Carta(s)

Unfinished Timelines

Nelly Richard

Felipe Rivas San Martín

Patrick Hamilton

Maite Garbayo Maeztu

María Rosón

Ana Longoni

MUSEO NACIONAL CENTRO DE ARTE REINA SOFIA

Published by the Editorial
Activities & Public Activities
Departments, Museo Reina Sofía

Public Activities
and Study Centre Director
Ana Longoni

Head of Editorial Activities
Alicia Pinteño

Editorial Coordination
Teresa Ochoa de Zabalegui

Graphic Design
gráfica futura

Translation
Tony Crabb

Copyediting
Christopher Davey

Production Management
Julio López

Plates
La Troupe

Printing and Binding
Espiral

Nelly Richard

Memories of Neoliberalism in Chile: Incomplete Pasts, Presents, and Futures

In a dissenting or agitated present, we tend to look backward, decoding what is still pending of the unfinished past, and forward, inventing the futures yet to be built, thus signaling that we will not simply allow neoliberalism to carry out its post-historic synthesis of the present without our intervention. The work of critical memory understands how to interweave past and future into the present, which will follow the spasmodic rhythms of retrospection and prefiguration. It is this creative, reflexive exercise that we have proposed in the exhibition *Unfinished Timelines: Chile: First Laboratory of Neoliberalism* at the Reina Sofía Museum, where the distant past of the Chilean dictatorship is interwoven with the recent memory of the transition, whose ellipses are broken apart and reconstituted in the discontinuous present of the posttransition.

Tragic Memory and Interfering Codes

The 1973 military coup in Chile brought with it a rupture of the historical narrative of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) and the inauguration of the dictatorship led for seventeen years by Augusto Pinochet. The dictatorial government ushered itself in by eradicating any vestige of the Unidad Popular's past held in stories and biographies, political militancies, symbols of identity, or community sentiments toward the socialist revolution. Added to this, however, was the dictatorship's liberal economic reordering of the nation according to the "shock doctrine" implemented by the "Chicago Boys" (Chilean disciples of Arnold Harberger and Milton Friedman, who were then well-known professors at the University of Chicago), thus submitting the forsaken, unprotected social body to the implacable laws of voracious capitalism. The sinister implications of Chile's military dictatorship cannot be understood without this perverse combination of, on the one hand, state terrorism—with its

physical violence, including persecution, torture, and disappearances, against the bodies of victims—and, on the other hand, the forced imposition of an economic doctrine that enslaved people's mentalities to consumerism through the credit and debt system and its mortgaging of human survival. The efficacy of Chile's conversion into the first neoliberal laboratory in the world was largely due to the political and financial combination of this twofold, all-consuming violence. Neoliberalism turned the "people"—a group of collective aspirations and forces for historical change—into the anonymous "mass," segmented into individual tendencies, tastes, behaviors, and styles; thus, the market-driven depoliticization of the country's citizen's occurred with the passive consent of consumers anesthetized by an infinite array of goods and services promoting the trivialization of everyday life.

The image of the bombing of La Moneda Palace on September 11, 1973, is a potent emblem of the historical catastrophe that rent the country, splitting it in two so that the before and after of the event could never be easily sewn back into some sort of narrative continuity. The photographic sequence in the work of Felipe Rivas San Martín in this exhibition begins with an image of the bombing, replicated to infinity. The same image fills the screens of Chilean television on every commemoration of the coup d'état and aims to communicate the stupefaction that "hit" us on the fatal day when military forces destroyed the government building, a Republican symbol of life under democracy. But as we know, media society's multiplication and circulation of images tends to anesthetize, eroding their potential to sensitize our consciences and awaken a reaction. With saturation having rendered the much-repeated image so familiar, how does Rivas San Martín shake up the historical memory and thus prime the viewer's capacity to react, to *see* the image? He superimposes the cold image of a QR code over the center of the image. This causes a perceptual estrangement in the viewer, distancing them from the image and from the agreed framework of the historical archive of traumatic memory and introducing a

conflict of recognition and legibility in the visual repertoire of the painful memory of the takeover. The QR code pictogram pierces the tragic memory of the dictatorship with its uneasy technical-commercial allusion to the language of the market society dictated by the neoliberal model of the Chicago Boys and imposed by the dictatorship both to aggressively dislocate the textures of experience and feeling that gave the Chilean Left its sense of belonging and, following that, to replace those textures with the dull, flat, inescapable language of commercial management in a society entranced by advertising and marketing.

In the first photographic image of the bombing of La Moneda in Rivas San Martín's series, the QR code links the printed copy of the photograph to Guy Debord's 1973 video *The Society of the Spectacle*, a situationist manifesto and radical critique of the aesthetics of the simulacrum. Debord's video was a warning that, in the world of mass media and leisure industries that create the "society of the spectacle," not even a memory as painful as this one would necessarily escape the commodification of signs that, in the era of cultural capitalism, indiscriminately mix information, propaganda, fashion, advertising, and politics with entertainment. Rivas San Martín's series follows this image with one of the dead body of Salvador Allende in the presidential palace, also from September 11, 1973. The president's martyrdom, held in the Chilean memory as a symbol of the broken utopia of the socialist revolution, is digitally linked to the recording of a poem, "Cadáveres" (Corpses) by Néstor Perlongher (1981), denouncing the horrors of the Argentinian dictatorship from the stance of his political commitment as a gay militant. The third image of the photographic series shows a journalist being arrested on the streets of Santiago on the same day, September 11, 1973, and facing the possibility of physical violence. The code superimposed on the photograph links to a reference to *Your Body Is a Battleground*, a work by the American artist Barbara Kruger, who is known for her typographic subversion of consumer society's messages and patriarchal advertising stereotypes. This third image of the "body as

a battlefield"—with its variations in meaning that layer gender and sex onto the sociopolitical—carries a text describing the workings of the QR code, which calculates "levels of damage resistance" as a guarantee of capitalism's triumphant, traceless, dematerialized efficiency. The explicit image of "levels of damage resistance," superimposed onto the body of a human being cowering before the criminal reality of dictatorship, renders even more tragic the suffering of bodies permanently ravaged by military violence.

The final image in the series by Rivas San Martín shows Pinochet handing over his command to President Patricio Aylwin at the inauguration of the democratic transition in Chile on March 11, 1990. Immediately following the images of human lives suffering the ills of dictatorship—whether fear, persecution, or torture—the fourth image seems to confess that those bodies, already harmed by physical violence, would have to submit to a final form of political and institutional abuse. The broken bodies and identities emerging from dictatorship would then have to watch in horror as the civilian/military pact of a carefully controlled democracy maintains today the text of the constitution as it stood in 1980 when signed by Pinochet; the same constitution whose purpose was to restrict its citizens' social and political rights and withhold the privileges handed down by the dictatorship with its staunch defense of private property and free enterprise.

QR (quick response) code expeditiously serves the contemporary capitalist desire to operationalize all stored data. To superimpose the coldness of a QR code onto images associated with the agitated memory of the dictatorship highlights, for those still shattered by its biographical wounds, the clash between the shock of the hypersensitive narrative of this disturbed memory and the insensitivity of neoliberal language propagated by the slick tongue of the mass media.

The title of Rivas San Martín's work, however, plays with the "QR" abbreviation, perversely deforming or transforming it into "QueeR." Altering the pronunciation of an already blurred and ambiguous term twists the code's function of standardizing information. Rivas San Martín's insinuation of political and sexual wavering is also a challenge to the heroic tradition of the revolutionary left wing ousted during the September 11 coup of 1973. The Left's virile discourse ignored all the ambiguities of sex and gender. The QR code on the final image of Pinochet's transfer of power to Aylwin is linked to a report in *El Mercurio* from 2016, "De Chicago Boy a Chicago Girl: Travestismo y optimismo" (From Chicago boy to Chicago girl: Transvestism and optimism). The report features Deirdre McCloskey, once a professor of economics at the same university where the Chicago Boys studied. The final QR code links a cynical parody of this professor—who on her website defines herself as a "literary, quantitative, postmodern, free-market, progressive-Episcopalian"—to the first official image of the Chilean transition at the opening of the Republican Senate, already "costumed" in news-report Technicolor, in contrast with the dramatic black-and-white of the first three images in the sequence. In case we needed any more proof, this instance of "transvestism and optimism" finally leads us to understand how the political and institutional transition accelerated the political and economic, social and moral conversion from yesterday's history to the market-driven diversity and uncritical pluralism of a present that rewards the neoliberal recycling of identities and transient, inconsistent poses.

Each act of imaging carried out by a new reproductive technology changes the way we perceive an image held in memory as its sources and codes undergo a series of transfers. In the pixelated photographs of the *QueeR Codes* series, image resolution deteriorates in copies of copies, a nod to how the traffic of images alters our historic memory. The photographs in Rivas San Martín's series were endlessly transcribed and processed as they turned from archival copies into archives of memory; however, what truly disrupts the fixed,

contemplative nature of the images in the exhibition room is the mobile interconnectivity of the QR code, which invites the viewer to shift their static, designated position and virtually adventure into a many-faceted journey of dissimilar connections. This encourages historical memory to step out of the emblematic position of ritualized versions of the known past—the past dressed in mourning; the crypt, the dictatorship as a lament; memory as nostalgic self-absorption—and turn its awareness to exteriority and the perverse combination of the dictatorship and the market, with all its near-invisible ramifications.

Redrawing the Memory of Neoliberal Edification

The Pinochet dictatorship consolidated its fearful hold in state-led terrorism and persecution of opponents, combining this with the "shock therapy" of the Chicago University economists. *Shock*: a stunning blow causing sensory disconnection and fracturing individual and community understanding. Shock strategy, recommended by the influential economist Friedman, turned Chile into the first testing field of neoliberalism worldwide. In the exhibition, artist Patrick Hamilton analyzes the archives of this neoliberal edification, which was founded on a text popularly known as "El ladrillo" (The brick), because of its size. The book was a report written by a group of economists who reaped the benefits of an agreement between the Pontificia Universidad Católica (Pontifical Catholic University) in Santiago de Chile and Chicago University. On their return to Chile they provided the military regime with a new economic policy scheme, one that Friedman had based on liberalizing markets and prices, lowering taxes and customs duties, reducing government spending, privatizing state-owned companies, and so on. Hamilton's exhaustive research on Chilean neoliberalism gathers the historical precedents of the formulation of neoliberalism as an economic doctrine and political project. The material in this work, comprising book covers, photographs, and newspaper articles, is distributed into ten

"constellations," small stories that together create a deliberately incomplete, interrupted narrative, parts of which have been cut off so that any linear explanation or argument is thrown off balance and the unevenness and singularity of the details called into relief. Walter Benjamin's constellations are a reference here: a montage of citations that resist being interpreted from a single angle and break the documentary surface of Hamilton's archive into a *poetics of fragmentation* that cracks open the illusion of an absolute foundation laid in place by neoliberal dogma as an unbreakable "block." Open spaces between the materials constituting the archive break up the uniform surface of the table, exhibiting the gaps and the joints in a story of the memory of the introduction of neoliberalism into Chile that attacks the notion of continuity or totality attached to this supposedly indisputable postulate.

Through the cracks in Hamilton's archival constellations we are also able to glimpse the other side of what Pinochet defended as an impulse to modernization—the "neoliberal miracle" that sunk Chile into extreme poverty and unemployment, the memory of which is held in the Programa de Ocupación para Jefes de Hogar (Occupational Program for Heads of Households) and the Programa de Empleo Mínimo (Program for Minimum Employment). These programs gave meager salaries to the unemployed in exchange for scanty occupational tasks designed to disguise the statistics of misery. We also glimpse the popular uprisings organized after 1983 by the rebel settlers in urban territories of self-defense, fenced in by fire and barricades. The act of contrasting these two sides of neoliberalism—the face of entrepreneurial profiting from the strength of the market and the dark side of the lack of social protection as the state was undermined—opens up interstices in meaning between the levels of the installation, where the play of proximity and distance, union and rupture, prevents the narrative from being neatly sutured into a predesigned end. The *Chicago Boys* installation exalts a dialectics of space, where disassociations and contradictions among the levels are brought together and interstitial

areas opened up that refute any attempt at a linear interpretation of an already-completed discursive whole.

Hamilton's work mines the archaeological memory of neoliberalism in Chile, digging into the dictatorial past and calling attention to how it continues to cast its shadows into the global present. Amid the documents Hamilton has gathered is an image from December 2018 in which presidential candidate José Antonio Kant, a member of the Chilean Far Right, presents the Brazilian president and declared admirer of Pinochet, Jair Bolsonaro, a copy of "El ladrillo" as a model for political and economic policy. The weaving of these images, linking yesterday—Pinochet and the Chicago Boys—to today, with Bolsonaro as a Latin American instance of the global resurgence of the Far Right, awakens the capacity of critical memory to identify the subterranean persistence of the dark forces of political and financial domination that leftist thinking had considered exorcised. The rewriting of these forces today uses astonishing, dangerous scripts in unorthodox mixtures of conservatism, neoliberalism, and nationalism.

The items on the table of the *Chicago Boys* installation are colored red, as if to suggest a darkroom or photo lab where sensitive papers are developed, revealed, fixed—as if these sensitive surfaces were holding the moment of a critical revelation or unveiling of Chile's passage from being the Unidad Popular's socialist experiment to the neoliberal counterrevolutionary laboratory of the dictatorship. This was made possible by extreme measures that conditioned the country, bringing political opposition and syndicates to their knees so that no competing influences could hinder Chile's integration into global capitalist hyperdevelopment. But red is not only the color of a dark image waiting to be brought to light. Red's high temperature transmits the heat of energies coming to rescue us from neoliberal domination. In painting his bricks red and black, the colors of anarcho-syndicalism, Hamilton calls up reminiscences of the value of labor and the workforce. The red and black of the memory of syndicalism painted on the bricks is a historical reminder standing in

contrast to the meaning of that object today under neoliberal regulation: bricks no longer symbolize the building of homes for the people but real estate speculation and the precarious work of migrants, indicators of capitalism's need to increase the wealth of those who already hold most of it at the expense of those who continue to be dispossessed by the management of resources through budget cuts and tax concessions.

The lines drawn by the piles of bricks on the table in Hamilton's installation sometimes look like half-built walls. Some of the bricks seem to denote a building in construction—the hegemonic progression of the neoliberal edifice. Others are more reminiscent of tumbledown walls, allegorical vestiges of a ruined totality out of whose remnants arise new forces of opposition and resistance driven by a critical imagining of art and politics. That the layout of Hamilton's work in space refers to Russian constructivism, the avant-garde movement that favored the politicization of art through a materialist revolution in form, is not coincidental. Hamilton uses refractory or firebrick. The name invites us to metaphorically extend this resistant quality of object and language into the work of the *Chicago Boys* installation, which combines digression, resistance, and negativity. The work of memory here redraws the diagram of neoliberal archival material in Chile, with horizontal and vertical lines of broken planes and, particularly, diagonal segments that use obliqueness as a critical resource that knocks programmatic signification out of line.

An Archive in Construction: Latencies and Outbursts of Feminist Memory

In Chile in the 1980s, under the full weight of the military regime, feminist-led women's movements took to the streets, whose space would be a crucial platform for citizen mobilization and the struggle against dictatorship. The contestatory force of these movements not only helped combat the dictatorship but renewed

the socialist debate on the meaning of equality in the reformulating of democracy. The force of the movement dissipated during the transition, whose political and institutional mechanisms diverted the disobedient, protest-driven energies of antidictatorial feminism and integrated them into the normalizing consensus of liberal democracy. The term *feminism* was then blanketed by the official neutrality of *gender*—that is, until May 2018, when groups of female university students took over more than twenty universities throughout the country, challenging all of Chilean society with their shouts of "Down with patriarchy" and "For nonsexist education." After more than thirty years of public silencing, feminism took to the streets, linking *today*—the posttransition—to *yesterday*, to antidictatorship in a disjointed sequence of feminist memory composed of latent energies and spasmodic uprisings.

The year 2011 had already seen the potent Chilean student movement marching through streets with banners demanding "The end of profit" and "No more profit." The slogans were directed against the privatization of education and society as a whole and were an unsettling reminder to a country caught up in the frenetic neoliberal legacy of the dictatorship. The student movement of 2011 had already proclaimed the slogan "Free of charge," thus questioning the supposed common sense of the market economy and consumer society's insistence on profitability. But the word *quality*, echoed in chants of "Free, quality public education," unwittingly served to reinforce the gradual technocratization and commercialization of corporate universities seeking high rankings in marketable knowledge. What, then, did the 2018 feminist protests in Chile do? They substituted the neoliberal ideologeme *quality*—which, having been stripped of all social and political references, is so undefined that it can be broadly applied according to whatever indicators the academic capitalism of the globalized university chooses to apply—with the demand for a "nonsexist education." This requirement is no longer political or administrative

in nature but symbolic and cultural. We see a shift here toward an antipatriarchal critique of university structures and other hierarchies of institutional power. Here, the contracts of knowledge, language, and representation used by the dominant masculine structures to unequally designate value and meaning in public structures and private worlds can be subjected to revision.

