

PLAN ROSEBUD/2

[on images, sites and the politics of memory]

INTRO

SANTA MARIA COLLEGIATE, VIGO

PAUL PRESTON (Historian, London School of Economics)

- There was a profound awareness of the horrors of the Civil War, and more so, of the consequences of the War. That feeling of accumulated horror, that had a tremendous impact... I might be wrong, but I'm not under the impression that... politicians on the left had a narrative of the war, however, those on the right did indeed have one... that is, they were constantly associating democracy with the Republic, the Republic with chaos, chaos with the War...

NATURE RESERVE ILLAS ATLÁNTICAS CÍES ISLANDS, VIGO, July 2007

M^a PAZ BALIBREA (Professor in Spanish & Latin American Cultural Studies, Birkbeck College, London)

- M^a Teresa Fernández de la Vega set up a (Parliamentary) Commission to prepare the Law (of Historical Memory), etc... So then, what this Commission has done, is to assume and appropriate the basis of what the Transition was, namely that there were two sides, both sides were equally bad, and both sides were equally good...

- Under the sea, under the sea... I don't want any rubbish, take care of the island, take it with you... Under the sea, under the sea... I don't want any rubbish, take care of the island, take it with you... Under the sea, under the sea... I don't want any rubbish, take care of the island, take it with you...

CARME MOLINERO (Historian, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona)

- I have always advocated that a public politics of memory is necessary, in the sense of an exaltation of democratic values... and of democracy, precisely due to the dominant narrative of the process of the Transition... here it seems as though Francoism changed on its own and quietly into a democracy, and this does not correspond with history.

SPANISH CONGRESS Madrid, 18 November 1976

- The Bill (for Political Reform) has been approved. The meeting is adjourned.
- The Government, headed by the King, has crossed the Rubicon. The road to democracy has been opened.

CARME MOLINERO (Historian, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona)

- The narrative thread of... Victoria Prego's narration... reflects... apart from the issue of the consolidation of the monarchy, which was very useful at the time, it is an account that is quite... socialist...

- In the decade of the 1990s, but especially from 1996 onwards, different sectors, including some in the media, close to the Socialist Party (PSOE), what they did was... to acknowledge, which they hadn't done before... to echo the different movements in Spain that demanded what has been termed the Recuperation of Memory... They didn't come up with it, they simply gave it a space which they had not given it before... and to a large extent, this took place because the Popular Party (PP) had come to power, and in a certain way, this was an element of confrontation.

MONUMENT TO GENERAL FRANCO, 1961

- The discourse on memory is today radically different from that of Felipe González's time. What kind of anti-Francoism could socialists claim when they had hardly been present? I don't mean to say that many socialists weren't present, but the PSOE initials weren't.

When the Socialist Party came to power (in 2004) they couldn't back out, if they wanted to avoid frustrating all the expectations that they had generated...

RUINS

FORMER WOLFRAM MINES (CASAIO, OURENSE)

XULIO PRADA (Historian, Universidad de Vigo)

- The thing with Casaio is that... it was almost like a prize, in contrast to dangerous prisoners, those who couldn't leave prison, unredeemable prisoners... the prisoners here were redeemable, they could be won over for the cause of the New Spain, and therefore, had to respond with the guarantee that they wouldn't cause problems of discipline and that they wouldn't escape. But then, of course, in 1943, 1944... the reality changed, and, coinciding with the first escape attempts and with the corroborated case of a prisoner who... is part of the anti-Francoist guerrilla... they start to reconsider the operation of the mines at Casaio, and they start to think about closing them down, without regard to the wolfram prospecting operation or its usefulness...

ERVIGIO CARRERA (Former mine worker at Casaio)

- I had two of the best positions at the mine, despite being only 13 years old... I started working with the machines, and my boss, who was Basque, became interested in me, and so I had everything I asked for... here I learned mechanics... I was also a watchmaker, I learned watchmaking, from a political prisoner who was held here, and I started with him... and he was a photographer, and I learned photography from him as well... and so, everything I know, I owe to the Germans and to the prisoners who were held here.

- I know everything, everything, everything... from the moment the mine was opened until it stopped... in the village, those of us who were employed, we had luxury rooms, and workers too, at first the rooms were bad, but then they had... We lived, anyway... fabulously...

- They said that the prisoners were very badly treated. Total lies! The prisoners were the same, the same as us... There are books that say that the women were forced to prostitute... Total lies! On the contrary, they were watched very closely... Prisoners had their own... they got paid, the same that miners got paid... even that, their wives would be sent what they earned... around 1 peseta, or 2 pesetas to those who had children and couldn't work... The prisoners were so comfortable here that they would steal mineral during the night and then sell it in Casaio during the day!... That's how severely punished the prisoners were here...

- Notice what Germans were like that they ended up coming down to the village of Casaio to buy the mineral that was stolen in the mine during the night... Yes, well... it took place for a long time... They would have their mineral stolen, and before others bought it, they would come down and buy it... knowing what mine it came from and all... And nobody could do anything about it, not even the Civil Guard... The Germans wanted, I repeat, to take the wolfram and prevent it from reaching England... because a lot of the mineral was tossed into the ocean...

CASAIO, 1940s

- Sobradelo, in the middle of the Valley of Valdeorras.

There are modern wolfram exploitations in Casaio's mountain area.

Here is a beautiful waterfall.

XOAN CARMONA (Professor in History and Economic Institutions, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela)

- As regards the issue of wolfram, this is a situation in which Galicia had an unprecedented protagonism within the international scene. During World War II, especially between 1941 and 1943, Galicia was a reference very often

spoken and thought about by military strategists... because wolfram is a mineral that started to be used as a hardener, and especially, to raise the fusion point of steel.

- The wolfram mineral is transported outside in small wagons.

- The Allied forces had wolfram in several locations, but Germany didn't have this metal in its territory... and so Germany had to look to Europe to find it, and in Europe only Galicia and Portugal had wolfram.

ERVIGIO CARRERA (Former mine worker at Casaio)

- It was wonderful... when the Germans were here, it was wonderful... They started giving out money to people... here there was absolutely no money for anything... they started to build the road... They can say whatever they want about the War... that it happened and that Franco was a murderer... Lies! Because I, old as I am... here we didn't know bread or wheat... we didn't have any money at all, until the Germans built the road and opened the mines...

XULIO PRADA (Historian, Universidad deVigo)

- I think that... the photographs we have point indeed to the initial presence of Germans, who were probably around during the organising of the camp... but we don't have any evidence that they did any surveillance work... or that after opening the camp they stayed there. But it is obvious that there had to be Germans present during the camp's planning.

ERVIGIO CARRERA (Former mine worker at Casaio)

- No way, no way, no way... there was absolutely not one single German here... One or two were the head bosses, and then they would come every 2 or 3 months...

- The neverending conveyor belts transport the mineral to the washing sink

XOAN CARMONA (Professor in History and Economic Institutions, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela)

- There were two mining areas that at that time were not being exploited, which had a huge importance, or which promised to become hugely important, and these were the area of Monteneme, near Carballo (Coruña) and the area of Casaio, part of the town of Sobradelo, in the oriental part of Ourense. Previously, there had already been minimal activity here. It was a Belgian mine, a company called *Balborraz* Mines... But a very small thing. So then the Germans decided to implement their wolfram campaign in Galicia through different strategies. One was direct installation, that is, starting up ad hoc companies, one was called... it turned into *Santa Tecla* Mining Company, and another was the *Montes de Galicia* Company... behind these two very innocent names were two companies directly run by Hermann Göring, one of the closest men to Hitler himself. The headquarters of both companies were in Vigo, on *Policarpo Sanz* Street, where there was a nazi/Vigo kind of atmosphere... The Count of Arguillo, the father of the Martínez-Bordiú family, or for instance, Serrano Súñer himself (General Franco's brother-in-law), were people who participated, who held posts, in some of the German companies in charge of the distribution of wolfram in Spain.

- I remember canteens being here, and things like that...

- Ah, canteens, yes, yes, yes...

XOAN CARMONA (Professor in History and Economic Institutions, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela)

- Here there were two stages: the first, during World War II, which is the one we're talking about, and the second, the Korean War. And oddly, during the Korean War, in this case it is the Americans who, with the companies here, start looking for supplies and contracts... and they find out that there were already companies here that managed that... companies that, after the war, took over the mines, just in case the (wolfram) fever returned... as it does indeed return...

