaho Basque Studies Center and the grant in identifying themselves, not as their community per se (the Boise

132 During that 1956 Basque Congress Basque American delegates from Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela constituted CEVA (located in Caracas). Alexander Ugalde gives us the objectives of the organization: Maintain Basque prestige in America, and sponsor activities that would make cofraternity possible between the Basque Country and America. Its first congress was held in November 1960 in Buenos Aires. CEVA does not function anymore. Ugalde, Alexander. 2007. Memoria de la Dirección de Relaciones con las Colectividades Vascas en el Exterior del Gobierno Vasco (1980-2005), manuscript, p.132.

133 Miren Rementeria and Miren Rementeria Artiach is the same person. I choose to use Rementeria only, her maiden name, as she was not married yet.

134 Miren Rementeria Artiach, interview.

135 Janet Inda, interview.

community). And after these initial contacts were made, they had to think about a date and a location where to meet. “First of all we had to pick a neutral spot that was convenient for everyone. So this meant it could not be in Idaho. I really think that if we had invited them to come up here [Boise], and if we had not gone to them, or not have met them half way, they would have interpreted that as our trying to be in charge from the very beginning. So the fact that we were able to meet them half way, in a neutral spot that did not present an advantage for the organizers, made them more comfortable”,¹³⁶ said Rementeria Artiach. Throughout the month of February, and the first week of March, the Idaho Basque Studies Center in Boise and the different Basque communities communicated by letter in order to set up the date and location of the initial meeting of what was going to become NABO¹³⁷.

The organizers of the meeting, Miren Rementeria and Al Erquiaga, in the name of the Idaho Basque Studies Center, were also very nervous on the way down to Reno. “We were as nervous as they were, if not more so”, explained Rementeria Artiach. “We were, we were. Because we did not know these people at all and they came to our meeting not having any idea of what to expect. And we did not know how to approach them; we just had this idea of a correspondence organization that could contact everybody. That was our main purpose”, added Al Erquiaga. “In fact, some of these people we had the biggest concerns about [the French Basques of California] because we knew them the least turned out to be some of our first officers. They were enthusiastic organizers. So the lesson learned was ‘I don’t know you, and you don’t know me, but now we know one another and we know that we can work together’,” said Rementeria Artiach.

FIRST WESTERN BASQUE CONVENTION: SPARKS, MARCH 1973

“On March 9 and 10, 1973 representatives of various Basque organizations and communities in the Western United States met in Reno, Nevada, with the purpose

¹³⁶ Interview with Miren Rementeria Artiach.

¹³⁷ Letter of March 1, 1973. Letter from the Basque Studies Center in Boise, to John Madariaga, president of the Zazpiak Bat Club in Reno: “We thank you for your cooperation and affirmative response to our proposal for an initial meeting aimed at establishing a federation of Basque organizations and communities in the Western United States”. ... “After a careful analysis of the questionnaires returned to this office by the various organizations and communities, we have found that the most ideal and preferred location for the conference meeting is Reno, Nevada. [...]”

We have contacted Mrs. Janet Inda, secretary of the Zazpiak Bat Basque Club organization in Reno and she has assured us of her fullest cooperation in making arrangements for those who desire reservations for accommodations during this conference”. NABO archives: the minutes. University of Nevada, Reno Basque Library.

Then a Memorandum as of March 5, 1973 from the Executive secretary of the Basque Studies Center, Miren Rementeria, to the Federation Conference participants. “The meeting will take place in Reno, on Friday and Saturday, March 9 and 10. Although the formal meeting will not take place until Saturday morning, an informal dinner is scheduled for Friday evening at Louis’ Basque Corner, 301 East Fourth Street. The initial meeting of the conference is scheduled to begin at 9 a.m. on Saturday morning with an informal breakfast. The breakfast and the meeting following are scheduled to take place in the Centennial Room of the Nugget in Sparks”. NABO archives, Basque library, in Reno.

of laying the groundwork for a federation of Western Basque clubs (March 19, 1973 meeting minutes)".¹³⁸

The Representatives

March 9, the delegates that just flew or drove to Reno, NV gathered around an informal dinner Friday evening, at Louis' Basque Corner, located on Fourth Street. Janet Inda remembers they made name tags for the participants as the majority of them had never met before.¹³⁹

The people present were:¹⁴⁰

Pete Echeverria from Reno, NV.

Mr. and Mrs. Agg Arrizabalaga.

Mr. and Mrs. Nick Beristain from Boise, ID.

Mr. and Mrs. Pete Cenarrussa from Boise, ID.

Mr. and Mrs. Don Dick from Boise, ID.

Mr. and Mrs. John Linda Gastanaga from Ontario, OR.

Mr. And Mrs. John Mendiguren from Ontario, OR.

Timmie Echanis from Ontario, OR.

Santi Sheldon.

Anita Boles.

Jon Bilbao from the Basque Studies Program in Reno.

Joe Goicoechea from Elko, NV.

Justo Sarria from Boise, ID.

Mr. and Mrs. Pat Bieter from Boise, ID.

Pete Mariluch from Ely, NV.

Joe Eiguren from Boise, ID.

Al Erquiaga from Boise, ID.

Janet Inda from Reno, NV.

Mr. and Mrs. Ron Sabala from Boise, ID.

Mr. and Mrs. Ambroise Curutchague from Los Banos, CA.

Mr. and Mrs. M. Paternain.

Albert Etcheverry.

Jacques Unhassobiscay from San Francisco, CA.

Mr. and Mrs. Pierre Etcharren from San Francisco, CA.

John Madariaga, from Reno, NV.

Jim Ithurralde from Elko, NV.

¹³⁸ NABO Archives: At the beginning, the representatives were thinking of creating a federation that would unite western Basque Clubs, and were not looking at Basques in New York at that point.

¹³⁹ Janet Inda told me how one waitress quit that same night, and that therefore they had a terrible service. Mrs. Currutchet owned a restaurant with her husband in Los Banos, and got up to pick up the dishes.

¹⁴⁰ I do not have the information about where they were from for all of them.

Bob Goicoechea from Elko, NV.
Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert Ordoqui from Ely, NV.
Kaye Echevarria from Ely, NV.
Robert Laxalt from Reno, NV.
Eloy Placer from the Basque Studies Program in Reno.
Dee Trigerro from Reno, NV.
Yoshi Hendricks (secretary of the Basque Studies Program at the time).
John Etcheto from Reno, NV.
Miren Rementeria from Boise, ID.

Thus, notable personalities like Pete Cenarrussa, Pete Echeverria and Robert Laxalt were invited, and their presence brought automatic status to this first initial meeting attempting to discuss an eventual Basque federation of Basque communities in the United States. Moreover, Pete Echeverria, a prominent lawyer in Reno and one of the organizers of the First Western Basque Festival in 1959 was going to moderate the discussion at that meeting. We can see that the organizers, by making sure that such influential and respected personalities would come, wanted to emphasize the importance and legitimacy of such a gathering, hoping that this would help dissipate some reservations that some participants might have. Ely, NV got notified about the gathering through Pete Echeverria, whose sister was a member of the Ely Basque Club, married to Gilbert Ordoqui. Many board members of the Idaho Basque Studies Center were present (Pat Bieter, Joe Eiguren among others), as well as the Reno Basque Studies Program faculty (Jon Bilbao, Eloy Placer). The rest were there in the name of their local Basque organization. Eight organizations were represented at that first meeting: Elko, Reno, Boise, Los Banos, San Francisco, Ontario, Emmett, and Ely.

Topics for Discussion

Major topics for discussion included consideration of the federation structure, representation, financing, and programming. The meeting started at about 9: 30 am with an informal breakfast. Al Erquiaga, member of the Directorate of the Idaho Basque Studies Center, made the initial introduction of the representatives present. Erquiaga stated that the “Idaho Basque Studies Center was willing to handle all federation business until permanent arrangements could be instituted (Meeting Minutes)”. Until the second meeting of the federation in the summer of 1973¹⁴¹ no monies had been expended and the Idaho Basque Studies Center continued to finance the incidental expenses of operation. Several proposals were also presented to the delegates so they might have guidelines for the discussion which was to follow. Several of these proposals presented reflected the bylaws which had been adopted by FEVA, the Argentinean Basque Federation. So, “Professor Jon Bilbao gave a presentation

141 See below the section “From the Western States Basque Federation to the North American Basque Organizations”.

concerning the history and accomplishments of the Argentinean federation which had been in existence since 1955. Then, at this point in the agenda, Pete Echeverria was introduced as the moderator for the remainder of the conference (Meeting Minutes”).

The first topic presented for discussion was the establishment of a parliament machinery or federation structure. Representation was also discussed: it was proposed that each club, regardless of size, would have two votes in the Federation, but it was opposed by the participants representing the larger Basque organizations. Later on, “Ron Sabala, president of Euzkaldunak, Inc. in Boise which had 800 members, argued in favor of a proposal that would establish a rule which stated that no matter how large a club, it could have a maximum of three votes. Gilbert Ordoqui, a representative of the Ely Basque Club, argued to the contrary in favor of the smaller Basque organizations which would be discouraged somewhat by this voting structure. He stated that clubs such as theirs with 41 members would feel that they were not equally represented by the votes assigned to them, and that larger organizations would be able to influence the vote (March 10, 1973, meeting minutes)”.¹⁴² Pete Cenarrussa, Secretary of State of Idaho, proposed for consideration a bi-cameral system which would be modeled after the U.S. Congress and Senate structure. The question of representation was not agreed upon at this first initial meeting. The delegates would have to discuss the different proposals with their respective clubs.

It was decided a president should be elected to implement the federation concept, who would in turn choose his secretary. In a voice vote, the participants elected Al Erquiaga as the temporary acting president of the federation. And he elected Miren Rementeria as the acting secretary for the federation.

It was agreed that the board of directors should meet at least four times yearly (something that would be changed later to three times). They also agreed upon several of the possible objectives of the federation, among others:

- 1) The federation would set up a firm, open line of communication between and among the various federation members.
- 2) The federation structure would encourage Basque studies and the preservation of all aspects of Basque culture. The preservation of the Basque language would be most strongly encouraged and supported.
- 3) The federation would develop a calendar of major events.
- 4) The federation would offer moral and monetary support for various cultural projects and efforts in the Basque Country.
- 5) Program of exchanging students with the Basque Country.
- 6) A newsletter.
- 7) Promote an annual large-scale Basque festival to be held on a rotating basis.
- 8) Institute a program for orienting the Basque immigrant to his new surroundings (March 10, 1973, meeting minutes).

Note that the word “cultural” is underlined. The San Francisco representatives asked this word to be added and underlined. Pierre Etcharren remembers discussing

¹⁴² NABO Archives, NABO meeting minutes.

this point and coming to a compromise.¹⁴³ What San Francisco had in mind was to create a federation that would focus on Basque activities in the United States. So, when some other delegates mentioned they also should offer support to various activities in the Basque Country, San Francisco agreed if these activities were cultural in nature. But in the final draft of the bylaws, this point does not appear. There is no mention to relations with the Basque Country.

Then the question of finances was discussed. It was agreed that each organization should make a donation of \$100 to establish the federation. “One of the objectives of the federation would be to promote a large-scale Basque festival which would be designed to familiarize Basques and non-Basques with various aspects of the Basque culture (initial meeting minutes)”.¹⁴⁴ The Reno festival was considered as a site to hold the first large-scale festival as they were the only ones who had not yet set a festival date. Bob Goicoechea, a lawyer and representative of the Elko Basque Club was appointed to formulate a list or organizational bylaws for the consideration of the new federation membership.

FROM THE “WESTERN STATES BASQUE FEDERATION” TO THE NORTH AMERICAN BASQUE ORGANIZATIONS

Preparation Meeting of the First NABO Convention

On June of 1973, eleven persons met at the Belle Restaurant and Saloon in Reno. The communities represented were Reno, Elko, Ely, NV; and Boise, ID. The meeting was called by the acting president Al Erquiaga.

One of the major topics to be discussed was the tentative convention of the Western States Basque Federation to be held in Reno in conjunction with that locality’s annual Basque festival on August 18. It was decided that the representatives would meet one day prior to the festival in order to ratify the by-laws and articles of incorporation and that the following day, Sunday, August 19, the organizational concept would be explained to the general public with a question and answer session conducted by the newly elected officers.¹⁴⁵

They also discussed the bylaws and articles of incorporation so that a final draft would be ready for ratification by delegates at the August conference. “The articles

¹⁴³ Interview with Pierre Etcharren in San Francisco.

¹⁴⁴ NABO Archives, meeting minutes.

¹⁴⁵ NABO Archives, June 9, 1973 Meeting Minutes.

reflected Nevada Law, the organization being incorporated in Nevada, under the laws governing a historical non-profit society (June 9, 1973 Meeting Minutes)". It states that each organization shall be represented by two official delegates. "In the final name of the articles of incorporation the name would officially become North American Basque Organizations, Inc. rather than the Western States Basque Organizations, Inc. which had been adopted previously. This decision was made in light of the fact that there are Basque organizations outside of the American West which some time in the future might wish to join. Such a name would reflect that the organization is not geographically limited to the Western United States (August 18, 1973 meeting minutes)".¹⁴⁶ Thus, although the original idea was to include Western American Basque communities, by doing so, the organization wanted to keep the doors open to those communities outside of that geographical area who might like to join in the future. It was decided that in order to avoid any possibilities of collusion between officers, the treasurer should not be from the same member organization as the president. The articles of incorporation set up a loose structure of dues to the federation: an initiation fee of \$100, and with annual dues of \$50 and 50 cents a member. The draft was sent to the member clubs so that they could discuss it with their members prior to the meeting in August.

First NABO Convention: August 1973 in Reno, at Louis' Basque Corner

The Reno, San Francisco, Ely, Boise and Elko clubs sent delegates again and two new clubs joined them, Grand Junction, Colorado (Jean and Benerita Urruty), and Bakersfield, California (Frank Maitia).

At that meeting, Bob Goicoechea explained how the title "federation" was not a term legally recognized by the States. "The States have laws of what kind of legal entities you can have, and there is not a legal entity known as a federation. You could have profit corporations, non-profit corporations, limited liability companies, partnerships, and most of the non-profit entities end up being non-profit corporations, and that is what is really recognized, at least in Nevada, the State I am most familiar with",¹⁴⁷ said Goicoechea. Therefore, he recommended having an entity that the States would recognize, even though it would have the characteristics of what everyone was calling a federation. Finally, NABO was established as a corporation in the State of Nevada that was to act primarily as a service organization.

San Francisco had various proposals to be included in the articles of incorporation before they were approved, one of which had to be added on page three of the

¹⁴⁶ NABO archives, "Meeting Minutes".

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Robert Goicoechea in Elko.



Jean Urruty from Grand Junction, Colorado. Picture taken from the 1977 NABO calendar (NABO Archives located at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

articles of incorporation, Article II, section 3: “Nothing herein conducted shall be construed as authorizing or empowering the corporation to promote, encourage, aid or advance any political ideology, movement, cause, party or activity wherever located”.

A long discussion followed concerning the representation of the organizations. Again the discussion illustrated a “battle” of interest between the smaller clubs and the bigger ones. San Francisco in 1973 had approximately 300 paid members (no women at the time); the Kern County Basque Club had 538 paid members; the Reno Zazpiak Bat had 325 members; the Boise Euzkaldunak Club had 800 members; and the Ely Basque Club had around 50 members. According to the meeting’s minutes, “Jean Urruty of Grand Junction, Colorado made the comment that the Colorado Basque population was dwindling, but that he would act as the official representative of the area and submit a personal yearly donation because he was personally interested in the advancement of the corporation (August 18, 1973 meeting minutes)”.¹⁴⁸ It was finally decided that each member organization should appoint two official representatives with the power of one vote each regardless of the number of members of the organization.

Another proposal from San Francisco was as follows: “Said directors shall serve their term without compensation”. But it was decided unanimously that the president and secretary would be compensated for traveling expenses, room, and an allowance for meals.

The previous temporary president, Al Erquiaga from Boise, was voted president and he appointed Miren Rementeria as his secretary. Jacques Unhassobiscay from San Francisco was elected vice-president and Jim Ithurralde from Elko treasurer. They held an informational meeting the next day open to the public.

Main Objectives and the Membership

The articles of incorporation were filed with the Office of the Secretary of State of Nevada on April 19, 1974. The clubs signing these bylaws were: Reno, Elko, and Ely, Nevada; Bakersfield, and San Francisco, California; Boise, Idaho; and Grand Junction, Colorado.

In the certificate of Incorporation of the North American Basque Organizations, Inc., the objectives stated are the following (Article II, Objects):¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ NABO archives, Meeting Minutes. Jean and Benerita Urruty paid the dues every year (\$50) until Mr Urruty deceased in 1983. In 1976, they made a donation of \$5,000 to NABO, and \$1,000 in 1981.

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix One for the Articles of Incorporation of NABO.

Jim Ithurralde and Jo-Frances Ansolabehere from Eureka, picture taken by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar in 2006. Ithurralde was the first NABO delegate representing Elko in NABO with Bob Goicoechea, and Ansolabehere was an early delegate of NABO representing Bakersfield.



Section 1: Objects. The objectives of this corporation shall be:

- (a) To promote, preserve, protect and advance the historical, cultural, civic, social and fraternal interests and activities of the Basque people.
- (b) To cultivate and advance social relations and activities, and understanding and friendship among its members and between its members and nonmembers.
- (c) To collect, preserve and display articles, relics, data, specimens and material things illustrative or demonstrative of the heritage, history, customs, modes, culture and habits of the Basque people.
- (d) To perpetuate the memory of those who made outstanding contributions to or for the Basque people or to the history, stature, reputation, advancement or integrity of the Basque people.
- (e) To educate and enlighten its members and their children and the general public in matters relating to the Basque people and their past and present culture, custom, habits, race, culture and heritage and to disseminate information relating thereto and encourage, support and help the preservation of the Basque language.

- (f) To promote and advance open communication and unity between all of the various Basque organizations, learning institutions, and communities in North America.
- (g) To develop and circulate a publication of activities, schedules and promoted by the various Basque organizations, learning institutions, and communities in North America.
- (h) To do all acts necessary, convenient, incidental or advisable for the promotion, advancement, furtherance and carrying out of the foregoing objects; and to exist and function as a non-profit corporate society under the laws of the State of Nevada.

Section 2. Non pecuniary. This corporation is not organized for pecuniary profit, and not part of the property, or receipts shall inure to the benefit of any member of individual, except as expressly provided in this certificate.

Section 3. Nothing herein contained shall be construed as authorizing or empowering the Corporation to promote, encourage, aid or advance any political ideology, movement, cause, party or activity, wherever located”.

NABO does not have an individual membership but an organization membership.¹⁵⁰ Full membership dues for each member club are \$100 initiation fee, then an annual fee of \$50 and 0.50 cents for each paid member of their organization. An Associate Membership classification was approved in March 1976 (Boise meeting) so that small organizations could become involved with NABO. A group of 50 or less members may join as Associate members but with no voting privileges. A member of this status receives NABO information and minutes and sits in at the meetings. Dues are \$25 per year. If the club later decides to be full-fledged, the 100 dollars fee and dues per year, \$50 and 0.50 cents must be paid as the other clubs do. Effective in 1983, NABO members decided that only full members would be allowed to participate in the various activities proposed by the organization (mus, handball, etc.).

As in the past, still today each NABO member club sends two delegates with one vote each, regardless of the size of the organization’s membership. In doing so, none of the organizations has more authority than any other. That was something that apart from stressing that they were nonpolitical in nature, the instigators of the federation project had to promote: the idea that everyone would have an equal say in future NABO business in order to attract more clubs.

NABO acts primarily as a service organization and not a governing body. All activities conducted by NABO are for the benefit of those Basque clubs which are active

¹⁵⁰ The original book of by-laws, under “Article II, Members”, “Section 2 Election and Qualifications” stated the following: “To be eligible for general membership a person must be of Basque descent or a spouse of Basque descent and belong to a North American Basque Organization which elects to be represented and maintains a majority of its members in this corporation”. But NABO never collected individual members’ dues. This is why this section was amended in 1984 only mentioning an organization membership: “To be eligible for general or associate membership, an organization of Basque membership in America may apply by completing an application supplied by North American Basque Organizations, Inc [...]”

members of NABO. According to Al Erquiaga, “From the beginning, the big emphasis that each club said was: “We don’t want anybody from the outside telling us what to do. We would be willing to work and cooperate with them; we just don’t want anyone telling us how to run our club”.¹⁵¹ NABO does not dictate to its member clubs, it is an umbrella organization. It makes suggestions, and then it is up to the other clubs to follow the suggestions brought up in the meetings, or not. All the people interviewed in the course of this research (over sixty people) felt NABO would not be successful if it started telling the clubs what to do; the clubs would not allow it to happen.

From March 1973 to August 1974, the delegates mainly set the groundwork structure of the association. No meetings were held between August 1973 and August 1974. From this point on, the job of the newly formed North American Basque Organizations was directed at becoming better acquainted with and seeking the thoughts of its member organizations. They had to come up with a program they would work on together and that would attract other clubs. It was their desire to present member organizations with cultural and educational experiences in Basque heritage that were not possible through the sponsorship of smaller individual clubs that made up the federation. But this task was not an easy one. They had to face various challenges: the political anathema, convince the people on the idea, and the lack of money.

DIFFICULT EARLY YEARS

Due to a lack of funding, and some skepticism from the part of the other Basque clubs, NABO did not carry out any major project the first three years. The leaders were getting organized and preparing a future. In those early years, officers would work hard on convincing the clubs of joining NABO and selling the idea of the federation among the members of their own clubs.

Overcoming the Political Anathema

“The thing that has always been stuck in my mind was this suspiciousness of everybody [at the first initial meeting in Sparks, March 1973]”,¹⁵² remembers Janet Inda. Miren Rementeria Artiach and Al Erquiaga remember that once they had made clear that the organization was cultural in nature everybody was willing to share ideas. The San Francisco delegates wanted this point to be transparent and made an addition to the by-laws that had been prepared by attorney Bob Goicoechea:¹⁵³ “Nothing

¹⁵¹ Interview with Al Erquiaga.

¹⁵² Janet Inda, Interview.

¹⁵³ We mentioned it earlier but it is an important point to emphasize.

herein contained shall be construed as authorizing or empowering the Corporation to promote, encourage, aid or advance any political ideology, movement, cause, party or activity, wherever located (August 18, 1973 meeting)". As a consequence, all delegates left this second meeting convinced of the importance of such an endeavor. But they still had to gain the other clubs' approval.

The federation needed major players like San Francisco to give their blessing. It opened the door to the other Californian clubs, who were apparently not convinced: "Kaliforniako klubek, San Franciskokoak salbu, uste zuten politika brantxa bat zela (Frantxoa Bidaurreta)".¹⁵⁴ Jacques Unhassobiscay, Frantxoa Bidaurreta, Pierre Etcharren, with others, would go to other Basque Clubs' picnics and promote NABO. For Miren Rementeria Artiach, "they [the San Francisco Basque Club delegates] ensured our success. We needed their seal of approval for this endeavor".¹⁵⁵

This political anathema was more present among the Basques born in the Basque Country than the ones born in the United States. Rementeria Artiach explains how in the first NABO meetings, those born in the Basque Country were a little bit more focused on details, "they needed for us to state what we were all about. [...] We had to prove to them whereas for those of us born here, this project was just another opportunity for us to work together for our culture". Inda was born in the United States and she "could never understand the importance of it [politics], the seriousness of it". For her, and many more like her, ETA was too remote to really be an issue. Jim Ithurralde, representing Elko in NABO and Jo Frances Ansolabehere representing Bakersfield had no apprehension when going to the first meeting in Sparks. They were also born in the host country.

Convincing the Other Clubs: A Difficult Task

Rementeria Artiach: "Convincing people was a difficult task. And I think each club probably had to go through this process of convincing their members each in their way".¹⁵⁶

Inda remembers the reactions of her own Reno Club membership when she presented the idea of a federation: In 1972 or 1973, John Madariaga, a young lawyer was president of the Reno Basque Club, and he suggested to Janet to bring it to the board, which she did, in order to see how they felt about it. They were neither for nor against it; the reaction was sort of non committal. "We are doing fine by ourselves, why should we get involved in those kinds of things?" said Inda, repeating the reactions

¹⁵⁴ Translation: With the exception of San Francisco, Californian clubs thought NABO was involved in politics. Interview with Frantxoa Bidaurreta in San Francisco.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Miren Rementeria Artiach in Boise.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Miren Rementeria Artiach.

of the Board. In those days, the Reno board was constituted mostly of men who were born and raised in Europe (mostly from the French side of the Basque Country), John Madariaga and Janet Inda were the only ones who were born in the United States, and were the youngest in the group.¹⁵⁷

The reaction of the Basque community in Boise regarding the foundation of NABO was also very mixed. Erquiaga explained: “You know how most people are, most people are like sheep, they will just follow. They had no idea that there was even a need for anything like this, so we had to first educate them about why we were doing this, and why there was a need for this. I felt the younger generation came around much quicker; it was some of the what we call “old timers”. Then, gradually, most of them came around.¹⁵⁸

“Même a San Francisco, il y a eu des hauts et des bas” admits Pierre Etcharren.¹⁵⁹ As we have seen, two persons represented the Los Banos community in March 1973, but the club became a member of NABO only in 1978.¹⁶⁰

Little by little, as NABO put several activities into place, new clubs joined the umbrella organization. La Puente, and Los Angeles Oberena, California in 1977, Chino and Los Banos, California, in 1978, Fresno, California, Caldwell, Idaho, and Southern California Eskualdun Club in 1979, Utah Basque Club in 1981, San Francisco Basque Cultural Center, California and Bighorn Basque Club, Wyoming in 1982, Oinkari Basque Dancers, Boise Idaho in 1984, Las Vegas in 1985, Euskalerrria of Washington D.C. in 1986, Gardnerville, Nevada and Gooding, Idaho in 1987. This list is constituted of newly created clubs as well as well established ones.¹⁶¹

Slow Take Off of the Activities

At the 1974 Convention meeting in Reno, the delegates discussed the programs that NABO could undertake. “Suggestions were solicited from the floor as to what the various delegates would like to see NABO accomplish in the coming year. Jon Bilbao is leaving for the Basque Country for four months and he will study the possibility of a Basque art exhibit in the major cities of the U.S. and also the possibility of a Basque music or dance instructor for members of NABO (August 17, 1974 meeting minutes)”.

As a service to keep the member clubs informed of each other’s activities and to open a wider means of understanding and communication, a Newsletter, put on by

¹⁵⁷ Janet Inda also remembers that ETA was not part of the discussion.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Al Erquiaga in Boise.

¹⁵⁹ Translation: even in San Francisco there have been up and downs. Interview with Pierre Etcharren in San Francisco.

¹⁶⁰ We will have the opportunity to develop about the reasons of such a hesitation to join NABO in the early years.

¹⁶¹ See Appendix Two for the list of the clubs, year of affiliation to NABO, and year of foundation.



Elko, NV pelota court
(photo by Argitxu Camus
Etchecopar).

the Secretary Miren Rementeria, *Alkarte'ko Barriak* was published and distributed in 1974 (one single issue).¹⁶² A different newspaper for Basques, initiated separately in Boise followed: *Voice of the Basques*, founded by two non-Basques, Brian Wardle and John Street. Brian Wardle was involved in the 1972 Holiday Festival. And from this date on, he became a friend of the Basque community. In the first issue of the *Voice of the Basques*,¹⁶³ Brian Wardle told the readers how the idea of publishing a national Basque newspaper came about: “Four years ago, John Street, publisher of a classified weekly, featured articles of Basque interest and found the need for a quality publication. He felt the necessity to share the rich culture, heritage, and current events of a nation of proud and colorful people: Eskualdunak”. Street discussed it with Brian Wardle and the first issue of *Voice of the Basques* started in December 1974, with Brian Wardle managing editor and writer, John Street publisher, Jon Ybarra Advertising manager, Al Erquiaga and Miren Rementeria Artiach coordinators. The purpose has been to provide a source of communication to help unite and link together the Basque people in the United States, and to help preserve the Basque culture and heritage. The different issues gathered information on the Basque community in the United States and the Basque culture in general: news, informative history, highlights of senior

¹⁶² See Appendix Four for the first page of the newsletter.

¹⁶³ December 1974.

citizens, sports, upcoming events and traditional Basque folklore. It was published the 21st of each month until August 1977. The paper accomplished an opening of lines of communication between the Basque Clubs of the United States. But with a total mailing of 978, the continuance of the *Voice of the Basques* was impossible. In 1978, the community of Boise intended to buy the *Voice of the Basques*. They had received a \$3,000 grant, but they failed to raise the \$9,000 additional needed to purchase the layout table, leased typewriter and subscription list and pay back the debts made by the editor.

A NABO newsletter, *NABO News*, was put on from 1979 to 1981 by Jo Frances Ansolabehere gathering news about NABO and its member clubs. But they had to wait until 1990 for a young man originally from Boise, John Ysursa, to take charge of the next edition of a NABO newsletter, baptized *Hizketa*, which is still published in 2007.¹⁶⁴

One of the first projects sponsored by NABO was a joint venture with the Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada, in Reno. At a conference meeting held in Reno on August 17, 1975, Dr. William Douglass introduced a proposal for a sound-on-slide presentation. The project was viewed by the delegates and all thought it a fitting tribute to the Basque people. One was dealing with the Old World Basque Culture and the other with the Basque Americans (the second one was put together in 1977). These sound-on-slides traveled to a number of Basque clubs (Susanville, Bakersfield, CA; Ely, Fallon, NV among others), as well as to museums (Northeastern Nevada Museum), schools and libraries.

The NABO Basque of the Year Award was established in 1975 to give honor to persons who had worked for years toward Basque ideals. Basques honored by this award have been Jim Jausoro and Domingo Ansotegui from Boise in 1975, and Al Erquiaga in 1976, also from Boise. NABO presented them with a plaque. In 1977, the delegates decided to stop attributing the Basque of the Year Award, and started honoring the outgoing officers instead. In 2002, the lifetime contribution award was instigated, Bizi Emakorra.¹⁶⁵

NABO's interest in sponsoring handball competition came after a meeting held in Fresno, California attended by the representatives of the Kern County, Chino, and San Francisco clubs (all of them Californian clubs). At the NABO meeting held in Boise, Idaho on March 20 and 21, 1976, this topic was brought to the attention of the other delegates. All agreed that NABO should set up rules of play and coordinate the games for inter-club competition. The possibility of NABO's involvement in a European champions' tour of the United States was also discussed at this meeting. Rules drawn up by Frantxoa Bidaurreta, handball chairman for NABO, were revised and

¹⁶⁴ I have not found any other issue between 1981 and 1990.

¹⁶⁵ In 2002, father Marcel Tillous and Al Erquiaga were honored by NABO, Bob Echeverria and Luis Pe Menchaca in 2003, Frances and Jesus Pedroarena in 2004, Mike Olano and father Cachernaut in 2005, and Pierre Etcharren and Grace Mainvil in 2006, Jacques Unhassobiscay and François Pedeflous in 2007.

accepted at the Convention meeting held in Bakersfield, California, May 29, 1976. The members of the handball committee¹⁶⁶ met at the National Basque Festival in Elko, on July 3, 1976 with Jacques Unhassobiscay, NABO president, and agreed to start the handball tournament in Boise, at their festival in August. Boise, Elko, Bakersfield, and San Francisco competed. The finals were held in Elko, the following September. The development of this new activity represented the incentive that brought new clubs into NABO, mostly Californian clubs. First, Chino joined, then La Puente and Los Angeles Oberena. “Horrela hasi zen pixkanaka pizten. Kaliforniako klubak, gehienak, pilotari esker hurbildu ziren”,¹⁶⁷ explains Frantxoa Bidaurreta.

Another driving force in attracting new clubs has been the creation of the mus tournament. Los Banos for example originally joined for this reason, in order to participate in the NABO mus tournament. John Bastida from Boise organized the first inter-club mus tournament in 1977. The NABO mus final took place at the Basque Center in Boise. Earlier playoffs had taken place at Division levels. The Eastern Division, consisting of Ely, Elko, and Boise held their contest in Elko with the Elko team emerging victorious. Western division playoffs had occurred in Bakersfield with San Francisco, Bakersfield, and Menlo Park joining, the San Francisco team winning the competition at that level. Finally, Elko’s Domingo Ozamis and Jose Leniz defeated San



Ontario, Oregon Basque dancers. Picture taken from the 1977 NABO calendar (NABO Archives at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

Jacques and Dorothy Unhassobiscay. Picture taken in the 1980s. Jacques Unhassobiscay was NABO president between 1976 and 1978 (Courtesy of Janet Inda from Reno).



Francisco's Bert Lahargoue and Guillaume Irola. Then, the appeal grew even further by the creation of the International Mus Tournament by Pierre Etcharren (NABO mus chairperson from 1978 on).

It is important to emphasize that many of the activities that represent the core of today's NABO were first instigated during the presidency of Jacques Unhassobiscay from San Francisco, 1976-1978 (pelota, mus, music camp, and the NABO calendar).¹⁶⁸

The Important Role Played by Jacques Unhassobiscay and the Commitment of the Officers

Denise Etcharren, NABO's Secretary between 1976 and 1978 when Jacques Unhassobiscay was president remembers, "It was great working with Jacques. He had

¹⁶⁶ John Bastida for Boise, Frank Maitia for Bakersfield and Southern California, Tony Jaureguy for Elko, Frantxoa Bidaurreta for San Francisco and Northern California.

¹⁶⁷ Translation: this is how it started, little by little; most of the Californian clubs joined because of pelota.

¹⁶⁸ NABO activities are developed in depth in chapter 4.

a clear vision of what he wanted to accomplish as president of NABO. Communication with the member clubs was very important. This was before faxes and email, so Jacques would make it a point to communicate with each club by phone or in person. He made a real effort to attend each member club's picnics and festivals".¹⁶⁹ Frantxo Bidaurreta also mentioned how it was Jacques Unhassobiscay's idea to go to the picnics and promote NABO.¹⁷⁰ In the NABO archives located at the University of Nevada, Reno Basque library, a letter written by Jacques Unhassobiscay and addressed to various clubs can be found; "I would like to know if it would be possible for me to attend one of your club's General Meetings in the near future so that I may speak to the members about the background and purpose of the North American Basque Organizations. I feel very strongly about the worth of this organization and know that it would be beneficial for Basques in your area to learn about it".¹⁷¹ Among others, Jacques went to Caldwell, Idaho and Ontario, Oregon in August 1976. In September 1976, while attending the NABO pelota tournament finals in Elko, he had the opportunity to speak about NABO on Joxe Mallea's Basque radio program.

Like Jacques Unhassobiscay, the other officers truly believed in the importance of NABO, and were strongly committed to its project. Janet Inda, for example was



Seven first presidents of NABO, from right to left, Frank Maitia, Janet Inda, Jacques Unhassobiscay, Jim Ithurralde, François Pedeflous, Al Erquiaga, and Dave Eiguren. Picture taken at the 1983 NABO Convention in Salt Lake City (courtesy of François Pedeflous).

President of NABO between 1979 and 1981, and François Pedeflous right after her, from 1981 to 1983, and they both went to as many Basque functions as they could. Inda gives the reason for that; “We felt in those days that it was important for the president of NABO to get the respect of the clubs, and we thought, as presidents, that the clubs deserved to have us there”.¹⁷² The clubs would always invite the NABO president to get up and talk, giving them a good opportunity to promote NABO.

The NABO leaders’ commitment was also financial. They did not ask for any reimbursement from NABO. Whether for a NABO meeting, the attendance to all the Basque functions, or a trip to the handball international games abroad in order to support the U.S. delegation, they would always pay their own way, charging it off to a pleasure trip.

In 1983, the NABO president at that time, François Pedeflous, invited all past presidents to attend the Convention meeting in Salt Lake City, and all attended (see picture above).

Lack of Funding

From 1973 to 1986, the main source of income of NABO came from membership dues, fees to play mus or pelota, donations from clubs or individuals, and various fund raising events such as the sell of label pins and Basque calendar.

In 1973, the federation had been approached to sponsor a Basque night at the annual Western Idaho State Fair in Boise scheduled for August 26. This first event organized to raise money for NABO was a success: \$1,632.71 were raised. In 1976, Reno put pins and key chains with the Basque coat of arms on sale to raise money for NABO. That same year, Elko had a bi-centennial quilt to be raffled off for NABO’s benefit during their picnic. The Ontario Basque Club, for several years, did a quilt for NABO as fundraiser.¹⁷³ In 1978 Boise-Winnemucca Stagelines helped send the mus champions to the international tournament in Azkaine –Ascain in French– (Lapurdi). These are just a few examples of the effort made by the local clubs. NABO would also organize raffles every now and then, for example in 1986; the first price was a trip to the Basque Country or to Hawaii.

An educational Memorial Fund was started with the generous donation of \$5,000 by Jean and Benerita Urruty from Grand Junction,¹⁷⁴ Colorado in 1976, to be used

169 Interview with Denise Etcharren in San Francisco.

170 Interview with Frantxo Bidaurreta in San Francisco.

171 NABO Archives, “NABO Correspondence, June 1976-August 1, 1977”.

172 Interview with Janet Inda in Reno.

173 For example, in October 1980, the NABO quilt made \$368 and \$729.50 in 1983 (information made available by Lisa Corscostegui, vice-president of the Ontario, Oregon Club).

174 A special Award was given to Jean and Bennie Urruty during the Convention in Boise for their generous donation of \$5,000.

exclusively for the upcoming first NABO music camp in 1977. NABO established itself the same year as a 501 (c) (3), a particular status given by the USA Internal Revenue Code that allows people to make donations and then deduct it from their taxable income. The NABO officers decided special recognition would be given to those individuals or clubs that donate \$250 or more by having their honoree, name of donor, date of foundation and city and state inscribed on a perpetual plaque that would be housed at the Basque library of the University of Nevada.¹⁷⁵

The NABO officers and directors were in constant relation with banks (Banque Inchauspe, Banco de Viscaya) and various travel agencies in order to receive free travel tickets for their mus or pelota players, as well as to get trophies for their national tournaments. Music camp in 1981 was supported by a generous grant from Banco de Viscaya.

A member club would usually be in charge of organizing the functions sponsored by NABO, implying a financial backing also. To give a few examples, in 1979, after the International Mus Championship in San Francisco, there was a deficit of \$4,765 remaining which the San Francisco Basque Club paid; in 1982, Bert Aphetsetche donated \$2,500 to music camp after it was held in Chino.

On January 15, 1983, François Pedeflous commented on the difficult financial situation of NABO in these terms:

The president [Pedeflous] pointed out that the accounts are depleted and thanks to some donations we have been able to survive this year but that NABO cannot continue to depend on donations, and asked for suggestions to solve the problem (...) The president noted that NABO cannot survive on the present dues alone which are the same as set up when NABO was originated some 10 years ago when expenses were much lower. (...) He also pointed out that sooner or later the situation would arise when officers cannot afford to pay the traveling and other expenses as they have in the past. (...) The possibility of obtaining money or grants from Spain arose and at this point the president stated he would call on Martin Minaberry and Dr. [Carmelo] Urza to report on the meeting in San Sebastián in September later in that day.¹⁷⁶

As a consequence, they discussed the feasibility of doubling the membership dues and the mus dues, however the proposition was rejected.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NABO, WHAT IT HAS ACHIEVED

NABO brought all the clubs together, worked on the preservation of Basque Culture and contributed to make Basque culture more visible.

¹⁷⁵ And still is.

¹⁷⁶ A gathering organized by the Basque Autonomous Government in September 1982 (see chapter 6 on NABO-Basque Government relations).

Get the Clubs Together

NABO basically started as the means to create communication among clubs. “Very frankly my first feeling on this was not beyond just the initial correspondence contact”, admits Al Erquiaga.¹⁷⁷ However, it certainly grew beyond that.

Thus NABO started with eight founding clubs in 1973, and this number increased to eighteen clubs in 1979 and to nineteen in 1987 (Caldwell stopped paying dues and Ely, Grand Junction,¹⁷⁸ Menlo Park,¹⁷⁹ and Euskalerrria Basque Club of Washington D.C. became inactive). Then, even if the original members of NABO were all from the Western region of the United States, they were aware of the existence of other Basque Clubs beyond the West and NABO kept its doors open to those who might be interested in joining in the future. Euzko-Etxea of New York soon entered in contact with NABO, and some representatives attended the meetings, although they were not officially a member of NABO until 1993. Thus, in the Convention meeting of 1981, John Abadia from New York presented his club to the NABO delegates. John Abadia and his wife Margaret, before Euzko-Etxea of New York joined NABO, enjoyed going to the NABO meetings. They had family in Boise, Idaho. John Bastida tried to convince the New York Basque members to join NABO but in vain, until 1993. The members did not understand what the organization was for, and did not perceive the importance of joining. Irene and Andoni Aguirre were NABO delegates for both Euzko-Etxea and the Society of Basque Studies in America in the 1990s until they both passed away in 1997 and 1999. They combined their vacations with the NABO meetings, and did not receive any financial compensation for it. In 1995, a group from Euzko-Etxea went to Jaialdi, with the dance group. NABO is scheduled to have their Convention in New York in 2013, for the club’s 100th Anniversary, and Irene and Andoni Aguirre were instrumental for booking the date.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the scope of the Basques in the United States was expanding. Basques became more aware of other Basques in other places.

As additional clubs were founded, and more clubs were becoming members of NABO, the delegates tried to make sure that each club’s festivities would not coincide (and therefore compete with) with another club’s functions.

NABO as A Vehicle of Preservation of Basque Culture

NABO has been a good vehicle for preservation. Some of the great ideas that came under the Basque cultural appreciation grant in Idaho in the early 1970s

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Al Erquiaga in Boise.

¹⁷⁸ When Jean Urruty deceased in 1983.

¹⁷⁹ When the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center was built, the members decided to dissolve the association and integrate the newly association in South San Francisco.

like Music Camp (1973) survived or were reinvigorated because they now had an organization that would allow them to share it with a greater number of people. “It is felt that we, as NABO, must push a project like this [Music Camp] if we want to teach our young the Basque culture that we are trying to preserve (Convention meeting minutes, 1976 in Bakersfield)”. NABO also expanded the Basque activities available to the local clubs.

NABO, through its officers and delegates has been instrumental in helping other clubs getting started, and also helping reinvigorate others (such as the Ely Basque Club). Jim Ithurralde helped in the creation of the Utah Club, Janet Inda was also contacted several times (Buffalo Wyoming, Fallon, Nevada) for her expertise.

Make the Basque Culture More Visible

At the very first initial meeting in Sparks (1973), the delegates decided that “one of the objectives of the federation would be to promote a large-scale Basque festival which would be designed to familiarize Basques and non-Basques with various aspects of the Basque culture (March 10, 1973, Sparks meeting minutes)”. Hence, making the Basque culture more visible was a priority.

This objective was fulfilled in 1979, in San Francisco. That summer, the San Francisco Basque Club took on several ambitious projects, starting with the two-week long music camp, followed by the two-day long Convention festival (August 25-26, 1979), in conjunction with the International Mus Tournament, and the visit of the European handball players. The festivities were held at San Francisco’s Pier 2, Fort Mason and attracted nearly 20,000 people, creating the largest Basque event in the United States up until that time. It became the model for the NABO Conventions that were going to follow. It was the first time that most of the dance groups from Idaho, Nevada, and California performed together: Group Zazpiak Bat and *klika* from San Francisco, Los Banos dancers, Bakersfield *klika* and Dantzari Gazteak dancers, Chino/Southern Eskualdun Club Dantzari Onestak dancers, Oinkari Basque Dancers from Boise, Irrintzi dancers of Winnemucca, Elko Arinak dancers, and the Reno Basque dancers were present. There were dance performances, wood chopping and weight-lifting competitions, handball making, bread making, sheep hooking, singing, and the showing of the joint endeavor of NABO with the Basque Studies Program (two slide/tapes shows): “Euzkaldunak, Basques of the American West”, and “Euskalerrria: Home of the Basques”, as well as other films such as the “Basques of Kern County”, or the “Elko National Basque Festival”.

