

Arts and Models of Democracy in Post-Authoritarian Iberian Peninsula

University of Huddersfield

28-29 November 2019

<https://intlconference.wixsite.com/art-demo-iberianpen>

Convenors: Dr Igor Contreras (University of Huddersfield), Dr Giulia Quaggio (University of Modena)

The process of democratisation in Portugal and Spain originated from a similar socio-political context. Besides having an almost identical geographical context, two long authoritarian and military dictatorships shaped the two countries on the basis of a nationalist and deeply catholic identity. From the point of view of popular culture, both dictatorships promoted a disengaged culture, based on songs, football matches, bullfights and the stereotypes of Iberian folklore. In the early 1970s, the illiteracy rate and cultural practices indexes in both countries were still among the highest in Europe. Despite these similar starting conditions, the Portuguese transition to democracy was very different from that of Spain; whereas Portugal created a rupture with the previous institutional context through a military coup, in Spain the post-Franco democratisation was founded on negotiated reform. These two processes of transition to democracy in Portugal and Spain, although dissimilar from each other, led to new ways of both high and popular cultural expressions. As a result, the decade following the two dictatorships was characterised by significant and euphoric experiments in the fields of literature, visual and plastic arts, cinema and music. Scholars have paid scant attention to the ways in which artists thought and put into practice the very notion of democracy in these years. Democracy is a highly contested category, one that has been imagined in many different ways, and any particular realisation of which carries costs as well as benefits. According to the historian of democracy Pierre Rosanvallon (2008), the rise of a democracy entails both a promise and a problem for a society.

This two-day conference aims to innovatively question how artistic practices and institutions formed ways of imagining democracy and by what means arts and culture participate in the wider social struggle to define freedom and equality for the post-Estado Novo and post-Francoist period: how did artistic practices instantiate ideas of democracy in this context? Inversely, how did such democratic values inform artistic practice? How did Portuguese and Spanish artists and intellectuals negotiate between creative autonomy and social responsibility? And more broadly, what is the role of culture in a democracy?

PROGRAMME

Thursday 28 November

Venue: Heritage Quay

9:30 – 9:45 Registration: Coffee, Tea and Pastries

9:45 – 10:00 Opening Remarks

10:00 – 11:05 Opening Keynote Speech

Professor Duncan Wheeler (University of Leeds): “Culture and the Spanish Transition”

11:05 – 11:15 Break

11:15 – 13:00 The Transition on Display: Audio-Visuals

Patricia Oliveira (University of Lisbon): “Democratic Transition into Question: Documentary Film in the Iberian Context”

David Justice (Oklahoma State University): “D is for Democracy: *Barrio Sésamo*, U.S. Soft Power, and Spanish Identity”

Vicente Rodríguez Ortega (University Carlos III Madrid): “The Alcàsser Case: Memory, Democracy and the Media”

13:00 – 13:45 Lunch

13:45 – 15:30 Writing, Politics and Survival of Censorship

Daniel Floquet (University of Porto): “*Between Carnations*: Political Writings of Maria Velho da Costa After 1974”

Ana Paula Ferreira (University of Minnesota): “Lídia Jorge’s Allegories of Democracy and Community”

Alícia Hernández Grande (Northwestern University): “The Transition on the (Judicial) Stage: Catalan Theatre, 1977-1978”

15:30 – 15:50 Break

15:50 – 17:20 Music and Models of Democracy

Manuel Figueira (King's College): "Leftism in the Portuguese Transition Through the Music of José Mario Branco and GAC"

Igor Contreras Zubillaga (University of Huddersfield): "Group Music-Making as an Alternative Democracy in Post-Francoist Spain"

Carlos van Tongeren (The University of Manchester): "Flamenco, Memory and Urban Practices in the Spanish Transition"

17:30 Drinks at Rhubarb (41/45 Queensgate)

18:45 Dinner at Café Mandalay (<http://www.cafemandalay.co.uk>)

Friday 29 November

Venue: Heritage Quay

9:15 – 9:30 Coffee, Tea and Pastries

9:30 – 10:50 Institutional Culture

Leonor de Oliveira (New University of Lisbon/The Courtauld Institute of Art): "Artistic and Institutional Forms in Post-Revolutionary Portugal: Artistic Agency and the Creation of a New Museum of Modern Art"