MANOLO, OWNER OF THE “O TEIXADAL” HOSTEL

- It is called “The wolfram year”...
- “The wolfram year”... and whose is it?
- It belongs to someone called Garrido, from here, from El Bierzo... what are you doing?
- Well, I have a book that says that in 1962, anyway...
- Because until 1962 there was surveillance up there (in the mine)...
- ... when it closes for good...
- ... and this is the last day at work in the mine...
- What a good photo...

XOAN CARMONA (Professor of History and Economic Institutions, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela)

- There was a very important free market. Small scale miners operated in this free market, men who went to what was called *a roubecha*, and... it simply consisted in picking up what was left, the wolfram of lesser assay value... and it was an incredibly diverse market... the Civil Guard, the local authorities... whoever could get into it would, it was great business...

- The Belesar hydroelectric power station is solemnly inaugurated the 10th of September, 1963, by His Excellency the head of state, who is accompanied by his Ministers of Public Works, Industry and Navy. He was received by Don Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Count of Fenosa, president of the company and responsible for this immeasurable effort. Together with the Count of Fenosa were the members of the company’s Board of Directors and its upper technical staff.

XOAN CARMONA (Professor of History and Economic Institutions, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela)

- There was also a group of businessmen. Some of them, that’s right, like a company called *Industrias Gallegas*, the group Banco Pastor, owned by Pedro Barrié de la Maza... and then, there were many... people of Vigo’s canning industry also participated in some of these mines... There are a number of emblematic Galician companies that owe a lot to wolfram... I am thinking of *Astano* and *Fenosa*... interestingly, the period of the great wolfram boom was between 1942 and 1943, and *Fenosa* (Northeast Electric Power) was created in 1943, and the shipyard of *Astano*, even though it was created in 1941 by a small group of Ferrol engineers, *Banco Pastor* becomes part of *Astano* in 1944, isn’t it? That is to say, I think that the wolfram mines have a lot to do with both *Astano* and *Fenosa*.

NORTHEAST ELECTRIC POWER

FENOSA

BELESAR FALLS

YEAR 1963

WHEN WE BUILD WE SHOULD NOT JUST BE AWARE OF OUR USEFULNESS TO THE PRESENT. THE WORK MUST BE SUCH THAT IT DESERVE THE RESPECT OF OUR SUCCESSORS. WHEN WE CAREFULLY SET THE ASHLAR, WITH OUR WORK AND EFFORT, ONE PIECE OVER ANOTHER, WE MUST BARE IN MIND THAT MEN ONE DAY, AS THEY GAZE AT OUR LABOUR’S FRUITS, WILL SAY: THIS WHICH OUR ANCESTORS BEQUEATHED US IS ALSO ON HUMANITY’S INEXORABLE PATH TO PROGRESS AND TRUTH.

BRUMAIRE

FERROL (A CORUÑA)

ASTANO S.L. TO ITS FOUNDER

THE TOWN COUNCIL TO ITS FAVOURITE SON

THE NAVY TO ITS REAR ADMIRAL

MANUEL AMOR (Trade unionist, Ferrol)

- I started working in (the shipyard at) Bazán, like many of my workmates, it is there that I became a man, there... that I learned what authoritarianism was, what fascism was... because the Blue Division refugees were all there, the Falangists, who were trying to inculcate us with... their values.

But, whilst I was working in Bazán, there was an accident and my workmate died. It was then that I decided to take on my mate's post, it was that simple. Well, I was conscious of being exploited... I had worked with people from (the union linked to the Communist Party) *Comisiones Obreras*, raising funds for detainees, I had participated in demonstrations... A bit, maybe because of my characteristics, they put me in charge of the issue of *Comisiones Obreras*, in Bazán as well as the whole of Ferrol.

- What were the fundamental claims?

- Well, of course, safety at work was one of the most fundamental. They wouldn't pay a lot of attention to us, because... we are all screwed, from asbestosis and all of that, we are all screwed... but anyway, another was the Collective Agreement, that there be no repression inside the company...

CARANZA NEIGHBOURHOOD, FERROL

- A film we are making...

- Are we on the tele?

- Ask him... he gets all excited...

- And what's on it?

- Things about Ferrol.

- Well, you came to the best area...

- Why do you say that?

- We are the worst of Caranza...

- Look, look, girl...

MINISTRY OF HOUSING

NATIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY, 1954

XULIO PRADA (Historian, Universidad de Vigo)

- The conditions of the pre-Transition in Galicia are in the same clef as those in the rest of Spain, but they differ in the rhythms. It starts later. It is very easy to see by picking up the local press published at the time, that acts of opposition during that pre-Transition phase are minimal. And nonetheless, the effect of this is that those who design the specific Transition model that is followed in Spain, find in Galicia one of its main supports. In other words, the UCD (Democratic Centre Union) here controls the clientist mechanisms that allow it to manage the Transition much more easily, precisely because of this lack of an associative fabric inherited from the previous period. The oppositional movements linked to nationalism, and the oppositional movements of the labour movement of the beginning of the 1970s are no different from those in the rest of the state, but here they are a decade late.

MANUEL AMOR (Trade Unionist, Ferrol)

- Later, *Comisiones Obreras* fell victim to repression... The régime could not allow *Comisiones Obreras* to grow as it was growing... and it started declaring states of exception, they started sending some of my colleagues to prison... and then we took charge of the labour movement in Bazán. At that time, I had travelled to Madrid to talk to the rest of the companies that made up Bazán, which were Cádiz, Cartagena and Canarias, in addition to the head office in Madrid. We went there to discuss the Labour Ordinance, and I realised there was nothing we could do. If here in Bazán we had instituted a democratic process, an assembly based process... we had democratically chosen our representatives... well in Cádiz, Cartagena, Madrid and Canarias, this wasn't so. So in terms of the Agreement that was due to end in 1971, we asked the Vertical Union (the official Francoist union) for a collective labour agreement. Of course, the company immediately refused... and the war started... that is, small actions, but... the main thing was

to achieve unity.... that was the struggle... we won, we managed to unite... In February 1972 the company responded by signing the Collective Agreement with the other companies in Bazán. If we were happy with it, fine, and if not... shit.... We were on strike the 6th, 7th and 8th of March. On the 9th of March, when we went to work, we were fired... 5 or 6 of us... The Public Order forces came in and evacuated the company, there were clashes all over the streets of Ferrol, and on the morning of the 10th of March, we got together, at the entrance, because the company was closed... We had a demonstration... We planned to make it to Astano to tell our fellow workers: Get out!... But they didn't let us get there. When we were passing the church, which is called *Iglesia del Pilar*, by the bridge *Puente de las Pías*, the police fired at us with machine guns, from a church tower, and well... there were close to 70 injured, 2 dead... it was a brutal repression.

- I was sentenced to 4 years in prison... a Military Tribunal... Yes, we were very well organised in prison... It wasn't so harsh... I mean, yes, it was harsh... prison is always harsh...

- Were you in prison at the time of "*Proceso 1001*" (macro-trial against trade unionists and anti-Francoist activists in 1973)?

- Yes... in prison I lived through the death of Carrero Blanco, the "*Proceso 1001*", the "*Juicio de los 23*" (trial against those retaliated against during the events of 10 March 1972 in Ferrol), which I was part of... When Franco died, we were in (the prison of) Pontevedra, I was in Pontevedra with some comrades from here, from Ferrol... of course, that day, we were slightly afraid... The mobilisation of workers, the mood of the Spanish people... I think that Franco's danger had already been neutralised a lot... the UMD (Democratic Military Union) was there already, there was already an air of change in Spain... but still, not long before that time they had killed those comrades... those ETA comrades.

CARME MOLINERO (Historian, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona)

- I... have always asserted that the role that "the technocrats" played was very limited... very limited, and that they can certainly not be credited with the tag of reformists. They wanted to present all that had occurred from the 1960s up to the 1970s as if it had been a preconceived plan, and that does in no way correspond to reality.

Especialty in areas where there had previously been an important proletarian culture, the régime was not able to penetrate them, to penetrate in a complete sense... of course there was passive resistance, for example when there were union elections... and instead of voting for the candidate that the company proposed, the one that the Vertical Union proposed, you would write down the name of a folk star or a football player...

I think that the new strategies introduced by certain groups of the opposition were fundamental for the restoration of the labour movement in the 1960s. They broke away from the previous isolated and clandestine nature of the movement, and from a frontal opposition to the régime.