NABO also decided it needed to have a logo of its own, so it organized an emblem contest in 1977. They advertised it by way of *Voice of the Basques* (January 1977)



NABO emblem

and received 35 entries by March 1977. Glen Heinmiller, a student of anthropology specialized in Basque Studies at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut won the contest and received a \$50 savings Bonds. The entry description given by Glen Heinmiller himself is as follows: “The central element in this emblem is the lauburu (green), the universal Basque symbol. At the four “heads” of the lauburu are the letters NABO (white) in old Basque script. The colors of the Basque flag (red, white, and green) and the American flag (red, white, and blue) are presented, symbolizing the importance of being both Basque and American and the nature of NABO as a grouping of Basque American organizations. The outer ring (white) gives the organization title (black lettering)”.¹⁸⁰ R. Magunagoikoetxea of New York won second place and was the recipient of a \$25 Savings Bond.¹⁸¹ NABO also distributes pins with both the American and the Basque flag on it and watches.

“So now when I look back, yes it was worth it. All the phones that hung up on our ears and the long hours of planning, oh definitely, yeah”, said Janet Inda.¹⁸²

180 NABO archives.

181 For those interested in seeing more entries, see *Voice of the Basques*, March 77, page 8: second place winner's entry, Frederic Fuldain's entry, R. Magunagoikoetxea's entry, and Henriette Erdozaincy's entry.

182 Interview with Janet Inda in Reno.

The Turn of the Year 1986

In 1986, in a NABO meeting in Salt Lake City, the delegates commented on NABO's activities and its financial situation. They observed that NABO's music camp in 1985 had been the largest so far, with more than fifty students attending. They also noted that NABO had been able to "overcome some opposition through the years at the club level. Calendar sales are stronger". Pin sales had increased. "Many clubs are now featuring 3-day events when in conjunction with NABO conventions. NABO has money in the bank. Communication between clubs and within NABO is stronger. We have been involved in international play in our activities (February 1, 1986 meeting minutes)".

And the year 1986 was also going to mark the beginning of the relations with the Basque Autonomous Government. In 1986, for the first time, the Basque Government financed and organized for a musical band to perform at the NABO Convention festival. From that point forward, the relations between NABO and the Basque Government would gradually intensify, as well as would the Government's help in NABO's activities (see Chapter 6).



Toward a American the “NABO

(03)

Basque Identity: Effect”

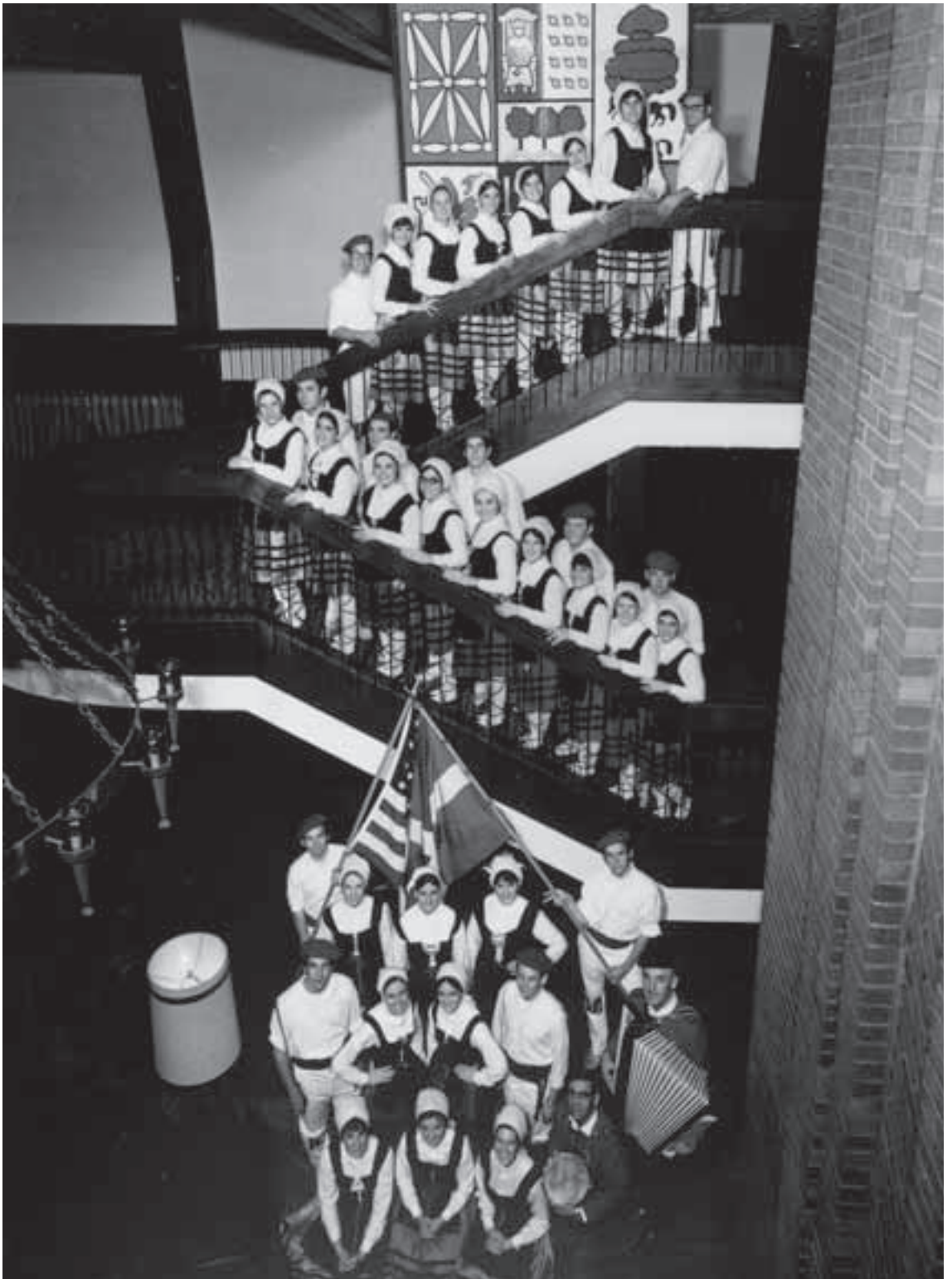
William A. Douglass, in his article “Calculating Ethnicity through U.S. Census”,¹⁸³ explains how in 1980, for the first time, the U.S. Bureau of the Census decided to include a question that permitted respondents to specify their ancestral background. Douglass was contacted by the Census Bureau and after much discussion and debate the category of “Basque” was included in the U.S. Census form, with a distinction for “French Basque”, “Spanish Basque” and “Basque n.e.c” (not elsewhere classified). In 1980, about 40,000 individuals reported Basque ancestry, 47,000 people in 1990, and 58,000 people in 2000. Among these, in 1980, 47% opted for the category Basque n.e.c, when 70% of them opted for that same category in 1990. We can thus see a profound shift toward a generic Basque identity among Basque Americans. Douglass advances a reason to that: “I would be inclined to ascribe it mainly to what might be called the ‘NABO effect’.”¹⁸⁴ And this argument is precisely what this next section intends to analyze.

OVERCOMING REGIONAL BARRIERS

Before the 1970s, the Basque communities were geographically fragmented in the United States along the Basque Country regional distinctions. In 1975, Douglass and

¹⁸³ Inedite article manuscript in English published in Spanish in William A. Douglass. 2003. *La Vasconia Global, Ensayos sobre las Diásporas Vascas*, “Calculando la etnicidad mediante el censo de EEUU: el caso vasco”, Vitoria Gasteiz: Central Publications of the Basque Autonomous Government, pp. 264-279.

¹⁸⁴ Idem.



Boise ID Oinkari Basque Dancers (Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

Bilbao in their book *Amerikanuak* identified the areas of predominantly French Basque and Navarrese population (California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming), those of predominantly Bizkaian population (Idaho, Oregon), and the areas where all three groups are represented (Nevada, Utah). A map illustrated their findings.¹⁸⁵

A community Fragmented Before the 1970s

This geographical differentiation led to the transfer of the perceived regional distinctions among Basque Country Basques to the host country context (the United States). Until the 1950s, the different Basque communities were ignorant of each other's activities. In William and Bilbao's words, "to a degree this has introduced an axis of animosity into group life that is manifested in a certain mutual aloofness and frequent double-edged joking between French Basques and Viscayans. In the transitional communities with sizeable contingent of both colonies, this axis poses a low-key yet discernible, threat of schism in local Basque clubs or dance groups".¹⁸⁶ In the interviews I conducted in 2006 and 2007, this feature appears clearly.

John Yursa who was born in Boise (predominantly Bizkaian Basques), Idaho and moved to Chino, California (predominantly French and Nafarroa Basques) in the 1980s shares the following: "In the Chino Basque club, let's put it delicately, I was an outsider. You know, I moved there, that is one. Number two, I was a different kind of Basque. You know, from Bizkaia. I was not from Bizkaia, I am from America, but there was a degree of "who is this guy? It just took some time for both parties to get to know each other. I would have to say that the Basque community here in Chino has been great to me".¹⁸⁷

In an interview with Al Erquiaga from Boise, talking about the First Western Basque Festival put on by Reno-Sparks Basques in 1959, he mentioned that the San Francisco dance group went to the event. Boise had nothing organized yet –the dance group got organized the following year, in 1960– so a proto-group got together and prepared some dances for the 1959 occasion. Talking about the San Francisco Basques, Erquiaga said: "We were afraid to dance in front of the San Francisco group and embarrass ourselves, because we did not have an organized group yet in Boise at that time". They had not collaborated with French Basques before and they did not intermingle at all that day.¹⁸⁸

In the 1980s, one social club dominated by French Basques (Basque Club of San Francisco) debated the question of whether or not three boys of Nafarroa Basque

185 Douglass and Bilbao, op.cit, Appendix seven, page 431.

186 Idem, p.339.

187 Interview with John Yursa in Boise.

188 Interview with Al Erquiaga in Boise.

descent, 13 and 14 years old, should be allowed to go to the Winnemucca, NV Convention and represent the San Francisco Basques by playing in the *klika*¹⁸⁹. Xabier Berrueta was one of these Nafarroa descent boys, though he was not informed until later: “Can you imagine, a thirteen year old boy discouraged from coming, you would not have a *lehendakari* –president in Basque language– in front of you right now, and you would not have a director of the *klika* for nine years”.¹⁹⁰

So how did a community, so fragmented, manage to come together under a single association in 1973? We might have expected to see more than one NABO. However, despite some difficulties, one single umbrella association was founded. Why? Different factors played a role in the matter. It was an idea whose time had come.

It is not by chance that the 1970s saw the creation of the federation. First, there was very little immigration from the Basque Country. Moreover, the generations born in the United States were more assimilated (the barrier between them and the majority society was blurrier). Then, in the 1970s, more and more of these U.S. born generations took the leadership of the existing clubs (Boise, ID; Elko, NV) or created new clubs (Ely, NV; Salt Lake City, Utah). And some of the clubs led by the emigrant generation like San Francisco were also aware of the need of coming together to maintain the culture. We have seen above that there had been attempts to bring different communities together before.

The idea of NABO came along much quicker among the generation born in the United States (see our second chapter, “The Early Years of NABO”). This is mainly due to the fact that regional differences are not that strong among the populace born in the United States; the points of division of the Old World are not perceived the same by those born in the United States. The Old World regional differences do not really make sense to those born in the U.S.: “You are either Basque or you are not, it does not matter where”,¹⁹¹ remarked Janet Goñi from Susanville, California.

Those involved in NABO since its inception in the different communities, with the exception of San Francisco, were mostly born in the United States. “I think it was us [those born in the United States] that really wanted that; a need to pursue and to keep the heritage”,¹⁹² explained Jim Ithurralde from Eureka, Nevada. The clubs led by immigrant generation Basques like Los Banos, Winnemucca and Southern California Eskualdun Club joined a few years later.¹⁹³

For those Old World Basques who become members of a Basque institution, their Basque identity is more salient than the French or the Spanish one. They define

189 Basque marching band.

190 Interview with Xabier Berrueta in San Francisco. Berrueta is the president of the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center.

191 Interview with Janet Goñi in Susanville.

192 Interview with Jim Ithurralde in Eureka. He used to be a delegate for Elko.

193 As stated in chapter 2, in the Reno club, the board of directors was mostly constituted of Old World Basques, but the two delegates interested in this idea were two U.S. born Basques, Janet Inda and John Madariaga.

194 These points are corroborated by the interviews conducted.

themselves as Basque (along with Spanish or French and American). Usually, the ones born in the United States do not mention any French or Spanish identity: They are Basque and American.¹⁹⁴ The regional barriers started disappearing gradually as Basques from different communities intermingled (through the festivals and the creation of friendships). NABO accelerated the phenomenon.

The Key Role of NABO

“From the outset NABO’s mission and activities have proclaimed that Basque Americans are simply ‘Basque’ irrespective of Old World regional distinctions (Douglass, 2003, p.265)”. But another of NABO’s achievements is that Basque Americans in Boise, Idaho feel bonded with Basque Americans in San Francisco, California or Buffalo, Wyoming.

NABO, –through its rotation of meetings and Convention festivals, its activities gathering Basques from all ages, and all origins–, interconnected the associations and the people together. As mentioned earlier, the Old World regional barriers were



Bakersfield Kern County Basque Club klika, CA (photo by Gloria Totoricagüena).

not that important among the generation born in the U.S., and NABO activities helped them meet other Basques from other U.S. areas. And concerning the generation born in the Basque Country, they gradually realized they all had things in common, regardless of their origin in the Basque Country. The following chapter on the different activities of NABO further illustrates this idea.

Communication Has Increased

The technologies of communication have greatly affected the ability of these communities to maintain ties with each other. These new technologies open new possibilities and serve the interests of diasporic communities. Existing Basque ethnic-identity maintenance and diaspora strength are increased by the effects of globalization, a theme discussed in chapter one. Most of the U.S. Basque clubs nowadays, NABO included, have a website and the delegates communicate via email.

In 1996, the Basque Autonomous Government bought a computer for each Basque institution of the diaspora, with internet connection, contributing greatly to the improvement of communication between the different clubs.



Reno Zazpiak Bat Dancers with the Zazpiak Bat coat of arms (courtesy of Marylou Urrutia).

Now there is more of a sense of “San Francisco Basques”, “Boise Basques” or “Bakersfield Basques” than a sense of French or Spanish Basque. French or Spanish has ceased to be the main identifier.

A SENSE OF BASQUE AMERICAN IDENTITY

NABO helped further define a sense of Basque American identity, a phenomenon that started with the festivals and the institutions. It also contributed to the definition of the content of that identity.

A Dual Identity

NABO promoted a sense of dual or hyphenated identity that synthesizes the Basque and the American identities. Basques in the United States are physically connected with the United States and emotionally connected with the Basque Country. Among the Basques who were born in the Basque Country, this identity is often multiple,



Sandwich booth at the 2006 NABO Convention festival in Buffalo, Wyoming (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

not only dual. Thus, from the interviews conducted, the immigrant generation would usually define themselves as “Basque, French and American”, or “Basque, Spanish and American”. It must be noted that this multiple identity has been more automatic among the French Basques than the Spanish Basques.¹⁹⁵ Among the U.S. born Basques interviewed, the vast majority (with two exceptions) mentioned a dual identity (Basque and American), when two of the interviewees mentioned multiple identities due to their parents’ mixed marriage. But they both put the Basque ethnicity forward as being the most meaningful to them over their other ethnicities,¹⁹⁶ the identity they associate more with. Also another point worth mentioning is the different nature attributed to their Basque identity or American identity by the Basques born in the United States. They are all Americans, and proud of it for the most part, understood as nationality, patriotism, whereas Basque refers to their ethnicity. So, each time I would ask them to tell me how they define themselves, they would all say “Basque”, and not mention “American”, because, as they would explain to me, there is no doubt about them being American.

Zazpiak Bat ¹⁹⁷

The Basque identity as manifested in the United States does not give importance to Old World regional differences, and it even seeks to embrace the Basque Country traditions in its entirety. Compared to thirty years ago, the U.S. dance groups have a wider repertoire of music and dances, with a larger array of costumes. In the 1960s and 1970s, the dances taught in a Basque community would be the ones from the region from which most of the immigrants had departed.

In an article published in the *Voice of the Basques* by Alain Erdozaincy from San Francisco, we learn about the types of dances they were taught in their community in the 1970s.

(...) But the highlight of the evening came as Pierre Etcharren was honored for his devoted services as director of the Zazpiak Bat dancers. Pierre founded the group way back

195 Due to various reasons (mainly lack of time), even though I interviewed 68 people throughout the research on NABO, I only asked 48 of them to define themselves in terms of identity. Among them, 34 were born in the United States and 9 were born in the Basque Country (6 in the French side and 3 in the Spanish side). Among the six people from the French side interviewed, five responded “Basque, American, and French”, while one responded “Basque and American”. Then, among the three persons born in the Spanish side of the Basque Country, one responded “Basque, American, and Spanish” while two responded “Basque and American”.

196 We are not talking about the American identity here.

197 It means “Seven in One”. It refers to the seven Basque provinces. Several U.S. groups use it for their name: the San Francisco Zazpiak Bat dance group, the Reno Zazpiak Bat Club. In the Basque Country, this phrase has a political meaning attached to it (the independence of the Basque Country) whereas in the United States it refers to unity, all Basques working together regardless of their region of origin, but with no political meaning attached.

198 *Voice of the Basques*, “A Spring Night in San Francisco”, page 3. Located at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno.

199 Interview with Jean Flesher, in Wyoming (during the 2006 NABO Convention).

in 1962 and taught the dances he had learned in Uhart Cize, his home town in Eskual Herria. The group started with about twelve dancers and gave the young Basques in the New World an opportunity to get together and perform some of the old dances. Gradually the group began to grow as the dancers performed at several Basque picnics and at dinners before the French Consulate.

The repertoire of the Zazpiak Bat dancers is different from that of any other Basque dance group. The “Ingurutxo”, a dance resembling a classical minuet; the “Baso Dantza”; the infamous glass dance; the “Quadrilles”, a Basque type square dance; and the “Euskaldunak” are among the many dances brought by Pierre to the United States.¹⁹⁸

In the Salt Lake City group for example, the dance group started learning French Basque dances, whereas now they know dances from the seven provinces.¹⁹⁹

Jenny Ysursa remembers that when she started dancing in Chino, the teacher was from Baxe Nafarroa (Jean Cihigoyenetché), and he would teach them dances from his province. Then Mariana Etcheverry took over the dance group and she expanded the repertoire as well as the costumes. Etcheverry had participated in the University



1988 NABO Convention festival parade in Buffalo Wyoming. Jean Leon Iribarren, NABO president from 1987 to 1990 (courtesy of Bernadette Iribarren).



of Nevada, Reno Basque Studies Summer Program in the Basque Country with Jon Oñatibia and she learned a lot of new dances from him that she brought to her community.²⁰⁰

This expansion was made possible due to a number of factors taking place at the same time. First of all, the increase of exchanges between the Basque communities in the United States was quite instrumental. In the NABO Conventions, the various dance groups would perform, and they would learn new dances by watching each other. Music camp was also an opportunity to learn new dances and eventually share them with their local community. Moreover, for the music camps, often, a dance and music instructor came from the Basque Country. For example, during the 1984 music camp in Salt Lake City, the Salt Lake community brought a professional dancer, and they also invited the local instructors for a week to learn from him. Among other things, the professional instructor taught them dances from the province of Xiberoa (Godalet Dantza and Maskaradak). Then, the number of trips going back and forth between the United States and the Basque Country increased, and a lot of Basques would video record the dances in the Basque Country and bring them back to their community.

200 Interview with Jenny Ysursa in Boise.



1988 NABO Convention festival parade in Buffalo Wyoming. NABO delegates' float (courtesy of Bernadette Iribarren).

What NABO aims to do, and has succeeded to do, is promoting the “Bat”, or “One”: “What is it that we have in common” as opposed to “what differentiates us?”. A woman born in California admits that NABO’s activities helped a lot in the making of a sense of *Zazpiak Bat*: “My world was very small so I think NABO has promoted a great unspoken education, if you will, for us all to understand that there are seven provinces”.²⁰¹

Until recently, in the minutes of NABO, when the delegates talked about the Basque regions in the homeland, they would refer to them as “Spain” and “France”.²⁰² But now, the people talk about the French/Spanish side, Southern/Northern parts or *Iparralde/Hegoalde*²⁰³ or simply the Basque Country. Ricardo Yanci remembers how his parents, until fifteen years ago would say that they would go to *España* (Spain), “Españara noa”.²⁰⁴ Then it changed, the more trips they did to the Basque Country. Now they say *Euskadi* or *Euskal Herria* –Basque Country. “The politically correct

²⁰¹ Interview with a woman from California.

²⁰² According to the NABO minutes. But the NABO minutes might not necessarily transpire what each individual delegate exactly said as one person (the secretary) summarizes the meeting.

²⁰³ *Iparralde* literally means “northern part” and *Hegoalde* means “southern part” referring to the French part (north) and the Spanish part (south) of the Basque Country.

²⁰⁴ Translation: I am going to Spain.



Winnemucca, Nevada dancers (courtesy of Susan Gavica).

around here [Boise] became *Iparralde* –Northern side–, *Hegoalde* –Southern side– not too long ago”,²⁰⁵ continues Ricardo Yanci.

Claim of a Distinct Basque American Identity

But at the same time Basque Americans are aware of a unique Basque identity that has developed in the United States. The annual calendar published by NABO illustrates this idea very well.²⁰⁶ The Basque Country is not automatically taken as the only reference anymore. At the same time, because of the advances in media and travel communication, Basques born in the United States see that the Basque Country has evolved, and that the traditions brought over by their parents or grand parents are in some cases a little “outdated” in the Basque Country. Thus the immigrant generation gradually stops being the only reference of what it means to be Basque in the United States. NABO’s facilitator, John Ysursa, mentions this idea in the newsletter

205 Interview with Ricardo Yanci in Boise.

206 For a greater description of the calendars, see next chapter.

207 Astero means “every week”.

Astero:²⁰⁷ “We Basque Americans are different from our European cousins. We cannot be like them –nor them like us– because of changing circumstances. Therefore it is unrealistic to copy everything that they do across the Atlantic. Nonetheless, we should not lose sight of *Euskal Herria*. It remains the focal point of our heritage, because much of what we seek to preserve here derives from the traditions brought over. Therefore for some things, the Basque Country should be where we should look for guidance and direction”.²⁰⁸

OLD WORLD BASQUES VS. U.S. BORN BASQUES

However there remain obvious differences as to how the immigrant generation lives one identity and how their children live it.

Differences

I asked an imminent specialist in Basque diaspora studies, Dr. William Douglass, if there was a difference between the ways the immigrant generation manifested their identity, with how their children and grandchildren lived it. Would he say that the identity is more symbolic among the Basques born in the United States?

“I think there is a big difference. [...] For the immigrant generation, their Basque identity is a whole different entity than for even their children along with their grandchildren. [...] I think, over time, and certainly generationally, as you get more and more removed from the Basque Country, it becomes more and more symbolic, clearly. But having said that, there is a way in which pro Basque culture activism is much more likely to grow out of the descendants than the immigrants. The immigrant generation, I think, to the extent that they associated with each other, did not launch clubs; the clubs came out of their children and sometimes their grandchildren. The original immigrant generation, I think, associated more privately: they would have the friendship networks, they would go to each other’s funerals, they would have a picnic, and they would get together at the local Basque hotel if there was one. [...] But the idea of actually having a club and electing a president, [...] the idea of providing content [is not so present]. [...] There is an educative function or dimension to the Basque Clubs. It is not what you and I think of as academic education, Basque history, language... But there is an educative function that maybe we under-appreciate. But this educative function [is present] for Basque Americans; they learn what it means to be Basque in part within the clubs and the hotels. They are not born with it and they don’t always get

²⁰⁸ NABO facilitator’s newsletter, *Astero*, “That is not Basque”, A1.16.

it from their parents that much,²⁰⁹ in particular in the earlier period when there was a lot of pressure against retaining the language and displaying your identity. [...] So I think that this desire to have a club is more of a Basque American phenomenon than an Old World Basque phenomenon. Certainly Old World Basques have been involved. [...] But almost immediately that gets taken over and co-opted by Basque Americans”. Douglass thinks that historically the prime movers within the clubs have tended to be more Basque Americans than Old World Basques, with some exceptions. “And I do think that an Old World Basque is not going to have an epiphany about Basque identity. He or she is Basque and that is enough, they are not going to have an epiphany about it. But a Basque American, twice removed from their immigrant parents might have an epiphany”. They might start studying Basque, might go to the Basque Country, and might get married to somebody in the Basque Country. They are falling in love with this identity.²¹⁰

I also asked Basque people who immigrated to the United States if they saw any difference in how their children manifest their identity. Here are some examples of their answers:

Ce n'est pas facile de prendre une journée libre pour aller aux réunions de NABO. Et c'est la même chose pour les clubs de San Francisco, c'est très prenant. Les vieux on l'a bien fait, mais on avait un autre attachement à la culture basque que ces jeunes basques nés ici ont. Nous les Basques qui venons de là-bas on voulait retenir autant que nous pouvions notre identité basque. Ils sont nés ici alors ils en ont déjà deux, alors ils préfèrent retenir l'Américain puisqu'ils sont nés ici, et c'est très compréhensible, moi je comprends.²¹¹

Menturaz ez arras handik jinak bezalako beroan. Baina zombait badira horien aitetamak baino beroago direnak.²¹²

Also, in the United States, Basque identity goes with voluntarism. Basque Clubs are all volunteer associations that require a lot of commitment from their members. This might present a problem in attracting more people in.

209 From the interviews conducted, the educational function of the Basque clubs came out several times. Jim Ithurralde from Eureka: “I really did not know what the Basques really were, and that is why I got involved with NABO, to let our children know why we were Basque, why we were proud of our heritage”. He thinks NABO has done a good job. “Because I think most kids now know why they are Basque”. Bob Goicoechea, an attorney from Elko: He does not think he defined himself as Basque when he was young. He probably defined himself as an intellectual poor kid from Idaho. Until he came to Elko, “it was so strong and I picked it up and it was really cool so I got into it. [...] It was more like a new idea almost to me, because I had the background but I just had never been into it much”, explains Goicoechea. It gave him the will to learn more about Basques and work with them.

210 Interview with William A. Douglass in Reno.

211 Interview with Mayi Etcheverry from San Francisco. Translation: It is not easy to take a day off to go to the NABO meetings. And it is the same thing with the clubs in San Francisco, it is really time consuming. We, elder people, have done it, but we had another attachment to Basque culture, while the young generation was born here. We, Basques who came from the Basque Country, wanted to keep as much as we could of our Basque identity. But the younger ones were born here; therefore they have already two identities. And they want to keep the American identity as they were born here, which is understandable; I personally understand it.

212 Immigrant generation man from California. Translation: They [the generation born in the United States] are not as strongly attached [to the Basque identity] as those coming from the Basque Country. But many are more attached to it than their parents.



Elko, Nevada dancers at the Gooding NABO Convention festival in 1996 (courtesy of Bob Echeverria).

The children and grand children of Basques have a different understanding of work. It is not that these people are lazy. Quite the contrary, some of these folks might even have two jobs. But now, with their free time, what happened is recreation has been redefined. The recreation is getting a jet sky and going out on the lake. That is what having a good time is. But for Basques, recreation was, getting together, having a meal, playing mus, singing, that is how the older generation recreated. Today we have different ideas of how to spend our free time. And that has become our challenge. There are a lot of Basques out there but they are not inclined to want to recreate the way traditionally Basques did: the festivals, monthly meals, things of that kind²¹³, explained John Ysursa.

Several observations can be made from the interviews conducted for this work. 1) In one family, with both Basque parents, usually, several of their children continue on the traditions inculcated, when others could care less. 2) Usually, if some American Basque children were involved in a Basque Club when they were young (going to the different functions with their parents, dancing in the dance group), they tend to leave it when they go to college. 3) Sometimes, when Basque Americans become parents, they realize the importance of the traditions they learned from their parents, and want to reproduce it with their children. So, they return to the Basque Club. 4) Mixed marriages

213 Interview with John Ysursa in Boise.

complicate the choice. It often leads to a possible dilution of ethnic identification within the family. 5) Language is the first element of the immigrant culture to disappear: it either becomes a private affair –Basque American children speak it exclusively with their parents, but not with other Basque friends who might speak it as well–, or a secret language –a language parents use between them and that is not understood by their children. 6) Ethnicity does not matter too much anymore in terms of choice of marriage partner or job, or place to live. It may not cause much discrimination or even everyday notice or comment. 7) But there still exist many caches of beliefs, images, and stereotypes about the Basque American ethnic group.

Mary Waters, in the interviews she conducted for her book *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*, asked participants about their dual identities. Being an American, understood in terms of patriotism or nationality, was their primary identity. Being ethnic was a way they had of differentiating themselves from others. “The fact that ethnic identification is increasingly voluntary does not mean that it lacks meaning or that it will necessarily disappear with the passage of time”,²¹⁴ argues Waters.

What Basque Culture for the Future?

As mentioned above, the generations of Basques born in the United States have different needs compared to their parents or grandparents that came from the Basque Country. Hence, the Basque Clubs need to adapt to this new reality.

According to William A. Douglass, in his article “Interstitial Culture, virtual Ethnicity, and hyphenated Basque Identity in the New Millenium (2000)”,²¹⁵ “several clubs are now struggling to maintain membership and momentum. Attendance at the Basque festivals has declined”. He also emphasizes the commemorative signs being displayed in the Basque American community as the illustration of the fact that the group is now in a cross roads: “The Basque American experience is now being preserved in bronze statues and museum cases (Douglass, 2000, p.160)”.

“If in the Basque case persistence of meaningful Basque American ethnicity during the new millennium requires the survival and prospering of Basque clubs, festivals, dance groups and hotels, then I am pessimistic (Douglass, 2000, p. 163)”. Douglass gives the reasons for that: Cessation of Basque immigration from the Basque Country and marriages with non-Basques; demise of the vernacular, the Basque language (it has been reified into an object of nostalgia, rather than a reality. It has little real attraction, although some real efforts), and the commercialization of the ethnic identity.

214 Waters, Mary. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p.91

215 In *Nevada Historical Quarterly*, 43:2, 155-165.

216 This point will be discussed deeply in chapter 6.

NABO, along with its member clubs will have to respond to some important challenges in the future (see chapter 7).

THE BASQUE COUNTRY IS MORE AWARE OF ITS DIASPORA

While the diaspora is becoming conscious of itself, the Basque Country also increasingly is learning about the existence of its diaspora.

Until the 1980s, the relations between the Basque Country and the United States were more private, usually family ties, whereas now these relations have become more public. The Basque Country in its entirety is becoming increasingly aware of its diaspora. The phenomenon started earlier in the Southern part of the Basque Country with a real will of the Basque Autonomous Government –quickly after its formation– of increasing contacts with Basques outside of the Basque Country.²¹⁶ But these past years, in *Iparralde*, it is amazing how, more a more, the media talk about the Basques outside of the Basque Country. For instance, in 2005, the city council of Azkarate



Gardnerville, Nevada dancers in 1987 (University of Nevada, Reno, Basque Library).

–Ascarat in French– (Baxe Nafarroa) acquired the castle of the village with the idea to make it an International Center of the Basque Diaspora.²¹⁷ There are some recent dynamics within France that favor some of that. Immigration is becoming a more problematic and contemporary issue in French society.

When William Douglass and Jon Bilbao started their research on Basques outside of the Basque Country, there was hardly anything published in the matter. And it took them almost ten years to see it published in the Basque Country; there was not that much interest. Now there is enough going on to talk about “Basque diaspora studies”. “If it was forgotten before, now it has become overly prominent, and discussed”,²¹⁸ notices Douglass. There is a real influence from the academia at the everyday life. It has become a hot topic in all the social sciences and humanities. The media and the general populace pick it up. NABO receives a lot of requests from groups in the Basque Country willing to perform in the United States. In 2002, at the Los Banos convention meeting, “Pierre [Etcharren, president of NABO] asked for a committee chairman to oversee the correspondence he receives from people in the Basque Country looking for connections here (Convention 2002 meeting minutes, Los Banos)”.²¹⁹

We thus can discern different steps in the evolution of the making of the Basque American identity. First step, with the institutionalization of Basque festivals and the increasing number of Basque Clubs, a sense of dual identity is emphasized, Basque and American, in the different communities. Then, second step with NABO, is a sense of “we Basque Americans” regardless of the old country regional barriers and what community they are from in the United States. And the third step, that is still in the making, and that NABO contributes a lot to, is “we Basques of the diaspora”. Contacts are now made with Basques in Mexico and Canada, some contacts with Argentina. “NABO is promoting “American Basque” but also “International Basque”. We need to be a part of the whole system of all Basques in the world”, said Nancy Trevino, the 2007 secretary of the North American Basque Organizations, Inc.²²⁰

²¹⁷ In 2007, the castle is still in the renovation phase, but when it is done, three associations working with the Basque diaspora will work from there (Zortzi Probintziak, Euskal Argentina, Eusko Sare), and the castle will also host families from the Basque diaspora visiting the Basque Country.

²¹⁸ Interview with William Douglass in Reno.

²¹⁹ NABO Archives, minutes.

²²⁰ Interview with Nancy Trevino in Buffalo, Wyoming.



NABO's activities

(04)

main

The main activities undertaken by NABO are, in chronological order, pelota, music, Music Camp, the Calendar, and Kantari Eguna. I will dedicate one part to each of these.

PELOTA

We have seen how in the years 1976-1977-1978, pelota was a driving force to attract new clubs to NABO, all of them Californian clubs: Chino, Los Angeles and La Puente. If we add to this list the other clubs with access to a handball court such as San Francisco, Elko, or Boise, it immediately strikes us how besides the last two Basque communities mentioned, the rest are composed of a majority population of French Basques. Indeed, when looking at the people in charge of pelota (pelota chairmen) in NABO over the years, –Frantxoa Bidaurreta, François Pedeflous, Jean Leon Oçafrain, Maurice Negueloua– we can observe that they are all men, and mostly from the immigrant generation (Maurice Negueloua was born in San Francisco of French Basque father and U.S. born mother). “The Basque immigrants who arrived during the 1950s and 1960s included a fair number of pelota enthusiasts who kept up interest in the sport (Zubiri, 2006, p. 4)”, and passed it on to their children.

Brief History of Pelota in the Western United States.

The information included in the book *Historia de la Pelota Vasca en las Americas* has the advantage of offering an interesting article written by Carmelo Urza, “Historia de la Pelota Vasca en los Estados Unidos”²²¹. Urza, with reason, states how the history of pelota in the United States is intrinsically related to the Basque hotels. The first mention of a hotel with a fronton in the first Basque newspaper, published in Los Angeles and in Basque language, *Escualdun Gazeta*, dates to 1880: Hotel France in Los Angeles. The game usually played by the emigrants (all men) was handball. Then the author counts at least five private handball courts. 1) Miguel Arburua’s fronton in his ranch close to Los Banos. It was built in the 1880s, and was a meeting place for Basques in the area. 2) One at Bastanchury’s ranch in California in 1913, close to Fullerton. 3) Jean Urruty’s fronton in Grand Junction, in his ranch. Urruty was originally from Donazarre –Saint-Jean-le-Vieux in French– in Lapurdi and arrived in the United States in 1925 to herd sheep. In 1978, when he was told that the Basque club could not use the high school court to play handball,



Mountain Home, Idaho pelota court before its recent restoration, photo by Richard Lane (Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

Jordan Valley, Oregon pelota court before its recent restoration (Basque Library of the University of Nevada).



angry, he decided to build his own court and baptized it “Plaza Urrutia”. He was 75 years old. 4) Urza provides some information about the one in Upland, CA. 5) There used to be one in Wyoming, in the 1920s, on the land of John Esponda. 6) It seems that only one fronton was built in Oregon, Jordan Valley, in 1915. Young Basque immigrants built it and the fronton was later proclaimed Historical Monument in 1997.²²² 7) Michael Bidart built a fronton on his property in 1981. 8) The owner of the only trinquet in the United States is Xavier Aphessetche in Chino.²²³ 9) The Campos brothers from Navarre also built a fronton in their property in Caruthers, close to Fresno, California in the 1980s.

221 Urza, Carmelo. 1994. *Historia de la Pelota Vasca en Las Americas*, Donostia: Elkar. A labor undertaken by Martin Minaberry. It is a compilation of articles written by several authors about this sport in various American countries, from Argentina to the United States. Minaberry was one of the founders of the “Confederación Panamericana de Pelota Vasca” and he was the president of this same organization when he proposed the idea to the Basque Government and started working on this book project. The Basque Government granted it through NABO (1990 grant). Delegates of each national federation were asked to write a paper on the history of the sport in their respective country. 10 countries did turn something in. The Basque Studies Program helped in the elaboration of the book with Carmelo Urza in charge.

222 The court was restored in 1997, and inaugurated in September 1997 with an attendance of 1,500 people. The festivities were repeated in 2003.

223 But there used to be at least two more in California, in Richmond and in Los Angeles. Frantxoa Bidaurreta remembers that the players who participated in the 1978 Pelota Championship in Biarritz (Lapurdi) practiced in the trinquet in Los Angeles.



Plaza Urrutia pelota court in Grand Junction, Colorado, with its builder, Jean Urruty (Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

Various Basque clubs also built a fronton. Some clubs use the frontons that still remain up in the hotels (example of Chino, Centro Vasco Hotel). In Boise, the club does not have its fronton, but in 1972, an old fronton was renovated and made available to the people to play pelota, after 35 years of silence. Elko (in this case, even before the construction of the Basque House), Bakersfield, San Francisco built their own court. Jesus Lopategui from Elko explained that there used to be a fronton in a Basque hotel (Telescope Hotel) up until 1950.²²⁴ Then in the 1970s, a group of pelota lovers contacted the city with the plan to build a public fronton. The city was willing to donate the land (City Park) if they could gather the money. A check of \$25,000 came from Madrid via a supportive consul general in San Francisco; two local Basque contractors donated their labor toward the construction of the fronton in 1975. In San Francisco, in 1966, a place to play pelota was found, and after a long discussion with the city, the permission to build a Basque style fronton was granted at the Helen Wills Playground on Broadway and Larkin, in 1971. But in 1979, the city of San Francisco tore the fronton down to build condominiums next to the playground and the Basques were once again left without a place to play pelota. That was when the idea to build a cultural center, a place which Basques could call their *etxe*, or home, finally –it was not a new

²²⁴ Interview with Jesus Lopategui from Elko, in Reno.



Pelota court in Boise (photo taken in 2006 by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).



Xavier Aphessetche's trinquet in Chino, California (University of Nevada, Reno, Basque Library).

*Private fronton in Caruthers,
near Fresno, California
pertaining to the Campos
family* (photo by Argitxu
Camus Etchecopar).



idea—germinated. The San Francisco Basque Cultural Center built in 1982 is composed of a handball court, a banquet hall, offices, meeting rooms and a restaurant. In 1987, the Kern County Basque Club built a fronton by their club house, and baptized it Gure Amentsa.²²⁵ In the case of La Puente the building of the fronton in 1948 preceded the creation of the club: La Puente Handball Court.

Historic courts in Jordan Valley (Oregon) and Mountain Home (Idaho, in 2001) have been restored recently. The fronton in Grand Junction Colorado, Plaza Urrutia, has also been proclaimed Historic monument.²²⁶

In 1973 in Las Vegas and in 1978 in Reno the MGM Grand Hotel opened cesta punta courts (known as jai alai in the United States), following the already established ones of Miami, Florida and Hartford, Connecticut as a new attraction for the spectators to bet on. They both closed in the early 1980s.

²²⁵ Our Dream.

²²⁶ The city of Grand Junction wanted to tear it down in order to build a parking lot, but the local Basques reacted, as did other Basques from other areas by sending letters to the city of Grand Junction. It was proclaimed Historic Monument around 2000.

The U.S. Federation of Pelota and NABO

There exist different levels of federations of pelota around the world. The highest level is represented by the Federación Internacional de Pelota Vasca (FIPV) based in Donosti-San Sebastián. There also is the Federation Française de Pelote Basque (FFPB) in France, the Confederación Panamericana de Pelota created in 1982, and the United States Federation of Pelota (USFP). In this chapter, we will direct our attention to the last one mentioned. In December 2006, a new organization was founded in Bilbo (Bizkaia), Munduko Pilota Batzarra²²⁷ comprising various pelota federations around the world, including NABO and represented by Frantxoa Bidaurreta.

In 1978, NABO affiliated with the United States Amateur Jai Alai Association (USJAA) and took part in the International Pelota Championship in Biarritz. During that very first participation, NABO felt a lack of organization as well as communication between the two associations. “NABO expressed at the time that a true National Federation of Pelota should shelter and stimulate other varieties of pelota games beyond Cesta Punta. They brought that point to the FIPV through the French Federation of Pelote Basque [the president was Maurice Abeberry at the time]”.²²⁸ In October 1981 the FIPV organized a meeting in Mexico City where Juan Maisteguy (president of the USJAA) and several NABO delegates were present (during the International Championship). At that meeting, Maisteguy suggested that the FIPV nominate Jacques Unhassobiscay as coordinator to unify and gather together the different associations of pelota in the U.S.

As a consequence, Unhassobiscay called a meeting in Miami, Florida inviting the directors of the different pelota associations in the United States. Pedro Bacallao (Frontenis delegate in Miami), arranged the meeting for December 19, 1981. The president and the executive director of the USJAA, Mr. Grosberg, did not come. Those present were: The Frontenis delegate in Miami, Pedro Bacallao, the president of NABO, François Pedeflous, NABO pelota chairman, Frantxoa Bidaurreta, president and pelota chairman in Chino, Pettan Aphessette, and NABO’s delegate to international relations, Jacques Unhassobiscay. Pedro Bacallao represented the following associations: the U.S. Athletic Fronton Association: New York and Miami; the South West Association: Dallas and Phoenix. These two associations are organized for the “frontenis” and “paleta goma”. The frontenis associations took part in the 1970, 1974, 1978 International Championships, with Pedro Bacallao in charge of it since 1968. NABO explained that they have “bare hand”²²⁹ (or handball) players for fronton and trinquet, and some potential players in Pala-Cuera. They unanimously adopted the project of

227 Carlos Lasa leads the organization and the current president of the Euskadi Federation of Pelota, Txema Aldamiz, is the treasurer.

228 Miami meeting report by Jacques Unhassobiscay: December 19, 1981. NABO archives, “Pelota”.

229 “Bare hand” is the literal translation of the Basque word, “esku huska.”

230 “March 20th, 1982 meeting report by Martin Minaberry”. NABO archives, “pelota”.

creating a federation that would unite the existing associations but would continue to organize their own activities. Then Bacallao took the NABO representatives on a tour of the various pelota facilities in Miami. All the people representing NABO paid their own way to Florida. Back in San Francisco, Unhassobiscay called the representative of the USJAA, Grosberg –who was not present at the first meeting– but who assured him of his cooperation in the realization of the project.

The founding meeting of the USFP was held March 20th, 1982²³⁰ at the Sheraton River House in Miami. The sponsoring organization was the Federación Internacional de Pelota Vasca (FIPV), represented by its president, Jesus Iriondo and with all the U.S. pelota associations represented. The people present were: Jesus Iriondo (President FIPV), Pedro Bacallao (President U.S. Athletic Fronton Association), Robert Grosberg, Fred Pettit, Haward Kabek (USJAA association), Juan Maisteguy (President USAJAA), Frantxo Bidaurreta (pelota chairman, NABO), Pettan Aphessetche (President, pelota chairman Chino), Martin Minaberry (President Basque Club San Francisco), Jacques Unhassobiscay (NABO delegate to International Public Relations), and François Pedeflous (president of NABO). They decided on the official name of the federation, “United States Federation of Pelota” that would become the official link to the FIPV: “The USFP will be the sole official organization affiliated with the Federación



U.S. pelota players and delegation at the 1978 Pelota World Championship held in Biarritz (courtesy of Victor Esain).



Ramon Zugazaga from Elko (right) and Beñat Arduain from Bakersfield (left) in 1981 in Mexico City during the Mini Pelota Championships (they both participated as players). Courtesy of Janet Inda.