Lola Visglerio Gómez (Autonomous University of Madrid): "The Contemporary Art Museum of Seville: Contemporary Art, Citizenship and Democracy in the Last Years of Francoism"

10:50 – 11:20 Break

11: 20 – 12:40 Counterculture

Carlos Martos Ferrer (University of Alicante): "A Vision of Culture *from Below* and Its Mechanisms of Opposition to the Francoism"

Mónica Granell Toledo (University of Valencia): "A (Counter) cultural Chronicle of the Transition to Democracy in Spain (*Ajoblanco*, 1974-1980)"

12:40 – 13:40: Lunch

13:40 – 15:00 Disenchantment

Giulia Quaggio (University of Modena): “Democracy and Fear: The Case of the Anti-NATO Murals in Spanish Neighbourhood”

Daniel Sánchez Bataller (University of Illinois at Chicago): “Santiago Sierra’s Critical Realism and the Phantom of National Catholicism in Spain”

15.00 – 15:30 Break

15.30 – 16:40 Closing Keynote Speech

Professor Antonio Costa Pinto (ICS-University of Lisbon): “Rethinking the Legacies of Transitions to Democracy in Portugal and Spain”

16:40 – 17:00 Final Discussion

17:00 Trip to The Sportsman Beerhouse (1 Saint John's Road)

ABSTRACTS

Duncan Wheeler (University of Leeds)
“Culture and the Spanish Transition”

What is the relationship between politics and culture? The first part of my talk will use concrete examples to argue that culture not only reflected but also shaped the path from dictatorship to democracy. This context will allow me then, in the second half, to examine how and why analyzing cultural production and reception might allow us to nuance ongoing debates surrounding agency in relation to both elite pacts and mass mobilisation.

Patricia Oliveira (University of Lisbon)
“Democratic Transition into Question: Documentary Film in the Iberian Context”

This paper aims to analyze the path through which documentary film is established as a sensible object of political culture. We focus our analysis in a concept of political culture, firstly considering the complexity of its theories and practices, secondly exploring the relationship between documentary film and political culture from the perspective of political science. Therefore, the author considers political culture as the set of values, beliefs and attitudes politically oriented and manifested through cultural practices, due to its interpretative and symbolic qualities. These operational elements allow analyzing the political culture supported and documented through the moving image in the register provided by the documentary film. Taking into consideration the revolution of April 25, 1974 in Portugal and following its process of democratic transition this paper examines the convergent and divergent points recorded by documentary film and grasp political culture as a cultural practice and political and social memory in the Iberian context.

David Justice (Oklahoma State University)
“D is for Democracy: *Barrio Sésamo*, U.S. Soft Power, and Spanish Identity”

In 1977, Televisión Española (TVE) and U.S. nonprofit organization Children’s Television Workshop (CTW) agreed to enter a co-production for a Spanish version of *Sesame Street*. After a successful run of dubbed U.S. episodes, TVE intended the co-production, *Barrio Sésamo*, to provide a nationalized show. However, CTW and TVE fought over presentation and topics for the programs, which included how large a role formative research played in the episodes, which paintings to show, an initial set location of a tavern, and how children play in the park. The first season aired from 1979-1980, but TVE terminated the show due to violation of CTW’s rules on copyrighting puppets. *Barrio Sésamo* returned later in the 1980s with newer, Spanish puppets.

My paper argues that the ideological struggles over *Barrio Sésamo*'s first season were representative of U.S.-Spain relations, and Spain's attempt to create a national identity during the transition. This paper will show the Spanish evaluation of a "democratic society," and the contest over the incursion of the United States in how to define it. The complicated relationship between CTW and TVE is illustrative of the struggle of U.S.-Spain bilateral relations as it underwent transformation during the transition to democracy. For the United States, cultural diplomacy played a pivotal role in sending U.S. ideals abroad. Though CTW claimed to provide a product without U.S. influence, foreign viewers and the press could not separate the two. For Spain, *Barrio Sésamo* represented a way to educate children during the political turmoil of the transition. Spanish television, especially children's programming, embodied an approach to build a post-Francoist national identity through culture. My analysis will be interdisciplinary by blending perspectives of Spanish culture, U.S. cultural diplomacy, and television studies. This will show how both Spain and the United States saw television as a lens to project democracy.