MANUEL AMOR (Trade Unionist, Ferrol)

- I think that the Transition was perfect. And it annoys me that the Francisco Franco Foundation continues to get public funding... with my tax money... it annoys me to see that Falangists, and fascists, can walk down the street with flags and... insulting people... and that the justice system doesn't do anything against them, like it does with other groups that have been declared illegal. So, what I ask myself is, whether we couldn't have... forced the right... because now they have a defiant attitude, and there is no way... if we could not have forced the right to publicly acknowledge the fact that Francoist fascism was against the interests of the Spanish people, against the interests of Spain? To declare Franco a traitor!... and to make fascism illegal, like they did in Europe... that, maybe, is what we should have done... or try to do! And if the Transition took place as it did, they can not take any credit for it, because I think that it took place as it did, because of the generosity of the left.

MADRID, JANUARY 2007

30th ANNIVERSARY OF THE MURDER OF THE COMMUNIST SOLICITORS OF THE LAW FIRM C/ ATOCHA 55

GOOD BYE, DICTATORSHIP, GOOD BYE

MADRID, 26 JANUARY 1977

BURIAL OF THE SOLICITORS OF THE LAW FIRM C/ATOCHA 55

- First of all, because we on the left relinquished the demand for responsibilities. And at that time, we could have tried it. We might not have managed it... but we could have tried...

ELISEO FERNÁNDEZ (Historian of Anarchism, Ferrol)

- Of course, the Transition was what it was. There was that pact of silence, there was... Well, to a certain extent, it was normal... but anyway, it could have been otherwise as well... but there were a number of political forces clearly situated on the left who relinquished the reconstruction of the past, isn't it?... for example, the PCE (Spanish Communist Party)...

MANUEL AMOR (Trade Unionist, Ferrol)

- The thing is, Manuel Fraga Iribarne was the Minister of Interior, and he used to say: "The street is mine". Those were his words.

And therefore, when he goes to Granada, and students yell at him and call him a "murderer", and then the "politically correct" go and say that "Don Manuel", that he is "a politician"... no, no, the thing is, he is a murderer! He killed in Granada, he killed in Vitoria...

CASTLE OF SAN FELIPE, FERROL

SITE OF PUBLIC EXECUTIONS DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND PRISON OF ANTONIO TEJERO, LEADER OF THE COUP D'ÉTAT IN 1981

ELISEO FERNÁNDEZ (Historian of Anarchism, Ferrol)

- There are memories that have been dealt with more than others. I work on the subject of the anarchist memory, and it actually was a part of memory that was very much neglected... on the other hand, the memory of historic Galicianism... the political situation... of the social and political scene today, helped recover that memory more than others. I think that to some extent this is unfair, but anyway, it is partly understandable due to the specific situation... the power relations today are not those of 1936.

- You can only see the front there...

- I see...

- But where were they executed?

- At the back.

- At the back there... that is, in the castle's moat...

XULIO PRADA (Historian, Universidad de Vigo)

- Although quantitatively it seems as though they didn't have any kind of protagonism... in a practical sense... in the sense that they weren't represented in Madrid... as regards the negotiation of the Statute (of the Autonomy of Galicia)... it is a process from which this part of the left is excluded... But also, very probably, if that basis of leftist nationalism didn't exist, as a referent in the creation of a discourse on identity, obviously they wouldn't have achieved the level of concession of the status of "first class" autonomy, within the circle of "historic nationalities" (within the Spanish state), plus the referential elements of nationalist politics wouldn't have been satisfied the way they are today.

CARME MOLINERO (Historian, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona)

- Civil society had made the change, and in order for civil society to make the change, the role of the social movements as coordinators was essential, and those who were coordinating social movements were, to a large extent, anti-Francoist militants... although this doesn't mean that all of them were... and what the Francoist régime tried to do, was to try to prevent it up to the last minute. And now we are in the 1970s... and what happened in the 70s is that

the political class was fragmented, because some thought that they still had the strength to prevent the change from happening, and other sections thought that it was already impossible to prevent the change... and that the point was to position themselves at the head of that change, to try to make it as minimal as possible...

XUSTO BERAMENDI (Historian, Universidad de Santiago)

- The best thing to do is to change something so that the main thing doesn't change... disciples of "Il Gattopardo" (*The Leopard*, a film by Visconti based on a novel by Lampedusa).

SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, 7 January 1982

MANUEL IGLESIA CORRAL, AT THE INVESTITURE OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF GALICIA'S XUNTA (AUTONOMIC GOVERNMENT)

- Who was it that said that nothing happened here, who can say that nothing happened here... indeed something did happen here!

INTERVAL 1

Santiago de Compostela, 25 July 1976

Town hall, Coruña, 30 July 1976

Signing of the first Amnesty Law

Room where the signing of the first Amnesty Law took place

Town hall, Coruña, 2006

CECILIA BARTOLOMÉ (Filmmaker, Madrid)

- He is a, let's say, truly... spectacular person.

I have lived through the period when Fraga was a government minister... Those of you who have not known this period... not everyone was equal during Francoism. I mean... within the dictatorship there were incredible internal fights... there were people who, within the dictatorship, were trying to do something, and there were people who, from within, were criminals... and one of the people who took a risk on several occasions during the dictatorship, and who in fact was later the victim of reprisals and was sent to London (as ambassador), was Fraga. Because Fraga's Press Law, which is still being used today... is a totally modern Press Law.

- In Film School, when I started... there were a couple... Helena... Lumbreras... and another lady, M^a Teresa Dressel... whose lives were made hell and who abandoned Film School. I think that the only ones who received a degree... who made it to the end of our studies, were Josefina Molina and I. And I say the word degree, because at that time it was very important. You couldn't work without a degree, if you didn't have the union card, from the National Entertainment Industry Union.

MARIANO LISA (High School teacher and former member of the *Cine de Clase* [Class Cinema] Collective, Barcelona)

- Helena, specifically, and I, when I was with here, we were... the "film apparatus" totally boycotted us... Helena first...

MARÍA CAMÍ VELA (Film critic and Professor at the University of Wilmington)

- What do you mean?

- Well, there were meetings of filmmakers more or less close to the Communist Party... brought together by (the filmmaker) Pere Portabella... they had their meetings... (The documentary filmmaker) Llorenç Soler said to Pere Portabella that Helena Lumbreras should go as well, and he said no, that she was “cannon fodder”...

CECILIA BARTOLOMÉ (Filmmaker, Madrid)

- So, the “lefties” were as sexist as they have been said to be?

-... very much so...

“O todos o ninguno” [All or none], (Cine de Clase Collective, 1976)

I, Manuel González, dismissed from employment at *Roca* in 1969, born in Navás (Barcelona) and at the moment working at *Laforsa*, am here in the name of my workmates to present to you the film of our strike, the longest strike in Catalonia since 1939. We hereby offer you our experience in order to extend the struggle and reach our objectives as a people and as a class. This film has been made by the comrades Helena Lumbreras and Mariano Lisa.

- The film that you are about to see is the result of a discussion among the workers at *Laforsa* (Cornellá) and other workers in the Baix Llobregat region (Barcelona). It is a work of the *Cine de Clase* Collective.

History of the longest strike in Catalonia since 1939

MARIANO LISA (Teacher and former member of the Cine de Clase Collective, Barcelona)

- Your relationship to Barcelona’s “gauche divine” [*divine left*] and, so to say... to the cinema that was being made here...?

- When we showed “*O todos o ninguno*” in the Leipzig Festival... Helena and I had already been invited to Leipzig, and someone from Barcelona arrived with a whole bunch of films saying that that was what Spain was presenting, and that “*O todos o ninguno*” had to be taken off... well, it was because of the ones in Barcelona, at the *Grupo de Producción* [Production Group]... and, in addition, since it was through the Communist Parties... it was well known that a Spanish film would get the first prize that year... and it was given to them... so then, to say that there was no relationship...

MARGARET DICKINSON (Filmmaker and Historian of British militant cinema, London)

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HUMPHREY TREVELYAN (Professor at Newport School of Art and former member of the Berwick Street Collective, London)

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SHEILA ROWBOTHAM (Feminist activist and Professor at The University of Manchester)

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HUMPHREY TREVELYAN (Professor at Newport School of Art and former member of the Berwick Street Collective, London)

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RAMIRO LEDO (Compiler of Carlos Varela’s films, Santiago de Compostela)

Baldaio Beach, Coruña, 1977, Carlos Varela

- He had emigrated to Barcelona, when he was young, and I guess it was there that he was able to access an education and to do things, and what allowed him, on his return to Lugo, to take charge of the Valle-Inclán Association's film club.