The occupation of the Pontificia Universidad Católica in May 2018 was the most emblematic of the university takeovers. The university is one of the most traditional and prestigious in Chile and is ruled by the Vatican. The building is located on Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue, Santiago's principal thoroughfare, popularly known as La Alameda. Down the avenue marched thousands of women, invading the streets—just as feminists in the 1980s had courageously done during the dictatorship—flouting the unspoken rules that codify public spaces as predominantly male spaces. The feminist students redrew not only Santiago's public space but the surfaces of their own bodies, which they divided into visible areas (e.g., naked torsos) and invisible ones (faces covered with balaclavas), following guidelines no longer set by male sexual desire, the tradition of the female nude, or advertising clichés. Performativity here operated on two levels as the insurgent body became a site of public statement. The press archives of the feminist uprising in May 2018 in the hall of *Unfinished Timelines: Chile: First Laboratory of Neoliberalism* exhibit the street performativity of disobedient women's bodies vibrating, in stark contrast to the poster showing the first group of men to be known as "Chicago Boys." In that poster the students confidently display their triumphant, seductive masculinity to the camera, never suspecting that sixty years later a feminist protest would march before the Catholic university where they had studied and later taught, defiantly proclaiming "Patriarchy and neoliberalism: criminal alliance."

Three demands were made in the petition whose acceptance put an end to the university's occupation: first, internal protocols against sexual abuse must be reinforced, penalizing all forms of gender violence. Second, trans students must be given the right to identify themselves with their chosen names (this point, with its transfeminist emphasis on sexual dissidence, is still surprising given the institution's religious moralism and insistence on the "natural sexuality" of original bodies). With their third point, the allegorical occupation of the university truly agitated the unprotesting memory of the transition, again shaking up the guilty past of the civil and military dictatorship. The feminist students thus completed their protest with a highly engaging and symbolic demand, while also denouncing the role played by the university's own Faculty of Economics in the neoliberal indoctrination of Chile.

The feminists articulated their takeover of the university with precision, transversally addressing three kinds of abuse: patriarchal sexual violence against women; forced, heteronormative compliance with the male/female binarism that forbids people from freely reinterpreting their gender; and the neoliberal exploitation that feminizes social inequality, sacrificing women to reduce the production costs of the capitalist machine. The third of the feminist's demands was the regularization of subcontracted female worker's labor conditions and the inclusion of the right to strike in their contracts. Subcontracting, where companies outsource a portion of their services to lower their fixed costs, is one of the ways labor is "flexibilized" and is a cornerstone of the neoliberal endeavor to strip workers of their protection and increase their vulnerability by deliberately increasing precarity. The university's feminist students, who gave their explicit support to the female workers whose cleaning labor was largely invisible, expressed a syndical demand against the flexibilizing of labor. Next to it they hung a poster on the university facade, "The Chicago Boys are shaking, the feminist movement endures." The explicitness of the reference, right on the Alameda, reactivated the public memory

of the Chilean dictatorship's measures for "structural adjustment," which had expanded economic freedoms through the market at the expense of the political, social, and syndical liberties belonging to bodies already damaged by the multiple human rights violations of state terrorism. The feminist occupation of the Pontificia Universidad Católica was thus able to merge its antipatriarchal demands with a broad questioning of the political and economic logic of neoliberalism, relating the *domestic interior* of the institution—the cleaning workers as disposable pieces in the unjust capitalist value system that feminizes poverty—with the *public exterior*, the poster on the facade, covering the market economy's entire chain of (masculine) accumulation and (feminine) dispossession. If what we are looking at here is memory, the memory of the dictatorship and transition, then this poster is a reminder that it is never too late for certain emancipatory drives to send fissures through the block of a neoliberal hegemony that began more than forty years ago in Chile.

One of the slogans of the May 2018 feminist uprising in Chile was "Now is when." *Now* is the time when we can determine to change the rules of the established order with a blueprint of the future that sketches a new regime of possibility. The contingency of this *now* and the uncertainty of the processes and events to which it may give rise are reflected in the precariousness of the press archives in the exhibition hall of *Unfinished Timelines: Chile: First Laboratory of Neoliberalism*. These are unprocessed archives, unlike the works by Hamilton and Rivas San Martín. Given no shape beyond what is needed to register that they occurred, their happening is allowed to vibrate as a passing of multitudinous, flowing energies.

This exhibition re-presents an event in history whose aim is to hold the memory of the dictatorship and transition in a state of *continuous variation*, so that when we read this memory thereafter, from the posttransition, its fissures and interstices can enter into dialogue with the living contingency of a present in a state of alert.

Postscript (November 2019)

The text "Memories of Neoliberalism in Chile: Incomplete Pasts, Presents, and Futures" was written several months ago. Using as my basis art, critical thinking, and the Chilean protest movement, I aimed to revise the understanding of how, over the years of Pinochet's dictatorial rule, Chile was converted into the world's first neoliberal laboratory through the implementation of "shock therapy" against a complicit background of state terrorism—whose aim was to submit the Chilean people to the rules of voracious capitalism, rendering them fearful and obedient to the designs of the market. Chile's transition after 1990 took place under the military and civil alliance of laws inherited from the dictatorship, which sheltered individual and commercial freedoms at the expense of social rights, politically impairing people's own agency for historical transformation. Despite social movements' challenges to the "market society" installed by the dictatorship, the Chilean transition did little to change the dictatorship's rules. In answer to each citizen protest against neoliberal dominance, the Chicago Boys' political, economic, and social model simply rearranged the pieces of its structure. But while malaise and frustration accumulated for years, nothing could have led us to imagine the magnitude and strength of the revolt that broke out in October 2019 as a symptom of the decomposition of the model the business elite hoped to triumphantly export to other regions of the world. In October 2019, crowds shouting "Chile has awoken" and "Enough abuse and privileges" expressed the people's weariness with the neoliberal regime and its violations and humiliations.

The revolt began on Friday, October 18, when high school students at the Instituto Nacional organized a mass fare evasion via WhatsApp. The action consisted in jumping the metro turnstiles in protest of a thirty-peso hike in the fare decreed by the government of Sebastián Piñera. Days after students staged this mass disobedience of control and surveillance systems, over a million and a half people converged on Plaza Italia in Santiago, symbolically

renamed Plaza de la Dignidad (Dignity Square), to protest financial exploitation, restriction of rights, the judiciary system's pacts of silence, racial and gender discrimination, and other ills. The whole of Chile raised its voice after years of censorship, inhibition, and passivity to say, "Stop!" Since that day, a great many bodies and identities have come together in Plaza de la Dignidad to express their creativity (via graffiti, canvases, flags, hymns, choreographies, etc.) and demand a constitutional assembly to put to rest Chile's present hoax of a constitution, the one signed by Pinochet, ex-dictator, in 1980, which imprisoned the people's will to sovereignty behind lock after lock.

An ambiguous mix of languages could be heard at the revolt: party or carnival, when demonstrators danced to the rhythm of "being together"; citizen demands for a minimum wage, pension, health, and education from the impoverished middle class; the language of the lumpenproletariat as the organic residue of peripheral lives expelled from all scales of value; the barricades, whose incendiary motif set the whole of Chile on fire as though fire were the carrier of a righteous or redemptive truth; the body-to-body confrontation of the hooded demonstrators facing repressive forces at the "front line," clothed with the heroism of combat; the hybrid combinations of *anarcho-* and *narco-* in the looting and burning of metro stations and attacks on police barracks; and so on.

Analysis of the confusion of signs that arose in the "social explosion" of October 2019 reveals inevitable clashes between the memory of the atrocities committed by the dictatorial regime, as raised by leftist sensibilities in homage to the victims of human rights violations, and the discourse of "public order" brandished by the Right to criminalize social protest. Strong differences also separate the living forces of the assemblies and open meetings, whose horizontal use of language treats any form of mediation or delegation with mistrust, and the technical approach of parliamentary commissions trying to pave the way for a plebiscite

as the country transitions toward a new constitution. Within the profound temporal dislocation Chile has experienced since October 2019 as a crisis and exception, we do not know or have the means of knowing what the future will hold. One of the questions that arises in this uncertainty is whether the uncontrolled anger of chaotic drives that have managed to burst through the empty formalism of nonparticipatory democracy can be coaxed toward alternatives for change that might undermine or hinder neoliberal hegemony; whether they can turn from pure negativity into transformational innovation. Whatever the outcome—as I return to this text written months ago—the October 2019 uprising in Chile is an exceptionally intense testimony to how the living temporality of a happening—a leap, a discontinuity, a rupture—can erupt when we least expect it, leaving the links between before and after—the past and the future—hanging in dizzying suspense.

Unfinished Timelines (Chile, First Laboratory of Neoliberalism)

Museo Reina Sofía, March 21 - May 24, 2019

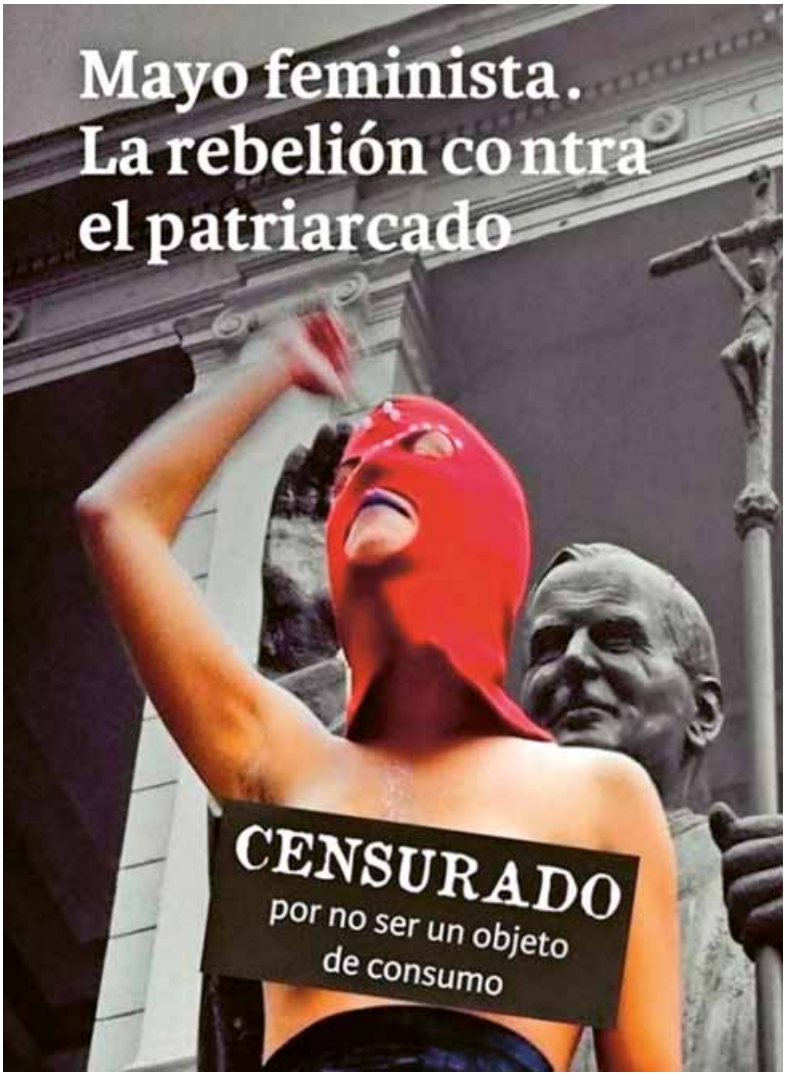
In periods of discontent we tend to look both back and ahead in time in order to decipher whatever it is that was left unresolved in the unfinished past, while also imagining future worlds to be constructed. It's one way of not simply resigning oneself to the idea that the post-historical vision of the neoliberal present leaves every historical conflict resolved. Starting from this premise, the exhibition looks to memory as a crossroads where different temporal vectors converge, creating the potential to critically reassess the Chilean dictatorship and transition from the point of view of its lines of continuity as well as its leaps and disruptions. The exhibition sets up a dialogue between the works of two contemporary Chilean artists (Patrick Hamilton and Felipe Rivas San Martín) and the feminist student uprisings that took place in the country in May 2018. The unexpected point at which the three meet causes a critical rupture that challenges the fixed story of the dictatorship-transition sequence in Chile.

Pp. 24-27
Felipe Rivas San Martín
Levels of Damage Resistance (*QueeR Codes* series), 2013
Digitally manipulated photographs with QR code inserted
(1) Bombardment of La Moneda palace, September 11, 1973
(2) The death of Salvador Allende, September 11, 1973
(3) Detention of a journalist, September 11, 1973
(4) Transfer of the presidential command of Augusto Pinochet to Patricio Aylwin, March 11, 1990

Pp. 28-31
Patrick Hamilton
The Chicago Boy's Project (The Brick), 2018-2019
Installation with files that document the implementation of the neoliberal model in Chile: photocopies, C-type photographic prints, methacrylate, refractory bricks, acrylic paint, MDF boards, and metal base
10 photographic modules of 89 × 84 cm each
Dimensions of the installation: 82 × 610 × 122 cm
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía


TV

The first group of Chilean students to travel to the University of Chicago to study economics under Milton Friedman (1956)

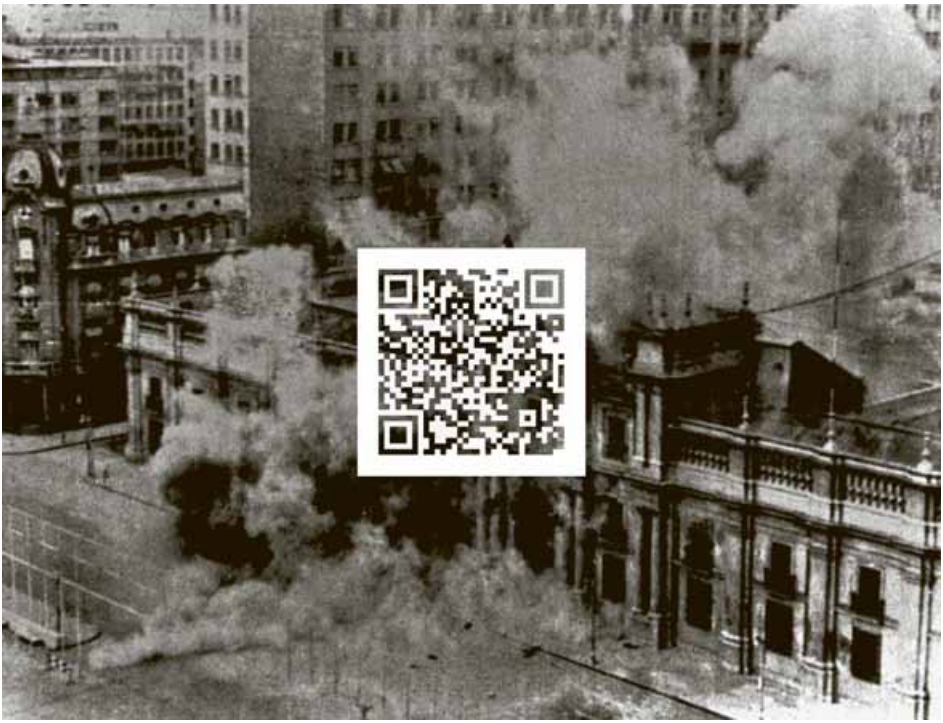


Photograph of the censored cover on Facebook of the book
Mayo feminista: La rebelión contra el patriarcado, 2018