Vicente Rodríguez Ortega (University Carlos III Madrid)

"The Alcàsser Case: Memory, Democracy and the Media"

Although there are different forms of establishing periods for the Spanish transition., most scholars point out the 1982 Socialist Party (PSOE) triumph in the national elections or Spain's entrance in the EEC in 1986 as its concluding chapters. However, it is possible to argue that this period extends to 1992 – year of the celebration of the Barcelona Games, the Seville Expo and Madrid as European Cultural Capital. From this perspective, 1992 also marks Spain's full-fledged entrance into the global cultural and economic flows.

This contribution analyses, on the one hand, the media coverage of the Alcàsser rape and murder of three teenage girls in the context of contemporary television crime coverage and the beginning of such programming in the early 1990s. On the other hand, it approaches a series of contemporary discourses both in digital media and the cinematic field in relation to the Alcàsser case in order to explain the shifting significance of specific media images as components of a shared archive that is periodically mobilized in order to address present concerns.

In the context of Spain's full democratization and the celebratory character of 1992, the Alcàsser affair functions as the flip side of the coin of institutional accounts of the country's history, pointing to undercurrent social behaviours that threaten the very functioning of citizenry. Consequently, I approach the re-shuffling and re-organization of a series of images that, due to its permanence within the shared memories and audio-visual archives of a given society, recurrently become privileged sites of interpellation in an attempt to make sense of the unspeakable horrors that threaten the workings of civil society. Establishing a dialogue with media representations of traumatic events that capture the attention of the population, the Alcàsser case periodically comes to the fore as a reminder of the dialogic relationship

between the “now” and “then” and how the past is constantly re-experienced in the present.

Daniel Floquet (University of Porto)

“*Between Carnations*: Political Writings of Maria Velho da Costa After 1974”

The historical period known as the New State (Estado Novo) and the subsequent process of (re)democratisation are undeniably one of the most important thematic preoccupations of the Portuguese writer Maria Velho da Costa. Although she is best known as one of the three female authors responsible for the seminal work *New Portuguese Letters*, published in 1972 and widely considered one of the most important Portuguese literary events at the end of the New State, Maria Velho da Costa has never ceased to approach the Salazarism in her writings, and she has also given importance to the political situation of Portugal after 1974.

In this paper, I will explore some of her works published immediately after The Carnation Revolution, with a main focus on her political writings and short stories published in *Cravo* (1976) and *Da Rosa Fixa* (1978). It will also be important to explore how the erotic texts of *Corpo Verde* (1979) can be understood in the light of the Portuguese democratisation process.

The methodological propositions I intend to use in my presentation a variety of essays by Manuel Gusmão, Eduardo Lourenço, Maria Irene Ramalho, Ana Luísa Amaral, and Jorge Fernandes da Silveira, among others.

Ana Paula Ferreira (University of Minnesota)

“Lídia Jorge’s Allegories of Democracy and Community”

In the period following the late November 1975 halt of the revolutionary process begun with the April 25th, 1974 coup d'état that toppled the forty-eight year Portuguese dictatorship enabling at last decolonization, the arts and literature in particular began to reflect upon what what the late Joyce Riegelhaupt called, “the revolution not of the gun, but of the word” (1983). From among the new writers who emerged then, Lídia Jorge (b. 1946) has consistently been considered the most provocative and aesthetically accomplished for her allegorical fictions evoking the revolution and the myriad transformations that it unleashed in Portuguese society. In this paper, I argue that the author’s first three novels – *O dia dos prodígios* (1980), *O cais das merendas* (1982) and *Notícia da cidade silvestre* (1984) – put forward the impasses of a democratic community mourning the revolution’s famous motto, “O povo unido jamais será vencido.” Anticipating Jean-Luc Nancy and Roberto Esposito’s thinking on community, Jorge’s highly performative, allegorical narratives suggest that community can only exist within loss, absence, difference while holding up to judgment dictatorial imperatives, including the patriarchal ideology of love, of creating one out of the many.