Internacional de Pelota Vasca. It will be as well the only way to obtain the right to compete in the future international games. These associations retain their own integrity and equally participate in the USFP (March 20, 1982, meeting report)". Any other regional association which practices pelota (any specialty) would be able to apply in the future to affiliate with the USFP. "All affiliated associations must abide by the rules and regulations sent by the U.S. Federation of Pelota (meeting report)". Unhassobiscay was elected president and he was given the possibility of selecting the board members for this first year. Hence the composition of the board was as follows: Two vice-presidents, Bacallao and Pedeflous, Grossberg as treasurer (he first declined the position of first vice-president), Martin Minaberry secretary, with the rest of the people present as directors of the board. They added the vice-president of the Southwest Frontenis association of Dallas, William Troth, as director. They decided to meet yearly and to set up the membership dues to \$250 in order to cover the normal operating expenses. They "also discussed the importance of taking advantage of the world games in Mexico, Oct. 12-24 1982 to establish a continental link between the countries from North and South America and try to improve solidarity in the participation of the American continent in the next world games (meeting report)".

The ten official games played in the International competitions are the following: Jai-Alai, Paleta cuera fronton, Paleta cuera trinquet, Paleta goma fronton (frontenis), Paleta goma trinquet, Pala corta fronton, Pala larga fronton, Mano (handball) fronton, Mano (handball) trinquet, Sare trinquet.

Here again, the officers believed strongly in the worth of an association like that to keep the pelota sport strong in the United States, and they showed it –and still do it– by their generous financial commitment to it. François Pedeflous paid from his pocket to get the material needed (\$1,500) the first year. The dues were raised to \$300 because of a deficit in the financial balance (1982-1983) that were covered by Minaberry and Unhassobiscay. In 1984, they had a positive balance thanks to Pedeflous' donation of \$2,000 and an \$800 donation from the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center. The players taking part in the International Championship, if not sponsored by their local club, had (and still have) to pay their own way. In 1993, the membership dues were raised to \$600. In 1984, Unhassobiscay left the United States to live in the Basque Country and Pedeflous became president (and stayed president until 1999). Frantxo Bidaurreta was elected the new president in 1999 and Richard Troth²³¹ in 2004.



2006 NABO pelota finals in Fresno (Caruthers), first (Chino) and second place (San Francisco) in handball (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar)

The International Championships are held every four years and NABO has been sending players since 1978 through the USFP. According to Carmelo Urza, the U.S. has been represented since 1962 in the International Championships. The players from the U.S. have won a few medals, like Sauveur Bidart from Aldude (who lived in Bakersfield at the time) in Trinquet in 1978, and cesta punta medals in 1982 and 1986. During the two championships for youngsters, in Montevideo in 1984 and in France in 1988, the U.S. won four bronze medals.²³² In 2006, the U.S. also won two bronze medals in Mexico City in the handball specialty: Xavier Oçafrain and Tony Uharte.

In 1978, the World Championship was held in Biarritz and a team of twelve players from NABO participated in left wall and trinquet specialties. In 1981, several players from the Western United States participated in the Mini Mundials –or Mini International Championship– in Mexico City, and quite a few supporters went with them. Janet Inda, NABO president from 1979 to 1981, went, as well as Catherine and Pierre Goyenetche, and Guillaume Idiola from San Francisco. For that occasion, as they did in the past, the American delegation (coaches and officials) wore navy blue sport jackets, grey pants, light blue shirts, and navy blue ties with very small white dots. As Janet Inda (first woman official) was also going, she was asked to wear a grey skirt, a blue shirt and jacket; she could but did not have to wear a tie. From the 16 through the 23rd of October 1983, San Francisco hosted the Mini Mundials. Amateur teams from Spain, France, the United States and Mexico competed.²³³

The youngsters (under 22 years old) that participated in the Uruguay tournament in 1984 were: Johny Plaa from Mira Loma, California, Jean Michel Indaburu from Chino, Paul Sallaberria from Chino, Joseph Berterreche from Chino, Marcel Etcheverry from San Francisco, Emile Goyenetche from Pacifica, California.

In 1988, the USFP brought four professional players to the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center as a fundraiser event for the young players to go to the World Championship in Paris in September: Joxean Tolosa, Pampi Laduche played against Ignacio Tolosa and Juan Mari Etxenagusia. They raised \$1,809. Three players from

²³² Urza, Carmelo. *Op.cit.*

²³³ The detailed program of the event: Opening ceremonies: October 15th and 16th. Guests of honor: the consuls of France, Spain and Mexico. As well as a representative of the Federación Internacional de Pelota Vasca, José Ignacio Elorza. Program of the opening ceremonies: Flag dance, welcome by Unhassobiscay, president of the U.S. Federation of Pelota. 3 pm game opposing Philippe Carricart/G erard Dubois, to Albert Escos/Bernard Inchauspe. Then dinner and dance provided by the Negueloua brothers.

The next day, Sunday, Lunch, followed by the performance of the Spanish Dance company, and the first game of the tournament at 4pm. Jean Pierre Diribarne and Daniel Mutuberria will be playing from France: they won in Mexico City in 1982. They beat Spain, which had not lost in thirty years!

Basque Spanish and Mexican ethnic music will be performed each evening before the games. Rosa Montoya's Bailes Flamencos, Ballet Regional Mexicano and the Zazpiak Bat dancers and musicians. With a diner served before the games. The same program, daily, Monday through Friday (October 17th to 21). Dinner 6pm (10 dollars tickets), games 7:30 (7.50 dollars). NABO Archives, "Pelota".

²³⁴ Before that, in 1968, after the pelota championships in Mexico, players from the French Federation went to San Francisco and played. In 1972 again, two players came to the United States and played in various places of the West.

²³⁵ The players were Bereo, Maitia, Etcheto, Acheritogaray, Dolats and Itarregoi, with their coach Jean Etcheverry. See pictures of the players and the games in San Francisco in *Voice of the Basques*, October 1975, p.7.

Chino went to Paris and played in the trinquet specialty, three from San Francisco participated in the left wall specialty and two from Bakersfield for pelota goma.

As mentioned in the previous part, from 1976 on, NABO has organized an inter-club tournament in a rotating basis (See index for the list of the locations by year). In the 2006 NABO pelota finals held in Caruthers, California (near Fresno), they had category A and B handball and pala players (single and double), as well as the veteran category. For the first time, the organizers also included the youngster handball finals.

Relations with the Basque Country

In 1971, the French champions toured the U.S. and played against players in La Puente, Chino, Bakersfield, Fresno and San Francisco, invited by the San Francisco Basque Club.²³⁴ In 1975, the six best players of the FFPB²³⁵ toured the United States again and started a tradition that would end in 1993, the FFPB sending players every



Pelota players and delegation sent by the French Federation of Basque Pelote to the United States in 1971 (Courtesy of François Pedeflous).

two years. They arrived on October 2, 1975 in San Francisco, toured the Reno area for two days, and went back to San Francisco to attend the NABO meeting on October 4, 1975. The players also went to Elko and played in the newly-built fronton.²³⁶

From the year 1977 on, the NABO handball chairman was the one to be in charge of coordinating that tour. In 1977, the expenses were taken care of by the FFPB with a \$500 commitment from each hosting club, and the expenses of the players covered by them while in the United States. In 1979, the local clubs could not financially participate in the players' travel expenses, and divided them in two groups, six players going south and five players going north. In 1981 again, the players came in September and stopped by the following locations: Chino, Bakersfield, Fresno, San Francisco, Reno (at the MGM), Winnemucca, and Elko. A report (in French) was given to the French Federation of Basque Pelota, by Pascal Pochelu, the person in charge of the delegation of players sent to the United States, in September 1981. He gives a detailed description of the tour, the places they went to, the people they played with, their impressions, the people who helped them, the analysis of pelota in each community they went to. At the end he emphasizes that the French Federation needs to keep working with NABO by sending a specialist to teach the children in the United States.²³⁷

Le temps mis à rédiger ce compte-rendu a permis à mon esprit de se rappeler du côté enthousiasmant et merveilleux d'après séjour pour réfléchir et aller à l'essentiel de l'échange FFPB-NABO.

Ce rapport que je désire le plus objectif possible sans aucune critique créative mais fait de simples constatations et de réflexions personnelles pourra peut-être servir de base de départ pour des échanges plus approfondis avec la NABO, ou tout simplement en vue du prochain voyage d'une nouvelle délégation en Californie.

Tout d'abord, si la défection d'Etchegaray a surpris tout le monde, personne n'en a tenu rigueur; et cette absence décevante pour nos hôtes, étant donné la qualité sportive du joueur attendu et remplacé par un joueur quasiment inconnu d'eux, personne n'en a souffert pendant tout le séjour.

A) Aspect sportif

Je dois remercier et féliciter les joueurs qui ont donné le meilleur d'eux-mêmes partout et dans toutes les parties. La composition des équipes a été faite suivant les desiratas de nos hôtes, la décision finale me revenant.

Ils ont eu à cœur de se préparer physiquement: ainsi avons-nous fait du footing à Chino, Bakersfield, San Francisco, sauf a la dernière étape a Elko (fatigue, saturation, déconcentration?). Nous avons toujours été reconnaître les frontons avant les rencontres.

²³⁶ They had inaugurated it the July before.

²³⁷ NABO archives, "pelota".

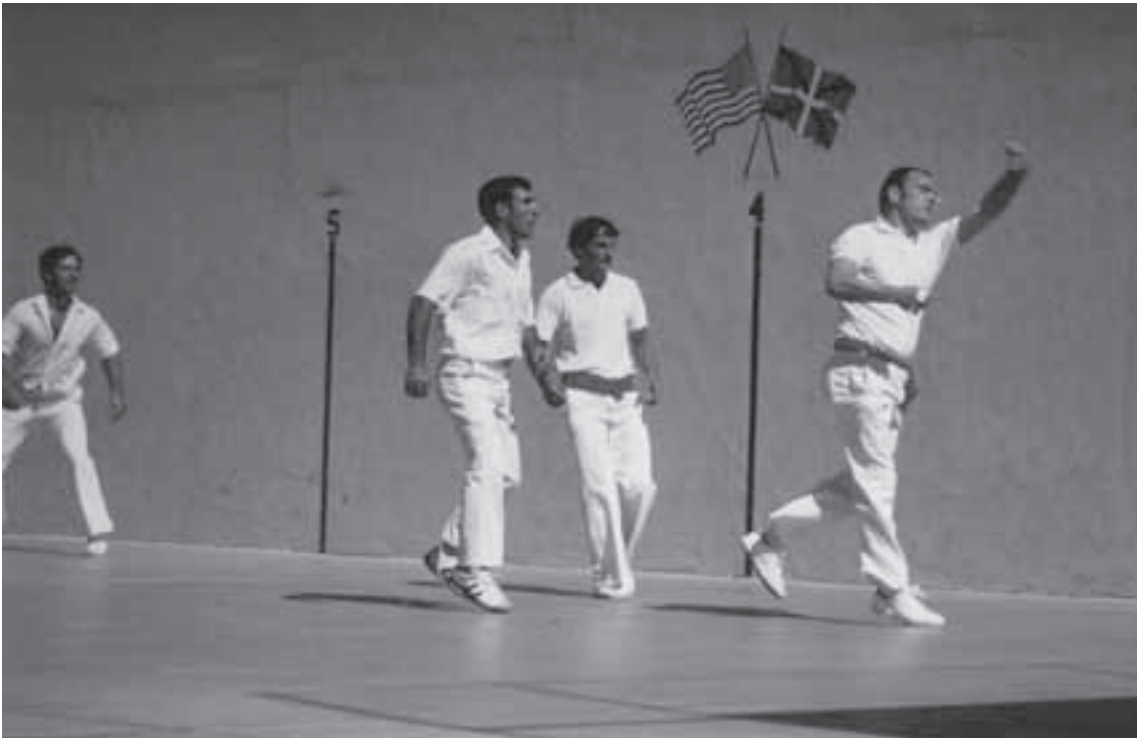
Nous avons joué suivant le souhait de nos hôtes:

A Chino, au fronton si particulier: 3 équipes de chez nous contre trois équipes du club. Lambert-Fordin, puis Diribarne-Durruty, et enfin Sanzberro-Urruty. Puis nous avons inauguré semi officiellement puisqu'il n'était pas terminé le trinquet de Xavier Aphessetche. Je [not clear] sous silence le défi pour l'honneur de Lambert seul contre les frères [not clear] et Xavier Aphessetche.

A Bakersfield, sur un joli mur à gauche réglementaire mais sans mur d'errebot, Sanzberro-Lambert ont rencontré Ardoain et Amedée Irely, puis Durruty-Urruty Diribarne-Fordin.

Nous avons fait honneur également au vieux fronton particulier de Noriega surnommé le « poulailler ». Sanzberrot-Lambert contre Arrayet-Melchior, puis Sanzberro-Irely contre Diribarne-Duhart et enfin Vidaurreta-Durruty contre Ardoian-Melchior.

Seuls Urruty, arrachement de l'ongle à la partie du dimanche précédent et Fordin, un bleu à la main gauche n'ont pas joué afin d'être en état pour faire honneur aux parties du dimanche suivant à San Francisco. La suite a montré que j'avais eu raison.



Pelota players at the Elko pelota court in 1977, photo by Richard Lane (Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

J'avais d'ailleurs noté pour cette après-midi de Noriega sur mon cahier de bord « après-midi sportive peu intéressante, chambrée plus que confidentielle. De plus ils (nos hôtes) ne savaient pas comment constituer les équipes. »

A San Francisco, dans un mur à gauche très rapide, aux normes internationales, très belle partie de Durruty-Urruty et Diribarne-Lambert devant un nombreux public de connaisseurs. Puis Sanzberro-Fordin se sont facilement défait à l'équipe de San Francisco manquant nettement de compétition, l'ancien fronton étant démoli et le nouveau n'étant ouvert officieusement que ce dimanche-là.

Le mardi suivant, partie amicale mixte pour le plaisir de jouer de Ganich Iriartborde-Durruty contre Fordin-Cordova.

Sur la route d'Elko, halte à Reno ou nous jouons au MGM devant une trentaine de personnes. Sanzberro-Diribarne jouent contre Lambert-Urruty tandis que pour nous amuser un peu je joue avec Fordin contre F. Bidaurreta et Durruty.

Elko: petit mur a gauche bas et court. Fordin et Sanzberro jouent chacun avec un joueur d'Elko puis ensemble contre deux autres. Partie malheureusement sans aucune opposition devant pas même dix spectateurs.



Luncheon after the opening ceremonies of the 1981 Mini Pelota Championship. The members of the U. S. delegation present in the picture are Frank Maitia, Janet Inda, François Pedeflous, and Jacques Unhassobiscay (courtesy of Janet Inda).

[Not clear] ils rejouent tandis que Durruty-Urruty jouent contre Diribarne-Lambert, la moins belle de toutes les prestations (fatigue, fronton particulier, public inexistant, démobilisation? Un peu tout cela!)

Les joueurs n'ont pas cédé à la tentation de jouer pour de l'argent. Ils ont joué pour le plaisir et pour l'honneur. Ils ont fait étalage de toutes leurs qualités et leur savoir faire. Chez eux, pas d'esprit de vedette. Tout le monde a accepté de jouer avec tout le monde.

Face à des frontons et trinquets variés, heureusement que l'équipe était constituée d'éléments jeunes polyvalents s'adaptant rapidement et capables de jouer en trinquet, fronton ou mur à gauche!

B) Installations sportives et pratiques de la pelote.

Partout nous avons rencontré des joueurs de qualité mais malheureusement d'un certain âge: heureusement il y a des écoles de pelote et ils ont construit trinquet et mur à gauche aux normes internationales.

Chino: ce fronton si spécial a fait que deux équipes de chez nous ont peiné pour venir a bout de deux équipes du club. L'école de pelote marche très bien sous la houlette du président Pettan Aphessette. Il y a des enfants de 8 a 17 ans, le fils du président, Indaburu, Plaa, Tristan Berterrette. Le trinquet de Xavier doit leur permettre de jouer correctement en trinquet tandis qu'il faudrait qu'ils pratiquent le mur à gauche (à défaut de fronton réglementaire) au mur à gauche de Mike Bidart. Ils prennent trop de défauts dans celui de Chino.

Bakersfield: dans un club avec cafétéria, salles de réunions, malheureusement ouvert que le samedi et le dimanche, il manque le mur du fond pour avoir un fronton réglementaire. L'école de pelote (des enfants de 8 a 14 ans, il n'y en a pas de plus âgés qui jouent a la pelote) est assurée par Jeannot Arrayet remplaçant Amédée Irey du temps ou Frank Maitia était président. Ici aussi quelques noms dont on entendra bientôt parler, Dalia, le fils du président Currutchague, Iribarren, Iriart.

San Francisco: les choses ont été bien faites. Un fronton mur à gauche couvert aux normes internationales, gradins de 600 places, douches individuelles, collectives, deux salles de massage, 2 sauna, cafétéria, salles de restaurant, salles de réunions. Le sol et le mur sont très rapides. Le fronton sera officiellement et complètement en activité d'une manière quotidienne dans un an (inauguration à l'occasion des championnats du monde à Mexico).

Il y a à San Francisco une sacrée équipe de dirigeants et de « mordus » pour s'attaquer a une œuvre de 600 millions anciens sans aucune aide de l'Etat seulement avec l'aide matérielle et financière de particuliers basques (320). Ils se nomment J. M. Miura le président, F. Bidaurreta pour la partie pelote, A. Larre pour l'encadrement de l'école de pelote (c'est lui qui a formé le jeune Etcheverry que beaucoup se disputent l'été quand il vient en France) et enfin l'actif des actifs, le public relation de la NABO, le bon et sympathique J. Unhassobiscay.



Beñat Arduain and Amédée Irej (left) with their French opponents (right), François Pedeflous taking the picture in the 1981 mini Pelota Championship in Mexico City (courtesy of Janet Inda).

A Reno on ne joue pas à la pelote, ni à Winnemucca; mais il faut cependant rendre hommage à Janet Inda, vice-présidente de la NABO, ne comprenant pas le basque, bien qu'étant de souche basque et mariée à un basque [...] qui œuvre tant à fin que se perpétuent au Nevada toutes les traditions du Pays Basque. Il en est de même de Mike Olano à Winnemucca. Malheureusement nous n'y avons passé qu'une nuit et il m'est impossible d'en parler plus longuement.

Elko, très jolie ville, on joue encore à la pelote mais le niveau est très faible, mais plus grave, il n'y a pas d'école de pelote, pas d'enfants qui jouent à la pelote. Ici comme ailleurs les enfants dans le cadre de l'école sont très sollicités par le baseball et le rugby américain. Les parents suivent le mouvement. Je rends également hommage au président et responsable Nick Fagoaga qui a fait tout son possible pour bien nous recevoir. Voilà un bastion qu'il ne faut pas abandonner mais au contraire aider, encourager.

C) [Hospitalité?]

Elle a été impeccable partout, du premier jour jusqu'au dernier, du premier instant à la dernière seconde. Bien sûr je mets à part la séquence de l'avion lors de notre retour. A aucun moment nous nous sommes sentis perdus, isolés, abandonnés.

a) Les gens

Jamais nous n'avons eu le sentiment d'être à la charge ou bien de trop. Les gens nous ont toujours reçus comme un membre de leur famille. Jamais nous n'avons eu l'impression d'être à l'étranger. Nous avons l'impression d'être au pays au milieu des connaissances de toujours. Chaque fois qu'on a eu besoin de quelque chose, nous avons trouvé une oreille attentive qui nous a aidé au-delà de nos espérances: timbres, achats dans les magasins, téléphone, changement d'itinéraire...

A Chino la colonie basque est un mélange de basque français et basque espagnols, la langue utilisée est le basque labourdin et le français.

Il en est de même à Bakersfield.

A San Francisco, les basques français sembleraient dominer.

A Reno, Winnemucca, Elko, la majorité est constituée par des basques espagnols et la langue utilisée est le Biscayen et l'espagnol.

b) Le linge

Spontanément, nos hôtes, en quelque endroit que ce soit nous ont proposé de laver tout notre linge [...].

c) Visite

Elles ont été intéressantes tour a tour. Nous sommes revenus émerveillés de tout ce que nous avons vu tant et si bien que revenus ici, nous ne savions que dire de la Californie et surtout comment le dire: les mots manquaient dans la bouche. Cependant, nous n'avons pas toujours été à la hauteur de ce que l'on nous proposait. Surtout les lendemain des parties officielles, qu'il y avait eu fête et que la nuit avait été courte: peut-être que, si nos successeurs nous ressemblent, faudrait-il mieux envisager une journée de repos, de détente libre pour écrire, faire les magasins, ou tout simplement récupérer.

d) Ce que j'ai dit

Tout d'abord un grand merci à nos hôtes.

Aux responsables de la NABO. François Pedeflous, président de la NABO qui n'a épargné ni son temps ni son argent pour nous suivre partout, du jour de notre arrivée à notre départ. Jacques Unhassobiscay, le public relation de la NABO qui de près et de loin nous a accompagné durant tout notre séjour.

Aux présidents des sociétés, Pettan Aphessetche pour Chino, Jean Pierre Dalia et sa charmante épouse Loly pour Bakersfield, Jean Marie Miura et Frantxo Bidaurreta pour San Francisco, Janet Inda pour Reno, Mike Olano pour Winnemucca, Mike Fagoaga pour Elko.

Aux nombreuses familles, personnes, restaurateurs qui nous ont tous très, très bien reçus. Il serait difficile d'en nommer quelques uns et pas les autres. Cependant nous devons un grand merci à Xavier Aphessetche. La famille Mocho, Plaa, Saint-Jean, Gastelluberry pour l'attention toute particulière dont ils nous ont entouré. Nous n'oublierons personne. Nous serions heureux de les recevoir à notre tour lorsqu'ils viendront en France. Il faudra nous le faire savoir.

Partout nous avons eu l'impression d'être au Pays Basque. Ces fêtes avec txistu, clique, danse basque, ces gens qui assistaient.

[...]

Ils méritent de recevoir des joueurs de qualité.

La FFPB est prête à les aider, après l'envoi d'un conseiller technique pendant les vacances. Par l'accueil en France de leurs meilleurs joueurs des écoles de pelote en stage pendant les vacances d'été.

[...]

En un mot ils veulent établir des relations sérieuses avec la FFPB. Battons le fer tant qu'il est chaud.

Voilà, Messieurs les Membres du Comité Directeur de la FFPB, le compte rendu de la délégation que vous m'aviez confié. J'espère avoir été digne de confiance et avoir œuvré avec mon groupe de pelotaris pour le bien de la pelote basque à travers le monde.²³⁸

²³⁸ I translate here the main ideas developed in this report (it is not a literal translation):

Etchegaray's injury was deceiving for our hosts in the United States but nobody was angry about it.

A) From a sportive point of view

He congratulates the players that have given the best of themselves during the tour. The players would always prepare themselves physically before the games in each location, with the exception of Elko (fatigue, saturation, deconcentration?). The French players played according to the hosts' will.

- In Chino, they played in a peculiar handball court: Lambert-Fordin, Diribarne-Durruty, and Sanzberro-Durruty. They also played in the trinquet owned by Xavier Aphessetche (semi officially as it was still under construction). Lambert played alone against the Aphessetche brothers.
- In Bakersfield, they played in a nice fronton built in the norms, but with no back wall. Sanzberro-Lambert played against Ardoain-Irey, then Durruty-Urruty against Diribarne-Fordin. They also played in the Noriega old fronton called "chicken house". Only Urruty and Fordin did not play in Bakersfield due to small injuries, in order to be ready for the coming encounter the following Sunday in San Francisco.
- In San Francisco: fast fronton, with left wall, in international norms, beautiful game of Durruty-Urruty and Diribarne-Lambert, in front of many people. Then Sanzberro-Fordin easily won the San Francisco team lacking competition.
- On the way to Elko, they stopped by Reno and played at the MGM in front of thirty people. Sanzberro-Diribarne against Lambert Urruty, then the coach Pascal Pochelu played with Fordin against F. Bidaurreta and Durruty.
- Elko: small left wall, low and short. Less than 10 people in the public.
- Players did not give up to the temptation of playing for money. Everybody accepted to play with everybody.

B) Practice of pelota

- Everywhere have they found players of quality, but of a certain age. Fortunately, in some locations, pelota camps are organized.
- In Chino, they played in a peculiar fronton. Pelota camp in this location works fine, under the direction of Petan Aphessetche.
- Bakersfield: the club there has a Basque house with fronton, meeting rooms and a dining room, which is only open on Saturdays and Sundays. Pelota Camp is under the direction of Jeannot Arrayet (Amédée Irey before him was in charge).

In 1982, the FFPB sent four players (Apeztegui, Escoura, Etchevers, Pulu), with a coach and a substitute to the United States in March and April in order to attend the SFBCB inauguration, March 27-28. In 1983, the players came at the end of September, as usual, and also participated in the Mini Mundials in San Francisco.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the local communities in San Francisco, Chino and Bakersfield organized pelota classes for the children to learn handball. And in 1983, testimony of the increasing contacts with the FFPB, an instructor, Michel Etcheverry from Hazparne (Lapurdi) came to two pelota camps held in San Francisco (August 1 to 13) and in Chino (August 22 to September 1), at the courtesy of the French Federation.

In 1993, the delegation constituted of Noblia, Itoiz, and the two Maite brothers was the last one sent by FFPB to tour the western United States. François Pedeflous advances two reasons for that: the financial burden that the building of the new trinquet in Paris (for the youngster championship in 1988) brought to the federation, and the fact that their main contact all these years, Maurice Abeberry, deceased shortly after.²³⁹ In September 1996, four players from the French side played in San Francisco, but were sent by their own local club and not the FFPB. But in the 1980s and early 1990s, relations between the clubs in the United States and the Euskadi Federation of Pelota increased. Until the mid 1980s, the pelotaris had been exclusively from the French side. After that, the federation of *Euskadi* started sending players more regularly; and after 1993, the situation was reversed.

-
- San Francisco: things are well done. They have a fronton in international norms, a restaurant, meeting rooms. Their pelota court can fit a public of up to 600 people. There is in San Francisco a great team of "addicted" that undertook this amazing project: Miura, Bidaurreta, Larre, Unhassobiscay...
 - In Reno or Winnemucca, people do not play pelota. But some people such as Janet Inda in Reno or Mike Olano in Winnemucca must be mentioned as well for their hard work toward the preservation of Basque culture in the United States.
 - Elko, nice town, people do play pelota but the level is low. But more concerning is the fact that they do not have a pelota camp. In Elko, just like in other places, young people prefer collective American sports such as football. "This is a place we must not abandon, and that we should help and support".
- C) Hospitality
- Hospitality has been wonderful everywhere
- a) The people
 - They have been treated as if they were members of their families.
 - In Chino the Basque colony is a mix of French and Spanish Basques, the languages spoken are Basque from Lapurdi and French.
 - The same in Bakersfield.
 - In Reno, Winnemucca, Elko, the people are mostly from Bizkaia and the languages spoken are Bizkaian Basque and Spanish.
 - b) Laundry
 - c) Visits
 - d) What I have said

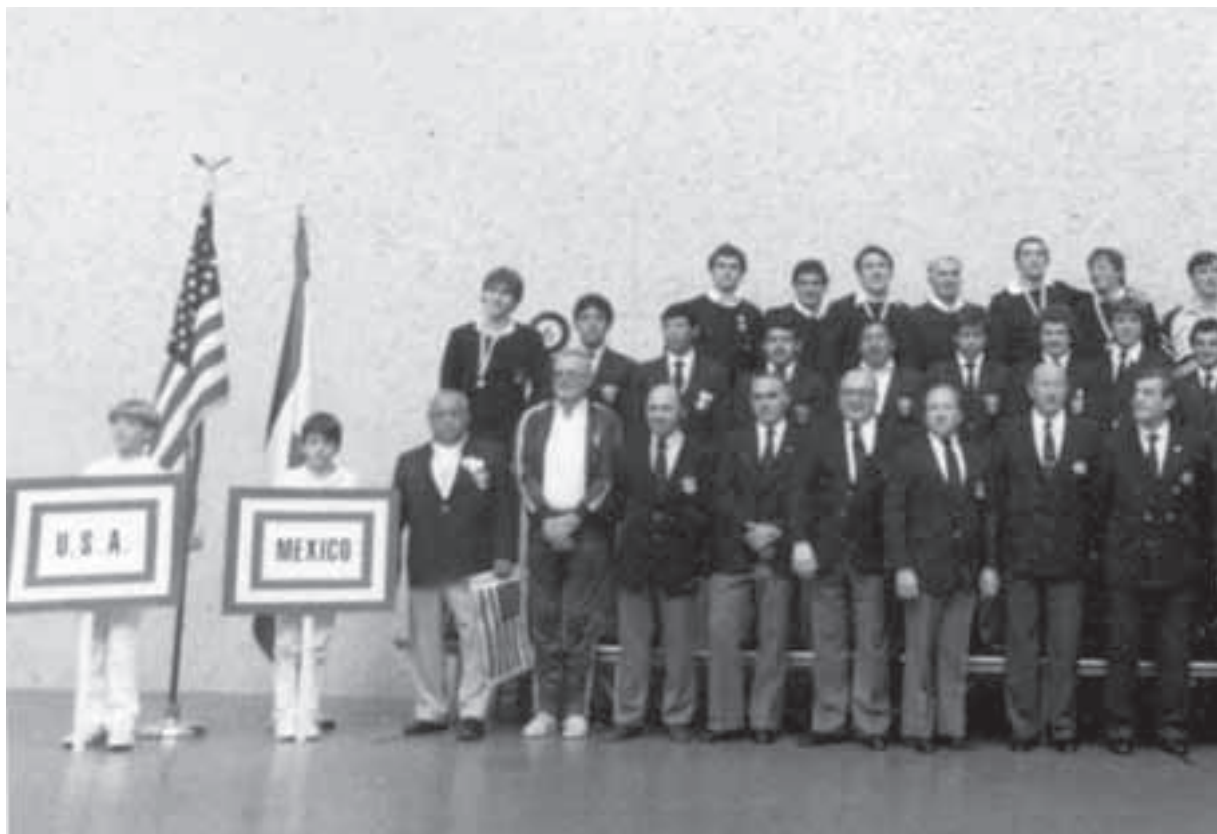
He thanks their hosts. The people in charge of NABO: the president, François Pedeflous and the International Chairman, Jacques Unhassobiscay. He also lists the various presidents of the clubs. He acknowledges the families and the restaurants that have welcomed them.

Everywhere they had the impression to be in the Basque Country. Basques in the United States deserve to receive players of quality.

Basques in the United States want to establish serious relations with the French Federation of Basque Pelota.

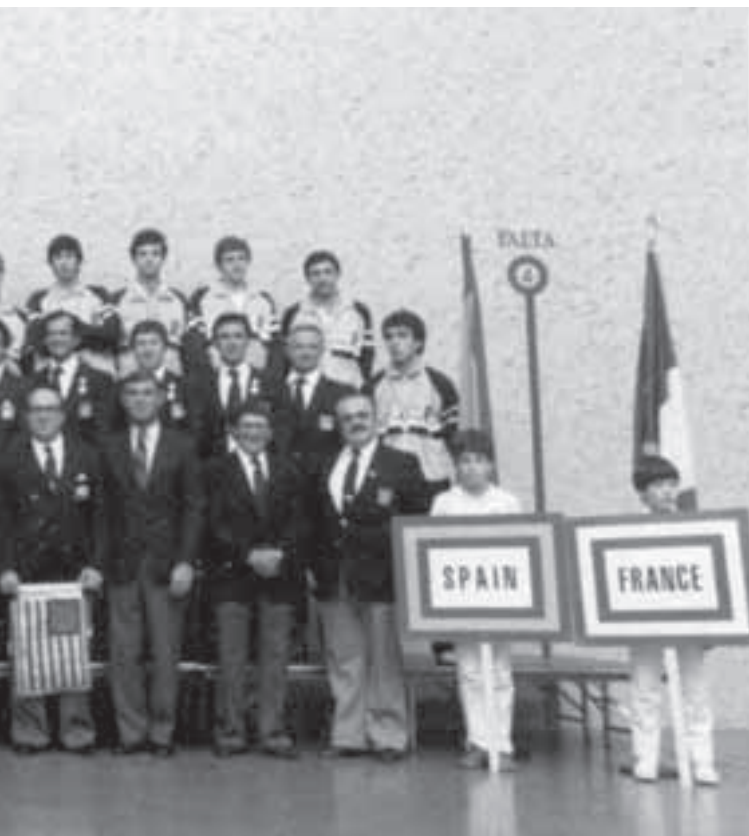
"This is, dear members of the Committee, what I had to report".

239 Telephone conversation with François Pedeflous.



In the minutes of the NABO meeting in January 1983, “François Bidaurreta [...] stated that he is constantly being asked by various individuals why the Spanish ball players do not visit as French players do and the reason NABO does not bring them”. The reason for that was that the French Federation pays the way for their amateur champions as a reward, whereas the Spanish Federation does not, and that NABO does not have the necessary funds to pay the flight expenses. But in 1984, the Spanish Federation of pelota contacted people in Elko telling them that they would send some of their players to their National Basque Festival in July (June 30th to July 2), but giving very short notice. Immediately, Ramon Zugazaga from Elko contacted the handball chairman of NABO at the time, François Pedeflous, to let the other clubs know of their arrival in the summer, and to see if other clubs would be interested in having them. San Francisco received them the weekend of the 7th-10th of July, and Bakersfield the following weekend. The Spanish Federation repeated the offer the next year, marking the beginning of the relations between the NABO clubs and the pelota players in the Southern Basque Country. In 1986, the Basque Federation²⁴⁰ of pelota sent four players with Coach Luis Alberdi to tour the United States. Half of their travel expenses were taken care of by the Basque Government. They did not send anybody in 1987. The instructor for the pelota camp in 1993, 1994,

240 In 1986, the Federation of Euskadi is organized.



Pelota Championship at the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center in 1983 (courtesy of Bernadette Iribarren).

1997, 1998, Joxean Urzain, was also sent by the Federation of Euskadi. Nowadays, the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center (SFBCC) brings players from the Basque Federation each February for the SFBCC anniversary festival and in September for the fall festival. Bakersfield also brings players for their annual picnic in May. But no homeland players tour the diverse Basque Communities in September/October anymore.

Pelota in the United States Today

Pelota among the Basques suffered a decline in the 1940s, as interest in the sport declined, and as the Basques began scattering. But in the 1960s, the sport experienced a new breath in some locations due to a fair number of pelota enthusiasts that came with the last massive immigration wave in the 1950s and 1960s.

Nowadays, the sport is in decline. Those frontons that were not torn down are now historical monuments, illustrating the decline of the sport. They are not the social places that they once were. In 1990, in *Historia de la Pelota Vasca en las Américas*,



Youth handball league at the NABO 2006 Pelota finals in Caruthers (near Fresno), photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar.

Carmelo Urza wrote that in Chino, about forty players participated in competitions, to whom there had to be added twelve more that played it in an informal way. Most of the players at the time were in their early twenties or thirties, all born in the United States. “Esto contrasta sorprendemente con la figura general del pelotari americano, que tiende a ser nativo del viejo continente y con una edad superior a los cuarenta años (Urza, 1990, p.123)”,²⁴¹ argues Urza. But even in Chino now (2007), just a few Basques keep playing handball. Most of the people that play pelota play pala (wooden racket), and their number is decreasing.

Attempting to stop the gradual decline of the sport, several decisions have been taken by the NABO and USFP directors to try to resolve the problem. First, a new pelota specialty was introduced in the NABO tournaments, pala. Handball is a very physical sport and the harm done to the hand can dissuade quite a few. The USFP, aware of the evolution of the mentalities, made a proposition to the General Assembly of the FIPV in favor of the use of the glove. Young Basque Americans also might tend to be more attracted to collective sports like football and less to individual sports such as pelota.

²⁴¹ Translation: this contrasts with the general figure of the Basque American player that tends to be a native of the Basque Country and over forty years of age.

Moreover, if the USFP started with six pelota members association, nowadays, it only includes NABO and the group in Dallas. Consequently, the U.S. delegation, when going to the different championships does not have any cesta punta players anymore.

When the NABO Music Camp takes place in a location with a fronton facility, the pelota workshop is automatically included. Also, pelota camps are organized every year in some locations such as in San Francisco and in Boise in 2006. NABO with some local clubs strive to keep this part of Basque culture alive in the United States.

Mus

NABO Mus²⁴² Tournament²⁴³

In order for a club to participate in the U. S. national mus tournament, the club has to be a member of NABO. Each club sends one team to the NABO final and also gets to send an additional team for every twenty pairs participating in the local tournament. The winners of the NABO tournament participate in the international one, held in a different country every year, with the travel expenses paid by NABO, and the accommodation expenses by the hosting country. Most of the clubs play mus with 4 kings and 4 aces, with the exception of Boise which plays with 8 kings and 8 aces. Therefore, Boise organizes two tournaments locally, one with 8 kings/aces, and another one with 4 kings/aces in order to participate in the NABO tournament.

In the United States, the mus game is so popular among Basques that often, individuals pay dues in several Basque clubs in order to participate in several tournaments. It is not rare to see people paying dues at five to eight different clubs in order to participate in their local tournament. Moreover, the main activity of some NABO member clubs is mus. Gardnerville is the biggest mus rendezvous of the year, with up to 80 teams participating.²⁴⁴

The mus account is lucrative. Each player pays \$20 to \$25 to play (it varies), and \$10 goes to the NABO mus account. It is important to save money as the hosting country of the international championship spends room and board, plus excursions for the players and coaches during an entire week.

²⁴² The “mus” is a Basque card game.

²⁴³ NABO mus chairmen: John Bastida from Boise (1977), Pierre Etcharren from San Francisco (1978-1981), Jean Baptiste Aguerre from Chino (1981-1983), Pierre Etcharren (1983-2000), and Victor Esain from Fresno (2000 to the present).

²⁴⁴ In 2007, 72 teams participated in the mus tournament in Gardnerville.

In the 1990s, NABO started coordinating an inter-club Junior Mus Tournament. In 1991, five clubs held a junior mus tournament: Boise, Bakersfield, Elko, San Francisco, Gardnerville as well as during Convention in Winnemucca. They repeated this in 1993 as well during the Elko Convention. In 1996, one tournament was put on in southern and northern California, and then they organized a play off. In 1997 and 1998 the NABO Junior Tournament was held during the Bakersfield picnic in May; in 2004 at the Bakersfield Convention, in 2006 in Buffalo, and in 2007 in Winnemucca, organized by Gina Espinal from San Francisco.

Federación Internacional de Mus

The first Mus World Championship was held in 1978 between the Southern part of the Basque Country (France), the Northern part of the Basque Country (Spain) and the United States. It was held in September in Azkaine –Ascaïn in French– (Lapurdi) in conjunction with the Pelota World Championship in Biarritze (Lapurdi).



Mus players at the Reno tournament in 2007. Manuel Villanueva and Juan Brana (wearing hats) won the tournament (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

Pierre Etcharren remembers how everything started. There already existed a championship between France and Spain, coordinated by the Union Basque in Baiona and Unión Artesana in Donosti-San Sebastián (Gipuzkoa). The directors of the Basque Club in San Francisco were contacted by the organizers of the tournament as they had the idea of sending the winners to the United States as a reward (they had done it once before in the 1970s). But Pierre Etcharren came up with another idea: why could not the winners from the United States participate in the tournament as well? Unión Artesana and the Union Basque (with Paul Robert and Louis Dunat in charge) agreed and welcomed the American team (the winners from Bakersfield) and their coach (Pierre Etcharren) in September. Hence, four teams from the Unión Artesana, three teams from Union Basque and one team from NABO competed.

Once in Azkaine, the people in charge of mus in their respective communities met and discussed the future of the tournament and how important it would be to make it really international, with more countries competing. According to Etcharren, Jon Bilbao helped him with the contacts in South America. The next year, 1979, seven countries competed in San Francisco, in conjunction with the big Convention festival of NABO:



Victor Esain, François Fedeflous and Josephine Arriet at the 1987 Fresno mus tournament (courtesy of François Pedeflous).

Chile, Spain, France, Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico, and the United States, represented by Joxe Mallea and Joaquin Lasa. Nowadays, thirteen countries participate in the World Mus Championship.

The Federación Internacional de Mus (FIM) was officially institutionalized in 1980 (September 13th), and the delegates meet once a year during the mus championships in order to change the board of director, standardize the mus rules, and make sure that everything goes smoothly. The president of the FMI is always the person in charge of mus in the country that is going to host it next. Thus, Pierre Etcharren was president in 1986, 1995, and 2001, when the United States (NABO) hosted it. In 2004, in Acapulco (Mexico) Pierre Etcharren received a trophy from the Secretary General of Mus for all his work with mus and for organizing the first international mus tournament in San Francisco in 1979.

In 1981, the Chino-Los Angeles team won the International mus tournament in Mexico City: Peio Berterretche and Dominique Reca.²⁴⁵ France did not send any delegation to the 1982 World Championship held in Buenos Aires, due to some discrepancies with their neighbors of Donostia-San Sebastián. The issue was discussed in the annual



Mus players at the Reno tournament in 2007 (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

meeting held in Buenos Aires, on November 9th, 1982. The French delegation wanted to be presented as “France” and not “Euzkadi Norte (Northern Basque Country)” in the future. In the course of that same meeting, *Euskadi* made the suggestion to change the name of the Championship to “Campeonato Internacional de Mus de las Comunidades Vascas –International Mus Championship of Basque Collectivities–”, and it passed. France was not represented in 1983 either, in the championship held in Chile. But in a letter of May 21, 1984, written by Carlos Lopez from Venezuela (hosting country in 1984) to all the members of the FIM de las Comunidades Vascas, we understand that Euskadi and France have come to an agreement:

Me alegra muchísimo, y supongo que a todos los miembros de la directiva también de que las conversaciones entre la Federación francesa y la vuestra [Euzkadi Sur] hayan llegado a términos felices y que de una vez por todas estemos unidos; hay una salvedad y es que la Federación francesa vendrá representando a Francia y no a Euzkadi Norte. Sobre este punto deberíamos aclarar que el mundial es de Comunidades Vascas, por consiguiente Francia puede venir con su nombre, pero siempre en representación de la comunidad vasca residenciada en ese país.²⁴⁶

World Mus Championships in the United States

In 1986, finalists throughout the world met in Las Vegas, at the Hotel Casino Union Plaza in September. Two teams from Argentina (the previous champions) and the United States (the hosting country), one team from Australia, Chile, Colombia, Euskadi South, France, Mexico and Venezuela competed. The NABO fall meeting was held at the same time. NABO obtained various meeting rooms (mus delegates’ meeting, NABO meeting, banquet room) and hotel rooms (rooms with breakfast for 50 people) free of charge.

In 1995, September 16th through 23rd, the United States hosted the International championship for the second time in San Francisco. The tournament started with a gala dance at the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center, and the closing ceremony at the Unión Española. The games took place in both locations. The players and their coaches stayed at the Holiday Inn.

And the third and last one so far hosted in the United States was in Boise, July 29th through August 24th 2001, in conjunction with their annual San Ignacio Festival.

²⁴⁵ The first and last time so far that the U.S. wins the International one. In 1993, in Mar de Plata, the Villanueva brothers from Los Angeles lost the last game against Argentina.

²⁴⁶ NABO Archives, “Mus”. Translation: I am very pleased, and I think this is a sentiment shared by all, to see that the discussions between the French delegation and yours (South Euskadi) have reached a happy ending, and that we will finally be united. However, the French federation will be represented as France and not North Euskadi. In that matter, we should emphasize that the International Championship is of the Basque Communities, therefore France may come with its name, but always representing the Basque community in its country.



Jean Leon Iribarren at the 1986 International Mus Championship in Las Vegas, held at the Union Plaza Casino (courtesy of Bernadette Iribarren).

The list of the different International Mus Championships' locations follows:

2006: Chile
2005: Donosti-San Sebastián, Basque Country
2004: Acapulco, Mexico
2003: Mar de Plata, Argentina
2002: Biarritz, Basque Country
2001: Boise, United States
2000: Donosti-San Sebastián, Basque Country
1999: Acapulco, Mexico
1998: Iruña-Pamplona, Basque Country
1997: Islas Margaritas, Venezuela
1996: Valladolid, Spain
1995: San Francisco, United States
1994: Uruguay
1993: Mar de Plata, Argentina
1992: Baiona-Bayonne, Basque Country
1991: Santiago de Chile



During the 1986 International Mus Championship in Las Vegas. Pierre Etcharren (NABO mus chairman and president of the International Mus) on the left, Jean Leon Iribarren (president of NABO) on the right, with members of the Lagun Onak Basque Club of Las Vegas, and participants (courtesy of Bernadette Iribarren).