- There must have been some images prior to 1975, but they haven't survived... Back then (before the death of Franco)... speaking with Llorenç Soler about Helena Lumberras, he talked about filming clandestinely... and about how if the Civil Guard caught you with a photographic or video camera, that was reason enough to get arrested...

- Fascists! Assholes! Murderers!

- He edited a half-hour long film about the tractor demonstration against the business quota in Lugo, which was then screened at Ourense's Film Forum, together with another film about As Encrobas (Lugo) and another about the seizure of Baldaio's beach... all of that, was aimed at, at the time when he filmed it, which was a very short period of time, between 1977 and 1978... it was aimed at amplifying the social movements at the time.

- His work was intimately linked... to his militancy at the UPG (Union of the Galician People) during that time... it doesn't mean that... the films that he made he financed himself.

As Encrobas (Lugo), 1977, Carlos Varela **Photographs by Xosé Castro**

- There is a "Manifesto on national cinemas" of the year 76 or 77... which was presented at Ourense's Film Forum, which set down a series of points to follow in terms of the configuration of the national cinemas in Spain... Well, their understanding of film... I find it quite similar to the presentation that the filmmaker Carlos Velo gave at the 1st Conference of Galician Emigration in Buenos Aires in 1956, I think it was... in which he advocated the creation of rural film-action groups to make documentaries in Galician cities and villages, and of a parallel distribution net...

PEPE COIRA (Executive producer, Coruña)

- What the television series "*Cuéntame*" proposes is a way of revisiting the past, thinking... of prime time... I think it is too heavy a load, for a television series or for a feature film, for it to be telling what things were really like... On the other hand... when a return to a past that is part of your biography takes place, it is difficult to avoid a certain nostalgia.

ROSA CASTRO (Scriptwriter for the TVG series "*Libro de Familia*", Santiago de Compostela)

- I think it is a fantastic series. It is great... I mean, the scripts, from a dramatic point of view, work really well, the actors are extraordinary, the amount of documentation is huge... Of course, "*Cuéntame*", from my point of view, has a documentary element that is very important, something which we couldn't aspire to... If you look at "*Libro de Familia*", it doesn't recover anything... all things regarding those times are circumstantial... the important bit about the series is the fiction, absolutely... I mean, nor the content of the series, nor the aim was... nor to reopen old wounds, nor to remember the past... well, we do remember it from a formal perspective, don't we? but as far as the content is concerned... the thing is, they are dressed in the clothes of the time, and maybe there are a couple of references to the social moment... remember that it was a small village... a Galician small village in the 60s... the political connotations weren't there... I mean, they didn't exist... they were suffered, but let's say that the characters who live there are not the kind of people to be "making speeches" about that...

PEPE COIRA (Executive producer, Coruña)

- What I would reproach them for is... these historic tales contribute to the great fiction that we agree on according to which it is politicians who make history and it is them who have the power to do and undo... a fiction that politicians need, in which they operate, don't they? but which has little to do, I think, with reality.

MARÍA CAMÍ VELA (Film critic and Professor at University of Wilmington)

- If you had filmed the political leaders instead of the base movement, maybe your documents would coincide with the official version of the Transition... and then they would indeed be visible...

MARIANO LISA (High School Teacher and former member of the *Cine de Clase Collective*, Barcelona)

- Yes, definitely...

MARÍA CAMÍ VELA (Film critic and Professor at University of Wilmington)

-... of course, what your documents show is that the Transition required the sacrifice of those movements which in fact produced the Transition, those which struggled and faced up to it in the demonstrations... it is still an uncomfortable kind of cinema...

MARIANO LISA (High School Teacher and former member of the *Cine de Clase Collective*, Barcelona)

- Yes, it is, but it is the same with many people who have been left on the margins... many of those who were at the fore...

CECILIA BARTOLOMÉ (Filmmaker, Madrid)

- During the Transition... there was a strange feeling... people seemed disillusioned, in a way they were saying ... “it’s not such a big deal, here we are and nothing’s happening”... but things were indeed happening, the thing was that we thought we were living in a centrist and disillusioned country, but it was precisely the complete opposite...

“Después de...” [After...] (1st part), Cecilia and Juan José Bartolomé, 1981

- For Franco, for José Antonio... José Antonio Primo de Rivera... for Franco, for Blas Piñar... for the clergy, even though they have betrayed us...

CECILIA BARTOLOMÉ (Filmmaker, Madrid)

- If it wasn’t for the amount of retaliation we suffered because of this film, and the struggle that was to release it, and the trouble that we got into... we had planned to... when we realised what happened after the *coup* (23 February 1981), we were dying to make a third part called “*Todos al suelo*” [Everyone get down]... because that is what happened, that is to say, everyone went to the floor... to the Parliament’s floor, and to the country’s floor.

NORTH ATLANTIC

Clients at the Restaurant “Galicia” (Portobello, London)

- At the pensioners’ club are the “War children”, many of them... No, no, the Galicians arrived in the 70s, most of them...

Pensioners’ Social Club “Miguel de Cervantes” (Camden Town, London)

- I came in the year 1950, employed by diplomats...
- I came in 1960, but I am from Madrid...
- I was a nurse...
- ... and you came to work?

- ... I came to work at Saint Joseph Hospital...

Basque refugees since 1937

- We arrived here the 23rd of May 1937... 4,000 children... look, we weren't even 11 yet...

- The feeling of the Spaniards here, of the economic refugees and of the refugees of the Spanish Civil War... well everyone was against Franco, naturally...

- Thousands of Spaniards joined the British army, and the French legion... because they thought that way they would continue the fight against Franco... What they didn't expect is that, when they were already convinced that they (the European democracies) would help get rid of Franco, General Eisenhower came...

- ... and helped him...

Signing of the bilateral treaties between Spain and the USA, which include the creation of Military Bases in Spain (1953)

- The great US nation, of amazing economic power and inexhaustible creative capacity, undertakes a realist politics with an act of rapprochement of global transcendence.

These treaties between Spain and the USA cover three areas: a defense treaty, aid for mutual defense and economic aid.

Visit to Madrid of General Eisenhower (1959)

- Spain's capital, with its expressive and effulgent illumination, and its bright welcoming greetings, is like the symbol for the whole nation awarding the peace missionary with a warm welcome.

- General Eisenhower, a distinguished guest of Madrid, arrives at the National Palace in order to attend a dinner in his honour offered by the Chief of the Spanish state. Eisenhower converses with him and with the other guests and expresses his emotion and his gratitude for the warm and enthusiastic welcome that the people of Madrid have given him.

JOAQUINA DORADO (CNT militant [National Labour Confederation], Barcelona)

- I was born in La Coruña, in the neighbourhood of Santa Lucía, which back then... now there are the streets Federico Tápiá, Juan Florez... all of that...

In 1934, in Barcelona, I started to work, in a furniture factory...

My father, who knew well all the libertarian ideas and all the rest... he used to try to delay the matter, but I insisted: 'You have to come with me to the union to register me in'. That is when I started to fight for the welfare of all, not just mine, but that of my colleagues... and, by the way, I worked in a factory where there were around 50 men, and I was the only one with a union card, but nobody knew it.

- Was that when your active political life started?

- It wasn't political at all. It was just to do with the union...

- ... should we say public?

- Yes, politics has never interested me. I am apolitical.

FORMER U.S. MILITARY BASE AT ESTACA DE BARES, CORUÑA (1962-1978)

- I was one of the last to leave Barcelona (into exile) and when in France, the way we were received was... a catastrophe, because they put us into concentration camps. I escaped from a few of these, because I was alone... it wasn't in anybody's interest what was happening here which was a lesson to the whole world... especially, it taught a lot...

ELVIRA VARELA BAO (Daughter of a Republican teacher, victim of Francoist retaliation, Coruña)

- Well simply, she arrived home... I don't know, it must have been a week, because she was put in prison in August...

- Your mother?
 - My mother, yes.
 - 'You flaunt your ideals wherever you are. And what is worst, you instill them into the children, and you know well that children's souls are sacred'. My mother said: 'That is not true.'
- And because they didn't let her explain, all that she thought of saying was: 'Look, about my behaviour and way of being you can ask around in the sanatorium (where I teach), as I have been a teacher there for 18 years'.
- And do you want to know what they answered? 'All the reports that we have against you are precisely from the sanatorium'.
- That's why I am waiting, now that the Law of Responsibilities (Law of Historical Memory) is coming, we'll see... because this is what they said to her: 'Take a summer vacation'. She was not tried in court... because, if they had said: we are firing you because you don't do your job... or, isn't it?... but no, nothing... it was a governmental resolution, it was the Governor who said: 'You are now dismissed'.
 - And you didn't then return to school?
 - No.
 - Never again?
 - Never again.

ISABEL JIMÉNEZ-LUCENA (Historian of Science, Málaga University)

- The spirit of sacrifice, the giving it all for someone... those were values very much... of a gender ideology... woman is used very often in this sense, as a "controller" of the family, as a provider of services absolutely free of charge... there is no other position than control and rules... to normalise the conduct of people...

CARME MOLINERO (Historian, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona)

- The politics of gender of Francoism, as in all types of fascism, is a constitutive element. This affects women especially, who were at that time self-affirming as individuals.
- We are thinking about this issue as if fascist politics and the politics of the catholic church were contradictory, and neither in Italy nor in Spain... they are not, especially insofar as the model of society is concerned.

ELVIRA VARELA BAO (Daughter of a Republican teacher, victim of Francoist retaliation, Coruña)

- I wasn't working... I was studying on my own... I was studying typewriting, shorthand, English... and they published an ad in (Coruña's newspaper) *La Voz de Galicia*: 'We need someone... with knowledge of English... so and so'... and I said: 'I'm going'...
- So then, the Americans called you (to work)?
- Ahhhh!
- Yes, I went and I didn't have to take an exam or anything, because (the results of the test) were already there, from the last time I took it... and they employed me...

FRANCISCO DÍAZ REY, "PANCHO LEDO" (Solicitor and Journalist, he held various political posts in Galicia during Manuel Fraga's administration (1989-2004), Madrid)

- At that time... Franco stayed in power because the United Kingdom and the USA wanted it so, otherwise Franco would have fallen. Because they knew that the alternative was communism in Spain.

ELVIRA VARELA BAO (Daughter of a Republican teacher, victim of Francoist retaliation, Coruña)

- My husband was an american civil engineer. He had been in Irak... he got tired of being there, fighting in the desert, and he took a vacation... Where the Americans had the whole paraphernalia was in the *España* building (in Madrid) and then in the nearby bars, they would get together... there he met other Americans... and they said to him: 'Go around there, there is a lot of work here in Spain'...

FORMER MILITARY BASE AT GREENHAM COMMON (FROM WORLD WAR II UNTIL 1993), NEWBURY

NIELMA ROWAN (Feminist activist, London)

ROSA BASSAVE (Feminist activist, Santiago de Compostela)

- Self-consciousness, the loss of your own body, learning to look at yourself, learning to see yourself, helping another woman who doesn't know, self-consciousness, learning to pleasure yourself as well...
- London was a boiling pot... reggae was starting, the whole gay movement was going on, I don't know... all kinds of concerts, squatters... the whole of Notting Hill was being squatted... we participated in all of that... in the lesbian movement... and then, when we went to demonstrations, everyone would be there... the Italians from *Lotta Continua*, the anarchists, the nationalists... and we contacted with, because they were Galician as well, and because they were open and were usually everywhere... I mean, it wasn't the UPG (Union of the Galician People) of the interior...
- When we returned here at the end of 1973, to study, because we had made some money... I worked as a waitress in London... well... at the beginning it was extremely hard for me, to adapt, because, of course, it was another world... much more repressive... and the clandestine life, because even though there were things there that you did in a clandestine manner, it wasn't the type of clandestine life over here... here you were truly terrified... and you started wearing bras and girdles, if you had to...

BOB JESSOP (Professor of Sociology and Founding Director of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Lancaster University)

NIELMA ROWAN (Feminist activist, London)

SHEILA ROWBOTHAM (Feminist activist and Professor of Sociology at the University of Manchester)

JOAQUINA DORADO (CNT militant [National Labour Confederation], Barcelona)

- In conclusion, I think that... even today... the régime hasn't changed much... it hasn't changed much because I realise that the most important (state) posts are taken by relatives of the big landowners and fascists... It is a "looked for" democracy, we all know that... but I think that... a democracy that is a bit strange...

INTERVAL 02

Narón, Ferrol

Statue of General Franco after the attack of November 2003

FRANCISCO DÍAZ REY, "PANCHO LEDO" (Solicitor and Journalist, he held various political posts in Galicia during Manuel Fraga's administration (1989-2004), Madrid)

- No way a return to the past! Let's live in peace with one another and... let's live, life is short!
- At that time, Francoism... the rightist government, had enough power... an inherited power... enough to, if they had so wanted it, not write the Constitution.

Members of the Francisco Franco Foundation, Madrid

- So then, you don't like the position of people like Manuel Fraga or Adolfo Suárez himself, who came from Francoism?
- I personally, in the name of the Foundation, no.
- Personally, I have found it repugnant that people who promised adherence in one way... they had sworn on the Holy Gospels, let's not forget this fact... and I am not referring just to ministers... other people from high up swore as well... because, of course, the monarch, the King, also swore to defend the principles...
- That's what I was going to ask you... the King swore as well...
- ... anyway... let's forget about this matter...

FRANCISCO DÍAZ REY, “PANCHITO LEDO” (Solicitor and Journalist, he held various political posts in Galicia during Manuel Fraga’s administration (1989-2004), Madrid)

- Like when the Prince... the King... the 23 February 1981 (the *coup d’état*)... in virtue of... the power that he had inherited... The power of the King was justified by the Constitution... nonsense... it was Franco who put the King there.

**Institutional message by the King on TVE (Spanish Television)
23 February 1981**

- I confirm that I have ordered the civil authorities and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to take all the necessary measures to maintain the constitutional order within the current legality.

MONTSE ARMENGOU (TV3 Journalist, Barcelona)

- We construct our memory with images, and naturally, in this case again, the mass media, especially the audiovisual media, reinforce that imaginary.

- But there is a cliché about the Transition... which is the figure of the King the night of the *coup d’état*, and it has been used a lot to reinforce that image of “this is the Transition”...this King... so great and so democratic... big deal! It would be ludicrous if, after all the money that he gets paid, he didn’t do his job...

TAREIXA NAVAHA (Feminist activist and Journalist at Cadena SER and TVE-G, Santiago de Compostela)

- Xerardo Fernández Albor (First President of Galicia’s Xunta, 1982-1987) carried out a complicated task. Everything was yet to do... they (Galicia’s Xunta) did not even have a physical space, the whole structure needed to be built... and I think there was (media) freedom. But there was, at that time, a serious issue... which over here was shocking, that is the broadcast of the arrival of Castelao’s remains.

**Arrival in Santiago de Compostela from Buenos Aires of Castelao’s remains
28 June 1984**

- It was being broadcast live... and a whole bunch of people from all over Galicia had come to Santo Domingo de Bonaval, because they were opposed to bringing Castelao’s remains at that moment... they argued that Galicia did not yet fulfill all the conditions that Castelao would have wished for on his return...

**Live Broadcast by TVE in Galicia of the arrival and burial of Alfonso Daniel Castelao in the Pantheon of Illustrious Galicians on 28 June 1984
Voice of Tareixa Navaza**

- Ladies and gentlemen... the police is charging the crowds, who have been yelling and hissing at the members of Galicia’s Xunta, at this country’s politicians... and they have been yelling the following phrases: “Castelao cannot be betrayed” and “Free Galicia, popular power”.

- The images don’t need further comments. Castelao was a Galician nationalist. He was aware of what he was, of his homeland, his nation, his language, of all that is most sacred because it is what is most deeply one’s own, and it comes from afar, most of the time from our ancestors, who made us the way we are and live on in us. His homeland did not change for him, as in the case of other Galicians.

- Castelao’s remains, according to the poet Uxío Novoneira, were brought over by those who confess and profess to not being nationalist, some of those have always done so, and others have started recently. And they want to enshroud and lock Galician nationalism under the tombstone in Santo Domingo de Bonaval, together with the remains of its better known and loved historical leader, a forward thinking leader, and with him bury our hopes.

- Ladies and gentlemen, Castelao’s coffin, on its way to the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Bonaval...

TAREIXA NAVAHA (Feminist activist and Journalist, Cadena SER and TVE-G, Santiago de Compostela)

- I think they were very aggressive times... the restructuring of industry, the Statute, during the “humiliation” years, when the draft wasn’t being accepted in Madrid... and when we think that everything has been done... they pull out... There were people who, being in exile, returned, and continued the fight, and I think that many of them died in sorrow and sadness... because an intellectual who had been in prison and who had a certain prestige, namely Ramón Piñeiro, had wanted to convert that fighting energy... to make it present, day in day out, on the streets, in the social movements... and I think that it was there, around Ramón Piñeiro’s “coffee table”, that a lot of that energy calmed down, a lot of impetus that could have had a different outcome.

JORGE LUIS MARZO (Art Historian, curator and writer, Barcelona)

- Manuel Fraga Iribarne is the driving force behind the Contemporary Spanish Art Museum in Madrid, he is the connecting bond between many artists and critics, he is the main sponsor of Santander’s Abstract Art Week, which will be crucial for the creation of Informalism in the 1950s in Spain... because he really is, at that time, within the main decision hubs, and those decision hubs are the Hispanic Culture Institute (ICH) and all the subinstitutions around the Ministry of Foreign Affairs... The success enjoyed by the Hispanic Culture Institute (ICH) determines Spain’s cultural politics for the following... 70 years... When we get to the year 1982, the PEACEX, Spanish Trust for Cultural Action Abroad, reactivates the ICH’s politics. In other words, we are going to generate a discourse whereby the artists that we are in fact interested in clearly respond to the tradition (as in the 1950s) of individualism, realism... they locate the artists within the globalised trends... culture is being underlined by culture, it is fundamentally a kind of culture that adjusts to the essentialist mould. Naturally, after tourism... this, design, goes hand in hand...

- “Fortunately, now that there is no politics in art, we will have to fashion a new politics of art” say some critics. And then, interestingly, 1970s conceptual art disappears.

RAQUEL PELTA (Historian of Design, University of Barcelona)

- As you know, I studied graphic design as a political tool of Franco’s régime, how it was used to present an ideal image of an ideal world. This is done again in the 1980s. During those years, the attempt was to present an image of a modern Spain, and design has always been used to present this image of modernity.

- I think that the ‘*Movida*’ generation has nothing to do with the Spanish *avant-garde*, they are not looking back... At that time, this coincided with changes in perspective in design, with postmodernity... and it is a different generation, very much linked to the music world, to the bars, the club culture... I think their influences come from abroad, from the UK for example, from the punk movement...

Presentation of the Concert Programme for the Xacobeo’99 (Santiago de Compostela, 1999)

- Within the programme of concerts for the end of the millennium, which is what we are presenting here today, let’s just say that the most important pop-rock bands from around the world, available in 1999, that is those who are touring Europe in 1999, will be here with us this summer. It will start on Tuesday 15 June, with a performance by The Rolling Stones... a performance which will be a milestone, probably, in the history of rock. And I say this because probably, very probably, this will be the last performance in history of The Rolling Stones, the last Rolling Stones’ gig...

XERARDO RODRÍGUEZ (Journalist, Former Director of TVE-G TVG in the 1980s, Former official in charge of Xacobeo)

- The truth is that, in 1996, when we started talking about Xacobeo ‘99, we didn’t have a project... And what could I do? Well, for starters, the BBC, at 00:10 the night of the New Year of 2000, dedicated 5 minutes to Galicia, what do you think of this?...

- Of course, these things don’t get seen here. I mean, my work as regards the (Xacobeo) concerts... my work is there in TVG, which can be seen, which is palpable... you can say, ok, it’s important work, but there is also a budget. What am I most proud of as regards the concerts? Well, to have Luar na Lubre playing alongside Mike Oldfield, I mean, because that was the requirement, an international figure who can fill a beach with 100,000 people and an emergent Galician figure in order to give them an international projection...

I think that the Xacobeo is a great invention, because be it because of faith, be it because of environmentalism, be it for whatever reason, the *Camino de Santiago* is full of pilgrims.

LUIS ÁLVAREZ POUSA (Journalist, Former Culture Councillor (1983-1985), Director of the magazine “Tempos Novos” and Professor at the University of Santiago)

- The model of culture of Manuel Fraga’s government must be understood in terms of essentialism, they were afraid that a critical discourse would be introduced.

The whole Xacobeo thing is a clear example of what I have just said, and likewise with the *Ciudad de la Cultura* (City of Culture). We could draw some parallels between the Xacobeo and the *Ciudad de la Cultura*. The latter is just a static Xacobeo.

Manuel Fraga’s visit to the *Ciudad de la Cultura*

- Sometimes we inherit legacies that cannot be moved or changed, for instance, the *Ciudad de la Cultura*, which, inevitably, had to be continued... although, naturally, a redefinition had to be sought.

- I was against its construction, and now I reject those who at that time said that Fraga was presenting “the great Galician icon of the XXI Century”... now they are the ones protesting because, as expected, it is extremely disproportionate, and the cost is astronomical...

- Not just paternalism, which is what took place during Fraga’s time... a paternalism demonstrated by the fact that he bought all that was of interest to him, so he would buy political power as well as votes... he really disabled civil society... What did this mean? It meant that the culture of tension disappeared, the conflict disappeared...

TAREIXA NAVAZA (Feminist activist and Journalist, Cadena SER and TVE-G, Santiago de Compostela)

- TVE (Spanish television) in Galicia is very critical depending on who directs the Regional Centre (in operation since 1971). The situation causes some conflict... but what happens next when TVG (Galician television) is born in 1985? It is a gross and crude propaganda device of the Popular Party... it was its great Communication Cabinet.

Statement by the Mayor of Muxía (Coruña) during the crisis following the sinking of the oil tanker Prestige, November 2002

- Why doesn’t RTVG’s Executive Director come here? Does he take us for complete idiots? Who pays these people to spread lies or to stay quiet... putting pressure on workers? Is this going to be published? Is this being broadcast?

LUIS ÁLVAREZ POUSA (Journalist, Former Culture Councillor (1983-1985), Director of the magazine “Tempos Novos” and Professor at the University of Santiago)

- Does a situation of favouritism take place... between power and the media?

- There is no doubt that the mass media became part, especially afterwards, during Fraga’s time in government... they became part of that net of clients that Fraga’s administration created in order to totally control all the social, political and cultural spaces... and unfortunately, that same model of relationship with the private media, continues today, exactly the same.

FRANCISCO DÍAZ REY, “PANCHO LEDO” (Solicitor and Journalist, he held various political posts in Galicia during Manuel Fraga’s administration (1989-2004), Madrid)

-The provincial press, it lives off the Autonomous Communities. The independence that the national press might have, and and and... because capitalism is very powerful... and if they remove advertising from a newspaper they bring it down.

THE LOGIC OF LOVE VS. THE LOGIC OF THE STATE

NANINA SANTOS (Feminist activist, founder of AGM (Galician Women's Association) and of the magazine "Andaina", Santiago de Compostela)

-Well, the issue of men and women, the nationalist organisations during the Transition... they frowned upon it, they frowned... the party par excellence at that time, which was... because of tradition, of extension, of its deep-rooted position in the social fabric, the Communist Party (PCE), they didn't approve either... and the unions even less...

ROSA BASSAVE (Feminist activist, former UPG militant and today CNT militant, Santiago de Compostela)

-It's a pyramidal structure, just like "democratic centralism" was from 1975 onwards. You can't criticise at all, what they tell you is set in stone because the Executive says so, the Central Committee... and if you say no, either you are a fool who will never get anywhere in politics, as they used to tell me, or... or you enter the system... a specific power system... and I am not referring to any one specific party, I am referring to all of them... they were all the same.

Mª XOSÉ QUEIZÁN (Writer and feminist activist, founder of FIGA (Galician Independent Feminists) and of the magazine "A festa da palabra silenciada", Vigo)

-Feminism was considered bourgeois... One of the accusations (when I was expelled from the UPG) that was made against me was that I was a feminist... yes, being a feminist was very bad, and it was antirevolutionary, it was bourgeois... the women who were entering political parties... were the ones cleaning up, picking up the ashtrays, anyway... doing that kind of stuff... at home, everything was the same...

TAREIXA NAVAZA (Feminist activist and Journalist at Cadena SER and TVE-G, Santiago de Compostela)

-In Spain, the Feminist Movement gets started in 1975, coinciding with the UN celebration of the year... the International Women's Year... in Galicia, it is delayed a few years, and women start to operate inside the political parties... dealing with the issue of women but from within the political parties, starting in the year 1977, 1978... 2 or 3 years later... of course, you have just mentioned it, the big controversy over "double militancy" emerges... women of the Communist League, of the MCG (Galician Communist Movement), the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, because... the issue of women, the private realm... that belongs to the private realm, that is not political... women's work conditions, of course... because they have to be at home... to ask for a position of responsibility, don't you even dare, the issue of sexuality didn't exist, abortion... let each solve their problem the best they can, the same with the issue of violence...

"Sex: a petit bourgeois problem because the proletariat has no sex and neither does the bourgeoisie"

"Let them go to hell"

"Rape exists, your Honours"

"Stop pornography that represents us as objects"

"Free abortion in the public health system"

NANINA SANTOS (Feminist activist, founder of AGM (Galician Women's Association) and of the magazine "Andaina", Santiago de Compostela)

- We organised into the Galician Women's Association (AGM) which is the first organisation that is founded with an explicitly feminist vocation, which also wants to question... but then the AGM breaks down, it breaks down at that moment (around 1978) into what would later become two different associations: one continues with the same name, AGM, which had the most members, and the other is the FIGA (Galician Independent Feminists). And then, people start to say that the Independent Feminists are those not linked to political parties, and that AGM feminists are linked to parties, but anyway... I think this is nothing but slander...

Mª XOSÉ QUEIZÁN (Writer and feminist activist, founder of FIGA (Galician Independent Feminists) and of the magazine “A festa da palabra silenciada”)

- It was at least in 78, yes... it (the unity) could not take place because the communist movement was losing all its... objectives, and all they had left was feminism...

VOICE OVER: “Nothing is more opposed to the image of the beloved than the state logic, totally contrary to the sovereign value of love. The state power produces the beloved as an object, and reproduces the lover as a subject.”

SHEILA ROWBOTHAM (Feminist activist and Professor of Sociology at the University of Manchester)

TRANSCRIPTION NIGHTCLEANERS

We've stressed, along with Gay Liberation, that sexuality is a crucial aspect of the individual's consciousness, and that, for anyone, who wants to change society, to ignore the ways in which we perceive ourselves and each other through sexual relations, is to miss out on a whole area of experience, which continually holds the left back and continually limits the possibility for attacking capitalism, because capitalism is very chained to human sexuality and often sells many goods to us through our feelings.

SALLY ALEXANDER (Feminist activist and Professor in History at Goldsmiths College, London)

BOB JESSOP (Professor of Sociology and Founding Director of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Lancaster University)

LISA POWER (Gay activist from GLF, London)

NACHO IGLESIAS (AntiAids Committee, Santiago de Compostela)

- I know a little bit about what was the Law of Social Dangerousness, the police violence... from third parties or from writings, but never first hand. In such informal movements, as they were at that time, there wasn't transmission from one generation to the next, there wasn't a generational transmission. Here, in Santiago de Compostela, the first organisation there was, was the CHC (Homosexual Committee of Compostela), which later changed its name to CGC (Gay Committee of Compostela)... I don't remember, but it must have been the year 1990, 1991, when it was founded...

LISA POWER (Gay activist, GLF, London)

Pope John Paul II visits Santiago de Compostela, 19 August 1989

NANINA SANTOS (Feminist activist, founder of AGM (Galician Women's Association) and of the magazine “Andaina”, Santiago de Compostela)

- The Committee of Lesbian Feminists in Madrid... publish a magazine called *Nosotras que nos queremos tanto*. This must be 1983, maybe... They suddenly say: “We are lesbians”. Naturally, to give lesbianism a face, a name, and a surname, is a very important step. This is very important, because it also encourages us to create... so anyway, those of us who were lesbians and who didn't say so explicitly because we were afraid... this encourages us to create the Lesbians Association of AGM (Galician Women's Association).

- Here, the mode of organisation of the sexual relations between people is heterosexuality. So then, we want to question this... and, in this magazine, very interesting debates are proposed, mainly translated from the USA and the UK...

NACHO IGLESIAS (AntiAids Committee, Santiago de Compostela)

-Basically, the AntiAids Committees helped people... who had been parenteral drug users, which were most of them at the time... they were people who came to the Committees... People who had been sexually infected, mainly in

unprotected homosexual practices, which were most of them too, at the time, in that sector... not many of them came, because, even inside the Committees, even inside the gay associations... they were embarrassed to make it public...

-The government in Madrid financed the whole of the AntiAids Committees network, because a part of the... let's say, part of civil society was demanding it...

-The most negative period at that time was when they began the whole issue of the dispersal of prisoners (with terrorism charges)... they had been warned since the mid-80s that, in the midst of an expansion of... of a pandemic like that of HIV Aids... and we all know that drugs were being consumed in prisons... in unhealthy and extremely dangerous conditions... well, at that time they were circulating prisoners all around the country.

Obviously, as this was taking place in the midst of that whole issue they were involved in with ETA, about dispersing ETA prisoners... they would put common prisoners in Euskadi and they would take ETA prisoners out of the prison at Nanclares de Oca (Álava) in order to bring them to the prison of Monterroso (Lugo)... naturally, that was a disaster... they were warned from all sides, and it was the darkest moment of that period... the Ministers of Interior were... well, they were very much responsible for the massive infection of... of all those people who were in prison during those years... Antoni Asunción, who was General Prisons Governor when all of that was happening... was warned repeatedly... even by epidemiologists, and they didn't... they decided that something else was more important...

-If it wasn't for Aids, the evolution of society would have probably been as it was, but maybe not to the same extent and not in the same direction. I think this happened in the 80s... and surely, in the 80s there was an incredible ludic body...

JORGE LUIS MARZO (Art Historian, curator and writer, Barcelona)

- Almost every single country constructed its great discourse, an extensive deconstruction of the body as a site of social struggles was made. Us here... in the 1970s... during Francoism, which we all know what it meant, we respond with pornography... of the 1970s, we respond with "*La Movida*", with having a fucking great time... and then Aids turns up... and in that process, the memory of the Francoist body, or rather, the memory of the body of the Francoist régime, has not been shaped yet. All of this... collapses in the year 1992, "*La Movida*" falls apart... and after this we find a discourse of the body that is... which is it? On the one hand, it is a body kidnapped by the mass media through new concepts of television, the magazines... and then, there is a fundamental problem, that of Aids... a problem which, apart from 4 or 5 figures, has not been touched at all by the art world (in Spain)... and even, when issues tangentially related (to the body) are handled, as in the case of Pedro Almodóvar with *Bad Education*, he still has the nerve to say no, that the church is not guilty of that, only some clergymen are...

- Come my brother, and walk with us... We will be... builders, builders of peace... We are... pilgrims...

INTERVAL 03

MAY DAY STRIKE: LONDON MARCH

1 May 1973

MIKE JACKSON (UNISON's Officer, London)

BOB JESSOP (Professor of Sociology and Founding Director of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Lancaster University)

GEE VAUCHER (Visual artist, member of CRASS, Dial House, London)

PEOPLE WERE EXECUTED ON THESE BEACHES

GEE VAUCHER (Visual artist, member of CRASS, Dial House, London)

BOB JESSOP (Professor of Sociology and Founding Director of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Lancaster University)

GEE VAUCHER (Visual artist, member of CRASS, Dial House, London)

The battle of Orgrave (2001), Jeremy Deller

KEVIN PEARCE (Cultural critic, London)

**FESTIVAL OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS AT ASTANO,
Ferrol, 10 February 1985**

XOSÉ MANUEL PEREIRO (Journalist and former member of RADIO OCÉANO, Coruña)

- It was an idea we had then... that the government... made of people... many of them born in Seville... wanted to replace a community of naval workers, of seamen, etc... with one of waiters and all of that... and I think they're still at it, even though the ones in power now are no longer from Seville... and back then I said it in that way, which was the way I used to express myself...

**FESTIVAL OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS AT ASTANO, RADIO OCÉANO
Ferrol, 10 February 1985**

- This song is dedicated to all of those who fight against the rule of a government of Moors... of Moors... of fucking Moors... who want to finish off a community of naval workers... who want to finish off a community of naval workers... proletarians...

MIKE JACKSON (Trade unionist, London)

PAUL GILROY (Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics, London)

KIKO AMAT (Journalist, writer and cultural critic, Barcelona)

- The relationship with black music and with black culture, in my opinion, is the basis for understanding English postwar subculture... and, at the same time, the way that this was reflected over here... what happens here (in Spain) is that the... the clash disappears... and only a few referents and signifiers are taken on...

JULIÁN HERNÁNDEZ (Member of SINIESTRO TOTAL, Vigo)

- Punk... the idea of punk... it is true that it coincides with the social movements in Great Britain during the pre-Thatcherite and Thatcherite years... and here as well, it coincides with the restructuring of the naval sector which had to do with a very strong political explosion... but anyway, the Sex Pistols weren't exactly working class...

WE DEMAND A SOLUTION TO THE ASCÓN CONFLICT

ANTÓN REIXA (Poet, Visual artist, producer and former member of ROMPENTE and OS RESENTIDOS, Vigo)

- The short circuit that takes place socially in the 80s is really the contrast between the kind of salon-like social democracy (of the PSOE) and the crisis of the naval sector... Notice that in Vigo, between 1978 and 1985 or 86, I think there were 5 general strikes... We could not ignore this... it was the world we were living in...

**NO TO PRIVATISATION
COMISIONES OBRERAS ARE TRAITORS**

JULIÁN HERNÁNDEZ (Member of SINIESTRO TOTAL, Vigo)

- Punk has basically one idea... apart from a specific aesthetic and a specific form of intervention in the media... and this is the possibility of the DIY (Do it yourself)... which was also, in a way, the idea behind the poetry group Rompente...

ANTÓN REIXA (Poet, Visual artist, producer and former member of ROMPENTE and OS RESENTIDOS, Vigo)

-1976... is when we founded Rompente...

JULIÁN HERNÁNDEZ (Member of SINIESTRO TOTAL, Vigo)

- the issue of the influences was incoherent nonsense...

ANTÓN REIXA (Poet, Visual artist, producer and former member of ROMPENTE and OS RESENTIDOS, Vigo)

- ... groups that were not very commercial at that time, like The Residents, Talking Heads, and concepts such as Cabaret Voltaire...

JULIÁN HERNÁNDEZ (Member of SINIESTRO TOTAL, Vigo)

- Up to General Franco's death, and even some time later... accessing films, records, books... was much more complicated than today... back then, if you got hold of something... that was...

ANTÓN REIXA (Poet, Visual artist, producer and former member of ROMPENTE and OS RESENTIDOS, Vigo)

-... only Julián's (Hernández) club, who travelled to London all the time, all those novelties were a huge thing for us... for me that was very attractive... plus, at that time, Julián was generous in sharing that information with everyone...

KEVIN PEARCE (Cultural critic, London)

World's End, first Vivienne Westwood store in King's Road, London. It was first opened under the name Let it Rock in 1971, and was later called Sex, in 1974.

Rough Trade Records, Portobello, London

KIKO AMAT (Journalist, writer and cultural critic, Barcelona)

- When post punk arrives, in the 80s, a lot of people consider it more radical, in the sense that... suddenly the way that things are organised becomes important... Bands no longer record with multinationals, as is the case with The Clash, the Sex Pistols, etc... but rather it is understood that, in order to operate autonomously, the band must remain totally autonomous in all of its facets. They start with the DIY thing, putting out singles themselves, there is a very strong communitarian idea, very communist... the reflection of the UK is more plural, as it really is... because the first punk is, de facto, white rock... the second punk, which starts with The Slits, and then all the bands on the label Rough Trade, etc... already recognises that there is a plurality of... reggae, dub... experimentation between different communities...

KEVIN PEARCE (Cultural critic, London)

**Art exhibition "Panic Attack", Barbican Art Gallery
London, June 2007**

VIC GODARD (Postman and member of Vic Godard & The Subway Sect, London)

**Strike at Citröen
Vigo, February 1988**

- We already know what the consequences are. There is a democratic Works Council, chosen by us... simply honest workers defending their job and their company.

Bibiano Morón (Former singer-songwriter, music producer and promoter, and businessman, Vigo)

- Thatcher learned in Galicia with Manuel Fraga... Thatcher is an amateur... London produced all the branches of glamour, with feathers, without feathers... all of that... Vigo, exactly the same...
- In the 80s, the great classic supports of a city like Vigo, break down... the restructuring of industry, the fall of the "sardinecracy" (the canning industry)... so then, who's left? We are left...

Manuel Soto (Economist, PSOE Mayor of Vigo between 1979 and 1991)

- No, excuse me... let's see... what restructuring was there in Vigo? Within the naval restructuring, which was something necessary in the countries of the European Economic Community (now the EU), which was one of the prices we had to pay for being in the European Community... and Vigo, what price did it pay? That of a shipyard staying closed, which was *Ascón*, which was already closed... closed by the company owner... in Vigo that wasn't an expense... in Ferrol, restructuring was indeed an expense...

Antón Bouza (Activist in the Union and the Neighbourhood movements, Vigo)

- We had been promised very important changes, and we were told that the neighbourhood movement would be given a lot of prominence... such that, when it came to the municipal elections in 1979 and we started seeing the things that were happening... there was a huge slump in the union movement, because we felt duped...

Manuel Soto (Economist, PSOE Mayor of Vigo between 1979 and 1991)

- At my investiture in 1979 I said something that... some people took it as a quip... and then it stayed there, linked to me. I said: "I will be, with full legitimacy, mayor of Vigo, but I will continue being comrade Soto for everyone".

Antón Bouza (Activist in the Union and the Neighbourhood movements, Vigo)

- After Franco's death, and already during the Transition, there is still a lot of repression... In areas such as El Calvario, Cabral, Teis... Vigo's working class neighbourhoods... Lavadores... these were places where people experienced, ingenuously, a pre-revolutionary feeling, as if... huge changes were to take place... but then, later, repression was stronger than all of us, wasn't it?

General Elections, June 15, 1977

- Come this morning at 12 to the *Cine Ideal* to listen to the political alternatives that the candidates for Congress will be offering after almost 40 years of forced silence...

- I can see that you have two identity cards? Are you going to vote for two people?
- Well yes...
- Did you know the party that you voted for?
- Yes.
- And the political programme of the party, did you know it?
- From television.

MANOLO ROMÓN (Poet, scriptwriter and actor, former member of ROMPENTE, Vigo)

- To take side with the total amnesty... to take to its last consequences, supposedly, the independentist postulates that structured the political ideas... with quotation marks... of that party front... for some of us this meant getting

expelled... first from the UPG (Union of Galician People), then from the ANPG (National Assembly of the Galician People) and later from the ERGA (Galician Republican Left), which was a student organisation of that time...

JULIÁN HERNÁNDEZ (Member of SINIESTRO TOTAL, Vigo)

- Os Resentidos were in fact a problem for Galician nationalism, because they made rock, and rock was imperialist...

Manuel Soto (Economist, PSOE Mayor of Vigo between 1979 and 1991)

- It is something that I am absolutely satisfied with... Every time I walk past a parish, or through a neighbourhood, and I see a social and cultural centre, which were practically all of them built during my time as mayor... they are emerging hotbeds of popular culture... the culture that I most care for, by the way...

Antón Bouza (Activist in the Union and the Neighbourhood movements, Vigo)

- The truth is that... the neighbourhood movement... they started to get rid of it... PSOE, UPG, PCE, MCG (Galician Communist Movement)... the Workers Party of Spain... all the parties back then... we stuck together, it almost seemed as though we had an assembly of all the parties... but when they came to power, the parties... each one started gazing at its own navel... the PSOE specifically... it was one of the hardest, and it still is...

JULIÁN HERNÁNDEZ (Member of SINIESTRO TOTAL, Vigo)

- Franco's régime, what it prompted, in Madrid as well as in Vigo, that definitely was common to both, was ... a boredom... crucial... this cannot go on like this...

Manuel Soto (Economist, PSOE Mayor of Vigo between 1979 and 1991)

- The actors, the musicians, the artists, the designers... who lived in Vigo and its surroundings, who were good, very good... the only thing I did was give them a frame. It is important, because without a frame, the arts don't stand out... and well, apart from that, a maneuver... why not say it... of political marketing...

JORGE LUIS MARZO (Art Historian, curator and writer, Barcelona)

- "The products of popular culture must be hijacked, in order to turn them into consumer products for the middle class". And I think that this process of hijacking popular products and of commodification for the middle class has produced an enormous amnesia, and a great incapacity to be able to think thoroughly what memory is... what everyone's collective memory is. In this sense, collective memory has been hijacked by the middle class.

**NATURE RESERVE ILLAS ATLÁNTICAS
CÍES ISLANDS, Vigo, 30 June 2008**

- It didn't fall! It didn't fall!
- There it goes...
- Bloody hell!