Alícia Hernández Grande (Northwestern University)

The Transition on the (Judicial) Stage: Catalan Theatre, 1977-1978”

Theatre and performance scholars often point to Spain as a successful example of a peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy (Cole, 2010; Montez, 2018), a process that (perhaps) should be emulated in other regions undergoing similar political processes. This paper, however, seeks to complicate the success of the Spanish transition by examining two theatrical performances in Catalonia: Els Joglars’ *La Torna* (1977), a masquerade that satirized the execution of Salvador Puig Antich, and La Claca’s *Mori el merma* (1978), a puppet show celebration of the death of Francisco Franco. *La Torna* proved that the Spanish military had control over the judicial system – and was willing to use a military tribunal against an otherwise inconsequential group of actors and dancers. Yet, as Els Joglars were fleeing into exile or entering a long jail sentence, *Mori el Merma* was opening to great acclaim in Barcelona.

This paper argues that these two performances offer insight into the uneven and uncertain Spanish political transition. A result of this transitional period was its impact on Catalan politics and identity formation; impacts that continue to resonate in Catalonia today. In this paper, I consider these two productions from conception to performance to their lingering impact on Catalan theatre. I begin by revealing how both Els Joglars and La Claca conceived these plays as part of a long genealogy of political resistance. I continue by analyzing their tours, focusing on two particular performances: the reading of *La Torna*’s playscript within the military tribunal against Els Joglars and the opening night of *Mori el Merma* attended by Josep Tarradellas (respectively). Finally, I consider the long-term impacts of these two performances, including the restaging of *Mori el Merma* inside a wrestling ring at the Tate Modern Museum in London in 2015 and the use of *La Torna*’s iconography during the Catalan independence Referendum in 2017.

Manuel Figueira (King’s College)

“Leftism in the Portuguese Transition Through the Music of José Mario Branco and GAC”

This work will aim to look at the musical career of José Mário Branco and the Grupo de Ação Cultural – Vozes na Luta (GAC) in the period between the moment just before the 25th of April until the victory of the right in 1980 in order to understand, from the lyrics of their compositions, the evolution of Portuguese leftism and of their political project.

The military coup of April 25, 1974 in Portugal and the social revolution that the latter triggered brought about important changes in the country’s cultural policies and practices. The apology and idealization of a nationalist rural folklorism and the undervaluation of an urban popular culture is replaced by a conception of culture that is more comprehensive and comes “from below”. On the one hand, the new notion of culture intended to bring to the lower layers of the population the culture that the old regime had denied them and, on the other hand, to transmit them that they are the recipients but also the actors in the ongoing transformative process. This last point is

fundamental for us to understand the new practices of cultural action that followed the coup and aimed to produce a “cultural revolution” while at the same time the political revolution was taking place.

José Mario Branco and the collective GAC, which he helped to create, are incontrovertible names of this new popular music in which they proposed to create a new taste as well as to support the processes of change, or in this case, even to go farther. Thus, the songs of José Mario Branco and the GAC contain in themselves a renewing social and political project, and are the spokesman for a sector of the Portuguese political field on the left of the PCP. As we examine their path, we will see how they mirror the evolution of the democratic transition, seen through a leftist gaze, from an initial revolutionary enthusiasm, to the defeatism and acceptance of the 25th of November in the end.

Igor Contreras Zubillaga (University of Huddersfield)

“Group Music-Making as an Alternative Democracy in Post-Francoist Spain”

In this paper I will examine how musical practices in 1970s and 1980s Spain formed ways of imagining an alternative democracy to the controlled parliamentary one being implemented by Franco’s institutional successors. In recent years, researchers have begun to question the hegemonic narratives that envelop the complex process by which Spain became a democracy in the 1970s. These narratives present the transition process as being free of fissures, led intelligently and responsibly by a group of politicians who determined (from above) the models, stages and the stations along the difficult road to democracy. In this version of the transition other important agents of change (from below) are excluded from the political field: feminist and community movements, working class and student struggles, as well as all artistic manifestations produced and disseminated outside of the ‘official culture’ channel.

The final years of Franco’s dictatorship witnessed the emergence of a number of new musical initiatives, responding to the era’s political and cultural climate and especially the events of May 68. Thus, ensembles such as Actum—created in 1973 on the initiative of the composer Llorenç Barber—encompassed a range of experimental creative ventures based on improvisation and musical theatre as a meeting point for professional and amateur artists. Building upon previous studies of music-channelled political projects (Adlington, 2009) and the insights of political science into different models of democracy (Held, 1987), I shall explore the relationship between this form of grassroots collaboration and ideas of participatory democracy that circulated in the cultural and political sphere of those years, and will analyse the significance of this relationship in post-Franco Spain. By doing so, this paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of the potential of art in a climate of political struggle, with implication for other contexts and regimes.

Carlos van Tongeren (The University of Manchester)

“Flamenco, Memory and Urban Practices in the Spanish Transition”

Scholarship on flamenco in post-Franco Spain has argued how this music became part of a festive pop culture and how, in tune with the rest of Spanish society, flamenco musicians in the late 1970s stopped engaging in profound soul-searching and started celebrating the freedoms of Western democracy. This paper, part of a wider research project on performances of memory in flamenco, will discuss how flamenco artists in the 1970s and 1980s were involved in a much more complex attempt at coming to terms with the dictatorial past of their country. Their artistic performances often involved negotiating – both at a personal and a collective level – between memories of the dictatorship and a desire for playful artistic exploration and innovation. Departing from this wider claim, the paper will focus on the relations between flamenco, memory and urban practices, exploring how artists used flamenco to commemorate and criticise the changes in their urban environments that ensued from the new economic policies implemented since the 1960s. These developments had a far-reaching but as yet understudied impact on the lives of artistic communities in Sacromonte in Granada, Triana in Seville and other parts of Iberian cities. On a theoretical level, the paper will combine insights from urban cultural studies, performance theory and ethnomusicology, thus attempting to integrate flamenco into existing critical debates about the memory landscape of post-Franco Spain and the cultural and political struggles of the transition.

Leonor de Oliveira (New University of Lisbon/The Courtauld Institute of Art)

“Artistic and Institutional Forms in Post-Revolutionary Portugal: Artistic Agency and the Creation of a New Museum of Modern Art”

After the military coup that overthrew the decades-long dictatorship in Portugal, Portuguese artists welcomed the new political times with excitement, celebrating the Armed Forces Movement with a monumental collective mural in Lisbon in the 10 of June of 1974. In Oporto, in the same day, a group constituted by artists, actors and intellectuals represented the funeral of the old national museum of the city, activating the newly acquired freedom of expression and putting into practice civic empowerment to claim for a ‘living’ museum of modern art.

This paper will address the Oporto’s performance and other actions, such as the occupation of a palace in Lisbon by the ACRE group to establish there a museum of modern art, in order to redefine the links between creativity and political intervention in the new democratic context. It will also underline the conformity between the proposal for a new museum and the new political ideals. Portuguese museums appeared in 1974 as decadent and outdated as the dictatorship. The new museum that should be created by the democratic regime corresponded to the aspirations of the artistic community that did not see itself represented in the old National Museum of Contemporary Art in Lisbon. The claims for a new institution coincided therefore with the proposal of a new institutional paradigm, based on artistic democratisation and decentralisation and on recent international experiences.

By intersecting new creative practices that the climate of freedom finally allowed with the configuration of new forms of civic action and dissemination of artistic production, this paper brings up the seminal discussion about the mission, utility and function of art museums. The consequences of this discussion and ultimately of the questioning of artistic and institutional canons resulted in the creation in 1983 of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation's Centre of Modern Art or of the Centre of Contemporary Art in Oporto in 1976 that preceded the Serralves's Museum of Contemporary Art.