1990: Iruña-Pamplona, Basque Country
1989: Mexico
1988: Argentina
1987: Donosti-San Sebastián, Basque Country
1986: Las Vegas, United States
1985: Donibane Garazi– Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, Basque Country
1984: Venezuela
1983: Chile
1982: Buenos Aires, Argentina
1981: Mexico City
1980: Donosti-San Sebastián, Basque Country
1979: San Francisco, United States
1978: Azkaine-Ascaín, Basque Country

NABO MUSIC CAMP OR UDALEKU

1973: First Music Camp in Boise

172

The first Basque Music Camp for young Basque Americans was established in the summer of 1973 by the Idaho Basque Studies Center (IBSC) through funds made available by the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities. The camp “focused on Basque dance and music because the board of directors of the Idaho Basque Studies Center considered these two factors to be the most important for teenagers’ ethnic identity maintenance (Totoricagüena, 2003, p.163)”.²⁴⁷ The Idaho Basque Studies Center members advertised the upcoming music camp by sending letters to Basque organization leaders. Among the NABO archives stored at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno, a letter sent by the Executive Secretary of the IBSC, Miren Rementeria, to Jacques Unhassobiscay from San Francisco can be found:

Dear Jacques,

The elements of dance and music have always been very integral components of Basque culture. In the American West, perhaps dance and music may be considered to be the most important modes of ethnic maintenance for the Basque Culture.

²⁴⁷ Totoricaguena, G. 2003. *Boise Basques: Dreamers and Doers*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Autonomous Government Publishing House, p.163.

²⁴⁸ NABO archive, “Music Camp”.

²⁴⁹ Dean Hammond knew Anes Mendiola from working together at the Boise University. She had been the cook for the basket ball camp that was held at the same ski resort right before the Basque Music Camp, and they asked her to be their cook as the previous camp was really happy with her (interview with Isabel Jausoro in Boise).

²⁵⁰ Totoricagüena, Gloria. 2003. *Boise Basques, Dreamers and Doers*, *op.cit.* p.163.

It is with this thought of enhancing and preserving these two elements of Basque culture in the West that the Idaho Basque Studies Center's attention has been focused on the sponsoring of a Music Camp. It is our feeling that such an effort would be an important step in producing the needed musicians for future generations. It is hoped that not only the accordion but also the very authentic Basque txistu will be carriers of Basque song and dance in the future.²⁴⁸

The Idaho Basque Studies Center directorate contacted Jim and Isabel Jausoro to help them organize the fourteen-day camp. They agreed and they themselves contacted Anes Jayo Mendiola for assistance. She worked for Boise State University in charge of women's dormitories. The camp was held at the Bogus Basin Ski Resort, nineteen miles from Boise from July 29 to August 13, 1973. They hired Dean Hammond to be the cook.²⁴⁹ "The camp included instruction in accordion, txistu and traditional Basque folk dancing and additional workshops introduced Basque language, singing, and cooking (Totoricagüena, 2003, p.163)".²⁵⁰ The accordion instructors were Jim Jausoro and Harley Rott from Boise, Angel Viña from New York taught txistu, and his wife, Alys Mason Viña, who was a wonderful singer, taught the teenagers some songs. Gloria Garatea Lejardi, Tom Wickham and Julianne Chacartegui Lostra taught dances.



1977 NABO music camp in Boise, participants and instructors (courtesy of the Etcharren family).



YON ONATIBIA instructs students on the proper method of playing the three hole Basque flute, the txistu-schistu, while he accompanies them on a drum. The Basque Music Camp, held recently at UNR, provided a structured program of Basque dance and music education for children from Nevada, Idaho and California. Onatibia has been teaching Basque music and language internationally for many years. (Photo by Trent Dolan)

1977 NABO music camp in Reno, Jon Oñatibia instructing txistu to participants. Photo taken by Trent Dolan, and published in the *University of Nevada, Reno Summer Times* (issue 19), in August 15.

Over twenty participants from Boise, Emmett, Caldwell, San Francisco, Elko, Wyoming and Italy²⁵¹ spent either one week or two weeks in the first Basque Music Camp ever organized in the United States. According to Isabel Jausoro, as they did not get as many students as expected, they allowed two students under the age of ten to participate. The oldest, Anita Anacabe from Elko, was in first year of university. The last day of camp, the organizers and participants put on a recital open to the public. Parents and other Basques from the Boise area drove to the recreational ski resort: Isabel Jausoro remembers that a bus was organized from Boise to attend the recital. Alain Erdozaincy recalls the good moments spent at this summer camp:²⁵²

The first music camp was in Boise up in the mountains, it was at a little ski resort called Bogus Basin. I remember that two of us, my cousin [Noël Erdozaincy] and I went there, and that most of the others were from Boise and Elko. [...] We went mainly for the music, and learned how to play the txistu and accordion there, along with some new dances. It was good. [...]

²⁵¹ Linda Lombardi from Italy participated in the Music Camp. She was staying with the Cenarrussa family (interview with Isabel Jausoro in Boise).

²⁵² Interview with Alain Erdozaincy in San Francisco.

Luis-Pe Menchaca teaching txistu at the 1981 NABO music camp in Boise. Photo published in the Idaho Statesman. Photo taken by Milan Chuckovich.



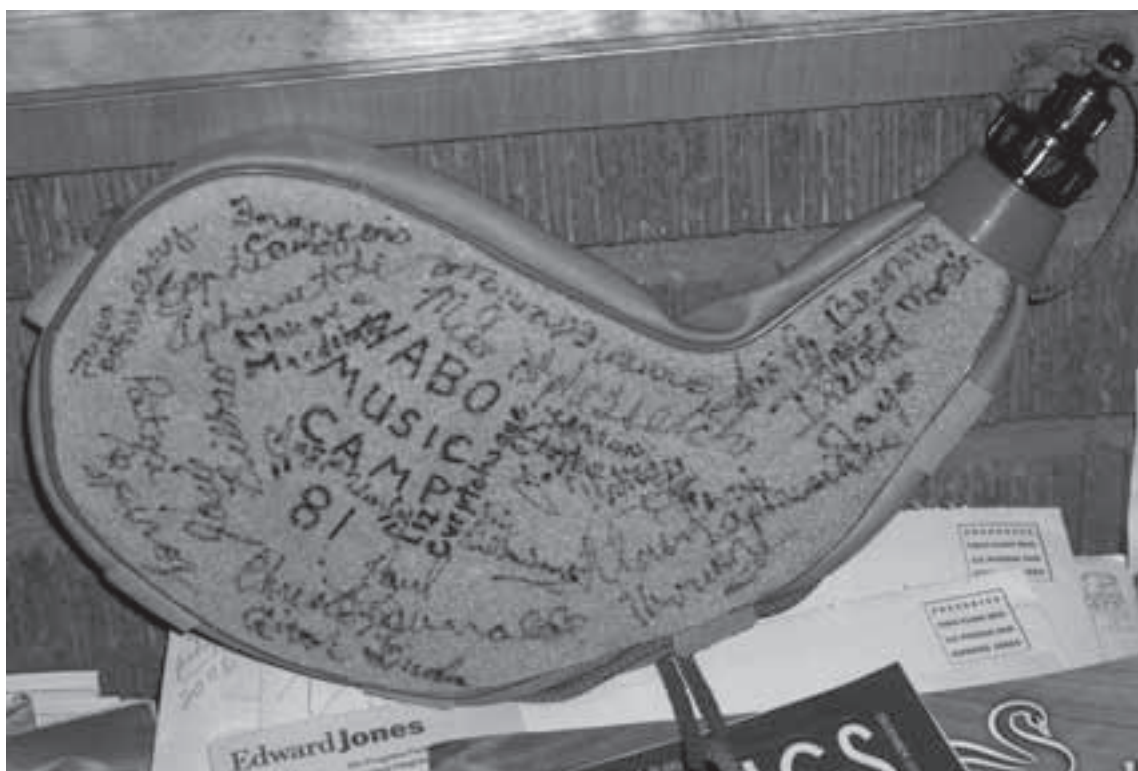
For me it was really cool, because we got to meet new people. I remember being a little nervous going into this camp, because most of the Basques in San Francisco at the time were from the French side and had never been to Boise. I remember people warning us to “watch out because they are Spanish Basques there in Boise, and you don’t know what they are like”. But you know, everybody was really friendly, and the camp was great. It was mainly young people from seven to fourteen. My cousin and I were thirteen. It was a pretty young group. So we learned Txistu, we learned accordion, we learned dancing. We would stay there all day and even sleep in the same area together. They had curtains between the boys and the girls at night, and you could not cross. There was a lot of fun. We would go hiking together. We sang Basque songs together, which was great. That is my memory of that camp.

In 1975, a group of Basques in Boise tried to put another Music Camp together, but they failed to do so because “the instructors were too expensive and that would put the tuition too high so there would be a reduction in the amount of students attending (August 17, 1975 NABO meeting minutes)”.²⁵³ In 1976, again, NABO delegates discussed the importance of such an activity: “it is felt that we, as NABO, must push a project like this if we want to teach our young the Basque culture that we are trying

to preserve (May 29, 1976 NABO meeting minutes)".²⁵⁴ So, from 1977 on, NABO assumed the role of organizing the annual Music Camp for young Basque Americans.

NABO Music Camp

In 1977, NABO co-sponsored a music camp in three different locations with the local Basque clubs: in San Francisco, the classes were held at the Lycée Français from July 5 to July 16 1977 (the participants were housed in private homes), in Boise from July 17 to July 31 at the Boise State University campus (the participants stayed in the university dormitories), and the last one in Reno from August 1st to August 13, 1977 with the participants housed in private homes and the classes held at the University of Nevada, Reno. The NABO delegates contacted two music and dance instructors from the Basque Country: the *Hegoaldetar* Jon Oñatibia who had lived in New York, and had met many of the Basques during the World's Fair Expo'74 in Spokane, and the *Iparaldetar* Jean Nesprias, a professional Basque dance teacher. Jon Oñatibia



Bota bag signed by all the 1981 music camp participants and given to the organizers and instructors. This bota bag pertains to Isabel Jausoro from Boise (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

participated and his diary about his 1977 trip to the United States is stored at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno. Here are some notes taken from the diary:

Everything is written in Basque language. Jon Oñatibia had participated in the Basque summer program organized by the Basque Studies Program in the Basque Country (in 1972) and therefore was in contact with Basques of the West. He had been contacted by the Boise people in the summer of 1973 to go there and teach the children at the first Music Camp, but he could not make it. He was expecting the invitation that came in Christmas time from Reno and Boise (Christmas 1973). He left the Basque Country for four months in 1974, to spend two months in Boise, one month and a half in Reno, and one month and a half in New York, visiting some old friends of his as he had lived there before. He stayed April through July. He gave Basque language classes at the Reno University and Boise.

Then he came back to the United States in 1977, as an instructor at the first music camp sponsored by NABO. The summer before, 1976, Jon Bilbao had told him about the project. In June 1977, he arrived to the United States, and went to San Francisco first. He stayed at Elu's Basque restaurant. He participated in the *14 Juillet* celebration with the San Francisco Basque dancers. Each morning a different person would take him to the camp, and stay with him to eat, show him around... July 16: he took the plane to Boise. The camp in Boise started July 18. Twenty nine students and a lot of good helpers participated: one of them is Alain Erdozaincy, helping with txistu and dancing. Oñatibia stayed for their local festival, in conjunction with NABO Convention. August 1: Reno music camp started. He had left Boise the evening before, at 7 pm, and he flew with Janet Inda, Alain Erdozaincy, Marie Jausoro, and Miren Arrubarrena. Jon Bilbao was waiting for him at the Reno airport (he just came back from the Philippines). The rest of the "crew" went with Janet Inda. Around twenty students got together in Reno, at the music camp held at the University of Nevada, Reno campus. August 2, he participated in a ceremony honoring Eloy Placer at the University of Nevada, Reno. Jon Oñatibia was born in Oiartzun, November 24, 1911, and died in San Sebastián in June 30, 1979.

In 1978, the NABO delegates decided to have the music camp in a single location and that it should rotate within four geographical areas of the Basque American communities (Northern California; Southern California; Nevada; Idaho-Oregon).²⁵⁵ That same year, Elko hosted it and the participants were housed in private homes. Pedro Juan Etchamendy from Chino instructed txistu and accordion. The participants also learned pelota thanks to a fronton being available in Elko.²⁵⁶

In 1979 San Francisco hosted the camp, held at the Highlands in Marin County (Fort Baker), right across the Golden Gate Bridge on the ocean over-looking Rideo

254 NABO Archives.

255 In 1977, the Utah, Wyoming, Washington State and New York clubs were not members of NABO yet.

256 Jon Oñatibia was asked to come but he could not.



Bob Echeverria from Elko and two Udaleku participants preparing breakfast at the 2006 NABO music camp in Elko, Nevada (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

Lagoon.²⁵⁷ This year, NABO applied and received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts in Washington D.C. That allowed them to charge the students only costs for their room and board (\$150). Martin Zubieta from the Basque Country was unable to come as an instructor to the music camp, and Jon Oñatibia accepted to help them for a second year. But tragically, Jon Oñatibia was killed in a car accident on June 30, 1979. Forty students from various Western States took part under the instruction of Luis Manuel P. Menchaca Erran from Madrid. He instructed txistu in several NABO music camps from that year on through 1987, and then on and off until the late 1990s. Other local music instructors such as accordianists Jim Jausoro in Boise, Bernardo Yanci in Elko, Pedro Juan Etchamendy and Rosemarie Iturburu in Chino, Jean Louis Currutchet in Winnemucca, Jean Flesher in Salt Lake City, also instructed at the music camps.

Among the NABO archives kept at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno, we are really fortunate to have a detailed description of the different activities that the organizers put together for the participants in 1981, in Boise.²⁵⁸

Camp directors Hank Achurra and Dave Eiguren chose Anes Mendiola and Isabel Jausoro as day and night coordinators of the 1981 Music Camp because of their past experience (1973 and 1977 music camps). The instructors were as follows: Luis Manuel Pe-Menchaca for txistu and singing, Jim Jausoro for accordion, Megan Donahue and Dan Ansotegui for dancing (both part of the Oinkari group, they taught at the 1979 and 1980 music camps as well).

Instruction was available to the students in four categories: accordion, txistu, songs, and dancing (from approximately 9am to 4:30 pm, with a lunch break). During the evenings and on the week end, the free time was filled with a variety of activities such as: the dormitory Game Room was equipped with foosball and Pool tables, with a television also available; the Boise State University swimming pool was made available to the group; a tour sightseeing of Boise was arranged for one evening; Sunday was a day without classes so the group traveled to the nearby mountains.

The last evening, July 30th, each student was presented with a Certificate of Completion along with a print of the group photo. The students presented autographed Bota Bags to each of the staff and the coordinators.

Students of the Music Camp were invited to perform on Saturday evening, August 1st, at a special dinner being held at the Basque Center for members and guests attending the Basque Holiday Weekend.

In the 1980s, the students would be housed either collectively at a dormitory or inexpensive hotel, or with local families, depending on the available facilities of each

²⁵⁷ San Francisco Basques were getting ready for the 1979 NABO Convention.

²⁵⁸ There is also a binder with information on music camps held between 1996 and 2003 (binder put together by the current chairperson, Valérie Etcharren Arrechea).



local club hosting in that specific year. For example in 1980, in Fresno, the students stayed at the University campus, and in 1982, in Chino, at the Pomona Campus.

But from 1991 on, the students have been systematically housed in private homes. In the 1980s, the number of participants would fluctuate between thirty teenagers and fifty nine teenagers (the highest number of fifty nine in Boise, in 1988, at Boise State University and housed at Chaffee Hall). In the 1990s, it would fluctuate between thirty and seventy two students (the highest number again in Boise, in 1992). The minimum age set for participants was ten years old with no maximum age. But in more recent years, the success became slightly overwhelming for the local clubs (92 students in San Francisco in 2003, 102 participants in Boise in 2004) raising the problem of housing and instructors, and they decided to change the age restriction to ten to fifteen years old. In 2005, forty two teenagers attended the camp in Bakersfield, and forty five students in Elko the following year.

In 1985, in Boise, John Ysursa added a new class on Basque culture and later the tambourine was added in 1988. The students would learn how to play mus, as well as pelota in the locations with a fronton. In the 1990s, the Basque Federation of Pelota sent a professional instructor to teach the Basque sport, Joxean Urzain. In 1999, he came with his wife, Koro, who gave Basque language classes at the San Francisco



Udaleku participants at the 2006 Udaleku in Elko, Nevada (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

Music Camp.²⁵⁹ In 2001, a new name for Music Camp was brought to the NABO delegates for debate. John Ysursa suggested the name of Udaleku for the camp, giving the activities a Basque term (“Uda”: “Summer” and “Leku”: “Place”). This term is used commonly in the Basque Country for summer camps.

Nowadays, the activities proposed are basically music (txistu and tambourine) song, dance, basic *Euskara* language, culture/history, and pelota instruction. Father Tillous, the Basque chaplain, has been the txistu instructor at music camp for several years.

The Key Educational and Community Building Role of Udaleku

NABO’s first official Music Camp was held in 1977 and the first chairperson, Janet Inda, explains why the delegates decided to organize this activity: “My thought, and of course it was me being a teacher: the kids. If we can get the kids young enough and

²⁵⁹ In 2003, two instructors from the Basque Country, Ellande Alfaro and Joseba Etxebeste, along with local instructors taught pelota at the San Francisco Udaleku.

get installed in their brain, then there will always be a piece of Basque in them”.²⁶⁰ All classes are held with one purpose in mind: to teach each student the Basque songs, music, and dances pertinent to their heritage, and to encourage them to return to their homes to practice and continue the positive step forward they made at the summer camp. It also encourages them to become involved in their own area clubs, as dancers, or musicians.²⁶¹

Therefore, it also opened the lines of communication between the young Basques. “We figured that if the young Basques knew each other from childhood, that they would always be communications whether NABO survived or not”, said Janet Inda. Besides being a good learning experience, the camp offers the participants a great opportunity to develop ties and friendships with the younger Basques from many states.

I think the camp is when the network started. A lot of us became good friends and would write letters to each other between the camps (Alain Erdozaincy, student in the first music camp in 1973, and then instructor in several others).

That is when you get to meet all the Basques from all over the United States and you really formed a bond in these two weeks. I go to weddings all over now [...] I have a whole



2006 Udaleku participants and instructors at the 2006 Elko annual Basque festival parade (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

drawer full of letters from all my Basque friends [...] that is what kept me going (Kristie Onaindia attended several music camps in the 1990s, and now organizes the music camps when they are hosted by Bakersfield).

Camp participants meet Basque people of their own age, and have fun doing Basque activities. It builds a sense of community. It shows them how “cool” it is to be Basque. It promotes Basque pride.

NABO CALENDAR

In 1977, NABO printed its first calendar –in color– with Janet Inda in charge of this endeavor; and with the idea to cover the costs and maybe raise extra funds. It showed the activities of each NABO club for that same year, and included pictures of the different member clubs:

- *January*: the *Zazpiak Bat* coat of arms.
- *February*: A picture of the Oinkari Basque Dancers posing in their costumes.
- *March*: Ely Basque club children singing in traditional outfits.
- *April*: Kern County Basque Club dancers and *klika* posing in their costumes.
- *May*: San Francisco Basque Club dancers and *klika* posing in their costumes.
- *June*: Elko Euzkaldunak dancers performing.
- *July*: Young dancers from Boise posing in their costumes.
- *August*: A Basque parade float of Reno dancers in the Nevada Bicentennial Parade.
- *September*: The San Francisco Handball Tournament Finals winners.
- *October*: Ontario Basque dancers float during the 4th of July Parade.
- *November*: Jean Urruty from Colorado, mentioning the recent award he received, the “Americans by Choice” award.
- *December*: A sheepherder and his dog.

260 Interview with Janet Inda in Reno.

261 Individual Basque communities were already doing this for decades before NABO. The camps were the first attempts at having the youth mix with each other.



Father Marcel Tillous and Olatz Arrazti playing txistu during the 1998 Music Camp in Elko (Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno).

Each picture came with a short paragraph providing information about the club, and honoring those Basques who work promoting Basque heritage in the United States (Jean Urruty, and the many Basques like him, who came as sheepherders).

After the first color calendar, and until 1985, in order to keep the cost down, the annual calendars were printed in black and white. The 1984²⁶² calendar gathers pictures taken by photographer Ella Footman: pictures of Behorleguy, Mendive, Lekumberry, Hazparne (all little towns of *Iparralde*). In 1985, NABO was able to print a full color calendar entirely financed by the Basque Government. Martin Minaberry served as coordinator of the calendar and the pictures displayed homeland countrysides, Basque sports, and farming in the Basque Country. The 1986-1990 calendar picture choice included the same themes, with one picture showing the Basque president José Antonio Ardanza in a reception in honor of the Oinkari Basque Dancers in visit in the Basque Country during the summer of 1985 (1986 calendar), and a picture of president José Antonio Ardanza on the front cover of the 1990 calendar. In 1986 and 1987, the calendar expenses were shared between NABO and the Basque Government (black and white printing by NABO, upgrading to color by the Basque Government). Between 1988 and 1990, all printing expenses were covered by the Basque Government, therefore explaining why some pictures of the *Lehendakari* are included. In 1986, NABO started selling the calendars to businesses with their own advertisement included.

In 1990, during the NABO Convention meeting in Boise, which coincided with the Jaialdi International Basque Festival, the representative of the Basque Government, Josu Legarreta, suggested that Basque artists (renown sculptors and painters from the Basque Country) be included in the 1991 calendar, with a short story about them, and with dates and Basque festivities around the world. The Basque Government wanted to print a calendar that would be distributed in the different Basque communities around the world. But the idea of having abstract art work in their NABO 1991 calendar was not very appealing to many of the Basque club representatives. “There was a great deal of discussion about using artists on the calendar. The majority of the delegates stated that one of the selling points of the calendars were the pictures of the countryside (1990 Convention meeting minutes)”. Some letters that went back and forth between Martin Minaberry, International chairman and calendar coordinator, and Josu Legarreta tried to solve the issue, but it turned out to be too late for NABO to work on a different calendar and too late for the Basque Government to suggest changes to it as they had already sent the pictures to be printed. The calendars arrived to the United States at the end of 1990, and brought some serious disappointments among the Basques in the United States. In the Salt Lake City meeting in February 1991, the NABO delegates exchanged opinions on the issue:

262 Unfortunately, I cannot tell much about the calendars included between the years 1978 and 1983 as I was unable to locate any of these examples.

The style of the calendars should be approved by NABO before ordering the calendars from the Basque Government because there was disappointment in the pictures of art work that were displayed in the calendars. Several Basque clubs desired the scenic landscape pictures rather than the sculptural art work. Jean Flesher suggested that NABO make up their own calendar to sell if we don't like the calendars that come from the Basque Government (Salt Lake City meeting minutes, 1991);

This motion was approved by all delegates and was applied from 1992 to the present.

This anecdote is really illustrative of the different images of the Basque Country and Basque culture emphasized by the Basques in the United States, and the one the Basque Government promotes. We will have the opportunity to develop this interesting question in another chapter (Chapter 6).

Before closing this section on the calendar, there is another evolution that would be worth mentioning. As noted earlier, the calendars printed in the 1980s displayed exclusively traditional pictures of the Basque Country. But starting in the 1990s, the calendar pictures displayed country sides and Basque culture in both the Basque Country and the United States; proof, in my opinion, of a growing awareness of a distinct Basque identity in the United States.²⁶³

NABO'S EUSKAL KANTARI EGUNA

NABO sponsors an Euskal Kantari Eguna or the Day of the Basque Singer every year to showcase Basque singing in the United States. In the fall meeting of 1987 in Reno, the delegates decided to organize a singing contest. The Gardnerville Mendiko Euskaldun Cluba had just joined NABO in the spring, and was asked to host it the first year, in 1988. The idea was to hold it in different places each year.

Singing and *Bertsolari* Contest

The event was similar to an annual competition of amateur singers in the Basque Country, Euskal Kantu Txapelketa –Basque Song Contest–, where singers from all over the Basque Country compete for top prizes after holding the playoffs in each province.

²⁶³ Marylou Urrutia from Reno has been in charge of the calendars since 1995. At the beginning she tried to pick six pictures from the Basque Country and six pictures from the United States. But she confesses that now, the choice is originated according to the pictures people send her. She also mentioned that people contact her and appreciate when they recognize people in the calendar (especially children). It means a lot to them, they can relate to it.

²⁶⁴ From the heart.

Jesus Pedroarena and Frances Pedroarena (husband and wife) from the Gardnerville club took charge of it and did so until they retired in 2003. The organizers found the rules of the contest in the Basque Country which had been held the year before in Donibane Garazi –Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port in French– (Lapurdi), and asked a professor, Gorka Aulestia, at the Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada, Reno to help them translate these to English, which he did. Then, Aulestia was asked to be one of the judges at the contest, along with Jeanne Mazeris –the director of the San Francisco choir–, Justo Saria from Boise and Martin Minaberry from San Francisco. Hence, in April 1988, singers competed in categories of old songs, new songs, a capella, or with a musical instrument accompaniment. They also included a *bertsolari* contest. The master of ceremony, Mike Bidart sang Bilintx's "Loriak Udan" song with his two children, John and Andrea. Participants came from Nevada, California, and Idaho. In 1988, the Pedroarenas used their own stereo system for the occasion. Later the club bought a sound system and got the money reimbursed through a Basque Government grant they applied for in 1990.

The following year, 1989, Boise was supposed to host it with the Bihotzetik²⁶⁴ Basque Choir in charge on April 9 at the Morrison Center of Boise State University.



Kantari Eguna 2006 in Elko, Nevada (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

But due to a lack of people signing up for the contest, they had to cancel it. Thus, at the following NABO meeting in the summer of 1989 in Los Banos, the Boise delegates proposed that the event remain in Gardnerville permanently because of its central geographic location. Gardnerville attempted to host it still in 1989, the last weekend of October, but in vain, as not enough people would commit themselves in such short time.²⁶⁵

NABO's Euskal Kantari Eguna

The organizers of the singing contest sent a survey to the first year's contest participants and from that information received realized that the majority preferred an open festival rather than a competitive contest to be held in the spring. The first open Kantari Eguna was held in Minden on April 21, 1990. Until 1994, the Kantari Eguna would have its own separate day,²⁶⁶ but from 1996 on the organizers included it with their local annual picnic in Gardnerville. In 1996, the Kantari Eguna was a two hours and a half event with forty one participants.²⁶⁷ John Ysursa from Chino served as the masters of ceremony, as well as Martin Etchamendy from Bakersfield for many years.

After the 2003 Kantari Eguna, the Gardnerville club directors reported to NABO that they wanted a break, and that they would be willing to host the function every other year. So, in 2004 Boise hosted it, it came back to Gardnerville in 2005, and the 2006 event was held in Elko in conjunction with the local Basque festival (before the Saturday dance): Many participants were the children and the counselors that had stayed at Udaleku the two previous weeks.

Anne Marie Etchamendy Minaberri from Bakersfield represented NABO as a contestant at the 28th edition of Euskal Kantu Txapelketa in Donibane Lohitzune –Saint-Jean-de-Luz in French (Lapurdi) in 1991. With a new song of her own creation –about her coming to the United States and living in Bakersfield–, she won the prize for solo singers, singing new songs a Capella. As NABO representative, she went there with a prize that went to the group “Zatiki” from Bizkaia (a mechanized statue of a cowboy). Jesus and Frances Pedroarena remember that a duo²⁶⁸ of Basques living in the United States had been invited to participate in the Euskal Kantu Txapelketa in Iruri (Xiberoa), in 1989. That same year Father Roger Idiart, a priest from Iruri –Trois-Villes in French– (Xiberoa) wrote a *pastoral*²⁶⁹ for the Basques in the United States, and it was performed by a group of Basques in San Francisco and showcased at the Los

265 Interview with Jesus and Frances Pedroarena, in Minden.

266 In 1995, no Kantari Eguna was held. Also, in 1992 or 1993, Kantari Eguna was held at the Gardnerville Fairgrounds, in conjunction with the Gardnerville Basque annual festival.

267 NABO minutes.

268 Patty Miller and Chris Bieter from Boise, Idaho (Jesus Pedroarena interview in Minden).

269 A typical play from Xiberoa.

Banos picnic. Father Iriart came to the United States for the occasion and invited the singers to come to Iruri and participate in the contest. Nobody from the United States participated, but Jesus and Frances Pedroarena did go see it on behalf of NABO.

Gender and

(05)

Migration

If migration represents a well-studied topic, we cannot say the same thing about gender as it applies to migration. “Migration is often differentiated on the basis of gender, but it has not yet received the attention it deserves”, explains Sylvia Chant.²⁷⁰ For example, scholars have long defined the Italian women as “silent” and “submissive”. And it is only in 2002 that a group of authors challenged this stereotype “providing a woman-centered, gender analysis of Italian workers”.²⁷¹ Maxine Seller in *Immigrant Women* explains how “much of the voluminous literature on immigration has been male-centered, taking men’s experience as the norm and assuming that women’s experience was either identical to men’s or not important enough to warrant separate and serious attention”.²⁷² And what is the situation in the Basque case? Women are simply and purely absent from the literature about migration.

But what do we mean by “gender?”. Margaret Bullen, in her book *Basque Gender Studies*, brings a really useful definition of the concept of “gender”. It is a category that refers to the cultural construct of what it means to be a man or a woman in a given society. Gender refers to cultural factors as well as the social relations and power structures between men and women. “Once gender is accepted as depending on the social relations between “women” and “men” in a given context, the categories

270 Chant, Sylvia, ed. 1992. *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*, London: Bell Haven Press.

271 Gabaccia, Donna and Iacovetta, Franca (eds). 2002. *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, introduction.

272 Seller, Maxine (ed.). 1994. *Immigrant Women*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

of “men” and “women” are shown to be not single, universal, nor timeless, but both multiple and locally, culturally, and historically specific”, argues Margaret Bullen.²⁷³

Before the 1970s, the women were viewed as passive objects of study by most historians and anthropologists. Academic investigation approaching them was done through androcentric assumptions, and the study of migration was no exception. After that date, gradually, analysis of women became a recognized political subject as well as an object of study.

Consequently, our aim is to study the evolution of the attention scholars gave to the study of women within the migration field. Then, our inquiry will go toward the current knowledge concerning gender and migration, before focusing on the Basque case.

LITERATURE ON MIGRANT WOMEN: HISTORICAL APPROACH

Women migrants did not become an object of study before the 1970s. We can distinguish various trends in the literature concerning women and migration.

Invisible Women until the 1970s

“The original reason for the omission of women in historical studies [and in social sciences in general] of immigration is not hard to understand. All societies have recognized differences between gender roles and have treated male activities as more significant than female ones. Historians have explored the so-called public sphere dominated by men and until recently only elite groups within that sphere, while women were confined to the domestic realm of home and family which was not the subject of historical investigation”,²⁷⁴ explains Sydney Stahl.

It is apparent that in many literature genres, including academic disciplines, analysis about women is totally absent. According to Mirjana Morokvasic, “although socially and numerically present, they are still sociologically invisible. [...] In the general theories of migration, migrants are usually sex-less units”.²⁷⁵ For a long time in the literature, migration appeared as a male affair only, a process from which women

273 Bullen, Margaret. 2000. *Basque Gender Studies*, University of Nevada, Reno: Center for Basque Studies, p.55.

274 Stahl Weinberg, Sydney, “The Treatment of Women in Immigration History: A Call for Change”, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Summer 1992, Vol. 11, p.25, 22p.

275 Morokvasic, Mirjana. 1983. “Women in Migration: beyond the reductionnist outlook”, in Phizacklea, Annie (ed.). *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour*, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul pp. 13-31, p. 13.

were excluded. The researchers have investigated “all-male samples and proposed theories and models based on surveys of male migrants”.²⁷⁶ Morokvasic argues that this exclusion was deliberate, which was justified by the lack of research funds and by women’s supposedly minor economic role. Another justification of that omission claims that more men than women migrated, a situation in which husbands came first and then sent for their wives and children. However these assumptions have been proven incorrect.²⁷⁷

Contemporary to the pre-1970s trend excluding analysis on women, many other works did mention women, though this analysis portrayed women as backward, ignorant and degraded. Historians, like other social researchers, have been influenced by these stereotypes. During this period many theorists shared the bias that the activities of women are less important than those of men which is a phenomenon that continues in many circles today. Such literature relies on stereotypes of migrant women as dependents, migrants’ wives or mothers, unproductive, illiterate, and isolated. In the usual expression, “migrants and their families”, “families” are understood to be composed of dependent members: women and children. So, within this type of literature, women are only visible within frameworks of family that underemphasize and deligitimate their participation.

This approach, though typical of a certain period of time, is no longer predominant. As argued by Betty Bergland, “the reality we wish to reproduce is deeply entrenched not only in the categories of historical analysis but in the very language we use. [...] That we say “immigrant women” but not “immigrant men” suggests that the term immigrant implies a male figure but not necessarily men and women”.²⁷⁸

1970s Paradigmatic Shift

Maxine Seller, in her article “Beyond the Stereotype: A New Look at the Immigrant Woman, 1880-1924” argued the following: “It is my opinion that the relative lack of material about immigrant women is not the result of a lack of activity on the part of these women”.²⁷⁹ Moreover, later in that same article, Seller concluded that “sources are available for the study of immigrant woman. With the use of some ingenuity on the part of historians, many more can probably be uncovered. It is time to begin writing the story of the immigrant women beyond the stereotype”.²⁸⁰ By 1975, immigrant

²⁷⁶ Idem, p.14.

²⁷⁷ See Chant, Sylvia, ed. 1992. *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*, London: Bell haven Press. Also, see Moch, Leslie Page. 1992. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

²⁷⁸ Bergland, Betty. 1988. “Immigrant History and Gendered Subject: a Review Essay”, in *Ethnic Forum:bulletin of ethnic studies and ethnic bibliography*, vol.8, 24-39, p.29.

²⁷⁹ Seller, Maxine S. Spring 1975. “Beyond the Stereotype: A New Look at the Immigrant Woman, 1880-1924”, *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 3: 59-70, p.59.

²⁸⁰ Idem, p.68.

women were still sociologically invisible to sociological theory and theorists. Then, gradually, in the second half of the seventies, issues related to the position of migrant women began to be seriously considered and a separate literature emerged. According to Mirjana Morokvasic, “the emergence of a literature on migrant women owes much to two circumstances: one is a wider feminist questioning about women’s role in society, the other is the recognition of migrant women as economically important”.²⁸¹

This is how, gradually, migrant women became an analytical category. Some scientists objected to the attempt to set women apart from men, arguing that this unit is more ideologically, as opposed to scientifically, generated. Although this reasoning is understandable, it has not been the intention of most scholars who write about women to divorce them totally from their context. Gender is a valid category of analysis, although one among many. There is, for example, an important factor to migration that is gender constructed. By migrating, many women escape forms of oppression unique to them as women. While these motives to migrate might be secondary compared to economic motives, they should by no means be ignored. The validity of gender has become equally apparent in the context of immigration as well. Being a woman becomes one of the criteria in determining the extent of discrimination in the homeland and in the new host country.

The feminism movement of the 1960s and 1970s brought much to our knowledge about women in general and immigrant women in particular. It provided an approach that reverses the focus from what was done to women to what women have done. At that time, the movement discovered the “new” economic role of women. The objects of investigation are migrant women as individuals, their migration determined by individual motivation and their conditions in the host country analyzed within a perspective of adaptation to the host society formulated in terms of an evolution toward some emancipated state. This new approach has certainly been useful in making migrant women more adequately known, and has contributed to a better understanding of the migratory process as a whole. Contrary to the view expressed in the old sociological stereotypes, then, many immigrant women had interests and commitments beyond the care of their own families; they became part of the labor force. However, this finding, although groundbreaking, did not totally deconstruct some stereotypes. What about those who did not take part in public life? “What of the very traditional wife and mother who had neither the time, the energy, the self-assurance, nor perhaps even the desire to participate in public life? The negative stereotypes are unfair to her too. They are unfair because they confuse illiteracy with ignorance, and poverty with personal degradation”,²⁸² explains Seller.

²⁸¹ Morokvasic, Mirjana, *op.cit.*, p.19.

²⁸² Seller, Maxine. *Op.cit.*, p.167.

Current Reflections

It is important to examine immigrants in their particular social, cultural, and historical contexts, while it appears also important to give credit to comparative approaches. All migration waves were composed of a certain percentage of single women. But this ratio can vary. Both Irish and Finnish migrations include a larger number of single women than the Jewish, Italian and Basque migrations for example.

Betty Bergland addresses some important theoretical issues.²⁸³ These ideas include first the Old World/New World dichotomy. The previous background of the migrants presents an important field. If the immigrant woman is to be fully understood, there must be intensive investigation regarding the status of women in the mother countries. Then, we must consider the way in which various factors such as gender, race, ethnicity, and class interact. Finally, we must be aware that multiple subjectivities exist and the coherent self must be studied as well. “These immigrant women were [and still are] situated in different discourses (American, ethnic, religious, political, gendered), in multiple positions (daughter, worker, wife, mother, woman, immigrant), with multiple ascriptions and meanings in place. It is difficult to find a coherence, which they themselves did not experience or express”.²⁸⁴

According to Suzanne Simke, “Studies of immigrant women, along with drawing on the research done in immigration history, can and should utilize the perspectives developed in women’s history and women’s studies”²⁸⁵ as this approach provides useful theoretical frameworks. Among others, “production” and reproduction” are terms used to analyze the material basis for gender divisions in western society. “Reproduction” includes biological components such as giving birth as well as social components such as women raising children or bringing psychological sustenance. On the other hand, concerning the term of “production”, literature exists around women in the workforce. Parallel studies of single immigrant women provide another angle to the story. Consequently, they represent two concepts that should be developed systematically in studies on immigrant women. Within each stage of life’s course there are a variety of issues to consider according to Susan Simke. Starting with birth: is a female child considered of “lesser value” than a male child? Marriage is also an important turning point in the life of many women.

In order to be able to understand what happens to immigrant women, one has to look at different factors, gender being one of many. In some studies on migrant women, their condition has been defined as a triple burden or triple oppression at the level of class, gender, and migrant minority group member. Mariana Morokvasic

283 Bergland, Betty, *op.cit.* pp. 34-37.

284 Bergland, Betty, *op.cit.*

285 Simke, Suzanne. 1989. “A Historiography of Immigrant Women in the nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries”. *Ethnic Forum* 9, p. 122.

adds a fourth factor of oppression: “it was assumed that women were not only subjected and discriminated against because they were women, working class, and members of a migrant minority group, but also because they may accept this as their fate, as natural and normal”.²⁸⁶ Other scholars argue that some sources suggest that immigrant women generally identify themselves with their families. They do not think of themselves as individuals. By contrast, others, feminists among them, have difficulties accepting a concept of self that is created through relation to other members of the family.

It is entirely appropriate to consider immigrant women as workers and part of families, since the vast majority of them was in fact married. But most of immigration histories limit coverage of women to these two categories, rigidly conceived. They do not extend their area of research to 1) the connections between work and home life, the domestic and public spheres, 2) women-centered activities performed in the context of household or neighborhood, 3) women’s perception of their world –the satisfactions it could offer and the way they could achieve authority within their realm (Sydney Stahl, 1992).²⁸⁷

Much Remains to be Investigated

Compared to the 1970s, the improvement in research on women immigrants is undeniable. But still, immigrant women have not found a comfortable scholarly home in any social studies (ethnic, historical, women’s studies, etc.). According to Donna Gabaccia,²⁸⁸ one of the reasons for that is that immigration studies and women’s history developed in opposite directions. Currently, “studies of particular ethnic communities are giving way to important new efforts at synthesis. [...] They seem involved in a search for commonalities. [...] [Whereas] Women’s studies historians are now concerned with diversity and difference”.²⁸⁹ Very few syntheses of immigrant women’s lives have come out. This situation, however, would seem appropriate and even necessary argues Gabaccia. But, perhaps, the current knowledge about immigrant women does not permit it yet.

There is another interesting point advanced by Stahl that should be mentioned. It would be wrong to see “women’s history as a particular specialty, while “history” stays mainly the story of men. Immigrant women remain in a ghetto of their own”.²⁹⁰ Women’s history is not an additional field for investigation. Women’s experiences have to be integrated into the analytical framework of immigration research, which has yet to be achieved.

286 Morokvasic, Miriana, *op. cit.* p.26

287 Stahl Weinberg, Sydney, Summer 1992. “The Treatment of Women in Immigration History: a Call for Change”, *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11, p. 25, 22p.

288 Gabaccia, Donna, “Immigrant Women, Nowhere at Home?” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Summer 91, Vol. 10, Issue 4, p.61, 27p.

289 *Idem*, p.5.

290 Stahl, Sydney, *op.cit.*

CURRENT KNOWLEDGE ON WOMEN AND MIGRATION

“Immigrant women differed from one another in ethnic background, religion, age, political orientation, education, personality, and character, as well as in their motivation for coming to the host country (Maxine S. Seller, *Immigrant Women*, introduction)”. Maxine Seller’s book on *Immigrant Women* tries to reflect the diversity of this particular population. They came from different backgrounds. Many were raised in agrarian settings, while others emigrated from urban centers of the world. “Cultural identities were as varied as geographic origins (Seller, p.13)”. Although Jewish, Polish, Italian and Basque women came at about the same time to the United States, each came from a different background and had a different lifestyle. Despite their differences, the societies from which most immigrants came had one thing in common; they were experiencing changes that set large numbers of people on the move: a sudden increase in population and its consequences. But “economic necessity was not the only reason for emigrating. Some women left their mother country because they found themselves out of step with the societies in which they lived (Seller, p.15)”. Some problems were related to their status as women. “Others came as refugees from civil or foreign wars, or due to religious or political oppression (p.16)”. “Whenever they came and for whatever reason, women found the journey to the Americas difficult and sometimes dangerous (Seller, p.17)”. Most were young and motivated by the desire to improve their situation. Most came as part of family groups or to join a relative already settled in the host country. “A minority came alone, single, young, and usually from Ireland, Scandinavian countries, or Eastern Europe (Seller, p.18)”. As many as a third of women who migrated returned to the mother country to stay explains Seller. Women entering the host country faced the same set of problems. They had to adjust to a different environment (food, clothing, language, customs, and values). “Adjustment was usually easier for the young, and for the adventurous, the flexible and emotionally strong of every age”, explains Seller (p.45). The immigration process was often a traumatic experience.

Does immigration imply necessarily emancipation? Gina Buijs notices how a “growing literature refers to the question of whether migration leads to a loss or a gain in the status of women as a result of changes in the distribution of power within the family, and the answers vary according to the immigrant context and cultural background. In some situations new economic and social responsibilities have been the basis for a woman’s increasing importance within the family. In others, her role in the family has been undermined, especially for non working women, isolated from an extended family network, who find themselves dependent on their children”.²⁹¹

The various and complex ways women view the world are important to take into consideration. Certain cultural traits that the researchers perceive as being oppressive

291 Buijs, Gina (ed). *Migrant Women: Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities*, in *Cross Cultural Perspectives on Women*, volume 7.

can be emancipating for the women under study. It appears therefore essential to pay attention to the cultures of the societies of origin, as well as how the status and roles of each men and women work within them.

The process of immigration often led to an adjustment of women in their relationships with their men folk (husband, brother, son, father). In *Migrant Women: Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities*,²⁹² one interesting article focuses on the Chilean experience and does mention this issue. Entering the job market meant acquiring new skills for Chilean women (earning an income, driving a car). These skills increased the women's self confidence and domestic authority. Gender relations between men and women altered, as did role expectations. The possibility of return to Chile was, for these women, no longer as important as it had been when they had first arrived in the United States. Buijs explains how immigration in some cases affected relationships between mothers and children as well, and raised the question of the very desirability of motherhood itself.

Most women did not have to face their problems alone and turned to others for support. For instance, many women helped to create and sustain the ethnic institutions that served them.

This is what we intend to study focusing on the Basque case: women and Basque institutions.