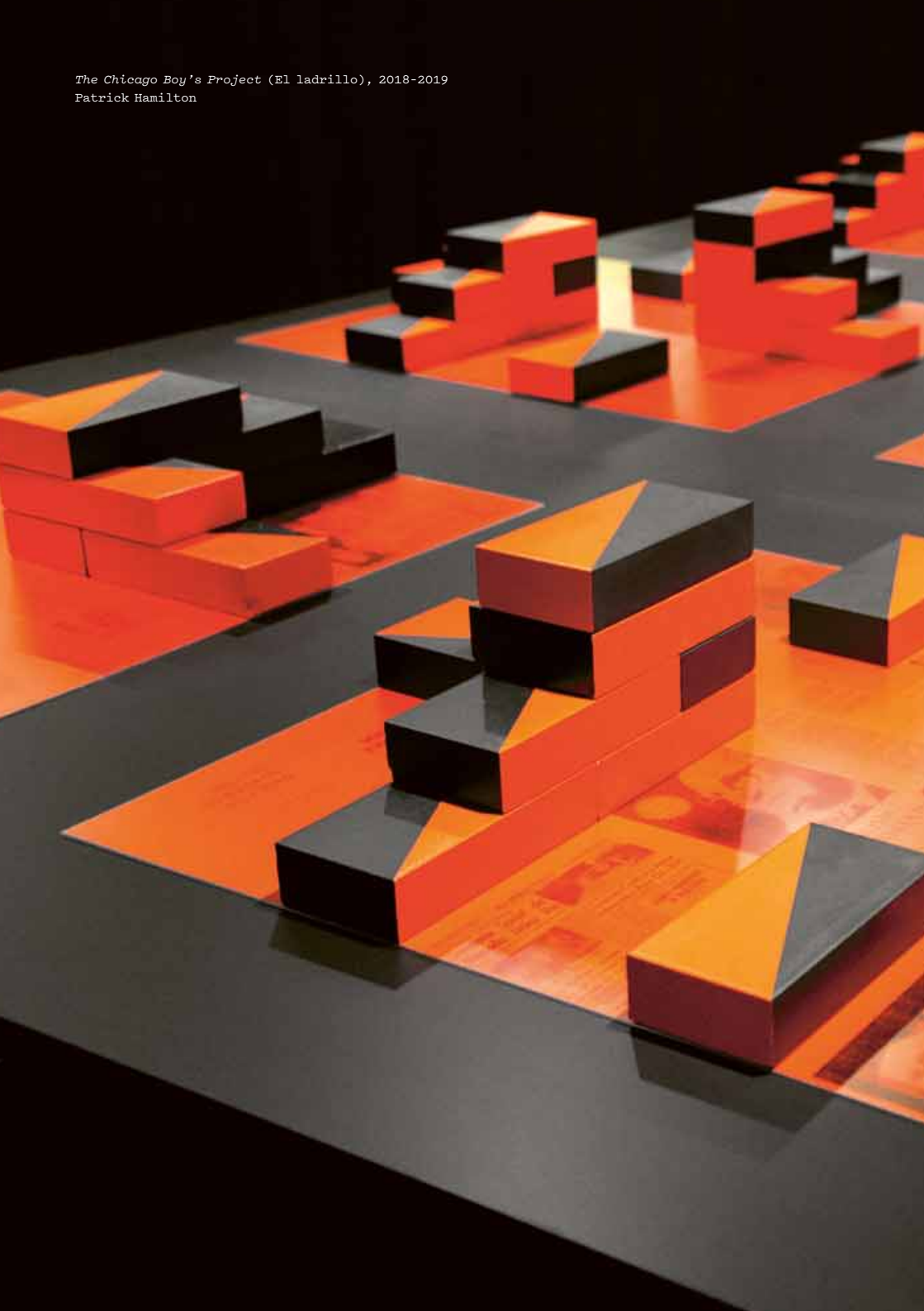
Feminist occupation of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile,
Santiago de Chile, May 16, 2018

Feminist occupation of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile,
Santiago de Chile, May 16, 2018

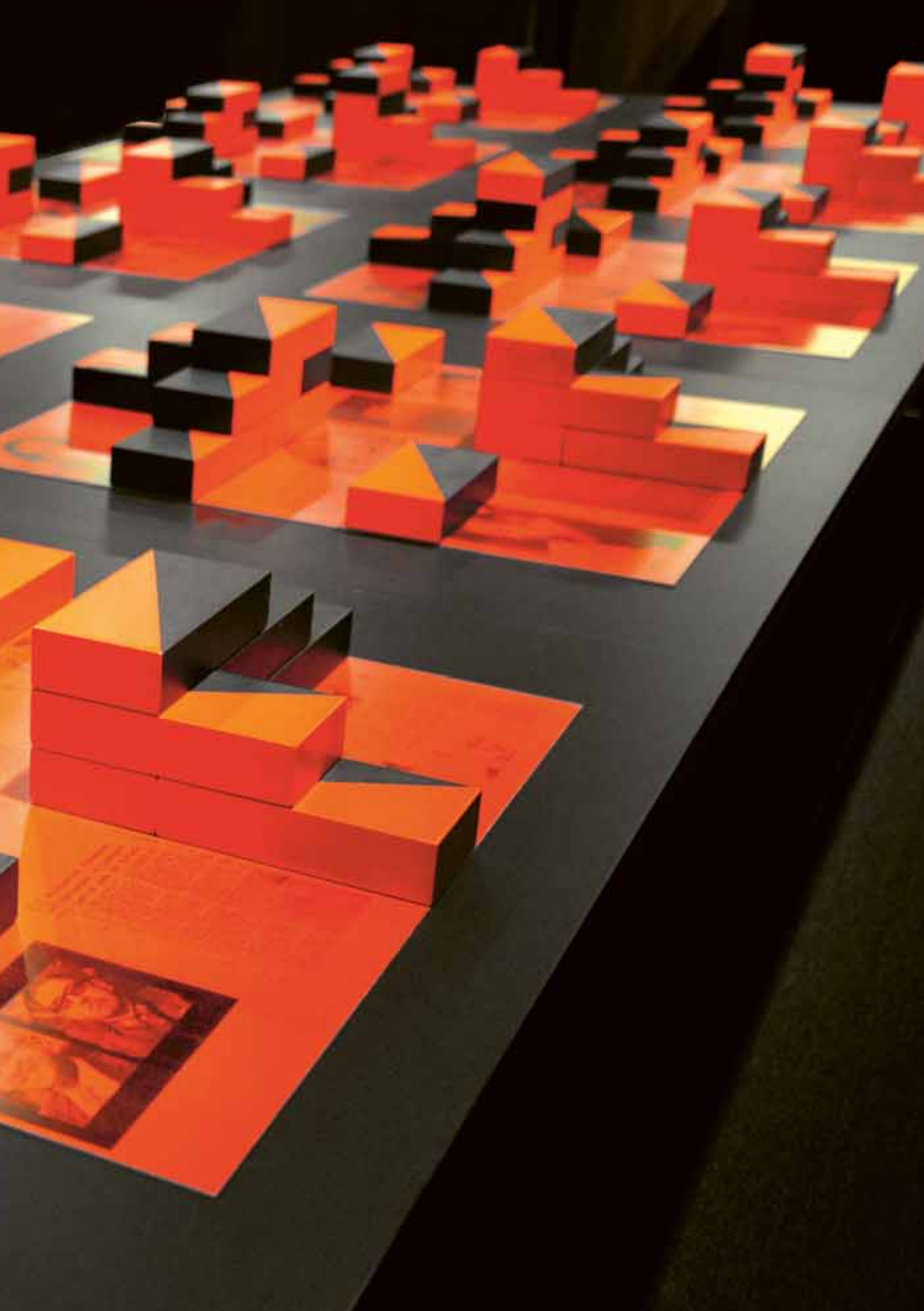
Levels of Damage Resistance (*QueeR Codes* series), 2013
Felipe Rivas San Martín




TV

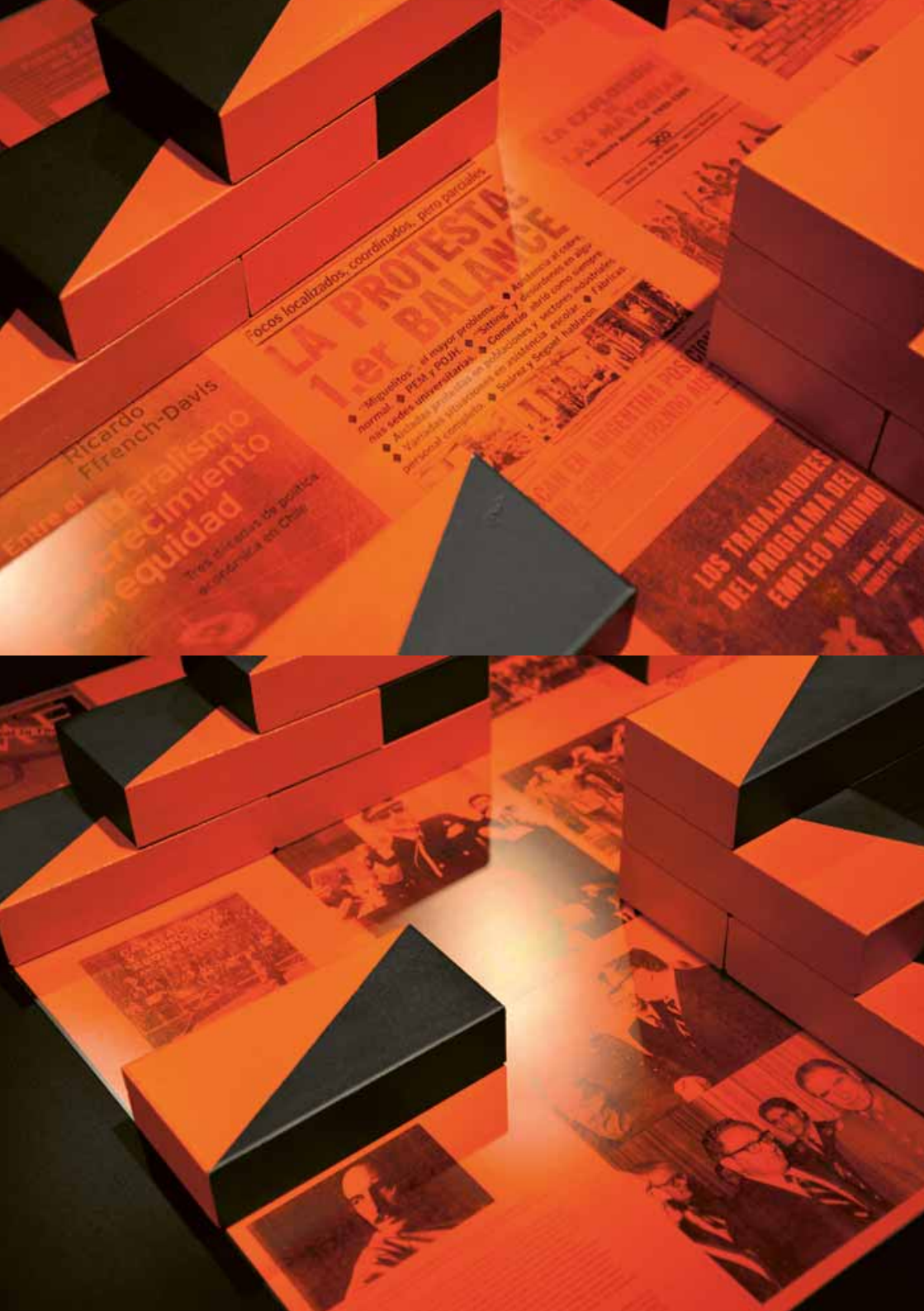


The Chicago Boy's Project (El ladrillo), 2018-2019
Patrick Hamilton



SERGIO DE CASTRO
"EL LADRILLO"

Completa Control a Autos
Internados Bajo D.L. 204
CAPITALISM
AND FREEDOM
Profesores Friedman,
y Langoni


Focos localizados, coordinados, pero parciales
LA PROTESTA:
1.er BALANCE
Ricardo Ffrench-Davis
Entre el neoliberalismo y el crecimiento con equidad
LOS TRABAJADORES DEL PROGRAMA DEL EMPLEO MÍNIMO

Les dones decidim

NOVEMBRE 1986

15 060 Campanya Nº 6

BUTLLETÍ de la COMISSIÓ DE BARCELONA PER AL DRET A L'AVORTAMENT

EDITORIAL

Mentida barroera

Mentre el Ministre de Sanitat, en la presentació del "Decret-Llei sobre l'Acreditació de centres Sanitaris...", afirmava, i repetia, que "cap dona aniria a la presó per avortament", el jutge Carlos del Valle signava l'ordre d'empresonament de tres dones i un metge. Prosegueix, doncs, el joc de despropòsits i barroeries destinades a evitar el reconeixement del dret a l'avortament lliure i gratuït. Un cop més, la demostració és gràfica i contundent, les dones en patim les conseqüències.

El nou Decret-Llei és, abans que res, el reconeixement d'un fracàs. Els 187 avortaments legals practicats en un any d'existència de la llei despenalitzadora deixaven el Govern en ridícul. Però més que al ridícul aquest govern de pocavergonyes temia la pressió de l'opinió pública cada vegada més decantada en favor d'un reconeixement del dret a l'avortament sense limitacions.

Enfront de la política vacil.lant del Gabinet del PSOE, entestada a evitar en tots els casos un reconeixement del dret a l'avortament que l'enfrontés a l'Església, la dreta, la cúpula mèdica i, possiblement, a sectors influents del seu propi Partit, el Moviment Feminista ha mantingut una actitud de defensa invariable del dret de les dones. Ho hem fet amb l'audàcia i la combativitat que el cas requereix. I ara en comencem a recollir els fruits en aquesta evolució de l'opinió de les dones i de l'opinió pública en general.

El govern pretén que el nou reglament canalitzi cap a la medicina privada, fora de la xarxa pública, la demanda d'avortaments. Tanmateix, ara és justament quan més amenaces judicials reben les clíniques privades que s'havien avançat per aquesta via. A Barcelona tanquen prudentment, a València el jutge tanca Aquari, la primera que havia sol.licitat l'acreditació d'acord amb l'antic reglament. A Madrid i a Salamanca i a Málaga hi ha metges empresonats.

La miserable promesa del Govern d'indultar qui sigui víctima dels excessos dels magistrats carques, no és gaire estimulant. Tot plegat augura uns primers passos difícils per al nou reglament i un futur poc brillant per una llei que, digui el que digui el Ministre de Sanitat, segueix considerant l'avortament com un delicte.

Nosaltres, en tot cas, seguirem denunciant aquesta llei i, també, aquest reglament. Denunciant el manteniment de la clàusula de consciència i el negoci que es fa amb els nostres cossos; exigint que l'avortament es faci en la xarxa pública gratuït a decisió de la dona. I, tal com vam fer novament el dia 19 de novembre, seguirem desafiant jutges carques, governants masclistes i atemorits i treballant per sensibilitzar les dones i l'opinió pública en favor d'un dret que cada cop menys ens pot ser escamotejat.

Photographic documentation of one of the abortions carried out in the "V Conferences '10 Years of Struggle of the Feminist Movement'" that appeared in the bulletin of the Barcelona Commission for the Right to Abortion, 1986

Maite Garbayo Maeztu

The Aesthetic Staging of Protest: Bodies, Alignments, and Transmissions

In an exhibition leaflet on Olga L. Pijoan, the poet Carles Hac Mor tells of an unrealized project by the artist that consisted in getting pregnant and then having an abortion.[1] Hac Mor considered the artist "the most conceptual" of the Catalan conceptual artists because she was seldom interested in materializing her own proposals.[2]

Pijoan's action, had it been realized, might have become an emblem of that period's feminist art. She would have carried it out in 1974, the year she abandoned her artistic practice. Francisco Franco had not yet died, censorship was still at work, and abortion was still criminalized. Today, forty-five years later, abortion has still not been decriminalized—it remains a part of the Spanish penal code. Because Pijoan is no longer alive, we have no way of knowing whether she would have documented the action had she carried it out. Nor do we know exactly how she would have done it or in what context. However, what is important to me here is that Olga's projection of her own performance aligns her body with the bodies of the feminists who, immediately after the death of Franco, stormed public spaces with a long list of demands relating to sexual and reproductive rights. In her imaginary performance, Pijoan gives up her body as an invocation of the more than 350 women imprisoned —and still being held in Spanish jails in 1976— for the so-called specific acts of adultery, abortion, and prostitution. The conceptual performance boldly confronted women's right to make decisions about our own bodies, an issue that was soon to become a central focus of public debate.

I wondered whether to include this action in the material I was to analyze for this text. I considered excluding it because it was never realized and because, despite having combed through many texts and documents from the period and interviewing people who were

close to the artist at that time, the only reference I encountered was Hac Mor's text and an interview with the poet himself in which he insists that Olga had mentioned her intention of carrying out the performance.[3]

I want to speak about this project because it materializes a connection between the demands of feminism and certain proposals from the art world, a fairly unusual occurrence for the mid-1970s. By all indications there was little or no relationship at that time between artists and feminism in Spain. The feminist movement was then a street-based, fairly transversal movement that maintained close links to the anti-Franco leftist parties. Artistic practices that showed an interest in new media had a political component to them and an affinity with the Left—and also used the streets and certain available spaces outside the official cultural institutions to present their work—but they were nonetheless a rather exclusive, bourgeois, elite cultural and intellectual space.

Assumpta Bassas explores the relationship between female artists of the Catalan conceptual movement and the feminist movement and notes moments when these came together: a text by Maria Aurèlia Capmany presenting the work of Eulàlia Grau, *Discriminació de la dona* (Discrimination against women), at Galería Ciento in 1980; a film screening organized by La Sal (Salt), a women's collective; and *Fil-sofia: El concepte de fil en la dona artista* (*Fil-sofia*: The concept of the thread in women artists), an exhibition curated by the Italian critic Mirella Bentivoglio at Sala Metrònom, Barcelona, in 1982, with Àngels Ribé and other international artists.[4] These instances followed, by a considerable amount of time, the surge in conceptual practices in the early 1970s.

The art critic Victoria Combalía, an active presence in Catalan conceptual art, has commented on the separation between art and the feminist struggles of that time. Although she was a member, she says, of several feminist groups at the university, the concerns of

those groups were never integrated into specifically artistic spaces. She adds that she attended many of the meetings of the Grup de Treball (Working Group), where political and ideological issues were addressed, but fails to remember discrimination against women or feminism ever being considered.[5] She claims never to have noticed being treated differently on the basis of her gender, but she points out that at meetings, "as always, women spoke less. The men did the talking."[6]

Patricia Mayayo points out that, "although a great many discussions in anti-Franco circles revolved around the relationship between art and politics—particularly around the critical effectiveness or ineffectiveness of certain artistic languages—it does not seem like sexual politics was given much consideration in the narrow idea of the 'political' held by the Marxist intellectuals of the time."[7] Mayayo sees a clear lack of interest in the critique of pop art and critical realism during the years of developmentalism, when the role of women's sexuality and portrayal as consumer objects was brought up but then ignored by the critics. Despite the feminist movement, a gulf seems to have existed between feminist practices and art in both the 1970s and the Spanish series of economic development plans started in the late 1960s. Female artists from the period have also confirmed this.

By placing the focus on abortion rights, however, Pijoan's performance project connects conceptual art practices with the feminist movement of the same period. Abortion was included in what were known as specifically women's crimes, which also included adultery and prostitution. Consequently, one of the feminist movement's first demands, one tightly bound to the struggle for the decriminalization of contraception, was the right to abortion. Olga's action would have meant taking the body that aborts into public space at a time when abortion was a serious crime that exposed a woman to social stigmatization. Several of the female activists I interviewed recalled facing insults and ugly comments when their campaigns for abortion first took them out into the

streets, and they spoke of what it meant to show themselves in cities or villages where they were known. As Lourdes Izurrategi explains, "Going out into the streets with a sticker or placard calling for the right to abort was almost like carrying a dead child in your arms."[8]

Even so, the numbers relating to abortions in the mid-1970s are chilling. As Justa Montero points out, "Three hundred thousand abortions a year, and three thousand women who died: these were the figures given by the Supreme Court in 1974 and were used by feminists to explain the magnitude of the problem. . . . Abortion could mean twelve years imprisonment and was highly risky given that most women were forced to terminate their pregnancies clandestinely."[9]

Alignments

Bodies that abort and bodies that show themselves in the streets to demand the right to do so align themselves with one another, so that Pijoan, by conceiving her action, placed her body alongside others. The presence of these bodies is grounded in vulnerability and in the recognition of their need for others to emerge as political subjectivities. By gathering together they highlight, again, that political space can arise only between people, in the spaces that mediate between my body and other bodies. As Hannah Arendt theorized, gathering together must precede any constitution of the public sphere and is the necessary condition for the occurrence of the political.[10]

Those vulnerable bodies accentuate our permanent bonds to one another and to our own bodies. Josefina Saldaña sees vulnerability as the foremost characteristic of new political subjectivities. Following Judith Butler in *Precarious Life,* Saldaña understands vulnerability as something we share with the other; it opposes liberal law and is necessarily feminist.[11] "A feminist," she writes, "must be vulnerable without being crushed by vulnerability." The feeling of vulnerability, rarely experienced by first-world, privileged subjects, should be used as a "bridge toward the rest of the world,

toward the majority who live in precarity, in their valuable vulnerability."[12]

Saldaña then suggests that vulnerability is a potential of feminist bodies that show themselves and gather together. This idea differs from paternalistic rhetoric and its traditional instrumentalization of women's vulnerability to restrict the presence and circulation of women in public space. During the dictatorship, the production of the female body as fragile, vulnerable, and dependent led to femininity being restricted in its public movements and largely relegated to the private domain. In opposition to this, feminist ideas of vulnerability allow other forms of political subjectivization to emerge, with other ways of displaying our bodies to others and other means of creating networks for group action.

Mobilizations for the right to make decisions about one's body acquired particular relevance in 1976, when eleven women from Basauri were detained, eight of them accused of abortion, one of them for attempting the act, and the last two—a mother and daughter—for having performed or collaborated in carrying out abortions. These arrests became a core issue in the Basque feminist struggle for some years. Shows of solidarity with the accused brought together feminist movements countrywide and gained the support of a part of society. Twenty-seven thousand signatures were collected in support of the cause. Feminists proclaimed themselves guilty with the slogan "I, too, have aborted," again aligning their bodies with one another, placing themselves outside the law and in resistance to the state. Vulnerable bodies appeared, as the subjects of demands closely related to the body, and went out into the streets to display the absence of sexual and reproductive rights for women.

Montero notes that 1,300 women declared their guilt, including artists, journalists, workers, and politicians, who wrote to the press in October 1979 to self-incriminate themselves in protest against the prosecution of the eleven women from Basauri. Accompanying

their text was one signed by men, who declared, "I have collaborated by supplying an address where abortions were carried out."[13] Other cases of women being arrested or reported for abortion occurred in other parts of Spain, the best-known being the Los Naranjos case in Seville.[14]

In 1982, when the Basauri trial was finally due to be held, the feminist movement launched a campaign that again included demonstrations, gatherings, self-incriminations, and lock-ins. One of the most memorable of these was a lock-in at the Bilbao city hall to demand that the trial be suspended. Asun Urbieta, who at the time was a member of the Asamblea de Mujeres de Donostia (San Sebastián Women's Assembly), remembers the lock-in: "We organized a bus and headed to Bilbao, where we were going to lock ourselves into the city hall with everyone else. But on the way there we heard that the women in Bilbao had all been arrested, and so we decided to forget about the city hall and go straight to the police station."[15]

The large number of actions carried out are evidence of a highly active feminist movement that used the body itself to publicly stage demands for the autonomy of women's bodies. More exhaustive research is needed to record and document, where possible, the many street actions of those years. Oral and photographic testimonies, as well as audiovisual materials, could help us to reconstruct how feminists positioned their bodies on the streets. We could then analyze their presence and contemplate aesthetic aspects that might lead us to reconsider these actions as performance.[16]

The commandeering of public and institutional spaces for demonstrations, protests, poster displays, and sit-ins was often repeated in that period. Female protesters on one occasion feigned pregnancy with pillows inside their clothing.[17] A parliamentary debate on legalizing contraceptives was disrupted by a group of feminists who unfurled a giant banner in the Senate.[18]

LES DONES DECIDIM

Comissió de Barcelona pel dret a l'avortament

Barcelona Maig - Juny - 86

LES FEMINISTES PRACTIQUEN A BARCELONA 2 AVORTAMENTS PER A DENUNCIAR LA LLEI DE DESPENALITZACIO.

NOMES SIS HOSPITALS, CAP DE LA SEGURETAT SOCIAL, SEMBLEN DISPOSATS A PRACTICAR AVORTAMENTS A CATALUNYA.

GRUPS DE DONES FAN UNA SENTADA A L'HOSPITAL CLINIC EN DEMANDA DE L'AVORTAMENT LLIURE, GRATUIT I A DECISIO DE LA DONA.

AVORTAMENT LLIURE I GRATUÏT

DONES FEMINISTES ES MANIFESTEN PER DRET A UNA SEXUALITAT LLIURE I PLAENT

MILERS DE DONES DEMANEN EL DRET A L'AVORTAMENT I ES RESPONSABILITZEN DELS AVORTAMENTS FETS A LES LLARS MUNDET.

CONCENTRACIO DAVANT LA DELEGACIO DE L'I.C.S. A SABADELL

Organitzada pel Grup de Dones de Sabadell per a exigir que Carme M.S. pugui avortar en un Centre a càrrec de la Seguretat Social.

TOTES HEM FET ELS 2 AVORTAMENTS DE LES LLARS MUNDET... I EN SEGUIM FENT

GRUPS DE DONES de: Sta. Perpètua; Badalona; Cornellà; Manresa; Igualada; Esplugues; Hospitalet; Sabadell; Masnou; Nova Lloreda, de Badalona; Terrassa; Rubí; Montcada; l'Institut Eugeni d'Ors; l'Institut Verdaguer; l'Institut St. Josep de Calasanç; Bloc feminista de Tarragona; Secretaria de la dona de CC.OO. de Catalunya; Associació Catalana de la Dona; Associació de la dona de St. Feliu; Col·lectiu de dones de Tortosa; Secretaria de la dona de la USTEC; Com. de Tarragona pel dret a l'avortament; Assemblea de dones d'ensenyament; DOAN; Dones de la Universitat Central; Coordinadora de vocalies de Barcelona; Grup de dones de 9 barris; Grup de dones de Poble Sec; Dones de la Verneda; Vocalies de dones de Sarrià; Esquerra de l'Eixample; barri de Navas; Horta; Turó; Clot; Dreta de l'Eixample; Besós; Gràcia; **Dones Llibertàries.**

DONEN SUPORT: LCR, MCC, PCC, CNT, PSAN, MAT, MEN, FAGC, MJCC, JCR, CJC, PSUC.

Poster showing photographic documentation of the presentation of the embryos and the instruments used to carry out the abortions in the "V Conferences '10 Years of Struggle of the Feminist Movement,'" 1986

Poster of the "V Conferences '10 Years of Struggle of the Feminist Movement,'" 1986


9-11-85

SOCIEDAD 15.060 EL PAIS, sáb

Imágenes de uno de los abortos practicados en las jornadas feministas, mostradas en la exhibición de ayer

Las mujeres no piensan entregar la cinta al juez que investiga el caso

Las feministas muestran el vídeo de uno de los abortos practicados en Barcelona

BLANCA CIA, Barcelona

El vídeo de uno de los dos abortos practicados el pasado sábado en los locales de los Hogares Mundet, de Barcelona, durante las III Jornadas Feministas Estatales, fue exhibido ayer en los locales de la Federación de Asociaciones de Vecinos de Barcelona (FAVB). El mismo pase de la grabación, ya exhibida en las citadas jornadas, fue decidido por representantes de 54 grupos feministas para mostrar la veracidad de la realización de los abortos, según afirmó una de ellas.

"Volvemos a mostrar las imágenes de las intervenciones para salir al paso de las tergiversaciones sobre la realidad de lo ocurrido el pasado sábado en los Hogares Mundet", señaló una representante del movimiento feminista. En las imágenes, que ocuparon 65 segundos, se ve la entrada a los citados locales y posteriormente una camilla y parte de la intervención. Las 30 mujeres congregadas ayer tarde en una sala de reducidas dimensiones aplaudieron al final de la proyección, y solicitaron el aborto libre y gratuito.

"La segunda exhibición de estas imágenes no tiene nada que ver con la investigación policial de los hechos, simplemente responde a la realidad de la necesidad de un aborto libre", puntualizó una de las asistentes. La intervención muestra, según las feministas, lo que muchas mujeres se ven obligadas a hacer en el extranjero. "La decisión tomada el pasado sábado", explicó una de las asistentes, "no es importante por el hecho de realizarse dos abortos, sino por el significado que le queríamos dar: manifestar nuestra posición ante una necesidad social". Asimismo, afirmaron que el método utilizado no requiere especialistas, tan sólo personas que conozcan el sistema de la aspiración.

Este colectivo no desea que la investigación judicial se archive, posibilidad que el juez instructor, Benito Recuero Saldaña, apuntó como probable en caso de no encontrar pruebas. Expertos de una de las asistentes a la reunión de ayer, es difícil que el juez disponga del vídeo exhibido, "puesto que somos un colectivo de 3.000 mujeres y la cinta la puede tener cualquiera de nosotras". La cinta está reproducida en otras copias.

Escalada antiabortista. Miembros de la Asociación Jóvenes Pro Vida y de la Coordinadora de Estudiantes Pro Vida escalaron ayer una fachada de la facultad de Ciencias Biológicas de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid para dejar constancia de su protesta por los dos abortos realizados la pasada semana en Barcelona en un congreso feminista, con los que denunciaban la actual ley de despenalización de la interrupción voluntaria del embarazo.

"Patar no es progresismo"

"Feminists show the video of one of the abortions practiced in Barcelona," *El País*, November 9, 1985

In the face of legal and social persecution of the voluntary interruption of pregnancy, feminist groups held intense discussions about the possibility of performing abortions in spaces of their own, an important practice in Italian feminism. According to Begoña Zabala, the possibility was eventually rejected for fear of the movement being caught up in a spiral of endless legal persecution.[19]

The intense campaign for the decriminalization of abortion began to be covered by the media and thus made its presence felt in public opinion. In February 1983, as part of a symbolic action, the Comisión por Derecho al Aborto (State Commission for the Right to Abort), an offshoot of the Coordinadora Estatal de Organizaciones Feministas (State Coordination of Feminist Organizations), submitted a text to the Palacio de la Moncloa government headquarters demanding an urgent reformation of the penal code and criticizing the government's existing project to reform the law by decriminalizing abortion only in three cases: danger to a woman's life, the risk of a malformed fetus, and rape. Changing the laws in this way would continue to condemn the thousands of women unable to prove that their pregnancies met any of these categories, thus limiting them to illegal acts, clandestine abortions, or travel outside the country to terminate their pregnancies. The new law was passed in 1985 and continued in force until 2010. Under it, abortion was still not decriminalized—it remained on the penal code—and women's right to make decisions about their own bodies was not supported, leaving them exposed to continued state and legal regulation.

To protest the new law's inadequacy, in 1985 at Llars Mundet in Barcelona during the II Jornades Catalanes de la Dona "10 años de Lucha" (2nd Catalonian Women's Talks 'Ten years of struggle'), feminists announced and then carried out two clandestine abortions in the space where the talks were held.[20] This performance was a move that seized back women's control over their own bodies from the state; in the act of doing so, a vulnerable body, a body in resistance, emerged. Women (gynecologists,

lawyers, activists, women wanting to abort) again aligned with one another to defy the law passed by the new (supposedly progressive) government led by the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE). Many of the feminist activists who were interviewed remember the impact the act had on them; some even proposed it to other groups upon returning to their own cities. The Asamblea de Mujeres de Álava (Álava Women's Assembly) called a press conference, supported by a psychologist and a lawyer, to announce that they would be carrying out abortions at their headquarters because of the "insufficiency" of the law on abortion passed by the PSOE-led goverment that year.[21]

Staging

The feminist protests at Llars Mundet set up an entire representational apparatus around the abortions to show that they actually took place. One was documented on video, and in the days after the event evidence of it was exhibited around Barcelona. Immediately after the abortions were performed, a press conference was held in which the embryos were also exhibited in two plastic bottles, together with the gynecological equipment used for the procedure.[22] I have called the Llars Mundet abortions "performances" not only because they served to materialize women's right to make decisions about their own bodies but because the documentary evidence exhibited was also aesthetic in nature and has important similarities with how performances are presented in art.

News of the abortions spread rapidly and added fire to the abortion debate: antichoice groups marched in the streets, and the feminists were also criticized by sectors of the Left and even by other feminists—Lidia Falcón wrote a strongly critical text in *El País*—and a judge initiated legal proceedings against them. The more than three thousand women who had taken part in the talks stood together by self-incriminating themselves for the abortions. When the judge presiding over the case proposed to close it, alleging it was impossible to prove the abortions had actually occurred (the

embryos and gynecological equipment being too hard to locate), the feminists responded by again publicly screening the video of one of the acts. An article published on November 8, 1985, in *El Periódico*, "Las feministas enseñan otra vez el vídeo de los abortos" (Feminists rescreen the abortion video), reports, "Facing the possibility that the judge presiding in the case may decide to close it, having concluded that it was nothing more than a publicity stunt, the women of the pro-abortion campaign decided to rescreen video evidence of the event."

Qualifying the abortions as a "publicity stunt" carries them into the realm of performance, as does an article from November 6, 1985, in *El País*, "Las dos caras del escándalo" (The two sides of the scandal): "What we are seeing here is the political staging of a protest—which we cannot claim to be in good taste." The various arguments agree on the aesthetic dimension of the abortions, which are said to be in bad taste. I am told that the video (which I have spent months unsuccessfully trying to locate) shows a close-up of the suction apparatus being introduced into the vagina. I imagine the image to be a sort of postpornographic take using close-ups and hyperreality as critical resources, ironizing the notions of objectivity and distancing. Seen as performances, these abortions are an aesthetic staging of a protest: they actualize women's demands to make decisions about their own bodies as a concern running through and centralizing the struggles of the feminist movement in Spain from its beginnings until now.

The Llars Mundet abortion performances materialized Pijoan's unconcluded proposal, linking the artist with the feminist activists and with all those bodies that presented themselves and continue to insist on their own presence in the demand for women's right to decide. In 1999, after a failed referendum on improving abortion laws in Portugal and the conditions to which women were subjected during an abortion, Paula Rego painted a series of women having clandestine abortions. "My intention is to show compassion for those suffering women and to tell them I am on their side."[23]

Rego portrays abortion as a right belonging to women and aligns herself with them in the act of painting them, against laws that have condemned them to clandestinity. The women's bodies shown in Rego's paintings are strong and determined, and many of them stare out at us from the image. Theirs are vulnerable bodies that feel pain and are possibly in danger, but they are defiant and resist because their vulnerability enables them to help and encourage others.

Bodies are vulnerable simply because of being bodies. But when they step outside the law or prevailing norms in the act of presenting themselves to others, as is the case of women who abort and feminists who self-incriminate, they are exposed to state and social violence. Some women who aborted were arrested, and many of the demonstrations, sit-ins, and other protests for the right to decide were punished by police violence. Some women were also arrested after making courtroom declarations that they were abortionists.

Judith Butler sees vulnerability as highlighting the relational nature of our existence and the fact that we are always bound to one another. Following Gilles Deleuze, she reminds us that what one does is to "open onto the body of another, or a set of bodies, and for this reason bodies are not self-enclosed." The body is thus "a point of transfer (and transitivity) in which your history becomes mine, or where your history passes through mine."[24]

I think of Pijoan's performance, of how it calls into view the aborting body, and with it all the bodies that come into appearance to demand that women have the right to decide. I think of the performances at Llars Mundet. Bodies calling one another to meet, bodies overlapping one another, crossing through one another, giving themselves in order to call other bodies into appearance. An intersubjective practice is brought into play requiring one woman to put herself in another's place. This is a form of complex subjectivization based on the superimposition of memories, affect, and identities; a kind of feminist presence grounded in commonality, one that challenges the liberal

concept of free, autonomous individuality handed down by the European Enlightenment.[25]

A photograph by Pilar Aymerich shows a group of feminists at a 1977 demonstration in Barcelona. They bear a banner that reads, "Woman, it is you I love and you I fight for." The image captures the beginnings of the feminist movement in Catalonia and here becomes an image of bodies aligning with others, emphasizing the intersubjective nature of the protest's staging. The women who appear here propose feminist forms of political subjectivization grounded in love, and these point to other potentially political spaces not guided by promises of victory, success, or action.

The vulnerability of these bodies as they exhibit themselves differs from the hegemonic model that presents the body as a complete, seamless unit, safe and comfortable in its chosen setting. These vulnerable bodies remind us that we are permanently bound to one another and to our own bodies. Isabell Lorey goes beyond Butler in highlighting the impossibility of the individual, autonomous life. Life is precarious and depends upon caring and the work of reproduction that falls principally to women.[26] Thus, when the women present their bodies, they also shout, "We give birth—we decide," and reclaim their right to manage their reproductive lives.

Protests

I have written before about how certain artists in the late years of Franco's rule staged performances in which the vulnerability of the body on view aimed to reshape the ways in which we show ourselves to others.[27] Those bodies were presented as incomplete, fragmented, absent, changing, open to transformation, and they challenge the concept of the subject as a utopian, complete, fleshless being. I have situated these bodies and their forms of presentation alongside the feminist bodies that took to the streets after Franco's death. Although little relation can be traced between the art context and feminist activism at the time, these bodies align

with one another just as Pijoan aligns with the feminists performing their two abortions at Llars Mundet.

The simultaneous emergence of these bodies in public space and their proposal of other forms of appearance is no coincidence; it relates to the years of economic developmentalism in Spain, the country's opening up to the outside, and the burgeoning of activism opposing the regime. But it also relates to Spain's adoption of a sort of globalized protoneoliberalism, involving new ways of managing bodies—ways defined by Michel Foucault as biopolitics: that is, political technologies of the body that situate the female body as a privileged site of action, because controlling women's bodies and sexuality is essential for guaranteeing the nation's biological and symbolic reproduction.[28] These new technologies of control are then bodily confronted by a search for new forms of appearance that will differ from traditional (masculine) modes of seizing presence and political subjectivization. Most of the women in the Spanish feminist movement were simultaneously active in left-wing, Marxist-oriented parties that favored traditional forms of militancy. However, feminism managed to propose new political subjectivities that challenged the idea of presence as clear, invulnerable, and seamless and tested strategies characterized by vulnerability and the awareness of mutual necessity.

I have analyzed in other texts how artists such as Fina Miralles and Pijoan present their own bodies using absence—as opposed to the modern requirements of presence and clarity.[29] Instead of staring directly at us, they show their profiles—in strategies or ruses we associate with the weak—and their works suggest ambiguous forms of presence that play with absence and concealment.[30]

In Barcelona in 1973, as the dictatorship was nearing its end, Pijoan presented her action *Herba* (Grass) in which she performed her own body in the act of disappearing. She first stood in front of a wall and photographed her (present) body; then she documented her absence in a silhouette on the wall, a remnant of the act. The silhouette is an

Pilar Aymerich
Dona, es a tu qui estimem, 1977
Black-and-white photograph
30 x 40 cm
Artist's Collection

Fina Miralles
El cos cobert de pedres, 1974,
from *Relació del cos amb elements naturals* series
Black-and-white photograph documenting the action
18 x 16 cm
Colección Museu d'Art de Sabadell

image of disappearance, a figure of incompletion, and a reminder of the body's fragmentary nature. Pijoan's action calls up a form of subjectivity that challenges the rationalistic idea of a single, complete, whole subject and introduces the notion of a faulty subject, perforated by the knowledge of her own vulnerability and aware of her own immanent disappearance. Amelia Jones, in her analysis of Ana Mendieta's *Siluetas* (Silhouettes; 1973–1980), focuses on how Mendieta's body gradually disappears. She points out that Mendieta's works are "deeply disruptive to modernism's desire for presence and transparency of meaning."[31]

The subjectivization of the female body is played out and negotiated in this dialectical movement between presence and absence. *Herba* reveals a precariousness inherent to the presence of the female body—as if this presence were never quite guaranteed and there was a constant tension between the will to appear and the desire to conceal oneself, to disappear, or to go somewhere else. Consider also Miralles's series *Relacions del cos amb els elements naturals* (The body's relationship to natural things; 1975) in which the artist gradually covered her body with items from nature until it was completely concealed in the landscape. This desire to conceal oneself, to cover the body until it disappears, pinpoints the dilemmas of women's presence in public space. There is something precarious in the way these bodies come into view and claim their presence outside the private sphere. Disappearance becomes a manner of resolving this dilemma. If presence is the guarantee of viability in public space and signifies the possibility of political agency, then absence might be a way of imagining discordant means of subjectivization that could jeopardize this notion of presence as wholeness and the possibility of political representation.

A body covered by stones, sand, or earth makes a mound. Miralles lay hidden under hers. The mound conceals the body but still hints at its form and contour and signals the presence of a mass, of matter: it certifies that the body occupies a place. This is an other

place: the body has taken itself to that place and situated itself outside the visible. Disappearance—the transference to that place beyond, the place to which a tumulus carries us—is easily identified with burial and death.

This is a body that knows her own vulnerability and understands the precariousness of becoming present to others. Miralles's is a disappearing body that covers itself and hides from our gaze. It knows the violence a female body is exposed to in the act of appearing and being seen. A subject who knows her own vulnerability also knows she can disappear, and so she calls up other, already disappeared bodies and others that will disappear in the future. Like the feminists who take to the streets every time a woman suffers violence, is murdered, or disappears, the artist gives her body to call up others and embody them. The alignment of these bodies brings about superimpositions and transferences of presences that call to mind subjects crossed by many histories, subjects who depend on many other bodies—rather than whole, autonomous subjects. All of these bodies understand their own vulnerability because they have been assaulted by fear, have had their movements restricted, or have been threatened by violence.

Effects of Transmission

These are the bodies who call to us, situate us, urge us to appear with one another: Olga's body during Francoism, as she planned her abortion to reveal the total absence of women's rights over their own bodies; and the bodies who carried out the abortions in Llars Mundet, throwing into relief the Transition's early fault lines and continuity with the past.

These are the bodies that call us to occupy the streets, hold tight to spaces where we can come into view, and comprehend the importance of being present. Their appearance during the Transition performed the appropriation of common space while proposing a change of meaning in that space; it was a full-bodied response to dictatorial efforts to keep women out of public space.

Francoism suspended everything the Second Republic had managed to achieve: the Republican civil code was abolished in 1938 and the 1889 code reintroduced. Civil marriage, divorce, abortion, desertion, cohabitation, and contraception were all prohibited.[32] The "new" code delayed women's age of consent to twenty-five and forced them to obey their husbands and to take up the male spouse's nationality and place of residence. Women were prevented from purchasing or administering goods without their husbands' consent.[33] A 1944 statutory order decreed that any married woman seeking to work must have her husband's consent.

Ana Miñarro and Teresa Morandi, who have studied the transgenerational effects of the violence of the Spanish Civil War and subsequent dictatorship, note that the use of sexual violence as torture was a constant feature of the Franco regime and has not yet been quantified by human rights organizations; thus, the violence and pain it caused have never been recognized or repaired.[34] The authors also point out that trauma, especially when it is silenced for decades as is the case in Spain with the Franco era and the violence of war, "enters into the members of the following generation as something that hurts and will not go away."[35]

The appearance of the feminists' bodies in the streets after Franco's death and the activist appropriation of public space inaugurated and allowed a new kind of bodily presence. Occupying the streets was important not only for the feminist struggle and the voicing of its demands but because bodily presence in public space meant breaking silences and the traditional division between public and private spaces. The feminist movement during the Transition proposed a new corporal model that directly addressed women's subjectivities and right to make decisions about their own bodies.

The fact of these bodies' appearing was important not only to manifest the misogyny of the legislation and propose new laws but because the presence of the bodily protest in public space

performed a radical rupture with Francoism in a country whose Transition hindered this. Perhaps for this reason, the historiography of the Transition has kept a distinct silence around gender issues. As Martínez Ten indicates, there is "a sensation that although women appear in the big picture of the Transition, they do not show up in it."[36]

Although the feminist movement was crucial in placing women's rights at the center of the public realm and paving the way to a more democratic society, the media contributed in generating a negative public image of feminist activists. They were treated as radical extremists, a danger to the collective democratization that would supposedly be based on consensus. Pamela Beth Radcliff tells how feminist protests were often juxtaposed with "the civilized manners of members of parliament" and portrayed as "provoking a new split in Spanish society," "just when Spaniards were trying to leave the Civil War behind."[37]

The feminist movement enacted the deepest of ruptures with the Francoist dictatorship not only because of the nature of the movement's demands but because of its staging of new modes of bodily presence and its forms of political action that transcended the habitual left-wing forms of activism from the same period. In both form and content, feminist protests and their means of enactment set a precedent for today. They have become a model for many ongoing struggles and continue to inspire us. This reading of the feminist movement during the Transition may help us to understand current feminisms as radical languages of rupture and protest that avoid the reactionary notion of consensus and renew themselves with the struggles and multiform realities of the feminists. It may also help us to situate legal advances regarding our rights to our own bodies, advances we have directly inherited from the feminist struggles of the 1970s and 1980s.

If, as Miñarro and Morandi claim, trauma is carried through generations and actualized and repeated in other bodies, then we, as

the direct descendants of our grandmothers' and great grandmothers' traumas, are responsible for materializing and actualizing the feminist performances of protests that our mothers brought into being.

Perhaps, when Pijoan disappeared, she was referring to and calling up the bodies of those who disappeared with no trace in a country full of graves in which, paradoxically, "the disappeared" have never entered the common vocabulary. Perhaps because of this, the bodies who aborted at Llars Mundet referred to those whose lack of rights forced them into clandestine operations. And then I think of Fina, burying herself in sand, stones, and earth . . . To cite is to call a body or bodies into appearance, to bring the trauma back into the present and soothe the absence or still-present lack: "To speak and write about the trauma caused by the horror of social catastrophe is an attempt to cause an effect of transmission: to warn and prevent the repetition of any tragedy."[38]

As we face new offensives against our sexual and reproductive rights, we should remember that we are the inheritors of the feminist, anti-Franco struggles and situate ourselves as part of that lineage, as part of a memory activated by the force of transmission, so that through this effect of transmission, by aligning our bodies with those of others, we may reestablish and renew the political staging of protest, over and over again.[39]

1. Olga L. Pijoan (b. Tàrrega, Lleida, 1952; d. San Rafael del Sur, Nicaragua, 1997) was an active presence in Catalan conceptual art from 1972 to 1974, after which her name disappeared from exhibitions and artistic encounters. Despite the brevity of her career, she created performances that are highly relevant when reconsidering the presence of the female body in public space. Her distancing from the art world coincided with her separation from fellow artist Carlos Pazos and an accident suffered by her mother, whom Pijoan was then obliged care for. Until now, the story of her career has ignored the difficulties she surely would have encountered as a woman artist from a nonbourgeois family. Pijoan died in Nicaragua in 1997, where she taught drawing and painting to children.
2. Carles Hac Mor, "Una epifania llegendària de l'art i del no-art," *Olga L. Pijoan: Fragments d'un puzzle* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Cataluña, 1999), 10.
3. Carles Hac Mor, interview, S'Agaró, Girona, 2012.
4. Assumpta Bassas Vila, "Feminismo y arte en Cataluña en las décadas de los sesenta y setenta: Escenas abiertas y esferas de reflexión," in *Genealogías feministas en el arte español: 1960–2000* (Madrid: The Side Up, 2013), 213–36.

5. The Grup de Treball was a Catalan conceptual art group, most of whose members sympathized with the militant anti-Franco left wing and understood art to be a material process embedded in a production process. The group was active for around three years and wrote three texts reflecting on new practices and their relationship to politics. It brought together twenty people, five of whom were women. Antoni Mercader, interview, Barcelona, 2012.
6. Victoria Combalía, interview, Barcelona, 2011.
7. Patricia Mayayo, "Imaginando nuevas genealogías: Una mirada feminista a la historiografía del arte español contemporáneo," in *Genealogías feministas en el arte español*, 23.
8. Lourdes Izurrategi, interview, Vitoria, 2012. Izurrategi was a militant in the Asamblea de Mujeres de Álava and Coordinadora estatal de Organizaciones Feministas.
9. Justa Montero, "Las aspiraciones del movimiento feminista y la transición política," in *El movimiento feminista en España en los años 70*, ed. Carmen Martínez Ten, Purificación Gutiérrez López, and Pilar González Ruiz (Madrid: Fundación Pablo Iglesias, Cátedra, 2009), 287.
10. Hannah Arendt, *La condición humana* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2009), 222.
11. Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (New York: Verso, 2004).
12. Josefina Saldaña, "La plaza como práctica citacional," *Debate feminista* 46 (2012): 19–20.
13. Montero, "Las aspiraciones del movimiento feminista y la transición política," 291.
14. In October 1980, the workers of the family planning center in Seville were arrested and accused of performing abortions. The center's clinical histories were seized, and 140 women who had apparently had their abortions there were summoned to declare. One thousand, five hundred self-incriminating signatures were collected, along with twenty-eight thousand others demanding that abortion be legalized. In 1981 the first Jornadas Feministas Internacionales por la legalización del aborto (International Feminist Talks for the Legalization of Abortion) were held in Seville. Ibid., 293.
15. Asun Urbieta, interview, Donostia/San Sebastián, 2012.
16. I think, for instance, of how important it was for the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo to present their bodies publicly, aligned and vulnerable with the disappearance of their sons and daughters. Their choreographed circling of the plaza's central obelisk, their emblematic scarves, their images of their sons and daughters, and the occasional silhouettes of disappeared bodies form a body of signs that identify the Mothers in Argentina and elsewhere.
17. Vicenta Verdugo Martí, "Desmontando el patriarcado: Prácticas políticas y lemas del movimiento feminista español en la transición democrática," *Feminismo/s*, no. 16 (2010): 265.
18. Montero, "Las aspiraciones del movimiento feminista y la transición política," 285.
19. Begoña Zabala, *Movimiento de mujeres: Mujeres en movimiento* (Tafalla, Spain: Txalaparta, 2009), 106.
20. Installations first opened in 1957 for children, orphans, and the elderly with illnesses or special needs.
21. "La Asamblea de Mujeres podría practicar abortos," *El Correo*, 16 November 1985.
22. Interview (Barcelona, 2019) with two of the feminists who organized the talks and were members of the Comissió de Barcelona pel dret a l'avortament (Barcelona Commission for the Right to Abort) and had attended the press conference.
23. Javier García, "Paula Rego denuncia el horror del aborto clandestino en Portugal," *El País*, June 10, 1999. Western art history has seldom dared to address the theme of abortion, doubtlessly because of the widespread view that the subject is taboo. Unlike López Pijoan and Rego, who insist on women's right to decide, most mentions of the topic of interrupted

pregnancy deal only with miscarriages. Among other works, see Frida Kahlo, *Henry Ford Hospital* (1932) and *Frida y el aborto* (Frida and the Abortion, 1932); Pola Weiss, *Mi corazón* (My Heart, 1986); Tracey Emin, *Terrible Wrong* (1997); and Paula Bonet, *Cuerpo de embarazada sin embrión: historia de dos abortos* (Pregnant body without embryo: Story of two abortions, 2018).
24. Judith Butler, "Bodily Vulnerability, Coalitions, and Street Politics," *Critical Studies* 37 (September 2014). See also Gilles Deleuze, *Expressionism in Philosophy: Spinoza* (New York: Zone Books, 1990), 89–217.
25. I will not address this question in detail here but will note that the same individualistic concept of the subject has predominated in white liberal feminism and its premises contested by certain Western feminisms of sexual difference, as well as by decolonized and postcolonial feminisms. See Soledad Barea and Sofía Zaragocin, *Feminismo y buen vivir: Utopías decoloniales* (Universidad de Cuenca, 2017); Marisa Belausteguigoitia Rius and Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *Des/posesión: Género, territorio y luchas por la autodeterminación* (Mexico City: PUEG-UNAM, 2015); and Karina Bidaseca and Vanesa Vázquez Laba, *Feminismos y poscolonialidad: Descolonizando el feminismo desde y en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Godot, 2011).
26. Isabell Lorey, *Estado de inseguridad: Gobernar la precariedad* (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2016), 33.
27. Maite Garbayo Maeztu, *Cuerpos que aparecen: Performance y feminismos en el tardofranquismo* (Bilbao: Consonni, 2016); and Maite Garbayo Maeztu, "Hacer aparecer lo que desaparece," *Campo de Relámpagos*, July 21, 2018.
28. Foucault himself used Franco's death in Spain as an example of a paradox and a collision between two regimes of power: the old right to sovereignty, in which the sovereign can decide to kill or allow to live, and the new biopower of discipline and regulation, which makes us live and leaves us to die. Michel Foucault, *Defender la sociedad: Curso en el Collège de France (1975–1976)* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000), 225.
29. Garbayo Maeztu, *Cuerpos que aparecen*; and Garbayo Maeztu, "Hacer aparecer lo que desaparece."
30. Josefina Ludmer, "Tretas del débil," in *La sartén por el mango: Encuentro de escritoras latinoamericanas*, ed. Patricia E. González and Eliana Ortega (Río Piedras, PR: Ediciones Huracán, 1985).
31. Amelia Jones, *Body Art: Performing the Subject* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 26.
32. Ana Isabel Simon Alegre, "Discurso de género en la doctrina de la Falange y su vigencia en los primeros años de la Transición," in *Actes del Congrés la transició de la dictadura franquista a la democràcia* (Barcelona, 2005), 233–41.
33. Pilar Toboso, "Las mujeres en la transición: Una perspectiva histórica: Antecedentes y retos," in *El movimiento feminista en España en los años 70*, 74.
34. Anna Miñarro and Teresa Morandi, *Trauma y transmisión: Efectos de la guerra del 36, la posguerra, la dictadura y la transición en la subjetividad de los ciudadanos* (Barcelona: Fundació Congrés Català de Salut Mental, Red Ediciones, 2014), 101.
35. Ibid., 103.
36. Martínez Ten, Gutierrez López, and González Ruíz, *El movimiento feminista*, 35.
37. Pamela Beth Radcliff, "La historia oculta y las razones de una ausencia: La integración del feminismo en las historiografías de la transición," in *El movimiento feminista*, 55, 63.
38. Miñarro and Morandi, *Trauma y transmisión*, 22.
39. A previous, shorter version of this text, titled "La calle y la noche también son nuestras," was presented at a series of conferences organized by the Arte, Investigación y Feminismos (Art, Research, and Feminisms) group, Universidad del País Vasco in 2018. The proceedings were later published by the Universidad del País Vasco.

Carlos Saura, *Cría cuervos ...*, 1975

María Rosón

Phantom Mothers: A Feminist Approximation to Recent Memory in Spain

The film *Cría cuervos . . .* (Raise ravens . . .) was released a few months after Francisco Franco's death in his hospital bed. At the dictator's death his regime was extinguished, and the manner of the regime's passing hints that Spanish society, in its pursuit of financial security, had to a certain extent accommodated itself to Francoism and that forty years of violence, repression, and drab existence had managed to politically demobilize the Spanish people. Hernández Burgos argues that the "gray areas" of the Spanish population had helped to prop up the regime's decades-long existence: "your average person," "the lovers of normality"—the normality of the family, work, the certainty of financial prosperity, the promise of a better life soon to arrive—these "enabled Francoism to continue, but did not uphold it when it tumbled."[1] Many of those "normal" people preferred not to look back during the changeover to democracy. Aided by the elite, who had an interest in avoiding historical memory, a "pact of forgetting" was set in place. In this social process of collective memory, the parties agreed—theoretically in the interests of consensus and national reconciliation—that blame and guilt for the tragedy fell equally on both sides.[2] The process culminated in 1977 with the pardoning of all crimes by the Amnesty Law. The "pact of forgetfulness" was extremely convenient; it covered up the fact that the Transition had been managed by politicians from the Francoist administration and helped consolidate the idea of a clean break from the past. However, many people who did remember wished for collective remembrance of the dictatorship's repression, violence, and institutional plundering. However, they encountered the complete lack of a public framework for such a process. Another factor was that many of the Spanish people understood forgetting as a necessary step into modernity. This was particularly visible in culture, with *La Movida Madrileña* (The Madrid Scene) as a paradigm that disabled certain countercultural processes of the 1970s.[3]

Cría cuervos . . ., produced by Elias Querejeta, is a fundamental piece in Carlos Saura's metaphorical work. Saura began work on it in the mid-1970s and found a way to speak to the present under dictatorship through the creation of a symbolic world. Saura's audience at the time would not have found this hard to decipher, because his references are clearly embedded in his own time. *Cría cuervos . . .* is a key piece for understanding some of the synergies of the Spanish Transition. Surprisingly, however, despite having been heavily studied, hardly anyone has shown interest in a feminist analysis of the film.[4] It opens with the death of a widowed father, a military man who embodies the violent, sexist values of Francoism and leaves behind three orphaned daughters. The death of the father/dictator has featured in most cultural-studies interpretations of the Transition; for example, Teresa Vilarós's fundamental text. Here I wish to look at possible meanings for the death of the mother and the generational traces of her absence. Geraldine Chaplin plays the part of the mother, now a ghost whose memory and absence is projected onto her three daughters. Her obliterated, phantasmagorical legacy cannot be transmitted any other way, nor can it be carried by the community. As in fairytales, only a select few can talk to ghosts. In Saura's film the chosen figure is Ana, a young child and the middle of the three daughters, who is played by Ana Torrent. Her character has become an icon of that *other* viewpoint on the Transition, the one able to decipher what society in the later Francoist period was unable to comprehend. Ana's eyes are literally an essential part of the film's makeup and have become ingrained in social memory.[5] They can discern other realities. Ana is haunted by her mother's ghost, and it falls to her to understand and repair the maternal legacy, which comes to Ana in the form of spectral voices and photographs. She bears the weight of the story, telling it twenty years later, in 1995, as an adult woman whose part is played by Chaplin, the same actress who plays Ana's mother.

Writers including Kathryn Bond Stockton and Jack Halberstam point out that our relationship to time in childhood is a special one

that defies chronological progression and linearity.[6] The child's experience of temporality is unlike the adult's; because it is strange and disruptive, both writers term it "queer." Nonetheless, Western culture tends to understand childhood as a first stage in a progression that will reach adulthood, denying children the chance to *be* in the present and continually projecting them toward what is generally a (hetero)normative future, which Lee Edelman conceptualizes as "futurability."[7] Authors such as Fiona Noble and, particularly, Sarah Thomas have discerned the special significance of childhood and memory in their studies of films such as Saura's that deal with the Transition and childhood.[8] Children can account for the intermediate lapse of memory because their sense of the passing of time differs vastly from adults'. For the child, coherence and linearity are impossible, and simultaneity and multiplicity take the place of these as privileged forms of temporal experience.

For the children in films of the post-Franco era who are able to experience the time of memory, the issue of motherhood is complex. The mother, living or dead, is an ambivalent figure in the social and cultural context of the dictatorship, and the maternal figure in films or novels tends to entangle cultural analysis in complications. Marsha Kinder in *Blood Cinema: The Reconstruction of National Identity in Spain* observes from a psychoanalytical perspective how postwar film brings in the symbolic presence of the "phallic mother," who displaces absent patriarchal authority by adopting its violence. However, according to Kinder, in films of the post-Franco period the daughter is who then rebels against her father, reconfiguring the maternal relationship as a metaphor of the repressed, so that the mother-daughter bond becomes an opportunity for intergenerational remembering.[9] Because motherhood was the compulsory fate of any woman who did not want to be branded a dissident and because motherhood constructed an essentialist ideal of women's subjectivity based on patriarchal National-Catholic concepts (self-denial, sacrifice, etc.), the mother's absence can be seen as a liberation for her orphaned daughters. María José Gámez Fuentes argues, "The lack of a mother figure during the postwar

period can be interpreted as a necessary condition for an alternative female character."[10]

Yet, if we turn from thinking of motherhood purely as an institution for the transmission of patriarchy and begin to consider the mother-daughter relationship as an opportunity for feminist transmission, then the absence of the mother, or the presence of her ghost, can be seen as the loss and necessary reparation of the obliterated memories that are especially significant in subjectivity. Here, I pick up on Adrienne Rich's now classic differentiation between "mothering" and "the patriarchal institution of motherhood" —the latter being the norms, rules, and forms of social control that sequester and domesticate experience and maternity, which is a multifaceted process involving shared and diverging experiences. For the essayist and poet, the mother-daughter dyad in particular provides the greatest room for subversion. "Mothers and daughters have always exchanged with each other—beyond the verbally transmitted lore of female survival—a knowledge that is subliminal, subversive, preverbal: the knowledge flowing between two alike bodies, one of which has spent nine months inside the other."[11]

The mother-child relationship can therefore be seen to have been a determining factor in the shaping of Spanish feminist history. For many women who lived through the dictatorship, new or modern women—activists, feminists, militants, painters, writers, and sexual dissidents—were, in fact, phantom figures: women in the 1920s and 1930s whom the Francoist victory forced into exile or hiding, using disguise, camouflage, the closet, or clandestinity as their means of resistance. Absent but simultaneously present, they returned during the Transition to remind their daughters of their unconcluded legacy.

Those ghostly mothers can therefore be seen as a return of the repressed, which collective memory had tried to erase or forget or had lost the right to remember. The phantom, "hauntological" mothers, are essential to understanding the inheritance of memory. The term *hauntology* contains the sense of being spellbound but also

the obsessive return, the repeat.[12] The term is also caught up in recurring events that return and refuse to go away, and it relates to besiegement, inhabiting without residing. In place of ontology, which discusses being or the essence of life and death, Jacques Derrida's *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International* puts forward the idea of *hauntology*, where being is transferred onto a spectral state, "That which is neither living nor dead, present nor absent."[13] The past becomes "a virtual space of spectrality" where temporality is thrown out of joint and the linear sense of history is called into question.[14] The figure of the ghost, as a being in between, must be exorcised but not chased away; we must live with it or at least give it the right to memory and reparation. Derrida suggests that "being-with specters would also be, not only but also, a *politics* of memory, of inheritance and of generations."[15] Derrida's interpretation of haunting has been successfully embraced in the comprehension and analysis of the spectral memory of the Franco dictatorship, which is characterized by collective resistance to reparation.

Nuria Capdevila-Argüelles takes her own analysis of *Cría cuervos* . . . a step beyond hauntology. Essential considerations for her are not only "the ghostly state of forerunners and matrilineal genealogy" in the film but "the relevance of collage and also of closed spaces such as attics, closets and isolated houses."[16] This idea connects the rambling house the film is set in with a large closet, which we can interpret through queer theory not only as a space for concealing hetero-dissident identities but as a showcase for its inhabitants.[17] Things happen in the closet, but people who are unaware of its particular codes (e.g., "camp as a row of tents") fail to notice them. The "closet" is not so much a place of invisibility as a camouflage and thus a possible form of resistance. We see the three sisters spending their summer, an in-between time, in a large old house, where they explore their own hidden identities and acknowledge those of their female ancestors. Antagonists to the constant presence of the ghostly mother longing to transmit her memory to her daughter include an authoritarian aunt who is unwilling to speak of the past

Carlos Saura, *Cría cuervos ...*, 1975

and prefigures the Transition's "pact of silence," and a voiceless grandmother who is always looking at old photographs and listening to *coplas*. Ana, as well as repairing her ghostly mother's memory, is the guardian of the legacy of the photo albums; she writes brief stories under the photographs and tells them to her grandmother. The album, from the realm of orality, domesticity, and the family, can also be considered an object for phantasmagorical memories; its photographs, as Susan Sontag would say, are "ghostly traces" because they "supply the token presence of the dispersed relatives" and also function as what Roland Barthes would call a "certificate of presence."[18] Photographs, like childhood memory, defy linear historical time by materializing the past in the present and denoting absence, calling up the presence of ghosts.

Family photographs and albums play a fundamental part as items that silently transmit the past in some of the cultural material produced during the Transition, such as Julio Llamazares's novel *Escenas de cine mudo* (Scenes from the silent films, 1994), Antonio Muñoz Molina's *El jinete polaco* (*The Polish Rider*, 1991), and Victor Erice's film *El espíritu de la colmena* (*The Spirit of the Beehive*, 1973), revealing the importance of the private realm as a space that sustains memories that cannot be spoken in public.[19]

Photo albums relate to female culture, as women have traditionally been the compilers of the family album. Albums are used to remember. When no public spaces or frameworks existed for

Víctor Erice, *El espíritu de la colmena*, 1973

collective memory-keeping and speaking, they played an essential role, particularly in the Spanish Transition, whose continuity with the dictatorship rested on forgetting. Photographs, like other kinds of objects and gestures, make up "embodied memory," which takes shape in "intersubjective relationships."[20] The abovementioned works reveal how photo compilations and the act of reactualizing them each time the album is "told" can be tools for perpetuating and generating frameworks for memory that are essential to communities' intersubjective relationships. As Yeon-Soo Kim points out, photographs are a key item in *Cría cuervos . . .*; they reinforce its main theme, which is the mother-daughter relationship as an essential element of women's subjectivity.[21] This is pointedly expressed in a shot of a photograph from the family album at the beginning of the film. Under the snapshot, Ana, now a grown woman caring for her heritage, has written "My mother and I."

Ana, the carrier of legacy and memory, is a young girl. This is an essential point: girls have seldom been validated as political subjects who embody the transition into the politics of democracy. The hegemony in this change is given to white, male, middle-age, urban, middle-class heterosexuals. Theirs, too, was the task of narrating the Transition. I like to think of young female characters as subaltern subjects who carry the legacy of Francoism on their shoulders and must seek to respond to and repair the heritage and memory of women and how this task, though fraught with problems and difficulty, can also be seen as a challenge.

Feminism has valued the task of creating and reconstructing genealogy as a political act, a "search for the doubly dispersed traces of our ancestresses."[22] This relates to memory but also to the fact that women are subjects within the patriarchal symbolic order, where filiation is paternal and the order of generations is governed by the name of our fathers. As Luce Irigaray signals, female genealogy in patrilineal order is subordinated, lost, or forgotten.[23] Feminist memory also considers generational transmission but not only in what is told; it considers, too, how the telling is done and how transmission takes place. Women, who have traditionally been separated from written language, have situated themselves as the narrators of oral culture and the protagonists of stories and tales. In oral practices, the keenest potentiality of what is transmitted lies, as Trinh T. Minh-ha notes, in the power of transmission itself. "What is transmitted from generation to generation is not only the stories, but the very power of transmission."[24] Ana Pol points out that transmission represents a force that is somewhat invisible but politically powerful, despite its low consideration as part of the space of privacy and authorship. Oral transmission as a cultural structure also sustains the practice of keeping photo albums. The correlation between the album and orality is important because both are grounded in memory as they are practiced in the album, one of whose main functions is that of activating memory. Transmission reminds us that a framework exists for building individual and collective memory. Collective frameworks for remembering are precisely what vanished so drastically and violently from public space for the losers of the war during the dictatorship thanks to the regime's heavy-handed, zealous—and still continuing—legitimization of the violence of the Civil War.

We need one another to be able to remember. Maurice Halbwachs shows that memory is not individual, because other memories are needed for us to complete our own.[25] All memories are the result of an interwoven, collectively constructed process that is fragmented and subjective. This is not a coherent process; it is mediated and

contains more of the present of the person remembering than of the past, which cannot be brought back transparently. Many, in the name of objectivity, prefer to say that memory, because of its highly intersubjective nature, is an unsuitable tool for the discipline of history. We say that, if we look into the past, it is to understand its effects in the present. If we need one another as women in order to build memory, to remember together, then the phantom mothers are relevant to our present—and for two reasons. One is obvious: we need their voices to complete our own. Their experiences and absences are keys to understanding the paths of Spain's more recent history, particularly our present. Second, their ghostliness is a reminder that, like all memories, their legacy is precarious or subaltern. Rather than diminishing their strength, this characteristic helps us to understand the intricacies of memory, so that vulnerability becomes one of our tactics of resistance.

Today, as the Far Right gathers strength all over the world and has worked its way into governments, even in the city where I live, we need to call up those ghostly memories, the memories of our ancestresses, the subalterns. The forces of the Right wear the armor of legitimacy, granted to them by the privileges of years, of their gender and social class or background. That armor positions them as the owners of the narrative; they feel that power is their rightful place. And so they brazenly trample the short path of hard-won civilian gains on the path to a democratic, feminist memory. For the Right, historical memory and feminism are red lines.

Feminist memory builds collectivity and reminds us we are not alone and that despite our vulnerability we have with us a phantasmagorical legacy that renders us powerful. Feminist memory reminds us, in our great and minor revolutions, that our current struggles are not built on a blank slate. To a large extent, if we live the way we do and are the way we are, it is thanks to all that has been achieved by the women who came before us.

1. Claudio Hernández Burgos, *Franquismo a ras de suelo: Zonas grises, apoyos sociales y actitudes durante la dictadura (1936–1976)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2013), 16.
2. Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Memoria y olvido de la Guerra Civil española* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1996), 359.
3. Jo Labanyi, "Memory and Modernity in Democratic Spain: The Difficulty of Coming to Terms with the Spanish Civil War," *Poetics Today* 28, no. 1 (2007): 94; and Germán Labrador Méndez, *Culpables por la literatura: Imaginación política y contracultura en la Transición española (1968–1986)* (Madrid: Akal, 2017).
4. Some of the canonical texts on this subject include Enrique Brasó, *Carlos Saura* (Madrid: Taller de ediciones Josefina Betancor, 1974); Agustín Sánchez Vidal, *El cine de Carlos Saura* (Barcelona: Círculo de Lectores, 1988); Marvin D'Lugo, *The Films of Carlos Saura* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Marsha Kinder, "The Children of Franco in the New Spanish Cinema," *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 8, no. 2 (1983): 77–85; and *Blood Cinema: The Reconstruction of National Identity in Spain* (London: University of California Press, 1993), 197–221. My sincere thanks go to Sarah Thomas, who, with her characteristic generosity, introduced me to the fundamental bibliography on Saura and shared ideas and references with me.
5. Eric M. Thau, "The Eyes of Ana Torrent," *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas* 8, no. 2 (2011): 131–43.
6. Kathryn Bond Stockton, *The Queer Child, or Growing Sideways in the Twentieth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); and Jack Halberstam, *Gaga Feminism: Sex, Gender, and the End of Normal* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012).
7. Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
8. Fiona Noble, "Once upon a Time: Childhood Temporalities in Late and Post-Franco Spanish Cinema," *Journal of Children and Media* 11, no. 4 (2017): 436–50; and Sarah Thomas, *Inhabiting the In-Between: Childhood and Cinema in Spain's Long Transition* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2019).
9. Kinder, *Blood Cinema*, 197–221.
10. María José Gámez Fuentes, "Maternidad y ausencia en Cría cuervos de Carlos Saura," *Hispanic Research Journal* 2, no. 2 (2001): 154.
11. Adrienne Rich, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution* (New York: Norton, 1995).
12. Ana Pol and María Rosón, "Haunted," in *Barbarismos queer y otras esdrújulas*, ed. Lucas Platero, María Rosón, and Esther Ortega (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2017), 215–24.
13. Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 63.
14. Ibid., 12.
15. Ibid., xviii; emphasis in original.
16. Nuria Capdevila-Argüelles, *Artistas y precursoras: Un siglo de autoras Roësset* (Madrid: Horas y horas, 2013), 30.
17. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
18. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: RosettaBooks, 1973), 6; and Roland Barthes, *La cámara lúcida: Notas sobre la fotografía* (Barcelona: Paidós, 1999), 39, 151.
19. Labanyi, "Memory and Modernity in Democratic Spain," 100.
20. Luisa Paserini, *Memoria y utopía: La primacía de la intersubjetividad* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2006), 37.

21. Yeon-Soo Kim, *The Family Album: Histories, Subjectivities and Immigration in Contemporary Spanish Culture* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 81.
22. Alejandra Ciriza, "Construir genealogías feministas desde el sur: Encrucijadas y tensiones," *Millcayac—Revista digital de ciencias sociales* 2, no. 3 (2015): 85.
23. Luce Irigaray, *Je, tu, nous* (Paris: Éditions Grasset et Fasquelle, 1992).
24. Trinh T. Minh-ha, "Grandma's Story," in *Blasted Allegories: An Anthology of Writings by Contemporary Artists*, ed. Brian Wallis (Cambridge, MA: New Museum of Contemporary Art; MIT Press, 1987), 2–30, cited in A. Pol, "Poéticas desde el trauma y los afectos: Articulaciones de otras voces [auto]biográficas 'entre'-guerras" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2015), 345. For an in-depth study of this theme, see the whole of this work by A. Pol, especially from page 337 onward.
25. Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968).

The Videlas go to mass, Buenos Aires, 1983

Ana Longoni

Headscarves: On How the Mothers Became Feminists

I have chosen to focus this text on a simple garment: the headscarf, a triangle of cheap fabric. I propose to trace its origins as a political tool, the ways it has been collectively used and the discussions it has brought up, and to look for a sequence or vector that will take us from the struggle of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, which began during Argentina's most recent dictatorship (1976–1983), to the massive, radical tide of feminism that has recently been transfiguring ways of doing and understanding politics both inside and outside Argentina.

A precise lineage can be drawn between the Mothers' white scarves and the green bandanas that represent the fight to legalize abortion. The linkage is fed by the bonds of sorority and mutual recognition between separate social movements born of different historical moments, whose paths are narrowly interwoven in the tangle we call the present.

Family Portraits

"The Videla family going to Mass." So states the photo caption in *La semana* magazine. The accompanying image shows Jorge Rafael Videla, the dictator, with his wife and two children, strolling down the street on their way to twelve o'clock mass at the church of San Martín de Tours, in the exclusive Buenos Aires district of Recoleta. The photograph was taken in 1983 just as the extent of state terrorism—systematic repression that sought to annihilate any form of opposition, with over five hundred clandestine centers for detention and extermination; tens of thousands of disappeared; torture; and assassination—was coming to light.

The image, with others systematically disseminated in state and allied media, aimed to prop up two themes heavily repeated in the regime's rhetoric since its beginnings in 1976. One of these was an insistence on a return to the order of "normality," a dominant theme

after the chaos of civil government and the growing threat of "subversion." The other was the defense of family values based on the model of the "strongly built" family—heteropatriarchal, traditional, and Catholic.

As Pilar Calveiro indicates, the photograph is a reminder that "terror and 'normality' are not mutually exclusive. Tyrants can be good fathers and can even love their dogs."[1]

I have chosen to begin my reflections by offering a counterpoint between the Videla family photograph and another one taken by Eduardo Gil the same year in a mobilization around the Plaza de Mayo. The protest was called by human rights organizations, which were peacefully demonstrating in the streets against the rule of terror. In this second photograph, we see an aged Mother carrying—almost hugging—a placard showing her disappeared son.

These two family portraits are very different: the one, an emblem of dictatorial morals propped up and constructed by much of the mass media, is a counterpoint to the other, a family incomplete, dismembered, stigmatized as a "cradle of subversion," disintegrated by repression, and torn apart by disappearance and unending uncertainty as to the whereabouts and state of its abducted members.

But we also are witness to a loving gesture in the midst of the crowd of demonstrators, a glimpse of a family reunited and reconfigured in its unceasing search, a family reinvented by collective nurturing and common political action.

The history of this photograph is a moving one. Gil, a sociology student and amateur photographer, remembers having shot two or three rolls of film at the demonstration. No prints were made of many of the negatives for thirty years, however. He never knew who the Mother was whose portrait he had taken, until in 2013 a militant of Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio

Beba Galeano, Mother of Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires,
carrying the banner of her son Julio Eduardo Galeano, 1983

(Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice against Oblivion and Silence, HIJOS) in the city of Zárate came across the image during a visit to the *El Siluetazo* exhibition at the Parque de la Memoria (Park of Memory) in Buenos Aires. There he recognized Beba Galeano, Mother of the Plaza de Mayo from Zárate, bearing the image of her son Julio Eduardo Galeano, a twenty-seven-year-old militant in the Maoist Vanguardia Comunista (Communist Frontline) party and a student at the University of Tucumán, who disappeared on August 12, 1977, in Zárate. The HIJOS militant photographed the image with his cellphone and sent it to Gretel Galeano, Julio's daughter, who, after her father's disappearance when she was one year old, had been taken by her mother to Catamarca Province in the north of Argentina, where the two still live. Gretel explains what the find meant for her family history:

> Years went by, and I continue to go back over, and try to put together the puzzle of my life. . . . At March No. 36 [after the anniversary of the coup] I was in Buenos Aires and went to Zárate to visit my grandmother's grave. And also to see that small part of the place where my dad was taken away from us. I searched the institutions for information, I knocked at different doors, I went to the Biblioteca de Abuelas [Grandmother's Library] in search of photos of my grandma at the march . . . and I came up with nothing. . . . When I saw my grandma with my dad on her placard, it simply wrenched my heart. I have nothing, except for five or six photos and one or two letters that have survived our pain and the dictatorship.[2]

Her testimony accentuates the contrast between the two portraits. Unlike the dictator's family photograph, the image of Beba and her son was not circulated by the mass media and took three decades to emerge into public space. While the one image was immediately incorporated into the de facto regime's media strategies, the other emerged an unexpectedly long time after being taken, through the folds of memory, to be inserted into a forever-incomplete family album.

Gretel remembers a sentence from a painting in her grandmother's room. "It is better for your soul to be in pain from so much searching,

than for it to be at peace for having given up the search."[3] Beba Galeano's gaze epitomizes the nurturing of the Mothers: the pain of their tragedy has sent them into the streets, brought them together, and turned them into collective political subjects, protagonists of the resistance against the bloodiest dictatorship in Argentinian history, turning against it with their vulnerable bodies and potent fragility. The Mothers became a large family: women searching not only for their own children or grandchildren but for all of those who went missing. "Our children gave birth to us," they claim in an inversion that upends the biological course of time and sets in place a new order, or perhaps a disorder, defying rules and resignation in a multitude of ways. The insistent public use of photographic images of the disappeared, on a variety of creative backgrounds (placards, flags, memorials), by human rights movements in Argentina (and elsewhere) covers three dimensions. First, many of these photographs were taken from identification documents and thus point an accusatory finger at the state's denial of the victims' existence. "The disappeared are not real entities; they are not here. They are neither dead nor alive, they are disappeared," Videla stated in a 1979 press conference. This was the very state that had previously played the role of the identifier. Thus, the result of a mechanism for control can be turned into evidence of the hidden, the clandestinity of state terrorism, exhibiting the refusal to respond by the de facto authorities as well as the collusion of civilians and members of the business and ecclesiastical communities. Second, the photographs are insistent reminders of victims' life stories prior to their disappearance, of the emotional and family bonds that join the absent with those who carry their portraits and never cease to search for them: their names, faces, their violently interrupted histories. Third, the images return the disappeared to public space. They call their presence into demonstrations and street protests. These black-and-white photographs of thousands of young faces speak not only of what came before their disappearance but of what comes after it: "the presence of absence," a spectral condition that enables us to encounter those who are no longer here; a possibility for those broken and torn families to reunite, fleetingly, in a fragile instant.

Headscarf/Nappy

"This photo is everything to me; it's the only photo I have of her with her white scarf on," Gretel says of Gil's image of her grandmother Beba pausing for a moment of rest during a long day of marching.[4] Since the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo first formed their collective in 1977, they have led the struggle against "concentration-camp power," clamoring for their daughters and sons to be brought back alive.[5] Stigmatized by the dictatorship as the "Mad Mothers," the women—many of them middle- or working-class, most of them stay-at-home mothers, a few of them career women, almost all of them lacking in previous political experience—were forced into public, into political action in their desperate quest for their children.

The number of women was small, but they defied a brutally repressive regime with the vulnerability of their exposed, unarmed bodies. Little by little, they gained force and popular support both in and outside Argentina. In their utterly unequal battle, the Mothers were also strongly aware of the power of signs. "They wanted to be seen. It was an obsession with them. . . . They realized that the image of themselves as mothers was in its own way imposing another truth."[6] Taken from Ulises Gorini's extensive history of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, these lines reveal the importance of the visual realm and the creation of symbols—which identified the women and marked them as a group—to the women from the beginning of their movement. Symbols made their existence and longings visible to other families of the disappeared as well as to the rest of Argentinian society and the international community. Gorini's words also highlight the willingness and awareness that came into play as they made decisions about which symbolic resources they would deploy. Various mediums—photographs, silhouettes, masks, and handprints—insistently called into view what had been denied: the systematic disappearance of tens of thousands of people as a mechanism for exterminating all opposition and spreading terror throughout society.[7]

During the 1970s, leftist militants had sheltered clandestinely as state terrorism carried out its illegal, also clandestine, campaigns of repression. The Mothers, on the other hand, chose to come out into broad daylight and march around the pyramid at the center of Buenos Aires's main square. The Plaza de Mayo also houses the Casa Rosada (Pink House) and City Hall (national and municipal headquarters and symbols of political power), as well as other symbols of power: financial, represented by the Ministry of Finance and the National Bank; and religious, symbolized by the cathedral. Crucial events in Argentinian history have been staged in the square, from the anticolonial revolution of 1810 to the aerial bombings during the 1955 coup d'état against General Juan Domingo Perón.

Being seen was, for the Mothers, a risky strategy, and this became clear in December 1977, when three of the founding members of the movement disappeared together with two Franciscan nuns and others abducted during a meeting at the Church of Santa Cruz in Buenos Aires. To expose themselves locally and internationally to public opinion was a means of striking out for survival and extending their demands, as well as a response to disappearance and clandestinity. Their acts of exposure inaugurated a new type of political action.

In their first public action, they marched through a religious procession, each Mother tightly holding a large carpenter's nail in her fist. Soon after that, headscarves began to be used to signal their identity and as a means of drawing press and international attention to their cause. The scarf soon became a key symbol and an unmistakable identifier of the Mothers in their public appearances, both for the protestors and for others in and outside Argentina.

The white scarf confers a public and political status on the woman wearing it. The Mothers do not always wear their headscarves. They may go completely unnoticed until their public appearances, on their Thursday rounds or other acts of protest for the movement, during which the scarves are worn.

Mother of Plaza de Mayo, 2008

But the triangular scarves were not always used as such. Their earliest use was as nappies for the Mothers' babies. One garment stands for another and its own earliest use. Thus, as their emblem, the Mothers chose a material remnant of the founding scene of their own maternity, an item from the time when their children were defenseless and needed all their care. Wrapping their own heads in the nappies that once received their babies' fluids and excretions, the Mothers exhibit this remnant as a way of claiming their public legitimacy and reason for being there.

While a woman's headscarf has traditionally been a sign of respect, particularly in rural areas, when taken off it becomes associated with other uses. It is shaken in the hand as we wave or dance, or it is worn to protect our throats. Like the nappy, the scarf holds the intimate bodily fluids—tears, sweat, and mucus—we try to contain, conceal, or disguise. The Mothers do not seek concealment under their scarves but to enter the public sphere and turn their pain and private tears into collective political potency.

Tension, Splitting

In deciding to lovingly embroider their scarves/nappies in blue cross-stitch, the Mothers write the story of the positions that have intersected with and also split the movement. These directions could be described as the tension between private mourning and the socialization of maternity. Some women choose to embroider their child's name and date of disappearance as a private history that places them within the collective struggle. Others support the socialization of motherhood—"Our children gave birth to us; we are mothers to all of them"—and embroider only the name of the association that unites them and the slogan they have repeated since 1980: "30,000 Disappeared. Bring them back alive."

The following is an extract from an interview with Hebe de Bonafini, who later helped set up the Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo Association); it illustrates how the latter position first arose and was expressed by different uses of creative resources:

> One day we women got together and were talking for a long time, and we were saying that what we ought to do was to socialize motherhood and each of us become mothers to every child. . . . So we took the names of our children off our headscarves and stopped carrying their photographs with their names on them. . . . So that whenever somebody came up to ask us, we would say, "Yes, we are the mothers of thirty-thousand." . . . At the Plaza, we would exchange the placards with our sons and daughters on them. I thought this up so that the mothers would realize that socializing our maternity is an astonishing thing; it multiplies, it is loving. At first the idea was for each one of us to carry someone else's child's placard. We'd take them there in a van, and then each of us would pick up one placard, any one of them. But what happened then? Well, there were many mothers who couldn't stop looking for their own child's placard, checking to see who was carrying it, if they were holding it properly, crooked, too low, and so on. It was a kind of passion. So then I said, "This isn't

> working either, because if we still can't trust whoever is carrying our children's placards then we aren't getting very far, are we?" After that we said we mustn't hang photos on our chests because of the names and because the reporters would always focus on that. If we say we are socializing motherhood, it is because our daughters and sons taught us that we are all equal, and all children are equal, but then how many children have had no photos taken of them! And how many mothers have no photos of their children! How many mothers don't come to this Square! That means we have to identify ourselves with everyone else: no name, no nothing. Everyone is the everyone else.[8]

Political differences during the first years of democratic government in Argentina revolved around exhumations of "NN"—*nomen nescio* or "no name"—graves; testifying before the Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons) and Justice; accepting the legal figure of the detainee or disappeared person (which meant accepting the presumption of death); and receiving financial reparation from the state. Differences over the group's organizational hierarchy led to a split into separate associations in January 1986: the Madres de Plaza de Mayo Línea Fundadora (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo Founding Line) and the Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo. One of the disputed areas leading to this decision was the use of the creative resources the Mothers had chosen since their first marches.

In 1983, at the initiative of Santiago Mellibovsky and Matilde Mellibovsky, parents of Graciela, an economist who disappeared in 1976, the status of the photographs as an individual resource—the placard hanging around each mother's neck—changed as they were incorporated into a collective archive. The two parents were activists with the Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (Center for Legal and Social Studies) and Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, and had a small, makeshift photo studio. They conceived, carried out, and financed the task of collecting the available photographs of the disappeared, enlarging them to a suitable size (about seventy by

fifty centimeters), and mounting them on cardboard onto a wooden T shape. With this simple procedure, the images were turned into imposing placards that were then used in marches after April 1983, taking the photographs out of the private family realm and into the collective space. In addition, the placards bore the person's name and date of abduction, occasionally information on their trade or occupation, and sometimes biographical information such as "mother of two children."

Although the faction of the Mothers led by Bonafini insisted that mothers should not be searching for their own sons or daughters but carrying someone else's, anyone's, as a way of reinforcing the socialization of motherhood—"We are everyone's mothers"—many family members testified to how strange they felt when they encountered someone they did not know bearing a photograph of their loved one. The portrait of Beba Galeano's family and her son Julio shows that she chose exactly which photograph to carry through the hostile streets of Buenos Aires. Many women like her also chose whom to carry through the streets, whom to bear with their bodies, in the midst of the gatherings of demonstrators and the multitude of spectral presences.

In April 1985, after four hundred Thursday rounds, the Mothers called a new march and asked all protesters to cover their faces with a white mask—except for the Mothers, who would wear their white scarves. The use of masks originated in European activism against the nuclear bomb and had been taken up by the Association Internationale de Défense des Artistes (International Association for the Defence of Artists, AIDA), which was made up of European and exiled Latin American artists. The association was founded in Paris and replicated in other European cities, and in the early 1980s it led solidarity campaigns and street protests against dictatorial repression in the Southern Cone. The white masks were used in an action in remembrance of one hundred disappeared artists in Argentina.[9] They reappeared in Chile and Argentina in other marches organized by the human rights movement, another

Mother of Plaza de Mayo with protester of the March of Masks,
Buenos Aires, April 24, 1985

instance of sharing common resources, as can also be seen in the use of photographs and silhouettes to give visibility to the victims of dictatorial repression in both countries.[10]

Bonafini, then the president of the Mothers, opened her speech at the march with the statement, "You are our children," spoken to a crowd of young people with their faces covered, so that each demonstrator took the place of the disappeared. "Each of those young people here with us today represents the thousands and thousands of children who were taken away from us. . . . They took our loved ones away, and then thousands of children were born to us."[11]

Gorini identifies this moment as a landmark in the socialization of motherhood:

> Bonafini said then—and repeated on other occasions—that the use of masks was intended to produce an effect. For her and other mothers, the protests ought not to become a routine . . .; they were

> a type of staging that should strive to make some kind of novel impact. . . . In those identical masks . . . a new status could be recognized: no longer was the disappeared the mother's own child; all the disappeared were one child, one face. Socialized motherhood transcended the singular maternity expressed by the individual portrait on the placards.[12]

The use of masks proved controversial for some of the Mothers, as minutes of their meetings record. Some of those who would soon found Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo Founding Line expressed reservations on the grounds that erasing the features of each of the disappeared and rendering them anonymous was a repetition of the same mechanism used by the dictatorship to deny the disappeared their existence and identities. In contrast, they said, in the photographs where the son's or daughter's name and date of disappearance were recorded, victims' identities were made explicit, as was the bond between each mother and her disappeared child.

Socializing the Scarf

In May 2019 a new chapter began in the long history of wearing white scarves. New mass protests were staged against the proposed "2x1" legal measure to halve the sentences of the jailed perpetrators of the genocide. In the days before this, an anonymous proposal to wear white scarves to the march had sprung up on social networks. As on other occasions, this was discussed by the Mothers, who came to different conclusions. Bonafini spoke out against the idea: "The scarf is sacred and cannot be used by just anyone." However, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo Founding Line publicly stated, "We have made a majority decision to join the call on social networks and to wear our scarves, this time. . . . During the main act, we will make a stage announcement with the exact moment when everyone should put on their headscarves as a sign of our refusal to accept the '2x1'."

The idea of taking a white headscarf to the protest then spread. People in various parts of the city organized places for white sheets

March against the “2×1,”
Buenos Aires, May 10, 2017

and cloths to be cut up, and countless scarves were improvised for marchers. They were held in marchers’ hands or worn around their necks but never on their heads. At “the exact moment,” the Mothers broadcast a message for the protesters to hold up their scarves between both hands. The moving, immediate response became a powerful image that was seen worldwide: a sea of scarves held up by a mass of people. Half a million protesters came out, and the high court’s attempt to pass the “2x1” law was stopped.

In their understanding of “being seen” as a survival tactic and their precise awareness of the image’s potential impact on international public opinion, the Mothers performed an exceptional, unique act. They moved in to lead a call that had originated elsewhere and spread uncontrollably. The headscarf found a new use, one that no longer involved conveying Motherhood onto everyone at the event but that highlighted a new use of the headscarf as a banner or collective standard.

March in favor of the decriminalization of abortion,
Buenos Aires, February 19, 2019

Green Scarves

Since 2015, the feminist movement in Argentina and elsewhere has combined mass presence with radicalism. Although these two dimensions may seem contradictory, they cannot be separated from feminism's decisive political breakthrough. That year, Ni Una Menos (Not One Less) was born to actively denounce femicide and violence against women. The movement appealed to a much younger generation that actively positioned itself against patriarchy. The struggle to legalize abortion came to a head in 2018, and mass demonstrations pushed the issue into parliamentary debate.

In this context the green bandana was identified with the demand for legal abortion, and its use was extended to the point where we can now call the rise of feminism the "green tide." The emblem, however, has a longer history; it was first used in 2003, when the National Encounter of Women in Rosario, Argentina, was seeking a symbol for a campaign launched by a core of militants and feminist

organizations. Carolina Muzi has researched these beginnings and found that the color first proposed for the scarves was the purple of the international feminist movement; however, not enough purple fabric was available, so another color had to be chosen to replace it.[13] Green was one of the possibilities and was devoid of connotations or associations with existing Argentinian ideologies and institutions.

> At first we thought the color purple could be used to demand the legalization of abortion, because it was already the symbol of feminism everywhere and was used by some organizations. Of all the colors, green was one of the few possibilities: yellow was the symbol of the pope, red represented different left-wing political parties, blue was justicialism [Peronism]; light blue, the Argentinian flag; purple is the color of feminism; and white, the Mothers and Grandmothers.[14]

Muzi mentions something that reveals the impact of the green tide on everyday language. The wholesale storekeepers in the Once district of Buenos Aires called the green cloth used for the scarves, "Benetton Green." This was renamed "Abortion Green" as a reflection of the ongoing fight. As the Cromoactivismo activist collective proclaimed, "Pantone, No / Political colors, Yes."

The green bandanas are printed with the logo of the Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito (National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe, and Free Abortion). Some groups meet to embroider their scarves with (auto)biographical details. The bandana has been used not only in Argentina but by feminists in Chile, Uruguay, and other parts of Latin America, with different slogans in each context; in Chile, for instance, "Three grounds [for abortion] are not enough."

In adopting the bandana as an emblem, the feminist movement has acknowledged its close relationship to the struggle of the Mothers. In size and shape it is an obvious reference. But the green scarf is used very differently: in many everyday ways, not exceptionally; at any time, anywhere. The green bandana is a collective standard,

a password, a seizing of a public position. Only rarely is it used to cover the head. More often, it is worn around the neck or wrist or tied to a bag or backpack. It can be used in protests to cover the face, as a balaclava, to protect one's identity, or as a face mask.

From "Never More" to "Not One Less"

A key feature of the human rights movement in Argentina is the weight of blood ties and biological relationships in the structure of organizations such as Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, Familiares de Detenidos-Desaparecidos (Families of the Detained-Disappeared), and, from the mid-1990s, HIJOS. Cecilia Sosa asserts that the blood tie emanates legitimacy, authority, and the right to speak out. "Mothers, Grandmothers, sons and daughters, sisters and brothers; the families of the missing have been the guardians of our mourning in Argentina. And the right to mourn was given life by blood."[15] The characteristic of blood ties has been, and continues to be, a fundamental basis for the political community. This does not mean that the places of those missing are occupied; rather, it is a way to turn the trauma of disappearance into a force for political action. However, blood ties do not carry the same weight in all contexts. In the Chilean movement for human rights, for instance, where women, especially the Mujeres por la Vida (Women for Life) organization, played a crucial role in the resistance to the Pinochet dictatorship (1973–1990), the battlefront was a place where various paths and political experiences converged, bringing together feminists, Christian Democrats, left-wing political parties, and Christian militants into groups linked to the Vicaría de la Solidaridad (Vicariate of Solidarity). Affiliations in Chile thus extended beyond family ties with victims and into other areas.

Mujeres por la Vida also used strategies other than those used by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in their claim for public space against repression. Whereas the Mothers' presence in the Plaza de Mayo every Thursday afternoon at three o'clock occupies a core symbolic space in the political, religious, and economic framework of

Nora Cortiñas wearing her white scarf on her head
and a green bandana on her wrist, March 8, 2019

Argentina, Mujeres por la Vida chose sudden public outbursts, flash actions that could happen at any time, anywhere, and would end when the police arrived to break them up.

Against the discomfort caused by the insistent family- and biologically based rhetoric of Argentinian human rights associations, Luis Ignacio García proposes a different viewpoint, claiming that the Mothers and Grandmothers "have taught us to politicize nature from a radically materialist and nature-based perspective":

> Nature [for the women] is not opposed to culture (to politics, that is), and that means that we can speak of the blood tie; nature is not merely an ideological "naturalization," which means it can be brought back to us and given an emancipatory meaning. . . . There is a memory that does not run through our conscious minds but is written in our bodies as material, genetic information; the effects of this memory are not simply

biological but also influence processes of subjectivization and collective construction.[16]

Nora Cortiñas, a founder of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo and one of their most active members at nearly ninety years of age, manifested her commitment to the feminist strike on March 8, 2019, and ever since has worn her white scarf on her head and a green bandana on her wrist. A Mother and feminist, she carries in the enormity of her small body the link between "Never More" and "Not One Less." A clear line runs from the Mothers' white nappy/scarf, worn as they call for their children to be brought back alive, to the green bandana of the women fighting for their right to abort, to decide what happens to their own bodies and choose whether to give birth and when to do so. This is not a given lineage but a historical commotion; it tells of how the Mothers became feminists. Cortiñas tells how, at the time her son was taken away, she did not consider herself to be a feminist and lived in a sexist home. She also testifies to how the young feminists acknowledge themselves as the daughters and granddaughters of the Mothers and the descendants of a struggle more than forty years old.

Paths that come and go, paths that connect memories and pass on knowledge, pasts and futures intermingling in "a historical spiral in whose center the practices of mothers and grandmothers merge with [those of] their daughters and granddaughters, in a historical and political knot that is radically transforming the parameters of our political thinking: . . . bringing our personal, intimate lives into politics and revaluing the sensitive, affective dimension of political action and organization."[17]

This is a precious bond, a demonstration of sorority between the "Mad Mothers" and the "Granddaughters of the witches you couldn't burn"—all of them insurgents, lovingly willing to create a reservoir of common experiences and ideas for the continuation of their struggle.

1. Pilar Calveiro, “Los Videla van a misa,” in María Celeste Adamori et al., *Treinta ejercicios de memoria* (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación de la Nación, 2006), 53.
2. Gretel Galeano to Ana Longoni, Catamarca, 14 August 2013.
3. Ibid.
4. Gretel Galeano to Eduardo Gil, 9 August 2013.
5. Pilar Calveiro, *Poder y desaparición* (Buenos Aires: Colihue, 1997).
6. Ulises Gorini, *La rebelión de las Madres*, vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Norma, 2006), 117.
7. I develop this idea in “Fotos y siluetas: Dos estrategias en la representación de los desaparecidos,” in *Los desaparecidos en la Argentina: Memorias, representaciones e ideas (1983–2008)*, ed. Emilio Crenzel (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2010), 35–57.
8. Hebe de Bonafini, interview by Graciela Di Marco and Alejandra Brener, in Natalie Lebon and Elizabeth Maier, *De lo privado a lo público: 30 años de la lucha ciudadana de las mujeres en América Latina* (UNIFEM, LASA, Siglo XXI, 2006).
9. Moira Cristá, “Imaginación y resistencia antidictatorial en los años ochenta: La acción por América Latina de la Asociación Internacional de Defensa de Artistas Víctimas de la Represión en el Mundo (AIDA),” *Revista izquierdas*, no. 36 (2017): 156–80, http://www.izquierdas.cl/images/pdf/2017/n36/art7.pdf (accessed 2019).
10. Red Conceptualismos del Sur, *Perder la forma humana*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Reina Sofía, 2012), 229.
11. Cited by Osvaldo Bayer, “Los 450 jueves que nos devolvieron la dignidad,” *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* (Buenos Aires), no. 6 (May 1985).
12. Ulises Gorini, *La rebelión de las Madres*, vol. 2 (Buenos Aires: Norma, 2006), 385–87.
13. Carolina Muzi, “La historia del pañuelo verde,” *Infobae* (Buenos Aires), 2018, https://www.infobae.com/cultura/2018/08/05/la-historia-del-panuelo-verde-como-surgio-el-emblema-del-nuevo-feminismo-en-argentina/ (accessed 2019).
14. Hagar Blau Makaroff, “El origen del pañuelo verde fue hace quince años y en Rosario,” *Rosario Plus*, June 16, 2018, https://www.rosarioplus.com/enotrostemas/El-origen-del-panuelo-verde-fue-hace-15-anos-y-en-Rosario-20180616-0023.html (accessed 2019).
15. Cecilia Sosa, “Paradojas de la sangre,” *Página/12*, August 15, 2014, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-253040-2014-08-15.html (accessed 2019).
16. Luis Ignacio García, “Del Nunca más al Ni una menos,” *Haroldo* (Buenos Aires), November 8, 2019, https://revistaharoldo.com.ar/nota.php?id=412&fbclid=IwAR1fhJZuS3JwvaTg309h_bZUgeJq8Q10-rw_A4XD7zTrmbSQ3GwNBe26j3g (accessed 2019).
17. Ibid.

Photographic Credits
Joaquín Cortés and Román Lores,
Museo Reina Sofía: 18-19, 30-31;
Courtesy of Carlos Massad: 20;
Mayo feminista: La rebelión contra el patriarcado, ed. Faride Zerán (Santiago de Chile: Editorial LOM, 2018): 21; Freddy Orellana: 22; Felipe Rivas San Martín: 24-27; Centro de documentación Ca la Dona: 32, 39, 40; Pilar Aymerich: 47; Museu d'Art de Sabadell: 48;
La semana (Buenos Aires), no. 368 (1983): 69; Eduardo Gil: 71; Javier Paredes: 76; Roberto Pera: 80; Eitan Abramovich/AFP: 82; The Associated Press: 83; Gabriela Manzo: 86

ISBN: 978-84-8026-618-5
NIPO: 828-20-011-5
D.L.: M-24126-2020

General catalog of official publications
https://cpage.mpr.gob.es

Distribution and retail
http://sede.educacion.gob.es
/publiventa/

Previous Issues
Exile/Refuge
Pop versus the Popular Libidinal Economy of the Spanish Transition
Thinking Is Three-Dimensional

Carta(s)
Unfinished Timelines

MUSEO NACIONAL CENTRO DE ARTE REINA SOFIA
GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA
MINISTERIO DE CULTURA Y DEPORTE