Lola Visglerio Gómez (Autonomous University of Madrid)

"The Contemporary Art Museum of Seville: Contemporary Art, Citizenship and Democracy in the Last Years of Francoism"

Over the past years, several scholars have called our attention to popular collective initiatives in Spain during the 1970s that tested and experimented various forms of democracy and citizenship before Franco's dictatorship came to its end. During this time, contemporary art and culture played a fundamental role in the construction of alternative imaginaries and identities to those imposed by the regime. However, because most of these initiatives had to depend upon the Franco administration's platforms, spaces and/or means, their status was contradictory and often precarious.

This paper focuses on one of these cases, the *Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Sevilla* (Contemporary Art Museum of Seville, MACS), the first contemporary public art museum of Spain after the one in Madrid, that opened in 1970. Although the MACS was an official institution, its administration worked to distance itself from the academic and conservative guidelines set out by the General Administration of Fine Arts upon which it depended. It was precisely that distance and the difficulties that it generated which motivated the resignation of the museum's directors after three years. Still, during that short period of time, they were able to accomplish a great deal with respect to the development of temporary exhibitions, seminars and theatre performances. However, the museum's concomitant estrangement both from more conservative sectors of civil society as well as those that were more politically engaged raises questions about the social and political contradictions that characterized the dictatorship's final years. What were the limits and the possibilities for a public contemporary art museum in such a locality as Seville during the 1970s? What kinds of alliances and/or divisions existed between the Sevillian intelligentsia responsible for the MACS and government authorities? Could the strategic and museological decisions adopted by the MACS, and the autonomy upon which they insisted, anticipate democratic ways of working collectively and promoting civic participation?

Carlos Martos Ferrer (University of Alicante)

“A Vision of Culture *from Below* and Its Mechanisms of Opposition to the Francoism”

This communication tries to approach the mechanisms and strategies that a part of the Spanish society used during the last years of the Francoism (*tardofranquismo*) to do against the Spanish dictatorship, paying special attention to those initiatives carried out in cultural spaces in an analysis “from below”. That is, we address the issue of opposition to Francoism from the culture leaving the most elitist manifestations, or close to high culture and focusing on individual or collective initiatives away from the institutions of the regime which haven’t been taken in consideration.

In this way, we will pay attention to the cultural manifestations bounded to social movements and, preferentially, we will analyse the creation of cultural associations that were constituted as anti-Francoism sociability’s spaces protected by the narrow margins left by the Franco regime to voluntary associationism that allowed the constitution of what Francesca Polleta (1999) called “free spaces”. That is, small-scale settings within a community or movement that are removed from the direct control of dominant groups, are voluntarily participated in, and generate the cultural challenge that precedes or accompanies political mobilization. Furthermore, many of these spaces were bounded to clandestine political opposition forces which were looking to expand their bases of militancy and carry out broader actions.

Definitely, with this communication we will try to demonstrate how these actions carried out from the culture or under a cultural pretext were at the base of the creation of a democratic citizenship that would contribute to the crisis of the Franco dictatorship, as well as to the formation of democratic citizenship through its numerous initiatives.

Mónica Granell Toledo (University of Valencia)

“A (Contra)cultural Chronicle of the Transition to Democracy in Spain (*Ajoblanco*, 1974-1980)”

This paper tackles the role of counterculture in the transition to democracy in Spain. There, since the mid-seventies, the countercultural field – understood in Theodore Roszak’s way – was able to build an idea of democracy, not from above or below but from the margins, which allowed imagining a completely different country after forty years of dictatorship.

In this countercultural milieu, the alternative press played a fundamental role because it served as a communication channel for a generation that was living a major change. Among the countercultural publications, *Ajoblanco* was the most important and, without a doubt, the most read magazine in the country at the time if we take into account the circulation figures. This publication was launched in October 1974, thirteen months before the death of Franco, and was closed in 1980, when the so-called *Transición* was definitively consolidated.

In those years, the editorial board of *Ajoblanco* dream up through its pages a completely transformed country. Although it is difficult to elaborate studies on the reception of the magazine, it is clear what the readers received:

an absolutely underground and countercultural post-Franco Spain. This is shown in the magazine's contents: Literature, Comics, Music, Cinema, Arts or Theatre. At the beginning the referents were American; then the look turns into Europe and ends up being more "patriotic".