BASQUE WOMEN IN THE BASQUE INSTITUTIONS OF THE DIASPORA

The Necessity to Study Women as Part of Basque Immigration

The research methodology approaching migrants in general must be reviewed. When studying migrants, researchers should include both men and women. Otherwise they are not studying migrants but male migrants. An adequate understanding of Basque immigration is simply not possible when women are excluded. Begoña Pecharroman has challenged the idea that emigration from the Basque Country was a male affair (unpublished paper). She proposed that it was not an "individual endeavor but rather a familial undertaking that involved the women who stayed behind as well as the men who left".²⁹³ Moreover, she discussed the idea that "the relative number

292 Buijs (ed) *op.cit.*

293 In Margaret Bullen, *op.cit.*, pp.218-219



Josephina and Esther Anchustegui from Mountain Home, Idaho, NABO delegates. Photo taken by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar at the dinner following the October 2006 NABO meeting in Gardnerville.

of women²⁹⁴ is not proportional to the scope of their influence in the host country or in the building up of a new community at the same time that they preserved elements of the old”.²⁹⁵ Consequently, it is an absolute necessity to study the role of women as part of Basque immigration. They are important to the function of Basque families, enabling men to do what they do, as well as to the function of the Basque community of the diaspora.

The main purpose here is to study the evolution of the role of Basque women through the process of emigration, and more specifically at the level of the Basque institutions of the diaspora. They are key places where Basque people currently meet to maintain their identity and help each other.²⁹⁶ This study aims to look at the topic in an historical way, in order to highlight the evolutions experienced by women through time (women born in the Basque Country, women born in the host country, those who are second-third-fourth generation women of Basque heritage in the United States).

294 Quantitatively speaking, Basque immigration was majoritarily a male phenomenon.

295 Bullen, Margaret, *op.cit.* p.216.

296 A recent collection published in 2003 (Urazandi Collection 2003) gathers fifteen different studies of Basque institutions of the diaspora all around the world. Although really interesting, none of them approach these institutions from the perspective of gender.



Emilia Doyaga and Anna Aguirre from New York, NABO delegates. Photo taken by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar at the dinner following the October 2006 NABO meeting in Gardnerville.

Emigrating, Women Re-negotiate their Roles

As stated by Bullen, “gender moves us away from a purely female focus to one that contemplates both men and women, and looks at the way in which the relations between them structure the society in terms of history, politics, economy and culture”.²⁹⁷ But one could easily argue that this chapter focuses on women and that therefore their systematic relation to their male counterparts would be off the topic. While the definition of “woman” in a given society is tightly related to the context (history, culture), it is related to the relationship shaped with their male counterparts as well. The gender perspective does not take the concepts “male” and “female” as stable and fixed realities. For Henrietta Moore specialized in gender studies, these categories of “female” and “male” are “always culturally and historically specific”.²⁹⁸ In fact, they are representations, social constructions that can be different across countries, cultures and individuals. Similarly, “The cultural construction of what is understood by the categories of “man” and “woman” vary considerably through history and across cultures”,²⁹⁹ argues Bullen.

²⁹⁷ Bullen, Margaret, *op.cit.*, p.24.

²⁹⁸ Moore, H. 1998. *Feminism and Anthropology: The Story of a Relationship*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p.7.

²⁹⁹ Bullen, M. 2000. *Basque Gender Studies*, Reno: University of Nevada Reno.

Women were an important part of the massive arrival of Basque immigrants into the United States that took place between 1850 and the 1970s. It is a period in which the gender systems in the Basque Country were generally traditional. After that time, the Basque society experienced major changes, which deeply redefined the former gender systems (the active participation of women in public sphere during WWII, the right to vote, etc). But in our case, looking at the time period of interest, Basque people left a traditional society, and were not yet concerned by the future evolution. “In all cultures”, argues Bullen, “there exists an ideal, a model or stereotype on the way both women and men should be. [...] A model, by which people are valued, judged, punished or rewarded in society. [...] Gender models operate a set of stereotypes that are based on beliefs, or perceptions, differences in psychological, biological, and behavioral traits that supposedly better equip women and men for specific roles. Often the stereotypes are founded on apparently “natural” differences”.³⁰⁰ To summarize briefly, three main characteristics could characterize what a “Basque woman” is, and what that should mean, in Basque traditional society:³⁰¹ 1) *The importance of her role as mother* (childcare, domestic role). She is seen to be important in the transmission of the Basque language and culture, passing on the heritage to successive generations and thus keeping it alive. She is seen to be the “mainstay of the farm, mediator, and main reference for the family (Bullen, 2000, p.63)”. 2) *Her administration of domestic finances and her shared responsibility in the farm*. Male and female roles on the farm are differentiated. The woman “was held mainly responsible for the domestic domain, [...] but at the same time she had a part to play in the farm work, and her hard work was valued both in the home and on the land (Bullen, 2000, p.63)”. 3) *The non-discrimination in terms of inheritance*. Usually, on a farm, the first-born child (regardless of the sex) would inherit the farm. Consequently, Basque emigrant women left a patriarchal society (her role being confined to the house), which, however, included patterns of empowerment for women demonstrated by the democratic inheritance tradition.

Once in the new country, the immigrant woman has to deal with a completely different set of values, including another definition of the role of woman. Gender refers to roles and status in society and there is a great variation. Thus, a transition from one society into another one is likely to put pressure on the existing “gender systems” and to produce a reconfiguration or re-negotiation, because of changing circumstances. In the Western United States for example, “Basque women often migrated as part of a family project and went to the place where the man had the highest chance of employment (Bullen, 2000, p.222)”. The husband worked out of the home while the wife stayed in the household, therefore differing from the shared responsibility of the farm in the Basque Country. Moreover, these female newcomers had to deal with another handicap, the lack of English language, making them depending upon their husband who were more likely to improve their English during their outside work and sometimes upon their children. Due to the women’s poor fluency in English, they often

³⁰⁰ Margaret Bullen, *op.cit.*, p.58.

³⁰¹ These characteristics are mentioned in Margaret Bullen’s *Basque Gender Studies*, p. 61.

had to rely on their children in order to communicate with the outside world, such as with doctors or their children's teachers. In that case, compared to the situation they left, women lost public status. On the other hand, in New York, women experienced something different. Some of them arrived by themselves, not part of a family project, and those who came along with their husbands worked outside the home.³⁰² Consequently their conception of division of labor changed drastically, bringing them gain in status.

Role Re-negotiation in the Basque Institutions of the Diaspora

Ethnic institutions are especially important for Basque women. These institutions enable women to meet people of their own ethnic group, perpetuate Basque traditions, and for some of them, fill the gap of loneliness.³⁰³ In that sense, as these institutions have been built with the primary objective of perpetuating tradition, they are also likely to perpetuate the traditional gender systems within them, being reluctant or at least less permeable to change, regardless of the realities that immigrants face in the new society.

In her book, Henrietta Moore asks a very important question related to our discussion below: "The question is an old one: if we want to see women as effective social adults in their own right, is it enough to say that they have power within a specifically female domain, or must we argue that they have power in those areas of social life which have so often been presented as the public, political domain of men?".³⁰⁴ As it is the case in the Basque Country, as well as in most part of the world, once in these institutions, women are more likely to be assigned, or to take in charge "domestic tasks" (cooking, activities for children), whereas men will be assigned, or will take in charge "public tasks" (leadership, speeches, sport). This division of labor is intrinsically related to the "status" and "role" of men and women.³⁰⁵ Originally, this division has been studied as the divisions of tasks, roles, and duties within the household (domestic division of labor). With the increased entry of married women into remunerated work, sociologists began to look more closely at the processes that linked home and workplace, including the question of whether or not women's increased involvement in paid labor led to a renegotiation of the "traditional" domestic roles and organization of domestic labor. In 1973, Michael Young and

302 Toticagüena, Gloria. 2003. *Diáspora Vasca Comparada*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzua.

303 Toticagüena finds that Basque institutions became a crucial meeting point of a support network for the women, especially for those housewives living in the rural western United States, handicapped by the lack of language.

304 Moore, H. 1998. *op.cit.*

305 "Status" refers to the position in society, and is associated with "prestige" which reflects how society values a status. How are the women perceived –by themselves and by their male counterparts? "Status" is a concept that permits to discuss the idea of gender inequality as more negative value is given to tasks assigned to women. The term "role" refers to assigned behaviors in a given status. It prescribes how men and women are supposed to act and the different tasks they are expected to undertake.

Peter Wilmott³⁰⁶ argued that husband and wife were increasingly sharing in the complementary tasks of earning a wage and also running a household (optimistic view). But more recent studies have documented in great detail the extent to which the traditional allocation of domestic tasks to women remains largely unaltered;³⁰⁷ this in addition to another employment outside of the home. This division takes place in terms of a domestic/public dichotomy. I personally favor a “middle way” between these two theories cited above. Even though women are still more likely to be assigned domestic tasks is undeniable,³⁰⁸ I also think that their gradual tendency of taking charge of public tasks as well has to be underlined (women working outside the home). Moreover, male participation in the household has increased, but the kind of tasks that men and women do in the household still function according to binary gender roles between men and women: cleaning, cooking versus handyman, and gardening. This evolution is the base for the renegotiation of their role as women. The Basque institutions of the diaspora reflect this general evolution. Women renegotiate their role within the Basque institutions based on their proper experience within the household and the global society, as well as the changing value ascribed to their role. Consequently, women, according to the area, the period, and the generation studied, will be confronted with many different situations.

The evolution of certain roles or status is favored or inhibited by the actors themselves (women and men in our case). The concept of “prejudice” permits the clarification of this point. It means holding a preconceived opinion or bias against, or in favor of, a person, concept or object. Prejudice is characterized by stereotyped beliefs that are not tested against a wider perception of reality, but rather have to do with a person’s own feelings and attitudes. Gordon Allport, in his classic book *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954) defines prejudice as an “antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization”.³⁰⁹ Consequently, as hostile prejudice toward women has decreased tremendously, it is possible to argue that this situation works in favor of women’s emancipation. On the other hand, Glick and Fiske (2001) argue that prejudice toward woman has not disappeared as it has taken a more subtle form.³¹⁰ According to them, overall attitudes toward women are quite favorable (benevolent attitudes), but they constitute a kind of prejudice too. This “subtle form of prejudice”, “patronizing but subjectively positive orientation toward women reinforces gender inequality is a form of prejudice (Glick and Fiske, p. 110, 2001)”. Men tend to behave in a paternalistic manner with women. “Paternalism” is a term within which the dominant partner (men) adopts an attitude and set of practices that suggest provident fostering care for his or her subordinates (women). It alludes to gross inequalities in access to, and exercise of power. Paternalism is a device for managing and legitimating hierarchical

306 Young, M., and Wilmott, P. 1974. *The Symmetrical Family*, New York: Pantheon Books.

307 Morris, Lydia. 1990. *The Workings of the Household*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

308 It has to be mentioned that women often choose these tasks, and this for a variety of reason: because the idea of taking charge of “public” task does not come to their mind, because they think they would not do a good job, etc.

309 Allport, Gordon. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

310 Glick, P., Fiske, S. T. 2001. *An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality*. *American Psychologist*. 56, 109-118.

and exploitative relationships. Thus, this new form of prejudice described by Glick and Fiske is very subtle as “women who endorse benevolent sexism are more likely to tolerate, rather than challenge, sexist behavior when the sexist’s motivation can be interpreted as being protective” (Glick and Fiske, p. 111, 2001). This point joins Jost and Banaji’s system justification perspective (1994)³¹¹ according to which subordinate groups tend to accept their own inferiority, and believe that social structures they are in are fair. Thus, following this theory, women in the Basque institutions of the diaspora should accept this unequal division of labor.

Through this research we want to see how women renegotiated their roles, or in other words, how the gender relationships evolved in the specific case of Basque institutions in the United States. Four major factors come to shape this renegotiation: the gender system of the Old Country, the gender system they integrate after the process of emigration, the general evolution that takes place in the United States with regards to gender relation, as well as the feelings of the actors themselves. Moreover, we want to see whether or not these transformations led to more consistent gender equality.

GENDER PERSPECTIVE APPLIED TO NABO AND ITS MEMBER CLUBS

The research conducted for NABO does bring many interesting insights into the matter.

Gender and Leadership within the Basque American Institutions

First, let us turn our attention to NABO and more specifically to the composition of the delegates that constitute it.

During the second annual Convention of the organization, on August 17, 1974 in Reno, eight men and four women attended the meeting as delegates (we include the chairpersons but we exclude the guests). Elko was represented by two men, Jim Ithurralde and Bob Goicoechea; Boise by two women, Dorothy Aldecoa and Jay Hormaechea; Reno by both a woman and a man, Janet Inda and John Madariaga;

311 Jost and Banaji. 1994. *The role of stereotyping in a system-justification and the production of false-consciousness*, British Journal of Social Psychology, 33, 1-27.

312 NABO Archives, minutes

Ely by two men, Manuel Barrainca and Gilbert Ordoqui; and San Francisco by two men, Jacques Unhassobiscay and Pierre Etcharren. The secretary was a woman from Boise, Miren Rementeria Artiach, and the president a man from Boise, Al Erquiaga. Consequently, at the beginning of NABO, more men than women represented their local clubs in the federation, two thirds men, and one third women in the meeting mentioned.

In the course of the 1970s, –a trend that we notice in the 1980s as well– as more clubs joined NABO, the number of male delegates increased significantly more than the number of female delegates. On June 10, 1978 (Convention meeting), nineteen male delegates (three fourth of the delegates) and seven female delegates (one fourth of the contingent) attended the meeting in Winnemucca. In 1986, the trend is similar: for instance, in May 1986 (Fresno Convention meeting), out of thirty one delegates, eight women attended the meeting.

According to the list of 1996 delegates put together by the secretary of NABO at the time³¹², Clarice Gamboa, the ratio of women to men came back to the one in 1974: one third of women (18) and two third of men (35). But when



Men barbecuing at the Bakersfield 2006 Basque picnic (photo by Gloria Toticagüena).



Women serving at the Bakersfield 2006 Basque picnic (photo by Gloria Totoricagüena).

we look at the composition of the delegates after the year 2000, we observe a quasi equal participation of both men and women. For instance, in Rockspings, Wyoming, at the Convention meeting of 2005, out of thirty three delegates who attended, fifteen of them were women. There is a clear tendency through time of women increasingly taking or being elected to leadership roles within Basque institutions.

Concerning the NABO presidency, besides two exceptions, –Janet Inda from Reno between 1979 and 1981 and Mary Gaztambide from Salt Lake City since 2004– this position has always been filled by men –hence the position of vice-president follows the same pattern as the outgoing president becomes automatically the vice-president of NABO. However, the position of treasurer does not seem to follow any particular pattern, as three men (Jim Ithurralde in 1973-1974, Dave Eiguren in 1981-1983, Jean Leon Iribarren between 1983 and 1987,) and five women have filled it so far (Dorothy Aldecoa from Boise in 1974-1976, Jo Frances Ansolabehere from Bakersfield in 1976-1978, Janet Inda from Reno between 1978-1979, Vicky Bertz from Winnemucca between 1979-1981 and finally Grace Mainvil from Ontario who keeps NABO’s accounts since 1987 to the present). In the minutes of the initial meeting in Sparks, March 1973, the delegates discussed the functions of the future officers of the board of directors constituting NABO, and the following can be read: “He should be able to select his own

secretary”,³¹³ therefore assuming that the different presidents were going to be men. All the secretaries selected by the successive presidents (either men or women) have been women.³¹⁴ It is very illustrative of the fact that men and women are expected to do certain tasks more likely than others.

What happened in the late 1970s, and in the course of the 1980s that further deepened the difference in number between men and women delegates in NABO? As mentioned earlier, new clubs joined NABO at the time, mostly Californian clubs. And they were either men’s clubs (membership open to men only, such as in Chino, in Southern California Eskualdun Club or in Los Banos) or the people in leadership roles were mainly men in the local clubs, hence sending men to represent them in NABO.³¹⁵ What happened in the more recent years? The clubs who joined after the end of the 1980s were composed of both men and women in their leadership committees, and the ones originally with an exclusive male membership started allowing women as members and as leaders. In the case of Los Banos, even though the membership has been open to women for over ten years now, the board of directors is still made up of men only. No woman has been elected to the board –none has shown an interest to join the board– as of 2007.³¹⁶

The Euzko-Etxea of New York joined NABO in 1993, and it was originally a men’s club (founded in 1913) until the late 1980s. The Basque Club of San Francisco also started as a men’s club, and opened its membership to women in 1979.³¹⁷ This does not mean that women did not contribute to these Basque Clubs before those dates, but they did not have the right to vote. Denise Etcharren from San Francisco became NABO’s secretary in 1976 until 1978, under Jacques Unhassobiscay’s presidency, but she was not representing the San Francisco Club. The first woman representing the San Francisco Basque Club as such was Mayi Etcheverry in 1986, but only for one meeting. Then, Mayi Etcheverry became NABO’s secretary, under Jean Leon Iribarren’s presidency, for three years (1987-1990), and she would sometimes fulfill the role of alternate delegate if one of the men could not make it to a meeting. In February 1991, for the first time, Valérie Arrechea Etcharren represented the Basque Club of San Francisco, and has been a delegate to the present.

When one looks at the list of women delegates in NABO, the low number of women born in the Basque Country is immediately striking. And the same observation can be made at the local club level. We are only able to find three women delegates who were born in the Basque Country. The first one, Mayie Maitia from Bakersfield attended several NABO meetings around the years 1979-1982. As mentioned earlier, Mayi Etcheverry from

313 “He” and “his” are underlined by the researcher.

314 See Index Three for the list of the NABO officers over the years.

315 Usually, the NABO delegates are members of the board of directors in their own club.

316 The Basque Club in Los Banos has a Ladies’ Night, free for women. The original purpose of it was to thank the women –originally not members of the club- for their hard work during the festival.

317 The various French Clubs that existed at the time –and to which many Basques belonged- were open to men only: Les Chasseurs, les Faneurs, La Ligue Henri IV. They continue to be that way.

San Francisco attended a meeting in 1986,³¹⁸ and she would eventually fulfill the role of alternate delegate between the years 1987-1990. Finally, in 1993 and 1994, Anne Marie Minaberry from Bakersfield also participated in several meetings. Besides them, all the women who have been delegates in NABO were born in the United States.³¹⁹ Why is that? Different factors play a role in the matter. First of all, the society these women left, the Basque Country, certainly had a high degree of male chauvinism. But also, the nature of the demographic history of the two genders in the American West also favored some sort of a patriarchal structure according to William Douglass:³²⁰

The men were coming in; the women were waiting in hotels, or waiting in private homes for the most part. Men were having an upper mobility. The Basque American society is descended from reasonably successful Basque males. Basques were not immigrating here as family units. They could not take a wife while they were still herding sheep. By the time a man decided that maybe they would stay in the American West, and he wanted to start a family, he was kind of established. He was not going to herd sheep any longer, he had some money, and he either sent back for a wife, or went back, got a wife and brought her here. He might meet someone who was serving in a Basque hotel and marry her. It is really hard to point to individual success stories in economic terms of Basque women. They came in as dependents, either as wives, or to get married, or to serve in somebody's home or in a hotel. You did not have a Basque woman, getting on an airplane, or coming by ship, getting to New York, taking the train to Elko and starting a store in Elko as a single woman.

So it is not really surprising that men have tended to dominate the organizational structure of the Basque Clubs. In a letter written by Jo Frances Ansolabehere from Bakersfield (treasurer of NABO at the time) to Denise Etcharren (secretary of NABO at the time) in March 1977, the sometimes difficult exchange between Basques from the Basque Country and women (either from the Basque Country or U.S. born) transpires: "I did tell our board that I no longer wanted to be their NABO representative. I told them they should choose a handball player, mus playing male as no Basques listen to a woman in the first place".³²¹

Jim Ithurralde, born and raised in the United States, emphasized the strong feelings of many men born in the Basque Country in terms of gender:

The California Basques³²² were very very male. Because I remember when Janet Inda became president, oh oh man! They were not too happy about that. But we pushed it really hard because we thought she would be good so.

318 When the Basque Club of San Francisco opened its membership to women in 1979, Mayi Etcheverry entered the board of directors of the club, along with Malvina Oyharçabal who became the first woman secretary, succeeding to Pierre Etcharren (who was elected vice-president). From that point forward, secretaries have always been women at the San Francisco Basque Club (with the exception of the years between 1982 and 1986 in which Martin Minaberry was secretary).

319 More women were born in the United States, but I decided not to include them in my analysis because they were raised in the United States.

320 Interview with William Douglass, in Reno.

321 NABO archives.

322 Janet Inda was nominated for presidency by Pierre Etcharren from San Francisco. So not all Old World Californian men had problems with her being president.

Janet Inda shares her memories of the time she was president:

I had to work twice as hard, twice as long to get any respect, and I managed it, and there were during both of my elections, men running against me. And I won and I always thought I won fair and square. Very few times does the president of NABO have opposition. Usually when somebody is nominated the nominations are closed. [...]

[...]The mentality in those days was that women could not do those things, should not do those things, that it was a man's world. You don't get in there. If you get involved you are either gay [homo sexual] or you want to rule the world because you have an agenda. The mentality just was not for that. [...] Considering most of them were European-born Basque men, that mentality was very much there, and a lot of the women that were born to European-born parents still had that mentality. I was lucky in the sense that my mother was Danish.³²³

After I got the MGM, that morning that we were going to have the handball players [1981], one of the men from Chino that was born and raised in the Basque Country, [...], came up to me and said: "You should never be NABO president. You have three strikes against you". [...] I said: I know the first strike against me, I don't speak Basque, and I guess the second one against me, I am a woman. But I said: What is the third strike? And he said: "You are an American. [...]"

[...] "Be secretary you know, do the work but don't stand up and give your opinion; that is not necessary".

Bernadette Iribarren, whose husband Jean Leon Iribarren was a delegate of NABO, would sometimes accompany her husband to the various meetings, and other women would do the same (Denise Etcharren, Dorothy Unhassobiscay). The ladies would go shopping, or skiing during the day while their husbands, along with the other delegates, were at the meetings, and they would meet during lunch or dinner time.³²⁴ Nowadays, it is not so uncommon to see women delegates' husbands attend the NABO meetings as guests. But these women delegates were all born in the United States.

In Chino, they now have an individual membership. But among the women who were born in the Basque Country –and who were involved in the club when it was still a men's club–, even though this possibility is open to everyone now, only a few are officially dues-paying members and participate in the membership meetings with the right to vote. The rest consider themselves members of the club because their husbands are members, and they help in the club. They do not give membership itself too much importance.³²⁵

³²³ Her mother came to the United States after she graduated from college, and became a teacher. She was very independent, and allowed her daughter to be that way. Interview with Janet Inda in Reno.

³²⁴ Interview with Bernadette Iribarren and Janet Inda.

³²⁵ Interview with Candida Echeverria from Chino.

In one of the interviews conducted with a couple (the husband –X– came as an immigrant from *Euskal Herria*, and the woman –Y– was born in the United States), a really interesting conversation resulted when I asked them why women from the Basque Country were not that involved in the Basque Clubs. The husband (X) and wife (Y) had a different opinion in the matter:

Y says that it is because the men did not want them to get involved. X does not agree. X thinks it is because most of the clubs were started by the men and run by them. Y: “I don’t think the men like to have the women participate in the club, the men want to do it their way, the women have their opinions and they don’t like what the women have to say. They will cut you off”. She says that this happens in her local club. “I think the women in the United States, I guess they are stronger, they have their own opinion and they are going to voice their opinion, whereas the women that married immigrants, from over there...” X says: “they are shy”, Y adds: “Yes because they have to listen to their husbands”.

The Activities of NABO as Seen Through a Gender Perspective

Since the inception of the NABO mus tournament, the organizers made the point of opening it to everyone, “inviting the participation of all, men and women”.³²⁶ It is nonetheless really interesting to see how they found the need to specify it. In fact, the card game at the time was a predominantly male activity, and not only in the United States. In a letter written in Spanish by Jon Bilbao to his friend at the Basque Center of Caracas, Jon Arechabaleta, concerning some projects they would like to see start between the Venezuela Basque community and the one in the United States, –mus and pelota– Jon Bilbao writes the following: “Aquí [United States] ha comenzado el campeonato de mus (intervienen también mujeres)”.³²⁷ Two women born and raised in the Basque Country (one from *Hegoalde* and the other one from *Iparalde*) went to play mus to Chino in 1982. They should have won second place, but one team from Winnemucca denied them a game, and the women’s team did not make too much noise about it as they did not think they could win anyway:³²⁸

Mais il y avait Winnemucca qui nous avait nié une partie. Et à ce moment là on n’avait pas de juge dans toutes les tables, et comme on était deux femmes personne n’avait fait attention. Et à ce moment là je ne sais même pas s’il y avait d’autres femmes là-bas. Et nous on se disait, bon, on n’aura pas de chance, et voilà.³²⁹

326 NABO minutes, March 12, 1977 meeting, in Reno.

327 NABO Archives, NABO 1973-1989, NABO Correspondence, June 1976-August 1, 1977. Translation: here [the United States] there is a mus tournament (women participate in it).

328 Interview with one of the players, Mayte Oçafrain from San Francisco.

329 Translation: a team from Winnemucca denied us a game. There was not a referee for each table at the time, and nobody noticed anything as we were two women. I don’t even know if there were other women playing there. And we thought, well, we have no chance to win anyway.

330 Interview with Jill Aldape in Boise.

In the Fresno mus tournament, Helen Ugalde and Teresa Garispe have won second place three times, and last year, in 2006, Candida Echeverria and Julie Plaa from Chino won the tournament, marking the first time women have ever won in Fresno.

During the 2007 Reno local mus tournament, 21 teams competed. One team of women from Winnemucca participated (both born in the Basque Country), four teams were made up of both men and women (one born in the Basque Country –myself– and the rest U.S. born Basque Americans), and the rest (17 teams) were all men teams.

In Boise, Jill Aldape is the only woman who participates in the local mus tournament. When she wins against men, the fact that she is a woman puts them in even more “mala leche [furious]”.³³⁰ In Boise, the card game Briska is predominantly female and mus is predominantly male. Consequently, even though the situation has changed, certain activities remain male dominated.

It is the case with pelota as well. Traditionally, in the United States and all over the world, pelota has been dominated by men, and still is. The pelota specialty played exclusively in the United States, until recent times, has been handball. The traumas



Players and delegations during the opening ceremonies of the 1981 Pelota Championship in Mexico City (courtesy of Janet Inda).

caused to the hand by the hard ball could dissuade many people, women and men. But in 1985, at the NABO pelota tournament, a new specialty was introduced: Ladies Pelota Goma. At the same time, this specialty was being introduced at the 1986 World Pelota Championship held in Vitoria-Gasteiz (Araba). In order to prepare American Basque women for the upcoming World Championship, Monique Dieudonné, Director of the Women's section of the French Federation came to the United States in January 1986: she spent two weeks in Chino first, and then went to San Francisco.

Candida Echeverria and Cathy Petrisans from Chino participated in the NABO pelota tournament several times in the Ladies Pelota League. When Cathy Petrisans left Chino, Echeverria was left without a partner and participated with Albert Goyenette in the following 1992 pelota tournament competing against men. But the fact that a woman played in the male league did not please everybody and the matter was taken to the following NABO meeting in February 1993. After a long discussion, "it was brought up that pala should be played according to skills no matter what age or sex the player was", 20 delegates in favor and 6 delegates opposed; it passed. Since that day, NABO has class A and C for men and women that qualify and a class C for ladies. But so far, Candida Echeverria has been the only woman to compete against men.

Until now, NABO mus and pelota chairpersons have always been men. The first music camp chairperson was Janet Inda, and a woman, Valérie Etcharren Arrechea, has served since 1991.³³¹ Are the women more inclined to take charge of children and education related activities? This point will be elaborated below.

Janet Inda remembers, when she went to the international handball games in Mexico City in 1981, "on the opening ceremony, they stood two hundred and some men and me". All the players, all the delegations that came with them, and all the officials were men.

The Mexican handball players were so surprised that I was down there as president, we came in last place, [but] we walked away with the biggest trophy. They gave us a trophy because they thought it was great, and they sent [the trophy] to Los Angeles to get a winged woman, because they could not find a winged woman in Mexico City, they could only find a winged man.

Public/Private Dichotomy

Though there is a general tendency for women to take charge of greater public tasks, the inequality between men and women remains. Women are still more likely to

³³¹ But men have also been in charge of music camp in between.

be assigned, and more importantly, to take charge of domestic roles in these Basque institutions. In effect, all the different tasks developed around Basque Clubs (bar tending, serving, cooking, taking care of the children, etc.) are gendered in the sense that men and women are expected to do certain tasks more often than some others, which is illustrative of the public/domestic dichotomy.

In all Basque Clubs without exception, there have been more men presidents than women presidents. Even though it is gradually changing now, traditionally more men have participated on the Board of Directors than have women. We have also seen how on at least one occasion, a woman president was discriminated against because of her gender.

A clear division of labor is taking place in the different institutions between men and women. For instance, in the San Francisco and Boise clubs, a women's club takes care of activities which fit perfectly in what we call "domestic tasks". The Women's Club in San Francisco takes care of the following tasks: They are in charge of the decoration during various important festivities such as Christmas. They organize a mass and a social event for Palm Sunday. They also put together a Halloween night for children and



Women serving at the Gardnerville 2006 Basque picnic (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

a special event for Mothers' Day and Fathers' Day. They also provide two scholarships to two students every year. They used to take care of the children's room at the Basque Cultural Center (change the curtains, the carpet; buy the toys, the television, etc.) which is taken care of by another committee now.³³² In Boise, the Basque Girls Club also called Basque Girls' Sewing Club and the Basque Girls' Knitting Club was formed in 1936. The next generation of Basque women in Boise formed Aiztan Artean in 1972. In the 1970s, they sponsored a Basque Cooking class and now, among other activities, they help with the children's carnival.³³³

When attending some of the Basque festivals taking place in the summer, one is struck by the clear division of labor and roles in these as well.³³⁴ Always, men are the ones barbecuing, no exception. And from what I have observed, at the barbecue lunch/dinner or picnic type festivals, women are the ones serving the food (San Francisco, Elko, Bakersfield and Gardnerville). In Boise, they have a family potluck, and in Buffalo, one family was responsible for a different booth (hamburgers, sandwiches, drinks), so this observation does not really apply to these two former locations. A testimony gathered shows even more how every person has his/her place:



Men barbecuing at the Gardnerville 2006 Basque picnic (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).



San Francisco klika at the Basque Cultural Center's 25th Anniversary Celebration (photo by Argixu Camus Etchecopar).

Even me, I would never ever think of asking, “Hey would you show me how to do that [barbecue]?” Because this is their place. They would never come to the kitchen and ask “Would you show me how to do the salad?” God, no.³³⁵

In Bakersfield and in San Francisco, they have a Basque marching band with trumpets and cymbals: *klika*. Traditionally, the players have been men from the Basque Country, and now the fathers are teaching the sons, but not the daughters, with a few exceptions. In Bakersfield, one girl plays cymbals, and another one in San Francisco plays trumpet.

Dancing does not appear to be too appealing to young Basque American men. Not many boys continue to dance after the age of 12, preferring collective American sports over it. It is then really interesting to go to Boise, and observe that there are as many men as women in the older group, the Oinkari Basque Dancers. There is a positive status and image attached to the Boise dance group that plays an important role in attracting new men or at least keeping them. According to Ricardo

³³² Interview with Mayte Oçafraïn in San Francisco.

³³³ Totoricagüena, Gloria. *Boise Basques: Boise Basques, Dreamers and Doers, op.cit.*

³³⁴ In 2006, I had the opportunity to go to several festivals or Basque functions: Chino (monthly dinner), Bakersfield (festival), San Francisco (Anniversary week end Festival and Fall Festival), Elko (festival), Boise (festival), Reno (festival), Buffalo (NABO Convention) and Gardnerville (festival).

³³⁵ Interview with a woman born in the United States.

Yanci, the dance group has become the envy of everybody, “That is what everybody wants to belong to”. But also, the dances appear to be manly, they are tough dances where they hit sticks, a lot of kicks, and they have sores. Both Jill Aldape and Ricardo Yanci explained how the male contingent of the dance group is really aware and pays attention to that point as well. “Our guys are really resistant to do some of the polkas, and the waltz”, said Aldape. That would be considered more “feminine”.

Consequently, there are a lot of interesting points that come out immediately when one analyzes gender in Basque institutions.

I will end the chapter on that note, hoping that more and more researchers of diaspora studies will systematically study both men and women immigrants and their descendants, and will listen to what both men and women have to say on the immigrant experience.

D’ailleurs je suis très contente, c’est la première fois qu’on interview une femme. Je l’ai d’ailleurs eu dire a Jean Leon quand on allait en France, car lui était invité un peu partout,



Bakersfield klika at the 2006 Kern County Basque Club annual picnic (photo by Gloria Totricagüena).



Boise Oinkari dancers during the 2006 Shepherd's Ball (photo by Estibalitz Ezkerra).

« et alors la femme? » Je disais. Car c'était toujours plus 1. Et alors la femme elle a des choses à dire. Les femmes sont allées en Amérique la même chose. Moi je suis venue ici jeune fille, comme les jeunes garçons. Et pourquoi la femme n'a rien à dire?³³⁶

³³⁶ Interview with Bernadette Iribarren in San Francisco. Translation: I am really happy; it is the first time that a woman is interviewed. I used to tell Jean Leon when we would go to France, because he was invited everywhere, "what about the wife?" I used to say. Because it was always "plus one". Women have things to say as well. Women have been to the United States as well. I personally came as a young lady, just like young men. And why do women have nothing to say?



Basque Go NABO

(06)

vernment– Relations

The Basque Autonomous Government of *Euskadi* collaborates with and subsidizes diaspora communities spread all around the world.

Already in 1936, after the approbation of the Statutes of Autonomy of Euskadi, the new Basque Government showed an interest in starting contacts with other countries comprising important Basque collectivities (Ugalde, 2007, p.37)³³⁷. With the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and the victory of general Francisco Franco over the Republic coalition, the newly created Basque Government's officials fled the Basque Country and established themselves first in Paris, and then in New York. After 1979, with the re-establishment of the autonomy statutes for *Euskadi*, the successive governments continued to view the collaboration with the Basques living abroad as necessary. President Carlos Garaikoetxea sent a letter to Martin Minaberry –International Chairman of NABO– in January 1983, in which he stated the following:

“Como bien sabes estamos estructurando poco a poco y en la medida de las posibilidades de cada momento, la que considero importante relación de nuestro gobierno con las comunidades vascas del exterior. Esta ha sido una de mis preocupaciones de siempre pues no en vano los Lehendakaris Aguirre y Leizaola crearon y mantuvieron

³³⁷ Ugalde Zubiri, Alexander. 2007. *Memoria de la Direccion de Relaciones con las Colectividades Vascas en el Exterior del Gobierno Vasco (1980-2005)*. Manuscript, p.37.

durante tantos años, en época tan adversa y con tanta dedicación, esta importante prioridad”.³³⁸

The Basque Government collaborates with the various Basque diasporic communities in recognition of the many Basque diaspora communities’ members that financially and politically helped the Basque Government in exile. The first main initiative in the matter was the organization of a World Congress in Donostia-San Sebastián in September 1982 regarding the future of the diaspora. As we will have the opportunity to develop it further later, the United States sent a delegation and was among ten countries represented.

NABO-BASQUE GOVERNMENT RELATIONS, 1982-1994

First Contact: 1980, Culminated By the 1982 Congress

The first mention of the Basque Government in the minutes of the NABO meetings dates as of 1980, in regards to the fact that the Basque Government was trying to organize a conference of Basque collectivities from around the world. This idea was brought to the NABO delegates’ attention. Again, in 1981, the delegates discussed the following at the March 21, 1981 meeting:

Janet [Inda] brought up the proposed Europe trip [to the congress] this summer and stated that the Basque Government had canceled it. She stated that they felt they did not have enough time to put it together properly but that they would like to come to one of our meetings and get the feelings of the delegates. They have asked if they could send some of the government officials over and visit some of the clubs during their picnics. Most of the clubs felt that it would have a political connotation overtone even if nothing political was discussed. They felt just the presence of the Basque president and some of his cabinet would not lend itself to our ideals of staying away from politics. Some delegates felt if these men were willing to let us know ahead of time what they were going to talk on we could then decide whether invite them to the November meeting in Reno (March 21, 1981 meeting minutes).

The Basque Government sponsored a Congress of American Basques in the city of San Sebastián from September 2nd through September 7th 1982. Delegates from Argentina (83 people), Canada (4), the United States, Chile (9), Colombia (3), Mexico

³³⁸ NABO archives, François Pedeflous’ archives. Translation: As you well know, we are in the process of organizing what I consider the important relations between our government and the Basque communities abroad. This point has always been one of my preoccupations, and it is not in vain that Presidents Aguirre and Leizaola created and maintained this important priority.

(3), Peru (2), Uruguay (5) and Venezuela (14) as well as an observer from the Philippines attended the Congress. Including their companions, the group totalled 203 persons.

NABO was represented by Martin Minaberry at the conference, designated by the President of the organization at the time, François Fedeflous.³³⁹ Martin Minaberry was also the President of the San Francisco Basque Club and secretary of the U.S. Federation of Pelota. Jean Leon Oçafrain, member of the Board of Directors of the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center and his wife, Mayte, also attended, as did professor Jon Bilbao from the Basque Studies Program in Reno, Gloria Castresana and Juan Cruz Mendizabal from the Society of Basque Studies in America, and Carmelo Urza, coordinator of the Boise State University-University of Nevada, Reno University Studies Consortium in the Basque Country. Cipriano Larriaga, last delegate to New York of the Basque Government was also present at the final gathering.

Carmelo Urza and Martin Minaberry redacted a long report about the 1982 Congress which stated the following: “Flanked by the colorful Miñones at the impressive Miramar Palace overlooking the magnificent Bay of San Sebastián shrouded in mist, the participants were welcomed to *Euskadi* in an emotionally charged ceremony presided over by the *Lehendakari* Carlos Garaikoetxea”.³⁴⁰ President Garaikoetxea addressed the assembly in Basque and Spanish using these words:

Welcome to this motherland, Basque brothers of America. As president of Euskadi, I want to express our unbounded recognition of those of you who have known how to keep alive bonds of affection with this country. We believe that what happens in *Euskadi* concerns all Basques wherever they may be. We are all the Basque people. Consequently, while there remains only one man and woman who feels roots in this land and desires to live and feel as Basque, it will be an essential obligation to those of us who represent *Euskadi* to facilitate the means to make that possible. I want to proclaim before you all that the reality of this country is one in which the immense majority of men and women ardently desire peace and detest violence, and they pursue with equal earnestness their national liberties. Peace will finally impose itself, and their legitimate recovery of self-government will likewise triumph, for no dictatorship nor democracy can detain the collective consciousness of a people.³⁴¹

The Congress was divided in six commissions, which published their respective resolutions at the end. 1) One Commission studied the institutionalization of relations between the Basque communities of the American continents and the Basque Government. The diaspora communities expressed the need to establish institutions “which may serve to affirm our common identity as a people, recuperate our language

339 Pedeflous was unable to attend the Conference in such a short notice. He contacted Jacques Unhassobiscay, International Relations Chairman for NABO who was also unable to go. However, Unhassobiscay advised Pedeflous that Martin Minaberry, president of the San Francisco Basque Club, was on his way to the Basque Country. He then authorized Minaberry to represent NABO there.

340 NABO Archives.

341 *Idem*.

and strengthen the bonds between the Basque communities and Euskadi”.³⁴² 2) Commission on scholarships. 3) Commission on the means of communication between America and Euskadi. Among other means, they discussed the creation of a magazine published in Euskadi with the collaboration of the Basque communities around the world (the future *Euskal Etxeak* magazine, published from 1988 on). 4) The Commission on cultural exchange discussed the exchange of dancers, musicians, choirs and artists, as well as film and literary material. “This commission also recommends that the American Basque centers commit themselves to the teaching of the Basque language, soliciting the necessary assistance from the Basque Government”.³⁴³ 5) The Commission on commercial relations resolved to create commercial organizations in American localities. 6) The Commission on sports.

In addition to the work sessions held at the University campus of San Sebastián, the participants were taken on various excursions to the offices of the Basque Government, and a tour of Loyola among others, and receptions with the Mayor of Vitoria-Gasteiz, with the ministers of government and the *Lehendakari* himself.

These gatherings were essential for establishing the nature of the relations between the Basque Government and the Basque collectivities that were about to take place. The Basque Government therefore presented itself as the means of enforcing Basque culture in the world, and as an important means that could be useful to the various Basque communities spread all around the world. It also wanted to stress how much the Basque Government cared about the various Basque collectivities, illustrated by a strategy that is still followed today during the various encounters between Basque Government officials and the Basque communities of the diaspora: an informal relationship. For instance, in this 1982 encounter, the first of a long series³⁴⁴, the delegates had the opportunity to shake the hand of the Basque President and even exchange a conversation with him. Other redundant points the Basque Government stresses when meeting with diaspora representatives are the importance of the Basque language, the will to demarcate themselves from any violence and the right of self-determination of the Basque people.

In the aftermath of the 1982 encounter, Martin Minaberry was nominated the NABO International Chair and was to become the Basque Government’s main contact until 1991, when Jesus Pedroarena took office, nominated by the newly elected NABO president, Steve Mendive. The general tenets of the relations between the Basque Government and the Basque communities outside of the Basque Country have originated in the different committee workshops at the American Basque Congress in Donosti-San Sebastián in September 1982. Iñaki Anasagasti was assigned the duty of developing the relations with the communities outside, but he did not go to the

³⁴² Idem.

³⁴³ Idem.

³⁴⁴ In 1989, delegates from various countries met in Bahía Blanca for the World Congress of Basque Centers. In 1995, 1999, 2003, and 2007 the Basque Government organized the World Congress of Basque Communities in *Euskadi*.

United States, going only to Argentina and Venezuela. However, NABO did receive subsidies from the Basque Government, such as the printing of a full color calendar in 1985 as well as an official reception of the Oinkari Basque Dancers during their 1985 tour of the Basque Country for their 25th Anniversary Celebration. Also, Martin Minaberry and Jon Bilbao met with President Carlos Goikoetxea and the delegate to the Basque Communities of the diaspora, Iñaki Anasagasti, on July 6th, 1984, and with the representatives of Euskal Telebista (Basque Television) on July 20th. The second meeting was called in order to ensure the carrying out of the project of spreading the Basque culture in the Basque diaspora as decided by the Congress in September 1982 and the *Lehendakari* assured them of available funds to carry out the project, such as the costs for transferring the videos to the American broadcasting system (1990 International Relations Report).

First Basque Government Representative to the United States and Visit of the *Lehendakari*

Through the creation of the Service for Relations with the Basque Centers in 1984, and the appointment of its first manager, Jokin Intxausti, in September 1985, the relations between the Basque Government and the diaspora Basque Collectivities experienced a qualitative improvement. Intxausti visited several countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, and Chile, before coming to the United States in February 1986, a trip within which he attended two NABO meetings including the NABO Convention meeting on April 26, 1986 in Fresno, and he visited several local Basque communities. His visit improved the prospect of shared relations between NABO and the Basque Government. Intxausti arrived on February 1st to Salt Lake City and attended the afternoon session of the NABO meeting held that day. According to the minutes of that particular meeting held in Salt Lake City, the delegates stressed that “His [Jokin Intxausti’s] purpose in visiting is cultural, non-political”.³⁴⁵ Intxausti visited several Basque communities such as Boise, Las Vegas, Reno, Ontario, Fresno, Bakersfield, San Francisco, Caldwell, Chino, Los Angeles, Winnemucca, Elko, and Los Banos. He was present at the 1986 NABO Convention, and the Basque Government additionally financed five musicians from the Basque Country to accompany him.

The Service for Relations with the Basque Centers was established in the Ministry of Culture [and Tourism] in 1984, and its first assessor, Jokin Intxausti, traveled through Europe, the Americas and the Philippines investigating the current circumstances of the Basque diaspora organizations. His untimely death in 1986 was followed by the appointment of Josu Legarreta who further developed the goals of his office and expanded communications between the homeland government and the diaspora centers (Totoricagüena, 2004, p.156).

345 NABO Archives, February 1, 1986 Meeting Minutes.



Jokin Intxausti, representative of the Basque Government during his visit to the United States, and François Pedeflous from Fresno, in 1986 (courtesy of François Pedeflous).

After the sudden death of Intxausti, Josu Legarreta was appointed as the new assessor for the relations with the Basque communities outside of the Basque Country and financial assistance to NABO festivals and calendars continued. Josu Legarreta attended the 1997 Convention meeting in Boise and expressed himself in these terms: “Josu stressed that this position of contact with the Basques outside Euzkadi is very important to the Lehendakari [...] Even though Euzkadi has no official ambassadors outside the Basque Country, Josu indicated that the NABO people are the best ambassadors Euzkadi could have (1987 Convention meeting minutes)”.

In February 1988, the *Lehendakari* himself, José Antonio Ardanza, visited the Basque American community and attended a NABO meeting in San Francisco. During that meeting, he gave a long and interesting speech to the NABO delegates. Ardanza started by stressing how this trip represented the beginning of a firmer commitment on the part of the Basque Government to strengthen their relations, and this for many reasons: One, to give public recognition to what these communities had achieved in the maintenance of Basque culture in the United States; a recognition that would be translated into official action. Then, because of the contribution NABO delegates and the people they represent make to Basque people in general. Ardanza also pointed out how NABO had contributed to overcoming the differences between *Iparralde* and *Hegoalde*. “It is within this unity of linguistic and cultural bonds that I, too, am here

today as *Lehendakari* of the Basque Government”. The Government, although aware that it represented only one part of the Basques, wanted to become a privileged exponent of “our” entire community. “I am sure this is what your invitation intended”, said the *Lehendakari*. The president was aware that many of the Basques were from *Iparralde*. Until now, the relations had been “sporadic and intermittent” but his visit wanted to mark a new direction. Ardanza mentioned some concrete steps that had just been taken in the matter: declarations of intentions had been taken with the Governors of Nevada and Idaho. The day before the meeting, an agreement was signed with the University of Nevada, Reno in order to promote research and publications, and to establish a permanent exchange program for professors and students between the Nevada University and the University of the Basque Country. Moreover, Ardanza explained the will of the government to give a legal framework to the relation with the communities abroad. Finally, he concluded by listing the principles shaping such an endeavor: 1) The Basque Government wants to help because of Basque Americans’ commitment to their cultural identity. “Our policy of support is simply the obligatory response of Basques institutions to your logical call for help”. 2) “Our policy of support must be based on respect. Respect for plurality of opinion”. Ardanza emphasized that these relations did not contradict with their identity as Americans. 3) Work together in a relationship of reciprocity.

On September 1988, the Basque Parliament adopted a bill for granting financial subsidies to specific projects and activities. Martin Minaberry happened to be in Europe attending the World Championship of pelota for those under 22, and met with Josu Legarreta. Minaberry completed and submitted an application for every single item of the bill and two projects, the calendar and the NABO festival, received help, while some books and videos were sent later to the clubs. At the end of 1988, the Basque Government announced the publication of a magazine in English and in Spanish, *Euskal Etxeak*, with news from both *Euskadi* and the Basque communities around the world, a project that was presented to the NABO delegates, and some clubs requested it (1990 International Relations Report).

In 1989, an additional grant to pay the overseas trip for two singers to represent the United States at the singing contest in *Iparralde* was requested and accepted by the Basque Government. However, these free round trips were not used as the two beneficiaries could not get a leave of absence from their jobs.

In December 1984, Iñaki Anasagasti sent a letter to Martin Minaberry asking him if he had had the opportunity to suggest the undertaking of a book on NABO: “Has podido plantear la edición de un libro con la historia de la NABO?” The Basque Government had just published a history on FEVA in 1984,³⁴⁶ and it wanted to see something similar undertaken for the United States. In 1986, Patty Miller from Boise was assigned by NABO the task of collecting histories from all NABO clubs to be

346 1984. FEVA, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.

compiled in a booklet and then made available to each member clubs, and with the Basque Government willing to publish it but the project was finally stillborn.

At the 1987 NABO Convention in Boise, Martin Minaberry reported that Josu Legarreta had prepared an informational questionnaire that he would like all the organizations to complete and return to him. This was to provide the Basque Government with more information on the clubs and groups for future connections with *Euskadi*. In fact, the Basque Government was, and still is, interested in knowing the situation of each Basque collectivity: the number of Basque Centers, their membership, the context of foundation, their population, the objectives, etc.

Therefore, the first World Congress of Basque Centers held in Bahía Blanca November 1st through 11, 1989³⁴⁷ intended to improve the Basque Government's knowledge of its diaspora. Twenty four representatives from eleven countries attended the congress: Argentina, Chile, Australia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, Uruguay, Mexico, Spain and the United States. Steve Mendive and Martin Minaberry represented NABO at the congress. The representatives of each country presented a previously prepared report about their respective community's situation.



Lehendakari Ardanza and Jean Leon Iribarren at the 1988 Semana Vasco-Argentina (courtesy of Bernadette Iribarren).

The delegates discussed the agenda and then divided into committees for more detailed discussions and recommendations: Methods and Communication Committee, Social Action Committee, Education and Cultural Committee, Mus, Institutional Commission Committee, Economy and Tourism Committee, Education and Culture Committee. “Under the topic: “Basque Image in the World”, the Argentine delegation proposed the adoption of a resolution against terrorism: “Without harm to the historic rights of the Basque Community, we condemn the violence, and with the same feeling we agree with the initiative of the Basque Government as interpreted in the “Pact of Ajuria Enea”. After spirited discussion, the Resolution was signed by all nations except the United States, which abstained”.³⁴⁸ The U.S. delegates considered that they could not sign it without previously addressing it to the NABO delegates, as it would go against NABO’s apolitical principal. Resolution II was signed by all: “we demand the finalization of legislation promised by Lehendakari Ardanza, hoped for and necessary, that the autonomous government formally recognize the relationship between the Basque Government and the Basque Centers of the World”.

Resolution I was placed on the agenda of NABO’s following meeting, which convened on February 24, 1990, in Fresno, California. And as stated in a letter sent by Steve Mendive to Josu Legarreta, “the delegates expressed appreciation for all the support and assistance received from the Basque Government. However, after considerable discussion, the delegates voted to affirm a resolution which condemns all violence without reference to the Pact Ajuria Enea”.³⁴⁹

1990 Basque Government Grant and the Issues it Raised

In 1989, no formal applications for grants were received by the NABO president or the International Chairman. But at the end of 1989 they received a fax from Josu Legarreta explaining how 4,000,000 pesetas (\$32,656) had been allotted by the Department of Culture to several projects in the United States. 1,000,000 pts (\$8,164) was directly versed into Boise Basque Center’s account in *Euskadi*. But the rest was deposited into the year-old NABO account in *Euskadi* for the research of Mirentxu Amezaga on Vicente Amezaga Aresti, finance the book *Basques from America* and to purchase multi system VCR-TV equipment for five Basque Centers with their own clubhouse.

Then, during 1989, several individuals contacted NABO and asked it to forward their application to the Basque Government for 1990: Stanley Bordagaray, Carmelo Urza, Nancy

³⁴⁷ The Congress was held in conjunction with the 80th Anniversary Celebration of the Bahia Blanca Basque Center, and the celebration of the second Semana Vasca.

³⁴⁸ Report presented by Steve Mendive to the NABO delegates. NABO Archives.

³⁴⁹ NABO archives, NABO minutes (February 24, 1990).

Zubiri, Basque Educational Organization,³⁵⁰ John and Jenny Yursa, and Martin Minaberry. They had all previously contacted the Basque Government and were told to make their requests through NABO. The request for support of the NABO newsletter was also sent to the Basque Government, with a refund of expenses for the sound system purchased by the Gardnerville club for the Kantari Eguna. For the Jaialdi event in 1990, the Basque Government paid for the group *Argia*, *trikitxak* and *bertsolaris* to attend and perform. Thus, NABO sent various requests for Basque Government funding in 1990 as “NABO projects” totaling \$165,000. \$82,500 dollars were granted by the Basque Government and it was left up to NABO to distribute the money among all the projects presented. But this money raised various issues. First of all, the projects had never been discussed by the NABO delegates, and second of all, the political issue was once again brought to the floor. The International Chairman in place at the time of the allocation of the grant, Martin Minaberry, presented the problems raised by the money granted in a report presented to the NABO delegates in February 1991 in Salt Lake City.³⁵¹

Will the financial help offered and accepted create division among us? Should we or should we not enter in some aspect of political game “divide in order to reign?” Is it unacceptable that the Basque Government uses our organizational structure to reach non-affiliated associations and as a feedback channel from them? What is the most important? The power of decision at the NABO level or the stimulation of creating new activities and creative projects at each club level?

At the fall 1990 NABO meeting in Reno, “The delegates discussed at length whether to accept this money granted by the Basque Government for these ‘NABO projects’ (meeting minutes)”. They finally decided to accept it, and a committee constituted of four people was appointed by the NABO president, Steve Mendive from Boise, to review the disbursement of funds allocated by the Basque Government to NABO projects. In a two-hour conference call, the committee decided that of the \$82,500 dollars allocated, \$58,000 dollars would be for the individual projects they had received and that the rest would be for the annual NABO projects such as music camp, pelota, kantari eguna, mus, etc., therefore contrasting with what the money had been allocated for by the Basque Government and actual applications. Originally, the only NABO project per se that had been requested by NABO and granted by this 1990 Basque Government grant was the newsletter. But as NABO was given the responsibility to disburse the money on these supposedly “NABO projects”, without this matter being discussed among the delegates in the first place, the other individual projects were perceived as competing with the “real” NABO projects and it was finally decided to allocate more money to the “real” NABO projects than what had been requested.³⁵²

350 In 1989, a teacher was sent by the Basque Government to initiate an euskara teaching program, and the BEO sent an application for continuance of the program in 1990.

351 NABO archives.

352 When one of the individual applicants of this 1990 grant, Carmelo Urza, learned that this grant was perceived as competing with other NABO projects, he decided to reject any claim to the money that had been allocated to him. Therefore, in a letter Urza sent to the president of NABO, Mendive: “At this time, in order to avoid any appearance of conflict for funding I am rejecting any claim to any Basque Government funding to NABO (NABO archives)”.

The NABO president sent a letter to the clubs stating the decision taken by the committee regarding the disbursal of the grant and asking each club if they approved it. Chino, Reno, San Francisco (both the Basque Club and the Basque Cultural Center), and Los Banos rejected the proposal, Winnemucca abstained and the rest of the clubs approved. The San Francisco Basque club delegates, in a letter sent to Steve Mendive in December 1990, explained they rejected the decision taken by the committee because the majority of the projects were not NABO sponsored projects, but they also advanced two other reasons:

We believe that NABO is an organization who is working for the benefit of the paying member clubs, and should be run by its bylaws. It should be determined whether or not accepting money from the Basque Government violates the non-political aspects of the by-laws. [...] We feel that NABO should be self-reliant, without having to depend on the Basque Government.³⁵³

Virginia Urgoitia, delegate from Reno, in a letter sent to Mendive also shares her feelings about the Basque Government:

In my opinion, our accepting it [the money] jeopardizes our future. I have discussed this with some of the officers in detail and they too feel the situation is going to create a lot of problems. [...] Are we allowing him [Josu Legarreta] or the Basque Government to make us an agent that will only create more GREED among all the Basques in North America? Possibly he feels because the Basque Government gives, they can dictate. Accepting grants gives the opportunity to dictate exactly what they want. An example of this is the calendar. Because they pay for it they do as they wish.³⁵⁴

A letter from Chino to Steve Mendive states the following: “Our club’s concern is that NABO is on the course of becoming manipulated from abroad (political fears)”.³⁵⁵ A final letter from John Ysursa commenting on the recent problems caused by the grant is worth adding here:

The Basque Government has indeed put NABO in a fix. This issue is a can of worms because it involves 1) money 2) the Basque Government, whom may NABO clubs have chosen to distance themselves from because of reasons that include a fear of outside control of their autonomous affairs and the mistaken –but many believe true– notion that the Basque Government is the same as ETA. I know that the Chino and Los Banos clubs have explicitly refused any connection with them.³⁵⁶

This issue over the 1990 grant caused serious dissensions among NABO clubs and feelings got hurt. In fact, if the Basque Government showed its will to work with NABO as representative of the Basques in the United States by giving it the responsibility

353 NABO archives.
354 NABO archives.
355 NABO archives.
356 NABO archives.

of managing the money allocated for the year 1990, at the same time, the Basque Government sent subsidies directly to the Boise community. As an illustration of this idea, in the International Chairman's report presented to the NABO delegates in February 1991, Minaberry asks the following: "How can we understand that one club received funds directly from the Basque Government", when the Winnemucca people were hoping to get financial help for the Convention festival to be held at their location in 1991, but were given a negative answer (?).

In Salt Lake City, February 1991, the delegates once again discussed the issue of whether or not to accept any money coming from the Basque Government, the issue of political involvement, the importance of being self reliant, as well as how to handle the grant with some clubs wanting to do it themselves directly whereas others wanted to do it through NABO. It was finally approved to accept the grants and to continue to solicit them from the Basque Government as long as it was for cultural benefit. It was accepted by all, with two delegates opposed.

All the grants allocated through NABO in 1990 implied to be justified by January 1991. But two of the projects³⁵⁷ financed in 1990 by the Basque Government were still pending in 1993, which caused NABO penalizations to receive any more grants from the Basque Government until 1994.

The relation with the Basque Government and the U. S. Basque clubs was not very well understood and, as a consequence, not very well managed until the mid-1990s. Unfortunately this caused dissensions and misunderstandings.

NABO-BASQUE GOVERNMENT RELATIONS AFTER 1994

From 1991 through 1994, the Basque Government program in charge of the relations with the Basque diasporic communities moved under the responsibility of the Presidency, within the activities of the General Secretary of Foreign Action. "By 1994, the Basque Government decided to make a qualitative change in relations between the institutions of the homeland and those of the Basque communities abroad. The institutional development of Euskadi and its increasing self-government and the judicial and political framework of the Law on Relations with Basque Communities (*Ley 8/1994*) provided a substantial foundation for a new start (Totoricagüena, 2004, p.157)". The Law of Relations with Basque Communities Outside the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country was passed in May 1994. Regulated by the 8/1994 Law, under the category "Basque Center", the Basque Government includes: 1) Basque institutions as

357 Two book projects: Nancy Zubiri's and Carmelo Urza's.

358 Ugalde Zubiri, Alexander, *op.cit.* p.26.

359 Ugalde Zubiri, Alexander, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-36.

such; 2) Federations or confederations of Centers such as NABO, 3) Other organizations that do not fit in the first two categories mentioned such as museums, choirs, dance groups, research centers; 4) Foundations and Institutions with economical and commercial purposes. For instance, the American Basque Foundation in function from 1994 to 1997 in Boise and Washington D.C. promoted economic and commercial ties in the United States for the Basque Autonomous Government.³⁵⁸

In order for a Basque Center to receive financial help from the Basque Government, it has to be officially recognized by it. Thus, in 2007, the Basque Government recognizes 159 Basque Centers located in twenty one different countries, with thirty five Basque Centers in the United States, including NABO. Following is a list of the U.S. Basque Centers recognized by the Basque Government with their year of recognition:³⁵⁹ Colorado Euskal Etxea (2004), Kern County Basque Club (1999), Battle Mountain Oberenak Club (1999), Basque Museum and Cultural Center (1996), Cenarrusa Center for Basque Studies (2004), Boise Euzkaldunak (1996), Oinkari Basque Dancers (1998), Big Horn Basque Club (1997), Chino Basque Club (1999), Los Angeles Oberena Basque Club (1999), NABO (1999), Elko Euzkaldunak Club (1997), Fresno Basque Club (1996),



1999 World Congress of Basque Collectivities (courtesy of Bob Echeverria).

Mendiko Euskaldun Cluba (1996), Gooding Basque Association (1996), Txoko Ona Homedale (2002), Lagun Onak Las Vegas Basque Club (1997), Los Banos Basque Club (1999), Txoko Alai Euskal Etxea of Miami (1997), Euskal Lagunak Mountain Home (1997), Basque Club of Utah (1997), Marin-Sonoma Basque Association (1999), Euzko-Etxea of New York (1996), Society of Basque Studies in America (1997), Ontario Basque Club (1997), Southern California Basque Club (1999), Zazpiak Bat Basque Club of Reno (1998), Alkartasuna Basque Club of Wyoming (1996), Anaitasuna Basque Club (1999), San Francisco Basque Cultural Center (1997), Basque Club of California (1997), Seattle Euskal Etxea (1997), Inland Northwest Euskal Etxea (1997), Ventura County Basque Club Itxaso Alde (1997), Portland Basque Club (1997).

All the centers listed above are NABO members, with the exception of the Txoko Alai Euskal Etxea of Miami and two of them are now inactive, the Portland Basque Club and the Inland Northwest Euskal Etxea in Spokane. When looking at the list, one can also notice that five NABO clubs are not listed: the Susanville and Winnemucca clubs are not registered with the Basque Government for reasons that we will develop later; NABO's newest member, Iparreko Ibarra of Rocklin, California is in the process of being recognized; the Basque Educational Organization and the Center for Basque Studies in Reno do not fit in the category of "Basque Center" as defined by the Basque Government but are recognized by it.³⁶⁰

The Issue of Registration

In order for a Basque Center to receive the benefits stipulated by the 8/1994 Law approved by the Basque Government on May 27th, 1994, it has to be registered and therefore recognized by the Basque Government. But a special article of the law concerns the federation such as NABO which stipulates that in order for a federation type of organization to be recognized, every single club that constitutes it has to be recognized first.

Article 6. On federation and confederations of Basque Centers:

3.– The recognition of federations will be effected using the same requirements and procedure as in the case of Basque centers provided that all Basque Centers that make up the federation have previously been recognized and registered in the Register of Basque Centers (Law 8/1994).

³⁶⁰ The Center for Basque Studies of the University of Nevada, Reno, does not receive any grants from the office of the Basque Government in charge of the relations with the Basque diasporic communities

Also, until 1996, when joining NABO, an association did not have to be incorporated, while this point was a requirement in order to become recognized by the Basque Government according to the Law passed in 1994. As a consequence, at the 1997 Convention meeting of NABO in Chino, the delegates decided to amend the bylaws (amendment #14) regarding the requirements of each club to become a member of NABO adding registration with the Basque Government:

In addition to Art. II Sec 1,2,3, “members” and the 4th amendment “Election and Qualifications”: Basque clubs or organizations seeking membership in the North American Basque Organizations, Inc., must complete and submit the Basque Government registration forms at the same time as they apply to join to the North American Basque Organizations, Inc.

The 8/1994 law provides for a Registry of Basque Centers, for which each Center is required to provide information such as its bylaws and articles of incorporation, the center’s address and telephone number, as well as to collect the names, birthplaces and date of birth, languages spoken, and citizenships held by its members. Originally,



Miren Azkarate, minister of Culture of the Basque Government, during the 2007 NABO February meeting in San Francisco (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

the 1994 law stipulated that “the Registry of Basque Centers-Euskal Etxeak is public in nature. Its public nature will be manifested facilitating its data to whoever may solicit it (Decree 318/1994)”. As Totoricagüena explains, “following complaints from several countries, especially the United States, regarding privacy and security, the registry is now a private databank of the Basque Government, ordered by Decree 106/1996. (Totoricagüena, 2004, p.157)”. Many letters went back and forth between the NABO president at the time, Bob Echeverria, and the person in charge of the Basque collectivities of the diaspora from 1995 through 1999, Iñaki Aguirre³⁶¹, concerning that issue. The main argument from the part of the United States was that it infringed strongly upon the privacy rights of the U.S. citizens. After much discussion, on June 1st 1996, the modification of the decree of the Registration and Recognition of the Basque Centers located outside of the Basque Autonomous community took effect. It guarantees the confidentiality and privacy of the personal data that they have given to the Basque Government. The information will not be given to any entity without the previous knowledge and consent of the member in question. The information will be recorded in the Register of Basque Centers, with the only aim of facilitating the relations with the Basque communities. As Iñaki Aguirre explains in a letter sent to Bob Echeverria on June 6th, 1996, “We hope that in this way, the communication and confidence between us will grow and that we will be able to obtain the necessary information to make the register efficient, with the sole aim of giving better service and help from this Basque Government to all the descendants of this country that are all over the world”. Thus, nowadays, a Basque Center can register without turning in information on every one of its members. Usually, among the NABO clubs, the individual members may choose to give their information, or not.

NABO registered with the Basque Government in 1997, but was only recognized by it in 1999, after all the NABO clubs sent the required documentation to the government. Iñaki Aguirre visited several Basque communities of the American West on two occasions, in 1996 and 1997, with the aim of convincing the clubs of the importance of being registered with them. But a few clubs remained skeptical still in 1998. Thus, on August 26, 1998, Pierre Etcharren from San Francisco met with the Los Banos club members in order to convince them to register with the Basque Government. According to this meeting’s minutes:

There is no political affiliation and no political ties or political support of any type connected to the grants from the Basque Government. [...] Our club [Los Banos] and its members and its representatives and any of our members who register, in no way would be connected to the Basque Government politically now or in the future. It is our understanding that we can drop our membership to NABO and cancel our registration with the Basque Government any time in the future if we so desire.³⁶²

361 In 1999, Iñaki Aguirre moved up to the General Secretary of Foreign Action and Josu Legarreta was reappointed as the director of relations with Basque Communities outside of the Basque Country.

362 The minutes of the Los Banos club meeting are located in the NABO archives.

So, when it was made clear that there was no political connection with the Basque Government, the Los Banos club agreed to fill out the registration application.

In May 19, 1999, in a letter addressed to Iñaki Aguirre, the president of NABO wrote the following: “NABO formally requests that the listed clubs [Winnemucca Danak Bat Club and Susanville Basque Club] will, from this date, and for the purpose of NABO and Gobierno Vasco relations, be “clubs of friendship” to NABO! These clubs have not chosen to register with the Gobierno Vasco at this time but this declaration, as a “club of friendship”, shall not prevent their registration at some future date!”³⁶³ The Basque Government accepted the request and NABO could finally meet the requirements and be recognized in 1999.

Although not recognized by the Basque Government until 1999, the Government and NABO worked a way for NABO to receive subsidies. For instance, in 1996, a check of \$14,185.07 arrived through the recently recognized Gardnerville Basque Club. Nowadays, the individual clubs go directly to the Basque Government for aid without passing through NABO.

Is NABO Dependent on the Basque Government Money? Does the Basque Government Expect Something in Return?

Basque Centers qualify to apply and receive financial assistance in two main areas: the promotion of activities and programs, and the infrastructure and administrative assistance. In the United States, before 1996, only NABO and the community in Boise received financial assistance from the Basque Government. Then, although the number of NABO clubs applying for grants gradually increased throughout the years, in 2005 it only concerned one third of NABO clubs: 7 clubs in 1996, 10 clubs in 1997, 16 clubs in 1999, 12 clubs in 2002 and 13 clubs in 2005. The money attributed to NABO programs between the years 2000 through 2003 totaled 11,451 euros (\$15,555), and 36,613 euros (\$49,735) between the years 2003 and 2005 (with 24,268 euros allocated in 2005, or \$32,900).³⁶⁴ This number grew even more in 2006 when NABO received approximately \$55,000.³⁶⁵

Is NABO dependent on the money coming from the Basque Government? Does the Basque Government expect something from the Basque Centers in return? These two

³⁶³ NABO archives.

³⁶⁴ Information found in the book written by Alex Ugalde. Between 2003 and 2005, according to the information gathered by Ugalde, the Argentine federation, FEVA, received 95,106 euros. In 2005, thirteen associations received a grant in the United States, and forty four associations in Argentina.

³⁶⁵ For that year, the NABO delegates applied for several major projects they were planning to undertake such as the youth workshop, the North American Summit, or the history of NABO and were eventually funded most of the money they had asked for. Within the \$55,000 the money for the NABO paid position is included, but not the money going to the *Euskara* program.

questions illustrate two important concerns that several Basque American local club members share and that I discussed with the people interviewed in the course of this research on NABO.

Without a doubt, the Basque Government's financial assistance helped NABO in the realization of many of its programs and in the improvement of communication among Basques in the United States. It made NABO's work easier. In 1993, the Basque Government spent \$93,000 in the purchase of PCs, modems and Internet access for one year to twenty-eight U.S. Basque Clubs. In 2006 the Basque Government suggested they would pay a salary for a "communicator". Many of the local clubs apply for a grant when the celebration of the Convention festival is in their location in order to bring musicians and athletes from the Basque Country. The large majority of the people interviewed do not think NABO is dependent on the Basque Government money. They apply for it because the possibility is given to them.

We, in the United States, do not need the Basque Government money. We take it. I apply for it. It has helped me at my Basque house here in Elko, we have two projects going right now, if the money is there I will apply for it, if the money was not there, we would find the money some place else. We built our house without the Basque Government's help. We can make progress in the United States, with them in cooperation, or without them", explained Bob Echeverria from Elko.³⁶⁶

The large majority of ex or current NABO delegates interviewed do not think that the Basque Government expects anything in return. But they are at the same time aware that it might have a strategy that works indirectly in its favor. The Basque Government openly works hard to capitalize on the positive perception of Basques outside of the Basque Country. It intends to change their image as commonly perceived through the media. Consequently, Basque Centers work as an indirect system of embassies in the projection of this image. This is something that reciprocates and that the Basque Government benefits from as well.

Iñaki Aguirre, the head of the General Secretary of Foreign Action, in an interview given to the magazine *Euskal Etxeak* in 1999 underlines how "Foreign support is crucial for a small country like Euskadi. Certainly a country with a population of two million people needs contact in a global world in order to defend both its identity and its economy. [...] Euskal Etxeak could become contact points or information networks to create closer links with these countries (*Euskal Etxeak* 1999, n.3, page 8-9)". In that same article, Aguirre points out how "Basque Centers existed before there was a Basque Government; therefore they have always been autonomous and independent

³⁶⁶ Interview with Bob Echeverria in Elko.

³⁶⁷ In 1997, five people from the United States participated in the program (out of 60 participants), and none in 1998. One of the reasons for the small number of people from the United States participating is the fact that the program was held in Spanish language until the year 2000 and also because the date, September, was not convenient for the United States. The biggest contingent that went from the United States was in 2003 with 13 people attending. But in 2005, only one person went (a few more applied and were not selected).

identities. So the Euskal Etxeak cannot become entities under the guidance of the Basque Government”. Having said that, he thinks they “can design a relation framework where both parties are comfortable and that enables us not only to take effective actions abroad but also to improve the life of the Euskal Etxeak”.

The General Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Basque Government organizes an annual program called Gaztemundu, addressed to the young members of the Basque Centers, age 20 to 30. This program started in 1996 and presents the double goal of giving these young people a chance to have a direct experience with the Basque Country, its people, as well as encouraging the participation of the youth in the life of the Euskal Etxeak. Therefore, the Basque Government contributes greatly to the education of young Basques of the Americas in Basque culture –with a different theme each year, be it Basque dancing, activities related to the youth, or forming future Basque Center leaders– and its importance.³⁶⁷ In 2003, the theme chosen was forming future leaders for the Basque Centers and thirteen people attended from different Basque communities in the United States. The group learned a lot about how



From left to right, Nancy Trevino (secretary of NABO), Mary Gaztambide (president of NABO), Miren Azkarate (minister of Culture), Josu Legarreta (Director of the Service for Relations with the Basque Centers), Pierre Etcharren (NABO vice-president), Mari Luz Arteche (president of FEVA), and Anita Anacabe (NABO delegate for Elko and Aurrera Goaz Committee Chair).

to manage an organization. Then came back very enthused and their batteries charged to the following NABO meeting and exposed their ideas to the delegates. But their proposal was perceived as aggressive, and was not understood by many delegates at the time as not all their ideas were applicable at NABO level, and a long discussion followed. However, following this discussion, it was decided to create new committees in NABO, such as the History Committee with Gloria Totoricagüena in charge, and the Aurrera Goaz³⁶⁸ Committee Anita Anacabe in charge, therefore applying at NABO level some of the points discussed in Gaztemundu and in the 2003 World Congress: the importance of community building at the level of each club, the need for Basques to get together around activities that are not necessarily traditional.

Also, through the various programs sponsored by the Basque Government and made available to the Basque Centers' members—the World Congresses for example—the government also seeks to educate people on today's Basque Country and contrast the traditional image that has been passed on among the Basques of the diaspora about the Basque Country.

Modern/Traditional Dichotomy

Basques who immigrated to the United States, for the most part, came from rural areas, and therefore brought an idea of Basqueness linked to the rural culture they left. This explains in part why the Basque Country is, as argued by Carmelo Urza, “nearly always portrayed in nostalgic, traditional terms. Old World images focus on isolated farmhouses, peaceful mountain villages, or picturesque fishing towns (Urza, 1993, p.72)”.³⁶⁹ Moreover, Urza takes the example of NABO's calendar to illustrate this idea: “One need only to examine the North American Basque Organization's calendar to appreciate this quaint, rural, bucolic imagery (Urza, 1993, p.72)”.

However, “the trajectory of Old World Basques has been quite different from that of their immigrant cousins (Urza, 1993, p.82)”, especially in the regions ruled by the Basque Autonomous Government, *Euskadi*. The *Euskal Etxeak* magazine published three to four times a year since 1988 by the Basque Government, and the World Congresses of the Basque Communities held every four years in the Basque Country are used by the Basque Government as a means to showcase the “modern” and advanced Basque Country. Thus, in July 2003, the Basque diaspora delegates stayed in a four stars hotel in Vitoria-Gasteiz, they were taken to the Guggenheim museum and had the possibility to go to the Jazz festival that was taking place at the same time. But a significant group of delegates decided to go to the Basque Museum (Museo Arqueológico, Etnográfico, e Histórico Vasco) instead of going to the Guggenheim Museum.

³⁶⁸ We are going forward.

³⁶⁹ Urza, Carmelo. 1993. *Solitude, Art and Symbolism in the National Basque Monument*, Reno: University of Nevada Press.

In the same manner that several Basque Americans did not see themselves adequately represented by the sculpture of abstract work from Nestor Basterretxea, the Monument for the Basque Shepherd in Reno, the NABO delegates expressed disappointment when the 1991 NABO calendar published by the Basque Government arrived, displaying Basque modern artists and their abstract work.

When asked if she would like to see more “modern” forms of Basque dance in the United States, Jill Aldape from Boise explained:

Experimental or creative choreography within Basque Dance is great for over there [the Basque Country] but that is not what we want to hold on to. We have other forms of dance here [in the United States] and I love that too, but that is not what keeps us a tightened community that celebrates the Basque culture. We want to hold on to the folkloric, historic, and traditional music and movement. This is what makes us feel tied to, and a part of, our heritage.

John Yursa also noticed how the Basque Autonomous Government tries to showcase a really progressive view of itself, whereas in the United States:

We are a living museum. We preserve what our parents and grand parents did was Basque, so we keep that going. We do not need the modern stuff because American culture provides that on an hourly basis. So if you go to the Basque world, generally, you do not go to the Basque world for new things. You go to the Basque world to connect with something older than you. So the Basque American sense of being Basque, I think, is different than the European one. We look for different things perhaps.

RELATIONS WITH NAFARROA AND IPARRALDE

The Government of the Foral Community of Nafarroa opened communications with a few Basque Centers in the 1990s, mostly as a response to diaspora queries. Nafarroa has not established a specific office to deal with relations with diaspora Basque communities but its government tries to accommodate requests for information, especially about tourism, through the Basque Centers. The three provinces in Iparralde have no formal local government-diaspora relations. However nongovernmental organizations, cultural associations, and privately funded activities foster networks. [...] Basque dance troupes, choirs, athletes, and musicians from Iparralde have toured the diaspora communities through personal invitations from Basque center leaders and through personal and center funding. The government of Euskadi often incorporates various institutions and artists from Nafarroa and Iparralde into its diaspora projects. [...] The foral government of Navarre has not yet reached out to Basques abroad in an equivalent manner, though in 2001 President Sans visited Navarrese centers in Argentina with success. Relations between Nafarroa

and diaspora communities thus remain as personal contacts and networks rather than as institutionalized relationships (Tororicagüena, 2004, p.156).

Concerning NABO, the first contact with the Government of Nafarroa was made in 1991 by the NABO International chairman from 1991 through 1994, Jesus Pedroarena.

Again, in the summer of 1993, while in vacation in Europe, Jesus Pedroarena made personal visits in *Iparralde*, *Euskadi* and Nafarroa representing NABO in his capacity as International Relations Chairman.³⁷⁰ With his wife, Frances, they went to the Basque Cultural Institute in Uztaritze –Ustaritz in French–, *Iparralde*. In Iruña-Pamplona (Nafarroa) he met with Félix Carmona, the Navarra Government person in charge of relations with the Basque communities of the diaspora. Carmona gave Pedroarena a check of 200,000 pesetas –the equivalent of \$1480– to hand to the Elko club. “In our meeting I told him that it was important that Navarra send to the NABO clubs newspapers, magazines, books, videos, posters”, writes the International chairman in a report he gave to the NABO delegates in 1993. The Pedroarenas also met with the president of Nafarroa, Juan Cruz Alli. He presented Pedroarena with a plaque for the Elko club. Later that same day, they met with José Alberto Etxegoien, from a local radio Program Irati Irratia (Valle of Aezcoa). They recorded an interview about NABO and the Basque clubs in the U.S., and Jesus gave him a copy of the audio tapes from the 1992 Kantari Eguna. They were going to be broadcasted on the radio in Elizondo as well as Irulegi (both in Nafarroa). As several dancers from California were going to take part in the Baztandarren Biltzarra celebration in Elizondo, Pedroarena arranged and interview with two Basque speaking dancers. Pedroarena also met with Gabriel Perez, programming director of Tele-Navarra that he had met the year before in Carson City. In 1995, the Banco Santander in Iruña-Pamplona organized a Navarran Immigration Day.

In May 1994, Jesus Pedroarena was not reappointed as International chairman. From that point forward, the president of NABO assumed the direct responsibility for that position.

³⁷⁰ The information on this trip is detailed by Jesus Pedroarena in an International Chairman Report he handed to the delegates in 1993 (NABO archives).



NABO

(07)

today

Nowadays (2007), thirty six Basque organizations comprise NABO. Each of the individual organizations has a different membership number and represents a different population; hence each has different needs and priorities.

NABO AND ITS MEMBER CLUBS (1987-2007)

New Clubs After 1987

As mentioned earlier, in 1987, nineteen clubs constituted NABO. After that date, several additional clubs joined NABO: In 1990, the Boise Basque Museum and Cultural Center, Idaho (founded in 1985) joined NABO; Anaitasuna Basque Club from San Francisco, California (founded that same year) and Alkartasuna Southwestern Wyoming Basque Club from Rocksprings (founded in 1989) in 1991; Susanville Basque Club, California (founded in 1975) in 1992; Euzko-Etxea of New York (founded in 1913) and Itxaso Alde Ventura Basque Club, California (founded in 1993) in 1993; Washington State Basque American Organization³⁷¹ and Portland Basque Club,

³⁷¹ Year of foundation unknown. They paid the membership dues to NABO in 1994, but after that, they stopped paying them. We then conclude they dropped their membership from NABO in 1995. This association is inactive nowadays.

Oregon (founded in 1992) in 1994; the Society of Basque Studies in America, New York (founded in 1979) in 1995; Marin-Sonoma Basque Association, California (founded in 1989) joined in 1996. Spokane Inland Northwest Basque Club, Washington (founded in 1997) and Euskal Lagunak Mountain Home Basque Association, Idaho (founded in 1960) in 1997; Seattle Euskal Etxea, Washington (founded in 1997) joined in 1999; Battle Mountain Basque Club, Nevada (founded in 1997) and the Center for Basque Studies from Reno, Nevada (founded in 1967) in 2001; Homedale Txoko Ona Basque Club, Idaho (founded in 2000) in 2002; the Basque Educational Organization of San Francisco, California in 2003 (founded in 1984); Colorado Euskal Etxea (founded in 2003) in 2004; Cenarrusa Center for Basque Studies (founded in 2003) based in Boise in 2005; and finally, Iparreko Ibarra Basque Club in Rocklin, California in 2006 (founded in 2005).

But, eventually a few clubs became inactive, bringing the number of NABO member clubs to thirty six: Portland Basque Club (inactive since 2001), Inland Northwest Basque Club (inactive since 2001), and Washington State Basque Club. Most of the associations who joined NABO in the time period included between 1990 and 2006 were recently formed.



NABO meeting in San Francisco (February 2007). Photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar.

A Varied Membership

The table below shows the varied membership numbers of each of the clubs belonging to NABO:³⁷²

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco Basque Club of California	242
San Francisco Basque Cultural Center	378
Los Banos Basque Club	175
Fresno Basque Club	229
Kern County Basque Club	592
Los Angeles Oberena Basque Club	50
Southern California Basque Club	38
Chino Basque Club	124
Marin-Sonoma Basque Club	88
Anaitasuna Basque Club (Bay Area)	78
Susanville Euskaldunak	33
Ventura County Itxaso Alde Basque Club	83
Basque Educational Organization (Bay Area)	7
Iparreko Ibarra, Rocklin	79

NEVADA

Elko Euzkaldunak	300
Reno Zazpiak Bat Basque Club	239
Winnemucca Euskaldunak Danak Bat Basque Club	150
Las Vegas Lagun Onak	48
Gardnerville Mendiko Euskaldun Cluba	300
Battle Mountain Oberenak Basque Club	110
Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno	7

IDAHO

Boise Euzkaldunak, Inc.	830
Oinkari Basque Dancers, Boise	50
Gooding Basque Club	155
Basque Museum and Cultural Center, Boise	517
Euskal Lagunak Mountain Home Basque Club	100
Txoko Ona Homedale	116
Cenarrussa Center for Basque Studies	20

³⁷² The information is taken from a document found in the NABO archives. The numbers are as of 2003, with the exception of the three clubs that joined NABO since, such as Colorado Euskal Etxea, Cenarrussa Center for Basque Studies, and Iparreko Ibarra. For these three last clubs mentioned, the membership number is as of 2006.

WYOMING

Buffalo Big Horn Basque Club	55
Alkartasuna Southern Wyoming Basque Club	70

OTHER STATES (Utah, New York, Oregon, Colorado, and Washington)

Ontario Basque Club	94
Utah Basque Club	158
Euzko-Etxea of New York	100
Society of Basque Studies in America, New York	138
Seattle Euskal Etxea	25
Colorado Euskal Etxea	57

Thus, the clubs in NABO could be ranged between “very big” (500 members and up), “big” (between 300 and 499), “medium” (between 100 and 299), “small” (between 50 and 99), and “very small” clubs (below 49 members). According to this assigned differentiation, three clubs fit in the “very big club” category, four others enter the “big club” category, and thirteen of them fit in the “medium club” category, when nine clubs and seven clubs fit in the “small club” and “very small club” categories respectively. But these numbers have to be taken with caution.

In fact, these numbers do not include the children of the members; a person has to be either 18 or 21 years old to be a member, depending on the organization. Moreover,



Jean Pierre Petrissans from Los Banos and Josephine Arriet from Fresno, exchanging notes after a NABO meeting (October 2006 in Gardnerville). Photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar.

some associations allow Basques³⁷³ and non-Basques to become members (such as Bakersfield), others allow Basques and their spouses (which is the case in most of the organizations), yet others allow Basques only (such as Chino). Then, some clubs have a family membership, a couple membership and/or an individual membership, complicating even more the calculus.

Also, in several clubs, many people from outside the area pay their membership dues in order to participate in the local mus tournament. For instance, the Gardnerville Mendiko Euskaldun Club is very significant of this phenomenon; the club fits our “big club” category with a membership of 300 people in 2003. This club’s current president, Teresa Fernandez, explained that the Gardnerville Basque Club is a “big small club”; half of its membership consists of people from outside the Gardnerville-Minden area.

Each of these clubs were formed around different objectives, and therefore developed different types of activities. Five of NABO’s organizations were primarily founded as educational organizations: Boise Basque Museum and Cultural Center, Society of Basque Studies in America, Center for Basque Studies in Reno, Basque Educational Organization based in the Bay Area, and the Cenarrusa Center for Basque Studies in Boise. The rest of the clubs—the large majority—are primarily social organizations. But even among this last group, differences exist. Nine of them have their own clubhouse: Chino (since 1987), Bakersfield (since 1974), San Francisco (since 1982), California; Gooding (since 2002), Boise (since 1949), Homedale (since 2006), Idaho; New York (since 1928); Elko, Nevada (since 1977); and Ontario, Oregon (house bought in 2006, work underway). Some clubs develop activities for their members all around the year, while other clubs’ activities are constituted of the annual picnic, the mus tournament and a few additional gatherings throughout the year. The clubs can face very different situations: some of them are in a crisis, some of them are rebuilding, when others are growing.

The clubs are made up of different populations. The newly created Basque Club, Iparreko Ibarra, was founded by a group of U. S. born men and women, originally from San Francisco who had moved to the Sacramento area. Other clubs such as Mendiko Euskaldun Cluba in Gardnerville-Minden, Itxaso Alde Ventura County or Los Angeles Oberena happen to count very few young people among their members.

RECREATION/EDUCATION

The goal of NABO since its inception has been to offer the member organizations cultural and educational experiences in Basque heritage not possible through the sponsorship of only their smaller local individual clubs.

373 “Basque” includes the people who immigrated to the United States from the Basque Country, and the people of Basque descent.

“Recreate+Educate=Perpetuate”

Thus, the bylaws stipulate the following: Section 1 Objects, c) “To educate and enlighten its members and their children and the general public in matters relating to the Basque people and their past and present culture, customs, habits, race, culture and heritage, and to disseminate information relating thereto and to encourage, support and help the preservation of the Basque language”.

There is an educational dimension to NABO, and its member clubs. Through the activities developed in each club (dance instruction, pelota instruction), the Basque Americans learn what it means to be Basque. In the section of the bylaws mentioned above, the importance of supporting and helping the preservation of the Basque language is underlined, but the first program sponsored by NABO in the matter started only in 2000.³⁷⁴

Moreover, the bylaws as written suppose also the development of an academic education, understood as the teaching of Basque history for example. But the word “education” did not imply academic education in the delegates’ minds at the time.³⁷⁵



Gloria Totoricagüena (NABO delegate of the Center for Basque Studies in Reno), and Philippe Achéritogaray (NABO delegate of the Basque Educational Organization in San Francisco), during a dinner after the October 2006 NABO meeting in Gardnerville (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

NABO delegates at the 2006 NABO Convention parade, in Buffalo, Wyoming. From left to right: Victor Esain (NABO mus chairman) from Fresno, Jean Baptiste and Mary Gaztambide (NABO president), Nancy Trevino (NABO secretary) from Salt Lake City, Grace Mainvil (NABO treasurer) from Ontario, and Juliet and Tony Campos from Caruthers
(photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).



Professor William A. Douglass says:

I guess it is fair to say that, at least initially, NABO certainly did not have a pronounced educational [agenda], I mean if we [the Basque Studies Program] had taken a more proactive role it probably would have had a more pronounced educational [program], but there was nobody in that initial round of delegates out of the various clubs that had an academic agenda, or an academic background. [...] The idea of the mus tournament really took off right away; [...] that appealed a lot. Then the idea of music camp took off really early, and that was a more serious organizational challenge obviously. We [the Basque Studies Program] always had this offer out there if they wanted to do something academic, but they very seldom actually [asked] [...].

This point also is true for most of the Basque clubs. The recreation part is largely covered by the individual clubs and by NABO. Basque people get together around various festivals, dinners and tournaments (pelota, mus, briska), and the recreation component seems crucial to the future of each community.

374 See our next section on Euskara, the Basque language.

375 In our second chapter we mentioned the joint venture between NABO and the University of Nevada, Reno Basque Studies Program in the creation of two slide show presentations on Basques in the American West and Basques in the homeland that were viewed by various Basque Clubs and non-Basque institutions.

But as there are more Basque Americans further removed from the immigrant generation, the educational part tends to be a component that is more and more discussed locally and collectively at NABO level. “Now that there are more generations born in the U.S., the subject of education has to be seriously considered, as they are more and more diluted into American culture”, explained a woman born in California.

According to a person interviewed, talking about the Basque Club of San Francisco, “They were thinking the old way, they did not want to do anything new, and any idea that was brought to the table was shut down”. The respondent was a little bit frustrated and liked the idea that the Basque Educational Organization (BEO) was promoting educational activities³⁷⁶. Nowadays, the BEO promotes various programs such as a Basque film series, conferences, an essay contest, and works on a book project on the Basques in San Francisco (Urazandi project).