In a moment of social, political and cultural revitalization despite the difficulties during the late-seventies, the utopia of the counterculture was viable as *Ajoblanco* – a purely cultural journal – could show. However, it is also true that it underwent an interesting evolution. In the years of the transition to democracy, when the magazine hit a socio-political reality that did not allow its development within the established rules of the political game, it had to look for feasible alternatives: a libertarianism that clearly connected it with politics via the new social movements.

Giulia Quaggio (University of Modena)

"Democracy and Fear: The Case of the Anti-NATO Murals in Spanish Neighbourhood"

As it was the case in Northern Europe during the last decade of the Cold War, grassroots groups supporting a new idea of peace and the end of the nuclear arms race multiplied also throughout Southern Europe. In particular, after Franco's death, in a contested process, Spain ultimately decided to join NATO and to review the presence of US military bases. Both situations triggered the rise of a varied anti-NATO movement that linked an intense debate on the idea of democracy with the opposition to the military blocs and the fear of a nuclear war. This paper will address the protest culture and the idea of participatory democracy within the anti-NATO movement during the first half of the 1980s and the consolidation of Spanish democratisation. Notably, through a multidisciplinary approach, it will analyse the collective practice of painting murals and graffiti (*pintadas*) on walls in the outskirts of Spanish cities. This was done by neighbourhood associations, together with local artists, in order to display and disseminate the widespread angst regarding entering and remaining in NATO. Murals were a grassroots multi-layered phenomenon and created through the interaction of different communicative actors, social processes and semiotic forms. The paper will cover three main points. First, it will explore the political iconography of anti-NATO murals in Spain, comparing their aesthetics with other European peace movements. Secondly, it will relate this iconography to the fears and core narratives of the local anti-NATO committees regarding the Cold War, anti-American clichés, violence, the army and the process of modernisation and westernisation that was rapidly affecting post-Francoist society. Specifically, it will take into consideration symbols and icons within the mural depiction of demonstrating crowds, male soldiers and challenging women, images of the Spanish nation, its frontiers and violated homes. Finally, through the analysis of these visual expressions, the paper will argue that according to the Spanish anti-NATO movement peace not only implied unilateral disarmament, but also the configuration of a different way of life in which citizen direct involvement in public decisions and foreign policy played an important role beyond the traditional ideological divisions and the hegemonic elites of newly legalized political parties.

Daniel Sánchez Bataller (University of Illinois at Chicago)

“Santiago Sierra’s Critical Realism and the Phantom of National Catholicism in Spain”

“¡Rockeros, el que no esté colocado, que se coloque, y al loro!” (“Rock fans, those not yet high, get high and watch out!”) Madrid Mayor Enrique Tierno Galván’s celebrated speech opening a music festival in 1984 conveyed the jubilee of long-festered socialist ambitions. The countercultural youth shared with new left the rejection of traditional values –god, family, and fatherland– imposed by a diffuse National Catholicism after decades of Francoism. Tierno Galván –a professor heir to Wittgenstein and Ortega’s Heideggerianism– was pivotal for the consolidation of the Socialist Party and decisive for the institutional patronage of the *movida madrileña* and its individualistic experimentalism.

However, the legacy of National Catholicism that tragically interrupted the Second Republic’s socialism didn’t vanish immediately from the stage of an unripe democracy born of the improbable consensus between antagonistic political forces after 1975. The new left and its cultural leftism, auspicious to the 1980s and 1990s postmodern euphoria, abandoned the promises of the old left in front of a rising global neoliberalism more compatible with the hierarchical power structures residual of Franco’s corporativism than with a true socialist project.

This paper evaluates the work of artist Santiago Sierra as a recent response to the demise of socialism in post-authoritarian Spain. Sierra’s provocative statement that, “Democracy is fascism’s other face ... [it’s] just a scam, it’s a dictator who gets elected” reflects the disaffection. His critical realism narrates the neoliberal victory from the standpoint of the participant exposing the truth of our position as defeated (the ninety-nine percent of us). Set aside the postmodern tradition of cultural leftism, Sierra’s actions are framed altogether by the old utopias of modernism and its accompanying aesthetics that Fredric Jameson thinks, “paradoxically offer the strongest avenue for the integration of art in a socialist society.”