In the 1990s also, at the NABO level, two young Basque Americans –John Yursa and Jean Flesher– suggested the creation of a Cultural Committee. They decided that “the committee would be made up of young Basques born in the United States”,³⁷⁷ with Jean Flesher as chairman. They promoted Basque educational materials from



Frantxoa Bidaurreta and Xabier Berrueta, former and current presidents of the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar). Photo taken in October 2006, in Gardnerville.

the Basque Government, the Boise Basque Museum and from the Basque Studies Program in Reno for the clubs and started a NABO newsletter. Their goal was also to promote the Basque language. This is when John Yursa started the latest NABO newsletter, *Hizketa*, in 1990, which still comes out today.

Again in the 1990s –in 1992, 1993, and 1994 more precisely–, NABO sponsored the Gaurko Euskal Herria Program –the Basque Country Today Program–, proposed and coordinated by Gloria Totoricagüena. It intended to educate Basque Americans by showing them what the Basque Country was in actuality, and what was happening in Basque contemporary society. In 1992 a trip was especially created to engage adolescents in Basque culture. In 1993, young adults went in a personal exchange of a home stay. In 1994, a group, mostly senior citizens, participated. It worked as a two-week long summer of today’s Basque Country of northern Spain and southern France. The tour included visits to all Basque provinces and various excursions to the fine wineries of the Rioja wine region, Basque Parliament and the Presidential residence, several museums, the Tree of Gernika and the prehistorical paintings in the caves of Santimamiñe. The participants also attended festivals in Gernika (Bizkaia), Vitoria-Gasteiz (Araba), and Donostia (Gipuzkoa).

After talking to some NABO delegates and observing how some of them “disappear” after lunch for the afternoon sessions of the NABO meetings, what a handful of people enjoy above all about the meetings is the camaraderie and the recreation. According to Susan Gavica from Winnemucca, –an idea shared by most delegates interviewed– “NABO should go beyond the mere social organization”. This quote transpires the current debate that is taking place in NABO. In 2006, NABO’s facilitator, John Yursa released an important equation as what NABO aims to accomplish: “Recreate+educate=perpetuate”. According to Yursa, “Individually and collectively, we have done a pretty good job of keeping the recreation going from year to year. It is with the next variable that NABO can be of most assistance in our joint shared goal of perpetuating our Basque heritage here in America (*Hizketa*: volume 16:1, page 1)”.³⁷⁸

That is our winning formula and I think if we can put those together, recreation with education, we will have a really good shot of keeping Basque culture alive. Because we have to have both. Absolutely. Without the festivals and people enjoying themselves, I

376 This history of the BEO is taken from its website: www.basqueed.org/Historia.htm. “In 1984 the Basque Club board of directors explored the idea of merging with the Basque Cultural Center. Many of the Basque Club members were already Basque Cultural Center (BCC) members and consolidation seemed like a good idea. One of the challenges was to transfer the monetary assets of the Basque Club to the BCC. Doing this would have caused a huge tax liability, so the Basque Club directors created a charitable organization called the Basque Educational Organization. Unfortunately the consolidation process created other issues that the two boards could not come to terms with and the consolidation effort was abandoned. At around the same time, the BCC’s accountant advised the BCC Board of Directors on diversifying their activities into different corporations for tax purposes. [...] Since the BEO had already been created the BCC decided to use it. [...] The BCC never moved all of its cultural activities into the BEO, but did use it for the creation of a library, euskara classes and other cultural initiatives throughout the years”.

377 1990 Convention Meeting minutes.

378 NABO archives, NABO’s newsletters.

mean, people won't come. They are not going to go if there is not going to be a degree of recreation. And that is what I think all of our Basque clubs have done a good job in doing. They will have their festival, their Christmas Party, at New Year's their New Year's party. Now as we move from a generation that was born in the Basque Country, they were made Basque. Many of them spoke the language, they knew the customs, and they lived it, it is just who they were. But for their children and grandchildren it is not automatic. Here being born in America, there are a lot of things that are just not transmitted. The obvious one for example is the decline in the language. So that is what NABO is trying to step up to accept the challenge. How can NABO play a role in better educating Basque Americans about their culture? And for that matter the larger community.³⁷⁹

Numerous initiatives have already taken place in different local communities. We will have the opportunity to mention them in our section on youth.

Even if the education element has always been a part of NABO, now the accent is put more on the possibilities offered by the educational organizations, and how more needs to be done (besides dancing and Udaleku). Also, there are more formally educated people among the delegates now, compared to thirty years ago. Consequently, for them, the word "education" is understood in a more academic sense.

Gloria Totoricagüena, representing the Center for Basque Studies at the Fall meeting of NABO in Gardnerville (October 2006) made a presentation³⁸⁰ where she gave all the delegates a document and presentation with some questions regarding Basque history in the Basque Country and in the United States. She discussed the need for the leaders of individual clubs and for the NABO delegates themselves to be more pro-active in promoting an educational aspect to NABO and club activities, including history, art, literature, politics, language, etc. In doing so, her goal was to emphasize the need for the delegates themselves to be educated on these issues. Mixed reactions followed: some people agreed, while others admitted that this intellectual dimension to Basque culture does not appeal too much to them.³⁸¹

And we should have great intellectual discourse, conversations? No, we are not PhD candidates. [...] She [Totoricagüena] said I should know everything about the French side of the Basque Country. No I should not. I have no need to know, commented a man born in the United States.

"I think to a certain extend it is very good. I think when it comes to our larger clubs it is wonderful. When it comes to the smaller clubs, not so much. Not because it is a bad thing, but because of the make up of the smaller clubs, and what the smaller clubs are for.

379 Interview with John Yursa in Boise.

380 We will have the opportunity to develop more on the presentation she gave in our section on the "challenges" of NABO.

381 Unfortunately, the presentation by Gloria Totoricagüena was given toward the end of my field work, but I did ask the people I still had to interview what they thought of it.

382 Interview with Teresa Fernandez from Gardnerville in Reno.

Like I said ours [Gardnerville-Minden Basque Club] is all about mus. It is a social group. [...] We get together to have a good time. We don't get together to sit in class. Especially if the majority of the members are from the old country, they already know this, they don't want to learn it, they want to have fun with their friends". However, when a club is made of second or third generations, this respondent thought promoting education was a very good idea. "Because we don't know as much as a lot of us would like to. Myself included. I think it is a good thing. But because the focus has changed, I think NABO has lost touch of what a lot of the clubs actually are, which is social organization". According to this respondent, it is great that NABO has new things to offer the clubs. But she also thinks that NABO has to remember that there is more to that. She thinks NABO shifted a little bit too far.³⁸²

Ricardo Yanci from Boise: "I think NABO has to take an educational turn. They have to provide educational opportunities to the clubs because that is what the clubs cannot provide. The small ones cannot. There are so many resources available with the Center for Basque Studies in Nevada and the one in Boise now".

Jill Aldape from Boise thinks that the education component is crucial. And even more crucial now that fewer and fewer people were born in the Basque Country, and people



NABO delegates at the Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada, Reno, in 1977 after a NABO meeting held at the University (University of Nevada, Basque Library).

have less connection with the Basque Country as well. “I think that before, people stayed connected with their parents who had accents and carried their traditions with them, and now that is not so much a factor”. Aldape agrees that people have to be motivated and take some of that self initiative to educate themselves and each other. “And I think that a lot of the context and a lot of the background about the Basque was assumed and I don’t think we can assume anymore about what it is and what is going on”.

Josephine Anchustegui and Gina Anchustegui Gridley, mother and daughter from Mountain Home: The education part is necessary for both of them. Josephine has become more aware academically, whereas before she did not read, it was not necessary to her. Gina says that her generation needed this academic instruction about the Basques and the Basque Country, their culture and their language. “I think there are a lot of people of my age that felt neglected in the sense that their parents did not pass the language on”.

Educational Organizations within NABO

The Society of Basque Studies in America (SBSA) was originally founded in San Francisco, California, in December 1979 by a group of seven university professors with the object of bringing together all those interested in the study, investigation, and dissemination of Basque culture in general: the language, literature, history, anthropology, art, etc. On October 11, 1981 the Society celebrated the First Annual Basque Hall of Fame at Milford’s Jai Alai, in Connecticut.³⁸³ In the 1980s, as a consequence of the creation of the Basque Autonomous Community in the Basque Country, many institutions were involved in debating the questions and problems which would play a decisive role in the cultural and social future of the Basque people. In August of 1980, a meeting of linguists from all over the world was held in Leioa, Bizkaia, where the first steps forward toward a consensus of the Basque language were taken. The SBSA proposed to follow up this meeting with the planned “First International Basque Conference in North America” which brought together scholars of diverse disciplines in Basque subjects, in order to widen the scope of the work begun in Leioa. The Congress took place in Fresno at the California State University campus, August 23-26, 1982. The association turned to NABO in order to get financial help, but NABO was not able to help them: “for financial problems”.³⁸⁴ François Pedeflous, the president of NABO attended the conference and met with Professor Emilia Doyaga, treasurer of the SBSA. Doyaga told him about her organization’s intentions of joining NABO. In the September 25, 1982 NABO meeting minutes, the following can be read:

Frank [Pedeflous, president of NABO] also reported that during a Basque Conference in Fresno, he met Ms. Emilia Doyaga, Treasurer of the Society of Basque Studies in America,

³⁸³ The Hall of Fame is still celebrated today. In 1993, for instance, NABO was honored.

³⁸⁴ NABO archives, François Pedeflous’ personal archive on NABO, letter sent by Pedeflous to the SBSA in 1982.

who stated they would be interested in joining NABO, and upon her return to New York, sent a \$50 check from her organization with a request for supporting membership. The discussion went to the delegates with the discussion as to what type of organization it is. Delegates discussed the knowledge they had about the organization and it was believed to be a group of professors and educators not necessarily Basque or Basque descent whose interest is the history, culture, and language of the Basques. It was pointed out that it was considered a society rather than a regional traditional Basque Club as known in the western states of which NABO is comprised. Inasmuch as the Society of Basque Studies in America did not present their bylaws, and it was not clear as to the type of organization, the delegates voted unanimously to reject the application at this time.³⁸⁵

According to Emilia Doyaga and Anna Aguirre from New York, the SBSA eventually reiterated the request to join around 1989, but were again faced with a rejection.³⁸⁶ The SBSA did finally become part of NABO in 1995. According to Emilia Doyaga, the delegates of NABO in the 1980s did not understand the kind of activities the SBSA was undertaking. The Society presented another kind of association. It was one that invited all people interested in Basque culture to join and was not limited to only those who live in New York and were of Basque ancestry. Since the acceptance in 1995, the members of the SBSA assiduously attend the NABO meetings.

As stated on their website (www.basque.ws), “the Society is engaged in many activities. It publishes a yearly Journal which is sent to members and to prestigious academic centers. A Hall of Fame is celebrated every year at different Basque Centers in America and honors those who have contributed to the culture, welfare, and/or history of the Basques in America. Among other projects the Society has sponsored an exhibition in Chicago of three outstanding sculptors, a series of concerts, and conferences on Basque topics. The Society is especially proud of its sponsorship of the National Monument to the Basque Shepherder in Reno, Nevada³⁸⁷ –a tribute long overdue to Basque pioneers and a symbol that reflects Basque character. For the first time in Basque maritime history, with the support of the Society, an eighteenth century traditional Basque fishing boat (trainera) was built in Maine, inaugurated in New York and returned to the Basque Country as a gift of gratitude to the land of Basque heritage. The trainera was celebrated in every port from Bilbao to Bayonne”.³⁸⁸

The first educational organization to be accepted by NABO was the Basque Museum and Cultural Center of Boise, Idaho, in 1990. Its “purpose is to perpetuate, to preserve, and to promote awareness of Basque history and culture through education, research, collections and social activities for present and future generations”.³⁸⁹ The Basque museum regroups exhibits of the Basque experience in the Basque Country and the United States, as well as various collections such as an oral history archive. It

³⁸⁵ NABO Archives, “minutes”.

³⁸⁶ Interview with Anna Aguirre and Emilia Doyaga in New York.

³⁸⁷ Inaugurated in 1989.

³⁸⁸ NABO donated \$1000 to the trainera project.

³⁸⁹ Basque Museum and Center’s informational booklet.

also provides Basque language classes, resource materials in school libraries, and a Basque pre-school, *Boiseko Ikastola*: a total immersion program in Basque language.

In 2001, the director of the Center for Basque Studies (CBS) –formerly Basque Studies Program– of the University of Nevada, Reno, Joseba Zulaika, asked to join NABO, therefore differentiating with the policy that had been in place by the former director, William Douglass. The CBS was part of the spirit of NABO from the beginning. NABO looked to the Center for Basque Studies and its professors from the inception but it had never joined NABO as a member because it is not a regional Basque Club.

“The mission of the CBS is to further Basque-related study by conducting, facilitating, and disseminating original Basque-related research in the humanities and social sciences (CBS website: www.basque.unr.edu, ‘About the Center for Basque Studies’). The CBS also provides classes in Basque-related themes (Basque language, Basque History, Basque Culture, etc.). They offer a minor in Basque Studies and a Tutorial Ph. D. Thus, the Center for Basque Studies has become more proactive in NABO since it joined it in 2001. IKASI, To Learn, is a three-day workshop sponsored and coordinated by the CBS and promoted to NABO. Through this program, people have the opportunity to learn about Basque related subjects such as Basque history, Basque culture, or Basque emigration from scholars specialized in the topics. The participants pay for the meals, transportation, and the hotel but no fee is charged to participate in the workshop. The CBS has offered it in 2002 and 2005.

The Cenarrusa Center for Basque Studies³⁹⁰ joined NABO in 2005, two years after its foundation. It was founded “to preserve, educate, and connect the Basque community and the rest of the world through research, projects and educational opportunities for all”.

The Basque Educational Organization of San Francisco joined NABO in 2003.

The presence of educational organizations in NABO brings to the knowledge of the various local clubs’ delegates what kinds of educational programs are made available.³⁹¹

EUSKARA

Basque language classes for adults are underway in several Basque clubs: in Bakersfield, Chino, San Francisco, California; Denver, Colorado; Homedale, Boise,

³⁹⁰ Named after Pete Cenarrusa who was born in Carey, Idaho in 1917. In 1967, he was appointed Idaho’s Secretary of State by Republican Governor Don Samuelson and served 35 years in that position. The Cenarrusa Center is in the process of changing its original name to Cenarrusa Center for Basque Culture.

³⁹¹ And of course individual clubs have their own local activities with educational aspects to them.

Idaho; Elko, Nevada; Ontario, Oregon; Salt Lake City, Utah; Rocksprings, Wyoming; and New York. Classes will start soon in Reno, Nevada, and Seattle, Washington State.

Different Basque communities also work on programs to teach *Euskara* to children. In Boise, they organized a total Basque language immersion pre-school. In San Francisco, the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center also offers a Basque immersion program for children, called *Koxkorak Goiz Eskola*, or morning school. They meet on Saturday mornings, November to June at the Basque Cultural Center located in South San Francisco with the aim for children (2 to 10 years old) “to gain exposure to the Basque language, socialize and interact with other Basque children, and finally to experience Basque culture through music, books, media and games”.³⁹² Every year, among the various workshops taught at *Udaleku*, an introduction to the Basque language is included.

Most of the adult classes started as a direct consequence of NABO’s recent program on *Euskara*. The program developed to promote *Euskara* constitutes a joint venture between NABO and the Department of Culture of the Basque Autonomous Government and its division for language, HABA (Helduen Alfabetatze Berreskualduntzerako Erakundea) who made the *Boga* tool available to the Basque clubs all around the world to learn the Basque language.³⁹³ Students use the internet-based program *Boga* (a multimedia PC software system) and meet monthly for speaking practice.

Although the NABO original bylaws stipulate the necessity of developing programs to preserve the Basque language, the first step as such was taken in 1999³⁹⁴ when, at a NABO meeting in San Francisco, Martin Goikoetxea “commented that we need to preserve the Basque language”.³⁹⁵ But Goikoetxea remembers that the delegates did not pay too much attention to these words at the time.³⁹⁶ Again, in 2000, Martin Goikoetxea stressed the importance of teaching the Basque language. He was asked if he would be interested in serving as the chairman of a committee (Boise Convention meeting in 2000). “This time I was determined to show how serious I was in my efforts to begin a language preservation program with NABO, and so I personally donated \$500 to get the committee started, and later on, Gloria Aberasturi, from New York, matched my donation”, explained Goikoetxea.

At the same time, grants were available from the Basque Autonomous Government to assist in setting up the language programs in the clubs with a special funding of

392 San Francisco Basque Cultural Center webpage, Goiz eskola link: www.basqueculturalcenter.com

393 To learn more about it, go to www.nabasque.org/euskara

394 In the summer of 1993, Jesus Pedroarena visited with Josu Legarreta in the Basque Country. Legarreta gave Pedroarena a Basque language course with videos and textbooks so that he could learn it (the first year course of HABA, with instructions in Spanish). Later, Pedroarena thought the method could interest more people in the United States, and therefore sent Legarreta a letter asking for more of these, and asked if they would allow them to make copies for the people interested in the different clubs. Pedroarena received a positive answer from HABA giving NABO permission to copy them. In 1994, NABO received the *Euskara* lesson method, and made them available to the clubs for \$40.

395 NABO archives, February 1999 meeting minutes.

396 Interview with Martin Goikoetxea in Buffalo, Wyoming.

100%. “They [the Basque Government] made a huge investment to have it ready for the United States, they bought all the rights to have a program available, and now we have it”, said Goikoetxea. The program Boga was put in place, and translated to English, ready for use for the Basque American clubs in 2005.³⁹⁷ The HABE contact in this endeavor is Francisco “Kinku” Zinkunegi, and he has traveled to the United States several times to explain, promote, and give methodology workshops to local U.S. instructors.

Through the suggestion of NABO’s facilitator, John Ysursa, a campaign to promote the Basque language has started. Departing from the fact that *Euskara* is an endangered language, and “being Basque is all about the language”,³⁹⁸ Ysursa came up with a promotional campaign “Got Basque?”³⁹⁹ In his words, the Basque language has to become “visible”, “viable” because it is “vital” to Basque identity. By giving a Basque name to music camp, or by putting Basque names on the NABO calendars, NABO intends to grow the visibility of the Basque language. In February 2006 and 2007, NABO and the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center have co-sponsored an *Euskararen Eguna* or Day of the Basque Language. The idea is to make various learning options available to the people interested in learning the language, the program developed by NABO being one of many.⁴⁰⁰

Although it is true that the language makes the Basques unique, according to Dr. Totoricagüena’s findings on Basque identity definition in the diaspora and specifically in the United States, people think it is not necessary to speak the language to be Basque.⁴⁰¹ All the people interviewed through the research on NABO stressed the importance of such a program in order to preserve the Basque language, but the majority did not see it as a priority for themselves. Among the people interviewed who already spoke it (either born in the Basque Country or in the United States), the majority did not pass it on to their children. So why is it that people preach it in public when they do something else in their own homes? Perhaps we could define this as some sort of a passive action, by donating the money or putting programs on so that others may have the opportunity to learn it? The Basque language remains important in the imaginary of the Basques, even among those who do not speak it; however, in practice, knowledge and practice of *Euskara* is in decline in the United States.

397 The Hezinet Multimedia Basque Language Teaching Program produced by Aurtien Bai was first proposed to the Basques of the United States. San Francisco for instance installed it in 2002 at the Basque Cultural Center computer lab.

398 NABO’s website, euskara section, www.nabasque.org/euskara

399 A cover of the “Got Milk?” promotion in the United States.

400 Some universities such as Boise State University or the University of Nevada, Reno, offer credit-level Basque language classes.

401 Totoricagüena, in the course of her PhD research made the following statement: “To be Basque, one must speak Euskera, the Basque language”, and she asked the participants to choose one of the following options: “Agree/Strongly agree”, “No opinion”, “Disagree/Strongly Disagree”. In the case of the United States, 15% of the participants agreed/strongly agreed, 9% of them had no opinion, and the large majority, 76% Disagreed/Strongly Disagreed.

EXPANDING RELATIONS WITH OTHER DIASPORA BASQUES

Early Exchanges with Other Countries

Various activities sponsored by NABO permit Basques in the United States to meet Basques in other parts of the World. Every year, the champions of the U.S. national mus tournament, and U.S. pelota players travel to a different country to participate in the World Championship, and they therefore make Basque friends all over the world. Moreover, the players are often accompanied by a group of supporters. For instance, in 1988, Mayte Oçafraín from San Francisco organized a trip to Argentina, and the sixty participants attended the World Mus Championship and enjoyed a subsequent tour of the country.

There have also been dancer exchanges between different countries throughout the years. In 1993, the Denak Bat Basque Club of Mar de Plata (about 200 miles south



Semana Vasco-Argentina in 1996 (courtesy of Bob Echeverria).

North American Summit in Reno, October 2006. Delegates from Vancouver, and Montreal, Canada, Mexico City and the United States (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).



of Buenos Aires), Argentina, invited a group of dancers from the United States to attend Argentina's annual "Semana Vasca"⁴⁰² during the first week of November. NABO's Culture Committee spread the word out to all the individual clubs and seventeen dancers and musicians from five different U.S. Basque Clubs went south to attend the festival. They each paid their own way and stayed in private homes for a week. Forty six people from the Oinkaris Basque Dancers and from the Boise Basque community attended the Basque Week in Argentina in 2001.

The big festival held every five years in Boise, Idaho, *Jaialdi*, also represents a good opportunity for Basque Americans to meet other Basques from other countries. Kristie Onaindia from Bakersfield for instance met a few Basque Mexicans at the last *Jaialdi* in 2005, and later went to Mexico to visit them.⁴⁰³

The different world congresses mentioned in the previous chapter and put on by the Basque Autonomous Government present a good opportunity for the delegation representing the United States to meet people from other countries, and try to build bridges between them. Gloria Toticagüena, John Ysursa and Bob Echeverria were

⁴⁰² Basque Week.

⁴⁰³ Interview with Kristie Onaindia in Bakersfield.



elected by the NABO delegates to attend the 1995 World Congress in the Basque Country. They met and established relations with the president of the Federación de Entidades Vasco-Argentinas (FEVA), Felipe Muguerra, who eventually attended the February 1996 NABO meeting, and who in turn invited the president of NABO, Bob Echeverria, to Argentina for the 1996 Semana Vasca. Today's FEVA president, Mari Luz Arteche attended NABO's February 2007 meeting in San Francisco, where she gave a detailed description of the Argentinean federation, and its activities, and she participated in the several activities put on for the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center's 25th Anniversary Celebration.

Relations with Canada and Mexico

In recent years, various efforts have started to build bridges between NABO and the neighbor Basque clubs in Mexico and Canada. Thus, in the NABO minutes, we learn that John Yursa invited the Mexico and Canada clubs to the NABO Convention in 1997. Nobody could come but the Canada Basque Club of Vancouver sent representatives to a NABO meeting in 2002 (November 16, at the Center for



From right to left: Jon Laurenz, Elena Sommer, from Vancouver, Begoña Jauregi from Mexico City and Xabier Irujo professor at the Center for Basque Studies in Reno, during the NABO October 2006 meeting in Gardnerville (Photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

Basque Studies, in Reno). These relations went an important step further in 2006 when representatives of the Montreal Basque Club (Jean Claude Ellissalde), the Vancouver Basque Club (Elena Sommer and Jon Laurenz), the Mexico City Basque Club (Eduardo Ormaechea and Begoña Jauregi) and NABO⁴⁰⁴ met in Reno at the University of Nevada, Reno library (Bible Room), Friday morning, October 20th, to look into the possibility of organizing joint ventures in the future. This gathering was made possible thanks to a grant by the Basque Autonomous Government. The representatives started by presenting their club. The Montreal Basque Club is about ten years old, and consists of 155 families. Most of their members were born in the Basque Country, and the club is growing as more and more people come from the Basque Country to either study or work. The Basque Club in Vancouver has approximately 255 members, with a majority of the membership over fifty years old. The Centro Vasco Euskal Etxea of Mexico City is celebrating its 100th anniversary this year (2007). The club has its own facility. At that meeting, various possible plans were discussed such as the possibility of creating a new legal organization together, the possibility of organizing a festival on a rotating basis

⁴⁰⁴ NABO represented by Mary Gaztambide (president), Grace Mainvil (treasurer), Nancy Trevino (secretary), John Ysursa (facilitator), Xabier Berrueta (president of the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center), and Argitxu Camus Etchecopar. Also attending the meeting were John Mainvil, Jean Baptiste Gaztambide, and Pedro Oiarzabal.

every three years, etc.; however, no fixed initiatives were decided at that point. In the discussion, it was also brought up that efforts have recently been made in Latin America to create a confederation which would gather Basque institutions from the entire American continent.

These growing encounters contribute to a sense of Basque identity worldwide. Pierre Etcharren, president of NABO from 2000 to 2003, after attending the Congress of Basque Centers in Necochea (Argentina) in 2001 said the following in a NABO meeting in San Francisco (February 2002): “it is rewarding to commit to promoting the diaspora and giving support to clubs worldwide (meeting minutes)”.⁴⁰⁵

YOUTH

The future of Basque culture in the United States is of course in the hands of the future generations, in the hands of the youth. But this depends on how well their parents and/or the local clubs transmit Basque culture to Basque children, and also whether or not they are interested in continuing the effort, as it is also a matter of choice.

At the NABO level, Udaleku represents an important instrument working toward this goal. At the local club level, the main activity attracting Basque children together is dancing. Half of the NABO clubs have a dance group.⁴⁰⁶ Those who do not have a dance group do not count many young parents among them either. Some clubs such as New York or Gardnerville used to have a dance group, which eventually dwindled for lack of youth.

Youth Directors

Having all that in mind, NABO requested that each club member appoint a “youth director” or “youth facilitator” in order to create a network and be able to share ideas. This youth director would be in charge of developing activities for children, so they could bond and create friendships. A constructive brainstorming session took place during the first Youth facilitator meeting sponsored by NABO and held at the University of Nevada, Reno on October 20th, 2006. Fifteen different organizations sent their youth directors. John Yursa describes the youth facilitator meeting:

⁴⁰⁵ NABO Archives, “Minutes”.

⁴⁰⁶ I do not count the educational groups in the equation. And I also count a region as one club as well, even though constituted of several clubs. For example, Boise counts four clubs that are NABO members, but they have one dance group, the same with San Francisco.



The topics of discussion included the definition of youth, a presentation on the recently available book “*Jokoa eta Jolasa*” that collects ways of educating children in things Basque via games and contests, as well as an open forum for raising issues of mutual concern to youth facilitators. Whereas dance remains a central element in connecting with Basque youth, the workshop explored other viable alternatives. After some open discussions, each facilitator endeavored to identify an item or two that they were going to try and use upon their return home (*Hizketa*, 2007 winter, Volume 18:1).

At the meeting, the need to educate in regards to non-traditional activities was brought up, as well as the importance of community building. In that matter, the San Francisco community appeared to have given it much thought. The San Francisco Basque Cultural Center Youth Community aims at keeping the children interested in coming to the Center and interested in meeting their Basque friends. The San Francisco Basque youth goes to Giants baseball games, Warrior games, hiking trips, pizza and movie nights, mus tournaments, etc. In October 2006, a group of over forty people went to Angel Island State Park in the San Francisco Bay Area, and younger and older people bounded for one day around various activities. On top of having traditional activities available for the children (dance, mus, pelota), the people in charge at the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center try to get the youth together around non-traditional and not necessarily “Basque” activities. It seems that other clubs are leaning toward it



*Youth directors workshop
at the University of Nevada,
Reno (October 2006)* (Photo by
Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

as well: Reno has been organizing ski trips for several years now; Susanville organized a trip to Reno to go ice skating with all the children; Bakersfield and Chino worked together in the organization of a weekend sleep over at the club house in Bakersfield, mixing recreational and educational activities: they danced, played music, played language games, and they had a dance at night.⁴⁰⁷ The organizers, Kristie Onaindia from Bakersfield and Maite Maisterrena from Chino met during a NABO music camp.

Gaztealdi

After the 2004 Udaleku in Boise where over 100 participants attended, the NABO delegates decided to reduce the age to 10-15 years old children because of the size and problems of mixing 10 year olds with 18 year olds. This decision left the 16 year olds and older without an important yearly gathering with other Basque friends. Hence, aware of that, the NABO delegates started working on another program for the age group comprised between 16 and 25, called *Gaztealdi* (Time of Youth). According to Anita

⁴⁰⁷ Interview with Kristie Onaindia in Bakersfield. At the dance, Maite Maisterrena and Kristie Onaindia put music this age group would like, but as they all wanted Basque music, they danced on Basque music the rest of the night.



Gaztealdi workshop in Elko, in conjunction with Udaleku, in June 2006. From left to right: Jacqueline Lanathoua Gaton, Natalie Maiola, Dominika Zubillaga, Maite Maisterrena and Jérôme Goyhenetche (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

Anacabe, NABO's Aurrera Goaz chairperson, "there is too much of a gap from when they graduate from Udaleku to becoming a contributing member of the club they belong to. It needs to be fun to keep them involved and not burned out and discouraged by some of the older members (*Astero*, A1.11 'Gaztealdi: Basque Young Adult Assembly')", hence the importance of this program. At the 2006 Udaleku in Elko, a group of young adults who had applied to serve as assistants met to start building the content of this *Gaztealdi*. Those present were: Dominika Zubillaga from Susanville, Jerome Goyhenetche from San Francisco, Jacqueline Lanathoua Gaton from Chino, Mateo Franzoia and Natalie Maiola from Elko, all second or third generation Basques born in the United States, with the help of Maite Maisterrena from Chino. They decided to organize a week of activities on different aspects of Basque culture during the summer of 2007 in Boise, for participants between 16 and 20 years old.⁴⁰⁸ NABO delegates often mention how it would also appear important to put another program on for the 21 to 35 year olds, as the Basque clubs tend to "loose" young people when they go to college, and also, because this age represents young parents with children.

A lot of the discussion in the past years in NABO has been focused on how to get young people interested in learning about their Basque heritage, and hence keep them

⁴⁰⁸ The age group 16-20 was purposely chosen, leaving the 21 year olds and older out, as it could bring the issue of alcohol.

involved in the local clubs. But NABO cannot lose sight of the fact that most of the local clubs' membership consists of older people, with still a lot of them from the immigrant generation. In Mayi Etcheverry's opinion, the older people are left out, "Moi je trouve que nous les vieux on est laissé de côté maintenant". In fact, many of the older people who have lost their husbands or wives are by themselves, and often cannot drive to the different functions proposed by the local club. For Etcheverry, it could be time to take care of them, before it is too late, "peut être serait-il le moment de nous occuper d'eux, tant qu'on peut le faire".⁴⁰⁹

CHALLENGES

As mentioned earlier in our first section, certain conditions have to be gathered in order for a club to emerge. We explained how a sense of threat alone –which can lead to mobilization–, might not actually lead to action and that important resources also had to be mobilized consisting of internal –such as the motivation and the leaders/followers– and external factors –such as the donors. And in our previous chapters we have developed in detail the experience of one of these organizations, the North American Basque Organizations, Inc.

But NABO, along with all Basque clubs, face many challenges on their path to success.

Structural/Organizational Challenges

John Yursa, in *Astero* wrote about the "seven essentials of a successful Basque Club". They consist of 1) Workers; 2) Recreation; 3) Donors; 4) Educators: the teachers and the visionaries; 5) Leaders; 6) A crowd and 7) Gogoa, desire or will (A1.12). Basque Clubs consist of all-volunteer associations within which a small minority of the members actually steps up to contribute to it by donating either their time or money, or both. This leads to the issue of possible "fatigue" and "burn out" among the worker group.

The year 2006 represents an innovation in this matter, with a full-time paid position in NABO, the "facilitator" position held by John Yursa. The position was suggested by the Basque Government and is entirely funded by a Basque Government grant on a yearly basis. This position has been renewed for a second year in 2007. This paid position has the advantage of having someone in charge of the communication

⁴⁰⁹ Interview with Mayi Etcheverry in San Francisco.

between the clubs, and of getting the word out to them. Another of Yursa's paid responsibilities is to follow up on the *Euskara* program. Besides the real advantage of such a position, it also entails a bigger challenge: keep the other volunteers from leaving everything up to the NABO paid position. But according to Yursa, this has not happened so far. John Yursa himself came up with the word "facilitator", instead of "communicator" when he was flying to the Basque Country in January 2007, along with NABO's president Mary Gaztambide, to meet with Basque Government representatives. The idea being that Yursa "facilitates" various programs or information to the people, but he by no means does the job for them or decides for them. But would this position continue in the future if the Basque Government –for whatever reason– was to cut the funds?

From an interview conducted with a person who was born in the Basque Country, a really interesting idea came up. He explained how, when it came to rule the local clubs and NABO, himself and those of his generation were "mechanics", whereas those who were born in the U. S., and mostly the younger generation, were "technicians".



Delegates at the 2007 February meeting in San Francisco. From left to right: P. J. Mansidor (Boise Oinkari Dancers), Lisa Corcostegui (Ontario Oregon Basque Club), Valérie Etcharren Arrechea (San Francisco Basque Club of California), Grace Mainvil (Ontario, Oregon Basque Club) and Anita Anacabe Franzoia (Elko Basque Club). Photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar.

The “mechanics” intend to make things work with what they have available. This interesting image is really illustrative of two different ways of ruling organizations such as NABO; this idea came out in several interviews. Here is what a man born in the United States had to say:

Some of the people that are running the organizations may have successful businesses here but they were not educated. Whereas the youth have experience, going to school, dealing with people; you learn an organizational structure, ways to get things done, a process of getting things done. This is something I value very much, the process. Some people’s feelings are hurt in this process but everybody can say something, people can reiterate if they want, in order to convince the people, then we have a vote and we move on. Some of that stuff, there was a lack of [in NABO, and in the local club in which he belongs].

During the Fall 2006 NABO meeting in Gardnerville (October 21), the director of the Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno gave a talk on “Changing Circumstances, re-defining missions and assessing NABO’s strengths and weaknesses”. Toticagüena challenged the delegates to re-think what they were doing in their local clubs and how they were doing it, as well as at NABO level. Her approach, following the image developed above, was one of a “technician”. She included the SWOT analysis and identified the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of Basque organizations. In her presentation, Toticagüena touched several challenging topics such as budgeting, the dysfunction of the meetings, the fact that they only meet three times a year, the importance of educational programs, etc. A long constructive discussion followed the presentation and ended on this note: Grace Mainvil, NABO’s treasurer said, “Thank you to Gloria for setting down the fire underneath us”.

Identity Crisis and Purpose Crisis

Toticagüena, in her talk in Gardnerville also mentioned the complex question of Basque identity: “We are not any less Basque because we are in the United States. We can be a good American at the same time”, hence stipulating that it might be time for Basque Americans to stop looking to the Basque Country as the only source of Basque identity.

According to John Yursa, “That Basque culture will survive, is a given, but the question is: what kind of Basque culture? What exactly do we want to teach?”⁴¹⁰

Years ago a book was published with the title of *Chorizo, Beans, and other things*. It was a collection of poems with some illustrations, but it was the title that resonated because it succinctly captured the essence of “Basqueness” here in America. We know what chorizo and beans are. Furthermore we know that these elements of Basque culture are certain

410 Interview with John Yursa in Boise.



Anita and Jean Pierre Izoco from Gardnerville, picture taken during the dinner following the October 2006 NABO meeting in Gardnerville (photo by Argitxu Camus Etchecopar).

to endure. [...] Those things seem certain to continue if for no other reason that they taste good. It is the last part of the title, however, the “other things” that is now our focus. What are these other things of Basque culture, and which do we want to preserve and promote? What is worth our time energy and money? (*Astero*, “NABO Udazken Biltzarra”).

After the 2006 Convention held in Buffalo, NABO sponsored an essay contest entitled “What is a Basque, Why be a Basque?” This important question was brought up to the delegates’ attention at the Gardnerville meeting in October 2006.

But most of the discussion that followed Totoricagüena’s presentation in Gardnerville focused on NABO’s mission. Among other things, the delegates discussed the important issue of distinguishing NABO’s prerogatives and the local clubs’ prerogatives. Should NABO mainly focus on putting on national educational programs for its member clubs? Should NABO help local clubs succeed by finding new members, etc.? NABO finds itself in a real purpose crisis, and will have a lot to define in the near future.

“What does NABO do for me?” Here is a question sometimes asked by the club members, therefore putting into question their involvement in NABO. “What do we get out of NABO?” Locally, it happens that Basques wonder if what NABO has to offer is worth their time, effort, and money. What about a club which has no youth to send to Udaleku, has no

fronton, and just a few mus players? Yursa, in the NABO newsletter *Hizketa*, Volume 7.1, summer 1996 and entitled “What does NABO do for me?” desires to answer to those who question it: “Ask not what NABO can do for you, ask what you can do for NABO”.⁴¹¹ Xabier Berrueta agrees, “You only get from NABO, what you put into it”.⁴¹²

But the truth is that there is a real disconnect between the NABO level and the base of the local clubs’ membership. The NABO delegates sometimes find themselves in a position where they have to convince their local club membership about the necessity of a venture such as NABO, by stressing the importance of working together with other clubs. Then, we cannot either be entirely sure that all NABO delegates fully understand it either. How can we be certain that all the information discussed at NABO level is shared with the local members? The fact that the delegates do not necessarily pass on the information discussed in NABO might partly be due to the internal function of the Basque clubs as well. Some do not have an internal newsletter; most of them do not have a physical club house. Even record maintenance becomes an issue. They keep them at their houses when they are president and then pass them on to the next one (if it is that they keep them). We could also look at how many of the club members actually attend the local club meetings?

Frantxo Bidaurreta from San Francisco, a long-time officer in NABO, at the October 2006 meeting in Gardnerville reminded the current officers –currently mainly made of young officers– of one of the founding ideas of the organization: to help the clubs help each other. The San Francisco Basque Cultural Center is a wealthy club. However, all the delegates –past and present– interviewed from San Francisco felt responsible for the smaller clubs. “If we don’t feed them, and we do that through NABO, the same fate could become of us”, explained Xabier Berrueta, the current president of the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center. According to Berrueta, NABO delegates have to look at the bigger picture, the well being of Basque culture in the United States.

Attract New Members (Clubs and Individuals)

Less than 10 % of self-defined Basques are Basque Club members. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, approximately 58,000 individuals defined themselves as “Basques”. But by summing the memberships of all NABO clubs, we only reach the number of 5,835.

As a response to that, NABO sponsors a campaign aiming at attracting new members in NABO as well as at local club level. By doing so, they are also trying to find more people to help in the Basque Clubs.

⁴¹¹ Paraphrase of President John Kennedy’s famous line.

⁴¹² Interview with Xabier Berrueta in San Francisco.

The Basque American community is undergoing a generational transition. The last major wave of Basque immigration here to America ended a generation ago, and now their children and grandchildren are the ones who will decide if and how Basque culture will endure here. Now it is time to reaffirm our will: *euskaldun bizi nahia*— our will to live as Basque. To those club members not actively involved, we need to find ways to ask them to reconsider what they might be able to contribute. It is our combined efforts that keep our community alive and worthwhile. For those 90% self-defined Basques who have yet to join us, we also need to get the message out to ask them to please consider becoming a part of our efforts to preserve our Basque heritage” (*Hizketa*, “Euskaldun Bizi Nahia” article, volume 15:1, page 2. “Let the word go out: Hurbil zaitez, or come closer, join us”).

The Gardnerville Mendiko Euskaldun Cluba put an announcement in the local newspaper in 2006, and some new members did join. In Louisiana, they were trying to organize a club and leaders attended a few NABO meetings. In Phoenix, a group of Basque people recently decided to get together with the idea of forming a club, and they organized a mus tournament in 2006 where people from San Francisco and Ventura, California participated. At the 2007 NABO Convention meeting held in June in Winnemucca, two new clubs have joined NABO, the Santa Rosa Basque Club based in Paradise Valley, Nevada) and the Washington D. C. Euskal Etxea, bringing the number of NABO affiliated clubs to 38.



Conclusion

Due to important developments within the wider society, the inspiring Western Basque Festival in 1959 which led to the proliferation of Basque formal institutions in the United States, and several instrumental leaders, the idea of a federation uniting Basques in the U.S. gradually emerged and was implemented in 1973.

In its 34 years of existence, not only has NABO increased in number, but also in scope. Originally, NABO gathered eight Basque institutions, and is now composed of thirty eight institutions. If NABO started as a means to create communication among clubs, it has certainly grown beyond that. It has worked effectively as a vehicle of preservation of Basque culture in the United States, and has made the Basque culture more visible, bringing it positive status.

NABO promoted a sense of “we Basque Americans” as opposed to French or Spanish Basque and is now contributing to a new level of identity belonging, “we Basques of the diaspora”, through its increasing contacts with other countries such as Mexico, Canada, or Argentina. The organization is also in contact with various institutions in the Basque Country.

But NABO, in order to succeed, will have to face many challenges in the near future such as structural challenges (it is a volunteer organization) or the fact that it needs to attract the youth in order to assure the future of Basque culture in the United States.

Although this study contributes to a better understanding of the Basque immigration process, it also presents many weaknesses. The population under study is not a good representation of Basques in the United States in the sense that only 10% of the self-identified Basques join a Basque Club in the United States. It would appear interesting to find out why the rest of the self-identified Basque group does not join an institution and how these people live their ethnicity. Moreover, many themes mentioned in the study could have deserved a deeper attention, such as the particular context lived by Basques on the east coast.

In the conclusion of my study about Basques in Paris, I mentioned how each Basque diasporic institution had its unique and particular history, while explaining that it could be possible to draw some important parallels and commonalities from them (Camus Etchecopar, Argitxu, 2003, conclusion, p.201). At the time, in 2002, I was only familiar with the Basque institutions in Paris and in Bordeaux. After studying and observing the case of Basque associationism in the United States, I come to that same conclusion. It is true that Basque institutions in Paris or Bordeaux deal with a completely different context compared to the ones in the United States. For instance, Basques from the Basque Country continue to move to the French cities whereas



The researcher, with NABO delegates at the NABO 2006 Convention parade in Buffalo Wyoming.

immigration to the United States is quasi inexistent. However, all of these institutions struggle to attract new members, and especially the youth.

It would also appear interesting to compare NABO to its Argentinean homologue, FEVA, and see how Basque identity has evolved in Argentina, and look at the gender structure within the Argentinean Basque organizations (a more machista society?). There exists a large field of research waiting to be explored.

Glossary

Alkarteko Barriak (or Elkarteko Berriak): The association's news. First NABO's newsletter

Alkartasuna: Unity

Amerikanuak (or Amerikanoak): Americans

Anaitasuna: Fraternity

Astero: Every week. Also NABO facilitator's online weekly publication

Aurrera Goaz: We are going forward

Bertso: Verse

Bertsolari: Basque poet who improvises verses

Bihotzetik: From the heart (bihotza=heart)

Bota: Spanish word for leather wine bag. Another word in Basque language would be xahakoa

CEVA: Confederación de Entidades Vascas de América. Confederation of Basque Entities of America

Esku Huska: Bare Hands

ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna): Basque Country and Freedom

Euskadi: Basque Country. Or also used to refer to the Basque Autonomous Community comprised of three Basque historical provinces: Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, and Araba

Euskaldunak: or Euzkaldunak, plural form of Euskalduna: Speaker of the Basque language. Nowadays commonly used word for someone who is Basque

Euskaldunak Danak Bat: Basques, all in one

Euskal Herria: Basque Country

Euskal Irrati Telebista: Basque Radio Television

Euskal Kantu Txapelketa: Basque Song Contest

Euskal Lagunak: Basque Friends

Euskara: the Basque language

Eusko Bibliografia: Basque Bibliography

Euzko Etxea (or Euskal Etxea): Basque House

FEVA (Spanish): Federación de Entidades Vasco-Argentinas. Federation of Basque Argentinean Entities

Fronton: Pelota court

Fueros or Fors: Local charters and laws that formed the traditional basis for government in the Basque Country

Gure Amentsa (or Ametsa): Our Dream

Hegoalde: South. Also used to refer to the Spanish side of the Basque Country: Nafarroa, Araba, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa provinces

Hegoaldetar: From Hegoalde

Hizketa: Conversation. NABO's newsletter

Iparralde: North. Also used to refer to the French side of the Basque Country: Xiberoa, Baxe Nafarroa, and Lapurdi

Iparraldetar: From Iparralde

Iparreko Ibarra: Northern Valley

Itxaso Alde: See side

Jaialdi: Festival

Kantari Eguna: Day of the Singer

Klika: Basque marching band, bugle corps

Koxkorrak: The little ones (children)

Lagun Onak: Good Friends

Laurak Bat: Four in One

Mendiko Euskaldun Kluba: Basque Club of the Mountain

Munduko Pilota Batzarra: World Federation of Pelota

Mus: Basque card game

Oberena or Hoberena: the best

Oinkari: “One who does with feet” or dancer

Pala: wooden racket. A variation of pelota

Pastorala: A traditional play in Xiberoa

Pelota (or pilota): Basque sport

Renoko Aste Nagusia: Basque General Week in Reno (celebrated in 1999 for the 40th Anniversary Celebration of the Basque Western Festival held in Sparks in 1959)

Semana Vasca (Spanish): Basque Week

Trinquet: A pelota court with four walls. Also used for the variation of pelota played in this type of court

Txistu: A traditional music instrument in the Basque Country, a three-hole flute

Txoko Ona: Nice place

Udaleku: Word used for summer camp

Urazandi: From overseas

Zazpiak Bat: Seven in One, referring to the seven historical Basque provinces

Sources

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Books and Articles

- ALLPORT, GORDON. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- ALVAREZ GILA, OSCAR. "De "América y los vascos" a la "octava provincia": 20 años de historiografía sobre la emigración y presencia vasca en las Américas (siglos XIX-XX)". *Vasconia*, 34, Donostia-San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza, pp. 275-300.
- AMMONS, DARLENE AND INDA, JANET. 1984. "Forging a Link: the North American Basque Organizations, Inc". *Basque Studies Program Newsletter*, Issue 24.
- BARTH, FREDRIK. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- BASH, LINDA. 1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers S.A.
- BERGLAND, BETTY. 1988. "Immigrant History and Gendered Subject: a Review Essay". *Ethnic Forum: bulletin of ethnic studies and ethnic bibliography*, vol.8, 24-39, p.29.
- BILBAO, JON AND WILLIAM A. DOUGLASS. 1975. *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- BILLIG, MICHAEL. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

- BRANNA, JEAN-ERIC. 1989. *Basques From America*. Bayonne: Edisud.
- BREWER, MARYLIN B. 1999. "The Psychology of Prejudice: Ingroup love or Outgroup hate?" *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 55, No. 3, pp. 429-444.
- BUIJS, GINA (ED). 1993. *Migrant Women: Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities, in Cross Cultural Perspectives on Women*, volume 7.
- BULLEN, MARGARET. 2000. *Basque Gender Studies*. University of Nevada, Reno: Center for Basque Studies.
- CAMUS ETCHECOPAR, ARGITXU. 2003. *Pariseko Eskual Etxea, La Maison Basque de Paris*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzua.
- CHANT, SYLVIA (ed). 1992. *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*. London: Bell haven Press.
- CHANT, SYLVIA. 2003. *Gender in Latin America*, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- CLIFFORD, JAMES. "Diasporas". 1997. Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex (ed). *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- COHEN. ROBIN. 1997. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. Cornwall: UCL Press.
- DECROOS, JEAN FRANCIS. 1983. *The Long Journey: Social Integration and Ethnicity Maintenance Among Urban Basques in the San Francisco Bay Region*. University of Nevada, Reno: Associated Faculty Press.
- DOUGLASS, WILLIAM. 1979. "Basque Immigrants: Contrasting Patterns of Adaptation in Argentina and the American West". Hinshaw, Robert. *Currents in Anthropology, Essays in Honor of Sol Tax*, The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton Publishers.
- DOUGLASS, WILLIAM. 1991. "Inventing an Ethnic Identity: the First Basque Festival". Etulain, Richard (ed). *Basques of the Pacific Northwest*, Pocatello: Idaho State University Press, pp79-85.
- DOUGLASS, WILLIAM. 1993. "Through the Looking Glass or Becoming the Datum", in *the Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos* , Year 41, Volume XXXVIII, number 2, p. 49-61.
- DOUGLASS, WILLIAM. 1996. "Basque American Identity: Past Perspectives and Future Projects". Tchudi, Stephen. *Changing in the American West, Exploring the Human Dimension*. Reno and Las Vegas: Nevada Humanities Committee and University of Nevada Press, pp183-199.
- DOUGLASS, WILLIAM. 2000. "Interstitial culture, virtual ethnicity, and hyphenated Basque identity in the new millennium". *Nevada Historical Quarterly*, 43-2, p.156.
- DOUGLASS, WILLIAM. 2003. "Calculando la etnicidad mediante el censo de EEUU: el caso vasco", *La Vasconia Global, Ensayos sobre las Diasporas Vascas*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Central Publications of the Basque Autonomous Government, pp264-279.

- ECHEVERRIA, JERONIMA. 1999. *Home Away from Home: a History of Basque Boardinghouses*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- ETHIER, KATHLEEN AND KAY DEAUX. 1994. "Negotiating social identity when contexts change: Maintaining identification and responding to threat". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 27, 243-251.
- FERNANDEZ DE LARRINOVA, KEPA. 1992. *Estatu Batuetako mendebadeko urrutiko Euskal Jaiak*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia.
- FRANCHOMME-DZIMMIEL, VÉRONIQUE. 1999. "La NABO, "National American Basque Organization". PhD dissertation *Basquitude et Américanité chez les fils d'Aitor, une approche diachronique et synchronique des nouvelles générations basques aux Etats-Unis*, Université Paris VIII, dirigée par Jacques Laporte.
- GABACCIA, DONNA, "Immigrant Women, Nowhere at Home?" *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Summer 91, Vol. 10, Issue 4, p.61, 27p.
- GABACCIA, DONNA AND IACOVETTA, FRANCA (eds). 2002. *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated.
- GACHITEGUY, ADRIEN, *Les Basques dans l'Ouest Américain*, Belloc: Ezkila.
- GANS, HERBERT. 1979. "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Volume 2, No.1. p.7.
- GARCIA CANCLINI, NESTOR. 1995. *Hybrid Cultures*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1995.
- GEERTZ, CLIFFORD. 1993. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books.
- GLICK, PETER, FISKE, SUSAN T. 2001. "An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality". *American Psychologist*. 56, 109-118.
- HANSEN, MARCUS LEE. 1990 (1937). "Who Shall Inherit America?" Peter Kivisto and Dag Blanck (ed). *American Immigrants and their Generations: Studies and Commentaries on the Hansen Thesis after 50 Years*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- HELD, DAVID. 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- HOBBSBAWN, ERIC. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HOGG, MICHAEL A. 2001. "A social identity theory of leadership". *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5, 3: 184-200
- HOGG, MICHAEL A., Dominic Abrams, Sabine Otten and Steve Hinkle. 2004. "The social identity perspective", *Small Group Research* 35, 3: 246-276.

- HOGG, MICHAEL A. AND HAINS, SARAH. 1996. "Intergroup Relations and group Solidarity: Effects of Group identification and social beliefs on depersonalised attraction". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70, 295-309.
- IRIANI ZALAKAIN, MARCELINO. 2003. *Centro Vasco Argentino Gure Etxea de Tandil: la punta de un gran iceberg?* Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Centro Vasco.
- IRIANI ZALAKAIN, MARCELINO. 2000. *Hacer América: los vascos en la pampa húmeda, Argentina (1840-1920)*. Universidad del País Vasco: Servicio Editorial.
- JOST, JOHN AND MAHZARIN BANAJI. 1994. "The role of stereotyping in a system-justification and the production of false- consciousness". *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 1-27.
- LAPEYRONNIE, DIDIER. 1987. "Assimilation, mobilization et action collective chez les jeunes de la seconde génération de l'immigration maghrébine". *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 28, 2: 287-318.
- LHANDE, PIERRE. 1910. *L'Emigration basque*. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale.
- MATHY, JEAN-PHILIPPE. 1985. *Les Basques Américains et le Vieux Monde: Migration, Intégration, Ethnicité (1850-1985)*, Thèse de doctorat de l'Ecole Supérieure des Etudes en Sciences Sociales, sous la direction de Pierre-Yves Pétilon
- MCCARTHY, JOHN D AND MAYER N. ZALD. 1977. "Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory". *American Journal of Sociology*, 82: 1212-1241.
- MOCH, LESLIE PAGE. 1992. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- MOORE, H. 1998. *Feminism and Anthropology: The Story of a Relationship*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p.7.
- MOORE, HENRIETTA. 1998. *Feminism and Anthropology: The Story of a Relationship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MOROKVASIC, MIRJANA. 1983. "Women in Migration: beyond the reductionnist outlook". Phizacklea, Annie (ed.). *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul p13-31, p.13.
- MORRIS, LYDIA. 1990. *The Workings of the Household*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- OKAMURA, JONATHAN Y. 1998. *Imagining the Filipino American Diáspora: Transnational Relations, Identities, and Communities*. London: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- PRÉVÉLAKIS, GEORGES. 1996. *The Network of Diasporas*. Paris: Cyprus Research Center Kykem.
- SAFRAN, WILLIAM. 1991. "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of homeland and return". *Diasporas: A Journal of Transnational Studies* vol.1, pp. 83-98.

- SARDAR, ZIAUDDIN. 1999. *Introducing Cultural Studies*. Cambridge: Icon ; New York: Totem.
- SCOTT, WILLIAM AND SCOTT, RUTH. 1989. *Adaptation of Immigrants*, Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- SELLER, MAXINE S. SPRING 1975. "Beyond the Stereotype: A New Look at the Immigrant Woman, 1880-1924". *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 3: 59-70, p.59.
- SELLER, MAXINE (ed.). 1994. *Immigrant Women*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- SIMKE, SUZANNE. 1989. "A Historiography of Immigrant Women in the nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries". *Ethnic Forum* 9, p. 122.
- STAHL WEINBERG, SYDNEY. Summer 1992. "The Treatment of Women in Immigration History: a Call for Change". *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11, p25, 22p.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, GLORIA .1999. "Shrinking World, Expanding Diaspora: Globalization and Basque Diasporic Identity". William Douglass et al. (ed). *The Basque Diáspora/La Diáspora Vasca*. Reno: University of Nevada Reno, Center for Basque Studies.
- TOTORICAGÜENA GLORIA. 1999. "Los Vascos en la Argentina", Alejandro Fernandez and José Moya (ed). *La Inmigracion Española en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, GLORIA. 2000. "Downloading Identity in the Basque Diáspora: Utilizing Internet to Create and Maintain Identity". *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 43 (summer): 140-54
- TOTORICAGÜENA, GLORIA, 2001. "A General Introduction to the Development of the Basque Diáspora". *Kanpoko Etxe Berria: Emigracion Vasca a America Siglos XIX XX*. Bilbao: Museo Arqueológico, Etnográfico, e Histórico Vasco.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, GLORIA. December 2002-January 2003. "The North American Basque Organizations, Incorporated". *Euskonews and Media* 193.zbk.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, GLORIA. 2003. *Diáspora Vasca Comparada*. Urazandi collection, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Autonomous Government Press.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, GLORIA. 2003. "Interconnected, Disconnectedness: How Diáspora Basque Women Maintain Ethnic Identity". Linda White and Cameron Watson (ed). *Amatxi, Amuma, Amona: Writings in Honor of Basque Women*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, GLORIA. 2003. *Boise Basques: Dreamers and Doers*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Autonomous Basque Government Central Publication.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, GLORIA. 2003. *The Basques of New York: A Cosmopolitan Experience*, Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Government Central Publication.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, GLORIA. 2004. *Identity, Culture, and Politics in the Basque Diáspora*. Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press.

- UGALDE ZUBIRI, ALEXANDER. 2007. *Memoria de la Dirección de Relaciones con las Colectividades Vascas en el Exterior del Gobierno Vasco (1980-2005)*. Manuscript.
- URZA, CARMELO. 1994. *Historia de la Pelota Vasca en Las Américas*. Donostia: Elkar.
- URZA, CARMELO. 1993. *Solitude, Art and Symbolism in the National Basque Monument*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- VALLE (DEL), TERESA. 1993. *Gendered Anthropology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- VALLE (DEL), TERESA. 1985. *Mujer Vasca: Imagen y Realidad*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- VAN HEAR, NICOLAS. 1998. *New Diasporas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities*. London: UCL Press.
- VERKUYTEN, MAYKEL. 2005. *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*. New York: Psychology Press.
- WATERS, MARY. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- WEINRICH, PETER. 1986. "Identity Development in Migrant Offspring: Theory and Practice". *Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants in a Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Lars Ekstrand (ed): Swets North America.
- WRIGHT, S., TAYLOR, D., AND MOGHADDAM, F. 1990. "Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 994-1003.
- YOUNG, M., AND WILMOTT, P. 1974. *The Symmetrical Family*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- ZUBIRI, NANCY. 2006 (2nd ed). *Travel Guide to Basque America*, Reno, Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press.
1984. FEVA. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.

NEWSPAPERS, NEWSLETTERS, JOURNALS

- Basque Studies Program Newsletter*. 1969-1980. University of Nevada, Reno, Basque Studies Center, located at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno.
- Euskal Etxeak*, magazine published by the Basque Government and distributed to Basques of the diaspora.
- Newsletters of the North American Organizations: *Alkarte'ko Barriak* (One single issue, 1974), *NABO News* (1979-1981), *Hizketa* (1990-2007), *Astero* (NABO facilitator's online newsletter 2006-2007), located at the "NABO Archives" kept at the Basque Library of the University of Nevada, Reno.
- Voice of the Basques*, 1974-1977, Boise, Idaho.

NABO ARCHIVES

NOTE: A NABO archive has been collected and stored at the Basque library of the University of Nevada, in Reno.

It is organized as follows:

1) NABO General Archive

- a) NABO business 1973-1990
- b) NABO business 1990-1993
- c) NABO business 1993-2000
- d) The minutes (1973-2006)
- e) Treasurer's Reports
- f) Pelota
- g) Mus
- h) Udaleku
- i) Calendar samples
- j) By-Laws: NABO, clubs
- k) NABO and facilitator's newsletters: *Alkarte'ko Barriak* 1974, *NABO News* 1979-1981, *Hizketa* (from 1990 on), *Astero*

2) Attorney Bob Goicoechea's archive: legal documents

3) François Pedeflous' archive: various

4) Bob Echeverria's archive

- a) NABO business
- b) Basque Government

5) Photographs

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

NOTE: The researcher conducted 68 personal interviews. Half of them are mentioned throughout the development:

Aldape, Jill, in Boise: December 16, 2006.

Anchustegui, Josephine and Anchustegui Gridley, Gina in Boise: December 15, 2006.

Berrueta, Xabier, in San Francisco: September 18, 2006.

- Bidaurreta, Frantxo, in San Francisco: February 23, 2006 and February 16, 2007.
- Douglass, William, in Reno: October 9, 2006.
- Doyaga, Emilia and Aguirre, Anna, in New York: January 2006.
- Echeverria, Bob, in Elko: June 29, 2006 and December 1, 2006.
- Echeverria, Candida, in Chino: November 18, 2006.
- Erdozaincy, Alain, in San Francisco: February 21, 2006.
- Erquiaga, Al and Miren Rementeria Artiach, in Boise: July 31, 2006.
- Etcharren, Denise, in San Francisco: February 21, 2006.
- Etcharren, Pierre, in San Francisco: February 21, 2006.
- Etcheverry, Mayi, in San Francisco: September 20, 2006.
- Fernandez, Teresa, in Reno: October 14, 2006.
- Flesher, Jean, in Buffalo Wyoming: July 23, 2006.
- Gavica, Susan, in Reno: November 11, 2006.
- Goicoechea, Bob, in Elko: November 30, 2006.
- Goikoetxea, Martin, in Buffalo, Wyoming: July 20, 2006.
- Goñi, Janet, in Susanville: November 5, 2006.
- Inda, Janet, in Reno: October 15, 2006.
- Iribarren, Bernadette, in San Francisco: February 23, 2006.
- Ithurralde, Jim, in Eureka: December 1, 2006.
- Jausoro, Isabel, in Boise: December 14, 2006.
- Lopategui, Jesus, in Reno: July 16, 2006.
- Oçafrain, Mayte, in San Francisco: February 20, 2006.
- Onaindia, Kristie, in Bakersfield: November 18, 2006.
- Pedeflous, François, in Fresno: May 26, 2006.
- Pedroarena, Jesus and Frances, in Minden: October 11, 2006.
- Trevino, Nancy in Buffalo, Wyoming: July 21, 2006.
- Yanci, Ricardo, in Boise: December 13, 2006.
- Ysursa, Jenny, in Boise: July 31, 2006.
- Ysursa, John, in Boise: July 31, 2006.



Appendix

One

NABO ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OFFICE OF
WM. D. SWACKHAMER
SECRETARY OF STATE

THE STATE OF NEVADA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

I, Wm. D. Swackhamer, the duly qualified and acting Secretary of State of the State of Nevada, do hereby certify that the annexed is a true, full and correct transcript of the original Articles of Incorporation of

NORTH AMERICAN BASQUE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.

FILED
IN THE OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE OF
STATE OF NEVADA

APR 19 1974

WHL SWACKHAGER - SECRETARY OF

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

OF THE

NORTH AMERICAN BASQUE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.

WHL Swackhager
No. 1233-74

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, the undersigned, do hereby voluntarily associate ourselves together for the purpose of forming a non-profit corporation under and pursuant to the laws of the State of Nevada, and specifically N.R.S. 81.410 through 81.540 inclusive and all amendments thereto, AND WE DO HEREBY CERTIFY:

ARTICLE I

That the name of said corporation is the
NORTH AMERICAN BASQUE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.

ARTICLE II

OBJECTS

Section 1. Objects. The objects of this corporation shall be:

- (a). To promote, preserve, protect and advance the historical, cultural, civic, social and fraternal interests and activities of the Basque people.
- (b). To cultivate and advance social relations and activities, and understanding and friendship among its members and between its members and nonmembers.

1.

(c). To collect, preserve and display articles, relics, data, specimens and material things illustrative or demonstrative of the heritage, history, customs, modes, culture and habits of the Basque people.

(d). To perpetuate the memory of those who made outstanding contributions to or for the Basque people or to the history, stature, reputation, advancement or integrity of the Basque people.

(e). To educate and enlighten its members and their children and the general public in matters relating to the Basque people and their past and present culture, customs, habits, race, culture and heritage and to disseminate information relating thereto and to encourage, support and help the preservation of the Basque language.

(f). To promote and advance open communication and unity between all of the various Basque organizations, learning institutions, and communities in North America.

(g). To develop and circulate a publication of activities, scheduled and promoted by the various Basque organizations, learning institutions, and communities in North America.

(h). To do all acts necessary, convenient, incidental or advisable for the promotion, advancement, furtherance and carrying out of the foregoing objects; and to exist and function as a non-profit corporate society under the laws of the State of Nevada.

Section 2. Non-pecuniary. This corporation is not organized for pecuniary profit, and no part of the property, or receipts shall inure to the benefit of any member of individual, except as expressly provided in this certificate.

Section 3. Nothing herein contained shall be construed as authorizing or empowering the Corporation to promote, encourage, aid or advance any political ideology, movement, cause, party or activity, wherever located.

ARTICLE III

EXISTENCE

That the said corporation is to have an existence of 50 years.

ARTICLE IV

DIRECTORS

Section 1. Number of Directors. The management of this corporation shall be vested in a Board of Directors, which shall consist of two representatives from each North American Basque organization which elects to be represented and maintains its members as members in this corporation.

Section 2. Election of Directors. After the expiration of

the term of the directors first selected and named in this certificate of incorporation, directors shall be elected annually by the members of the corporation at such time and place, and upon such notice, and in such mode as may be directed by the bylaws.

Section 3. Election of directors at irregular time valid. If an election of directors shall not be made on the day designated by the bylaws of the corporation, the corporation shall not for that reason be dissolved, but an election for directors may be held on another day in such manner as shall be provided in the bylaws. All acts of the directors shall be valid and binding on the corporation until the election and qualification of their successors.

Section 4. Quorum of directors and members. A majority of the whole number of directors shall form a board for the transaction of business, and a majority of the whole number of directors of the corporation represented in person or by proxy, shall be necessary to transact business. Any decision of a majority of the persons assembled with a quorum as a board, or as a meeting of the members of the corporation with a quorum shall be valid.

Section 5. First Board of Directors. The directors who shall manage the business of the corporation for the first six (6) months shall be:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
John Madariaga	535 Marsh Avenue, Reno, Nevada
Janet Inda	742 Roberts Street, Reno, Nevada
Jacques Unhassobiscay	463 - 27th Avenue, San Francisco
Jean Urruty	465 Mesa Court, Grand Junction,

Frank J. Maitia	631 East Cordial, Bakersfield, CA
Dominique Erdozaincy	2420 14th Avenue, San Francisco, CA
Jim Ithurrealde,	P.O. Box 26, Eureka, Nevada
Juanita Hormaechea	1321 West Hays Street, Boise, Idaho
Manuel Barainca	277 Ogden Avenue, Ely, Nevada
Pete Gamboa	35 Carson Court, Ely, Nevada
Robert Goicoechea	P.O. Box 831, Elko, Nevada

ARTICLE V

PRINCIPAL PLACE OF BUSINESS

That the principal office of the corporation shall be located at 530 Idaho Street in the City of Elko, County of Elko, State of Nevada, and the resident agent for said corporation shall be ROBERT B. GOICOECHEA, whose office address is that hereinbefore stated. The location of the principal office of the corporation and the resident agent of the corporation shall be subject to change from time to time by resolution of the Board of Directors. The principal place of business of the corporation shall be changed from time to time and shall be situated wherever the officers of the corporation reside.

ARTICLE VI

OFFICERS

The Board of Directors shall have power to appoint, or elect, and remove such officers, agents and servants as the business of the corporation may require; to define their powers, prescribe their duties and fix their compensation, if any, all as provided in the bylaws of this corporation.

ARTICLE VII

BYLAWS

The Board of Directors of this corporation shall have the power to make bylaws, not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this State, and of the United States of America, for the transaction of the business of the corporation, the management of its property, the regulation of its affairs, the admission and expulsion of members and generally for the transaction of all such business as may be within the scope of its organization and original design. The original bylaws of this corporation shall be adopted by the first Board of Directors of this corporation named in this Certificate and such bylaws adopted may thereafter be amended, repealed or replaced by the Board of Directors in such manner as is provided in the bylaws of this corporation.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENT OF CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

The corporation reserves the right, by and through its Board of Directors, to amend, alter, change or repeal any provision contained in this Certificate of Incorporation, in the manner now or hereafter prescribed by the laws of the State of Nevada, and all rights and privileges conferred herein are granted subject to this reservation.

ARTICLE IX

MEMBER NON-LIABILITY

Members of this corporation shall not be individually liable for the debts, contracts, claims against or liabilities of the corporation.

ARTICLE X

NON-STOCK, NON-PROFIT CORPORATION

This corporation shall not have a capital stock and its business shall not be carried on for profit.

ARTICLE XI

CORPORATE PROPERTY

Members of this corporation shall receive certificates of membership, which shall entitle them to all the privileges of the corporation, but which shall not entitle them to any pecuniary or financial profit of any form or kind, and which, in case the member shall resign, be suspended, expelled or otherwise cease to be associated with the corporation for any reason, shall give the holder thereof no right nor interest in the property of this corporation, nor privileges therein. In the event of the liquidation or dissolution of this corporation, whether voluntary or involuntary, no member shall be entitled to any distribution or division of its remaining property or its proceeds, and the balance of all money and other property received by the corporation from any source, after the payment of all debts and obligations of the corporation, shall be used or distributed, transferred or paid over by three persons who are members and named by the Board of Directors of this corporation to act as trustees in liquidation, exclusively to or for the benefit of one or more of the following:

(a). Any one or more corporations, community chests, funds, foundations or other organizations meeting the conditions prescribed at the time of such distribution by Section 501(c) of the Internal

Revenue Code of the United States of America and the regulations thereunder as the same now exist or as they may be hereafter amended from time to time.

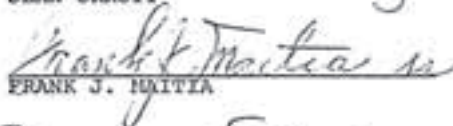
We, the undersigned, for the purpose of forming a corporation, for the purposes and objects hereinbefore set forth, have signed and acknowledged this certificate on the date indicated in the acknowledgment, and each of us agrees to act as a director of said corporation until his or her successor is elected or appointed and qualified and accepted office in the manner provided in this certificate and by the bylaws of this corporation.


JOHN MADARIAGA

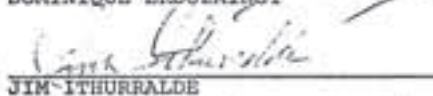

JANET INDA

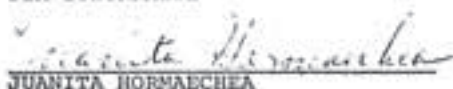

JACQUES UNHASSOBISCAY


JEAN URRUTY


FRANK J. MATIA


DOMINIQUE ERDOZAINCY


JIM-ITHURRALDE


JUANITA HORMAECHEA

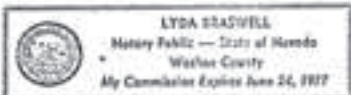
Manuel Barainca
MANUEL BARAINCA

Pete Gamboa
PETE GAMBOA

Robert Goicoechea
ROBERT GOICOECHEA

STATE OF NEVADA)
COUNTY OF WASHOE) SS.

On December 3, 1973, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, JOHN MADARIAGA, who acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument.



Lyda Braswell
Notary Public

STATE OF NEVADA)
COUNTY OF WASHOE) SS.

On December 3, 1973, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, JANET INDA, who acknowledged that she executed the foregoing instrument.



Lyda Braswell
Notary Public

STATE OF CALIFORNIA)
City and) SS.
COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO)

On March 26, 1973, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, JACQUES UNHASSOBISCAY, who acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument.

Sidney Bronstein
Notary Public



STATE OF COLORADO)
) ss.
COUNTY OF MESA)

On April 20, 1974, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, JEAN URRUTY, who acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument.

My Commission Expires June 22 1974

[Signature]
Notary Public

STATE OF CALIFORNIA)
) ss.
COUNTY OF KERN)

On APR 13, 1974, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, FRANK J. MAITIA, who acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument.



[Signature]
Notary Public
[Signature]

STATE OF CALIFORNIA)
) ss.
COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO)

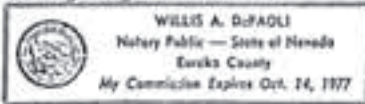
On March 21, 1973, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, DOMINIQUE ERDOZAINCY, who acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument.

[Signature]
Notary Public



STATE OF NEVADA)
) ss.
COUNTY OF EUREKA)

On Dec 4, 1973, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, JIM ITHURRALDE, who acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument.



[Signature]
Notary Public

STATE OF IDAHO)
) ss.
COUNTY OF ADA)

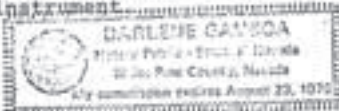
On Apr. 6, 1974, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, JUANITA NORMAECHEA, who acknowledged that she executed the foregoing instrument.

Notary Public in and for the State of Idaho
By Public Law 93-502, 88 Stat. 1811, October 3, 1974
My Commission Expires July 23, 1974

[Signature]
Notary Public

STATE OF NEVADA)
) ss.
COUNTY OF WHITE PINE)

On December 12, 1973, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, MANUEL BARRAINCA, who acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument.



Darlene Gamboa
Notary Public

STATE OF NEVADA)
) ss.
COUNTY OF WHITE PINE)

On December 12, 1973, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, PETE CARSON, who acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument.

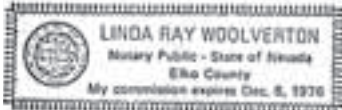


Darlene Gamboa
Notary Public

STATE OF NEVADA)
) ss.
COUNTY OF ELKO)

On April 18, 1974, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public, ROBERT GOYCOECHEA, who acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument.

Lynn Gay Wolvertson
Notary Public



NABO
307

Appendix

Two

NABO AND THE LOCAL CLUBS

Clubs represented at the First Western States Basque Convention in March 1973

Reno Zazpiak Bat Club, NV.

Boise Euzkaldunak, Inc., ID.

Elko Euzkaldunak Club, NV.

San Francisco Basque Club of California.

Emmett, NV (founded in the 1960s), inactive since the 1980s.

Ontario, OR.

Ely, NV.

Los Banos, CA.

Founding members of NABO: First NABO Convention in the summer of 1973

Reno Zazpiak Bat Club (founded in 1967), NV.

Boise Euzkaldunak (founded in 1949), ID.

Elko Euzkaldunak Club (founded in 1959), NV.

San Francisco Basque Club of California (founded in 1960).

Ely NV (founded in 1960), inactive.

Kern County Basque Club, Bakersfield CA (founded in 1944).
Grand Junction Colorado, Western Slopes Association, (founded in the 1960s),
inactive.
Ontario Basque Club, OR (founded in 1947) is not represented but is a member.

1977:

Winnemucca, Euskaldunak Danak Bat, NV (founded in 1954).
La Puente Handball Court, associate member, CA (founded in 1947).
Los Angeles Oberena, CA, (founded in the 1980s).
Menlo Park Zazpiak Bat Club, CA (founded in 1964), inactive.

1978:

Chino Basque Club, CA (founded in 1967).
Los Banos Basque Club, CA (founded in 1964).

1979:

Fresno Basque Club, CA (founded in 1978).
Caldwell Euzkaldunak charities, ID, associate member (founded in 1970).
Southern California Euskaldun Club, associate member and full member a few months
later (founded in 1946).
Salt Lake City, Basque Club of Utah (founded in 1973).

1982:

San Francisco Basque Cultural Center (founded in 1979).
Buffalo Wyoming, Big Horn Basque Club (founded in 1981).

1984:

Oinkari Basque Dancers, Boise ID (founded in 1960).

1985:

Las Vegas Lagun Onak, NV (founded in 1983).

1986:

Euskal Herria Basque Club of Washington D.C, associate member (founded in 1981),
inactive.

1987:

Gardnerville-Minden, NV Mendiko Euskaldun Cluba (founded in 1981).
Gooding Basque Club, ID (founded in 1982).

1990

Boise Basque Museum and Cultural Center, ID (founded in 1985).

1991:

Anaitasuna, San Francisco (founded in 1991).

Rocksprings, Alkartasuna Southwestern Wyoming Basque Club (founded in 1989).

1992

Susanville Basque Club, CA (founded in 1975).

1993:

Euzko-Etxea of New York (founded in 1913)

Ventura Basque Club, Itxaso Alde, CA (founded in 1993).

1994:

Washington State Basque Club, inactive.

Portland Basque Club, OR (founded in 1992), inactive since 2001.

1995:

Society of Basque Studies in America, NY (founded in 1979).

1996:

Marin Sonoma, CA (founded in 1989).

1997:

Spokane Inland Northwest Basque Club, WA (founded in 1997), inactive since 2001.

Euskal Lagunak Mountain Basque Association, ID (founded in 1960).

1999:

Battle Mountain Basque Club, NV (founded in 1997).

Seattle Euskal Etxea, WA (founded in 1997).

2001:

Center for Basque Studies, Reno NV (founded in 1967).

2002:

Homedale Txoko Ona Basque Club, ID (founded in 2000).

2003:

Basque Educational Organization, San Francisco (founded in 1984)

2004:

Colorado Euskal Etxea (founded in 2003)

2005:

Cenarrussa Center for Basque Studies, Boise ID (founded in 2003)

2006:

Iparreko Ibarra, Rocklin CA (founded in 2005)

2007:

Santa Rosa Basque Club, Paradise Valley, NV (founded in 2004)

Whashington D. C. Euskal Etxea (founded in 2006)

ACTIVE CLUB MEMBERS OF NABO IN 2006/2007: 38 clubs

Anaitasuna Basque Club
Chino Basque Club
Fresno Basque Club
Kern County Basque Club
Big Horn Basque Club
Los Banos Basque Club
Marin-Sonoma Basque Association
San Francisco Basque Club of California
San Francisco Basque Cultural Center
Southern California Euskaldun Club
Susanville Euskaldunak
Ventura County Basque Club, Itxaso Alde
Los Angeles Oberena
Basque Museum and Basque Cultural Center
Boise Euzkaldunak
Battle Mountain Oberenak
Gooding Basque Association
Oinkari Basque Dancers Association
Elko Euzkaldunak
Euskaldunak Danak Bat, Winnemucca
Lagun Onak Basque Club, Las Vegas
Mendiko Euskaldun Cluba

Zazpiak Bat Basque Club, Reno
Euzko Etxea of New York
Cenarrussa Center for Basque Studies
Ontario, Oregon Basque Club
Colorado Euskal Etxea
Basque Club of Utah
Alkartasuna Southwestern Wyoming Basque Club
Euskal Lagunak, Mountain Home Basque Association
Seattle Euskal Etxea
Society of Basque Studies in America
Center for Basque Studies, Reno
Txoko Ona, Homedale
Basque Educational Organization
Iparreko Ibarra Basque Club, Rocklin
Santa Rosa Basque Club, Paradise Valley
Washington D. C. Euskal Etxea

Appendix

Three

NABO OFFICERS 1973-2007

Meeting in Sparks, March 1973:

Al Erquiaga temporary President and Miren Rementeria Secretary

Convention 1973 (August in Reno):

President: Al Erquiaga from Boise

Secretary: Miren Rementeria from Boise

Vice-President: Jacques Unhassobiscay from San Francisco

Treasurer: Jim Ithurrealde from Elko

Convention in Reno August 1974:

Jim Ithurrealde from Elko President

John Madariaga from Reno Vice-president

Janet Inda from Reno Secretary

Dorothy Aldecoa from Boise Treasurer.

May 1976, Convention in Bakersfield:

Jacques Unhassobiscay President
Denise Etcharren from San Francisco Secretary
Jim Ithurralde Vice-president
Jo Frances Ansolabehere from Bakersfield Treasurer

Convention 1978 in Winnemucca:

Frank Maitia from Bakersfield President
Jacques Unhassobiscay Vice-President
Janine Maitia from Bakersfield Secretary
Janet Inda Treasurer

Convention 1979, in San Francisco:

Janet Inda President
Frank Maitia Vice-President
Susan Lee from Reno Secretary
Vicky Bertz Treasurer

Convention in Boise, 1981:

François Pedeflous from Fresno President
Janet Inda Vice-President
Mary Currutchet from San Francisco Secretary.
Dave Eiguren from Boise Treasurer

Convention in Salt Lake City, 1983:

Dave Eiguren from Boise President
Gerri Achurra from Boise Secretary
Janet Inda Vice-President
Jean Leon Iribarren from San Francisco Treasurer

Jaialdi/Convention 1987 in Boise:

President: Jean Leon Iribarren
Secretary: Mayie Etcheverry from San Francisco
Vice-President: Dave Eiguren
Treasurer: Grace Mainvil from the Ontario Basque Club

1990 Convention/Jaialdi in Boise:

Steve Mendive from Gooding President
Secretary: Carmen Petroch Luther from Gooding
Jean Leon Iribarren Vice-President

Grace Mainvil Treasurer
1992-1993: François Pedeflous Vice-President

1993 Convention in Elko:

Bob Echeverria from Elko President
Clarice Gamboa from Elko Secretary
Steve Mendive Vice-President
Grace Mainvil Treasurer

2000 Convention/Jaialdi in Boise

Pierre Etcharren from San Francisco President
Esther Bidaurreta from San Francisco Secretary
Bob Echeverria Vice-President
Grace Mainvil Treasurer

Convention 2004 in Bakersfield:

Mary Gaztambide from Salt Lake City President
Nancy Trevino from Salt Lake City Secretary
Pierre Etcharren first Vice-President
Bob Echeverria second Vice-President
Grace Mainvil Treasurer

Appendix

Four

**NABO CONVENTIONS', MUSIC CAMPS', PELOTA TOURNAMENTS',
AND MUS TOURNAMENTS' LOCATIONS**

<i>Conventions:</i>	<i>Music camps:</i>
1973: Reno	1973: Boise, organized by the Idaho Basque Studies Center
1974: Reno	1974: none
1975: Elko	1975: none
1976: Bakersfield	1976: none
1977: Boise	1977: Reno, Boise, and San Francisco
1978: Winnemucca	1978: Elko
1979: San Francisco	1979: San Francisco
1980: Chino	1980: Fresno
1981: Boise	1981: Boise
1982: Bakersfield	1982: Chino
1983: Salt Lake City	1983: Winnemucca
1984: Los Banos	1984: Salt Lake City
1985: Winnemucca	1985: Boise
1986: Fresno	1986: Elko
1987: Boise	1987: Los Banos
1988: Buffalo	1988: Boise
1989: Los Banos	1989: Bakersfield
1990: Boise	1990: Elko
1991: Winnemucca	1991: San Francisco
1992: Reno	1992: Boise
1993: Elko	1993: Chino
1994: Bakersfield	1994: Reno.
1995: Buffalo	1995: San Francisco
1996: Gooding	1996: Boise
1997: Chino	1997: Bakersfield
1998: Winnemucca	1998: Elko
1999: Reno Festival)	1999: San Francisco
2000: Boise	2000: Wyoming
2001: Los Banos	2001: Chino
2002: San Francisco	2002: Reno
2003: Elko	2003: San Francisco
2004: Bakersfield	2004: Boise
2005: Rocksprings	2005: Bakersfield
2006: Buffalo	2006: Elko
2007: Winnemucca	2007: San Francisco

Pelota finals***Mus***

1976: Elko

1977: San Francisco

1978: Unknown

1979: in Reno

1980: Bakersfield

1981: San Francisco

1982: Bakersfield

1983: San Francisco

1984: Bakersfield

1985: Elko

1986: San Francisco

1987: Bakersfield

1988: San Francisco

1989: Bakersfield

1990: San Francisco

1991: Elko

1992: San Francisco

1993: Bakersfield

1994: Elko

1995: San Francisco

1996: Bakersfield

1997: San Francisco

1998: San Francisco

1999: Bakersfield

2000: Boise

2001: Chino

2002: Bakersfield

2003: San Francisco

2004: Bakersfield

2005: San Francisco

2006: Fresno

2007: To be decided

1977: Boise

1978: Sparks

1979: Bakersfield

1980: Elko

1981: Fresno

1982: Chino

1983: Elko

1984: Bakersfield

1985: San Francisco

1986: San Francisco

1987: Los Angeles

1988: Los Angeles

1989: Elko

1990: Gardnerville

1991: Gooding

1992: Bakersfield

1993: Elko

1994: Los Angeles

1995: Los Angeles

1996: Gardnerville

1997: Ventura

1998: San Francisco

1999: Bakersfield

2000: Fresno

2001: Chino

2002: Bakersfield

2003: Anaitasuna, San Francisco

2004: San Rafael, Marin wood Area, CA

2005: San Francisco

2006: Gardnerville

2007: San Francisco

Appendix

Five

NABO'S FIRST NEWSLETTER

Alkarte'ko Barriak

North American Bunko League, Inc. No. 1, June, 1978

One of Members of N. A. B. L.

We are proud to publish and distribute this first edition of our informational newsletter. Alkarte'ko Barriak and hope that you will all benefit from the information that we have presented here.

At the first general meeting of North American Bunko Organizations, held in Reno on August 10, 1977, it was unanimously decided by all delegates that the first year's activities would be confined to the publishing of an informational newsletter. Proposals for Federation sponsored activities will be presented at the second annual membership meeting which will be held in Reno on Saturday, August 11, 1978. If any of you have any suggestions or ideas for the Federation sponsorship of projects, please notify your respective club's delegates. We are most eager to hear from you.

The Delegates at the 1977 convention to date were:

James Sims and John Paulsen	Alamo, Nevada
Renald Bezauro and Peter Garbo	City, Nevada
Jacques Ammannoway and Rosalynne Conkany	San Francisco, Cal.
Frank Mautz	Belwood, Cal.
Juanita Hernandez	Yuba, Idaho
Joan and Dorinda Urzaty	Grand Junction, Col.

Members organizations having paid dues but not represented at the convention were:

The Ontario Bunko Clubs' Club	Oakton, Oregon
Billie Burger Club	Scotts, Idaho

It is our sincere desire that the Federation will be able to offer present member organizations some cultural and educational experiences. As Bunko activities that were not possible through the sponsorship of smaller individual clubs which make up the Federation. It is also our hope that we will be able to add new member organizations in this coming year.

We look forward to seeing many of you at the Reno Bunko Festival and second annual year's meeting of N. A. B. L.

Sincerely,

AJ Biquidge, President
N. A. B. L.

Appendix

Six

PROGRAM OF THE 1977 MUSIC CAMP IN RENO

Reno Basque Music Camp



Reno Basque Festival
Fairgrounds
August 13, 1977

EGITARUA
(Program)

1. Presentation: Mr. Jacques Unhassobiscay
N.A.B.O. President
2. IKURRINARENA
3. MAKIL-DANTZA
4. TXANKARRENKUA
Dantzari Berriak (Beginning dancers)
5. AIORREN IZKUNTZ ZARRA
6. GOIZEKO SEIT'ERDITAN
Sonu-jotzalle Berriak (Beginning Accordians)
7. AGUR YAUNAK
8. ZENBAKIAK
9. ANDRE MADALEN-BASATXORITXU
Txistulari Berriak (Beginning Txistularis)
10. POT-POURRI DE BAYONNE
Marlys Ciscar-Alain Erdozaincy
(Accordianists)
11. KONTRAPASA
12. MAKIL-TXIKI DANTZA
(Advanced Dancers)
13. AGURRA-AZERI DANTZA
Alain Erdozaincy
14. USO TXIURIA
15. BATASUNA
16. GOIZ-ERESIA
Txistulari Berriak (Beginning Txistularis)
17. INGURATXO
18. NAPARRAKO
19. IRUÑATARRA
Dantzari Berriak (Beginning Dancers)



MASTER INSTRUCTOR: JON ONATIBIA

ACCORDIAN INSTRUCTORS: Alain Erdozaincy
Marlys Ciscar

GIRLS DANCE INSTRUCTORS: Miren Arrubarrena
Marie Jausoro

BOYS DANCE INSTRUCTOR: Alain Erdozaincy

N.A.B.C. OFFICERS

President: Jacques Unhassobiscay, S.F., Calif.

V.President: Jim Ithurrealde, Eureka, Nevada

Secretary: Denise Etcharren, S. F., Calif.

Treasurer: JoFrances Ansolabehere,
Bakersfield, Calif.

Reno Representatives: Janet Inda
John Jaureguito



RENO BASQUE MUSIC CAMP

The Reno Basque Music Camp was the last of the 3 Music Camps to be held this summer. The North American Basque Organization and the Reno Zazpiak-Bat Basque Club co-sponsored this camp. Janet Inda was director of the camp. The camp was made up of youngsters and adults from all over Nevada as well as Calif. and Idaho. We held day classes as well as evening sessions. Over thirty people participated in the program. The camp offered dance, beginning and advanced accordian, and beginning and advanced txistu.

Participants:

Barainca, Joey, Reno	Inda, Denise, Reno
Bertz, Andrea, Winn.	Jaureguito, Joel, Reno
Bidart, Andree, "	Jaureguito, John, Reno
Ciscar, Marlys, Ely	LaBerry, Odette, Reno
Duck, Patrica, Upland, C.	Laca, Tony, Reno
Echeverria, Tim, Elko	Paddock, Rochelle, Reno
Eiguren, Liz, Idaho	Prina, Debbie, Reno
Elu, David, S.F.	Prina, Marcel, Reno
Esenarro, Andrea, Reno	Salla, JeanPierre, Winn.
Esenarro, Brenda, Reno	Salla, MarieJeanne, "
Harrington, Sara, Reno	Salla, Pauline, Winn.
Hendricks, Neil, Reno	Sallaberry, Yvonne, Reno
Herman, Robert, Reno	Summerside, Patsy, Reno
Idoyaga, Pierrette, Eu.	Trounday, Cathy, Reno
Inda, Aitor, Reno	

A SPECIAL THANKS TO ALL THE RENO BASQUE CLUB MEMBERS WHO HOSTED THE-OUT-OF-TOWN PARTICIPANTS. WITHOUT YOUR HELP AND SUPPORT THE CAMP NEVER WOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE.