UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Santa Coloma de Gramenet:
The Transformation of Leftwing Popular Politics in Spain (1968-1986)

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Andrea Rebecca Davis

Committee in charge:

Professor Pamela Radcliff, Chair
Professor Frank Biess
Professor Luis Martín-Cabrera
Professor Patrick Patterson
Professor Kathryn Woolard

2014

The Dissertation of Andrea Rebecca Davis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2014

DEDICATION

To the memory of Selma and Sidney Davis

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the course of this project I have received generous support. At the University of California, San Diego, I am grateful to the Department of History and the University of California Humanities Network for funding my research and writing, as well as facilitating rewarding intellectual exchange. I am also grateful to the Fulbright Institute of International Education and the Program for Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States' Universities for providing me with two years of research funds to support travel for interviews and archival research.

I am indebted to those who supported me during research and contributed to the evolution of this project. I was first introduced to the theory and practice of oral history as a researcher for the Spanish Civil War Memory Project: Audiovisual Archive of the Francoist Repression, and I am grateful to the team for inspiring this work. In Barcelona, Stephen Jacobson of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra offered his mentorship, and researchers from El Centre d'Estudis sobre les Èpoques Franquista i Democràtica of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona provided me with resources and guidance. I received great help from librarian Cristina Aguiriano of the Museu d'història de la immigració de Catalunya, archivist Rosa Delgado of the Arxiu municipal administratiu de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, and librarian Luis Soler Alsina of the Biblioteca central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet. My deepest gratitude goes to all those who shared their stories and hospitality with me, especially Agustina Rico and Salvador López Arnal.

Many thanks are due to my committee members Frank Biess and Patrick Patterson. I particularly thank Luis Martín-Cabrera and Kathryn Woolard for inviting me to participate in interdisciplinary research projects that were closely related to this

project. My deepest thanks go to the chair of my committee, Pamela Radcliff, for her intellectual guidance and kind support throughout this undertaking.

Special thanks go to Stanley Chodorow, who has been a generous and thoughtful reader. My gratitude also goes to my colleagues and friends: to Nick Saenz for leading the way, to Nancy Eagan, Meagan Strom, and Jessica Cordova for constant intellectual stimulation, and to Anne Schenderlein for being my closest colleague and friend in the program. I would also like to thank my family for their continual love and support, especially Jeff and my father for their help in editing and formatting.

Chapter 3, in part, is being prepared for publication as Davis, Andrea, "Enforcing the Transition: The Demobilization of Collective Memory in Spain, 1979-1982," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Liverpool University Press, 2015.

VITA

2001 Associates of Arts, Liberal Arts, Simon's Rock College of Bard

2005 Bachelor of Arts, Philosophy, Brown University

2014 Doctor of Philosophy, History, University of California, San Diego

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Santa Coloma de Gramenet:
The Transformation of Leftwing Popular Politics in Spain (1968-1986)

by

Andrea Rebecca Davis

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, San Diego 2014

Professor Pamela Radcliff, Chair

This dissertation examines leftwing popular political culture in the Spanish city of Santa Coloma de Gramenet from the late 1960s to the late 1980s. Using forty life history interviews and a variety of archival and printed sources, it first traces the processes of pre-political community formation, politicization and urban movement institutionalization that occurred in Spain's new industrial cities during the final decade of the Francoist dictatorship. The study then challenges the dominant scholarly view that the Spanish transition to democracy initiated a consensual process of demobilization.

Although relations were complex, social movement activists, party militants and newly elected municipal officials continued to mobilize as they participated in broader European debates regarding the nature of democracy and socialism in the post-68 moment, the role of public memory in an age of extremist political violence and the international system of Cold War alliances. In addition to intervening in debates on the Spanish transition to democracy, this dissertation also presents an integrated account of the various dimensions of Europe's long 1968. As a local study, it traces the evolving relations and often-porous boundaries between different activist groups and "new social movements" while assessing the impact of widespread experiences of mobility and transnational contact.

Introduction

This dissertation explores the dynamics of popular politics in Spain between 1968 and 1989 using the case study of the city of Santa Coloma de Gramenet to analyze the evolving relationships between the major parties of the left, their bases and social movement allies. The study demonstrates that the "struggle for democracy" extended beyond the era of opposition to the Francoist dictatorship and Transition proper. Even after a formal democracy was established in 1978, activists, party militants, and newly elected municipal officials continued to mobilize to shape the substantive qualities of their new democracy.[1] In these mobilizations they participated in ongoing European debates regarding the nature of democracy and socialism in the post-68 moment, the role of public memory in an age of extremist political violence, the relationship between social and national citizenship as faith in the welfare state waned and the international system of Cold War alliances. Analysis of the object and outcome of these struggles reveals the diversity of democratic projects envisioned in Spain as activists participated in the renegotiation of Europe's postwar settlement between the upheavals of 1968 and the fall of Communism in 1989.

By framing the "struggle for democracy" within its broader European context, this dissertation moves beyond debates regarding the mechanisms and merits of the Spanish Transition. The history of popular politics in Spain tells us less about the unique nature of

[1] I draw on Jean Grugel's distinction between formal and substantive democracy. Citing Kaldor and Vejvoda, Grugel writes: "Formal democracy is a set of rules, procedures and institutions…substantive democracy is a process that has to be continually reproduced, a way of regulating power relations in such a way as to maximize the opportunities for individuals to influence the conditions in which they live, to participate in and influence debates about the key decisions which affect society." Jean Grugel, *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*, Second edition ed., Political analysis (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 9.

the Transition and more about the formation and transformation of the grassroots activism that linked Europe's "transnational moments of change."[2]

To date the study of popular politics in Spain falls into two schools of thought; each defined by their respective positions vis-à-vis the Transition.[3] Scholars within the first school of thought confirm that the Transition was a model of successful democratic consolidation and seek to explain the role of Spanish society in the process. While some scholars in this school contend that success was rooted in "the absence of the civic traditions usually attached to strong civil societies," others hold the contrary to be true.[4] These latter scholars argue that the associational milieu and sociopolitical movements of the 1960s and 70s played a central role in undermining the Francoist dictatorship and constructing the foundations for democratic citizenship.[5]

---

[2] Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, eds., *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). Recent research on the formation and transformation of popular political cultures in postwar Europe has adopted a similarly long view of 1968. For an overview of this literature, see the review essay Belinda Davis, "What's left? Popular political participation in postwar Europe," *The American Historical Review* 113, no. 2 (2008).

[3] For an overview of how the Transition has been "summoned to exemplify all of the major scholarly frameworks of democratization from the structural approaches of modernization and globalization theories, to the agency-based approaches of elite actor and social movement theories" see Pamela Beth Radcliff, "La Transición Española de una perspectiva comparativa," in *¿Es España diferente? Una mirada comparativa (siglos XIX y XX)*, ed. Nigel Townson (Taurus Ediciones, 2010). The quotation is from *Making Democratic Citizens in Spain: Civil Society and the Popular Origins of the Transition, 1960-78* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1.

[4] Omar Guillermo Encarnación, *The Myth of Civil Society: Social Capital and Democratic Consolidation in Spain and Brazil*, 1st ed ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 47.

[5] For the seminal study on the role of social movements in undermining the Francoist dictatorship, consult Pere Ysàs, *Disidencia y subversión: la lucha del régimen franquista por su supervivencia, 1960-1975* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2004). On the construction of democratic citizenship, consult Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*. These mutually reinforcing frameworks have been supported by monographs on working class, ecclesiastical, student, and neighborhood movements, as well as local studies, including, Xavier Domènech Sampere, *Quan el carrer va deixar de ser seu: moviment obrer, societat civil i canvi polític, Sabadell (1966-1976)*, 1. ed. ed. (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2002). For a recent overview of this literature see Pere Ysàs, "Ni modèlica ni immodèlica. La transició des de la historiografia," *Franquisme & Transició. Revista d'Història i de Cultura*, no. 1 (2013). Additionally, recent research on professionals—the support they offered to popular movements as well as the role they played in the contruction of new civic identities—promises to further bolster these frameworks. See especially, Tamar Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Carmen Castro Torres, *La prensa en la transición española, 1966-1978* (Madrid:

The second school of thought rejects that the Spanish Transition was a model. It is not that scholars in this school see Spanish democracy as unconsolidated, but rather that they characterize it as "Democracy Lite" or express concerns that the model-thesis has promoted a "culture of self-satisfaction in Spain."[6] Looking to the associational milieu and sociopolitical movements of the era for alternative civic "identities in the making," they conclude that the Transition hindered popular efforts to establish meaningful democracy in Spain.[7] While the critical impulse that inspires these scholars may be understandable, works within this second school of thought tend to shed greater light on the nature of contemporary dissatisfactions than historical processes.[8]

Alianza Editorial, 2010). Also consult the collection of archival materials on labor lawyers, José Gómez Alén and Rubén Vega García, eds., *Materiales para el estudio de la abogacía antifranquista* (Madrid: GPS, 2010).

[6] Peter McDonough, Samuel Henry Barnes, and Antonio López Pina, *The Cultural Dynamics of Democratization in Spain* (Cornell University Press, 1998); Vicenç Navarro, *El Estado de bienestar en España* (Tecnos Madrid, 2004).

[7] Pablo Sánchez León, "Radicalism Without Representation: On the Character of Social Movements in the Spanish Transition to Democracy," in *Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition: The Spanish Model*, ed. Gregorio Alonso and Diego Muro (New York: Routledge, 2011), 96. Sánchez León's work on social movements is, perhaps, the most contemporary iteration of the demobilization-from-above interpretation of the Transition. An earlier version of this interpretation can be found in José María Maravall, *La política de la transición*, vol. 46 (Taurus Madrid, 1981).For a counterargument focused on the case of the labor movement, see Robert M. Fishman, *Working-class organization and the return to democracy in Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[8] This position is "marginal in the historiography but not so much in determined sectors of [contemporary] society." Pere Ysàs, "La transición española. Luces y sombras," *Ayer*, no. 79 (2010): 32. In many ways the position is a reaction to the ways in which Spanish elites have appropriated the model thesis: taking full credit for successful democratic consolidation, on the one hand, and evoking the Transition to justify their immobility on a number of contemporary issues, on the other. This dynamic was particularly apparent during the memory debates of the 2000s, when the 2007 Historical Memory Law reinforced the so-called "spirit of reconciliation and concord" that had guided the Transition at the same time that Judge Baltasar Gárzon's attempted inquiry into the Francoist past was halted. For an analysis of these debates see especially: Carlos Jerez Farrán and Samuel Amago, eds., *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010); Carolyn P. Boyd, "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617, no. 1 (2008); Sebastiaan Faber, "The Price of Peace: Historical Memory in Post-Franco Spain, a Review-Article," *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 58, no. 1/2 (2005); "Revis(it)ing the Past: Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Post-Franco Spain, a Review-Article (Second Part)," *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 59, no. 1/2 (2006).

In this dissertation I recognize the associational milieu and sociopolitical movements of the 1960s and 70s to be of central importance to democratization and contend that it was this centrality that made the subsequent transformation of popular politics so visible in the particular context of Spain. In other words, it was the decade of opposition and experimentation with self-management that made debates regarding the role and organization of popular politics so intense during the early democratic period. These debates were most pronounced at the local level, where social movement activists, party militants and newly elected municipal officials openly collaborated and competed in their efforts to institutionalize different visions of European modernity from the grassroots up.

SPAIN: IN EUROPE'S POSTWAR SETTLEMENT AND ITS RENEGOTIATION

Though Spain had been officially excluded from the postwar settlement, it was integrated into the defense system and socioeconomic fabric of Western Europe beginning in the 1950s. Following World War II, Europe was divided between a Soviet controlled East and a West that was entangled with the United States. While Stalin seized power in the East to establish Party-States with planned economies replicating the Soviet model, the governments in the West were rooted in the principles of social democracy.[9] With financial and military support from the United States, the state in the West became "planner, coordinator, facilitator, arbiter, provider, caretaker and guardian" to ensure that

[9] Social democracy is not to be confused with Socialism or the political agenda of particular Socialist parties. Rather, it can be equated with the construction of the welfare state and the commitment to democratic institutions.

"genuine improvements in the condition of all classes" were achieved through "incremental and peaceful ways."[10]

In Spain Francisco Franco's violently constructed fascist state survived World War II intact. Instead of a planned economy or welfare state, the Francoist regime instituted autarky as part of its strategy to "purify" the nation and expunge the "Anti-Spain."[11] Concentrating economic power in the hands of the country's Civil War victors, "the landed oligarchy became more closely fused with the industrial elite" while the general population suffered "unheard of levels of starvation and disease."[12] Though initially isolated on the international stage, the 1953 Pact of Madrid allowed the United States to establish military bases in exchange for military and economic aid, effectively drawing Spain into the Western camp of Cold War alliances.[13] The international alliance had domestic consequences, allowing a new technocratic faction to rise within the regime. These technocrats subsequently liberalized the economy and integrated Spain into the socioeconomic fabric of economically booming Western Europe as agricultural employment dropped as the demand for industrial and service workers grew.[14] Three million Spaniards migrated from the agricultural south to the country's new tourist destinations and industrial north, while another two million migrated to northern

---

[10] Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 362-63.
[11] For more on the violent construction of the Francoist state, see Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2012).
[12] Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 106 and 37.
[13] For an overview of relations between the United States and the Francoist regime, as well as the role of the United States during the Transition, seeCharles T Powell, *El amigo americano: España y Estados Unidos: de la dictadura a la democracia* (Galaxia Gutenberg, 2011).
[14] By 1958, Spain had become part of the United Nations, the OEEC, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, among other organizations. For more on the evolution of the regime, as well as its component factions see Pablo Hispán Iglesias de Ussel, *La política en el régimen de Franco entre 1957 y 1969: proyectos, conflictos y luchas por el poder* (Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2006); Carme Molinero and Pere Ysàs, *La anatomía del franquismo: de la supervivencia a la agonía, 1945-1977* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2008).

Europe.[15] This mass migration gave Spain a class structure comparable to Italy and France, while revenues from industry, European remittances and "Europe's peaceful invasion" of Spanish beaches fueled the country's late-set "economic miracle."[16]

Even though it was a dictatorship, these economic reforms opened the Francoist regime to popular pressures that were not entirely dissimilar from those simultaneously building in the West and the East. In response to domestic and international outrage following the 1963 execution of the Communist dissident Julian Grimau, regime technocrats were pressured to liberalize the justice system by replacing the *Tribunal Especial para la Represión de la Masonería y el Comunismo* with the *Tribunal de Orden Público.* In a similar manner social reforms and limited freedoms, including the 1964 law of associations and the 1966 press law, followed. As the Spanish historian Pamela Radcliff has argued, these liberalizing measures, combined with the effects of economic development and the social capital provided by local networks maintained by the Catholic Church and anti-Francoist activists, created favorable conditions for the reemergence of civil society.[17] As the work of Radcliff and others demonstrates, beginning in the 1960s Spanish society began to resemble the societies of Western

---

[15] The liberalization of the economy did not initiate mass migration so much as normalize a process already underway. For more on the migration of Spanish workers to northern Europe see Luís M. Calvo Salgado, *Historia del Instituto español de emigración: la politica migratoria exterior de España y el IEE del Franquismo a la Transición* (Madrid: Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, 2009). For more on the dynamics of internal migration, see Martí Marín i Corbera, ed. *Memòries del viatge: 1940-1975*, 1. ed ed. (Valls: Cossetània Edicions, 2009).

[16] Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 423. Spain's per capita GDP grew from $2,397 to $8,739 between 1950 and 1973. This "economic miracle" was primarily rooted in industry and remittances—both the product of migrant labor—as well as tourism, which further integrated Spain into the socioeconomic fabric of Western Europe. For a discussion of how these socioeconomic transformations compare to broader European trends, see Judt, *Postwar*, 325-33. For more on the tourist industry, see Sasha D. Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*, 1st ed ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

[17] Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 24-25.

Europe not only in living standards and consumption patterns, but also in terms of civic behaviors.[18]

Given this context, the diverse mobilizations of the 1960s and 70s can be understood as the Spanish expression of the 1968 "global outburst."[19] "More than just a travelling theater of protest," some scholars have defined 1968 as "an effort to assert the awakening of society as a response to the perceived crisis of the state," whether democratic, communist or authoritarian.[20] While the "global political agenda was…connected everywhere to the local agenda," scholars have identified a number of common factors underlying the perceived crisis.[21] Specifically, as Charles Maier argues, it was the "immense and institutionalized structures of the Cold War" and the "socioeconomic discipline of postwar reconstruction and development" that reinforced "anti-utopian realism so intensely throughout the postwar decade."[22]

These common factors hold true for Spain, within the specific context of an authoritarian regime adapting to new geopolitical circumstance. At the same time that the Cold War system stabilized the Francoist regime, the discipline of postwar reconstruction exposed the contradictory nature of Francoist efforts to liberalize. For example, although

---

[18] See also Xavier Domènech Sampere, *Clase obrera, antifranquismo y cambio político: pequeños grandes cambios, 1956-1969* (Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2008); Nigel Townson, ed. *Spain Transformed: The Late Franco Dictatorship, 1959-75* (Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[19] Spain was first included in the discussion of 1968 in Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Since then, inclusion has become the norm as evidenced by recent collections, including though not limited to, Robert Gildea, James Mark, and Anette Warring, *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
[20] Charles Maier, "Conclusion: 1968—Did It Matter?," in *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion, and Utopia*, ed. Vladimir Tismaneanu (Central European University Press, 2011), 422; Vladimir Tismaneanu, "Introduction," ibid., 2.
[21] Agnes Heller, "The Year 1968 and its Results," ibid., 158. As Heller continues "in France to the rejection of Guallism, in America to the anti-war and civil rights movements, in Japan to the struggle against traditionalism." In Spain, 1968 was shaped by the rejection of Francoism.
[22] Charles Maier, "Conclusion: 1968—Did It Matter?," ibid., 433.

the working class benefited from rising wages, the new neighborhoods and cities where they lived lacked the most basic services and amenities. As many services and amenities were guaranteed by the regime' liberalizing reforms, the contradiction created a veritable crisis, which was only further aggravated by the state's use of repression in response to the increasing social mobilizations of the era.[23] Unresolved until the Transition, this protracted crisis of the state created a context in which 1968-style proposals for self-management found an enduring social basis with the "global outburst" marking the beginning of a decade of sociopolitical mobilizations and state repression in Spain. In that elaborate experiments in self-management were undertaken in the context of sociopolitical mobilizations, Spain can be viewed as a pre-eminent case of the continuing "global outburst."[24]

In contrast, the "global outburst" was brought to a seemingly abrupt end in the rest of Europe as typified by the examples of Paris May and Prague Spring. In France, the government successfully divided protestors with reforms. Workers walked away from students with a thirty percent wage increase, signaling the lack of common ground between an old left that had experienced the war and helped to construct the welfare state, and a new left that wanted to "retain as much power as possible and freely exercise their political will: a kind of voluntarism, in contrast with the highly constrained post-war

---

[23] Ysàs, *Disidencia y subversión*. The liberalization of the education system is exemplary in this regard. While the regime passed the General Law of Education in 1970, guaranteeing compulsory education for children between 6 and 14 years old, the Parliament did not pass the necessary economic reform . For more see Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*, 8-11.

[24] In a typically French-centered assessment of 1968 in Western Europe, Jan-Werner Müller excludes the Iberian Peninsula in order to conclude "the political failure of '68 is explained not so much by the supposedly utopian nature of proposals such as self-management as by the complete absence (with the partial exception of Italy) of a social basis for the movement." Jan-Werner Müller, "What Did They Think They Were Doing? The Political Thought of the Western European 1968 Revisited," in *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion, and Utopia*, ed. Vladimir Tismaneanu (Central European University Press, 2011), 80.

consensus politics."[25] Meanwhile, in Czechoslovakia the Prague Spring was put down by the invasion of the Soviets, signaling the impossibility of reform in the East while shattering the Western Left's confidence in "actually existing socialism."[26] The Francoist regime, in contrast, could not put down the domestic expression of the "global outburst." It had neither the resources to offer conciliatory reforms like the democratic West, nor the repressive power of the Soviets.

Distinct from the rest of Western Europe, the old and new left continued to collaborate through to the end of the 1970s in Spain. After being politicized in universities and seminaries, progressive Christians and members of new left groups—including *Frente de Liberación Popular* (FLP), *Organzación Revolucionaria de Trabajadores* (ORT), *Bandera Roja* (BR), and *Movimiento Comunista* (MC)—dedicated their energies to grassroots organizing.[27] Inspired by the principles of self-management, they helped establish autonomous commissions and legalized associations in factories, neighborhoods, and schools. Meanwhile, as social movements began to emerge, the Communist *Partido Comunista de España* (PCE) strategized that the Francoist dictatorship could be undermined peacefully through mass mobilizations.[28] The PCE,

---

[25] Ibid., 79.There is an extensive scholarship on May 1968 in France. For conflicting accounts compare Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Michael Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004).
[26] For more on Prague Spring, consult Günter Bischof, Stefan Karner, and Peter Ruggenthaler, eds., *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010). For more on the effect of events in Czechoslovakia on the trajectory of Western European Communist parties, see Maud Bracke, *Which Socialism? Whose Détente?: West European Communism and the Czechoslovak Crisis, 1968* (Central European University Press, 2007).
[27] For an overview of the new, far and new radical left in Spain, see Consuelo Laiz, *La Lucha final: los partidos de la izquierda radical durante la transición española* (Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 1995).
[28] In 1956, the PCE abandoned insurgency for a "more peaceful solution to the Spanish dilemma." The new strategy, *reconciliación nacional,* posited that the Civil War division between the victors and the defeated no longer represented the social reality of the country. Given that the Francoist regime constantly reinforced the division, the PCE strategized that exposing the fallacy would erode the legitimacy of the dictatorship while bringing greater sectors of the population into the democratic opposition. In the mid

with its incomparable underground infrastructure, supplied social movements with material and human resources.[29] In turn, these movements provided the PCE with an expanding public platform from which to launch their increasingly unitary campaign for a democratic *ruptura*.[30] Although the various forces that campaigned for *ruptura* did not share a single vision of democracy, they all agreed that its foundations would be established by ridding Spain of the remnants of Francoism or creating an entirely new state apparatus.

In addition to shaping future expectations, the collaboration between the new and old left helped to produce the "the largest and most significant urban movement in Europe since 1945" and one of the continents most militant working classes.[31] Despite this strength the anti-Francoist opposition was not strong enough to topple the dictatorship. Instead, Francisco Franco died in bed and reform was initiated from within

---

1960s, Communist leaders Fernando Claudín and Jorge Semprún rejected the strategy, arguing that *reconciliación nacional* might lead to a democratic revolution, but not a socialist revolution. After their expulsion from the party, the PCE under the leadership of Santiago Carrillo continued to adopt new theoretical perspectives. Specifically, it adopted Gramsci's idea of a historic block as it strove to create an alliance between the "fuerzas de trabajo y cultura." Later, with the 1972 "Pacto de libertad," Carrillo began to consider the parliamentary route taken by the Communist parties of France and Italy. The principles of Eurocomunism were formally articulated in Santiago Carrillo, *Eurocomunismo y estado* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1977).

[29] There is an extensive literature on the labor movement in Spain. Seminal studies include Sebastian Balfour, *Dictatorship, Workers, and the City: Labour in Greater Barcelona since 1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); David Ruiz and J. Babiano, eds., *Historia de comisiones obreras (1958-1988)* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores, 1993). Recent research on urban social movements has significantly contributed to our understanding of the dynamics of the anti-Francoist opposition. See especially, Vicente Pérez Quintana and Pablo Sánchez León, eds., *Memoria ciudadana y movimiento vecinal: Madrid, 1968-2008* (Madrid: Libros de la Catarata, 2008); Carme Molinero and Pere Ysàs, eds., *Construint la ciutat democràtica: el moviment veïnal durant el tardofranquisme i la transició*, Antrazyt; Història (Barcelona: Icaria: Memorial Democràtic 2010).

[30] With the formation of the Assembly of Catalunya, PSUC was especially successful in this regard. Compare Giaime Pala, *El PSUC: l'antifranquisme i la política d'aliances a Catalunya (1956-1977)*, Base històrica (Barcelona: Base, 2011); Carme Molinero, *Els Anys del PSUC: el partit de l'antifranquisme (1956-1981)* (Barcelona: Avenç, 2010).

[31] Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*, California Series in Urban Development (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 75. Sebastian Balfour makes the point that the labor movement in Spain was one of Europe's most militant. Balfour, *Dictatorship, workers, and the city*.

the regime after the 1976 Law of Political Reform was ratified by referendum. Aiming to establish a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system based on the principles of representative democracy, the law allowed for the legalization of political parties and called for democratic elections to form a Constituent Court.

In what is often considered the first important "pact" of the Transition, the PCE was legalized amidst tensions following the extreme right assassination of five labor lawyers with ties to the party, and Santiago Carrillo led the party to abandon *ruptura* in order to participate in the *reforma pacatada,* (negotiated reform). In this manner, Carrillo helped to stabilize the Transition at the same time that he "betrayed" significant sectors of the party's base and social movement allies.[32] Though Carrillo is demonized by some and heroicized by others, it is worth emphasizing that the elites who crafted the Transition moved "in concert with international events." As the historian Stephen Jacobson argues:

> Having observed outcomes in Greece, the opposition was eager to enter negotiations rather than risk having democracy instituted from above and on the terms of regime insiders. In like manner, supportors of the dictatorship learned a cautionary lesson from what had occurred in Portugal where the revolution had led to the exile of thousands of collaborators, the institutionalization of lustration trials, the purge of civil servants, demonstrations, and popular violence in the countryside. Rather than risk trial, imprisonment, and exile, moderate regime insiders also thought it wise to negotiate. The political and financial support of the United States and western European countries also helped promote a peaceful transition.[33]

---

[32] For the ideological evolution of the PCE and the PSOE during the Transition see Juan Antonio Andrade Blanco, *El PCE y el PSOE en (la) transición: La evolución ideológica de la izquierda durante el proceso de cambio político* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2012). For the cultural implications of the *ruptura/reforma pactada* debate, see Teresa M. Vilarós, *El mono del desencanto: una crítica cultural de la transición española, 1973-1993*, 1. ed ed., Sociología y política (México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1998), 1-21.

[33] Stephen Jacobson, "Navigating Divisions between Linguistic Communities: during the Spanish Transition to Democracy (1975-1982): The Spanish Socialist Party in Catalunya," in *Institutional Change and Stability Conflicts, Transitions and Social Values*, ed. Andreas Gémes, Florencia Peyrou, and Ioannis Xydopoulos (Edizioni Plus-Pisa University Press, 2008).

The Constitutional negotiations that followed the intial pacts of the Transition represented an "elite settlement" where "full procedural consensus was forged among all nationwide parties"—including the main old left parties, the PCE and the rising *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE)—save the Basque nationalists.[34] Brokered behind closed doors as the mainstream media reinforced the atmosphere of consensus, the settlement successfully reestablished the hegemony of the state.[35] Grassroots observers, however, were quick to note that the settlement isolated the public from politics. As journalists from one local newspaper wrote in anticipation of the 1978 Constitutional referendum, "without sufficient explanation to the public, the consensus that has brought us everything has turned the Parliament into an uninspiring instrument where voters rarely feel interpreted."[36]

The alienation of the public from their policy makers was not unique to Spain. Following the challenge of 1968 elites everywhere reconstructed their power to isolate or channel an awakened society. What is more, as scholars of both international diplomacy and economic policy have convincingly argued, during the course of the 1970s and 80s

---

[34] Richard Gunther, *Democracy in Modern Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 115.As Diego Muro argues, the experience of the Transition in the Basque country followed a distinct dynamic. The Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) was left out of the parliamentary commission that drafted the Constitution and there were comparatively high levels of political violence in the region. Diego Muro, "The Basque Experience of the Transition to Democracy," in *Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition: The Spanish Model*, ed. Gregorio Alonso and Diego Muro (New York: Routledge, 2011), 158-80. In comparison to the PCE, the PSOE was unorganized during the dictatorship. However it received tremendous international support during these years and played a key role during the Transition. See especially, Pilar Ortuño Anaya, *European Socialists and Spain: The Transition to Democracy, 1959-77* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 2002); Joan E Garcés, *Soberanos e intervenidos, estrategias globales, americanos y españoles* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2008).
[35] For more on the role of the media during the Transition see Castro Torres, *La prensa en la transición española, 1966-1978*; Rafael Quirosa-Cheyrouze y Muñoz, *Prensa y democracia: los medios de comunicación en la transición* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2009).
[36] "6 de diciembre," *Grama* #118, December 1978.

power was increasingly reconstructed on the global scale.[37] As such, when Spanish elites advanced from the backroom negotiations of the Transition to integrating Spain into policy-defining world organizations during the 1980s—the most contested of which was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—they merely participated in global trends. Unique, rather, was how they successfully marshaled a discourse of "consensus" and, later, "Europeanization" to consolidate democratic institutions in an era otherwise marked by the pervasive perception of crisis.

While scholars question whether the 1970s were really "more crisis-ridden than previous or subsequent decades," most agree that the crisis of industrial society had profound and enduring consequences. As Niall Ferguson explains:

> On both sides of the Iron Curtain industrialized economies had to attempt the transition to what the sociologist Daniel Bell called the "post industrial society," one that would be characterized by a structural shift from manufacturing to services, the increasing importance of science and technology, and the dominance of technical elites experts in these fields. Western societies ultimately achieved this transition but passed through a purgatory of stagflation on the way. Eastern (in the sense of Soviet bloc) countries failed to do so, experiencing little more than straight stagnation, with physical shortages in place of rising prices, dearth instead of dearness. The political consequences revealed themselves in the 1980s. While the English-speaking world tilted away from the postwar institutions and policies that had so expanded the role of the state in economic life, the Communist system failed to reform itself and then, in 1989, collapsed.[38]

At the same time that consensus in social democracy eroded in the West, the post-industrial transition "unmade" the working class as both a social structure and an

---

[37] For the groundbreaking work on international policy consult Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003). The seminal work on economic policy is David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[38] Niall Ferguson, "Crisis, What Crisis?," in *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*, ed. Niall Ferguson (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 3 and 13-14.

organized political identity, further complicating "notions of the Left."[39] In this context, the Spanish discourse of "consensus" and "Europeanization" rested upon a weakening faith in social democracy and great uncertainty regarding the orientation of the Left.

Though the terrorism of the 1970s may have paled in comparison to that of subsequent decades, Spain can also be situated by the crisis of the radicalizing political violence that threatened to destabilize Europe's post-fascist states.[40] Speaking of the extreme left in Germany and Italy during this era, Tony Judt writes:

> The urge to bring the architecture of security and stability crashing down on the heads of their parents' generation was the extreme expression of a more widespread skepticism, in the light of the recent past, about the local credibility of pluralist democracy. It was not by chance, therefore, that 'revolutionary terror' took its most menacing form in Germany and Italy.[41] (470).

With its *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (ETA), *Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre* (GRAPO), and *Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota* (FRAP), Spain merits inclusion in this formula. Furthermore, like Italy, there was an equally virulent neo-fascist terror, which was often tolerated or perpetrated by the state.[42] Naturally, the authoritarian legacy was fresher in Spain, where there were no lustration tribunals, purges, or truth commissions during the Transition.[43] As such, it is perhaps unsurprising

---

[39] Eley, *Forging democracy*, 397 and 53.
[40] According to Ferguson, "there were just over 5,000 fatalities and injuries due to international terrorism in the 1970s. But the figure for the 1980s was 13,206, and the figure for the 1990s was 23,205." Ferguson, "Crisis, What Crisis?," 5.
[41] Judt, *Postwar*, 470.
[42] As Germany had been subjected to denazification, the incidence of neo-fascism was significantly reduced.
[43] State institutions, including administration, justice, education, the police and the army were neither overhauled nor purified. Meanwhile, regime collaborators preserved their economic and social power.

that political violence resulted in over seven hundred deaths between 1975 and 1982, a number that significantly exceeds the loss of life in Italy during the *anni de piombo*.[44]

In the case of the Basque country, where political violence was most intense, extreme left terror was antifascist as well as separatist. The Basque country, like Catalunya and Galicia, was a 'historic nationality' whose national culture and language had been suppressed under the Francoist regime. This suppression had fueled opposition movements throughout the country to frame the recognition of Spain's historic nationalities and democracy as shared goals, with non-separatist forces advocating for a federal republic where the historic nationalities maintained the right to self-determination.[45] The nationalities question added another contentious issue to the Transition, and the fragile "consensus" ultimately reached was a monarchic-nation state with a decentralized system known as the 'state of autonomous communities.'[46]

Finally, Spanish elites marshaled the discourses of "consensus" and "Europeanization" in a context marked by widespread anxieties of nuclear crisis. According to Jeremi Suri, the Détente of the late 1960s and 70s was a conservative strategy employed by global leaders to "stabilize their societies and preserve their authority."[47] International relations, however, no longer served this function after the

---

[44] For the most recent research on political violence in Spain, see Sophie Baby, *Le mythe de la transition pacifique: violence et politique en Espagne, 1975-1982* (Madrid: Casa de Vel·zquez, 2012). For a more journalist account, consult Mariano Sánchez Soler, *La transición sangrienta: una historia violenta del proceso democrático en España, 1975-1983* (Barcelona: Península, 2010). There were 419 deaths resulting from political violence in Italy between 1969 and 1987. Alison Jamieson, *The Heart Attacked: Terrorism and Conflict in the Italian state* (London: Boyars, 1989), 19-21.

[45] This position was promoted by the major parties of the Left, PSOE and PCE, as well as the unitary opposition movement in Catalunya.

[46] Alejandro Quiroga, "Salvation by Betrayal: The Left and the Spanish Nation," in *Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition : The Spanish Model*, ed. Gregorio Alonso and Diego Muro (New York: Routledge, 2011), 154.

[47] Suri, *Power and protest*, 261.

Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and NATO responded by deploying Cruise and Pershing II Missiles in Europe. The situation created an opportunity for activists to mobilize against the institutionalized structures of the Cold War. Accordingly, a new phase of increasingly interconnected peace mobilizations was carried out during the 1980s, calling for disarmament and the destruction of the block system that divided the continent through a "détente from below."[48] Though Spain had always been on the margins of the continent's Cold War division, with the 1986 referendum on Spain's membership in NATO, some saw an opportunity for Spain to take a lead in renegotiating the terms of Europe's postwar settlement. For example the leading British historian and peace activist Edward P. Thompson, spoke to the gathered public of Barcelona in 1984, imploring:

> End Europe's civil war, with the same maturity that the Spanish people used to bring an end to the Francoist regime. Without a second civil war… Will Spain be managed by the superpowers through its NATO membership?...Or will it be converted into an actor of its own right, an agent of history, and, in the midst of the crisis of humanity, find a third way towards peace?[49]

DISSERTATION ORGANIZATION

It is noteworthy that Spanish elites successfully marshaled the discourses of "consensus" and "Europeanization" to consolidate democratic institutions in this global context. Likewise, it is equally noteworthy that grassroots activists confronted the era's challenges as part of their continued struggle for democracy. Analyzing how these activists developed and challenged the languages and practices of democratic citizenship

---

[48] "Deténte from below" was the strategy employed by the British-led *European Nuclear Disarmament* (END), which was founded in 1980.

[49] E.P. Thompson speech "Una Europa sin bloques, una España neutral," for the *I Jornadas sobre el peligro de guerra nuclear y las alternativas pacifistas*, Barcelona, May, 23, 1984. Later printed in *Mientras Tanto,* #25 ½ numero de intervención immediata y despliegue rápido otaNO, 1986.

and European modernity, this dissertation seeks to move the scholarly debate beyond its focus on the Transition. It seeks to contribute, instead, to our understanding of the formation and transformation of the grassroots activism that linked Europe's "transnational moments of change" as the postwar settlement was renegotiated between 1968 and 1989.

To do so, I focus on the city of Santa Coloma de Gramenet, as I argue that the local is a privileged space for the study of grassroots politics. The emergence and institutionalization of sociopolitical movements can be most clearly observed at the local level, as can the evolution of alliances and objectives. Equally as significant, the local focus allows for an integrated approach to the study of the various "dimensions" of Europe's long 1968: an opportunity to explore the relationships between student, working class and religious activisms as well as the impact of widespread experiences of mobility and "transcultural contact." [50]

I focus on the specific case of Santa Coloma de Gramenet because the city embodied many of the greatest changes of the era. A municipality of four square kilometers located due north of Barcelona, the city grew from an agricultural town of 14,638 in 1950 to a working class dormitory city of 140,613 by the end of the 1970s.[51]

---

[50] Naturally, the student dimension of 1968 has received the greatest scholarly attention. For a discussion of the working class dimension (outside of France) consult Horn, *The spirit of '68*, 93-130. For a discussion of the religious dimension consult Rebecca Clifford and Nigel Townson, "The Church in Crisis: Catholic Activism and'1968'," *Cultural and Social History* 8, no. 4 (2011). For a discussion of the significance of mobility and "transcultural contact" consult Belinda Davis et al., *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the US in the 1960s and 1970s* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).See, especially Belinda Davis' essay "A Whole World Opening Up: Transcultural Contact, Difference, and the Politicization of 'New Left' Activists," 255-276. For migration consult Wendy Pojmann, ed. *Migration and Activism in Europe since 1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

[51] Though extreme, Santa Coloma's growth was in line with regional and national trends. Barcelona, much like Madrid and Bilbao, grew from 1 to 1.75 million during these years, while its metropolitan area grew at a "rate equivalent to the creation each year of a city of 100,000 inhabitants." Balfour, *Dictatorship,*

Though less spectacular, the transformation of the city during the 1980s was no less significant. As the industrial transition unmade the working class as a social structure, political identities in *Santa Coloma la roja* evolved. Simultaneously, the reconstruction of Spain's historic nations turned Santa Coloma into one of Catalunya's most significant "immigrant" suburbs. To study the way in which these changes conditioned the transformation of popular politics, I draw on forty activist testimonies in conjunction with a diverse range of archival materials, social movement memorabilia, regulations from the democratic period, and selections from the local and national press.[52]

Transformation, perhaps, is best illustrated by the life stories of grassroots activists. Rafael Parra, Lluís Hernández and Gabriela Serra, are three important activists who appear in this dissertation. Rafael Parra was born at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 in Vélez-Malaga, Andalusia. When he was eight years old he left school to

---

workers, and the city, 43. It is likely that the city's population continued to grow during the economic crisis of the mid-1970s due to the return migration of Spanish workers from northern Europe. With the post-industrial transition of the 1980s, there was some degree of return migration to the rural south, and the city's population dropped, stabilized at around 135,000. Population data can be found in, *Manual per al debat: Santa Coloma 2000*, (Santa Coloma: Ayuntamiento de Santa Coloma, 1989).

[52] I draw on testimonies I conducted during dissertation research between 2010 and 2012 and as a researcher for the University of California, San Diego's *Audiovisual Archive of the Francoist Repression* between 2008 and 2010. In addition, I also draw on select interviews from the Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, *Colleción Biografias Obreras* and the Centre d'Estudis sobre les Èpoques Franquista i Democràtica, *Moviment Veïnal Fonts Orals.* The social movement memorabilia used was found in a variety of personal and public collections. I am especially thankful to Eloy Jurado, Alicia Ruzafa, José Maria Corral and Joan Moran for sharing their personal collections. The public collections consulted include the *Archivo de Comisiones de Barrio* at the Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet. and donations from Marcelo López Rodenas, Mn. Cata, Jaume P. Sayrach and the local organization of PSUC to the Museu Torre Balldovina. The extensive collections of the Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet shed light on municipal administration during the Francoist and democratic eras, as well as the relationship between social movements and the municipal government. I am also thankful to the research group Centre d'Estudis sobre les Èpoques Franquista i Democràtica for sharing documents collected from the Arxiu Historic de Governador Civil de Barcelona (AHGCB), and the Museu d'història de la immigració de Catalunya and the Fundació Paco Candel for documentation on immigration. The press utilized was cultivated from a wide array of archives, institutions, and collections including, though not limited to, the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat and the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya.

work, first in a workshop and later in construction. After completing obligatory military service in 1959, Parra could no longer find work in Vélez-Malaga and decided to migrate to Barcelona. When he arrived he found work at *Catalana de Gas*, where he was subsequently elected union representative for the company's workers. After being fired in 1960 for organizing a strike, he returned to Vélez-Malaga where he dedicated his energies to reorganizing the local organization of the *Partido Comunista de España* (PCE). In a year's time the organization grew from four to thirty-four militants only to collapse in 1962.. Along with twenty or so of his comrades, Parra was sentenced to five years in prison in the *Penal de Cáceres* for organizing an amnesty campagin for political prisoners. While incarcerated, Parra discussed Communist strategy with fellow political prisoners and taught classes to common prisoners. Meanwhile, his mother survived on the aid sent by PCE militants from abroad, specifically Spanish migrant workers in Germany, Switzerland and France. After his release from prison, Parra was under the constant vigilance of the Sociopolitical Brigade (the secret police force of the Francoist regime). Unable to militate in Vélez-Malaga, he decided to migrate again in 1965, this time for political reasons. As four of his comrades from prison lived in Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Parra decided to move there to help reconstruct the local organization of the PCE's sister party the *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (PSUC). Unknown by the local Sociopolitical Brigade, Parra and other immigrants to the city established new party cells and participated in the city's urban social movements.[53] With the first democratic

[53] This is not to say that PSUC militants from Santa Coloma did not also participate in the labor movement. Double militancy was quite frequent and Rafael Parra, for instance, was also a union leader of the CCOO in construction. What is more, though Santa Coloma was a dormitory city, it did have a number of small textile factories with a predominantly female workforce, known for their radical labor politics. See especially Lola Carrión Cazorla, "La conflictivitat laboral a Santa Coloma de Gramanet des de 1968 a

municipal election of 1979, Parra was elected to the city council on the PSUC ticket. Parra, however, along with much of PSUC's working class base, rejected the party's new strategy of Eurocommunism—considered reformist—and PSUC leaders expelled him from the party in 1982, removing him from city council.[54] Rafael Parra's story, as such, sheds light on how members of the migrant working class reconstructed the Communist party during the 1960s only to diverge with party leaders during the 1980s.

The life story of Lluís Hernández, in contrast, reveals how the Communist party was remade from within as a result of the social alliances that the party forged during the course of the 1970s. Hernández was born in 1936 to parents who had divided loyalties during the Civil War, and was raised in Sant Andreu, a working class district of Barcelona. After finishing his studies in the seminary (as Vatican II began), Hernández volunteered to go to Ecuador as a missionary. While there, he met with some of the major figures of Latin American Liberation Theology, including Leonidas Proaño of Ecuador and Gustavo Gutíerrez of Peru. Expelled from Ecuador after helping to organize a general strike in the city of Riobamba, he returned to Barcelona in 1971. There, he requested a new assignment to the working class suburbs, specifically Santa Coloma de Gramenet, where a team of like-minded worker-priests was already established in the city. After some delay, Archbishop Jubany granted the request and Hernández created the new parish *San Ernest* (named after Ernesto Che Guevara) in the neighborhood Oliveres. In Oliveres, Hernández rapidly became a neighborhood leader, organizing within the parish as well as the isolated apartment blocks where he lived. Though he initially held

---

1978" (UAB, 2008); Nadia Varo Moral, "La conflictividad laboral femenina durante el franquismo en la provincia de Barcelona," (Madrid, Fundación I de Mayo, DOC3/2005, 2004).

[54] This biographical sketch is based on Rafael Parra Chica, Interview by José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, Colleción Biografias Obreras.

prejudices against Communism, he found PSUC militants to be the most organized and disciplined of the anti-Francoist opposition. What is more, Carlos Alfons Comín—the Communist leader and renowned theorist of the alliance between Christians and Communists—assuaged Hernández of his initial concerns, personally convincing him that Christians could help democratize the Communist party from within.[55] Thoroughly persuaded, Hernández joined the party in 1974 and ran for mayor on the PSUC ticket in 1979. He governed over Santa Coloma uninterrupted until 1991, weathering the acrimonious division of PSUC in 1982, the advance of the Socialist party (PSOE), as well as the conservative turn of the Church hierarchy and the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall.[56]

At the same time that the old Communist left was reconstructed and remade, a younger generation of social movement leaders was formed with the radical new left of the universities. The life story of Gabriela Serra exemplifies the trend. Born in 1953 to a middle class family in the Catalan city of Mataro, Serra was introduced to issues of social justice while participating in Catholic Action groups during her teenage years. She was not politicized, however, until she spent a year in Rome, where she studied at the university and came into contact with the new radical left, specifically the collective of left wing journalists who wrote for the Italian paper *Il Manifesto*. When she returned to Spain in 1973, she worked as a teacher and entered the underground union *Plataformas anti-Capitalistas* and the underground political party *Organización de Izquierda*

---

[55] The complete works of Carlos Alfonso Comín have been collected in the seven volume set, Alfonso Comín, *Obras*, (Barcelona: Fundació Alfons Comín, 1986-1992). For Comín's biography, consult Francisco José Carmona Fernández, *Cambios en la identidad católica: la juventud de Alfonso Carlos Comín* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias/Prodhufi, 1995).

[56] This biographical sketch is based on two interviews: Lluís Hernández, interview by Nadia Varo Moral, July 24, 2009. CEFID, Moviment Veïnal, Fonts Orals, and Lluís Hernández, interview by Andrea Davis, October 20, 2011.

Comunista (OIC). The OIC, like many new radical left parties of the era, encouraged its militants to go to the working class zones of the country to politicize social struggles. Accordingly, Serra moved to Santa Coloma. She worked alongside a team of activist teachers and administrators in the national school *Lluis Millet* while participating in the city's urban social movements, serving as the elected president of the Neighborhood Association Singuerlín in 1976. She also became a leader of the OIC, running as a candidate for Parliament in the first general elections of 1977 and, later, after the OIC was fused into the *Movimiento Comunista* (MC), for city council in 1979. Following these elections, it became clear that the new radical left would remain an extra-parliamentary force in Spain and Serra adapted accordingly. She continued to militate within neighborhood associations and later became a founding member and leader of the *Coordinadora pel Desarmament i la Desnuclearització Totals* (CDDT), the Catalan expression of the wider European peace movement during the Second Cold War.[57]

The activist trajectories of Rafael Parra, Lluís Hernández and Gabriela Serra intersect in this exploration of popular politics in Spain between 1968 and 1989. Chapter one sets the scene for the dissertation by analyzing Spain's long 1968 at the level of grassroots politics. It uses the case study of Santa Coloma de Gramenet to examine the processes of community formation and politicization that occurred in working class neighborhoods. It then examines the establishment of urban movements and the institutionalization of neighborhood organizations as 1968-inspired innovations to promote self-management.

---

[57] This biographical sketch is based on Gabriela Serra, interview by Andrea Davis, January 16, 2012 and "Gabriela Serra: sin sillón pero con voz en el Ayuntamiento," *Grama* #126, April 21-28, 1979.

Chapter two focuses on the first democratic municipal term (1979-1983), examining how newly elected officials, party militants, and social movement activists struggled over the legacy and future of the urban movement. It demonstrates that struggle was most intense at the local level, where conflicts within and between the major parties of the left overlapped with conflicts between municipal governments and neighborhood associations. Though these struggles were rooted in the particularities of the Spanish context—conflicting assessments of the Transition and disenchantment regarding the limited funding and undefined jurisdictions of municipal governments—they reflected broader European debates regarding democracy and socialism in the post-68 era.[58]

Whereas chapters one and two are framed by 1968 and its aftermath, chapters three, four and five analyze ongoing struggles that shed light on the transformation of popular politics during the late 1970s and 80s. Chapter three examines competing visions of appropriate symbols, organizations and narratives for the post-fascist era, demonstrating that civil authorities hindered local efforts to confront the legacy of the Francoist dictatorship at the same time that they gave extreme right militants free reign to target leftwing municipalities with impunity. The research demonstrates that there was no informal or consensual "pact of silence" during the Transition; grassroots activists were coerced to drop memory and the demand for transitional justice from their public agenda.[59]

---

[58] Though the first democratic municipal elections were held in 1979, the *Ley de Bases de Régimen Local* was not passed until 1985. Afterwards the country's autonomous communities passed additional regional legislation that further regulated the jurisdictions and obligations of municipal governments. In Catalunya, the *Llei municipal i de regim local de Catalunya* was passed in 1987.

[59] Describing the so-called pact of silence, Paloma Aguilar writes, "A new form of politics made its debut in Spain, a crucial change that was welcomed by all. Something was brought into play and repeated time and again which is of considerable significance in understanding the importance of historical memory in this process: finally, Spaniards had proved capable of avoiding a kind of historical curse which prevented

Chapter four focuses on the struggle for education. In contrast to other popular struggles that continued through and beyond the Transition, activist groups and municipal officials worked together in their efforts to expand and reform the public education system. The alliance helped to defuse potentially destabilizing situations as the state of autonomous communities was established and the process of Catalan national reconstruction was initiated. The fruit of allied efforts revealed the potential and limits of local empowerment vis-à-vis the constraints of regional and national power structures.

The final chapter explores the popular response to the first world model of democracy that the United States promoted in Spain between 1981 and the 1986 referendum on Spain's membership in NATO. I argue that NATO served as an international—and trans-European—constraint that undermined the model of local empowerment that had been promoted at the level of grassroots politics since the 1960s. While the 1981 anti-NATO campaign and the subsequent establishment of the Spanish peace movement reinvigorated and transformed this model, the 1986 referendum reinforced the limits of local empowerment, marking the end of a long cycle of mobilizations in Spain.

---

us from reaching consensus-based solutions [...] Due to the economic, social and administrative transformations of recent years and the harsh lessons of the past, it was possible to break the spell." Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*, English-language ed ed. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 151.

Chapter 1

Spain's Long 1968: The Urban Movement of the 1970s

Beginning in the late 1950s, Francisco Franco's authoritarian regime adapted to the circumstance of the Cold War. Aiming to strengthen relations with the West, the regime introduced liberalizing legislation that modernized the economy and guaranteed services and limited freedoms to the Spanish people. Important sectors of the regime, however, were not committed to liberal reform. Consequently, freedoms were unevenly applied or periodically retracted and the government did not pass the economic reform measures necessary to fund the services newly guaranteed. [1] What is more, as officials and developers regularly colluded to subvert urban planning regulations, urban conditions deteriorated following the liberalization of the economy (when three million Spaniards migrated from the rural south to the industrial north), prompting urban dwellers to use their newly conceded freedoms to make collective demands.[2] As the regime responded with a combination of concessions and repression, many interpreted the inconsistency as a sign of internal division. To convert this division into a crisis of the state, anti-Francoist activists dedicated their energies to politicizing and expanding urban protest movements, ultimately producing, in the words of theorist Manuel Castells, "the largest and most

[1] For more on the evolution of the Francoist regime and its component factions see Hispán Iglesias de Ussel, *La política en el régimen de Franco entre 1957 y 1969: proyectos, conflictos y luchas por el poder*; Molinero and Ysàs, *La anatomía del franquismo*.

[2] For more on the dynamics of urbanization in the Barcelona metropolitan area, Spain's industrial capital, see Trevor Goldsmith, "From Falangism to Technocracy: The Legislation and the Reality of Spanish Urbanism in Barcelona, 1939-1976," *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 3 (2011); Amador Ferrer i Aixalà, *Els Polígons de Barcelona : l'habitatge massiu i la formació de l'àrea metropolitana* (Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 1996).

significant urban movement in Europe since 1945."[3] Popularly known as the "neighborhood movement," the urban movement first emerged in the late 1960s in poor neighborhoods and new industrial cities, before becoming a mass "citizen movement" in the mid-1970s during the early years of the Spanish transition to democracy.[4]

To date, research on the urban movement has centered on debates regarding the origins of Spanish democracy. Framed in response to an older body of scholarship that privileged the role of modernization and elite agency in democratization, this research has established that the grassroots contribution of "ordinary men and women" helped to undermine the dictatorship and constitute "the building blocks of a future democratic citizenship."[5] This chapter builds on this recent scholarship. However, rather than take the formal establishment of Spanish democracy as the end of my investigation, I contend that the urban movement marked the beginning of a longer process of contestation. As the subsequent chapters of this dissertation demonstrate, activists built upon the legacy of the urban movement as they continued to mobilize for more social and participatory forms of citizenship through and beyond the transition in Spain.

---

[3] Castells, *The city and the grassroots*, 75.

[4] The urban movement is the subject of an expanding new historiography. For an account of the movement in the Barcelona metropolitan area see Molinero and Ysàs, *Construint la ciutat democràtica*. For the case of Madrid see Pérez Quintana and Sánchez León, *Memoria ciudadana y movimiento vecinal*. For a global account of legal associations, and their contribution to the construction of democratic citizenship, see Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*. Urban activism spread to Portugal during the revolutionary period of 1974-1975, and there is reason to believe there were direct connections between the two movements. For a recent discussion of the Portuguese case, consult Pedro Ramos Pinto, *Lisbon Rising: Urban Social Movements in the Portuguese Revolution, 1974-75* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013). For more on the term "citizen movement," its origin and significance, see Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 261-64.

[5] *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, xii. Carme Molinero and Pere Ysas, place greater emphasis on how the due to the prolonged crisis of the Francoist state, the urban movement in Spain arguably constituted the continent's most extensive experiment in participatory democracy.[5]neighborhood movement contributed to the "crisis of the dictatorship. See Molinero and Ysàs, *Construint la ciutat democràtica*, 27-28.

In this chapter, which focuses on the case study of Santa Coloma de Gramenet, I present a fine-grained analysis of the emergence and institutionalization of the urban movement and point to the ways in which the movement can be situated within the context of Europe's long 1968. Not only did the movement constitute one of the continent's most extensive experiments in participatory democracy, but Spanish activists mobilized in concert with a series transnational influences and ideological trends, including: Vatican II and the development of Liberation Theology, the old left's adoption of Antonio Gramsci's theory of interclass alliances, and the non-hierarchical organizational structure and anti-capitalist objectives of Autonomist Marxism.[6] What is more, like 68-ers across the continent, many Spanish activists shared the formative experience of mobility and, in some cases, "transcultural contact:" an experience that Belinda Davis argues was central to the formation of Germany new left.[7]

The chapter opens by examining the role of the Church in the process of pre-political community formation.[8] In 1969 when Santa Coloma was officially designated a

---

[6] 1968 scholar Gerd-Rainer Horn makes this argument about the urban movements in Spain and Portugal. Horn, *The spirit of '68*. Integrating the Iberian Penisula into the narrative of Western Europe's 1968, challenges the view that "the political failure of '68 is explained not so much by the supposedly utopian nature of proposals such as self-management as by the complete absence (with the partial exception of Italy) of a social basis for the movement." Müller, "What Did They Think They Were Doing? The Political Thought of the Western European 1968 Revisited," 80. On Catholic activism consult, Clifford and Townson, "The Church in Crisis: Catholic Activism and'1968'." For the transformation of the old-left in the post-68 moment, consult Eley, *Forging democracy*, Chapter 4. On Autonomist Marxism, see especially Steve Wright, *Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism* (London: Pluto, 2002).

[7] Davis et al., *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the US in the 1960s and 1970s*, 255-76. Also consult the edited volume on migration and activism, Pojmann, *Migration and Activism in Europe since 1945*.

[8] There is an extensive historiography on the role of the Church in democratization. Most scholars argue that Vatican II (1962-1965) offered a new ideological framework that was more compatible with democracy than the National Catholicism of the Francoist regime. This new ideological framework, these scholars continue, inspired lay Catholic groups such as the *Juventud Obrera Católica* (JOC) to become involved in the country's sociopolitical movements, where the historic division between Marxism and Catholicism was finally bridged. See Feliciano Montero García, *La Acción Católica y el franquismo* (Madrid: UNED, 2000); José Manuel Cuenca Toribio, *Catolicismo social y político en la España*

city after its still-growing population passed the 100,000 mark, the Church had the most significant institutional presence within the municipality. State institutions fell behind the city's rapid growth and, as Santa Coloma had been a small agricultural town before 1950, there were no preexisting centers of commerce or entertainment. Given this context, when a team of worker-priests built six new parishes, these parishes structured community life in the city's chaotically constructed neighborhoods. The second section of the chapter explores the process of politicization by following how militants of the old and new radical left came together with progressive Christians and professionals to give shape to the neighborhood movement.[9] I focus on the 1971 struggle for a social security clinic in Santa Coloma, and argue that the struggle exemplifies how the transition from single-issue protest to permanent neighborhood organizations was realized in working class cities.[10] In the final section of the chapter, I examine the institutionalization of Santa Coloma's neighborhood movement during the transition to democracy. Focusing specifically on the city planning efforts that culminated in Santa Coloma's *Plan Popular*,

---

contemporánea (1870-2000) (Madrid: Unión Editorial, 2000). Audrey Brassloff, *Religion and Politics in Spain: The Spanish Church in Transition, 1962-96* (New York: Macmillan 1998). William James Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2000). Pamela Radcliff has also contributed to these debates. She argues, "whereas in the first decades of Francoism the parish was the center for the most traditional forms of religious sociability, in the sixties and seventies its resources were used to promote new forms of associative life…and the common link between the parish and the different associations was not political opposition, but structural support." Pamela Beth Radcliff, "La iglesia católica y la transición a la democracia: un nuevo punto de partida," in *Religión y política en la España contemporánea*, ed. Carolyn P. Boyd (Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2007), 212.

[9] Like Manuel Pérez Ledesma, I question the distinction between "new" and "old" social movements, especially when it comes to analyzing the neighborhood movement. Manuel Pérez Ledesma, "'Nuevos'y 'viejos' movimientos sociales en la Transición," in *La Transición, treinta años después*, ed. Pere Ysàs and Carme Molinero (Barcelona: Península, 2006), 117-52. The literature on professionals and the new radical left remains sparse. On the new radical left consult Laiz, *La Lucha final*. On professionals see, Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*; Castro Torres, *La prensa en la transición española, 1966-1978*. There is also an anthology of archival sources collected by Gómez Alén and Vega García, *Materiales para el estudio de la abogacía antifranquista*.

[10] For the purposes of comparison I draw on Emili Ferrando Puig and Juan Rico Márquez, *Les comissions obreres en el franquisme: Barcelonès Nord, 1964-1977* (Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2005); Domènech Sampere, *Quan el carrer va deixar de ser seu*.

I demonstrate that institutionalization overlapped with the legalization of neighborhood associations and the development of new theories regarding participatory democracy and the role of neighborhood associations in the country's future democratic municipalities.[11]

THE CHURCH: PRE-POLITICAL COMMUNITY FORMATION

On 9 March 1963 four seminary students wrote Barcelona's Archbishop Gregorio Modrego to request that they be sent to the suburbs to work as a team. Inspired by the French tradition of worker-priests and emboldened by the Second Vatican Council, Salvador Cabré, Jaume P. Sayrach, Joaquim Trias and Josep Esquirol appealed to the Archbishop's own concern regarding the "especially worrisome situation of our suburbs."[12] In February of 1957 the Archbishop had organized a congress dedicated to the suburbs. Framed as a new "human problem" facing the Church and State—inextricably linked by the 1953 Concordat—the Archbishop originally hoped that the "uncontrolled displacement of the masses from one region to another" would be reversed and the expansion of the suburbs halted.[13] In 1963, however, following the 1959 liberalization of the economy, it was clear that the wave of migration to Barcelona had only just begun. Carefully appealing to the Archbishop's sensibilities, the seminary students argued, "the shared life among priests" will provide an example of "union and charity…austerity and poverty," effectively countering the growing dangers of "solitude

---

[11] In my analysis of these new theories, I explicitly privilege the ideas born from experimental practices at the grassroots rather than the ideas about particapatory citizenship that were formally articulated by the acclaimed theorists of the *citizen movement*. For more on these theorists see Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 265-69.

[12] "Porteu-Nos Al Suburbi!," March 9, 1963, printed in Salvador Cabré, *L'Església del segle XXI: hipòtesi de treball* (Barcelona: Mediterrània, 1998).

[13] As quoted in "Los suburbios: 1957", (paper presented at the Los suburbios, 1957: compendio de las ponencias y coloquios desarrollados durante la 'Semana del suburbio', 1957).

and worldly temptations" in the suburbs.[14] Given the need for new parishes and the fact that "older parish priests were not interested in these assignments," Archbishop Modrego granted the request in 1965 and the four young priests were sent to Santa Coloma.[15]

When they arrived, Salvador Cabré, Jaume P. Sayrach, Joaquim Trias and Josep Esquirol abandoned their priestly robes and rejected their state salaries to become manual laborers. The Church later replaced the latter two with Joan Moran and Lluís Hernández, and Mn. Cata was added as the sixth member of the team as the city continued to grow. In accord with the principles of Liberation Theology, these worker-priests believed that to "evangelize or make a Church" it was necessary to demonstrate "loyalty to the working class."[16] As Jaume Sayrach later explained "I wanted them to see Jesus when they saw me, above all the Jesus of the Church that was poor and small. For this reason we had to be naked, we got rid of our robes and the images of the cult, and, like Jesus dedicated ourselves to others."[17]

Eager to demonstrate their dedication through large gestures as well as daily acts, the priests prepared a homily for a festival mass jointly celebrated on 31 December 1966.

> Today struck us as an opportune moment to discuss a pressing matter in Santa Coloma, its OVERFLOWING GROWTH. In very few years Santa Coloma has changed its appearance…Without accusing anyone we would like to draw attention to the contradictions of this growth. On the one

---

[14] "Porteu-Nos Al Suburbi!," March 9, 1963, printed in *L'Església del segle XXI*.
[15] Joan Moran, Interview by Andrea Davis, (October 21, 2011). According to Jaume Sayrach, the joint assignment to Santa Coloma in 1965 was a totally new and unprecedented formula. See Jaume P. Sayrach, *En el fondo: 1965-1979: Parroquia de Sant Joan Baptista: Santa Coloma de Gramanet* (Santa Coloma de Gramanet: Fòrum-Grama, 2002), 11.
[16] Jaume Sayrach "Sectors Obrers," *Correspondencia,* num. 100, December 1971, reprinted in *L'Esperança d'una Església pobra i evangèlica: (Santa Coloma de Gramenet), 1965-1980* (Santa Coloma de Gramenet: Fòrum-Grama, 2007). As manifest in the publication *Iglesia de Santa Coloma*, the working class priests of Santa Coloma participated in the transnational Liberation Theology movement, maintaining direct contact with many of its Latin American proponents.
[17] Jaume Sayrach,Testimony of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Dictatorship. University of California, San Diego, 2009.

> hand, the new energies of work and expansion. On the other, the impoverished quality of life as each individual faces conditions that make it difficult, if not impossible, to develop as human beings. We think especially of the children and the youth. Future workers, their lives and ideals are still tender. They need schools, friends, families and a sufficient degree of serenity to accompany them through life…What kind of future can they expect?…The Christian faith that brings us to this temple today makes us desire a better situation for all who live in Santa Coloma. Everyone should have a dignified home, the children should have adequate and effective schools, health care should be in the reach of all, and so many other things that will make our existence together more humane.[18]

Considered an affront, the Francoist municipal government responded to the mass by retracting the subventions that had been promised to the city's new parishes.[19]

Distanced from the administration, the worker-priests of Santa Coloma established lay Catholic organizations and Popular Christian Communities, where people assembled to worship.[20] In both settings, they actively promoted popular participation so that the individual could become the "agent responsible for his own development."[21] In the Popular Christian Communities traditional Church hierarchies were broken down and services were led in an assembly-like style. As Joan Moran later described it, "my priesthood was not distinct from yours…I saw that anyone could lead the dominical

---

[18] The homily was prepared by Joan Roca Riera, Pere Adell Montala, Joan Mata Muné, Joaquim Trias Birba, Pere Nuñez Soteras, Josep Esquirol Grau, Jaume-Patrici Sayrach, Salvador Cabré Puig and Andreu Pages Casals, later printed in Cabré, *L'Església del segle XXI*.Salvador Cabré.

[19] See ibid., 44-46.

[20] According to William James Callahan, "Many groups took the institutional form of 'base communities' that had developed in Latin America during the 1960s, that is, small groups of Christians who sought new ways to deepen their faith within a community setting…The disparate origins and organizational fluidity of individual communities, comprised for the most part of fifty members or less, make accurate statistics on their number and membership difficult to establish. In 1982, the CEE estimated that five thousand communities with two hundred thousand members were in existence. The hierarchy's attitude towards these associations varied, depending, as always in the Spanish Church, on the reaction of individual bishops." Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998*, 633.

[21] La Comisión Local de Justicia y Paz, "El Ambulatorio de Santa Coloma de Gramenet," January 16, 1971, Mn. Cata Personal Collection, Museu Torre Baldovina.

assembly."[22] Lay organizations including the *Juventud Obrera Católica* (JOC) and *Justicia y Paz*, a human rights advocacy group, were also run in an assembly-like style.

Eugeni Madueño later testified to the appeal of the communities that formed around the city's worker-priests, explicitly contrasting these communities to the repressive National Catholicism of the Francoist school system and state.[23]

> My teacher was very, very Francoist. He would select the best students, or convince us, that one of our daily benefits was that we could visit what they called the '*santisima.'* That is, we could go to the Church and pray in front of the tabernacle where the host is kept, eh?…The two of us, we would go to confess, we would self-inflict pain and hurt ourselves to suffer. For example we would put garbanzos in our shoes…It was curious: it was that Francoist way of being, like lining up before entering class to sing *cara al sol*, all that ritual related to the Francoist School. And later the values were exactly the same…
>
> The other option was Jaume [Sayrach]. Jaume was like a breeze, a breath of fresh air. For us it was a way to discover girls in a clean manner, a pretty manner, idealized, you understand? It gave more importance to love than any other aspect, to respect. There was a song of the JOC that was *respetaremos a la obrera*. It was a way of dignifying the working class, of making it strong, of making it healthy, making it clean with all those pure ideals, no? It was good. Like all things it had parts that weren't, but…In that era, in that specific moment, in that species of refugee camp that was our neighborhood, it was a godsend. We were very lucky that Jaume and the worker-priests arrived…
>
> I didn't have the capacity at that moment to analyze the situation. I saw that they were different because, on top of it, there was a moment when I had to opt between doing one model or the other. That model of excessive devotion and repression…it had its attractions because, well, you were implicated in a practice that differentiated you from the rest of the world. The rest of the world, they didn't take it seriously. The lived their lives and were happy. Being the guy with garbanzos in your shoes that suffered made you different…It was clear that Jaume was something else and, well, the choice between self-inflicting pain in the Church and going on excursions with girls your own age, passing the day exploring in the

---

[22] Joan Moran, Interview by Andrea Davis, (October 21, 2011).

[23] Jaume Sayrach distinguished between an official and popular Church in "Sectors Obrers," Correspondencia, num. 100, December 1971, reprinted in Sayrach, *L'Esperança d'una Església pobra i evangèlica*.

> countryside, well it was much more attractive, no? You met in the middle of the woods to speak about religion—in the middle of the woods sitting in a circle—you brought your sandwich and talked about sex, about love, about work, about things that really affected your life. Sure, it was evident that the two didn't have anything to do with each other.[24]

As Madueño explains, groups like the JOC were particularly appealing to a youth with few other social outlets, many of whom, like Madueño himself, had only just recently arrived to the city. As Alicia Ruzafa later recounted:

> I would say that when I think a little about my life, what I did when I was at the farmhouse was dream of leaving, of having friends, relating with people. It was a dream, a great dream of mine. Well, when we arrived to the neighborhood [Santa Rosa, in Santa Coloma] Salvador Cabré came to my house to introduce himself to my parents…that man did important work welcoming immigrants. When he saw that new families arrived at the Church he would introduce himself, ask where they lived and come to their houses to get to know them. Then he would invite us to the Social Center, which was just starting. It was still under construction, but there was a group of youth that began to meet, and I began to relate with the JOC…
>
> I suppose it was personal as well, we came from a repressive educational background dominated by religious ideas of what was good, what was a sin, and so on. And that man [Cabré's assistant, Andreu Pages] was the first to take off his robes and wear jeans like a normal person with a cap and a hammer out and about. And that image that I had of the town priest began to disappear. He [Pages] tried to be a person like the rest of us, and the truth was he was. Also in that group the repressive image of the Church began to disappear…My integration here into the city, and also the fulfillment of my dream, was dependent on that group, which always functioned in a respectful manner. In the JOC there was always this idea of being committed to helping others, and I believe that later we became the cement of the social movements.[25]

With the Popular Christain Communities, JOC, and other lay organizations established, Santa Coloma's worker-priests began to call for the complete separation of Church and State. Refusing to sign certificates of good conduct, poverty, or religious

---

[24] Eugeni Madueño, interview by Andrea Davis, (February 24, 2012).
[25] Alicia Ruzafa, interview by Andrea Davis, (January 21, 2012).

observance, they publicly argued that their role was neither to "investigate the conduct or situation of people" nor "intervene in official paper work and orders."[26] Sensitizing the population to the possibility of civil marriages and abolishing traditions such as the first communion dress, they sought to undermine the Francoist regime's ideology of National Catholicism while restoring religiosity to Catholic practices.

> In our country, national belonging has been equivalent to being Catholic for too long. Not being Catholic has been the same as being a 'Moor.' Hasn't it been necessary for many years to be married by the Church to win points at work? Can we require the faith of our 'Catholics' when the origin of their religiosity can be found in customs that are social acts?[27]

At the same time that the worker-priests called for the separation of Church and State, they also used the Church's special privileges—which included the right to publish free from state censorship, the tentative right to Catholic Action association, and the protection from police intrusions into Church properties—to protect and promote "basic civic rights."[28] Referencing the 1973 revision of the 1953 Concordat, the worker-priests of Santa Coloma argued, "We observe with perplexity that they [the Holy See of the Catholic Church] ask for basic civic rights as if they were privileges…Wouldn't it be

---

[26] "No mas certificados," *Grama* #11, November 1969. Jaume Sayrach later explained, "Because of the Church's participation in the Civil War on Franco's side, the Church alone benefitted from privileges. Recognizing Catholicism as the official religion of Spain, the Regime showered the religion with honors. Given this situation it was logical that young priests rebelled, dreaming of the separation of Church and State. On the one hand, coexistence with the dictatorship had converted the Church into something hateful for the population, invalidating it as a place to Evangelize. On the other hand, Marxist criticism and anticlericalism had sensitized the most dynamic elements of the Church, who saw with new eyes that worrying for the wellbeing of people 'here on Earth' was a value deriving from and full of faith…In Barcelona this progressive current struck a chord, above all in so-called working class sectors, where the Popular Communities arose." Sayrach, *En el fondo*, 8-10.

[27] "Reformas en la celebración de la Primera Comunión," *Grama* #2, February 1969. See also Hacia el Matrimonio Civil," *Grama* #1, January 1969.

[28] For more on how Spanish Catholic Action was censured and subordinated during the 1960s see Montero García, *La Acción Católica y el franquismo*. According to Montero, censure and subordination produced a "crisis" within Spanish Catholic Action between 1966 and 1968 that exposed "the political impossibility of a liberal-democratic reform from within the Regime." Feliciano Montero García, *La iglesia: de la colaboración a la disidencia (1956-1975)* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 2009), 169.

more just if the Church preoccupied itself with making sure that all citizens enjoy these rights?"[29]

To these ends, Santa Coloma's worker-priests had demonstrated their commitment to civic rights since the late 1960s. They operated Social Centers, legalized through the Church but explicitly free from "political and religious discriminations."[30] In the words of Joan Moran, they were "part of the Church though not in the service of the Church, but rather the neighborhoods."[31] In 1969 they also established the local newspaper *Grama.* Initially legalized as a Church publication, *Grama's* first editor Jaume Sayrach meticulously distinguished between civic and religious concerns, opening *Grama* to all "who struggle and suffer for a more humane and just society."[32]

The net result of these efforts, as Sayrach concluded in 1975, was that it "created a network of friendships and species of youth front."[33] One of many paths to politicization, this youth front, according to the labor activists Juan Guerrero Luque, "was like a trampoline from which we each began to organize. Deep down we were a little lost, eh? But we discovered something important there, how to combat injustice, with or

---

[29] "Concordato y Privilegios," *Iglesia de Santa Coloma*, October 7, 1973.
[30] Statutes, Centro Social del Barrio de Santa Rosa, January 30, 1967. CCBB Archive, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma.
[31] Joan Moran, Interview by Andrea Davis, (October 21, 2011).
[32] "Editorial," *Grama* #1, January 1969. While religious issues might be discussed in interviews or feature stories, Church issues were explicitly relegated to the section titled *L'Esglesia Al Mon.* In October 1972, the working class priests began to edit their own publication *Iglesia de Santa Coloma: suplemento de la hoja dominical*, and *Grama* became a fully secular publication. For more on the history of *Grama,* seeJaume Guillamet, *La premsa comarcal: Un model català de periodisme popular* (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat, 1983). Also, Eugeni Madueño, *Grama. Una experiencia insolita de periodisme popular* (Barcelona: Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya, 1988). *Grama* put the city's Francoist administrators on the defensive and they countered *Grama* with *Gramenet,* as it was their contention that "the means of communication" are the primary "vehicle through which men and entities exteriorize" in contemporary society, the "base of the system of social interrelations." Editorial, *Gramenet*, no. 0 extraordinario, February 1969.
[33] Jaume Sayrach citing an article he wrote in 1975 in, Sayrach, *En el fondo*, 68.

without the Church in the end, we all started there."[34] And, in stark contrast to the possibilities of the 1940s and 1950s, both men and women could take this particular path to politicization openly in the public sphere. As the labor and neighborhood activists Emiliana Salinas remembered:

> I was surprised, with my eyes open wide like two windows. My ears open too, listening. Someone in the JOC meeting yelled 'but it is impossible to do politics in this country.' And in that moment I understood that what we were talking about was related to politics…At first I simply wondered how it was possible that I had had rights since I was twelve years old when I began working and I'd never heard anyone speak about them before. I was starting to see the relationship…We were in full dictatorship and even though it was forbidden to do politics it was always discussed at home in a hidden manner.
>
> And this made me remember when I was a child, listening to *La Piranaica* [the clandestine radio station of the Spanish Communist party] with my family at my neighbor's house. My mother threatened me every night saying, 'if you tell a friend of yours or anyone that we come to listen to *La Piranaica* here, they will kill your father, they will take me away, they will kill Pedro, they will take his wife away and you will all be left alone'…It was something they had to say because there was a great risk. But ideas were maintained during clandestine times, each in the manner that they could.
>
> I remember listening, when I was five, to the speeches of Dolores Ibarruri, *La Pasionaria* [a Communist leader], that's what we called her, a speech for New Years. I remember those words when she said that the youth of Spain should have rifles for boyfriends. We all commented on that speech…The voice of *La Pasionaria*, that I remember, just like I remember the horrible noises of the interference trying to find the frequency on the radio- eeeee, ooooo, eeee, ooooo- terrible noises, until we got the channel and everyone became quiet and listened as the broadcast cut in and out…
>
> Well, in that meeting I said to myself 'politics?' 'Are they speaking of all that? Are they speaking of all that, the politics that we couldn't speak about there? Here, yes, it can be discussed openly?' It was all very surprising. So I decided to ask, 'and what's politics?' So someone could clarify the relationship. 'What's politics?' And they clarified it in a few

[34] Juan Guerrero interview as quoted in Ferrando Puig and Rico Márquez, *Les comissions obreres en el franquisme: Barcelonès Nord, 1964-1977*, 283.

> words; an explanation that even today continues to serves me. The chaplain of the group, Jaume Sayrach, answered saying 'politics is earning your daily bread.'[35]

POLITICIZATION: FROM SINGLE ISSUE PROTEST TO NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

The Church was not the only path to politicization. In addition to the subtle processes of family transmission described by Salinas, there were also underground political organizations—both longstanding and new—as well as progressive ideas circulating in universities and among professional groups, contributing to the increasing politicization of journalists, lawyers, architects and teachers, among others. In this section I introduce the underground political organizations that were active in Santa Coloma during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and follow how militants came together with progressive Christians and professionals to give shape to the neighborhood movement. [36] I focus on the 1971 struggle for a Social Security Clinic as it exemplifies how the transition from single-issue protest to permanent neighborhood organizations was realized.

Whereas the youth of Santa Coloma were commonly introduced to politics through the Church, many workers who arrived to the city during the 1960s were already organized with the Communist *Partido Comunista de España* (PCE). The only political organization to survive the dictatorship intact, the PCE had an unparalleled underground infrastructure, centrally organized with active party cells and local committees throughout the country and in exile, and regional affiliates in Catalunya, *Partit Socialista*

---

[35] Emiliana Salinas, interview by Andrea Davis, (October 25, 2011).

[36] For a comprehensive account of the emergence of the neighborhood movement in the Barcelona Metropolitan area see especially, Ivan Bordetas Jiménez, "De la supervivencia a la resistencia: la gestació del movimient veïnal a la Catalunya franquista," in *Construint la ciutat democràtica. El moviment veïnal durant el tardofranquisme i la transició* ed. Carme Molinero and Pere Ysàs (Barcelona: Icaria: Memorial Democràtic 2010), 35-112.

Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC), and the Basque Country, *Euskadiko Partidu Komunista* (EPK). After the PCE abandoned insurgency in 1956 for a more "peaceful solution to the Spanish dilemma," it focused its energies on the labor movement, particularly the organization of the semi-legal unions *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO).[37] As semi-public activity increased so too did repression, and Communist leaders and militatants were imprisoned during the early 1960s.

In Santa Coloma, the entire local committee was imprisoned in 1961. While some of these militants returned to Santa Coloma after their release from prison in the mid-1960s, party leaders did not allow them to recommence political activities for security reasons. Instead, ex-political prisoners, such as José Camara de la Hoz, dedicated their energies to the less compromising task of running mutual aid societies for political prisoners and their families.[38] Meanwhile, party leaders sent longtime militants to Santa Coloma to help reconstruct the local organization while organized workers, whose political affiliations were unknown to the local Sociopolitical Brigade, arrived to the city with the constant influx of immigrants.[39] As Rafael Parra (who was introduced in the Introduction of this dissertation) later explained:

> The permanent influx of immigrants from other regions of Spain, well, for example, from Extremadura working class people continually arrived!

---

[37] PCE, *Por la reconciliación nacional,por una solución democráticay pacífica del problema español*, 1956.

[38] José Cámara de la Hoz explained that after returning home from prison "the citizens considered me a symbol of the struggle against Francoism. I didn't have to dissimulate my ideology any longer, on the contrary, I could display it publicly in the cases I considered opportune."José Cámara de la Hoz, *La Verdad de un soñador* ([S.l: s.n.], 2005), 22. It is also worth noting that PSUC militants collaborated with the Church, specifically Joan Moran, to run the city's mutual aid society.

[39] Pedro Soto, for instance, was explicitly sent to Santa Coloma to help reconstruct the local organization in 1964. After participating in the Barcelona trolley-strike of 1951, Soto worked in emigration in France for a decade before being sent back to Spain as a new member of the PCE's Central Committee in 1962. He militated in Madrid for two years before moving on to Santa Coloma, where he became a Central Committee member of PSUC.

> Among the workers that arrived from Extremadura there were comrades who were already organized in the party. They began to participate immediately because they were already organized…They came with an address and the leaders of the party already knew their names.[40]

Some, including the Téllez family from Andalucía, formed a near-complete party cell upon their arrival to the city while others joined the party later, after their incorporation into the area's labor movement.[41]

Though the underground infrastructure of the Communist party was unparalleled, they were not the only organized political force in the city. There were also a variety of movements of the new radical left. While many of these movements sent militants to Santa Coloma after the neighborhood movement had already been consolidated, the *Grupos Obreros Autonomas* (GOA) were established in the city from early on, and played a central role in giving the neighborhood movement its initial shape. Organized in the densely populated neighborhood Fondo, the GOA of Santa Coloma was composed of anarchist, Marxists and Christian activists.[42] An autonomous and unitary base union movement, the GOA modeled its organizational structure on the historic example of the anarchist union *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT) and drew upon the new ideological principles of Autonomist Marxism, particularly the rejection of centralism and hierarchy in pursuit of radical grassroots democracy. Though the Autonomist Marxists of Italy are perhaps better known, according to Fernando Paniagua de Paz,

---

[40] Rafael Parra Chica, Interview by José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, Colleción Biografias Obreras.

[41] For more on the Téllez family, consult Francisco Téllez, Testimony of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Dictatorship. University of California, San Diego, 2010 and Epifania Roman, Interview by José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, Colleción Biografias Obreras. For more on Barcelona's labor movement see, Balfour, *Dictatorship, workers, and the city*; Ferrando Puig and Rico Márquez, *Les comissions obreres en el franquisme: Barcelonès Nord, 1964-1977*.

[42] Marcelo López Ródenas, *Historia social de la Santa Coloma moderna: vida cotidiana y conflicto social, 1954/1979* (Santa Coloma de Gramenet: Regiduria de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, 1982).

Autonomist Marxists, including the GOA and other groups, were the second largest force within the working class movement of the Barcelona metropolitan area during the late 1960s and early 70s.[43]

In 1971, when massive public outrage was expressed in response to the city's inadequate medical services and facilities, local militants of the Communist party and new radical left came together with progressive Christians and professionals to give shape to the neighborhood movement. Since as early as 1969, journalists from *Grama* had drawn the public's attention to the precarious physical conditions of the city's sole social security clinic—*el ambulatorio*—and the fact that the facility could not attend to "the great masses that require its services."[44] Though the Francoist regime did not adopt the concept of social citizenship that was embraced in Western Europe, the recently established social security system allowed recipients to conceive of certain services as rights. [45] Journalists actively promoted this rights-based understanding when they explained that the social security quotas collected were intended to finance medical facilities and services and argued "We are not asking for anything that we are not justly due in fair correspondence."[46] When a faulty heater exploded and set the *ambulatorio* on fire on 29 December 1970, the inhabitants of the city were left without access to medical

---

[43] Fernando Paniagua de Paz, "Círculos de formación de cuadros - grupos obreros autónomos: los primeros pasos de la autonomía obrera en Barcelona (1969-1973)" (Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, 2005). For more on the Italian Autonomist Maxists movement consult the works of theorist Antonio Negri, one its most notorious leaders, as well as Wright, *Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism*.

[44] Dr. Luis Arrizabalaga as quoted in, "Cuatro Médicos opinan sobre algunos aspectos de la Sanidad Local," *Grama* #2, February 1969. Also, "El insuficiente servicio del Ambulatorio del S.O.E." *Grama* #4, April 1969, and "Peligro en el S.O.E.," *Grama* #18, May 1970.

[45] For the theory of social citizenship see T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class, and Other Essays* (Cambridge University Press, 1950). The Francoist regime passed the Social Security Bases Act in 1963 and the General Social Security Act in 1966.

[46] "Peligro en el S.O.E.," *Grama* #18, May 1970. According to *Grama,* newspapers had begun to cover the "mythical figures" collected in factories for Social Security as early as 1969. See, "El insuficiente servicio del Ambulatorio del S.O.E." *Grama* #4, April 1969.

services and representatives from the city formed the underground *Comité Unitario* to channel popular outrage. Lluís Hernández represented the city's parishes; Eloy Jurado the catholic human rights advocacy group *Justicia y Paz;* Francisco Téllez, Alejo Castellanos, and Rafael Parra the Catalan Communist party PSUC; Salvador Bolancer, Marcelo Rodenás Lopez, and Juan Manzanares the Autonomist Marxist GOA; Antonio Jiménez the *Partido de Trabajadores* (PT); "El Rubio," *Bandera Roja*: "el Manaquillo," the Troskyists; and Camillo Rueda the socialist union *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT).[47]

The aim of the *Comité Unitario*, as the representatives wrote in their first report, was to "facilitate discussion regarding one of the many factors of exploitation that the working class suffers: their obligation to contribute to social security when the money collected is not invested in technically correct medical assistance for the benefit of workers." Establishing that 80,000 of the city's then 120,000 inhabitants were affiliated with social security, they calculated that the city's workers paid 851,200,000 pesetas annually for obligatory health insurance (SOE) and then contrasted the scant medical facilities and personnel in the city with the robust obligations of the state. "They [the Francoist State] will continue robbing us in the factories as well as the neighborhoods," the *Comité Unitario* concluded, "if we do not impede them with the force of our unity."[48] Sections from the report were then circulated in the city on leaflets that implored

[47] The names and affiliations of *Comité Unitario* members as remembered by Lluís Hernández, interview by Nadia Varo Moral, July 24, 2009. CEFID, Moviment Veïnal, Fonts Orals. and Eloy Jurado, interview by Andrea Davis, January 21, 2012.
[48] Trabajadores de Santa Coloma, Informe "Acerca de la Seguridad Social y de cómo se concreta en Santa Coloma de Gramanet," December 1970, CCBB Archive, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

neighbors to discuss the matter in "bars, shops, barber shops and supermarkets."[49] To help facilitate discussion, the city's worker-priests opened the doors of their parishes to the population, publicly manifesting:

> We are on the side of the poor, because it is they who Jesus chose to construct his kingdom. We live under sociopolitical institutions that marginalize the poor and leave them unattended. We have an example of this in the services of the SOE and for this reason we oppose the situation, which is unjust and threatens God's plan.[50]

Journalists outside of the city also began to use the language of rights to support the struggle in Santa Coloma. For example, one journalists from the Barcelona-based *Noticiero Universal* wrote "Santa Coloma is one of the Spanish cities with the greatest SOE yields, in exchange, it is doubtful that there is a city that is worst attended."[51] Meanwhile, as the *Comité Unitario* decided to demand a full service social security clinic, journalists from the Spanish daily newspaper *La Vanguardia* advocated for "innovative solutions," arguing that full service clinics rather than *ambulatorios* would better serve the population while keeping true to "the spirit of the current social security system."[52]

With support in and beyond the city, the *Comité Unitario* organized a peaceful demonstration for 23 February 1971 and 3,000 people attended to demand a social security clinic. Rather than address the source of the problem, the Mayor of Santa Coloma responded to the demonstration by appealing to the Civil Governor. Singling out

---

[49] Octavilla, "Seguro Obligatorio de Enfermedad," January 11, 1971, Archivo CCBB, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[50] La Comisión Local de Justicia y Paz, "El Ambulatorio de Santa Coloma de Gramenet," January 16, 1971, Mn. Cata Personal Collection, Museu Torre Baldovina.
[51] "Se agrava el problema de la seguridad social," *Noticiero Universal*, January 13, 1971.
[52] "No hay solución definitiva para nuevas instalaciones de la seguridad social en Santa Coloma de Gramanet," *La Vanguardia,* February 14, 1971.

the city's worker-priests, and drawing attention to the protections that the regime offered to the Church, the Mayor wrote:

> It is lamentable that this and other demonstrations have been initiated in the different parishes of the locality, the only places where meetings can be held with frequency. The principle instigators of these meetings are the reverends Joan Moran, Jaume Sayrach and Salvador Cabré. The Mayor who writes you does not dare use repressive means to halt these meetings because, as they are held in the parishes mentioned, he believes that it escapes his jurisdiction and authority. It is for this reason that he pleads with you to use repressive means or pass the matter on to the Superior Authorities.[53]

In response to the Mayor's appeal, the Civil Governor sent the Sociopolitical Brigade to watch over the city. When the *Comité Unitario* distributed another clandestine leaflet, "congratulating the population for its firm presence and animating the workers to continue united," the Brigade detained a neighbor and the *Comité Unitario* promptly organized a second demonstration for 10 March 1971 to demand a Social Security clinic and liberty for the detainee.[54]

Rafael Parra, who represented PSUC on the *Comité Unitario*, later described the climate in the city as the second demonstration was prepared.

> The *Comité Unitario* counted on the total support of the Church…The police, the Sociopoliticals, exerted great pressure, running up and down Santa Coloma. They had conversations with some of the priests, with some of the priests who played a visible role at that moment…monsignor Cabré, Lluís Hernández, Morán! Above all it was the last two who played

---

[53] Lettter from the Mayor of Santa Coloma to the Civil Govenor of the Province of Barcelona, February 24, 1971, CEFID, Moviment Vecïnal, BDI.ref.256. Though the Concordant secured protections for the Church, as priests became increasingly politicized, the Francoist State rescinded these protections, periodically entering Churches and even establishing a prison in Zamora for dissident priests. For more on the role and function of Municipal governments in Catalunya during the Francoist era see, Martí Marín i Corbera, *Els ajuntaments franquistes a Catalunya : política i administració municipal, 1938-1979*, 1. ed. ed. (Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2000).

[54] Grupos Obreros Autonomos de Barrio (Sta. Coloma de Gramanet), "La Lucha De Santa Coloma," No Date, CEFID, Movimiment Vecïnal, BDI.ref.28. This clandestine document is, at one and the same time, a first hand narrative account of how the struggle was organized in Santa Coloma and a manifesto calling for the creation of Autonomous Workers Groups.

> a central role in the mobilizations! They [the police] attempted to threaten them [the priests] asking that they stop, that they demobilize the great demonstration scheduled. Naturally, they [the priests] refused.[55]

Threatened, the Mayor and the Delegate of the Ministry of Labor finally promised that they would immediately construct an *ambulatorio*.[56]

Too little too late, nearly 10,000 people attended the 10 March 1971 demonstration. Prepared for the possibility, the civil guard cordoned off the city's central plaza and armed police forces stood by with machine guns and a tank truck ready to hose demonstrators. The demonstrators descended on the plaza, yelling "*Ambulatorio,* no! Clinic, yes!" and the Civil Guard responded with violence. The protestors, in turn, hurled rocks, "converting the plaza into an authentic battle site" that resulted in innumerous injuries and thirty-two detentions.[57]

The official response to the demonstration exemplified the internal contradictions of the Francoist regime.[58] On the one hand, the Civil Governor submitted an official note to the press that described the demonstration as "subversive." On the other hand, the provincial delegate of the Ministry of Labor conceded to the demonstrators' demands, publicly promising to open a provisional *ambulatorio* and construct a five-story clinic with forty-five beds, equipped for small surgeries and pregnancies.[59]

---

[55] Rafael Parra Chica, Interview by José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, Colleción Biografias Obreras.
[56] Grupos Obreros Autonomos de Barrio (Sta. Coloma de Gramanet), "La Lucha De Santa Coloma," No Date, CEFID, Movimiment Vecïnal, BDI.ref.28.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ysàs, *Disidencia y subversión*.
[59] Official notes written by the Civil Governor and the Delegate of the Ministry of Labor were submitted to and published in *La Vanguardia*. See, "Manifiesto subversiva en Santa Coloma: Se practicaron treinta detenciones," *La Vanguardia*, March 11, 1971 and "Serios incidentes en Santa Coloma," *La Vanguardia*, March 12, 1971.

When four activists from the city were later court-martialed for their participation in the demonstration, progressive professionals, including the city's worker-priests, publicly highlighted the contradictions of the regime. For example, in his legal defense of one detainee, the labor lawyer Antonio Martín Martín contrasted the medical services provided in the city with the state's own legislation, concluding that it was "a civic and citizenly duty that obliged all to be there that afternoon." At the same time, Martín also pressured the authorities to conduct themselves in accordance with their own liberalizing legislation, arguing that the military trial was invalid because the case did not fall under miltary jurisdiction but the civil jurisdiction of the recently established Public Order Tribunal.[60] In turn, journalists from *Grama* published Martín's defense, contributing to what the historian Pamela Radcliff has called the "discursive reconstitution of the civic-subject" during the dictatorship.[61]

At the same time, the city's worker-priests used the trial to undermine the evolution of the regime's self-legitimating discourse: from justifying the Spanish Civil War in the 1940s and 50s to exalting the maintenance of peace beginning in the 60s.[62] In response to the military tribunal they wrote, "There is much discussion of peace, but it seems like we continue to think of the war [the Civil War, 1936-1939]. Yesterday, the

---

[60] Consejo de Guerra 36-IV-71, written defense by Antonio Martín Martin in representation of Diego Payatos Garcia, no date. Mn. Cata Personal Collection, Museu Torre Baldovina. For more on the Public Order Tribunal, or TOP, see Juan José del Aguila, *El TOP: la represión de la libertad, 1963-1977* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 2001). For more on the role of lawyers in Antifrancoist movements see the collected edition edited by Gómez Alén and Vega García, *Materiales para el estudio de la abogacía antifranquista*. The memoir by Albert Fina, *Des del nostre despatx*, 1. ed. ed. (Barcelona: DOPESA, 1978). Also consult Martín, Antonio Martín. Testimony of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Dictatorship. University of California, San Diego, 2009.

[61] Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 156. See, "Consejo de Guerra contra cuatro colomenses," *Grama* #49, January 1973.

[62] For more on how the Francoist regime legitimated itself using this discourse of peace, see Aguilar Fernández, *Memory and amnesia*, Chapter 2 "From the justification of the war to the exaltation of peace".

sixteenth [of December 1972], four neighbors from Santa Coloma were court-martialed for attending a demonstration that called for a new social security clinic."[63]

As for the *Comité Unitario*, following the concessions granted by the Ministry of Labor, its members decided to disband. Conscious that "a third [demonstration] would result in the military occupation of the city and a massacre," they voted to "pose battles in other and less spectacular terrains" in order to focus their efforts on "strengthening working class organizations."[64] The efforts of the Communist party and the GOA were most noteworthy in this regard. The Executive Committee of PSUC upheld the struggle in Santa Coloma as a model, distributing a leaflet to the working class suburbs of Barcelona that read, "PSUC calls on neighbors to demand vigorously that Francoist authorities comply with their petitions, following the recent and magnificent example of the 10,000 neighbors that demonstrated before the municipal government of Santa Coloma."[65] The Local Committees of the area promptly assumed the Executive directive, and the Committee of Santa Coloma appealed to its militants, writing:

> One of the most important tasks of the worker who is most aware and most militant is to systematically denounce the enormous quantity of deficits endured in our neighborhoods…Our intention is to expose with all the data necessary the extent of these deficits; demonstrating that each is the fruit of the ineptitude, neglect and disinterest of the Francoist regime and its servants…Our intention is to reach the maximum number of comrades, workers and neighbors in the city, integrating them into the struggle against exploitative fascist capitalism.[66]

---

[63] "Lo del Ambulatorio todavía colea" *Iglesia de Santa Coloma,* #11, December 17, 1972.
[64] Grupos Obreros Autonomos de Barrio (Sta. Coloma de Gramanet), "La Lucha De Santa Coloma," No Date, CEFID, Movimiment Vecïnal, BDI.ref.28.
[65] Comité Ejecutivo del PSUC, "Ante las jornadas del 30 de abril y el 1 de Mayo," April 21, 1971, CEFID, Movimient Vecïnal. BDI.ref.220.
[66] "Un Nuevo Frente de Lucha: Los Barrios," *Libertad: Órgano del Comité Local del PSUC de Santa Coloma,*#2, November 1971. CEDOC.

Meanwhile, the GOA of Santa Coloma circulated a lengthy firsthand account of the struggle for the *ambulatorio.* They explained the struggle to the broader provincial readership of the Autonomist Marxist *Boletín de Plataformas Comisiones Obreras*, at the same time that they called on the neighbors of the city to form autonomous workers groups:

> We reach out and support our neighbors in all that we have learned. The interest in neighborhood assemblies has been awakened! We need to participate in discussions regarding worker education as we fight for the liberty to associate and organize on our own. It is urgent that in each neighborhood we organize autonomous workers groups—that is to say groups willing to overcome the ideological divisions that hinder the advancement of the working class movement. We will achieve this by political and ideological formation, open and critical discussion, and well-prepared actions that respond to the interests of the most ample proletarian masses. THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS OF SANTA COLOMA WILL SERVE AS AN EXAMPLE FOR THE ENTIRE SPANISH WORKING CLASS. [67]

The discourse of both PSUC and GOA reflected the broader Marxist notion of the era that fascism and capitalism were inextricably linked. As both groups also coincided in their understanding of the neighborhood as a site of struggle, they collaborated to establish neighborhood commissions in the city. A June 1972 report titled "How to undertake revolutionary action in the neighborhoods of Santa Coloma," described the mission of the neighborhood commissions as one of "politicizing concrete problems to make it apparent that the Municipal government is in the service of capitalists and only serves their interest." According to the report, the commissions could achieve this mission by drawing attention to the "necessity of struggle" while emphasizing "the need

[67] Grupos Obreros Autonomos de Barrio (Sta. Coloma de Gramanet), "La Lucha De Santa Coloma," No Date, CEFID, Movimiment Vecïnal, BDI.ref.28. The leaflet was later truncated and published as, "Santa Coloma: Población obrera en lucha contra la explotación y represión capitalista," *Boletín de Plataformas Comisiones Obreras* #4, May 1971. CEDOC. It was the first time that an article in the provincial bulletin focused on a neighborhood rather than factory struggle.

for structural change to achieve total solutions." Firmly rooted in the socio-material conditions of the city, the neighborhood commissions sought to "propel and organize" legal groups—including parent associations and Social Centers—in order to identify the city's "real problems" and capture militants.[68] Organized per the principles of Autonomist Marxism, "militants of different ideologies and tendencies" could be members so long as their ideology or tendency had a "social influence" in the city; the individual accepted the criteria elaborated by the commission; and the individual militated in the neighborhood.[69]

In Santa Coloma, the neighborhood commissions were at the "forefront of practically all battles demanding a more dignified neighborhood" during the first half of the 1970s.[70] And, as the city garnered a reputation as *Santa Coloma la roja,* additional militants of the new radical left were sent to work "fronts" in the city, creating a link between the universities and the working class. For example, shortly after finishing their university studies in education, the *Organización de Izquierda Comunista* (OIC) sent Gabriela Serra to work the education front in Santa Coloma. Likewise, the *Movimiento Comunista* (MC) sent Jon Todor Antxustegui-Etxearte to work the youth front and Elvira Ruiz to work the education front.[71] Together these and other Communist teachers "of many tribes," as another teacher later put it, helped reform the city's schools by

---

[68] CCBB, Informe "De cómo puede emprenderse una acción revolucionaria en los Barrios de Santa Coloma," June 1972, Archivo CCBB, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[69] "Criterios C.B. Fondo" and "Sobre Las Comisiones de Barrio," Archivo CCBB, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[70] Marcelo Lopez Rodenas, "Comisiones de Barrio: Seis Años en la Brecha," *Grama* #96, January 1977. Mario Sasot makes the same argument in "Santa Coloma de Gramenet: Ejemplo de proganismo popular" in Jaume Carbonell, *La lucha de barrios en Barcelona* ([Madrid]: E. Querejeta, 1976).
[71] Gabriela Serra, interview by Andrea Davis, (January 16, 2012). Elvira Ruiz, interview by Andrea Davis, (December 11, 2011) and Jon Antxustegui-Etxearte, interview by Andrea Davis, (December 12, 2011).

interweaving pedagogical reform with experiments in participatory administration and neighborhood activism.[72]

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD MOVEMENT

Whereas the last section examined the forces that came together to realize the transition from single-issue protest to permanent neighborhood organizations, this section explores the institutionalization of the neighborhood movement. I track the process by following how neighborhood activists moved from making demands, as in the case of the *ambulatorio,* to directly engaging with government institutions and policies. Focusing specifically on the city planning efforts that culminated in Santa Coloma's *Plan Popular*, I argue that the process overlapped with the legalization of neighborhood associations on the one hand, and the development of new theories regarding the participation of neighborhood associations in the country's future democratic municipalities on the other.

To begin, it is necessary to first introduce the General Metropolitan Plan of Barcelona (GMP). A revision of the 1953 Regional Plan, the first draft of the GMP was presented to the public in March 1974. The 1953 Regional Plan had done little to regulate the area's urban development, as it was based on massively underestimated population projections and developers had persistently colluded with Francoist administrators to subvert regulations.[73] It did, however, shape the claims of neighborhood activists, who

---

[72] Josep Palacios, interview by Andrea Davis, (March 12, 2012). See Chapter 4 for more on how these grassroots experiences were later channeled into the movement to reform and expand the public education system.

[73] For more on the urban planning in Barcelona during the Francoist era, see Goldsmith, "From Falangism to Technocracy: The Legislation and the Reality of Spanish Urbanism in Barcelona, 1939-1976," 1-24. As Goldsmith writes, "Between 1950 and 1970, immigration had helped to swell the population of Barcelona's municipality from 1,280,000 to 1,745,000 inhabitants. This growth was in line with what the 1953 plan had projected. But in the rest of the metropolitan region, the population had exploded from 265,000 in 1950 to

contended that they had a collective right to the still undeveloped zones that the 1953 Plan had designated for green spaces and social equipments. Given that the initial draft of the GMP re-regulated many of these zones for commercial development, neighborhood activists throughout the area concluded that the GMP "enshrined the interests of developers" as they began to organize against the plan.[74]

At the same time that the GMP galvanized neighborhood activists, it also divided Francoist municipal administrators. Many had made their fortunes colluding with developers by passing partial plans to subvert zoning regulations. In 1974, however, it was clear that the Francoist regime was in an irrevocable state of crisis. In this context some administrators sought one last financial gain, backing new partial plans before the GMP could be put into force, whereas others publicly positioned themselves as the defenders of popular interests to secure a future in politics. In Santa Coloma, these dynamics brought the municipal government to a near standstill during the final months of 1974.

Can Zam, which was one of the three remaining undeveloped sites in the city of over 500 squared meters, had been regulated as a green zone by the 1953 Regional Plan. The Partial Plan Can Zam, backed by *Promotora de Inversiones S.A*.—a business advocacy group with 49% funding from the Bank of America—would allow apartment buildings to be constructed on the site at a greater intensity than that allowed by the future GMP. Projected to increase the city's population by 10,000, the Partial Plan Can

---

968,000 in 1970. This latter figure was more than double what the 1953 Plan projected for the time and even exceeded the plan's projection for 2000" (9).

[74] "¡Alerta! Plan Comarcal," *Grama* #67-68, July-August 1974. See also, "El Plan Comarcal en Nuestros Barrios," *Grama* #67-68, July-August 1974, and "Queremos otro Plan Comarcal,"*Grama* #69, September 1974.

Zam would only aggravate the city's well-documented lack of services and further limit the available plots for social infrastructure projects and green spaces.[75]

Since the establishment of neighborhood commissions in Santa Coloma, neighborhood activists had collaborated with architects and urban sociologists to document the city's need for basic urban amenities and services. For example, in 1972 the city's parishes had contracted the *Estudio de Urbanismo, Sociologia y Arquitectura de Madrid* to realize a study regarding the nature and scope of these needs. Using the legislation of the regime, the firm calculated that the there was a deficit of 4,516,000,000 pesetas or 40,000 pesetas per person. The precise breakdown of the deficit was then published in a special edition of *Grama* in order to "bring the grave problems of our city to the attention of administrators" and "make the population conscious of their situation."[76] Relations were subsequently established with professional associations in the Barcelona area as articles and studies began to move fluidly between technical journals, the local press and neighborhood organizations.[77] At the same time that this interaction provided activist with much-needed technical expertise, it also transformed professional

[75] "Can Sam: Otra Tormenta Municipal," *Grama* #73, January 1975.
[76] Extra "King-Kong," *Grama* #43-44 July-August 1972.
[77] For instance, the article by Jordi Borja, Josep A. Dols, Maria José Olivé, Joesp Olives Puig "Santa Coloma de Gramenet: los déficits de equipamientos colectivo e infraestructuras,"in the *Cuadernos de arquitectura y urbanismo* num.93, 1972 was based on the *Grama* extra "King-Kong." Likewise, in February 1975, *Grama* published an article from the *Boletín del Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores de Barcelona.* In the words of *Grama's* editors: "Given that the experiences [of left-wing urbanism] in Bologna and Portugal are of tremendous interest to us, immersed in an urbanism where the degradation of the city is the one and only doctrine, we reproduce this article by Manuel J. Campo." "Urbanismo de izquierda en Italia y Portugal," *Grama* #74, February 1975.

associations, some of which began to see themselves as participants "albeit in a strictly informational capacity—in the process of protest."[78]

With the municipal government of Santa Coloma publicly divided over the Partial Plan Can Zam, neighborhood activists capitalized upon the opportunity to demand the legalization of neighborhood associations. Though the regime had passed the Law of Associations in 1964, it was common for politically suspect organizations to be denied the right to associate. With nine pending petitions in the city, some drafted as early as 1971, neighborhood activists decided to hold a press conference to ask why "citizens have been denied the rights conceded by the 1964 General Law of Associations." They demanded that the Civil Governor either process their applications or explain the "concrete reasons impeding their approval."[79] The neighborhood activists publicly blamed the Mayor for vetoing their applications, and the province's Civil Governor caved under the pressure, replacing Mayor Juan Porta with Blas Muñoz, elusively arguing that the "great task of the political moment is to combine liberty, authority, order and justice."[80] Speaking in clearer terms, Mayor Muñoz announced at his first press conference in March 1975 that he would collaborate with the city's neighborhood associations, which were subsequently constituted.[81]

---

[78] Jordi Borja, Josep A. Dols, Maria José Olivé, Joesp Olives Puig "Santa Coloma de Gramenet: los déficits de equipamientos colectivo e infraestructuras,"in the *Cuadernos de arquitectura y urbanismo* num.93, 1972.

[79] "Carta al Gobernador," *Grama* #73, January 1975. "For more on the 1964 law and its inconsistent application, see Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 24.

[80] Martin Villa as quoted in, "Santa Coloma de Gramanet: El Gobernador Civil dió posesión del cargo al nuevo alcaldes," *La Vanguardia,* March 5, 1975.

[81] For the new Mayor's first press conference see, "Primera rueda de prensa del nuevo alcalde de Santa Coloma," Tele/eXpres, March 13, 1975, and "Las Asociaciones de Vecinos son el termómetro de los problemas ciudadanos," Diario de Barcelona, March 13, 1975. On the constitution of the city's Neighborhood Associations, see "Por Fin, Asociaciones de Vecinos," *Grama* #76, April 1975.

Under the new leadership of Mayor Muñoz, the municipal government returned to the topic of Can Zam on 16 October 1975. Though the Partial Plan had not been passed, the GMP still allowed for the site to be commercially developed. Accordingly the "populists opposition" within the municipal government presented a proposal—likely formulated by the city's new neighborhood associations—to amend the GMP by regulating the city's three remaining undeveloped plots of over 500 squared meters as zones for social equipments.[82] Seventeen out of the twenty-seven councilors rejected the proposal and the city's new neighborhood associations presented the *Manifiesto de los 51* in response.[83] Signed by fifty-one collective entities and individuals from the city, the manifesto outlined thirteen concrete demands and argued, "Thanks to the complicity of city councilors, real estate speculation combined with the actions of the great developers has made Santa Coloma a monstrous dormitory city…Only a democratic municipal government that is accountable to the public and has popular authority can stand up to these interests."[84] A "contagious idea" according to one newspaper, Santa Coloma's

---

[82] "Can Sam: Otra Tormenta Municipal," *Grama* #73, January 1975. Much of the academic literature characterizes this opposition as regime "reformers." Observers implicated in the sociopolitical movements of the era, however, as seen above, characterized them as the "populist opposition." While I have found no direct evidence that the Neighborhood Associations formulated the proposal, the proposal articulated the major demands voiced in *Grama* and in the streets. What is more, during the Transition it was not uncommon for Santa Coloma's "populist opposition" to present proposals on behalf of civic groups like the Neighborhood Associations. For the proposal and debate, see "Propuesta del Sr. Concejal Don Jose Rosset Bugia" Extraordinary Council Session, October 16, 1975. Documentacio dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del ple de l'ajuntament. Arxiu municipal ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet. It is also worth noting that the debates evidence the great conflict among Francoist municipal administrators at this time, with some looking to the new Metropolitan Municipal Entity, composed of representatives from the twenty-six municipal governments in the metropolitan area, as their ruling authority and others looking to the central government in Madrid.

[83] "El Manifiesto de los 51: Alternativa democrática al Ayuntamiento de Santa Coloma de Gramenet," *Tele/eXpres,* November 15, 1975 and "Los ciudadanos estudian sus problemas y piden dimisiones," *Diario de Barcelona,* November 8, 1975.

[84] *Manifesto de los 51,* Eloy Jurado and Alicia Ruzafa Personal Collection. In addition to the Neighborhood Associations, local cultural and sporting organizations, unions, professionals, priests, and business owners signed the Manifesto. The thirteen demands included: the creation of parks and social equipments; the

neighborhood associations became a model for associations elsewhere, demonstrating, as one activist put it, that neighborhood associations "can not only lead protest movements…but also coordinate efforts to achieve a truly representative and democratic municipality."[85]

Not all neighborhood activists, however, supported the legalization of associations or the call for democratic municipal governments. A minority of Autonomist Marxists decided to continue militating in the city's neighborhood commissions after the majority of activists had moved on to the legalized neighborhood associations.[86] With skepticism, they questioned, "What are the government's intentions in creating associations?" as they debated whether their relationship with the new associations should be one of "coordination, collaboration, occupation, utilization, rejection? Why and how?"[87] Following the *Manifesto de 51* some of the city's neighborhood commissions decided to endorse a "radical worker's democracy" while others argued, "as democratic as it may be, a municipal government under capitalism is a bourgeois municipal government that serves the interests of the dominant classes."[88] Divided and constrained by their underground status, the once vibrant neighborhood commissions of the city faded

---

building of schools, markets and medical facilities; the restoration of the city's historic monuments; and a solution to the problem of laid off workers.

[85] "La Política: Ideas Contagiosas," *Mundo Diario,* November 18, 1975, and Ricard Guix, Vocal Social de la AAVV del Centre, as quoted in "Al No de los 11 Contestan los 51," *Grama* #84, December 1975.

[86] Militants of the Communist party, as well as some of the major parties of the new radical left, including the MC, supported legalization.

[87] CCBB Centro, Discussion Points, June 1975 Archive CCBB, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, and CCBB Oliveres, Disscussion Points, July 1975, Archive CCBB, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

[88] The Neighborhood Commission Santa Rosa laid out the terms for a radical workers democracy in, "La Comisión de Barrio ante la Alternativa de AD,"no date, CCBB Archive, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet. THe Neighborhood Commissions Río Norte, Centro and Oliveras rejected the proposal in "Manifesto," July 1976, CCBB Archive, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

away as the struggle for democracy eclipsed the struggle against "exploitative fascist capitalism."

With the institutionalization of the city's neighborhood associations as part of a national urban movement, activists were able to assume an increasingly "carnivalesque revolutionary style."[89] For example, on *dijous gras*, the day of the tortilla in Catalunya, 3,000 city residents, the great majority children, occupied one of the few undeveloped plots in the city of over 500 meters squared to eat their tortillas and claim the site as a public park.[90] Later, in 1976, to symbolically inaugurate a market that had been promised to the population twelve years prior, activists laid the first building block and stocked makeshift stands with boxes of fruit under the sign *Mercado*. In response, the police detained Eloy Jurado (the president of the Neighborhood Association Singuerlin) unwittingly performing their role as the absurd force of public order.[91] Similarly, Gabriela Sera, the third female president of a neighborhood association in Spain, remembers teaching classes at a site where a school was planned to be built. Months later, when Mayor Muñoz showed up to inaugurate the school after construction was finally completed, he found to his public embarrassment that there was no new school to celebrate.[92]

In addition to engaging in playful acts of political theater, activists also used "all the means that the people have conquered" to "generate stable and firm processes in

---

[89] Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe 1989* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
[90] "El día de la tortilla: Los vecinos 'ocupan' el motocross," *Grama* #63, March 1974. Though this "occupation" formally preceded the legalization of Neighborhood Associations in Santa Coloma, Neighborhood Associations were legalized throughout the country and the demonstration was characteristic of the repertoire of Neighborhood Associations.
[91] "Los Vecinos 'inauguran' el mercado," *Grama* #88, May 1976.
[92] Gabriela Serra, interview by Andrea Davis, January 16, 2012.

search of concrete solutions."[93] This was most apparent beginning in the spring and summer of 1976, when Barcelona's General Metropolitan Plan (GMP) was finally approved and passed.[94] Activists in the industrial belt of Barcelona were unsatisfied with the final draft of the GMP, which was depicted on the cover of *Grama* as a mushroom cloud hanging over the city. Emboldened by the concessions that they had gained since the first draft was presented to the public in 1974, activists began to formulate popular alternatives.[95] In Santa Coloma, Social Centers and neighborhood associations laid the groundwork, establishing diverse neighborhood-based alternatives with the idea that "the neighbors should take the lead in administering the neighborhood" and "an urban plan is a tool that should be in the hands of the people."[96] Meanwhile, the editors of *Grama* called for a coherent citywide alternative, based on the ideals of participatory decision-making.

> The alternative that our city needs is not collected in the Metropolitan Plan [GMP], because it has been prepared in the style of the past; because it was born as a response to a narrow game of interests; because it is the work of those that neither know nor are interested in solving real

[93] "Treinta días 'completos," *Grama* #87, April 1976.

[94] Trevor Goldsmith writes, "Barcelona's Metropolitan Plan became law in 1976. A codicil exempting projects with current building licenses from the new plan's restrictions was a critical concession toward real estate interests affected by the plan. In spite of the initial skepticism of many grassroots groups, popular pressure in favor of the plan was also essential to its passage." Goldsmith, "From Falangism to Technocracy: The Legislation and the Reality of Spanish Urbanism in Barcelona, 1939-1976," 17. Indeed many popular demands voiced in response to the 1974 draft were incorporated into the 1976 law, facilitating its final passage. The Plan however, as I demonstrate above, did not mark the end of grassroots efforts.

[95] The title on the cover read "The Metropolitan Plan Affects Us All," *Grama* #88, May 1976. Since 1974, activists in Santa Coloma lobbied for the city's three undeveloped terrains of over 500 meters squared to be qualified as zones for social equipments. Their efforts were successful except in the case of Can Zam, where developers expressed the greatest interest.

[96] "Plan Comarcal No, Gestión de los vecinos si," *Pimienta: Noticias internas de la Asociación de Vecinos Santa Rosa* #4, June 1976. Collection Lopez Rodenas: Premsa d'entitas 1974-1980, Museu Torre Balldovina and "El llamado Plan Comarcal," *Boletin Arrabal: Centro Social Arrabal* no date. Collection Lopez Rodenas: Centro Social 1967-1979, Museu Torre Balldovina. See also, "Si al Plan Popular," *Boletín Informativo interno de la Asociación de Vecinos Singuerlin*, #3, no date. Collection Lopez Rodenas: Premsa d'entitas 1974-1980, Museu Torre Balldovina.

> problems…The times when one could only applaud or criticize those 'anointed' by power has passed…To respond to this official monstrosity that is the Plan, it is necessary to start working now, in order to offer an alternative based on three principles: 1) citizen participation is necessary to know the problems of the city, 2) power must be gained to oppose minority interests and respect common interests, 3) sufficient economic resources are needed to realize projects.[97]

A citywide alternative was subsequently put into motion when the architect Xavier Valls won a grant from the Caixa d'Estalvis de Sabadell to realize his *Estudio sobre la situación social y urbana de Santa Coloma de Gramenet y plan de alternativas*. With the 1976 grant, Valls established the *Grup d'Estudis Urbans de l'Escola Social*, a legal affiliate of the *Institut Catala d'Estudis Social de Barcelona*.[98] Working in collaboration with the city's neighborhood associations, the group brought together the technical expertise of local architects, geographers, health care workers, construction workers, and teachers. The neighborhood associations of the city were responsible for collecting the needs of their respective neighborhoods by documenting protests, conducting surveys, studying maps and diagrams, and holding assemblies. Meanwhile the group of technicians, as one later remembered, "advised the people of the neighborhoods about urbanism and popular participation, especially the consequences of the Metropolitan Plan [GMP] and the alternatives that could be proposed."[99] Ultimately, the

---

[97] "Tiempo de Alternativas" *Grama* #88, May 1976. For a discussion of the 1976 grant, see "Plan Popular," *Grama* #117, November 1978. The editors publicized and reinforced Valls' study through to and after its publication on 30 June 1978. See for example, "Por un Plan Popular," *Grama* #89, June 1976, "Luchan por un plan popular," *Grama* #99, April 1977 and, "Plan Popular," *Grama* #117, November 1978.

[98] Bishop Gregorio Modrego established the ICESB in 1951 as a Church-based social science research institute. Over the years, the ICESB supported the work and careers of some of the major social scientists of the late Francoist era, including, but not limited to, Jaume Bofill, Josep A. González Casanova, Josep Benet, Josep Maria Ainaud de Lasarte, Jame Nualart, Josep M. Guix Casimir Martí and Alfonso Carlos Comín. In 1973 the institute began to publish the social science journal, *Perspectiva Social.* For more on the history of the ICESB see Jordi Sabater i Gracia, *L'ICESB (1951-2001): Cronica de mig segle al servei de l'Església i la societat catalanes* (Barcelona: Editorial Claret, 2002).

[99] Santiago Juan as quoted in, Eugeni Madueño, Eugeni Madueño, *Xavier Valls: L'Arquitecte de la solidaritat* (Barcelona: CEMUT, 1988).

group of technicians compiled the proposals generated by the neighborhood associations and, as Xavier Valls explained, gave coherence to the project by "creating nuclei at the level of the neighborhood, the city, and the metropolitan area."[100] Formulated in accordance with the current legislation, Andreu Banús, one of the study's medical technicians, further clarified, "we did not merely follow the standards recommended, but proposed alternatives capable of addressing issues of quality."[101]

The study, which came to be known as the *Plan Popular*, was completed and published on 30 June 1978. The elaborate technical proposal was later translated into layman's terms on the pages of *Grama.*[102] As journalists from *Grama* explained, the *Plan Popular* proposed to freeze new and outstanding building licenses and offered suggestions as to how to re-appropriate land for public use. It then made concrete proposals to: make a "beautiful city;" order traffic; bring and end to the cities lack of urban amenities and services by promoting the public sector; reform the city's commerce and industry; improve housing conditions; and "conserve the urban environment."[103] In an accompanying interview*,* the study's co-author, geographer Maria José Olivé, succinctly summarized the aspirations of the *Plan Popular*.

> We haven't only taken into account the proposals that have been elaborated in neighborhoods or the graffiti signs that say 'here a park,' 'here a school,' but also the underlining social and cultural aspirations that are difficult to summarize in a demand. For this reason we have made proposals that encourage human relations and facilitate participation.[104]

---

[100] Xavier Valls as quoted in "Hablan los técnicos: El Plan Tiene Miga," *Grama* #117, November 1978.
[101] As quoted in "Hablan los técnicos: El Plan Tiene Miga," *Grama* #117, November 1978.
[102] Xavier Vals and Maria José Olivé, with the collaboration of Jose Maria Faundez, Alfredo Pastor, *Estudio sobre la situación social y urbana de Santa Coloma de Gramenet y plan de alternativas* (Santa Coloma de Gramenet: Casal de Cultura, 1978).
[103] "El Plan Propone:," *Grama* #117, November 1978.
[104] As quoted in "Hablan los técnicos: El Plan Tiene Miga," *Grama* #117, November 1978.

Participation, of course, had been facilitated throughout the elaboration of the *Plan Popular.* And the neighborhood associations, which were framed as its "mothers," hoped to continue participating by popularly administering the plan following the democratization of municipal governments.[105] As one neighborhood activist explained with caution:

> Political parties have a right to use the plan for electoral purposes, but if it ends there its role will be sad. The political parties should support the plan and allow the associations to assume and exercise control over it when there is a democratic municipal government…The future municipal government should recognize that the associations represent the neighborhoods and count on them to control and collaborate from the outside.[106]

This theory, born from experimentation at the grassroots, was in accord with the ideas about participatory citizenship articulated by Manuel Castells, Jordi Borja, and Tomás Villasante, the acclaimed theorists of the so-called *citizen movement*. According to these theorists:

> If democratic citizenship were going to be more substantive than a series of passive rights, then ordinary citizens would have to have direct input in public policy, especially as it affected their everyday lives on the local level. To facilitate and channel this input, these theorists conceived of the *Asociaciones de Vecinos* [neighborhood associations] as ideal conduits linking the private citizen with their community and the state at the level of municipal government.[107]

The next chapter explores the fate of this and other visions of local democracy as activists groups competed over the control of the democratically elected municipal government and its policies.

---

[105] "Asociaciones, Las 'madres' del plan: Tenemos que 'comer el coco' a los partidos," *Grama* #117, November 1978.
[106] A member of the Neighborhood Association Rió as quoted in "Asociaciones, Las 'madres' del plan: Tenemos que 'comer el coco' a los partidos," *Grama* #117, November 1978.
[107] Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 265.Pamela Radcliff, Making Democratic Citizens in Spain: Civil Society and the Popular Origins of the Transition, 1960-78, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 265.

Chapter 2

The Struggle over Democracy and Socialism in the Post-68 Moment: Local Politics (1977-1983)

During the course of the Transition, elites tempered popular politics at the national level. For example, the leaders of the recently legalized old left parties—the *Partido Comunista de España* (PCE) and the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE)—led their respective trade unions to sign the Moncloa Pacts in October 1977. In the context of the worst economic crisis since the 1930s, the unions agreed to freeze real wages, while recognizing the need for moderation in public spending in exchange for job security and progressive labor legislation. In tempering the demands of their union allies, the institutional left demonstrated to the regime reformers who led the transitional process their commitment to the *reforma pactada* (negotiated reform).[1] The following year, the Constitutional Assembly rejected the neighborhood association demand to recognize the associations as protected corporate entities. While the 1978 Constitution promised to protect and promote citizen participation, it turned many of the traditional demands of the citizen movement into rights. As historian Pamela Radcliff argues, "while these rights acknowledged the state's responsibility for community welfare, they

[1] The Moncloa Pacts was the third of four pacts that determined the course of the Transition. The first was the legalization of the Communist party in exchange that PCE leader, Santiago Carrillo, accept the monarchy and its flag. The second was the Amnesty Law, which released political prisoners in exchange that neither the opposition or the Francoist regime would push for the adjudication of war crimes. The last pact granted the regions and historic nationalities of Spain political autonomy in exchange that they surrender their rights to hold referenda on independence.

also illustrated the distinction between a rights-based vs. a participatory model of democratic citizenship."[2]

In ongoing scholarly debates regarding state-society relations before, during, and after the Transition, some scholars cite these national agreements to argue that the Transition initiated a process of "demobilization from above."[3] While the Moncloa Pacts and the Constitution undoubtedly conditioned subsequent mobilization, a sustained local focus reveals that popular politics persisted through and beyond the Transition. In the context of an elite negotiated Transition, it was local politics that became a privileged site for continuing debates over democracy and socialism in the post-68 moment. In this chapter I analyze these debates by identifying the competing objectives of various activist groups over the control of municipal government and its policies. In my examination of experiments to implement more participatory and socialist forms of democracy at the local level, I also identify the diverse obstacles to success.

In the first section of this chapter I explore the Left "in (the) transition."[4] Following the legalization of political parties and the first general election of 15 June

---

[2] Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 325.

[3] Sánchez León's work on social movements is, perhaps, the most contemporary iteration of the demobilization-from-above interpretation of the Transition. Sánchez León, "Politics and memory of democratic transition," 95-112. An earlier version of this interpretation can be found in Maravall, *La política de la transición*, 46.For a counterargument focused on the case of the labor movement, see Fishman, *Working-class organization and the return to democracy in Spain*.

[4] In his study of the ideological evolution of the major parties of the institutional left during the Transition, Andrade employs this clever formulation. Andrade Blanco, *El PCE y el PSOE en (la) transición*. In his analysis of the ideological evolution of the parties' base militants, Andrade argues: "During the Transition and above all the late Francoist era, the incorporation of militants into the universe of knowledge, values and cultural traditions [of the Communist and Socialist parties] was also realized—and sometimes especially so—in informal spaces such as one's place of work and residence—the factory and the neighborhood—where the parties had a presence. This process of ideological socialization was realized intensely in the quotidian practices of base organizations and social movements, where ideas were constantly transmitted and not simply given" (230). While Andrade's own focus is the schools of political formation that the Socialist and Communist parties operated during the Transition, this chapter presents a

1977, new divisions emerged between social movement activism and political activism, as well as between the forces of the institutional and extra-parliamentary left. I examine how these new divisions were articulated at the local level between the first general election and the first municipal election of 3 April 1979. In my analyses, I contend that the greatest transformations took place within the parties of the institutional left. As the militants of the institutional left shifted their focus to institutional politics, many abandoned the neighborhood associations and adopted a liberal theory of representation that contrasted with the communitarian theory of representation that had its origins in the urban movement.

The remainder of the chapter focuses on the first municipal term of the democratic era (1979-1983). Throughout Spain, municipal administration was initially constrained by a highly unfavorable legislative context. As local leaders of the *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (PSUC) warned in their 1979 campaign proposal for municipal action:

> The political change in the municipal government…will allow us to open a constituent period at the local level defining our municipal autonomy. This will be framed by a new Law of Local Governance passed by the Congress for all of the State and, and principally in the New Municipal Law of Catalunya elaborated by the Catalan Parliament and backed up by the new Statute [of Autonomy]. Only in this manner will it be possible to create an autonomous, democratic, decentralized municipal government open to popular participation. In the meantime, the new municipal government—though new—will be limited by the Francoist laws that regulate it today.[5]

---

vivid example of how base militants and social movement activists actively engaged with the evolving ideology of the institutional left at the level of local politics.

[5] PSUC Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "Anteproyecto de programa municipal para las elecciones," 1979, Chema Corral personal archive.

Francoist laws continued to regulate the internal organization and jurisdictions of municipal governments until the central government passed the *Ley de Bases de Régimen Local* in 1985.[6] Preceding the 1985 reform of municipal government, elected officials could only provisionally adapt the administrative procedures and public image of local governments to the new democratic context.

The lack of municipal reform left municipal governments uniquely susceptible to conflicts rooted in the competing visions of the Left. In section two of this chapter I analyze conflict between the institutional and non-institutional left over visions of citizenship. As there were no official norms regulating the citizen participation that the 1978 Constitution promised to protect and promote, neighborhood associations pressured municipal governments to provisionally recognize the associations as "the organized expression of the Citizen Movement."[7] In this manner the independent social movement activists and militants of the extra-parliamentary left who continued to mobilize in the neighborhood associations, attempted to institutionalize their model of participatory citizenship while participating in the formulation of municipal policies.[8]

In the final section of the chapter I explore conflicts within the institutional parties of the left. Despite the fact that the PCE formally abandoned Leninism in 1978 (to emphasize its commitment to democratic institutions) and the PSOE abandoned Marxism

---

[6] The autonomous communities passed subsequent legislation, including Catalunya's *Llei municipal i de regim local de Catalunya* in 1987.

[7] Coordinadora de Asociaciones de Vecinos de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "Plan de Urgencias," May 1979, Personal Collection of Eloy Jurado and Alicia Ruzafa.

[8] In her recent study of the regulation of citizen participation in democratizing Barcelona, Blakeley argues:"Despite the prominence of decentralisation and participation in party manifestos, local authority action was driven by other imperatives during this first four year mandate [1979-1983], all of which were essentially connected to 'putting the house in order' following forty years of authoritarian government in Barcelona." As I demonstrate in this chapter, a very different picture emerges when we situate "local authority action," within its broader sociopolitical context. Georgina Blakeley, *Building Local Democracy in Barcelona* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), 143.

in 1979 (to become a catchall party), many base militants maintained their longstanding commitments to both the working class and socialist revolution. The resulting conflicts within the institutional left were waged with particular intensity at the local level, facilitated in part, by the lack of municipal reform. As the Francoist laws that regulated municipal governments granted the mayor near majority power over the city council, there were no clear directives regarding how to govern by coalition. In this context, municipal governments were often converted into the direct and enduring sites of inter-party conflicts. Similarly, as there was no clear legislation regarding whether it was the elected officials or the elected parties that officially governed over municipalities, major intra-party conflicts were waged as competing party factions struggled to take control of base organizations to redirect the course of municipal policies.

The Transition did not demobilize popular politics from above. Competing activist groups continued to mobilize to institutionalize their distinct visions of the Left at the level of local politics. Ultimately, what hindered local efforts to realize more participatory and socialist forms of democracy was a combination of institutional, political and global factors. These hindrances, however, did not bring an end to popular politics. Rather, as I argue in the chapters that follow, activist groups created new grassroots alliances as their objectives shifted in concert with the changing political context.

THE LEFT "IN (THE) TRANSITION" AT THE GRASSROOTS

Following the first general elections of 15 June 1977, the parties of the newly elected parliamentary left positioned themselves as the uniquely representative forces in

Santa Coloma de Gramenet. After wining seventy-six percent of votes in the city (and forty-six percent in Catalunya), the local leaders of the communist *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (PSUC) and the socialist coalition *Socialistes Catalans* (PSOE and PSC) formed the *Comisión de Intervención Municipal* to negotiate directly with the city's Francoist administration.[9] In turn, Mayor Blas Muñoz, who expressed an interest in continuing his political career, used the opportunity to demonstrate his willingness to adapt to the changing political situation. In his words, "We have the possibility to dialogue, everyone who so desires can now be in contact with me; we are in a democratic system."[10] More than empty words, Mayor Muñoz promised to inform and accept the recommendations of the *Comisión de Intervención Municipal*.[11]

In response, the city's vibrant extra-parliamentary forces protested their "marginalization" from the *Comisión de Intervención Municipal*.

> By using totally closed and exclusive criteria when organizing the recently created *Comisión de Intervención Municipal*, PSUC, PSC and PSOE have marginalized parties that are popularly representative despite the fact that they either did not obtain parliamentary representatives or did not participate in the election. We are incorporated into and representative of the popular movement. The behavior of PSUC, PSC and PSOE is reprehensible.[12]

---

[9] In the senatorial election of 15 June 1977, the *Entesa del Catalans*—a group of senatorial candidates with the support of communists, socialists, republicans and independents linked to the unitary *Assemblea de Catalunya*—won 12 of Catalunya's 16 seats.

[10] As quoted in "Blas Muñoz, Ni caramelereo ni usurero," *Grama* #104, September 1977.

[11] "Socialista y Comunista ¡A por el ayuntamiento!,"*Grama* #102-103, July- August 1977. The reason the *Comisión* decided not to demand resignations of the Francoist city council was twofold. First, the municipal government was in debt and had no funds. Second, the lack of municipal reform meant that the local finances were dependant upon decisions made by the central government in Madrid. As such, with the UCD in power, the *Comisión de Intervención Municipal* intuited that if Socialists and Communists overtook the municipal administration before the municipal elections were held, they would be cut off economically and unable to present an appealing campaign.

[12] As quoted by Gabriela Serra in "Sta. Coloma: marginados los partidos no parlementarios," *Correo Catalan*, August 5, 1977.

The neighborhood associations also articulated a communitarian vision of representation, arguing that they had "acquired the right to participate in the *Comisión de Intervención Municipal*" given their "amply demonstrated qualifications animating popular and democratic struggles."[13]

Under the weight of this pressure, and assured that their advisory position in the Francoist city council had been consolidated, PSUC, PSC and PSOE opened the *Comisión de Intervención Municipal* to the extra-parliamentary left.[14] While PSUC representative Lluís Hernández promised that two members representing the neighborhood associations would also be incorporated, the promise was never fulfilled and the *Comisión de Intervención Municipal* was later renamed the *Comisión de Partidos Políticos*.[15] The ultimate decision to exclude the neighborhood associations reflected the tenor of ongoing national debates. While neighborhood associations and other civic entities had formed part of regional and national oppositional coalitions during the pre- and early Transition, once formal negotiations with the regime began in 1976, they were increasingly excluded from the political sphere.[16]

Following the Parliament's approval of the Constitution in October 1978—when the neighborhood association's demand to recognize neighborhood associations as protected corporate entities was rejected—neighborhood associations throughout the country set their sights on securing an active position within municipal governments. It

---

[13] As quoted in, "Las Asociaciones de Vecinos quieren asociar más," *Grama* #107, December 1977.
[14] Lluis Hernández, "Que hace la izquierda en el Ayuntamiento," *Grama* #107, December 1977.
[15] Hernández articulated the promise in "Que hace la izquierda en el Ayuntamiento," *Grama* #107, December 1977.
[16] Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 324. In addition to the examples Radcliff cites (the Communist-led Junta Democrática de España formed in 1974, the Socialist-led *Plataforma de Convergencia Democrática* formed in 1975, and the unitary *Coordinación Democrática* formed in 1976) neighborhood associations and civic entities were also incorporated into (and founding members of) the *Asemblea de Catalunya*, 1971-1977.

was in this context that the neighborhood associations of Santa Coloma responded to their exclusion from the *Comisión de Partidos Políticos* by presenting the *Plan de Urgencias* of November 1978 to the Francoist city council.[17] Their first attempt to popularly administer the *Plan Popular,* the neighborhood associations identified the city's most urgent needs while demanding a political voice in the municipality.

The parties of the extra-parliamentary left, which continued to actively organize within the neighborhood associations, argued that the *Comisión de Partidos Políticos* should assume the *Plan de Urgencias*. As Gabriela Serra of the *Movimiento Comunista de Catalunya* (MCC) wrote.

> Municipal life continues to be clearly anti-democratic: it is controlled by a municipal government whose interests are distinct from those of the population and fails to offer channels for citizen participation. Everyday the problems of the population are aggravated…All of this makes the action of neighbors more important: popular mobilizations are needed to save all that can be saved and demand all that we need. It is imperative that political parties put themselves at the front of the most pressing demands, elaborating a *Plan de Urgencias* with neighbors. In this situation our party has positioned itself in the center of civic activity, reinforcing the popular and associative movements of our neighborhoods by supporting and encouraging the political and urban demands of neighbors.[18]

In contrast, the increasingly statist parliamentary left sought to temper the demands of "neighbors" to stabilize the transitional negotiations underway. Local representatives of the institutional left thus rejected the *Plan de Urgencias*, arguing, "It is impossible to immediately realize all of the demands collected by this Plan and for this reason we have decided not to sign the agreement. We are, however, considering the possibility of acting

---

[17] Coordinadora de asociaciones de vecinos "Plan de Urgencias," November 1978. Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma, Archivo Comisiones de Barrio, dossier AAVV.
[18] "M.C.C. ante las Municipales: Imprescindible: La Unidad de la Izquierda," *Grama* #113, June 1978.

upon some of its points."[19] Irreconcilably divided over whether or not to assume the *Plan de Urgencias*, the active political forces in the city ultimately abandoned the *Comisión de Partidos Políticos* to prepare for the upcoming municipal election.[20]

For the municipal election of 3 April 1979, the extra-parliamentary MCC, recently fused with the *Organización de Izquierda Comunista* (OIC), advanced a three-point campaign: "For the immediate realization of the *Plan de Urgencias*. For the application of the *Plan Popular* under the control of the neighborhood associations. For the recognition of the neighborhood associations in the Municipal Charter."[21] A Marxist-Leninist party with ideological contributions from Mao Zedong and other international movements, the MCC called more broadly for the "rapid purge of fascist elements" and the creation of participatory institution "under worker control."[22]

Whereas the MCC framed itself as the number one advocate of the urban movement, PSUC framed itself as its natural inheritor. With over 450 Communist militants in Santa Coloma, PSUC's candidate list prominently featured neighborhood leaders—party militants and independents—under the campaign slogan "you already know us." In a state of ideological flux as militants debated whether or not to follow the PCE and define PSUC as an interclass Eurocommunist party or return to its traditional

---

[19] An unnamed representative of PSUC as quoted in, "Partidos y asociaciones: Les divide el Plan de Urgencias," *Grama* # 119, January 1979.
[20] Between the summer of 1977 and the winter of 1979, the Commission gained near veto power and successfully hindered the Francoist administration from continuing to overdevelop the city. In addition, many of the city's future leaders gained first hand experience of the functioning of municipal administration.
[21] MCC-OIC publicity, *Grama* #122, March 24-31, 1979.
[22] "Esto harían los partidos si gobernaran," *Grama* #121, March 1979.

Leninist affiliation, PSUC tactically focused on consolidating democratic institutions, fighting the economic crisis, and achieving Catalan autonomy.[23]

The recently unified *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (PSC-PSOE) was the last political party in the city to present their candidate list. Stalled by debates over whether or not to include independents—code, in that era, for social movement leaders without party affiliations—the Socialists finally decided, "We do not want independents as they will only confuse the electorate…it is time to bring an end to personality cults so that we can begin to work as a team." Further distinguishing their party from PSUC, as well as the extra-parliamentary left, the Socialists told journalists that they "would not hang the *Plan Popular* as a 'flag' directing their efforts." Emphasizing the unrepresentative nature of the city's neighborhood associations, the Socialists outlined their own plan for creating "truly representative" neighborhood organizations as they appealed to a more moderate electorate under the campaign slogan, "For a Santa Coloma freer, more prosperous and without classes."[24]

Just as the Socialists openly questioned the representative nature of the city's neighborhood associations, some neighborhood activists questioned the representative nature of political parties. Accordingly, these activists advocated for open candidate lists to allow "people with a certain degree of popularity in the neighborhoods" to enter municipal government in a truly independent capacity.[25] As Emiliana Salinas, an Autonomous Marxist leader of base union and neighborhood movements, later explained:

---

[23] "Abanico de opciones," *Grama* #101, June 1977 and PSUC Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "Anteproyecto de programa municipal para las elecciones," 1979, Chema Corral personal archive, and "Esto harían los partidos si gobernaran," *Grama* #121, March 1979.
[24] As quoted in "Quieren una ciudad próspera y sin clases," *Grama* #121, March 1979.
[25] "El Ayuntamiento no tiene un duro," *Grama* #104, September 1977.

> I did not run because of one proposal, a proposal that they rejected. I did not want to figure on the PSUC list as an independent. [I said,] I know that people from the industries in Santa Coloma know my name, many people from the neighborhood associations and many from the Church. From these different camps I can bring many independent votes, but don't call me an independent. Submit to an open list and I'll run just like everyone else as an independent, but do an open list. Lets form an *asamblea pensante* in Santa Coloma with all of the people who have run in front of the police and fought so that this city could be different—an *asamblea pensante*. And if five elected from the list are members of PSUC, then five [seats are given to PSUC] because they are the best candidates. And if three belong to the neighborhood associations, then three because they are the best; if three are independents, then three because they are the best: an open list. In this way the best candidates win and if PSUC wins a majority then that is because they have the best candidates…Besides, what can an independent do on a party list? They will only burn out once they enter municipal government. [26]

Whereas activists like Salinas sought to achieve a communitarian democracy by institutionalizing the assembly at the level of local government, the country's parliamentary parties advocated for closed and blocked candidate lists to rapidly consolidate their new party organizations.[27]

At the same time that the active political parties in the city presented their campaigns, local journalists introduced the likely mayoral candidates to the public. Indirectly elected by fellow city councilors, journalists concluded that Santa Coloma's future mayor would be the number one candidate from either the Socialist or Communist list. Accordingly, the personal profiles of Jesus Vicente of PSC-PSOE and Lluís Hernández of PSUC were circulated throughout the city.

---

[26] Emiliana Salinas, interview by Andrea Davis, October 25, 2011.

[27] While there were electoral decrees in place, the Electoral Law was not passed until 1985, allowing a degree of flexibility in the organization of municipal elections. In elections with closed and blocked party list, the electorate votes for a list, rather than individual candidates, and has no influence on how the party arranges the order of its list.

Jesus Vicente, as the journalists explained, was a national teacher who had been sent to Catalunya following his State examinations. A recognized advocate for the reform of the public education system, Vicente was well known as a leader within the city's Education Commission.[28] Initially affiliated with anarchists and Trotskyites, Vicente had joined the Socialist party in 1978. In his words, "in the end one realizes that to best serve the interests of the working class one needs to be in the ranks of a large party." Self-identified as a Marxist, he openly expressed his distaste for social democracy. Though Vicente argued that his ideological position was the same as "the majority of PSC comrades," the national leaders of the Spanish PSOE had recently discarded the party's historic affiliation with Marxisim while the leadership of the Catalan PSC was openly social democrat and Catalanista.[29] According to analysts of the time, it was unclear whether Vicente was strategically placed as the PSC-PSOE's number one candidate to appeal to the immigrant working class demographic of the city, or whether the decision was the uncalculated result of internal struggle and disorganization.[30]

The second mayoral candidate was Lluís Hernández. As journalists explained, Hernández was a worker-priest who had joined the Communist party in 1974, popularly known for leading urban struggles and organizing associational movements in the city.[31]

---

[28] Chapter 5 deals extensively with the educational movement in Santa Coloma. Jesus Vicente's subsequent political trajectory is also discussed there.

[29] Vicente as quoted in, "Uno de Ellos Será el Nuevo Alcalde," *Grama* #120, February 1979.For more on the internal dynamics of the PSC-PSOE during the Transition see Jacobson, "Navigating Divisions between Linguistic Communities: during the Spanish Transition to Democracy (1975-1982): The Spanish Socialist Party in Catalunya."

[30] For more on the specificities of the struggle in Santa Coloma, see "Los secretos infesables," *Grama* #120, February 1979.

[31] Hernández helped organize the struggle for limited rents in the city and participated in the city's earliest neighborhood commission. He was a founding member of the neighborhood association de Les Oliveres,

Before moving to Santa Coloma in 1971, Hernández had worked as a missionary in Ecuador under the Bishop of Riobamba Leonidas Proaño, a leading figure in Ecuadorian Liberation Theology. Forced out of the country by civil authorities after leading a six-day strike, journalists from *Grama* concluded that Hernández's "personal mission" must be "to create popular movements so that once they get going others can take over."[32] Despite the misgivings of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who were conservative in outlook and historically aligned with the Francoist regime, Hernández argued that there was no contradiction between his position as a Communist militant and Catholic priest. Meanwhile, in the context of the internal life of the party, he "voted with the Leninists" at the same time that he maintained "deep Eurocommunist convictions."[33]

At the same time that local journalists introduced the city's mayoral candidates, the editors of *Grama* also conducted a feature length interview with Xavier Valls, the architect of the *Plan Popular*, to explain his surprising absence from the city's candidate lists. In the interview Valls framed the municipal election as "the last opportunity," emphasizing that Spain's incipient democracy was under threat by the propensity of political parties to "make pacts from above while distancing themselves from the base." Though hopeful that the trend could be reversed with the democratization of municipal governments, Valls publicly explained the doubts that led him not to run on the PSUC ticket.[34]

---

advised parents as they constituted the Parent's Association of the National School Lluís Millet, and led a base Christian community in addition to his activities as a Communist militant.

[32] "De Misonero a Cura Comunista," Grama #107, December 1977.

[33] "Uno de Ellos Sera el Nuevo Alcalde," *Grama* #120, February 1979.

[34] According to Chema Corral, the Political Leader of PSUC's Local Committee at that time, PSUC first offered the number one spot on their candidate list to Xavier Valls. After Valls refused to accept the offer, the position was given to Lluís Hernández. Chema Corral, interview by Andrea Daivs (November 29, 2011).

> My pass through PSUC is an anecdote within a long personal process. It was a critical time after Franco's death. The situation in Santa Coloma struck me as particularly grave. I thought that the existence of a democratic assembly was necessary, and given that PSUC promoted such initiatives in those moments, I entered the party…The break was the result of my discrepancy with the party regarding three points. First, the instrumental vision that PSUC had of technicians and professionals so as to favor working class hegemony within the party. I believed in what came later with Eurocommunism, defined as pluralist hegemony: if society advances it is because all of the interested classes contribute their part, with equal participation and hegemony. The second point of conflict was produced by my obsessive insistence that all of the potential for struggle—led by people like Salva [Bolancer], Eloi [Jurado], Rogelio [Ventura], the José Marias and the Fernandos, along with so many others who we all know well—needed to be crystallized in stable institutions of citizen participation. We needed to liberate ourselves from the 'sadness' that accompanied each demand, where the same thing occurred every time: we waged all of our struggles in the streets until we were so few that we couldn't go out anymore. I believed that PSUC was the party that could operate this change, for this reason I joined the party. However, as PSUC refuses to sacrifice its conception of the party as an 'apparatus,' this change is impossible… There was a third point of discrepancy: I asked for a clear definition of citizen participation that was not a mere repetition of the campaign launched by the Central Committee but one that was adapted to the reality of Santa Coloma.[35]

Like Valls, many initially thought that PSUC was the party best equipped to operate change. And, in contrast to its sister party the Spanish PCE, PSUC achieved glowing results during the first elections of the Transition. In Catalunya, PSUC won 18.20% of the vote and eight deputies in the first general election (in contrast to the 9.3% of votes and twenty deputies won by the PCE and its regional affiliates in Spain), and in the municipal elections of 1979, five hundred and thirty-six council seats and twenty-nine mayors.[36] However, one challenging result of PSUC's success in forging social alliances

---

[35] Xavier Valls as quoted in, "Valls no tiene silla en el ayuntamiento," *Grama* #120, February 1979.
[36] Technically, PSUC was the most voted party in Catalunya at the 1977 general elections. Combined the Catalan socialist parties won more votes, but they only decided to act as a single consolidated party after the 1977. For an analysis of these results and their significance, see Molinero, *Els Anys del PSUC*, 265-73.

during the 1970s was that there were now competing visions within the party of the change desired and the means by which it could be achieved.[37]

Notwithstanding the competing visions maintained within the heart of the party, the people of Santa Coloma elected a Communist-led municipal government. In the words of one journalist, leftwing militants were "justly compensated" for the "anxiety, anguish, humiliation, persecution, beating and imprisonment that they suffered when showing their faces during the struggle to make Santa Coloma a livable city."[38] Of the twenty-seven council seats, PSUC won thirteen, PSC-PSOE eleven, the conservative Catalan nationalist coalition *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (CDC) two, and the conservative Spanish *Unión de Centro Democrático* (UCD) one, giving the former Francoist Mayor Blas Muñoz a seat on the council.

To explain these results and account for the roughly thirty-seven percent abstention rate in the city, analysts concluded:

> Abstention has basically affected the UCD and the PSOE as their bases are accustomed to voting for 'leaders:' read Felipe [González] or Suárez. On this occasion they had to vote for 'candidates who were practically unknown.' Meanwhile the historic presence of PSUC militants in all of the city's neighborhoods helps explain the notable rise of the party [since the legislative elections].[39]

Though the extra-parliamentary left was "poorly paid for their undeniable and historic efforts to improve the quality of life in the city," Gabriella Serra, the number one candidate on the MCC list, publicly declared "I will continue living in Santa Coloma.

---

[37] Giaime Pala, for instance, argues that the 1974 incorporation of Bandera Roja, a party deeply rooted in the urban social movements of Barcelona's metropolitan area, upset PSUC's internal balance and contributed to its eventual rupture. Giaime Pala, "Una semilla de discordia. La entrada de Bandera Roja en el PSUC," *HMiC: història moderna i contemporània*, no. 9 (2011). For more on the alliances forged in the 1970s, see *El PSUC*.

[38] "Con lagrimas de alegria," *Grama* #124, April 7-14, 1979. See the rest of the issue for similar evaluations.

[39] "Un alcalde cura con un Consistorio de obreros," *Grama* #124, April 7-14, 1979.

Even though the city is ugly, I like the people…I will continue promoting popular and associative life here where I am because this war of ours is for the long haul."[40]

COMPETING VISIONS OF THE LEFT: THE EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY LEFT

Following the constitution of the new municipal government, the Coordinator of Neighborhood Associations presented a second version of the *Plan de Urgencias*. Again identifying the city's must urgent needs, the Coordinator now appealed for the right to participate in city council meetings, the right to information regarding municipal administration, and the formal recognition of the city's Coordinator of Neighborhood Associations as an entity of public interest.[41] Outlining its communitarian vision of a participatory democracy and also signaling its anti-capitalist commitments, the Coordinator wrote:

> The municipal election has given way to the constitution of a democratic municipal government of the left, fulfilling repeatedly manifested popular aspirations… The Neighborhood Associations, as the organized expression of the Citizen Movement, maintained a demanding attitude with the former Francoist Municipal Government. With the new Municipal Government, the Associations will maintain our line of struggle against speculators and the interests of capital in our city. Given their electoral programs and promises, the majority forces of the left in the municipal government have a commitment to this struggle. The forces of the left are obligated to make the Municipal Government an arm of mobilization and struggle for a more dignified city. The Neighborhood Associations' program of demands is collected in the *Plan de Urgencias*, and in a more ample sense, the *Plan Popular*; this urgent plan was presented to the previous Municipal Government without, so it seems,

---

[40] "Así puede ser el nuevo Ayuntamiento," *Grama* #122, March 24-31, 1979 and Gabriela Serra as quoted in "Gabriela Serra: sin sillón pero con voz en el Ayuntamiento," *Grama* #126, April 21-28, 1979. Had the MCC organized a single candidate list with the other parties of the extra-parliamentary left- namely the PTC, Comunistas de Catalunya, and the LCR-they would have met the 5% threshold needed to win a city council seat. As discussed in Chapter 5, Gabriella Serra went on to become one of the major leaders of the Anti-NATO campaign in Catalunya.

[41] "Primera reunión en el Ayuntamiento: Las asociaciones quieren sentarse en el pleno," *Grama* #129, May 12-19, 1979.

> being worthy of response. Today, with light modifications, we return to present it to the Municipal Government.[42]

Despite its legislative constraints, the new municipal government responded to the *Plan de Urgencias* by assuming the *Plan Popular* as a guide for municipal action and recognizing some of the neighborhood associations' demands in the provisional law of citizen participation, the *Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana* of 29 June 1979.

In the preamble to the law, the governing parties wrote: "It is the political will of this municipal government…that municipal administration be transparent, controlled by the population and count on the opinions and criteria of citizens and their entities." Subdivided into three parts, the law framed "information and the collection of opinions as the first form of participation."[43] "Harvesting the great experience of the Education Commission," the law then institutionalized a system of sector-based Municipal Councils.[44] These Councils, which were composed of "entities corresponding with the respective sector, neighborhood associations, unions and political parties should they so desire" were guaranteed municipal resources and structurally linked to a corresponding municipal department.[45] The last section of the law outlined norms regarding the public's access to and participation in council meetings.

---

[42] Coordinadora de Asociaciones de Vecinos de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "Plan de Urgencias," May 1979, Personal Collection of Eloy Jurado and Alicia Ruzafa.
[43] "Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana," June 29, 1979. *Libro de actas del ayuntamiento pleno,* Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[44] "La participación ciudadana en la Gestión municipal," *Grama* #133, June 9-16, 1979 and "Proyecto de Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana," June 29, 1979. *Libro de actas del ayuntamiento pleno,* Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[45] "Proyecto de Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana," June 29, 1979. *Libro de actas del ayuntamiento pleno,* Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

While this new framework seemed to promise an intermediary approach between the liberal and participatory conceptions of citizenship, and to include the city's extra-parliamentary forces in municipal affairs, the substantive divisions between the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary Left were too deep to overcome. In addition to their conflicting views on representation—liberal vs. communitarian—many of the city's extra-parliamentary forces continued to level an anti-capitalist critique that was incompatible with the dynamics of the *reforma pactada*. Three conflicts regarding the implementation of the *Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana* demonstrate these divisions.

The first conflict was sparked by the municipal government's decision to raise and introduce previously uncollected taxes in the summer of 1979. With the laws regulating municipal governments unreformed as the massive decentralization of the state began, it was not initially clear who was responsible for financing municipal services.[46] This was no small matter in working class cities like Santa Coloma, where a great deal of capital investment was needed to fund basic infrastructure projects. While the city's neighborhood associations recognized that "taxes are a civic responsibility," they argued that the municipal government's plan to finance infrastructure projects by source and special assessment taxes was an "easy" solution that held the working class responsible for the lack of public investment and speculation of the era of Francoist development. "Have the councilors considered demanding responsibility from the previous mayors and

[46] For more on how municipal services are financed in Spain consult Robert Agranoff, *Local Governments and their Intergovernmental Networks in Federalizing Spain* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 127-48.

councilors, let alone the current UCD [central] government?"[47] Arguing that the municipal government had fallen "into the trap of the bourgeoisie" without properly informing citizens or capitalizing upon the city's "tradition of struggle," the neighborhood associations derided the *Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana* as they called for a more coherent "policy of opposition and information."[48]

In response to these criticisms, the city council publicly defended their position:

> The council completely shares the concerns of our comrades in the Neighborhood Associations…but this is a task that we must undertake together with our comrades in the parliament so that we can change the current legislation in order to achieve a progressive fiscal policy that provides the municipalities with the necessary resources to pay for the maintenance of equipments and services.[49]

In the same way that the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties had tempered the demands of their labor union allies to negotiate the Moncloa Pacts of 1977, municipal representatives tempered the demands of their allies in the neighborhood associations, shifting the initial burden of deficits onto the working class while signaling that they would formulate policy within the context of institutions rather than local assemblies.[50]

The conflict over taxes demonstrates how substantive debates regarding the equity of Spain's new democracy overlapped with debates regarding whether or not neighborhood associations would be recognized as valid political actors. These overlapping debates were not unique to Santa Coloma. At the Second Assembly of

---

[47] "Asociaciones de vecinos contra la subida de impuestos," *Grama* #137, July 7-14, 1979.
[48] Neighborhood activists Robert Rubio and Ferrán López as quoted in, "Los impuestos, que los pague la UCD," *Grama* #138, July 14-21, 1979.
[49] Concejal Felix Canovas "Los impuestos y las asociaciones," *Grama* #139, July 21-28, 1979.
[50] For an analysis of tax reform during the Transition, consult Francisco Comín, "Reaching a Political Consensus for Tax Reform in Spain: The Moncloa Pacts, Joining the European Union and the Rest of the Journey," in *Fiscal reform in spain: Accomplishments and Challenges*, ed. Jorge Martínez Vázquez and José Félix Sanz Sanz (Edward Elgar, 2007).

Neighborhood Associations in Catalunya in 1981, attended by 135 associations in representation of 61,189 members, a central demand—second only to the call for a new *Ley de Bases de Régimen Local* that formally recognized neighborhood associations—was the rejection of special assessment taxes, unanimously considered unjust to the "men and women who live in peripheral neighborhoods."[51]

The second conflict concerned the role of neighborhood associations in the civic realm. The organization of Santa Coloma's 1979 summer festival, *la Festa Major*, is illustrative. Throughout Spain, neighborhood associations had taken over the organization of community festivals during the final years of the Francoist dictatorship. The practice helped "to identify the association with the neighborhood or town," effectively usurping identification with the Francoist city council. [52] Following the constitution of democratic municipal governments, however, it was no longer clear whether the associations should continue to organize festivals. Underlying the debate were two different models of democratic citizenship: a liberal model whereby municipal governments organized festivals so as to reinforce the vertical axis between citizens and institutions, and a participatory model whereby the neighborhood associations organized festivals to reinforce the horizontal axis of civic bonds.

The municipal government of Santa Coloma took what appeared to be an intermediary approach, assuming the organization of the 1979 *Festa Major* while soliciting the participation of the city's various civic entities. However, following the lackluster celebration, the city's municipal officials publicly blamed the neighborhood associations for the *Festa's* shortcomings.

---

[51] "En busca de un ley municipal," *Grama* #213, February 11, 1981.
[52] Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 281.

> Given their experience we had hoped that the associations would be the center around which all the other entities grouped, but in reality they [the neighborhood associations] shone only for their absolute absence…The result of the *Festa* has served to demonstrate yet again our worries regarding the future of the citizen movement in Santa Coloma…We want to continue with our policies [of citizen participation] but without hiding the disturbing situation created by the most active sectors working in the neighborhood associations who do not want to collaborate.[53]

In this manner, municipal officials accused the extra-parliamentary left of instrumentalizing the neighborhood associations. Insinuating that the *Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana* hinged on the behavior of the neighborhood associations, officials called on the associations to be "ample, unitary and not *vanguardista.*"[54] By identifying the neighorhood associations with the extra-parliamentary left the municipal officials questioned the representative credentials of the neighborhood associations at the same time that they emphasized that civic participation was dependent on some degree of de-politicization.

In response, the Coordinator of the Neighborhood Associations wrote:

> Precisely because we are entities whose field of intervention has always been more global and general than any other sporting or cultural entity, we believed that we should have directed the celebrations alongside the responsible councilor or councilors. Because this proposal was not accepted, we played the same role as the other entities. We organized a concrete and specific activity.[55]

In this manner, the neighborhood associations highlighted what they interpreted as a contradiction of the *Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana* as

---

[53] Councilor Carlos Grande as quoted in, "El Ayuntamiento hace balance de la Festa Major" *Grama* #143, September 8-15, 1979.

[54] Carlos Grande, "Participación Ciudadana y Movimiento Ciudadana," Jornadas Movimiento Ciudadano y Política Municipal PSUC Santa Coloma, May- Junio 1980, Chema Corral personal archive. Gabriela Serra of the MCC later responded to the charge, which was widespread by the early 1980s, arguing, "It is false that we utilize them. The associations are entities historically open and they were encouraged by parties such as PSUC. If they go and we continue as we were they cannot accuse us of not letting them enter."As quoted in, "En busca de un ley municipal," *Grama* #213, February 11, 1981.

[55] "La Coordinadora de AA.VV. y la Festa Major," *Grama* #145, September 22-29, 1979.

well as the 1978 Constitution. While both extensively promoted citizen participation, they did not formally recognize the neighborhood associations as "the organized expression of the Citizen Movement."[56] Neighborhood associations pursued this critique on both the local and national scale until the PSOE-led central government passed the 1985 *Ley de Bases de Régimen Local*, which formally rejected the State Coordinator of Neighborhood Associations' proposal for the recognition of neighborhood associations as entities of public interest.[57]

The third conflict regarded public funding for the independent local media. The editor of *Grama*, Eugenio Madueño, requested a subvention through the *Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana,* describing *Grama* as part of the city's "patrimony" and explaining "the only reason *Grama* continues to publish after eleven years is thanks to the personal efforts of the current team."[58] PSUC's thirteen city councilors supported the request while the Socialists justified their no vote by arguing "*Grama* today has nothing to do with that which appeared during clandestine times…Today's *Grama* should have a sign on its cover with the phrase 'Magazine with a political orientation.'"[59]

Despite the Socialist allegation that *Grama* had a defined political orientation, the trajectory of *Grama* had been one of increasing professionalization and not politicization. During the initial years of the Transition *Grama's* editorial staff represented the diversity of militants within the city, including editors representing the PTE, PSUC, OIC, MC,

---

[56] For a discussion of the Constitution vis-à-vis the neighborhood associations and the issue of participation, see Radcliff, *Making democratic citizens in Spain*, 322-33.
[57] "AA.VV. Contra la Ley de Régimen Local," *El Noticiero,* March 26, 1985.
[58] Eugenio Madueño,"El PSC nos agradecemos servicios prestados," *Grama* #151, November 10, 1979.
[59] Councilor Felix Canovas as quoted in "El PSC nos agradecemos servicios prestados," *Grama* #151, November 10, 1979.

Convergencia Socialista, the neighborhood commissions and independents. Following the legalization of political parties and initial elections of the Transition, however, many militants moved on, leaving *Grama* with an editorial staff of professional journalists.[60] What is more, the Socialist contention that Madueño was a "fervent follower of PSUC" was misleading.[61] As was well known in the city, Madueño had only militated in PSUC for six months in 1976, after which he became disenchanted and abandoned the party.[62]

On the one hand, the PSC-PSOE's position was a pragmatic effort to gain hegemony, especially vis-à-vis the popular forces that had animated the city's urban movement. On the other hand, especially given *Grama's* increasing professionalization, it reflected the party's assumption of a liberal theory of the press. The independent media, according to this liberal view, should operate according to the principles of the free market.

Using the pages of *Grama* to publicly counter the PSC's allegations and position, Madueño wrote:

> The PSC of Santa Coloma believes that *Grama* does not have independent opinions….This demonstrates definitively our worry that the parties of the left that helped *Grama* grow in the years of Francoism are not prepared—now that they hold municipal power—to economically help a means of communication that cannot promise its 'loyalty.' A newspaper, in this case, that criticizes and will continue to criticize their public action… The liberty of expression now that the left governs continues to face the same threats as it did during the years of Francoism. Before it was easy to criticize. Now it is difficult to be criticized.[63]

---

[60] Eugeni Madueño, *Grama. Una experiencia insolita de periodisme popular,* (Barcelona: Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya, 1988), 31-41.
[61] Federico Vizcain, an executive leader of the local branch of PSC, as quoted in "Socialista y PSUC a la greña," *Mundo Diario,* December 2, 1979.
[62] Eugeni Madueño, interview by Andrea Davis, (February 24, 2012).
[63] Eugenio Madueño,"El PSC nos agradecemos servicios prestados," *Grama* #151, November 10, 1979.

In response to this impassioned editorial, twenty individuals with distinct political affiliations and deep ties to the urban movement, decided to economically support the newspaper by opening a joint checking account.

> Because we believe in the liberty of expression and are prepared to defend it not only with demagogic words but also with actions. Because we want it [*Grama*] to continue as a valid instrument for all who live in and struggle for a more dignified life in Santa Coloma…Because we want it [*Grama*] to continue reflecting day to day life in this damaged city.[64]

While *Grama* was able to financially support itself in this ad-hoc manner through to January 1983, the official municipal bulletin *El Ayuntamiento Informa* ultimately replaced the newspaper.

In their farewell edition, the editors of *Grama* framed the closing of the paper in the general context of the decline of the local and independent press in the post-Transition. Arguing that the trend could have been avoided, they emphasized the importance of public funding and reminded readers, "*Grama* disinterestedly supported municipal democracy…and received little [economic or institutional support from the democratically elected municipal government] in exchange."[65] The "municipal democracy" that *Grama* supported was a participatory communitarian democracy in which the local press, like the neighborhood associations, would function as a "valid instrument for all who live in and struggle for a more dignified life in Santa Coloma."

---

[64] Letter to the editor, "Cuenta corriente para ayudarnos," *Grama* #153, November 24, 1979. Signed by: Viceñs Arnaiz, Rafael Trias, Jose Sánchez, Eloy Jurado, Josep Maria Rosset, Alfons Martinez, Felix Trias, Xavier Valls, Salvador Cabré, Isidro Jimenes Moreno, Gregorio Contreras Perez, Alicia Rufaza Caro, Maria Rufazo, Gregoria Jiménez, Pep Palacio Excod, Maria Dolores Oller, Jesus Martinez, Rosa Camps Marsal, Manuela Rufaza, Jordi Duch, Andreu Banus, Juan Romera.

[65] "La historia de una muerte anunciada pero evitable," *Grama* #353, January 8, 1983. Specifically, they noted that the independent newspapers in five surrounding municipalities had also recently ceased publication, alongside progressive national publications including *Triunfo!, Cuadernos para el diálogo, Por Favor,* and *La Calle.*

COMPETING VISIONS OF THE LEFT: THE PARLIAMENTARY LEFT

In addition to the divisions between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forces, there were major conflicts within and between the institutional parties over whether the Left should continue to be based on the theory of class politics and the defense of the working class. These conflicts were rooted in the spectacular transformation of both the PSOE and the PCE (alongside its regional affiliates) during the course of the Transition.[66] As the PSOE moved to the center it not only abandoned Marxism but also adopted neoliberal policies as it led the central government to construct a welfare state where many of the public services that were guaranteed by the 1978 Constitution were contracted out to private firms.[67] While the PSOE maintained its integrity as it underwent this transformation, the PCE was ultimately split between its Leninist (or so-called Pro-Soviet) and Eurocommunist factions.[68] Whereas the Leninists attempted to reassert the working class hegemony of the party, announcing their efforts achieve a socialist state, the Eurocommunists promoted interclass alliances to secure social reforms, emphasizing their national independence from the Soviet Union and commitments to democratic

---

[66] See especially, Andrade Blanco, *El PCE y el PSOE en (la) transición*. For the transformation of the Left vis-à-vis decentralization and the nationalities question see Quiroga, "Politics and memory of democratic transition."

[67] For more on the PSOE and its social policies see the special dossier, *La época socialista: política y sociedad (1982-1996)*, Ayer (2011). James Kurth and James F Petras, *Mediterranean Paradoxes: Politics and Social Structures in Southern Europe* (Berg Publishers, 1993). Framing Spain in the broader context of Europe during the 1980s, Geoff Eley makes the compelling case that "the PSOE under Gonzalez pioneered an extreme vision of socialism's severance from its working-class roots." Eley, *Forging democracy*, 427.

[68] Though the term "Pro-Soviet" was initially used to discredit the group, I use it here because it became engrained socially and has been adopted by the extant scholarly literature. In his recent biography of PCE leader Santiago Carrillo, Preston makes a compelling case that Carrillo could not hold the party and its regional affiliates together because he did not please either faction. Whereas relations with the Catalan PSUC were stressed by the dissatisfied working class base that rallied to reassert the party's revolutionary identity, relations with the Basque EPK were stressed by Eurocommunists who criticized Carrillo's incessant recourse to democratic centralism. Paul Preston, *El zorro rojo: la vida de Santiago Carrillo* (Barcelona: Debate Ed., 2013), 320.

institutions.[69] The divisions between and within these two parties hindered the formation of coalition governments, as municipal policy became the object of heated ideological debate. The case of Santa Coloma is particularly illustrative.

In Catalunya, PSC-PSOE, PSUC and the conservative Catalan nationalist coalition CDC decided to govern municipalities by coalition, establishing the *Pacto del Progreso*.[70] Progressive vis-à-vis the UCD led central government, the constitution of the Catalan Autonomous government in April 1980, undercut the logic of the municipal pact. Following the 25 October 1979 Referendum on the Catalan Autonomy Statute, the CDC declared that they would not consider ruling the Catalan Autonomous Government in coalition with the Communists, creating a new political opportunity for the Socialists. While the CDC eventually formed a coalition with other conservative and Catalan nationalists forces, the campaign shattered the trust between Communists and Socialists and trickled down to the municipalities where they governed in coalition.

In Santa Coloma there was still no plan of municipal action eight months into the municipal term, leaving the *Pacto del Progreso* formally unsigned. After a particularly heated plenary session where the Socialists blocked the Communists from securing a subvention for *Grama* and the Communists blocked the Socialists from allowing the extra-parliamentary left to use the *Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación*

---

[69] Eurocommunism was a broader European-wide movement that was forged in response to the constraining international context of the Cold War and the domestic context of the post-1968 era, which was marked by both the radicalization of certain left wing movements and new theories regarding the benefits of broad social alliances, particulary Gramsci's theory of the historic bloc.

[70] The councilors who represent the coalition parties are assigned department tasks, such as the councilor of education or citizen participation. The assignments, naturally, vary from municipality to municipality depending on the number of councilors each party secures, the tenor of constitutive negotiations, and the organization of departments, which may vary from municipality to municipality. The opposition, in turn, votes in plenary sessions but is not assigned a department task. Consequently, they do not directly participate in the development of policy.

Ciudadana to speak during plenary sessions, observers began to fear that the Pact would be broken.

> The municipal pact between the two parties of the left (PSC and PSUC) is under threat in our city. The '*Grama* affair' and the interpretation of the *Reglamento Provisional que Regula la Participación Ciudadana* have been the last straws. In the deaf dialogue that has been established in the plenary meetings of our municipal government, socialists and communists hurl mutually incoherent ridicules and accusations. They don't understand that a distinct policy is being applied in Santa Coloma than in Catalunya at large where the two 'great' parties [PSC-PSOE and CDC] drive policy. In a chaotic city, like ours; without money, like ours; of the left, like ours…it seems ridiculous, or at least incompressible, that the two parties—of the left—dedicate themselves to destroying each other rather than finding common solutions to the innumerable problems of our city.[71]

In December, when the Socialists boycotted a city council meeting when the plan of municipal action was scheduled for elaboration, city councilors Ricard Bonet of the PSC-PSOE and Antonio Titos of PSUC finally pleaded, "Stop comrades, let's work together already."[72]

> We are arriving at the limits of the unsupportable both for those who suffer the consequences within the municipal government and the population who looks on impotently, and even in pain, as the polemic between socialists and communists grows and grows without anyone attempting to mediate…It is not only that the councilors are obstinate, but that obstinacy is being promoted by party executives [in Catalunya] as we mutually destroy each other while turning a blind eye to the population…At the municipal level, there is only one solution, to make a

---

[71] Eugenio Madueño, "Pactar o apearse," Grama # 152, November 17, 1979. See also, "Puede Romperse en breve el pacto municipal," *Diario de Barcelona*, November 1, 1979 and "Crisis del pacto del progreso municipal," *La Vanguardia*, November 2, 1979.

[72] To follow the details of the escalation, see: "El PSUC quiere revisar pacto con los socialistas," *El Correo Catalan*, November 20, 1979, "Socialista y PSUC a la greña," *Mundo Diario,* December 2, 1979, "Carta de Lluís Hernández sobre la postura del PSC," *El Correo Catalan*, December 6, 1979, "Los socialistas exigen que el PSUC se retracte," Grama # 156, December 6, 1979, "Los socialistas acusan al PSUC de electoralismo," *El Correo Catalan,* December 7, 1979, "El PSC no se presentó," Grama #157, December 14, 1979.

> solid block that gives prominence to poplar entities in order to link base movements with the municipal government.[73]

While the councilors successfully pressured their parties to sit down and negotiate, no plan of municipal action was approved and tensions only continued to build. [74]

In April the growing tensions exploded when the Communist councilors surprised the Socialists with a last minute proposal to mobilize against the Catalan Autonomous government for "economically strangling the municipality." The Socialists blocked the proposal in protest of the fact that they had not been included in its elaboration and Chema Corral, the Deputy Mayor of PSUC from Santa Coloma, responded by comparing the Socialists to the right, provoking the Deputy Mayor of PSC-PSOE, Jesus Vicente, to storm out of the session yelling "Go to hell."[75] Nothing short of a "shameful spectacle," the editors of *Grama* wrote:

> A year after winning the popular vote to administer the city the Deputy Mayors, Chema Corral and Jesus Vicente, have not yet demonstrated that they are capable of adequately organizing municipal affairs. No Pact of Progress has been signed to direct the work of the different municipal departments towards a common objective—the benefit of the city and its citizens. Instead partisan struggles preside.[76]

The leaders of the Catalan Socialist and Communist parties did not seem to share *Grama's* concerns. Instead, following the "spectacle," both parties reinforced their respective Deputy Mayors.[77]

---

[73] Concejales Ricard Bonet (PSC-PSOE) y Antonio Titos (PSUC),"Basta compañeros, trabajemos ya!," Grama #157, December 14, 1979.
[74] "'Los pactillos' aprobados mejorarán el funcionamiento del Ayuntamiento," Grama #161, January 12, 1980.
[75] "El teniente de alcalde socialista mandó a la mierda a los comunistas," Grama #173, April 9, 1980.
[76] Editorial, "Dimitir para no retroceder," Grama #173, April 9, 1980.
[77] See, "Los concejales del PSUC ante los hechos del último Pleno," Grama #173, April 9, 1980, and "Corral y Vicente salen 'reforzados' después de insultarse en el Pleno," Grama #175, April 23, 1980.

In April 1980, at least seven other municipalities in Catalunya had not yet signed the *Pacto del Progreso* due to similar struggles. While the executive leaders of PSC-PSOE and PSUC characterized these struggles as "isolated matters" and "punctual cases," a summary analysis reveals that they were rooted in administrative problems resulting from the lack of municipal reform and the endemic ideological tensions both within and between the parties of the institutional left.[78] The subsequent struggle over the Communist party brought these overlapping tensions to the forefront of the public's attention. After introducing the broad outlines of the struggle in Catalunya, I return to the case of Santa Coloma to demonstrate the devastating civic consequences of this struggle in working class cities.

At PSUC's democratically conducted Fifth Congress, noted for a media transparency "never before seen in a party congress," the Leninist-inspired Pro-Soviet position triumphed.[79] Faulting the Eurocommmunist leadership of PSUC, and more pointedly the Spanish PCE, for mismanaging the Transition and with it the ongoing economic crisis, the term "Eurocommunism" was eliminated from party statutes, a more sympathetic position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union was adopted, and a critical assessment of the Transition was assumed. In response, some party leaders aligned with the

---

[78] Jordi Borja, PSUC's Secretary of Municipal Policy, publicly affirmed, "it cannot be concluded that the Pacts of Progress are globally conflictive. These are merely isolated matters," whereas the municipal secretary of PSC-PSOE, argued "they are punctual cases, that is to say there is no generalized tendency, but rather many cases where the rupture has been produced by personal questions or different manners of understanding municipal policy." As quoted in, "Mantenimiento de los 'pactos de progresos'," *Diario de Barcelona,* November 1,1980.

[79] Editorial, "El V Congreso del PSUC," *Grama* #209, January 14, 1981. As of yet, there is no definitive scholarly analysis of the struggle that culminated in PSUC's rupture. For a general account see Molinero, *Els Anys del PSUC*. For an analysis of the 1974 incorporation of Bandera Roja into PSUC and its impact on the internal dynamics of the party, see Pala, "Una semilla de discordia. La entrada de Bandera Roja en el PSUC." Finally, for the role played by Santiago Carillo, the general secretary of the PCE, in the general crisis of the PCE and its Catalan and Basque sister parties, see Preston, *El zorro rojo*. The broad outline presented here draws upon the work of these scholars as well as additional archival research.

Eurocommunist camp, which mainly represented the party's middle class and professional base, resigned while others announced their intention to seek an Extraordinary Congress.[80] The Leninists, a third sector of the party composed mainly of intellectuals, temporarily benefited from the conflict. They used their newly gained leadership to help maintain the integrity of the party through May. At that time, the Spanish Communist party PCE directly intervened in the conflict, making it clear that the relationship between PCE and PSUC hinged entirely on the reintroduction of "Eurocommunism." Event though the Leninists were more closely aligned with the Pro-Soviets ideologically, under the weight of this pressure they sided with the Eurcommunists, voting to dismiss Pere Ardiaca, the Pro-Soviet president of PSUC, and organize an Extraordinary Congress.[81] Between May 1981 and the Extraordinary Congress of March 1982, the Eurocommunists and Pro-Soviets engaged in extensive propaganda campaigns.[82] The Pro-Soviets mobilized for a "democratic PSUC Congress of participation and unity" in contrast to the Extraordinary Congress organized by the Central Committee, where the representation of the Local Committees from Barcelona's

[80] Gregoria López Raimundo and Antonio Gutiérrez Díaz resigned from their positions as President and Secretary General, arguing that they were deauthorized by the Congress and its rejection of Eurocommunism. At the same time Jordi Borja, Joan Busquets, Jordi Cunill, Domenec Martínez, Josep Maria Riera, Jordi Solé Tura, and Maties Vives also resigned from their executive positions demanding an Extraordinary Congress. See "Continuarem lluitant per l'eurocomunisme," *Diario de Barcelona*, January 9, 1981.

[81] Central Committee meeting, May 17, 1981. For more on the relation between the PCE and PSUC, as well as PSUC's Fifth Congress see Molinero, *Els Anys del PSUC*, 340-41.

[82] To follow these campaigns, one can reference the mainstream and local press as well as the Communist press, particularly *Treball,* which remained in the hands of the Eurocommunists, and *Butlletí Informatiu dels 29 signats del document "Per un Congrés democratic, de participació i d'unitat del PSUC,"* a temporary bulletin published by the Pro-Soviets. While the Eurocommunists had the sympathy of the mainstream media, 5,500 copies of the *Bulletí* were sold between January and May 1982. See, "Sobre nuestro 'Organ provisional'," *Partit dels Comunistes de Catalunya: Organ provisional del Comité Central*, #0, April 22-29, 1982. See also Manuel Campo Vidal, Gregorio López Raimundo, and Antoni Gutiérrez Díaz, *El PSUC y el eurocomunismo*, Colección 80 (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1981).

industrial belt were strategically limited.[83] At the same time, they reinserted themselves in the area's social movements to make "socialism more possible every day" and reorient municipal policies against the "'neoliberal' current extolled by the Trilateral"—the United States under Reagan, the United Kingdom under Thatcher, and Chile under Pinochet.[84] In turn, the Eurocommunists characterized the Pro-Soviet position as "fractional" and the Central Committee began to purge Pro-Soviets from the party.[85] When the expelled Pro-Soviets appealed their expulsion per party procedure, three out of the five members of the party's Appeals Commission resigned, arguing that their role was "useless and contradictory" given the current situation of the party. [86] Feeling vindicated, the Pro-Soviets continued to use the party's name as they organized their counter Congress for April 1982. Before the Congress could be held, the Central Committee took the Pro-Soviets to court and forced them to constitute a new political association.[87]

It was not uncommon in working class cities for Eurocommunists to have important elected positions despite the Pro-Soviet orientation of the party's local committee. The situation reflected the party's initial electoral strategy, as well as the fact

---

[83] "Por un Congreso Democrático, de Participación y de Unidad del PSUC," Barcelona, no date. Chema Corral personal collection. The norms of representation for the Extraordinary Congress were egregiously un-democratic, over representing small local committees and under representing the local committees in Barcelona's industrial belt, where Pro-Soviet sympathies dominated.

[84] Cristobal Garcia,"Por qué exigimos la municipalización," *Grama* #247, October 30- November 6, 1981 and, Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya, and Congrés. "5è Congrés PSUC: Barcelona, 2-6 de gener de 1981."

[85] Resolució del Comité Central del PSUC (9 de desembre de 1981), December 10, 1981.

[86] Excerpt from the resignation letter written by Manuel Moreno Mauricio, Isabel Vicente and Nolasc Acarín on January 8, 1982. Cited in "Bons i dolents," Informatiu dels 28 signats del document "Per un Congrés democratic, de participació i d'unitat del PSUC, #3, January 23-30, 1982.

[87] "Demanda Contra Pere Ardiaca, Joaquim Boix, Jose Maria Corral, Alfred Clemente, Leopoldo Espuny, Felix Ferre, Juan Muñiz, Maria Pera Lizandara, Juan Ramos Camarero, Celestino Sanchez, Josep Serradell, Francisco Trives," April 1, 1982. Chema Corral Personal Collection. They named the new political association the PCC, *Partit dels Comunistes de Catalunya,* and titled their first Congress "VI" to stress its non-constitutive nature. See Partit dels Comunistes de Catalunya. *Estatuts Del 6è Congrés: 9, 10, 11, 12 D'abril 1982*, (Barcelona: PCC, 1982.)

that many who came to be aligned with the Pro-Soviets only had a basic level of education and were thus unprepared for public office.[88] Much like the ongoing conflicts between PSC-PSOE and PSUC regarding municipal pacts, conflicts between the party's Local Committees and Groups of Communist Councilors created a series of overlapping legal and political dilemmas. On the one hand, according to PSUC's internal statutes, it was the Local Committee and not the Group of Communist Councilors who had the maximum authority over the party within the municipal context. On the other hand, as the new *Ley de Bases de Régimen Local* had not yet been elaborated, it was not clear from a legislative perspective whether it was the parties or the elected officials who officially ruled municipal governments.

In Santa Coloma, initial positions were staked immediately following the Fifth Congress. The city's Local Committee elaborated an official statement arguing that the Congress was a "demonstration of the party's internal democracy" and "great capacity for discussion," while the Eurocommunist city councilor Carlos Grande publicly declared, "We will cause lots of trouble. We are not willing to throw in the towel until, following ample debate, PSUC returns to define itself as a Eurocommunist Party."[89] Meanwhile Mayor Hernández elusively told the press, "I am not considering presenting my

[88] As Cristóbal García Gil described it, "working class people, hard workers, but practically, as has been said before, people with a basic level of education." Interview by José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, Colleción Biografias Obreras. Garciá's observations are confirmed by the membership survey's conducted at the competing VI Congresses.
[89] "La resaca de un Congreso: Grande llama inepto a Corral," *Grama* #210, January 21, 1981.

resignation even though I identify fully with the contents of the letter written by the 96 Catalan mayors who question the results of the Fifth Congress."[90]

These positions were crystallized on 26 January 1981, when city councilor Enrique Bellette publically announced his resignation. While Bellette cited a number of reasons, including the inefficiency of fellow Communist officials, he made it clear that his decision was linked to the "general politics that the party in Catalunya is following."[91] "Those that are in charge of the city council," Bellete argued, "are not actually in it. It is the Local Committees of the parties that govern without taking into account the necessary autonomy of the city councilors and the mayor."[92] In response, the Local Committee expelled Bellette for using "the media to air problems outside of the party," thus provoking the resignations of Eurocommunist city councilors Pedro García, Carlos Grande, Remei Martínez, and Jaume Sayrach.[93] Protesting the alleged interference of the Local Committee in municipal affairs, the resignees argued that it is "the group of Communist Councilors who, as elected leaders, have to execute and take responsibility for municipal policies." [94]

In attempts to mediate, Francisco Frutos, the new general secretary of PSUC, intervened to halt the resignations. At the same time he declared to the press, "Eurocommunists are not being purged from the party."[95] Referring to the conflict in

---

[90] "El alcalde no dimitirá a pesar de su eurocomunismo," *El Correo Catalán,* January 16, 1981. Mayor Hernández's statement responded to the resignation of seven Eurocommunist city councilors in the neighborhing working class city Cornella.
[91] "Posible dimisión de varias concejales," *Hoja de Lunes,* January 26, 1981.
[92] "Bellete quiere volver a la fábrica", *Grama* # 212, February 5, 1981.
[93] "Santa Coloma: dimiten cuatro concejales 'euros'," *El Noticiero Universal*, February 4, 1981.
[94] Pedro García Azorín, Carlos Grande Miquel, Remei Martínez Torres, Jaume P. Sayrach Fajo dels X., "Dimisión," February 3, 1981.
[95] "'No hay depuración de los eurocomunistas'," *Diario de Barcelona,* February 7, 1981.

Santa Coloma as well as similar situations in the working class cities Cornella, Terrassa and Mollet, Frutos unconvincingly argued, "these are not ideological problems derived from the Fifth Congress" but rather problems of a local nature that preceded the Congress. [96] Meanwhile, the functionaries who worked under Bellete called for him to continue in his position "because we consider him effective. We hope that political maturity prevails in this case."[97] Instead, the Executive Commission of the Catalan Socialist party PSC-PSOE pounced on the opportunity to publicly blame PSUC for the city's misgovernment.[98]

Frustrated by these inter and intra-party conflicts, three hundred citizens from Santa Coloma wrote an open letter to the national leaders of PSUC and PSC-PSOE, later published in *Grama.* The *Manifiesto Ciudadano*—signed by local journalists, priests, representatives from civic and working class movements, and individuals linked to the city's cultural life—reinforced the communitarian vision of participatory democracy that had its genesis in the urban movement. They reminded the city councilors that they did not only represent political parties but also the "popular will." "With our votes," they argued, "we endorsed programs and candidates that represented the possibility of a progressive and efficient municipal government." "The crises that shake the parties of the left," the manifesto continued, "do not help fortify democracy but, on the contrary, in a city beaten down by unemployment and the negative consequences of the economic

---

"Frutos congela la dimisión de 4 ediles," *El Correo Catalán,* February 6, 1981.

[96] "'No hay depuración de los eurocomunistas'," *Diario de Barcelona,* February 7, 1981. In the long run, Frutos' attempt to mediate only radicalized the situation, as the Local Committee in Santa Coloma felt that they were being "laughed at" by the Central Committee. See, "Enrique Bellette, amnistiado" *Grama* #224, April 27, 1981.

[97] "El Concejal del PSUC Enrique Bellette presenta la dimisión," *El Correo Catalán*, January 27, 1981.

[98] "Acusaciones del PSC a comunistas por su actuación municipal," *El Correo Catalán,* February 10, 1981. "Santa Coloma: Los socialistas acusan al PSUC," *Hoja del Lunes*, February 9, 1981.

crisis, alienate the great majority of workers and citizens from organized politics." The manifesto concluded:

> The leaders of the major leftwing parties should seriously reflect upon what is happening in Santa Coloma, a city where the vote was overwhelmingly won by Communists and Socialist. The city could be a model for Catalunya and all of Spain for its efficient, flawless and progressive administration and leftwing unity rather than, as is sadly the case today, an example of disunity, crisis, tensions and inefficiency.[99]

While the *Manifiesto Ciudadano* advocated for a model of "progressive administration and leftwing unity" it was ambivalent in regards to its vision of the left. This was not the case for the anti-capitalist parties of the extra-parliamentary left, who found a new ally in the Pro-Soviets. For instance, Gabriella Serra of the MCC encouraged PSUC leaders to live up to the party's "more leftwing" orientation.

> The left has been torn apart by confrontations, attacks and disagreements between the city's two majority parties resulting in the left's loss of credibility and the muddying of municipal administration… The leaders who administer our city are not bringing satisfaction to the people who voted for them so that they could realize leftwing policies. And this is a crucial issue, especially now that PSUC has opted in its Congress for an orientation that is more leftwing. This orientation should not remain alone on paper or loosely applied to general politics, it should be used to reorient municipal policies.[100]

The Pro-Soviet's in the city heeded the extra-parliamentary plea, and began to collaborate with the city's social movements. Take, for example, the conflict over the municipalization of cleaning services. Though both the Socialists and Communists had proposed to municipalize the service in their 1979 electoral campaigns, the 90 women who worked for the local company Limasa had spent nearly two years cleaning the city's municipal buildings and national schools without stable contracts. When the Socialist's

---

[99] "Manifiesto Ciudadano," *Grama* #214, February 18, 1981.
[100] Gabriela Serra, "Por una política municipal de izquierdas," *Grama* #215, February 20, 1981.

proposed a contracting bid to end the situation, Mayor Hernández and the city's five Eurocommunist city councilors voted with the Socialists before the Pro-Soviet counterproposal to municipalize the company, which had the full support of Limasa workers, was even presented.[101]

In response, the Local Committee formally warned the Eurocommunists for breaking party discipline, announcing that the party supported the" municipalization of cleaning services...which strengthens the public sector within the municipality and corresponds to our ideology agreed upon in our Fifth Congress."[102] What is more, as the Pro-Soviet city councilor Rafael Parra further explained, muncipalizing Limasa would "break capitalist relations by putting…worker participation into practice," thus fulfilling the Fifth Congress imperative that "each citizen participate actively—and not only with the vote—in the direct management of some or another area of social life."[103]

Following the city council vote, no notice was given to the Limasa Company Committee or the unions that represented the Limasa workers as competitive bidding began. In response, the workers staged a variety of protests in attempts to secure a meeting with the Mayor who, allegedly, refused to speak with the workers or their unions, the anarchist *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT) and the independent *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO).[104] Exasperated by the situation, the CCOO edited a leaflet

---

[101] Jaume Sayrach, "Se romple el Grupo Comunista?" *Grama* #231, June 16, 1981.
[102] "El PSUC sanciona al alcalde y a cuatro concejales," *Grama* #232, June 20-27, 1981. Jaume Sayrach was not given a warning since he had run on the party ticket as an independent and therefore was not subject to party discipline. Though an independent, Sayrach was loyal to the positions taken by the Eurocomunist block within the city.
[103] Rafael Parra "La necesaria municipalización de LImasa," *Grama* #242, September 25- October 2, 1981, and Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya, and Congrés. "5è Congrés PSUC: Barcelona, 2-6 de gener de 1981." PSUC, 1981.
[104] "Informe Estrictamente Interno, Elaborado Desde La Secretaría de Movimiento Obrero, De Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Del PSUC, Dirigido al Comité Local y al Comité Ejecutivo," October 13, 1981.

"to sensitize the population to the justness of municipalization and denounce the groups who had voted in favor of the competitive bid."[105] Frustrated, thirty workers held a sit-in in city hall. At the sit-in Mayor Hernández shouted "there will not be municipalization in a year or two or ever and the explanation will be given in a city council meeting, not here!" to which one worker responded, "you act the same as those from before, the same as the fascists." The women then proceeded with their sit-in until the national police, under the Mayor's orders, evicted them at 4 in the morning.[106]

The conflict only escalated when Mayor Hernández announced his resignation and the city's five Eurocommunist councilors again pledged to follow suit. According to the Pro-Soviets the resignation was "a theatrical act with a clear objective: to eliminate the capacity of the Local Committee." [107] Mayor Hernández responded to the accusation by rescinding his resignation and arguing, "I can't permit that a group of councilors from my own party create obstacles for my administration through demagogic populism."[108] With an apparent disdain for transparency, he then charged the CCOO for "denouncing with first and last names the Communist councilors against municipalization," an act later described by PSUC executives as "pathological."[109]

In the midst of this political struggle, the Limasa workers argued, "Ours is a single and exclusively social struggle in which we demand improvements in labor

---

[105] "Informe Estrictamente Interno, Elaborado Desde La Secretaría de Movimiento Obrero, De Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Del PSUC, Dirigido al Comité Local y al Comité Ejecutivo," October 13, 1981.
[106] As quoted in, "Informe Estrictamente Interno, Elaborado Desde La Secretaría de Movimiento Obrero, De Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Del PSUC, Dirigido al Comité Local y al Comité Ejecutivo," October 13, 1981.
[107] "Los prosoviéticos dicen que la dimisión es teatro," *Grama* #245, October 16-23, 1981 and "El Alcalcde se pasa la semana dimitiendo," *Grama* #245, October 16-23, 1981.
[108] "El alcalde dice que hay una campaña contra él," *Grama* #245, October 16-23, 1981.
[109] Ibid.

conditions and wages. It does not have a political character as the city government insists."[110] The CCOO union leader and MCC militant Cristobal García later clarified:

> It goes without saying that the objective of CCOO is to make socialism more possible every day... With this objective, we think that the first thing that a democratically elected municipal government should do is comply with its obligation to administer services to the population and not delegate its responsibilities to others; relinquishing political-administrative power to private economic power in favor of business owners rather than the people. This indirect way of administering public services was how Francoist municipal governments resolved their incapacities, augmenting costs and worsening services. A leftwing municipal government like that of Santa Coloma should defend the interests of the working class at all moments rather than capitalist interests by privatizing services.[111]

According to García, the Limasa struggle was not political because of its instrumentalization by different party factions, but because it reflected whether the principles that guided leftwing administrators were substantively distinct from those that had guided Francoist administrators.

Perhaps ironically, as PSUC's crisis continued to radicalize during the winter months of 1982, it was the Eurcommunists who enforced the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. In January party executives sent a notary to close the offices of Santa Coloma's "fractional" Local Committee.[112] In response, the Pro-Soviets of the dissolved Committee publicly pleaded:

> The men who have made PSUC an influential party with a public presence in Santa Coloma are being de-authorized...The Local Committee is being dissolved for maintaining a posture that is discrepant with that of the

---

[110] Josep María Rodriguez Rovira, the Secretary of Organization for PSUC, as quoted in, "Trabajadores Limasa: 'esta lucha es social'," *Grama* #246, October 23-30, 1981.Unnamed Limasa worker as quoted in, "Trabajadores Limasa: 'esta lucha es social'," *Grama* #246, October 23-30, 1981.
[111] Cristobal Garcia,"Por qué exigimos la municipalización," *Grama* #247, October 30- November 6, 1981.
[112] "El PSUC oficial cierra un local con un notario," *Grama* #258, January 15-22, 1982.

> current leadership, for defending the agreements of the Fifth Congress and the democratic functioning of the party.[113]

While the Pro-Soviets were not the only men who had made PSUC an influential party with a public presence, they did correspond with the party's historic working class base. Appealing directly to PSUC's Central and Executive Committees, the Local Committee argued:

> In this manner you hope to convert PSUC into an elitist party where the leaders decide policy without counting on anyone, reserving the role of 'peon' to the base, as you search for the necessary votes to continue leading. [114]

After dissolving "fractional" Local Committees all over Catalunya, the Central Committee went on to expel nearly 100 pro-Soviet city councilors, including Santa Coloma's Chema Corral, Rafael Parra, Leo Crespo, Juan Romero and Máximo Luna. Following their expulsion from the party, these officials were then removed from their elected positions in municipal governments. As Rafael Parra later explained:

> They expelled us from the party because the leaders of PSUC at that moment, led by Paco Frutos, and Guti [Antonio Gutierez] and López Raimundo, decided to kick us out of all the municipal governments. And there was no other manner than to expel us from the party! If you're not in the party, you can't…Because the law of local administration supported this! Now with the new law you can go over to the mixed group. But then there wasn't a mixed group, you stayed or you went! [115]

The five substitutes chosen to replace the ousted councilors in Santa Coloma did not follow sequentially from PSUC's 1979 electoral list. Hand picked by Mayor Hernández, the only public explanation offered was, "It is like this because some comrades do not

---

[113] Comité Local de Santa Coloma de Gramenet del PSUC "A la opinión pública de Santa Coloma," Grama #257. January 8-14, 1982.
[114] "Al Comité Central y al Comité Ejecutivo del PSUC y Militantes en General," Secretaria de Movimiento Obrera, Comité Local de Sta. Coloma de Gramenet del PSUC, no date, Chema Corral Personal Collection.
[115] Rafael Parra Chica, Interview by José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, Colleción Biografias Obreras.

want to assume the position and others, openly with the other party that will be formed shortly, would have needed to have been expelled anyway."[116]

The elite nature of the major transitional negotiations, combined with the lack of municipal reform, turned local politics into the privileged site of ongoing debates over democracy and socialism in the post-68 moment. As this chapter has demonstrated, these debates found their clearest expression in power struggles over consolidating democratic institutions, party structures and associational networks at the level of local politics, particularly in the working class municipalities of Catalunya. While these struggles and debates were undeniably shaped by the particularities of the Spanish context, they reflected broader European concerns regarding "what kinds of socialism could still be imagined, and what new forms of politics would secure democracy's future?"[117]

[116] "Hoy asumen el cargo los concejales comunistas," *Grama* #269 April 2-9, 1982.
[117] Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 406.

Chapter 3

The Authoritarian Legacy: Enforcing the "Pact of Silence"

> Thirty-nine years after the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War, the habitants of Villarobledo, a town in the province of Albacete, led the first collective homage to their executed republican comrades on November 1 [1978]. This sad history came to public light six hundred kilometers from its point of origin. In Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Barcelona, Rosario Padilla Camacho presented a petition to the Civil Registrar asking for a death certificate for her husband, Francisco Rubio Herreros, who died on April 15, 1939 in the town of Villarobledo, Albacete. The objective of the petition was to gain the legal status of widow, as Rosario Padilla's civil status is married despite the fact that her husband died forty years ago. A great number of women in Villarobledo between the ages of seventy and seventy-five find themselves in this situation.[1]

In contrast to many post-authoritarian transitions, there were no lustration tribunals or purges in Spain.[2] Instead, the still in force Amnesty Law of 1977 granted impunity to the perpetrators of the Francoist regime in exchange for the release of imprisoned members of the anti-Francoist opposition. The exchange did not officially recognize the imprisonment of the opposition as wrongful as criminal charges were not annulled and ex-political prisoners did not receive compensation for the time spent behind bars or the often-deleterious effects of imprisonment on employment. The following year, wounded Republicans and Republican widows were given a one-year window to petition the state for the social benefits long enjoyed by Franco's Nationalist

[1] "Villarobledo quiere que se reconozca a sus muertos republicanos de la guerra," *El País*, November 11, 1978.

[2] For a compartive transitional discussion consult Alexandra Barahona de Brito, Carmen González Enríquez, and Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). For a compartive Southern European discussion see the special issue, "The Authoritarian Past and South European Democracies," *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010).

troops. Like the political prisoners amnestied, petitioners were not offered compensation for the decades when they had been ineligible to "integrate into the Distinguished Corpus of Veterans [and Widows] of the National War."[3] Though this transitional legislation did not redress the diverse legacies of the dictatorship or disrupt the Francoist regime's narrative of its own legitimacy, petitioners, like Rosario Padilla Camacho, used the legislation to bring grassroots collectives together in the demand for an "authentic reconciliation" grounded in a "just account of our history."[4] Attention to these grassroots discourses and practices reveal that collective and trans-peninsular processes of remembering were powerfully reactivated during the Transition, challenging the prevalent scholarly interpretation that the Transition was constructed upon an informal and consensual "pact of silence."[5]

---

[3] Juan José Caler as quoted in "Villarobledo quiere que se reconozca a sus muertos republicanos de la guerra," *El País*, November 11, 1978.
Municipal notice of the decree announcing that wounded republican veterans could petition for pensions, signed by the last Francoist Mayor of Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Blas Muñoz Blaya, March 5, 1977. Mutilats i Vídues de Guerra, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[4] Juan José Caler as quoted in "Villarobledo quiere que se reconozca a sus muertos republicanos de la guerra," *El País*, November 11, 1978.
[5] The trend was initiated by Paloma Aguilar Fernández's immensely influential monograph, *Memoria y olvido de la Guerra Civil española*, (Madrid: Alianza, 1996), later translated into English. Aguilar Fernández, *Memory and amnesia*. Since publication the concept of a "pact of silence" or a "pact of forgetting" has framed both scholarly and public debates. Many scholars working on transitional justice have continued to reiterate Aguilar's thesis. See especially, Carsten Humlebæk, "Party Attitudes Towards the Authoritarian Past in Spanish Democracy," *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010). In contrast, Santos Juliá, a historian and public intellectual, has argued that there is no relationship between amnesty and memory. Santos Juliá, "Echar al olvido. Memoria y amnistía en la transición," *Claves de razón práctica*, no. 129 (2003). For an overview of both scholarly and public debates as Spain's 2007 Historical Memory Law was prepared, see Faber, "The Price of Peace: Historical Memory in Post-Franco Spain, a Review-Article."; "Revis(it)ing the Past: Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Post-Franco Spain, a Review-Article (Second Part)." For an analysis of the debates that immediately followed the ratification of the 2007 law see Boyd, "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain." Meanwhile, a diverse and growing literature increasingly supports the conclusion that political consensus has been exaggerated. For an analysis of the role that the scholarly literature that emphasized political consensus played in legitimating the Transition, as well as an explanation of why the impact of social movements was spectacularly underestimated, see Xavier Domènech Sampere, "El cambio político (1962–1976). Materiales para una perspectiva desde abajo," *Historia del presente* 1 (2002). Even among scholars who focus on elite politics, the scope of inter- and intra-party consensus is currently under revision. See, for example, Bonnie

This chapter opens with an analysis of Padilla's petition to explore the collective process of remembering at the local level. Like much of the cultural studies literature and recent contributions to the historical literature, I argue that the "pact of silence" interpretation overestimates the consensual nature of the lack of transitional justice in Spain and fails to recognize that there was an atmosphere of "openness and possibility" that allowed "a range of fragmented and contradictory stories" to "burst forth as democracy flowered."[6] My research moves beyond the recent historical literature, which concludes that the atmosphere was broken "by the brute force explosion of the past in the form of the attempted military coup of February 1981" and the subsequent era of Socialist rule when "politics became almost obsessively focused on modernisation."[7] By presenting an analysis of the process of collective remembering at the local level over a prolonged period of time, this chapter demonstrates that organized attempts to confront the authoritarian legacy in Spain were thwarted by small groups of Falangist militants and like-minded civil authorities working within unreformed state institutions.[8] Though

---

N Field, "Interparty Consensus and Intraparty Discipline in Spain's Transition to Democracy," in *The Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition: The Spanish Model* (New York Routledge, 2011).

[6] Helen Graham, *The War and its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century* (Apollo Books, 2012), 138. Michael Richards, *After the Civil War Making Memory and Re-making Spain since 1936* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 281. The relevant cultural studies literature includes: Vilarós, *El mono del desencanto*. Mari Paz Balibrea Enríquez, *En la tierra baldía: Manuel Vázquez Montalbán y la izquierda española en la postmodernidad* ([Barcelona]: El Viejo Topo, 1999); Luis Martín-Cabrera, *Radical Justice: Spain and the Southern Cone Beyond Market and State* (Lanham, Md.: Bucknell University Press ; Co-published with the Rowman & Littlefield Pub. Group, 2011).

[7] Graham, *The War and its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century*, 138; Richards, *After the Civil War Making Memory and Re-making Spain since 1936*, 308.

[8] To date, there are no institutional or prosopographical studies of the police force and Guardia Civil during this era. While Espinosa Maestre recently examined thirteen legal cases between the mid-1980s and the present to demonstrate how the judiciary has granted perpetrators "the right to honor," effectively enforcing a politics of amnesia, more comprehensive research on the judiciary remains to be done. Francisco Espinosa Maestre, *Shoot the messenger? Spanish Democracy and the Crimes of Francoism: From the Pact of Silence to the Trial of Baltasar Garzón* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2013). The most comprehensive research that helps to situate this case study is Baby's recent account of the scope and dynamics of political violence during the Transition. According to her estimates, there were at least seven

local activists and officials pressured the national government to illegalize extreme right groups and adapt "the forces of public order to the new democratic situation," their voices were progressively muted as the mainstream media promoted consensus along with the country's political elites.[9] What is more, in a concerted effort to weaken the influence of popular politics, conservative elites and civil authorities colluded to delegitimize the grassroots narrative of antifascism that activists marshalled to signal their popular "conquest of democracy."[10] As an elite narrative legitimizing Spanish democracy was consolidated, activists were left disenchanted and divided, and the local networks where collective memories were articulated were demobilized.

Before evaluating the social costs of the lack of transitional justice in Spain, it is worth recounting the story of Rosario Padilla Camacho to demonstrate how collective remembering was reactivated during the initial stages of the Transition. Like many from the impoverished and highly repressed southern regions of the country, Padilla had migrated to the industrial north during the 1960s.[11] Her emotional and personal economy, as she rhetorically signaled during a 1978 interview, had been greatly hindered by her husband's phantom death certificate. "The former husband of the mother of today's mayor in Villarobledo was killed by the reds, and she married again and became a

---

hundred deaths resulting from political violence between 1975 and 1982. Baby, *Le mythe de la transition pacifique: violence et politique en Espagne, 1975-1982*.

[9] "Pleno extraordinario y urgente" October 9, 1979. *Libro de actas del ayuntamiento pleno,* Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

[10] Many activists of the era viewed democracy as a popular conquest. The thesis has received new public traction following the publication of Nicolás Sartorius and Alberto Sabio Alcutén, *El final de la dictadura: la conquista de la democracia en España (noviembre de 1975-junio de 1977)* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2007). It is no surprise that Sartorius reiterates the popular view of the 1970s as he was a PCE militant and CCOO activist of the era. In recent years, some Spanish historians have also adopted this position. See, especially Ysàs, "La transición española. Luces y sombras."

[11] For the most recent historical analysis of the scope and dynamics of internal migration to Catalunya during the Francoist dictatorship see Marín i Corbera, *Memòries del viatge*.

marquis. Why was she given a death certificate—and the ability to become a widow—and I have not?"[12] Before migrating, Padilla had attempted to procure a death certificate. The local priest, the official guardian of the town's undocumented past, refused to offer his assistance. In 1978, however, when widows of republican soldiers were given a one-year window to petition the state for pensions, Rosario was inspired to renew her quest.[13] Thanks to the changing socio-political context of the time, her until then solitary pursuit became an astoundingly collective endeavor.

Though no comprehensive research has been conducted regarding petitions filed by widows of republican troops or crippled republican veterans, a summary analysis of the 430 petitions filed in Santa Coloma de Gramenet—a city of 140,000 in the industrial belt of Barcelona—reveals that the preparation of petitions was an overwhelmingly collective experience. As required documentation was commonly missing or non-existent, witness testimonies were used as substitutes. In the process, memories seldom mentioned were brought directly into the public sphere. What is more, because these petitions were filed before the 1979 democratization of municipal governments, networks of solidarity were often engaged to pressure otherwise hostile administrations.

In both regards, the case of Rosario is highly revealing. After receiving no notice regarding her request for a death certificate, Santa Coloma's local branch of the recently legalized labor union *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO) sent letters of inquiry to the courts of Albacete. When these letters remained unanswered, Rosario, her lawyer, and

---

[12] Rosario Padilla Camacho as quoted in, "Rosario perdio, con su marido, la guerra," *GRAMA,* December 1978.

[13] For a discussion of the pension decrees, see Paloma Aguilar Fernández, "Justicia, política y memoria: los legados del franquismo en la transición española" (paper presented at the Las políticas hacia el pasado: Juicios, depuraciones, perdón y olvido en las nuevas democracias, 2002).

representatives from the union travelled to Villarobledo to speak directly with the mayor. Though the mayor refused to receive his guests, their presence reactivated the collective process of remembering. The mass grave at the outskirts of the town—estimated to hold three hundred bodies—became the center of public conversation as Rosario collected witness testimonies to attest to her husband's execution. Following the visit, the people of Villarobledo formed a commission to erect a monument at the site of the mass grave to "officially recognize the deaths" and "bring an end to the history of disappearances," openly comparing the identification of mass graves in Spain to the ongoing "reports of political 'disappearances' at the hands of military dictatorships in Argentina and Chile."[14] The commission then collected seventy thousand pesetas by popular donation, and in the words of *El País* "all of the town marched to the grave in an act of authentic reconciliation," proving that "collective memory has not been erased" and "fear has begun to be left behind." [15] Though Rosario's request for an official death certificate was again denied, she was able to successfully cite the "knowledge of all of the town"—publicly reactivated by her original request and substantiated by the article published in *El País*—as additional support for her petition to receive a pension.[16]

Far from an isolated event, similar processes were initiated all over the peninsula and mass graves dating back to the Civil War were commemorated and, in some cases,

---

[14] Juan José Calero as quoted in "Villarobledo quiere que se reconozca a sus muertos republicanos de la guerra," *El País*, November 11, 1978. Richards, *After the Civil War Making Memory and Re-making Spain since 1936*, 299.
[15] "Villarobledo quiere que se reconozca a sus muertos republicanos de la guerra," *El País*, November 11, 1978.
[16] *Solicitud #100*, May 24, 1979. Mutilats i Vídues de Guerra, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

exhumed.[17] What is more, following the 1979 constitution of democratically elected municipal governments, local efforts to confront the legacy of the dictatorship were diversified and institutionalized. Working together, activists and municipal officials undertook projects of symbolic democratization in hopes of achieving an "authentic reconciliation" from below. Attention to the social costs of these local efforts reveals that silence was not at the root of the Transition, but a consequence that resulted from the elite decision not to address transitional justice in Spain.

LEFTWING MUNICIPALITIES: WHOSE PUBLIC SPHERE, WHOSE CIVIC PEACE?

Following the constitution of democratically elected municipal governments, leftwing officials and activist groups promoted projects of symbolic democratization, taking the foundational pacts of the Transition to mark the beginning rather than the end of democratic reform. Despite the fact that there were no national models of symbolic democratization, and the national leaders of the institutional left did not provide party directives on the matter, numerous projects were undertaken at the local level.[18] For example in the province of Barcelona alone, eight newly constituted city councils

[17] As of yet, there is no comprehensive account of these efforts. Given that these acts received limited national media and political attention, as well as the fact that the extant scholarship on the matter references a great variety of local initiatives (instead of citing the same examples), there is reason to believe that efforts were widespread. See, Richards, *After the Civil War Making Memory and Re-making Spain since 1936*, Chapter 10. Humlebæk, "Party Attitudes Towards the Authoritarian Past in Spanish Democracy," 413-28. For a first hand account of how the exhumation of mass graves was resumed again in the 2000s, see Emilio Silva, *Las fosas de Franco: los republicanos que el dictador dejó en las cunetas* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2003). For a discussion of the legal and sociopolitical tensions surrounding contemporary exhumations see Jerez Farrán and Amago, *Unearthing Franco's legacy*.

[18] To date, there is no comprehensive account of such local initiatives. The research presented here offers an account of the most controversial initiatives that were undertaken in Catalunya. For a brief account of similar efforts and tensions in Murcia, see Carmen González Martínez, "El tránsito de la dictadura a la democracia en Murcia. Acción colectiva, respuestas institucionales y posicionamientos políticos," *Ayer*, no. 79 (2010). As for national projects of symbolic democratization, it is worth emphasizing that the *Valle de los Caidos,* the national mausoleum to fallen Francoist troops, remained untouched and unquestioned during the course of the Transition. For more on national party attitudes in this period consult Humlebæk, "Party Attitudes Towards the Authoritarian Past in Spanish Democracy."

removed the *Monumentos a los Caídos* that commemorated the Francoist troops that had fallen during the Spanish Civil War, as their "political significance" was no longer "in accord with the current circumstances."[19] This section analyzes the legacy of these projects through an examination of the local case study of Santa Coloma de Gramenet. It demonstrates that extreme right groups, with the support of like-minded civil authorities, targeted the municipalities that undertook projects of symbolic democratization. Ultimately, as the national leaders of the institutional left did not offer support or protection, onlookers were deterred from pursuing similar initiatives as new rifts emerged between the involved activists and officials at the grassroots.

On 25 May 1979 Santa Coloma's newly constituted city council voted to remove the *Monumento a los Caídos* and change the street names of the city. Hoping to definitively replace the symbolic repertoire of the previous regime, the officials solicited the collaboration of the city's various civic groups so that the general population could weigh in on the symbolic contours of their new democracy. Following the announcement of these initiatives, the Communist mayor of Santa Coloma, Lluís Hernández, a practicing priest and former neighborhood activist, received his first death threat. "We are the Black Falange Exterminators, we know where you live and we are coming for you."[20] Though this group had recently bombed Communist headquarters in the neighboring city of Rubí, the Civil Governor saw no reason to offer mayor Hernández special protection.

---

[19] "Propuesta sobre Monumento a Los Caídos," May 25, 1979. *Libro de actas del ayuntamiento pleno,* Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet. The eight municipalities were governed by diverse leftist coalitions. Two were major cities of over 75,000—Santa Coloma and Sant Boi De Llobregat—three were mid-size cities of over 25,000—Castelldefels, Prat de Llobregat and Granollers—and three were small cities of under 25,000—Esparraguera, Caldas de Montbuy and Palautordera. As these projects only received media attention because of the Blue March, there is reason to believe that other Catalan cities outside of the Barcelona province may have undertaken similar projects during this period.

[20] As quoted in,"El alcalde amenazado de muerte," *GRAMA* #133*,* June 9-16, 1979.

Later in the week, municipal workers sent to survey the monument received similar threats. To avoid continued tensions, Santa Coloma's city councilors attempted to negotiate directly with leaders of the extreme right Falangist group *Fuerza Nueva*. Because the results of these negotiations were fruitless, local leaders took it upon themselves to stand watch when municipal workers returned the following week to take down the monument. While the presence of the National Police had been requested, the urban police patrolled alone and Mayor Hernández received a steady stream of death threats throughout the day.[21]

In response to these events the *Moviment Comunista de Catalunya* (MCC), a new left extra-parliamentary group particularly active within the urban social movements of Barcelona's metropolitan area, presented a motion that called for the illegalization of extreme right groups. "These groups, which have an antidemocratic ideology," they wrote, "often act with impunity while using weapons to defend a cause that they have lost. We believe that the central government should act with efficiency to disarticulate and disarm these groups, which are a cancer to democracy."[22] The Communist led city council of Santa Coloma rapidly approved the motion, making the request to the central government official.

The central government's response only became clear a few months later when the Civil Governor authorized the Falange to hold a so-called Blue March. Slated to visit each of the eight Catalan municipalities where monuments had been removed and the dead allegedly "profaned," the march would conclude with a final demonstration in

[21] For more on *Fuerza Nueva*, specifically how the party simultaneously pursued electoral and violent strategies during this era, see Casals i Meseguer 1998.
[22] "Escrito del Moviment Comunista de Catalunya," July 27, 1979. *Libro de actas del ayuntamiento pleno,* Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

Barcelona to "defend the unity of Spain."[23] As the authorization signaled, not only would extreme right groups remain intact but they would be given free reign to paint both the red and peripheral nationalist areas of the country blue. Following announcement of the march, the city councilors of Santa Coloma energetically appealed to the Civil Governor. They asked that the march, which they described as a "provocation" and an "attack against the democratic order advocated by leftwing municipal governments," be de-authorized.[24] With no clear response from the civil authorities, the institutional and social movement left debated how best to prepare for the Falange's arrival.

When *Fuerza Nueva* militants arrived to Santa Coloma on the fifth consecutive Sunday of their march, they came visibly armed, wearing paramilitary uniforms, and carrying the Spanish and Falange flags intertwined. The square where local activists waited for the Falangists was adorned with the political graffiti of the left and activists held their ground symbolically by waving Republican flags. As the Falangists sang the Francoist anthem *Cara al Sol* and laid flowers on the former site of the monolith, booing from the crowd quickly escalated to violence. Rocks and Molotov cocktails were hurled back and forth before six gunshots sounded, leaving three leftwing activists wounded. When the National Police finally arrived, local observers noted that it was the armed Falangists who received police protection. Scuffles continued throughout the afternoon resulting finally, in the words of the major newspaper, *El Periodico,* in "four wounded, four detained, a Spanish flag semi-burnt, and various vehicles ignited and stoned."[25]

---

[23] The Referendum on Catalunya's autonomy statute was held on October 25, 1979.
"El ayuntamiento desaprueba al Gobierno Civil," *Diario de Barcelona*, October 3, 1979.
[24] "El ayuntamiento desaprueba al Gobierno Civil," *Diario de Barcelona*, October 3, 1979.
[25] "El Gobernador prohíbe los actos falangistas," *El Periodico*, October 9, 1979.

The mainstream media responded to the incident by describing it as "an example of what should not be allowed in a democracy" and criticized the Civil Governor for his "incomprehensibly tolerance" of the Falange.[26] In response to calls for his resignation, the Civil Governor prohibited the remainder of the Blue March, which he called an "evident and proven disturbance to the public order." Appropriating the discourse of the *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (PSC-PSOE), he publicly affirmed the "absolute need to avoid all acts of violence that might alter the citizen peace and serenity needed for the celebration of the upcoming referendum on Catalunya's autonomy statute."[27]

There was no agreement, however, regarding how best to ensure the citizen peace desired. The city councilors of Santa Coloma argued that simply avoiding violence would not suffice. Rather, what was needed was the active "adaptation of the forces of public order to the new democratic situation." Emphasizing the need for the "police and judiciary to intervene and hold the leaders of the major Fascist organizations accountable to penal laws," the city councilors announced that they would open a lawsuit against the Falange while seeking permission to realize an "orderly, civic and responsible mobilization of the citizens and local government of Santa Coloma in rejection of Fascism."[28] The city's independent social movement activists and militants of the extra-parliamentary rejected the city council's dependence on institutional channels. In their view, citizen peace could only be assured through the continued and immediate

---

[26] Editorial Board "Una tolernacia incomprensible," *Mundo Diario,* October 10, 1979.
[27] Belloch Puig, Barcelona's Civil Governor, as quoted in, "Disparos en acto falangista en Santa Coloma de Gramenet," *Tele/expres*, October 8, 1979. José María Belloch Puig was the Civil Governor of the province of Barcelona from 1977-1980. He was the first Catalan speaking Civil Governor in Catalunya since the end of the Civil War and maintained close relations with the conservative leaders of the provisional Catalan Generalitat. His support for Catalan nationalism was a high profile matter.
[28] "Pleno extraordinario y urgente" October 9, 1979. *Libro de actas del ayuntamiento pleno,* Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

mobilization of the working class. Accordingly, four hundred activists returned the following day "to demand yet again the dissolution of these possessed attackers whose only goal is to create a climate of terror and threaten the LIBERTIES conquered through the struggle of the working class."[29]

This conflict provoked the first "formal political rupture between the city council and the political groups without representation in the city."[30] Following the demonstration, the MCC and its allies accused the city council of "not having done anything so that the population organized against the problem of fascist groups;" a position they viewed as contradictory "given the firm posture of the city council regarding the removal of the *Monumento a los Caídos* in the first place."[31] As municipal officials were disabused of the hope that the national leaders of the institutional left would address the problem of extreme right groups and like-minded civil authorities, they began to equivocate. For example, Mayor Hernández responded to the MCC's accusation by arguing:

> In response to these fascist attempts, which don't mask their intention to drown democracy, we, as citizens of Santa Coloma, have to reaffirm our democratic will so that nobody toys with the idea of turning back...Many of the difficulties we have today are due to the impossibility we faced in realizing a *ruptura* with the past; a past that continues to condition us all today. And let it be clear, we cannot get rid of this conditioning merely through the voluntarism of the left. It requires daily work that takes into account the current correlation of forces while taking advantage of the spaces of liberty that we continue to conquer little by little.[32]

---

[29] Leaflet entitled "Llamamiento e información al pueblo de Santa Coloma," signed by AOA, OCE(BR), CCOO, MCC, PTC, PC(m-l), UGT, no date. Volanderos, Colleción Local, Biblioteca Central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[30] "Duras críticas al Ayuntamiento," *Grama* #148, October 15-20, 1979.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Lluís Hernández "Política de Realidades," *Grama* # 149, October 20-27, 1979.

Imploring the population to continue conquering "spaces of liberty," Mayor Hernández suggested that the struggle for democracy was far from complete.

By 1979, however, the Communist party was no longer in a position to lead a unitary struggle. With tensions rapidly mounting within the party, those to the party's left had little cause for sympathy and aggressively held Communist officials accountable for their inability to govern in a situation they believed the party had helped to create in the first place. *Ruptura,* from this perspective, had only become impossible after the Communist party had decided to participate in the *reforma pactada.*[33] These domestic tensions were only further compounded by a series of international pressures. First, with diminished faith in "actually existing socialism" and great debate regarding the new model of Eurocommunism, it was hard to situate the Spanish and Catalan Communist parties as they transitioned to institutional politics.[34] Second, the once powerful narrative of antifascism, historically employed to unify and mobilize the country's democratic forces, was already weakened on the international stage. Its purchase was diminishing in the Communist East at the same time that the myth of resistance was progressively undermined in the West. Finally, the Socialist party, which was funded and supported by an international community with clearly defined geopolitical interests, often behaved as if

[33] The *Partido Comunista de España* (PCE) promoted *ruptura* to organize the anti-Francoist opposition in Spain. According to the strategy, widespread mobilizations would undermine the Francoist regime to allow for the peacefully establishment of a new state apparatus modeled after the Second Republic. Despite the strategy's broad appeal among the mobilized during the 1970s, Santiago Carrillo (the national leader of the PCE) altered party strategy during the Transition. Following the lead of the rising *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE), Carrillo formally accepted the monarchy and its flag, leading his party to abandon *ruptura* to participate in the *reforma pactada* (the negotiated reform between the forces of the opposition and the former regime).

[34] For the ideological evolution of the Communist party during the Transition consult Andrade Blanco, *El PCE y el PSOE en (la) transición*, 55-111.

it were equally as interested in wiping out the Communist option to its left as confronting those to its right.[35]

As Communist officials attempted to navigate these tensions, it rapidly became clear that they could not hold the left together behind a common vision of democracy. Pouncing upon the weakness, the extreme right outlined its own vision. In the days that followed the Blue March extreme right militants argued, "We will have neither citizen harmony nor national reconciliation so long as Marxist groups try to impose their law through terror, picket lines and coercion." [36] Enraged by the city council's lawsuit and irked by Mayor Hernández's social position as priest and Communist, the extreme right began to vigorously target Santa Coloma.[37] Public centers, including the city hall and Communist headquarters, began to receive periodic bomb threats. Hundreds, for instance, had to be evacuated from a local clinic just as social security employees affiliated with the union CCOO demanded higher wages. In a public statement, the workers from the clinic argued, "the attack has to be interpreted as an attempt to boycott the strike."[38] As the twin "psychoses of fear and insecurity" developed within the city, Mayor Hernández's car was torched and he was again refused special police protection.[39]

---

[35] For a discussion of the geopolitical context see Garcés, *Soberanos e intervenidos, estrategias globales, americanos y españoles*. On the broader European support for the PSOE, financial and otherwise, see, Ortuño Anaya, *European Socialists and Spain: The Transition to Democracy, 1959-77*.

[36] "Versiones del alcalde y de FE y JONS," *Diario de Barcelona,* October 9, 1979 and "Los sucesos de Santa Coloma, al Congreso," *Tele/eXpres,* October 10, 1979.

[37] The Francoist dictatorship was constructed upon the ideology of National Catholicism, treating 'Marxists' as the anti-Spain. As such progressive Catholics, particularly working-class priests, were treated as a double-threat to the regime and its legitimacy. As the case of Lluís Hernández reveals, many of these individuals continued to be targeted by the extreme right well into the democratic period. For more on Church-State relations during the late stages of the dictatorship and Transition, see Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998*, Chapters 10-12.

[38] "Racha de falsas amenazas de bomba en centros cívicos y políticos," *El Correo Catalán*, February 7, 1980.

[39] "Queman el coche del alcalde," *El Correo Catalan,* Februrary 13, 1980.

Though the extreme right did not have an extensive presence in the Barcelona area, the impact of their terror was significant as the area's civil authorities passively tolerated and, at times, actively bolstered the behavior. As state institutions like the police, judiciary and civil governorship were unreformed during the course of the Transition, it was not uncommon for longstanding personnel to continue treating "Marxists" as the internal enemy.[40]

In Santa Coloma, the institutional bias of the police was clearly demonstrated when they refused to protect Mayor Hernández or social movement activists while offering special protection to the extreme right. For example, the *Fuerza Nueva* militants who had been taken into custody after the Blue March were not detained during the march but only after they had freely entered the police station to denounce the "aggression."[41] While the work of local photojournalists later confirmed the identities of the Falangists and proved that they had indeed carried illegal firearms, the police released the unnamed detainees before the official report was filed alleging that no weapons were found.[42] In addition, the police actively prohibited the family of one of the injured leftwing activists from filing a formal complaint at the station.[43]

Judges also used their authority to create an uneven balance of hindrances and protections. In a criminal case against a Falangist charged with holding a left wing activist at gunpoint, the trial was continually suspended due to filing errors and the defendant's refusal to attend the hearings. After one of the testifying witnesses, a union

---

[40] For recent discussions of political violence during the transition consult Baby, *Le mythe de la transition pacifique: violence et politique en Espagne, 1975-1982*; Sánchez Soler, *La transición sangrienta*.
[41] "Los detenidos, en libertad," *El Correo Catalan*, October 10, 1979.
[42] "Habla el alcalde: "La culpa es del gobernador"," *Grama* #148, October 15-20, 1979
[43] "Los sucesos de Santa Coloma, al Congreso," *Tele/eXpres,* October 10, 1979.

leader and new Communist city councilor, suggested that the suspensions were politically motivated, the judge called for the witnesses' expulsion.[44] With right and leftwing militants looking on and tensions in the courtroom escalating, the judge allowed two additional city councilors to mediate. While the councilors successfully mitigated the explosive situation, a few weeks later they each received notice that they were being charged with acts of public disorder. Though the charges were eventually dropped and the judge was subsequently transferred to a post outside of Santa Coloma, it was never publicly confirmed whether the transfer was realized in accord with a petition filed by the city council. The judge's behavior, as such, was not officially recognized as wrongful.[45]

The Civil Governor, for his part, made it abundantly clear that not all historic narratives were welcome in the public sphere. Immediately before authorizing the Blue March, he had refused to authorize an exhibit on Francoist repression organized by Santa Coloma's anarchist collective, the *Ateneo Popular Valldovina*. With labor lawyers, ex-political prisoners and anti-Francoist militants slated to speak at the event, the *Ateneu* attempted to proceed and the police forcibly enforced the prohibition. Two days later the police detained three members of the collective, who responded by denouncing the "arbitrariness of the governor" while publicly reaffirming their rights to associate.[46] With memories of the Blue March still fresh, when celebrations commemorating the forty-ninth anniversary of the Second Republic were prohibited in Santa Coloma and all over

---

[44] "Jucio suspendido contra presuntos fuerzanovistas: Un asalto "ultra" es falta menor," *Grama* #169, March 12, 1980.
[45] "El juez denuncia por 'desórdenes públicos' a dos concejales," *Grama* 1980;"Los concejales no serán procesados," *El Noticiero Universal*, August 15 1980.
[46] "El acto contra la represión acabó con tres detenciones" *GRAMA* #134*,* June 16-23, 1979.

Spain, there was little reason to continue maintaining that the modus operandi of the country's Civil Governors was merely arbitrary.

These institutional biases also assured the extreme right of their protected status. Accordingly *Fuerza Nueva* militants diversified their activities as they began to target 'red' Santa Coloma. Following an increase of municipal taxes as the city's new democratic leaders attempted to account for previous debts and invest in much-needed infrastructure, *Fuerza Nueva* became the vigorous defenders of "the interests of business owners against the 'Marxist city council.'"[47] Mobilizing within the area's regional business association, they organized a boycott of municipal taxes. While the mainstream media noted that the conflict presented the city council with its "gravest crisis faced to date"—one that could lead to the paralysis of the municipal government—only Josep Tordera, a local journalist, fleshed out the political significance of the conflict.

> What is happening here and now is a political campaign against a leftwing city government, promoted and encouraged by those who say nothing when taxes are collected by Madrid...They want to drown the city government in order to criticize its ineffectiveness...And lets not forget that the Catalan Parliamentary elections are approaching, they also look to better the poor image of the right by dumping on communists and socialists. [48]

Continuing the pattern whereby the extreme right was offered institutional protections, three of the boycott's organizers, all *Fuerza Nueva* militants who had been detained after the Blue March, ran as candidates for the 1980 Catalan Parliamentary elections. Much to the distress of local observers, their candidacy was allowed despite the open criminal charges that had been filed against them by the city council. What is more, just as the

---

[47] "Los "botiguers" propoen el boicot a la subida de tasas en Santa Coloma: Fuerza Nueva asesora a los comerciantes," *El Periodico,* February 15, 1980.
[48] Josep Tordera "Revuleta de los "botiguers"," *Grama* #167, February 27, 1980.

court delayed announcing whether the original case would go to trial, a separate case regarding the legality of the boycott was not heard until after the Catalan Parliamentary elections were held. By that time, of course, the right had gained the maximum political benefit from the tax boycott.

UNDERMINING THE POPULAR NARRATIVE OF DEMOCRATIZATION

By 1980 it had become clear that the leaders of the institutional left would not confront the problems of Falangist symbols, extreme right militants or oppositional civil authorities at the national level. As the mainstream media aimed to promote the national consensus brokered by political elites, the media coverage of 'local' conflicts rooted in these authoritarian legacies diminished. Given this context, it is no coincidence that Mayor Hernández most clearly described the global significance of local tensions to the foreign press. A feature report on Catalan politics, published by *Le Monde Diplomatique* in September 1980, opened with this "surprising" interview:

> It is rather simple, we don't have anything. Nothing more than cracked constructions where thousands of men, who are often sick, wait for problematic employment...When we entered the municipal government last year we found a debt of 400 million pesetas...the help offered by the State does not represent more than 7% of our budget...meanwhile official banks refuse to give us loans while private banks don't trust leftwing municipalities...the Civil Guard sabotages the majority of our initiatives, actively or passively, and the police don't guarantee public order...PSUC headquarters have been looted and my car burnt: those responsible have not been identified. Neither have those who tore down the new street signs where the names of the heroes of the Catalan Resistance were placed; when we took down the monument to the dead, erected in memory of the fascists, I received death threats; the police abstained from protecting me. Even graver, anarchist and members of the extreme left suspected of terrorist activities, have been detained without proof...The parties of the

> left don't protest...they fear breaking the consensus put in place by the Moncloa pacts of 1977.[49]

At the same time that the leaders of the institutional left feared breaking consensus, conservatives colluded with the mainstream media and the country's civil authorities to discredit the grassroots narrative that the left had popularly conquered democracy. As an elite narrative legitimizing Spanish democracy was consolidated, collective memory was demobilized.

Another scandal in Santa Coloma illustrates the process. On the morning of 18 October 1980 Mayor Hernández reported receiving a package that he feared might contain a bomb. Later that day, the National Police sent explosive experts to "deactivate" the package by exploding it in the central sports center of the city. The experts subsequently reported back to the city councilors to explain that had the package been opened in a city council meeting none would have survived the force of the explosion.

Avoiding the organizational missteps of the Blue March, the city councilors organized a unitary antifascist demonstration for the twentieth to signal that the popular forces of the left had conquered democracy and would continue to mobilize in its defense. On that day close to five thousand people attended including six leftwing mayors from Barcelona's industrial belt who stood in solidarity with Santa Coloma's city councilors at the head of the demonstration. Speakers described fascist groups as threats to democracy and leftwing municipal governments as an announcement was made that the major political elites of the region, including Jordi Pujol (the conservative nationalist

---

[49] Excerpts from the interview with Hernández were later translated into Spanish and published in Santa Coloma's local newspaper. "Lluis Hernández, en 'Le Monde diplomatique,'" *Grama* # 193, September 18, 1980. While the original report featured interviews of major right and leftwing leaders, as well as important public intellectuals, the interview with Hernández was at the forefront of the article and figured heavily throughout.

president of the *Generalitat*) extended their official support to the antifascist proceedings. With demonstrators chanting, "It is the fascists who are the terrorists," the oft-repeated notion that the extreme left posed the sole threat to democratization was publicly countered.[50]

Two days later, to the surprise of all in Santa Coloma, the major newspaper *El Periodico* announced that the package had never contained a bomb, only artificial flowers. According to the article, a former parishioner had sent the package to express her condolences following the recent passing of Hernández's mother. "This information, facilitated to *El Periodico* by police and judicial sources" the article confirmed, "is supported by the police's urgent report, realized by specialists after exploding the package."[51] Suggesting that municipal officials had organized the demonstration in bad faith, the article concluded by noting a "strong discomfort in the *Generalitat*," especially President Pujol's distress regarding the public announcement that he had "adhered to the demonstration and condemned the threat." After negating the alleged adherence, President Pujol set the tone for the scandal that followed. He denounced the demonstration for "irresponsibly generating a psychosis of terrorism."[52]

Though the mainstream media argued that the "explosive experts were confused" and "Lluis Hernández did not believe the police," there was no further discussion of either the "confused" or incredulous behavior.[53] Rather, attention was focused on the

---

[50] As quoted in, "Santa Coloma: Multitudinaria manifestación contra el terrorismo," *La Vanguardia,* October 21, 1980.
[51] "El atentado contra el alcalde de Santa Coloma no existió," *El Periodico,* October 22, 1980.
[52] Ibid.
[53] "Luís Henández no creyó a la Policía," *El Periodico*, November 8, 1980 and "Los artificieros se confundieron," *Recull de Premsa*, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet. Full article citation not available.

figure of Mayor Hernández. Even the most generous of editorials, which recognized that the Mayor received constant threats thanks to his "double social position as priest and communist, not to mention his popular charisma in a working class municipality with infinite problems," concluded that the demonstration was no more than a "political manipulation of solidarity."[54] Meanwhile, critical accounts directly attacked Hernández's "double social position." Though it had been popularly acknowledged that the collaboration between Christians and Communists had helped Spanish society overcome one of its most deeply rooted obstacles to democratization, with democratization almost complete and transformative politics out of fashion internationally, conservative commentators took the opportunity to openly ridicule the alliance. In the words of one such commentator, "Due to the fervent plurality of his profession, the case resonated, touching communist congregants on the one hand and Catholic militants on the other so that in little time five or six-thousand people gathered to demonstrate against terrorism," in what the editorialist went on to describe as an "ecclesiastical-Marxist-municipal-floral" debacle.[55]

As embarrassment grew in the city, the MCC demanded an explanation from the Communists while the Socialists alleged that the whole event had been "staged to

---

[54] Editorial board, "'Boomerang' en la historia de una bomba," *Mundo Diario*, October 23, 1980. It is likely that the charge was rooted in the fact that Communist militants in Catalunya were simultaneously struggling over the direction of the party. For more on how these struggles affected the tone of the media in Catalunya, see the first chapter of Campo Vidal, López Raimundo, and Gutiérrez Díaz, *El PSUC y el eurocomunismo*.

[55] Doctor Scopius, "Les bombes florals," *Avui*, October 24, 1980. It is worth drawing attention to how the quotation directly mocked Alfonso C. Comín, *Cristianos en el partido, comunistas en la iglesia* (Barcelona: Laia, 1977). Comín, a leader of PSUC and member of the PCE's central committee, published the collection of texts to explain the internal reform of the Spanish and Catalan Communist parties vis-à-vis the Christian question. In an interview conducted by the author with Lluís Hernández on October 20, 2011, Hernández recounted seeking personal guidance from Comín who convinced him that Christians could help rejuvenate and democratize the Communist party from within.

improve the image of the municipal government with Lluís Hernández at its head." [56] Echoing the mainstream media, the Socialists concluded that the demonstration was an "outrageous manipulation of public opinion." [57]

With criticism of Communists officials mounting on all sides no efforts were made to contextualize the officials' behavior. Little emphasis, for example, was placed on the fact that the police had never presented an official report to the city's officials. Rather, they had only returned in the hours immediately preceding the demonstration to suggest that the package might not have contained a bomb. As it was common for the police to create confusion in order to disrupt popular demonstrations, it is no surprise that the two officials contacted, Mayor Hernández and Lieutenant Governor Enrique Bellete, ignored the unofficial report. What is more, we know from oral testimonies that relations between these officials and the police were already tense. This was particularly so in the case of Bellete who, in his capacity as Lieutenant Governor, had modestly reformed the urban police force by demoting twenty policemen known to be historic Falangists and Blue Division Volunteers to positions without firearms.[58]

Just as this additional context helps put the behavior of the Communist officials into perspective, drawing attention to the sequence of events casts doubt on the civil authorities' alleged confusion. Though Mayor Hernández did not alert the public to his initial suspicion following receipt of the package in the morning, the police made a public spectacle out of the event by exploding the package in the city center as the city came to

---

[56] "Paquete que recibió el alcalde de Santa Coloma no era bomba," *Tele/eXpres*, October 23, 1980.
[57] The Socialist leader Joan Carles Más as quoted in, "Rueda de opiniones sobre la bomba," *Grama* # 199, November 6, 1980.
[58] Enrique Bellete Donay, interview by José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, March through July 2002, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, Colección Biografias Obreras.

life with the return of students and workers in the evening. While research remains to be done, it is worth seriously considering a critique that was only voiced in the local Communist press. As one official wrote, "If the citizens of this country have a psychosis of terrorism it is in part thanks to the dozens of shoe boxes, backpacks and packages that the police explode in full public view that later result to be inoffensive."[59] The timing and distribution of the police report warrant similar suspicions. Only after the media had covered the resounding success of the antifascist demonstration did the Civil Governor distribute the "urgent report" directly to *El Periodico* and the conservative leaders of the Generalitat for comment. With the mainstream media itself complicit, it is no surprise that the public's attention was not brought to the possible conclusion that the Communist officials had been set up.

More concerning than the political embarrassment, however, was the fact that the media scandal deflected attention away from the truly scandalous aspect of the affair. Leftwing officials had no reason to trust civil authorities and, as local journalists from Santa Coloma reiterated, "fascist terrorism" was no "joke."[60] As recent research reveals, there was no "psychosis of terrorism" in Spain. The political violence perpetrated by both the state and extremist groups during the Transition exceeded that of neighboring Italy during the notorious *anni di piombo*.[61]

Equally as significant, the media deflection also undermined the broader objectives of protestors who marshaled the discourse of antifascism. With seven leftwing mayors in one of the "reddest" areas of the country personally implicated, it was all but

---

[59] Chema Corral, "La policia se contradice," *PSUC Informa Sta. Coloma*, November 1980.
[60] Editorial "Interrogantes explosivos," *Grama* # 199, November 6, 1980.
[61] Baby, *Le mythe de la transition pacifique: violence et politique en Espagne, 1975-1982*; Sánchez Soler, *La transición sangrienta*.

assured that the scandal's message would be effectively communicated. The left's popular conquest and defense of democracy against its extreme right detractors was not an appropriate founding narrative for Spain's new democracy.

Following the attempted coup of 23 February 1981, the country's media and political elites effortlessly consolidated an elite narrative of democratization. As Lieutent Colonel Tejero held the Congress of Deputies hostage in Madrid and sectors of the army rolled tanks down the boulevards of Valencia, King Juan Carlos appeared on television. Calmly expressing his support for elected officials, the King finally signaling his unequivocal support for democracy. The mainstream media subsequently hailed the Monarchy as democracy's true guarantor completing the narrative of model elite negotiated Transition.

In Santa Coloma, local journalists immediately expressed their concerns regarding the civic implications of this elite narrative.

> We live in a country in which the maintenance of democracy depends as much on an institution such as the Monarchy, as the capacity of workers and citizens to respond and defend a political system that they consider their own. It is clear today more than ever that we have to work to defend democratic institutions. The figure of the King should be considered important given the context of the current situation. But maybe we should also reflect on the limits of the democratic culture and habits that he alone is able to generate with his actions. [62]

These concerns were especially poignant given the particular experience of the attempted coup in Santa Coloma.

During the attempted coup, Santa Coloma's city councilors congregated to make preparations as extreme right militants returned to the city to create terror. Armed with machine guns, extreme right militants targeted the lit conference room where they

[62] "...Y llevan armas," *Grama,* March 2, 1981.

assumed the city councilors had gathered. According to local journalists, the shooting "could have resulted in a slaughterhouse."[63] While it remains unclear whether the shooting was part of an organized coup plot or an act of extremist opportunism, the mainstream media described the event as "isolated and without consequence." [64] The media's assessment of the event arguably set the tone for subsequent legal and political responses.

Almost a full month after the shooting, the Civil Governor had no findings to report. Given this delay, local activists and officials decided to collect their own evidence and formulate a series of petitions and motions. Local journalists pursued investigations and directly interviewed *Fuerza Nueva* militants.[65] Meanwhile, two parliamentarians from the city initiated discussion in the Catalan Parliament. They asked what the *Generalitat* had done to clarify the events and what measures it planned to adopt to assure that such "terrorist acts, which threaten both citizen security and democratic institutions, do not continue to occur."[66] A week later a letter was sent to the central government. Signed by independent citizens as well as the major political parties and unions that were active in Santa Coloma, the letter confirmed the city's "support for democracy and its institutions," while demanding that the "full weight of the law fall upon those responsible for the [local] threats."[67]

The authorities, however, never definitively identified the individuals responsible for the shooting in Santa Coloma. What is more, in the months that followed the attack, a

---

[63] As quoted in, "Los consistorios condenan por unanimidad el intento golpista," *El Periodico*, February 25, 1981.
[64] "Ametrallado el Ayuntamiento de Santa Coloma," *La Vanguardia*, February 25, 1981.
[65] "Los diputados colomenses pedirán datos sobre el ametrallamiento," *Grama* #218, March 17, 1981.
[66] Ibid.
[67] "Piden la captura de los francotiradores del 23-F," *Grama* # 219, March 24, 1981.

bus waving Spanish and Falangist flags made weekly trips to Santa Coloma and uniformed militants shouted "long live Tejero, get out Communists" from its windows.[68] Though the attempted coup had been officially denounced and there was a constitutional ban on paramilitary association, the authorities never intervened. The mainstream media, for its part, gave *Fuerza Nueva* militants ample opportunity to represent themselves to the larger public. "We do not provoke, rather we promote our agenda like other recognized political parties...it is not true that *Fuerza Nueva* or any of its militants machine-gunned the city hall."[69]

Whether or not *Fuerza Nueva* was responsible for the events or comparable to other political parties, they were able to open an office in Santa Coloma in April of 1982 and Francisco Villora, "the only right wing militant to openly show his face" in the city, founded a radio station and a magazine.[70] Frustrated by the institutionalization of the extreme right, a reduced group of leftwing activists responded by painting Santa Coloma with graffiti messages calling for the expulsion and illegalization of *Fuerza Nueva*.[71] In turn, the extreme right painted blue the facade of the city hall, the local offices of the union CCOO, and the homes of local journalists. As another battle over public space ensued, one journalists compared the 1982 "graffiti war" to the 1979 Blue March.[72]

---

[68] "Autocar "Tejerista" en Santa Coloma," *El Periodico*, March 29, 1981, "Los 'fachas', cada sábado," *Grama* #224, April 27, 1981, "Un autocar con banderas de Fuerza Nueva visita periodicamente la ciudad," *El Correo Catalan,* May 6 1981 and "El autocar "facha" es de Fuerza Nueva," *Grama* # 226, May 12, 1981.

[69] "El autobús que utilizan los ultraderechistas es de Fuerza Nueva local," *El Correo Catalan,* May 12, 1981.

[70] "Paco Villora, presidente de la Unión Patronal: El único de derechas que da la cara," *Grama* #195, October 9, 1980. For more on *Fuerza Nueva* and how the party pursued both electoral politics and armed struggle during the Transition, see Xavier Casals i Meseguer, *La tentación neofascista en España* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1998).

[71] "La irresistible ascensión de la derecha local," *Grama* #270 April 9-16, 1982.

[72] "Pintadas contra Fuerza Nueva," *Grama* #269, April 2-9 1982.

> It is possible that the only objective behind the increasing presence of the extreme right, which nourishes its rank and file with morally dubious elements in the working class outskirts, is to create an atmosphere of discomfort. In this manner the candidate they propose, who offers 'order and an iron fist,' will seem necessary given the state that they previously dedicated themselves to creating in the first place. It is possible that in the coming months the central square of the city will again have Sunday confrontations, dialectic or more 'expressive.'[73]

In response to this palpable increase in tensions, the Civil Governor finally intervened. He sent three National Police to personally protect Francisco Villora despite the fact that the graffiti war "affected the establishments of the right no more than it affected the entities of the left." While local journalists duly noted the contrast between "the perfect protection given to the local leader of the right" and the "utter lack of protection offered to other people and entities that have been threatened," their observations only merited a summary notice on page thirteen of the local newspaper. [74] Local journalists, it seems, had been disabused of the hope that an outraged front-page exposition might draw the attention of the mainstream media. Similarly discouraged, activists and officials did not respond by organizing a demonstration or calling for the Civil Governor's resignation. This spectacular decrease in popular outrage and protest evidences how activists accommodated to the lack of transitional justice in Spain. As an elite narrative of democratization was consolidated, activists dropped the memory and legacy of the authoritarian past from the popular agenda.

---

[73] "La irresistible ascensión de la derecha local," *Grama* #270 April 9-16, 1982.
[74] "Protección policial para Francisco Villora"*Grama* #272 April 23-30, 1982.

Chapter 3, in part, is being prepared for publication as Davis, Andrea, "Enforcing the Transition: The Demobilization of Collective Memory in Spain, 1979-1982," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Liverpool University Press, 2015.

Chapter 4

The Struggle for Public Education: Local Empowerment and the Role of Strong Civic Institutions in the State of Autonomous Communities

Educational activism figured prominently within the urban movement of the 1970s, continuing beyond the transition to democracy in Spain. The 1970 *Ley General de Educación*, one of the Francoist regime's most ambitious liberalizing reforms, promised to modernize the education system and guarantee compulsory education to children ages six to fourteen.[1] However, because of the law's focus on equal opportunities and "emphasis on educational achievement before political loyalty," conservative sectors of the regime cancelled the economic reform aimed to fund the law, limiting its application.[2] During the 1970s, activists used the limited application of the law to incorporate the struggle for public education into their broader struggle for democracy in different ways. Some activists groups dedicated their energies to undermining the authorities who could not provide the services guaranteed, while others capitalized upon the modernizing aspects of the law to experiment with models of autonomous participatory administration and progressive pedagogical reform. Though the 1978 Constitution outlined the contours for a democratic education system in Spain, the education system remained underfunded and unreformed until 1985, when the governing *Partido Socialista Obrero Español*

[1] The modernizing elements introduced included the promotion of active teaching models, a focus on the relationship between schools and their social environment, the introduction of continuous assessments, and the formation of teacher working groups. Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*, 8-11.
[2] Ibid., 10.

(PSOE) passed the *Ley Orgánica Reguladora del Derecho a la Educación* (LODE).[3] Until the LODE was passed, activists groups continued to mobilize for equal access to education as they expanded and institutionalized their models of autonomous participatory administration and progressive pedagogical reform.[4]

In this chapter I explore the continuation of the struggle for public education in Santa Coloma de Gramenet between the democratization of municipal governments in 1979 and the reform of the Spanish education system in 1985. In contrast to other popular struggles that continued through and beyond the Transition, civic organizations and municipal officials worked together in their efforts to expand and reform the public education system. This collaboration resulted in notable successes at the same time that it revealed the ways in which national and regional institutions constrained local empowerment.

In addition to illustrating the possibilities and limitations of coordinated local action, the case study also contributes to our understanding of the legacy of Catalunya's uniquely united opposition movement both within and beyond the region. Before turning to this legacy, it is worth discussing the importance of Catalunya and the 'historic nationalities' to the Transition. When compared to subsequent transitions in the East, where the nationalities question resulted in the acrimounious division of post-Communist states, it is easy to conclude that "the nationalities question represented the greatest

[3] Ibid., 49.
[4] Focusing on teachers' unionist and pedagogical struggles, Tamar Groves provides an account of teacher's collective actions nationwide between 1970 and 1985. Ibid. The struggle for public education in Santa Coloma corresponds with the basic trajectory of teachers' movements nationwide.

challenge to the consolidation of democracy" in Spain.[5] Indeed, separatist political violence in the Basque Country posed a serious threat.[6] However, the stability of the historic nationality of Catalunya, one of Spain's most populous and economically important regions, effectively contained the 'nationalities problem' to the Basque Country as a monarchic-nation state with a decentralized system known as the 'state of autonomous communities' was constructed.[7]

The stability of Catalunya was not a forgone conclusion, during transitional negotiations or the subsequent era of devolution.[8] In the first case, there was the constant threat of sociolinguistic division as nearly forty percent of Catalunya's total population was composed of native Spanish speakers who constituted the major part of the region's working class.[9] In the second case, it was not clear that the national parties of the left (PCE and PSOE), let alone the regional parties in Catalunya, would have the political ability or the will to abandon their longstanding vision of a federal Spain in which the historic nationalities maintained the right to self-determination.[10]

While some scholars argue that the integrity of the Spanish state was maintained thanks to the sequencing of elections during the Transition, others argue that strong

---

[5] Jacobson, "Navigating Divisions between Linguistic Communities: during the Spanish Transition to Democracy (1975-1982): The Spanish Socialist Party in Catalunya."119.
[6] Muro, "Politics and memory of democratic transition."
[7] Jacobson, "Navigating Divisions between Linguistic Communities: during the Spanish Transition to Democracy (1975-1982): The Spanish Socialist Party in Catalunya," 117.
[8] For Catalan national reconstruction, consult Paola Lo Cascio, *Nacionalisme i autogovern: Catalunya, 1980-2003*, Recerca i pensament (Catarroja ; Barcelona: Afers, 2008).
[9] Gershon Shafir, *Immigrants and Nationalists: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation in Catalonia, the Basque Country, Latvia, and Estonia* (SUNY Press, 1995); Josep Termes, *La immigració a Catalunya i altres estudis d'història del nacionalisme català*, 1a ed. ed. (Barcelona: Empúries, 1984); Martí Marín i Corbera, *De immigrants [sic] a ciutadans: la immigració a Catalunya, del franquisme a la recuperació de la democràcia* (Barcelona [etc.: Diputació de Barcelona], 2004).
[10] This was especially so given that "the more moderate the PCE and PSOE became in terms of devolutionary demands, the more radical the electorate turned." Quiroga, "Politics and memory of democratic transition," 154. For the Catalan regional parties see, Montserrat Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism, Francoism, Transition and Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2004).

institutions, namely the national parties of the left, defused potentially destabilizing situations.[11] Contributing to the strong institutions argument, I make the case that strong civic organization with close relations to local governments played an important role in defusing potentially destabilizing situations at the level of grassroots politics. The pedagogical reform movement in Santa Coloma de Gramenet—a major Catalan city with the highest concentration of native Spanish speakers in Barcelona's industrial belt—serves as a case study for the argument.[12]

I also argue that the strength of civic organizations, and the leadership of the Catalan peadagogical reform movement through and beyond the Transition, was a direct legacy of the united opposition movement in Catalunya. In contrast to other Spanish regions, where opposition movements remained relatively uncoordinated until the Transition, the *Assemblea de Catalunya* brought together a wide array of civic organizations and political parties beginning in 1971 to demand social and political liberties, amnesty for political prisoners and the restoration of Catalunya's 1932 autonomy statute.[13] The *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat* was a founding member organization of the *Assemblea* and *Escola* leaders used the alliances of the *Assamblea* to

---

[11] For the sequencing argument consult, Juan J Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1996). For the strong institutions argument consult Jacobson, "Navigating Divisions between Linguistic Communities: during the Spanish Transition to Democracy (1975-1982): The Spanish Socialist Party in Catalunya." Though he does not make the strong institution argument explicit, Quiroga's discussion of the transformation of the PCE and the PSOE on the nationalities question, reinforces the argument. Quiroga, "Politics and memory of democratic transition."

[12] There is an extensive literature on sociolinguistic relations and language planning in Catalunya during this era. See especially Kathryn Ann Woolard, *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia* (Stanford University Press, 1989); *The politics of Language status planning: 'Normalization' in Catalonia* (na, 1986).

[13] There is an expanding literature on the *Assemblea de Catalunya* including, Robert Bernard, "L'Assemblea de Catalunya (1971-1982). Catalanisme popular i antifranquisme" (Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, 2001); Pala, *El PSUC*, Chapter 3. The unity and popularity of the *Assemblea* is most clearly demonstrated by the results of the first senatorial election of 1977, when the *Entesa dels Catalans*—which was linked to and backed by the *Assemblea*—won twelve of Catalunya's sixteen seats.

establish and expand the pedagogical reform movement in Catalunya. After the movement was consolidated in the region, the leaders of the *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat* helped establish and lead similar movements throughout the country during the Transition.[14] Though the *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat* was not institutionalized as a department of the *Generalitat* (the restored Catalan autonomous government) following the Transition, it was "completely integrated into the institutional panorama of democratic Catalunya" and went on to play a leading role in negotiations with the Ministry of Education as the PSOE government prepared the LODE.[15]

Throughout, the *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat* promoted the model of 'popular Catalanism' that had its origins in the *Assemblea de Catalunya*. Popular Catalanism was a comprehensive vision of democratic practices and identities that rejected both the centralist practices of the Spanish state and the centralist conceptions of the Spanish people promoted under Francoism. Or, in the words of the communist intellectual and novelist Manuel Vázquez Montalban, a progressive "social and political project" and "instrument of historic management."[16] Following the dissolution of the *Assemblea de Catalunya* in 1977 and the decline of the *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (PSUC) in 1982, the *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat* became the major advocate of popular Catalanism, using the pedagogical reform movement to promote the model, and appropriate regional variants, in and beyond Catalunya. As this case study of Santa Coloma de Gramenet demonstrates, through its promotion of popular Catalanism the

---

[14] Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*, 56-66.
[15] Ibid., 83.
[16] Manuel Vázquez Montalban, as quoted in: "Catalunya: La Lucha Por la Lengua (Mesa redonda con Aina Moll, Sebastia Serrano, Francesc Valverdú y Manuel Vázquez Montalban)," *El Viejo Topo,* #51 (1980).

pedagogical reform movement defused potentially destabilizing situations as the state of autonomous communities was established.

In this chapter I divide my analysis of the struggle for public education in Santa Coloma into three stages, each marked by shifts within the larger political context. In the first stage, between the democratization of municipal governments in 1979 and the devolution of jurisdictions to the *Generalitat* in 1981, the unitary opposition movement in Catalunya maintained the link between Catalan national recognition and democracy framed as shared goals rooted in the common theme of autonomy. During this stage, positive relations were established between the *Generalitat* and the leftwing municipalities of the *cinturón,* the industrial belt of Barcelona where native Spanish speakers were most heavily concentrated. The *Generalitat* and the leftwing municipalities forged a common front against the conservative *Unión de Centro Democrático* (UCD) central government through the united struggle for public education. The second stage was initiated in 1981 as jurisdictions were passed to the *Generalitat* in a social context marked by widespread confusion regarding the state of autonomous communities and social relations between native Spanish speakers and native Catalans. Despite the fact that the *Generalitat* was lax to resolve the educational deficits of the *cinturón*, these tensions were contained thanks to the coordinated civic efforts of the pedagogical reform movement. The final stage of the struggle for public education was initiated between 1984 and 1986 as the central government under PSOE leadership overhauled the education system. The leftwing municipalities of the *cinturón* came into direct conflict with the *Generalitat* as each pushed against the Socialist reforms from opposite

directions. In this stage the possibilities and limitations of local empowerment were revealed.

THE UNITARY STRUGGLE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION (1979-1981)

In regards to education, the 1978 Constitution reflected a "delicate and complex balance between the principle of equality of the left and the principle of liberty of the right, thus reflecting two contradictory educational models." No clear model of democratic education was established until 1985, though there was general agreement that education constituted a basic right, primary education was to be obligatory and financed by the state, and education was to develop the personality in accordance with democratic rights.[17] During the final years of UCD rule between 1979 and 1981, the first phase of the struggle for public education was initiated as activists opposed educational policies "scarcely faithful to the spirit of the Constitution."[18] In Catalunya, civic organizations, political parties, and newly constituted local and regional governments, forged a common front against the UCD government and its educational policies. Though these groups did not always share the same objectives, their differences were initially masked, allowing local forces to remain united as the struggle for public education was institutionalized at the level of municipal governments.

In the cities of the *cinturón,* where struggles over education had pitted communities against their Francoist administrators throughout the 1970s, education was seen as a key issue through which newly formed city councils could distinguish

[17] Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*, 49.
[18]The preamble to the 1985 LODE describes the UCD's education laws, which were either never passed or ruled unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court, as such: *Ley Organica reguladora del Derecho de Educación,* B.O. del E Num 159, July 4, 1985.

themselves from previous administrators to consolidate their representative credentials. The first step, in Santa Coloma de Gramenet was to establish a lottery system in order to register students for the limited spots available in the city's state schools. Parents were invited to watch as names were drawn "so that they could see," as one Communist city councilor later remembered, "that there was transparency, so that they did not believe that one child entered because he knew so and so, because that was how it had been done before."[19] Following the lottery, Perico Garcia, the city councilor in charge of education, spent the final week of May meeting with the unhappy mothers of the city whose children could not be registered because of the lack of schools. With a total of 1,855 six year olds unable to matriculate, Garcia promised "if the central government does not attend to our problems it is going to be all of us, with the city councilors in front, that will take to the streets to ask for more schools."[20]

In addition to initiating local conversations, Garcia and the city councilors in charge of education in the province Barcelona, directly appealed to the central government. They met with the regional delegate of the *Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia* (MEC) to request a total of 2,035 teachers for the province's state schools for the 1979-1980 school year. Though it initially seemed that the MEC would grant the request, the delegate unexpectedly announced that only ten percent of the province's initial request would be honored.

The announcement exacerbated tensions in the cities of the *cinturón.* In Santa Coloma, the decision signified that forty-nine teachers would be taken away from the city, leaving an additional 900 children in the streets. Accordingly, the municipal

[19] Remei Martiñez, interview by Andrea Davis, December 14, 2011.
[20] Perico Garcia as quoted in *Grama* #131, 26 May-2 June 1979.

government of Santa Coloma established informational pickets and called assemblies to bring together the civic entities of the city: neighborhood associations, parent's associations, teacher collectives, unions, political parties, and cultural organizations. Meanwhile, the city councilors in charge of education in the *cinturón* began to meet to discuss their common conditions, strategies, and positions. They made public their worry that the central government was delegitimizing newly constituted municipal governments, leaving municipal administrators without the resources or jurisdictions to address the most fundamental problems of their citizens. Asserting that they would not be the mere "appendages of the administration," the city councilors announced that they would act as the "representatives of popular interests."[21]

More than empty words, on 20 September 1979 the city councilors of the *cinturón* led an estimated ten thousand protestors to the center of Barcelona to demand teachers from the MEC.[22] Protestors from Santa Coloma de Gramenet arrived at the demonstration riding their city's sixteen public school busses. Their symbolically laden entrance was met by the applause of fellow protestors and, as the city's local newspaper later recounted, a patient at a nearby surgical hospital nearly fell out of his window as he weakly attempted to raise his fist in solidarity with the spectacular sight.[23] A sign carried by a little girl captured the collective sentiments of the day: "My grandparents, 'illiterate.' My parents, 'illiterate.' And me? Not me! We want the teachers you have robbed from us!"[24] The children at the strike were the first generation to demand

---

[21] *Manifiest de Regidors d'Ensenyament de la periferia de Barcelona,* September 3, 1979. Ensenyament 1978-1980, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[22] "El 'cinturón' ocupó la ciudad pidiendo maestros", *El Períodico*, September 20, 1979.
[23] "Anecdotas de una 'mani' especial" *Grama* #145, 22-29 September 1979, 5.
[24] Protest poster held by a little girl with her family. Photo printed in *Grama* #145, 22-29 September, 1979.

education as a basic right, and in Santa Coloma, this right was demanded in a context where access to education was severely limited and 92% of the city's parents had never had the opportunity to finish primary school.[25]

Following the demonstration, the leaders of the provisional *Generailitat* adeptly intervened in the matter. They assembled the city councilors of education from the entire region to facilitate meetings with the UCD-led central government. Together, they framed the UCD's decision not to grant the requested schoolteachers as a political maneuver: a "provocation of the UCD government, whose goal is to damage the prestige of state schools, democratic city councils and the autonomy of Catalunya."[26] With the referendum on Catalunya's autonomy statute a mere month away, the leaders of the provisional *Generalitat* decided to capitalize upon popular energies by organizing a general educational strike, *Jornada per l'Escola a Catalunya,* for 27 September 1979.

During the strike no state school in the province began classes and the great majority of private schools joined in solidarity. While there was little external support for the strike in the city of Barcelona itself, *"el cinturón barcelonés* was, again, the protagonist of the struggle for education realized in Catalunya."[27] In the *cinturón* assemblies were celebrated and major transportation arteries were cut; in some places the day took on the characteristics of a general strike. In Santa Coloma, where activities were allegedly most intense, "even the larger commercial establishments joined the protest, and establishments of the city that had never closed for any type of conflict before hung signs in their doors reading: 'We are closed in solidarity with schools to protest the

[25] Reducción Profesorado 1979, Ensenyament 1978-1980, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[26] *Diario de Barcelona*. 26 September 1979.
[27] "Paros en el 'cinturón' para exigir los maestros," *El Periodico,* September 28, 1979.

problems of the education system.'"[28] The day concluded with a final act on the mountain of Montjuïc in Barcelona, where approximately fifty thousand people congregated to demand schoolteachers, the resignation of the Minister of Education, as well as the "urgent transfer of jurisdictions and the necessary financial resources in the area of education to the *Generalitat*."[29] In this manner, the struggle for public education was seamlessly integrated into the larger campaign for Catalan autonomy.

In their evaluation of the *Jornada per l'Escola a Catalunya*, the city councilors of Santa Coloma concluded that the provisional *Generalitat* "took a great step towards institutionalizing relations with city councils" while the city councils of the *cinturón* "in supporting the *Generalitat* with dedication, fortified it on occasions, stimulating and recognizing it as the valid institution of Catalunya."[30] As the strike secured the schoolteachers originally requested, it also helped to produce confidence in the provisional *Generalitat* among the primarily native-Spanish speaking residents of the *cinturón*. As the city councilors of Santa Coloma later put it: **"**This has been the first, and thus a vitally important conflict between the centralist government of the UCD and the Catalan institutions, the democratic city councils and the Catalan people at large."[31] They concluded with the hope that a "combative people," by whom they meant the union between the citizens and governments of Catalunya, "would not be defeated."[32]

---

[28] "Paro total y agresión de un fotógrafo," *Diario de Barcelona,* September 28, 1979.
[29] "Jornada de lucha en Barcelona para exigir más maestros," *El País,* September 27, 1979.
[30] Reducción Profesorado 1979, Ensenyament 1978-1980, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[31] Reducción Profesorado 1979, Ensenyament 1978-1980, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[32] Ibid.

Catalunya itself, rather than particular political or social forces therein, was thus framed as a progressive front vis-à-vis the UCD-led central government.

In the *cinturón,* the language employed during the struggle framed Catalan autonomy as a broadly democratic, rather than nationalistic, initiative. This was most apparent in the emphasis that the leftwing city councilors placed on the distinction between 'state' and 'public' schools. "State School is not Public School. It is still the school that is administered uniquely by the Central Administration of the State. As such it still has to be transformed into Public School." This transformation would be realized, according to the city councilors, by building public administration from the people. First incorporating the participation of parent associations and teacher collectives, and then moving up the tiers of representative institutions: progressing from the city councils to the *Generalitat* up to the final oversight of the Spanish state.[33] Autonomy, which these councilors explicitly promoted, was thus framed as the first step towards the decentralization of state power and the construction of a participatory democracy. [34]

The UCD-led central government and conservative media outlets, in contrast, evaluated the *Jornada per l'Escola a Catalunya* as an example of the dangers of autonomy. They warned that if the Catalan referendum passed, Catalunya would continue

---

[33] *Manifiest de Regidors d'Ensenyament de la periferia de Barcelona.* September 3, 1979. Ensenyament 1978-1980, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

[34] This vision of Catalan autonomy had its roots in the *Assemblea de Catalunya,* specifically its initiative the *Congres del Cultura Catalana*, which aimed to promote Catalan culture and the political demand for Catalan autonomy throughout the region. In cities like Santa Coloma the *Congres* described autonomy in these terms: "The Statute of Autonomy is not a panacea that resolves all of our problems at their roots; it is merely the first step towards arriving at a more rational, democratic and decentralized solution. Decentralization means to bring the centers of decision closer to the people affected, that is to say democratically elected municipal governments. In this manner the majority of money paid by Colomenses will stay in Santa Coloma, which when combined with the public control of municipal administration, will make it possible for us to attempt to make our city more habitable." Congres del Cultura Catalana "El Estatuto de Autonomía y su significado en Santa Coloma" circa 1977, Mn. Cata Personal Collection, Mueso Torre Baldovina.

to expect special treatment from the central government.[35] The leaders of the provisional *Generalitat* responded to the charge with statistics. They demonstrated that "it is precisely in the great urban nuclei and zones of recent immigration where the state has been most negligent in creating and funding state schools."[36] The response effectively countered the centralist attack, clearly illustrating that Catalunya was not, in fact, seeking special treatment. However, it also left an ambiguity behind in its place. Were the leaders of the provisional *Generalitat* critiquing the effects of Francoist development, calling the central government to comprehensively address the structural inequalities left behind in the wake of the dictatorship? Or was their concern with the "zones of recent immigration" proof of the inclusive nature of the future Catalan autonomous government, evidence of its democratic credentials vis-à-vis the diverse population it aimed to represent? Given the intransigent position held by the UCD-led central government, this ambiguity did not call for immediate clarification. In fact, there was little novel about the manner in which national and progressive visions of Catalan autonomy overlapped. Rather, what was new was the opportunity that this particular struggle offered the leaders of the provisional *Generalitat*, who had used the moment to demonstrate their commitment to native Spanish speakers while establishing positive relations with the newly formed Socialist and Communist-led city councils in the *cinturón*. The ambiguity

[35] During the constitutional debates, the UCD had positioned itself against efforts to decentralize the State and against efforts to classify Spain as a "nation of nations."
[36] *Comunicat del Consell Executiu de la Generalitat,* September 17, 1979. Ensenyament 1978-1980, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

was not resolved until the financing and jurisdictions over services and culture were transferred to the *Generalitat*, beginning with education in January of 1981.[37]

Before the transfer of jurisdictions began, the UCD-led central government proposed a number of education laws and policies that created more tensions. For example, the UCD's proposed finance law for primary and secondary education would reduce the existing budget for public education by forty-six percent while increasing subventions for private schools by thirty-three percent for the 1980 fiscal year. Interpreted as an unconstitutional attack on the public education system, the law never reached congress due to the public outcry it produced.

The UCD's proposed statute on teaching centers also produced opposition, as the statute gave directors total control over the internal administration of their schools. The coordinator of Santa Coloma's parents associations, described the law as "regressive and antidemocratic," arguing that it would "deny parents' the rights that they had achieved through struggle during the years of dictatorship, halting the educational advances made by parents in some schools and impeding the administration of parents and teachers in others."[38] According to this view, democratic rights should instituiionalize popular gains, which included the participatory administration of schools throughout the country. The local education secretary of PSUC reinforced this sentiment when he called for a week of awareness raising and struggle against the laws. "We are not going to allow advances

---

[37] With the devolution of State powers, the burden of the welfare state was transferred primarily to regional and municipal governments. The *Generalitat,* however, gained jurisdictions before municipal governments were reformed creating confusions regarding the financing of services. For more on financing, Agranoff, *Local Governments and their Intergovernmental Networks in Federalizing Spain*, 141-48.

[38] Coordinadora AAPP de los Colegios Nacionales de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "Ante las Leyes Educativas que UCD quiere imponer contra la enseñanza pública" 1980, Ensenyament 1978-1980, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

achieved by our population through struggle to be abolished at the stroke of a pen by reactionary and regressive laws."[39]

The same statute also gave the directors of private schools unilateral control over the ideology of their centers, creating public debate over the appropriateness of publicly funding religious centers.[40] In Santa Coloma, the law was discussed at a city council meeting, where the councilors concluded that the law sought to "fortify the division of students into ideological groups...and instrumentalize the education system, particularly private confessional schools, by consolidating their role, which is none other than the transmission of the dominant ideology in order to conserve the existing social system."[41] When the MEC sent a document to public schools later in the year that ordered Catholic religion to be taught as an obligatory subject when solicited by parents, there was further outcry. Following years of concerted efforts to renew Catholicism by separating the Church and state, it is no surprise that the Popular Christian Community of Santa Coloma responded to the directive with particular vehemence. They manifested their disagreement with "the manipulation of religion by the government and ecclesiastical hierarchy," explaining that the "morals taught in schools must be founded on democratic principles" and that the "money of citizens...cannot privilege a particular religion."[42]

The UCD laws—which threatened to limit the equal access to state schools, bring an end to experiments in participatory school administration, and undermine the secular

---

[39] Secretaría local de enseñanza del PSUC. Flyer, no date. Circa January 1980. Ensenyament 1978-1980, Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[40] *Ley Organica por la que se regula Estatuto de Centros Escolares,* B.O. del E. Num. 154, June 27, 1980.
[41] "Estatuto de centros docentes no universitarios y financiacion de la enseñanza obligatoria y autonomia universitaria," Jan 29, 1980. *Libro de actas del ayuntamiento pleno,* Arxiu Administratiu de la Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.
[42] *Comunicado de las comunidades cristianas populares de Santa Coloma de Gramenet,* 25 May 1980. Personal papers of Mossen Cata, Museu Torre Balldovina.

nature of education—renewed grassroots activism.[43] In Santa Coloma, unions, parents associations, teacher collectives, high school students and political parties of the left began to collaborate with the city council to organize educational strikes. As this activity unfolded, local observers applauded the "recuperation of the citizen movement," and the *Consell d'Ensenyament* was institutionalized.[44] The education council—composed of neighborhood associations, parent associations, independents, and teacher collectives—was officially constituted shortly after the UCD announced its educational policies. According to the council's statutes, the council was a "unitary and democratic organism independent of political parties, the city council and other organisms" with the expressed goal of "achieving a public school, democratic and Catalan, for the entire school age population."[45]

An earlier version of the council had functioned in Santa Coloma since 1977. Under the Spanish name *Comisión de Enseñanza*, the group functioned as part of a broader assembly-based movement that oversaw the decisions of the last Francoist city council before democratic municipal elections were held. Following the constitution of democratically elected municipal governments, the city councilors in Santa Coloma drew upon the experience of the *Comisión de Enseñanza* to formulate their signature policies of citizen participation.[46] A central goal of this legislation was to help maintain and foment independent civic bodies, organized by sectors rather than neighborhoods, to

---

[43] The Constitutional Court published its sentence on the UCD's organic education laws, the LOCE, on Februrary 13 1981. For a discussion of the sentence seeManuel de Puelles Benítez, *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea*, 2a. ed ed. (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1986), 486-90.
[44] Mario Sasot, representative of the MCC in the Education Council of Santa Coloma. *Grama* #164, Februrary 7, 1980.
[45] As quoted in "Consells municipals, una forma especial de participación", *Grama* #212, February 5, 1981.
[46] See chapter two for an analysis of these policies. The proposed municipal law regulating citizen participation in Santa Coloma, elaborated at the first ordinary session following the constitution of the democratic city council, stated, "the pillar of citizen participation will be the Sectorial Municipal Councils."

complement and coordinate with the city council.[47] The *Consell d'Ensenyament* was, undoubtedly, the most active and effective of these civic bodies.[48] Not only did the council help to organize collective actions throughout the first half of the 1980s, but it also served as a channel that linked the general population to its local political leaders as well as teachers working within the city's pedagogical reform movement. In Santa Coloma, this movement was also institutionalized at this time as the *Casal del Mestre*.

The *Casal del Mestre* was conceived as a "public service" that promoted "interchange and communication between the diverse schools of Santa Coloma, at the level of teachers, students, and parents" and functioned according to the principles of "independence and autonomy with respect to institutions, internal democracy, and the participation of members in decision-making."[49] The *Casal* had its roots in the educational reform movement linked to the *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat*. The *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat* was established in 1965 when a group of Catalan educators began to organize semi-clandestinely to train teachers to promote active learning by linking students to their surrounding social environment. Explicitly modeled after Republican pedagogical traditions, the school was an original member of the *Asamblea de Catalunya* and the primary motor behind the pedagogical reform movement in Spain.[50]

---

[47] As discussed in chapter two, the neighborhood associations and the city council competed with each other for local power. For a dramatized account of these struggles in Barcelona's industrial belt see Francisco Candel, *Un Ayuntamiento Llamado Ellos* (Barcelona: Ediciones B, 1994).

[48] By February of 1981, there were councils concerned with culture, youth and health functioning within the city.

[49] Casal del Mestre, "La Situació Actual i Els Objectius del Casal del Mestre Per al Curs 84-85," November 15, 1984.

[50] For more on the Rosa Sensat School see Jordi Monés i Pujol-Busquets, *Els Primers quinze anys de Rosa Sensat*, Rosa Sensat (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1981). Tamar Groves argues that the origins of the

The influence of the *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat* arrived to Santa Coloma in 1975, when Lluís Rey was offered the "undesirable" directorship of the state school *Luis Millet,* where he was told there was a "huge commotion between parents and teachers."[51] He quickly established himself in the city and began to solicit the collaboration of a team of activist teachers linked to the *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat* or inspired by the opportunity to work in "red Santa Coloma."[52] As one of those teachers, José Miguel Lacasta, later recounted, "When we arrived, a process of confluence was produced between political and social action on the one hand, and pedagogical action on the other... In a few years this confluence became what is today the *Casal del Mestre*, the [pedagogical] reform movement of the city."[53]

By February of 1980, parents, teachers and students at *Luis Millet* had established their own internal regulations. According to these regulations, the school was to be administered "democratically" with the "participation of all implicated sectors in the decision making organs (parents, teachers, and students)."[54] The educational philosophy, which revealed the clear influence of the *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat*, was "scientific,

---

pedagogical reform movement during the late Francoist era was the *Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat.* See Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*, 54-66.

[51] Lluís Rey, interview by Andrea Davis, February 1, 2012.

[52] Gabriela Serra, interview by Andrea Davis, January 16, 2012. As discussed in chapter one, Barcelona's industrial belt had tremendous prestige among progressives for the vibrancy of the working class movement during the final years of the Francoist dictatorship. A number of professional activists settled in these cities during the final years of the dictatorship to participate in the working class movement. Santa Coloma benefitted from two distinct professional migrations: the first, a group of worker-priests in the mid-1960s inspired by the Second Vatican Council, and the second, a group of activist teachers in the mid-1970s inspired by the new left of the universities. These two migrations shared one additional characteristic in common. As both teachers and priests were assigned their posts on a case-by-case basis, neither generally had the opportunity to construct working groups of like-minded professionals. Because of the chaotic conditions of Santa Coloma, and the difficulty of getting professionals to settle there, both professional groups capitalized on administrative laxity to build working groups. A number of these teachers and priests lament the fact that it would be nearly impossible to create such a team today and recognize that their working groups were the result of a unique opportunity.

[53] José Miguel Lacasta, interview by Andrea Davis, March 4, 2012.

[54] *Reglamento Interno Lluis Millet Santa Coloma de Gramanet,* 1st edition (235 copies), February 1980.

critical and active, facilitating the holistic development of the student, taking the social environment and the national reality of Catalunya as the starting point for a pluralist school."[55] Following the institutionalization of the *Casal del Mestre* under the leadership of *Luis Millet* teachers, these pedagogical and administrative practices spread to the other schools in the city.

During this first phase of the struggle for public education, struggle was unitary as civic organizations, political parties, and newly constituted local and regional governments forged a common front against the UCD's educational policies in Catalunya. Though these groups did not share the same vision for Catalunya, their differences were initially masked, allowing local forces to remain united as the struggle for public education was institutionalized at the level of municipal governments. As the UCD's proposed education laws were never passed or amended by the Constitutional Court, and new laws regulating the education system were not applied until December of 1985, municipalities continued to mobilize in support of a grassroots model of democratic education based on the ideals of equality, autonomous participation, secularism, and progressive pedagogical reform.[56]

PEDADGOGICAL REFORM AND THE TRANSFER OF JURISDICTIONS TO THE *GENERALITAT*

With the formal transfer of jurisdiction over education to the *Generalitat*, a new phase was opened in the struggle for education in Catalunya. During this phase, the popular agenda and the agenda of the *Generalitat* under the leadership of the

---

[55] Ibid.
[56] The Constitutional Court published its sentence on the UCD's law on teaching centers, on Februrary 13 1981.

conservative nationalists coalition *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) diverged. Despite this divergence, strong civic institutions working closely with local governments sucessfully defused potentially destabilizing situations, helping to maintain the consensus that the ideal public school system would be both democratic and Catalan, with the two seen as interlinked.

In 1981, the *Generalitat* was given jurisdiction to regulate and finance educational institutions, personal, and didactic materials with the central government maintaining jurisdiction over the shaping and regulation of the education system. Though the transfer of these jurisdictions seemed to satisfy unitary demands in Catalunya, the negotiation and conditions of the transfer produced concerns regarding the financing of education, the autonomy of municipalities in the regulation of local schools, and the labor conditions of teachers.

During the negotiation of the education transfer*,* city councilors of the *cinturón* expressed their concern that the *Generalitat* was making inexcusable financial sacrifices in order to reach a rapid agreement. Since 1980, CiU had promised to elaborate a comprehensive map that documented the distribution, conditions and need for schools in Catalunya in order to make appropriate plans and budget accordingly. When the CiU-led regional government entered negotiations with the UCD-led central government, however, the map had not yet been elaborated. This meant that the economic valuation of the transfer was the result of politically expedient guesswork. Chema Corral, a PSUC city councilor of Santa Coloma and member of the Catalan Parliament, argued, “CiU is interested in facilitating these transfers to better its image among the Catalan citizenry but, in accepting them at a low economic valuation, the *Generalitat’s* ability to

administer jurisdictions will be hindered."[57] He evoked the example of the professional school in Santa Coloma. Construction of the center had been halted halfway because of economic disagreements between the developer and the MEC. Classes, however, had begun as teachers and students occupied the building with the informal permission of the city council and the developer, each hoping that the occupation would put additional pressure on the MEC. "The grave danger" Corral warned discerningly "is that in the course of the transfer the center will be valued as a normal center, which it is not. Later, the education council of the *Generalitat* will not have the money to complete the school and it will be the students and teachers who will pay."[58] Indeed, the completion of the school was delayed for over a year, during which time students and teachers continued to illegally occupy the building as classes were held in unsafe and unsanitary conditions without the appropriate educational materials.

In addition to worries regarding the financing of the transfer, the city councilors of the *cinturón* were also frustrated by the undefined nature of municipal autonomy. This was particularly so in the area of education, as the matter continually damaged the image of local governments.[59] To make their frustrations know to the citizens of their cities and the leaders of the *Generalitat* the councilors from seven left-led municipal governments collaborated to produce the booklet *La enseñanza ¿gratuita?* The booklet, which was

---

[57] Chema Corral "Opiniones parlamentarias: Los traspasos marchan mal," *Grama* #207 December 1980.
[58] Ibid.
[59] For instance, in July of 1981 three parents with their five-year olds, who were not secured enrollment in the city's public school system, locked themselves in the city hall for days as a means of protest. The case is noteworthy because it demonstrates that even following extensive informational campaigns and coordinated efforts between local leaders, citizens and social movements, some still held the municipal government responsible for the lamentable situation. Similar sentiments were expressed when the construction of Santa Coloma's professional school was spectacularly delayed. One parent wrote a letter to the editor of *Grama*, lamenting that other parents blamed the city council, calling for "blame to be laid on those at fault rather than those who are doing everything they can" *Grama* #177 May 1980.

made available in city halls and sent directly to the *Generalitat,* confronted the problem of subventions for private schools. While these city councilors acknowledged that private religious and Catalan schools were legitimate, they identified a third type of private school that was particularly prevalent within the *cinturón*, whose "supplementary labor" they questioned. "Because the State has not constructed sufficient schools, many private schools have been created in working class neighborhoods...many do not have sufficient conditions and some have been instruments of economic speculation."[60] The booklet discussed the constitutional obligations of the state and concluded by presenting a comprehensive list of the receipt and irregular use of subsidies by private schools within their seven municipalities. In essence, the booklet informed citizens of their rights so that they could regulate public funds as consumers while demanding that the *Generalitat* take accountability for the administration and regulation of public funds for education.

> Certainly it is the obligation of the city council to ensure that all children of the locality between 6 and 16 years old go to school, and that the service is carried out in the best of conditions. But the municipality has limited, and in some cases practically nonexistent, jurisdiction over education. What the city council can and should do on occasion is inform its citizens of their rights and obligations, announcing the existent legal norms and the possibilities of participation conferred by current regulations and requirements.[61]

The city councils of the *cinturón* thus sent an indirect message: they would not shy away from informing and mobilizing their citizens as they waited for their own jurisdictions to be clearly established.

In the days that followed the distribution of the booklet Perico Garcia, the city councilor in charge of education in Santa Coloma, argued that advances in education

---

[60] *La enseñanza ¿gratuita?,* edited by the city councils of Badalona, Cornellá, Mataró, Sabadell, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Rubí and Sant Boi, 1981.
[61] Ibid.

would have to be made through "unity, mobilization, organizational capacity, and the efforts of our left-wing representatives in the Catalan Parliament."[62] Those representatives, one Communist and one Socialist city council member, subsequently presented a joint motion to the *Generalitat* that called for urgent and special action in Santa Coloma. Given the lack of a comprehensive Catalunya-wide map, the motion built on the findings of a recent study elaborated by the city council that established that Santa Coloma suffered from the worst educational deficits in all of Catalunya. It called for the support of the *Generalitat* to help resolve a number of pressing issues, including the lack or poor conditions of educational facilities, the instability of teachers and the scant funding for school transport.[63] The proposal was unanimously passed by the Parliament to ensure the basic quality of "obligatory and free" education for six- to sixteen-year-olds and promote the construction of desperately needed preschools, high schools, and professional schools within the municipality.

By the close of the 1981-1982 academic year, however, little had been done to achieve those goals. Local officials estimated that 3,000 students would remain unable to matriculate if the *Generalitat* did not accelerate the construction projects agreed upon. Working together with the *Consell d'Ensenyament*, the city called an assembly to discuss the matter with parents and students, where the collective decision was made to demonstrate. The city's sixteen school busses helped transport 1,500 protestors to the

---

[62] Perico Garcia "Escuelas, políticos, y ciudadanos" *Grama,* 27 June- 3 July 1981.

[63] The issues of bussing and teacher stability were interesting concerns. While most Spanish neighborhoods mix residencies with commerce and infrastructure, because of Santa Coloma's overdevelopment in the 1970s, there were limited plots to build needed schools and hospitals. This meant that many neighborhood schools were not actually located within the neighborhood. The city council, which had an extremely limited tax base because of the general lack of commercial developments and industry in their "dormitory city," could barely account for the deficits left behind by previous administrations let alone pay for needed services. The issue of bussing, as city councilors argued, was thus intimately linked to the question of who would pay for the previous regime's developmental legacy.

center of Barcelona, yet again, and protestors chanted "Pujol, banker, take out money for the children of the working class," while pleading that the President of the *Generalitat* shift his focus from the external promotion of Catalunya to pressing domestic concerns, "Fewer world-trips and more school posts."[64]

Following the demonstration two local officials and two parents from Santa Coloma's *Consell d'Ensenyament* were invited to discuss the matter with the councilor of education for the *Generalitat*, who explained that the holdup was due to politically charged budget negotiations. Immediately following the meeting, however, the councilor sent a note to the press publicly discrediting the collective action. "The organizations of actions of this type have no other consequence than the useless loss of teaching hours when petitions and demands have already been accepted by the Education Department and included in the 1982 budget, currently being processed by the Parliament of Catalunya."[65] While multiple newspapers quoted the councilor's note, the city council's response was only published in Santa Coloma's local newspaper, *Grama.* The city council described the councilor's note as "unfortunate" and explained that they simply demanded compliance with the proposition. They concluded their scantly publicized response by reaffirming the right of the "organisms, entities and citizens of Santa Coloma de Gramenet to demonstrate until they have gained free and universal school coverage."[66] This time the city council's message to the *Generalitat* was direct: mobilization would be their tool of preference.

---

[64] "1,500 personas reclaman plazas escolares a Pujol," *Grama,* #274 March 7-13, 1982. For more on the Generalitat's external promotion of Catalunya, which was a central concern of policy during those years, see Lo Cascio, *Nacionalisme i autogovern*.
[65] As quoted in both *El Correo Catalan*, May 6, 1982 and *El Noticiero Universal,* May 5, 1982.
[66] As quoted in *Grama,* #275 May14-20, 1982.

In addition to concerns regarding the financing of education and the undefined autonomy of city councils, the transfer of jurisdiction over education simultaneously created labor concerns among teachers as the regulation of civil service positions was passed to the *Generalitat*. While this did not have to be a traumatic experience for teachers, the closed nature of the negotiations left many, particularly substitutes, concerned about the stability of their employment and outraged by the fact that they had been left out of the discussions. In the words of the local secretary of the teacher's union *Unió dels Treballadors d'Ensenyament de Catalunya* (USTEC), "We have to criticize and denounce the co-responsibility of Suárez's central government and Pujol's regional government of Catalunya for the errors of the transfer. One very grave error is that the implicated sectors (in this case education workers) have been marginalized from the negotiations that most affect them."[67]

These regional tensions were exacerbated by national tensions regarding the future of the state of autonomous communities following the attempted military coup of 23 February 1981. In response to the attempted coup, the UCD-led central government passed the *Ley Orgánica de Armonización del Proceso Autonómico* (LOAPA), which temporarily halted the devolution of state powers to the autonomous communities and restricted their abilities to promote language-planning laws in schools.[68] As the LOAPA limited the jurisdictions outlined in the ratified Catalan and Basque autonomy statutes, the two autonomous governments argued that the LOAPA was unconstitutional.

---

[67] *Grama* February 11, 1981. The majority of teachers in Santa Coloma at the time were affiliated with the USTEC.

[68] The LOAPA aimed to give parents the right to choose the language that their children were educated in. The Constitutional Court later ruled that this proposition unconstitutional.

In the thick of this conflict, which the Constitutional Court later resolved, a group of teachers in Santa Coloma under the leadership of Federico Jiménez Losantos, attempted to create social divisions by publishing a manifesto. Although the *Generalitat* had not yet formulated its language policies, the *Manifiesto por la igualdad de los derechos lingüísticos en Cataluña* protested an alleged discrimination against native Spanish speakers in Catalunya. As the attempted coup threatened Catalunya'a autonomy statute, and the manifesto threatened the process of Catalan national reconstruction, the two events were seen as linked in the eyes of many. Consequently the extensive public conversations that followed tended to slip between the discussion of sociolinguistic relations in the region and politico-institutional relations between Catalunya and the Spanish state.[69] Tensions culminated in May when *Terra Lluire*, an until-then unknown radical nationalist group, kidnapped and shot Jiménez Losantos in the knee.

Three Socialist teachers who also worked in Santa Coloma had brought the idea for the manifesto to Jiménez Losantos in hopes of shifting the pro-Catalan stance of the PSC-PSOE.[70] Jiménez Losantos welcomed the initiative, as he had previously been involved in the similarly motivated attempt to create an independent Aragonese Socialist party in Catalunya.[71] Both attempts—to shift the pro-Catalan stance of the PSC-PSOE and to attract native Spanish speakers to specifically non-Catalan Socialist parties—had

---

[69] Great examples of this slippage, as well as critiques of the tendency, can be found in the conference organized by the Generalitat entitled "Relations between Castilian and Catalan Cultures: Meeting of Intellectuals." *Relaciones De Las Culturas Castellana y Catalana: Encuentro De Intelectuales: Sitges, 20-22 Diciembre 1981*. 1a ed. Colección "Textos i Documents." 1. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Servei Central de Publicacions de la Presidència, 1983.

[70] Federico Jiménez Losantos, *La ciudad que fue Barcelona, años 70* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2007), 319-20. On the relationship between the Spanish PSOE and the Catalan PSC and how they were fused during the Transition, see Jacobson, "Navigating Divisions between Linguistic Communities: during the Spanish Transition to Democracy (1975-1982): The Spanish Socialist Party in Catalunya."

[71] There was simultaneous attempts to create an Andalucian Socialist party in Catalunya.

found little success. Their lack of appeal was arguably rooted in the fact that the Spanish right, under the leadership of the former Francoist minister Fraga Iribarne, had first attempted to create this division by opening series of regional houses in the *cinturón* before the 1977 general election.[72] The leftwing attempt found little support, largely due to the fact that many of its advocates had initially collaborated with Fraga's group and received support from various rightwing forces, including the area's Francoist municipal administrators.[73]

Whether or not the *Manifiesto por la igualdad de los derechos lingüísticos* voiced reasonable concerns, activists groups interpreted the manifesto in light of this recent history. In Santa Coloma the manifesto was discussed in public debates and local forums,

---

[72] Financing of the regional houses in Catalunya was linked to the Catalan multi-millionaire Josep María Santacreu, who had helped Fraga finance the Club Agora in 1971, a Barcelona based think tank aiming to promote Fraga's political endeavors in Catalunya. For the critical response to the inguaration of regional houses, seen as a Lerrouxist attempt, see "Casa de Andalucía se anuncia apolitica," *Diario de Barcelona* October 26, 1976 and "Catalunya y olé," *Cambio 16*, November 8-14, 1976. John Gilmour argues that Fraga began to financially support regional houses and Bingos throughout Barcelona's industrial belt in hopes of promoting a more popular image of the AP while reaching out to Spain's so-called 'natural majority'. See *Manuel Fraga Iribarne and the Rebirth of Spanish Conservatism, 1939-1990* (Lewiston [NY]: E. Mellen Press, 1999) 144-145.

[73] At the inaguration of the *Casa de Andalucía* in Santa Coloma, for instance, Acosta Sanchez of the *Partido Socialista de Andalucía* (PSA) mingled with Francoist administraors and representatives from Fraga's group. When PSUC and Catalan nationalist forces mobilized against this "Lerrouxist threat"—referencing the memory of Alejandro Lerroux's attempt to galvanize immigrants in Catalunya that culminated in the widespread poltical violence of the *setmana tragica* of 1909—the extreme right group *Fuerza Nueva* papered Santa Coloma with a leaflet that read: "*Colomenses* have had to put up with the enormous invasion of propaganda from communist and separatists groups. Until today, Santa Coloma has been an easy target. We have all had to suffer their fusses, their strikes, their graffiti, their alley way meetings as they attempted to make us accustomed to their activities, presenting them as normal…They do not fool us with their praise of the [Catalan Autonomy] Statute of '32. How can they be so naïve? Do they believe that separatist revenge can penetrate Santa Coloma? Who crossing the Besos [the river separating Barcelona from its neighboring industrial cities to the north] has not endured contempt and disdain, exclusion in certain places? Who has felt the joy of having a friend, a work companion, a girlfriend, a neighbor who was Catalan and not separatist?" Quoted in, "Anticatalana: Campaña de Fuerza Nueva en Santa Coloma," *Diario Barcelona,* March 10, 1977. According to local sources in Santa Coloma, "from the people's perspective—from the neighborhood associations, citizen institutions and political groups known for their popular struggles during these years —all this activity smells of opportunism, a desire to capitalize upon sentimentalism to gain votes as the elections approach…Life has made us a single people. …The only real issue that divides us can be found in another area: what makes us two bands is the contrast between the exploiters and the exploited." "Un Solo Pubelo," *Iglesias de Santa Coloma,* March 13, 1977.

and civic groups concluded that it was a political maneuver. [74] The political ambitions of Jiménez Losantos were already well known, and the editors of the local newspaper *Grama* described the manifesto's local co-writers, Jesús Vicente, José Maria Vizcay and Santiago Tarancón, as sharing a "common connection" as teacher-functionaries of the Socialist teacher union, *La Federación de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza de UGT* (FETE-UGT), waiting for the MEC to re-assign them to posts back in their native regions. The editors of *Grama* continued, "The Socialist signers from Santa Coloma did not have special problems becoming the proprietors of the historic acronym [FETE-UGT] that, we repeat, in the field of education, lacked content."[75]

The majority of teachers in Santa Coloma, as the editor of *Grama* went on to explain, were affiliated with the professional union USTEC. The USTEC, in contrast to the FETE-UGT, was careful to distinguish between its labor disputes with the *Generalitat* and its positions regarding the promotion of the Catalan language and culture. Mobilizing to maintain consensus in Catalunya, representatives from the USTEC argued in the aftermath of the attempted coup and manifesto, "we have to move towards Catalanization, which is not the simple reincarnation of the cultural realities that used to exist in Catalunya, but the creation of a culture suitable for the people that live in Santa Coloma, a culture within which the new, the old, and the possible exist."[76] Though the mechanisms of Catalanization—by which the union leaders meant the reintroduction of the Catalan language into public life—remained ambiguous, their position reinforced the

[74] The short-lived cultural magazine, *Treinta y Cinco*, organized a public debate on the Manifesto with both the signers and opponents. It was also actively discussed in the local newspaper *Grama.*
[75] "Militantes del PSC, en defensa del uso oficial del castellano" *Grama* #219, March 24, 1981.
[76] Representative from the USTEC as quoted in the roundtable discussion "cada maestrillo...con su librillo: Catalanism y Transferencias. Hablan: USTEC, CCOO, UGT, Colegio de Funcionarios." *El Treinta y Cinco* #2, Februrary 2, 1981.

vision of popular Catalanism that had its roots in the unitary opposition movement of the region.

In addition to drawing attention to the membership and positions held by the various teachers' unions within the city, the local newspaper also did a spread on Josep Palacios, one of the city's most veteran Catalan teachers. Palacios was well known in the city for his active participation in the urban movement and leadership of the initiative to make Catalan instructors civil servants of the public education system.[77] In the spread, Palacios described himself as a *xarnego* from the Catalan city of Urgell. The term *xarnego*, used pejoratively to describe native Spanish speakers in Catalunya, originally meant crossbreed. Playing with the original usage, Palacios recounted moving to various cities as a child following his mother's separation from his father, who had been sent to Catalunya as part of the Francoist occupation. The interview was then framed to counter the extreme positions articulated by the recent conflict. "Despite 'manifestos' and shots in the knee, Pep [Palacios] and a large group of teachers who work in Santa Coloma have clear ideas about how to promote *convivencia* (harmonious coexistence)"[78]

While local journalists had long covered the struggle for adequate schools and experiments in participatory school administration, little attention had been paid to

[77] Omnium Cultural, a cultural organization formed in 1961, initiated a pilot program in Santa Coloma during the 1971-1972 academic year. Catalan teachers were sent to the city to teach weekly Catalan classes to 12,000 students. The teachers, as Palacios explained in an interview conducted by the author on March 12, 2012, were largely responsible for creating their own pedagogical materials as there were almost no available resources at that time for teaching Catalan as a second language. Following the successful experience, the program was spread to cities and neighborhoods with similar social characteristics. By 1977 Omnium Cultural was no longer able to continue funding the initiative, and many of its teachers were left unpaid and with no job security. The popular demand for Catalan classes, however, had only grown. A number of Omnium teachers thus began to frame their appeals to the provisional Generalitat, calling for the administration to take over the funding of Catalan classes and for Catalan teachers to be integrated into the civil service. While their struggle was ultimately successful, Palacios today notes the effect of teaching for 8 years without a contract on his retirement pension. Josep Palacios, interview by Andrea Davis, March 12, 2012.

[78] "El "xarnego" de l'Urgell" *Grama* #226, May 1981.

pedagogy. The spread on Palacios effectively initiated a new conversation in which pedagogical reform was presented as the key to *convivencia*. In the interview, Palacios explained a technique used by many teachers within the city. A theme, such as the gothic period, was studied in class and a cultural trip was then organized to a nearby gothic site.

> I think it is fundamental that students are conscious that they live in Catalunya and that they are members of a concrete country...Trips are dedicated as much to the scientific nature of the lesson as to the affective and personal experiences that accompany them, speaking with people in the streets who can explain a thousand and one anecdotes regarding the places we visit.[79]

This rationale, of combined scientific and affective dimensions, was underlined by a clear social objective. "The children from Santa Coloma are not accustomed to leaving their homes, they do not know their surrounding environment because of the lack of security and recreational spaces."[80] *Convivencia*, as such, would not be the passive result of the naturally integrative qualities of Catalunya. It would be established by creating channels that provided children with the access to culture and leisure as well as direct knowledge of their surroundings.

As the pedagogical reform movement expanded in the city, activists went beyond promoting *convivencia*.[81] They reinforced the link between the objectives of Catalanization and democratization by constructing a popular national identity. To do so, the teachers of the *Casal del Mestre* edited thirty-three books that 1,500 students of the upper level of basic education (approximately a third of the students studying that level in

---

[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid. It is worth emphasizing that the call for recreational spaces and security had both been standard demands of the urban movement in Santa Coloma.
[81] The activities of the *Casal del Mestre* included the organization of summer teacher training schools, an annual education week for the general public, the coordination of teacher working groups, and the production of pedagogical materials. These initiatives received funding from the local government, the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona* (UAB), and the *Generalitat.*

the city) used in the classroom.[82] In contrast to traditional textbooks, which contained "all of the truth" to be memorized, the rational of the series, as Joan Domenech of the *Casal del Mestre* described it, was that "students should have materials that, combined with field work, permit them to discover the relation of things and social reality on their own."[83] Accordingly, students were introduced to native Catalans who could explain local history in Catalan at the same time that they were asked to reflect on the historical forces that had led many of their families to settle in the region in the first place.[84] Rather than create suspicions, this active engagement with social reality, would help students recognize themselves as part of the larger Catalan community.

The traits of this community were most clearly articulated by a collectively produced graphic novel, *Historia de l'Anna a Santa Coloma de Gramenet,* edited by the city council and distributed to the students of Santa Coloma in 1983. Drawn by local artists, who had collaborated with the city's neighborhood associations since the 1970s, the story of *L'Anna* was modeled on the life story of the local journalists Eugeni

---

[82] These books were edited with funding from the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona* (UAB) and the city council, which used the municipal press to print pedagogical materials.

[83] As quoted in "Los maestros de Santa Coloma de Gramenet confeccion sus propios libros como alternativa a los textos comercials" *La Vanguardia,* December 10, 1982.

[84] In a 1982 teacher training course on "Santa Coloma and its environment," teachers were given a wealth of materials on the natural characteristics of the city but directed not to "limit themselves to the teaching of rocks and rivers, but to also go speak with people." They were told to visit the Excursionist Center *Puig Castellar* to learn about the local dolmen or speak to the journalists of *Grama* to learn about the "current realities and hopes of the city." What is more, the writers noted, "all these people will speak to the children in Catalan," which explains why students typically respond to these experiences saying, "since we've gone on these trips, Catalan comes easier." Casal de Mestre, *Santa Coloma es pot salvar,* 1982. Meanwhile, in a book that introduced the social sciences, students were reminded that many of their parents had had to leave their lands in Andalucía or Extremadura to come work in construction or a factory for a salary. "Living in a house that cracks with humidity, in a neighborhood without cinema or cultural center, with many problems... Some will tell us that this has been a good change. What do you think?" Grup de Ciencies Socials Casal del Mestre, *Que són les ciencies socials?* 1982.

Madueño, and local historians provided the background for the plot.[85] As explained by Madueño in the prologue, "this story—that of this tale—is my story. And that of many boys and girls of Santa Coloma who are now grown up...it is also the story of your city, and it is explained so that you come to know and love the city. So that you feel fondness and are proud to be *colomenc* and Catalan."[86]

The graphic novel opens with the arrival in Barcelona of the *Sevillana*, the train that brought migrants from southern Spain to Catalunya between the 1950s and 1970s. Anna, who falls asleep on the taxi ride to her new home, wakes up surprised to see that the city outside her window looks nothing like the sleek Barcelona she observed with wonder the previous night. "It converted into this after midnight?" she asks her mother. In her first year, she gets to know Santa Coloma. When the summer arrives, Anna and her family have a drink in the central plaza to celebrate the summer festival, *la festa major.* A shady man, one of the city's infamous developers, comes up to their table in hopes of selling them an apartment. "Are you carrying a knife?" Anna asks, imagining how he might steal her family's money. Mr. Quimet, a local farmer, approaches the table speaking Catalan, calling the developer a scoundrel and explaining that speculators have destroyed the city. "This town was so peaceful before apartments began to be built. And I am not saying this to these folks here because they are not at fault." Mr. Quimet then scolds the developer for not knowing "our history" and, in response to Anna's pleas, sits down to explain to the developer and the family the history of Santa Coloma. Mr.

---

[85] The artists, Joan Aliu, Rafel Vaquer and Alfons López formed part of the group *L'Equip Botifarra!*. Joan Vilaseca, a well-respected local historian, provided historical oversight, and, as stated in the prologue, much was copied from López Ródenas, *Historia social de la Santa Coloma moderna*.

[86] Joan Aliu, *Historia de L'Anna a Sta. Coloma De Gramenet* (Santa Coloma de Gramenet: Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, 1983).

Quimet asks Anna if she understands Catalan, and she excitedly responds "continue, continue, we'll understand," thus emphasizing congenial linguistic relations.

Mr. Quimet recounts the history of the city beginning with pre-historic times, converting the graphic novel into an engaging history lesson. He explains the Roman occupation through to the regime changes of the nineteenth century before moving on to depict the flowering of cultural life during the Second Republic, when Santa Coloma's city council, under the leadership of *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*, declared Catalunya an independent republic along with other governments in the region.[87] The period between the Civil War and that summer night, which is situated by the drafting of the 1953 Regional Plan of Barcelona, is drawn in stark visual contrast. Images of sweat and toil serve as the background for schemes concocted between Francoist officials and speculators.

From this dark era, Anna emerges to become the protagonist of the graphic novel and the story proceeds using the same organizational structure initiated by Mr. Quimet. The reader now follows Anna through clearly demarcated historical periods—from "Urban Chaos" and "Popular Organizations" to "Struggles" and the final "Preparation of The Change."[88] Throughout these periods Anna, is depicted as a dedicated Catalan-speaking activist, who persistently ignores the overtures of her ever-patient suitor, Manel. However, following the celebration of the long awaited municipal elections of 1979, Manel exasperatedly proclaims, "The romanticism of the clandestine struggle has been

[87] The supervision of Joan Vilaseca is quite clear. The expected historical periods are discussed accurately and with humor.
[88] From here on, the influence of Marcelo López Ródenas' social history becomes apparent.

left behind for a possibilist reality." "I'm tired Manel," Anna finally responds, "take me home."

Through the graphic novel and similarly inspired educational materials, the pedagogical reform movement helped to defuse potential divisions by promoting a popular national identity that continued to link the objectives of democratization and Catalanization. This identity laid the groundwork for the subsequent discussions of language planning in the city; a discussion which some argue "set the example that all of Catalunya later followed."[89] While language-planning laws had been debated among Catalan national leaders and sociolinguists since 1979, no legislation had been passed. In Santa Coloma, a group of teachers and parents called the *Comissió de Pares i Mestres Pro Escola Catalana* was formed in 1982 with the objective of establishing a public school in Santa Coloma where all classes would be taught in Catalan. The *Comissió* brought its proposal to the city council, and the city council negotiated with the *Generalitat* on behalf of the *Comissió.* During negotiations the city councils' chief concern was that the school be part of the "Catalanization of all public schools" so that the Catalan school would not be "marginalized by the rest of the schools."[90] After discussing possible options with the *Generalitat*, the city council decided it would find a way to realize the proposal as part of a broader campaign for the Catalanization of all public schools.

The campaign began in March 1983, when the city council drafted a motion entitled *L'Escola en Catala,* which was sent directly to the *Generalitat*. In the motion the

[89] José Miguel Lacasta, interview by Andrea Davis, March 4, 2012.
[90] Perico Garcia and Carles Mas as quoted in "Ayuntamiento ofrece un solar para una Escola Catalana" *Grama* November 16, 1982.

city councilors called for clear legislation to promote the full use of Catalan in schools while also reminding the *Generalitat* of its as yet unfulfilled educational commitments to the city. In addressing the two issues side by side, the city councilors emphasized the need for improvements to the education system to approach the introduction of Catalan in a satisfactory manner as well as the fact that students from social environments like Santa Coloma would never achieve Catalan fluency unless complete immersion was introduced. Following negotiations with the city councilors from Santa Coloma the *Generalitat* promptly put the *Ley de Normalización Lingüística* up for debate in Parliament and the law was passed in April of 1983. Shortly thereafter, the city council and the *Generalitat* reached a number of agreements, including the establishment of Catalunya's first *centre de normalización lingüístic* and a pilot program of Catalan immersion in a number of Santa Coloma's public schools during the 1983-1984 academic year.

The city council worked closely with the city's parent associations and the *Casal del Mestre* to encourage the steady expansion of the pilot program. Initially left to the decision of parents, eighteen percent opted for classes to be conducted in Catalan in 1983. The Catalan classrooms excelled above the city's Spanish classrooms, and interest in the Catalan classrooms steadily rose, reaching sixty percent by 1986. Jose Miguel Lacasta, who was a member of the city council and the *Casal del Mestre* at the time, offers two hypotheses to account for this success. He suggests that the families that opted for Catalan were generally those with a "high level of consciousness about education" and that the teachers who opted to teach the classes tended to have a high level of enthusiasm

as they initiated an innovative process.[91] Whatever the reason, it is clear that the delicate process of Catalanization was successfully negotiated though the coordinated efforts of strong civic organizations and local governments.

CONFLICTING LOCAL AND REGIONAL RESPONSES TO POSE EDUCATIONAL REFORM

As the governing Socialist party prepared the 1985 reform of the Spanish education system, the differences between three political models for the post-transition period came to light. The "consensus" model promoted by the PSOE national government, which resulted in the subvention of confessional schools as a two tier education system was established; the nationalist model promoted by the *Generalitat,* whereby private schools of national interest were financed as the public education system remained underfunded; and the popular model based on the principles of equality, autonomous participation, secularism and progressive pedagogical reform. Because of the continued collaboration between civic organizations and local governments, greater achievements were made in the area of education than in other struggles of the post-transition era, reavealing both the possibilities and limitations of local empowerment.

The Socialist proposal to reform the Spanish education system, the *Ley Orgánica Reguladora del Derecho a la Educación* (LODE), guaranteed the right to obligatory and free basic education, institutionalized channels of participation in which teachers, parents and students had limited autonomy, and established a two-tier network of publicly-funded schools.[92] In this two-tier network, private schools were given the right to receive full

[91] José Miguel Lacasta, interview by Andrea Davis, March 4, 2012.
[92] Tamar Groves provides an extensive account of the relationship between the Socialist government and the pedagogical reform movement in the formulation of the LODE. Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*, 82-92.

public funding in exchange for offering "free" services and adopting the same administrative principles and selection criteria as public schools.[93] As the Catholic Church owned the majority of private schools in Spain, it is arguable that the LODE effectively limited the separation of Church and State.[94]

In Santa Coloma, where there were still huge deficits in the area of education, the proposal for the LODE was seen as little more than "evidence of the eagerness to 'modernize' the most reactionary aspects of the education system, but not of a dedicated commitment to Public Education or an authentic pedagogical reform."[95] Mobilizing against LODE from the opposite direction, the leaders of the *Generalitat* passed a decree, *Centres Escolars d'Interès Públic* (CEDIP), allowing for the special subvention of private schools of so-called public interest before LODE could be passed.

A campaign in defense of public education, *Defensem l'Ensenyamnet Públic i la Seva Qualitat*, was immediately organized by teachers' associations, including the *Casal del Mestre,* parents' associations and unions in Catalunya. The organizers described the deplorable conditions of public education at that moment and argued, "the only reason that the situation is not more degraded is thanks to the efforts of teachers, parents and some city councils that have covered for these deficiencies, taking on responsibilities that were not their own."[96] Since the transfer of educational jurisdictions in 1981, Jordi Pujol's government had excused delays in the construction and equipment of schools on

---

[93] Unlike public schools, private schools can charge for a variety of services including uniforms and extracurricular activities. What is more, many social commentators have noted inconsistencies in the selection processes of these publically funded private schools, which are concentrated in the wealthier neighborhoods and cities of the wealthiest regions in Spain.
[94] The 1978 Constitution states that no religion shall have a state character.
[95] Casal del Mestre, *La Situació Actual i Els Objectius del Casal del Mestre Per al Curs 84-85*, November 15, 1984.
[96] Secretaria de la Campanya *Defensem L'Ensenyament Públic i la Seva Qualitat,* November 1984.

the *Generalitat's* lack of funds. However, as one organizer of the campaign argued following the *Generalitat's* announcement of the CEDIP, "no one can believe the excuse that there is a lack of funds to improve public schools."[97] The campaign was only given additional fuel, when the Generalitat announced its budget proposal for 1985, where a "ridiculously low sum" was designated to the incorporation of private schools into the public system.[98] The law facilitating this incorporation, which was unique to Catalunya, had been oriented precisely toward the private schools that supplemented for the lack of public schools in working class neighborhoods. More than 100 private schools were waiting for their petitions to be accepted when the Generalitat announced its discouraging budget proposal.[99]

Tensions ran especially high in Santa Coloma, as the *Generalitat* had not complied with the special and urgent motion passed by the Parliament back in 1981. The 1984 school year thus began with 1,600 basic education students unable to start classes because their schools were either still under construction or because new facilities lacked the furniture necessary to hold classes.[100] Over 2,000 parents, teachers and local authorities met to discuss the problem, and smaller meetings and assemblies were held

---

[97] Raimon Perales, president of the Federation of Parents Associations in Catalunya as quoted in, "La Generalitat destinará en 1985 sólo 70 millones para integrar escuelas privadas en la red pública" November 1984 (From the press collection of the Arxiu Administratiu de Santa Coloma de Gramenet. The title of the newspaper is missing).

[98] The Collective of Schools for Catalan Public Schools, which grouped together seventy of the more than one hundred private schools wanting to benefit from the 1983 law of the Catalan Parliament, as quoted in "La Generalitat destinará en 1985 sólo 70 millones para integrar escuelas privadas en la red pública" November 1984 (From the press collection of the Arxiu Administratiu de Santa Coloma de Gramenet. The title of the newspaper is missing).

[99] While the CEDIP was formulated with confessional schools in mind, it should be noted that one private school that was eventually integrated into the public system in Santa Coloma had been run by a group of nuns particularly active within the popular movements of the city. This contrast helps highlight how certain sectors of the Church continued to advocate for the complete separation of Church and State.

[100] Classes were also delayed for 1,500 students in the working class city of Terrassa for the same reasons and similar problems affected classes in Barbera de Valles.

throughout the city to organize another educational strike. Twenty-five out of the city's thirty-two schools joined in solidarity with the twelve schools affected, and 6,000 students did not begin classes as planned. Similar problems affected the working class cities of Hospitalet, Terrassa and Barbera de Valles, the latter two of which also held strikes that day.

When residents of the affected cities later demonstrated in the center of Barcelona, one official of the *Generalitat* suggested that protestors direct their energies against their respective city councils, publically discrediting municipal governments and creating confusion regarding the division of institutional jurisdictions.[101] Though the leaders of the *Generalitat* attempted to deflect responsibility in this manner, the youth council of Santa Coloma sent their pointed criticisms to the editors of the *Correo Catalan:*

> To have failed to finish the different schools in the time planned... damages the image of the *Generalitat* and makes us doubt the capacity of our autonomous institution to manage by itself. The delay of the present course alters the formation of the children and youth of our city and

[101] Sedó as quoted in "Manifestación ante la Generalitat por falta de aulas" *El País*, September 19, 1984. It is worth emphasizing that the jurisdictions of municipal governments were not clearly established until 1985 with the passing of the *Bases de Régimen Local.* In Catalunya these regulations were not further defined until 1987, with the passing of the *Llei municipal i de regim local de Catalunya.* General relations between municipal governments and the Generalitat merit further investigation. It seems that the Generalitat opened a number of social welfare offices in the cities of the *cinturón* in hopes of making the presence of the national government felt in the "zones of recent immigration." While many complained that these publically funded offices unnecessarily repeated functions already covered by city councils, others brought attention to the fact that their construction was accompanied by a general campaign undertaken by the Generalitat to damage the reputations of the city councils. See the editorial "Generalitat i ajuntaments: condemnats a entendre's" by Manuel Royes, the Socialist mayor of Terrassa, *AVUI* Februrary 17, 1984. Struggles between Pasqual Maragall, the long-term socialist mayor of Barcelona and Jordi Pujol also reflect these dynamics. Particularly telling, was the Generalitat's 1987 decision to shut down the CMB (Corporation of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area), which integrated the predominantly Socialist and Communist led municipal governments of the area. CiU argued that the corporation functioned as a counter-power to the Generalitat and the integrated municipalities argued that CiU was attempting to further limit the political capacities of the component municipal governments. The CMB was eventually replaced with a handful of purely administrative bodies that regulated issues, like transport, within the metropolitan area.

> further aggravates the problems that are inherent in our current educational model.[102]

Following the protests, the *Generalitat* entered negotiations with the councils of the affected cities. The Generalitat proposed to build more temporary classrooms and to relocate certain students to neighboring schools awaiting the completion of constructions. While the press immediately hailed the negotiations as successful, the city councilors of Santa Coloma dutifully brought the *Generalitat's* proposal back to the *Consell d'Ensenyament* for further discussion. Given that many temporary classrooms had been functioning in the city for over nine years, the *Consell d'Ensenyament* rejected the agreement as parents worried that such temporary measures would be indefinitely prolonged. Furthermore, with more than 4,000 students in Santa Coloma already receiving classes in temporary classrooms, it was well known that the quality of instruction was affected. In addition to everyday inconveniences, didactic materials were not sent because of the temporary status of the classrooms and young delinquents frequently broke into the facilities and stole what materials were there.[103]

There were additional assembly meetings and protests in November. In December there was "the most massive concentration of the last years" as the *cinturón* joined the campaign *Defensem l'Ensenyamnet Públic i la Seva Qualita*. In Santa Coloma 5,000 people attended a demonstration locally organized by the *Consell d'Ensenyament*, while approximately 2,000 joined similarly organized protest in Sabadell, and thousands more

---

[102] Letters to the Editor, *El Correo Catalan,* October 15, 1984.

[103] Delinquency had long been a problem in the city, which was popularly known as "Santa Coloma, city without law." In the 1970s gangs had especially targeted neighborhood associations and in the 1980s, schools. There was a long tradition in Santa Coloma of treating delinquency, like a variety of other social problems, as the mere reflection of the structural conditions of working class cities. As one letter writer remarked in *Grama* #164, Feb 7, 1980: "it isn't only the fault of the youth but also the Government for not giving them work. If they neither have places or centers of study nor work they only have one option: delinquency."

in Hospitalet. [104] The demonstration in Santa Coloma was particularly unitary as it coinciding with a special meeting of the city council, which joined the campaign and drafted a document demanding that the *Generalitat* immediately repeal the CEDIP and urgently address the educational deficits of the city. In the document, the city councilors argued:

> The basic traits that characterize Public Education in this city during these years has been the great increase in the professionalization and voluntarism of teachers in regards to their pedagogical activity along with the qualitative increment in the sensitization and participation of parents. These characteristics contrast spectacularly with the decrease in the investment and budgetary aid of the *Generalitat* in the key areas of their educational jurisdictions, and with the maintenance, in other cases, of grave situations inherited from the previous regime.[105]

Following these massive demonstrations, the *Generalitat* passed a four-year plan to build 178 new public schools in Catalunya in 1985. Ten schools were destined for Santa Coloma, and the *Generalitat* increased subventions to the city to hurry along the renovation projects underway and put an end to the embarrassing problem of temporary classrooms. Because of the coordinated educational activism within the city, Santa Coloma eventually achieved one of the highest ratios of public to private schools in all of Catalunya and, in contrast to many Spanish municipalities, the public schools functioned as the schools of prestige within the city. In addition, the coordination between strong civic organizations and local governments defused potentially destabilizing situations as the state of autonomous communities was established and Catlaan national reconstruction initiated.

---

[104] "El cinturón rojo apuesta por la enseñanza pública" *El Peridico*, December 14, 1984.
[105] "Mocion de adhesion a campaña en defensa escuela publica," city council meeting, December 13, 1984. Documentacio dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del ple de l'ajuntament. Arxiu municipal ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

Chapter 5

The Spanish Peace Movement and the European Alternative to First World Democracy

> If politicians reach an agreement leading to our definitive integration into NATO, the most important consequence will not be our integration into the Alliance so much as the imposition on the Spanish people of a sentiment of helplessness, political invalidity, and the need to obey until our heads and hearts are turned inside out. —Manuel Sacristan[1]

On 9 April 1981 Alexander Haig visited Spain to correct, in the words of the *New York Times, "*a diplomatic gaffe."[2] During this visit, his first to Western Europe as President Ronald Reagan's Secretary of State, Haig expressed "unflinching support for democracy in Spain" and retracted his previous comment that Lieutenant Colonel Tejero's attempted coup of 23 February 1981 was an "internal matter."[3] The comment, which had been interpreted by the Spanish media as a "sign of indifference" or even "proof that Washington knew of the coup attempt in advance," made Spanish officials fear that "generals might believe the Reagan Administration would show the same indulgence toward a military junta in Spain" as it had towards "such regimes in Argentina and Chile."[4] During the April visit Haig assuaged these fears in private meetings with Prime Minister Calvo Sotelo of the conservative *Unión de Centro Democrático* (UCD) and King Juan Carlos, suggesting that membership in the *North Atlantic Treaty*

---

[1] Manuel Sacristan, "OTAN hacia dentro," *Mientras Tanto,* 1986 #25 ½: numero de intervención immediata y despliegue rápido otaNO.
[2] "Haig, on a visit to Spain, attempts to assure regime of U.S. support," *New York Times,* April 10, 1981.
[3] Alexander Haig as quoted in, "Haig, on a visit to Spain, attempts to assure regime of U.S. support," *New York Times,* April 10, 1981.
[4] Ibid.

Organization (NATO) would guarantee Spain's new democracy. Membership in the Alliance, according to Haig, would not only secure Spain a prominent position in the Western world but also, in turning the focus of the military outwards, solve the domestic threat of *golpismo* (military coups).

This chapter explores the popular response to the first world model of democracy that the Regan administration promoted in Spain between 1981 and the 1986 referendum on Spain's membership in NATO. While some scholars emphasize the positive role of international organizations for democratic consolidation, I argue that NATO served as an additional—and trans-European—constraint that undermined the model of local empowerment that was promoted at the level of grassroots politics since the 1960s.[5] While the 1981 anti-NATO campaign and the subsequent establishment of the Spanish peace movement reinvigorated and transformed this model, the 1986 referendum reinforced the limits of local empowerment.

The Spanish peace movement demonstrates that mobilizations in Spain were a component of the broader European cycle of mobilizations between 1968 and 1989, when the relationship between the theory and practice of democracy was contested across the continent. The longstanding practice of grassroots activism in Spain, however, set the Spanish peace movement apart from many of its Western European counterparts. Working class cities in Spain served as the local center of gravity for mobilizations, with

[5] See especially Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Jon C Pevehouse, *Democracy From Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For more on the development of Spanish international relations during these years, see Kenneth Maxwell and Steven L Spiegel, *The New Spain: From Isolation to Influence* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press 1994); Oscar José Martín García and Manuel Ortiz Heras, *Claves internacionales en la Transición española* (Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2010).

leftwing local governments and activists putting aside their differences following the Transition to collaborate on important campaigns. This helped to distinguish the Spanish peace movement in two ways. First, even though the movement was formalized relatively late, the support that local governments offered equaled, and at times surpassed, that which was offered in many other Western European countries where the peace movement was more firmly rooted.[6] Second, and perhaps more significantly, the post-class implications of "new social movements" remained relatively unnoticed in Spain. Activists and intellectuals alike were surprised that the results of the 1986 referendum did not fall down class lines or correspond with the vibrancy of local campaigns.[7]

In the first section of the chapter, I frame the 1981 campaign against NATO as a continuation of the long struggle for democracy. The various sectors of the Left came together to demand that the conservative UCD government hold a referendum.[8] At the local level, leftwing municipalities promoted and offered support to the campaigns that were organized by neighborhood associations and militants of the extra-parliamentary left. These vibrant local campaigns helped renew the Left from the grassroots up,

---

[6] This is especially apparent in the nuclear-free legislation that was passed by municipal governments. There were 322 nuclear-free municipalities in Spain, in comparison to 281 in Belgium, 156 in Great Britain, 117 in Ireland, 93 in Norway, 86 in the German Federal Republic, and 26 in Italy. Enric Prat, *Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra* (Barcelona: Harcer cop., 2006), 118.

[7] According to new social movement theorists, the post-industrial economy created a context in which new social movements—such as the anti-nuclear movement and the gay liberation movement—emerged. While Inglehart argues these movements differed from previous movements because their goals were "postmaterialist," others, like Scott, emphasize that these movements are primarily socio-cultural and not political. In either case, new social movement theorists agree that these movements represented a departure from "old social movements," namely working class movements. Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977); Alan Scott, *Ideology and the New Social Movements* (London; Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990). For more on new social movements, see Nelson A. Pichardo, "New Social Movements: A Critical Review," *Annual Review of Sociology* 23, no. 1 (1997).

[8] According to the 1978 Constitution "transcendent political decisions" are subject to referendum.

contributing to the ultimate triumph of the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) at the 1982 general election.

Although PSOE promised that it would organize a referendum on NATO upon taking office, the party dropped the matter until 1984. In the meantime, activists formalized the Spanish peace movement as a component part of the broader trans-European movement. The movement expanded rapidly for two reasons. First, because the trans-European concerns of the peace movement intersected with ongoing debates regarding the substantive qualities of Spain's new democracy. Second, activist networks were already well established, and activists groups maintained close relations with leftwing local governments.

In 1984, PSOE announced that it would support Spain's continued membership in NATO. In the final section of the chapter I follow the efforts of PSOE officials at both the national and the local level to explain how the party successfully convinced the population to support their new and, according to opinion polls, decidedly unpopular position in the 1986 referendum.[9] PSOE local officials undermined the peace movement by making it clear that local governments were administrative bodies that did not have the jurisdiction to collaborate with civic organizations to fund or endorse political campaigns, while PSOE national officials described Spanish peace activists as backwards, framing "Europeanization" as the only step forwards.

---

[9] Consuelo Val Cid, *Opinión pública y opinión publicada: los españoles y el referéndum de la OTAN* (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1996).

THE ANTI-NATO CAMPAIGN: RENEWING THE LEFT FROM THE GRASSROOTS UP

Though relations between leftwing municipal governments and civil society activists were complex—sometimes competitive and even at odds—officials and activists came together in a series of important campaigns that perpetuated the long cycle of mobilizations through and beyond the Transition in Spain. The anti-NATO campaign of 1981 offers another example where the continuity of activists, institutions and objectives were maintained at the local level. In this particular campaign, leftwing municipalities ceded the initiative to neighborhood associations and militants of the extra-parliamentary left. Meanwhile, the national leaders of the institutional left built upon social movement energies to divide the UCD-led central government and recuperate political initiative. The campaign reinvigorated grassroots activism at the same time that it contributed to the triumph of the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) in the 1982 general election.

Even before the institutional left formally staked its position on NATO membership, the component parts of an anti-NATO movement had already emerged at the level of popular politics. In Catalunya, for example, the *Grup Antimilitarista de Barcelona* (GAMBA) staged its first public event in October 1978 when war ships from the United States arrived to the port of Barcelona. Simulating an atomic bomb explosion in the city's center, GAMBA symbolically linked the arrival of the war ships to the possibility of World War III.[10] As these and similar events were organized, new groups were constituted throughout the area, including Santa Coloma's *Comité Anti-imperialista*: *"*against the entrance of Spain in NATO, against nuclear power plants, against military

[10] Prat, *Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra*, 58.

bases and Multinational Corporations."[11] In a similar manner when a train carrying nuclear waste was scheduled to pass through Catalunya in June 1978, the *Comité Antinuclear de Catalunya* (CANC) coordinated the region's anti-nuclear and ecological collectives in protest. In Santa Coloma, the *Colectivo Ecológico* of the *Ateneo Balldovina* was formed to organize the local expression of the campaign and study "the metropolis, nuclear energy and urban ecology."[12] As such, well before the institutional left announced its rejection of NATO, antimilitarist, anti-imperialist and environmentalists concerns were already on the popular agenda.

When the leaders of the institutional left announced their rejection of the Alliance, they characterized NATO membership as a "transcendent political decision" to emphasize the population's constitutional right to weigh in on the matter. To reinforce the constitutional claim, leftwing municipal officials called on the neighborhood associations to initiate an explicitly popular campaign at the local level. In Santa Coloma, for example, city councilor Chema Corral of PSUC argued:

> Spain's membership in NATO is a transcendent matter. Given the negative repercussions it has on independence and sovereignty, it does not only affect communists and the political forces of the left, but the entirety of the population. For this reason the neighborhood associations and other entities have to play a prominent role, it is they who should organize an innovative campaign to create anti-NATO consciousness among the population expressed in mass acts. The success of these acts will make it clear that Santa Coloma is against Spain's membership in NATO and that Santa Coloma is for peace and disarmament. From PSUC we should contribute to the work of our comrades in the neighborhood associations and also mount our own campaign in the most unitary manner possible.[13]

---

[11] "Nace el Comité Anti-imperialista," *Grama* #117, November 1978.
[12] "Colectivo ecológico en el Ateneo Balldovina," *Grama* #132, June 2-9, 1979.
[13] "Informe Político: Presentado a la IV Conferencia, en Nombre del Comité Local, Por el Secretario Político, Chema Corral," 19-22 March, 1981. It is worth noting that this local conference was celebrated after PSUC's V Congress and Chema Corral was one of the major leaders of the Pro-Soviet opposition in

In short, Corral promised to support the "innovative" efforts of the neighborhood associations from within institutions and through unitary political campaigns.

It did not go unnoticed that Corral's attitude differed with the municipal government's otherwise competitive attitude towards the neighborhood associations.[14] Eloy Jurado, a neighborhood activist and member of PSUC, directly addressed the difference in hopes of mending relations between the city's social movement activists and municipal officials. In an assembly for Santa Coloma's budding anti-NATO campaign, Jurado explained:

> The axis of the [anti-NATO] campaign should be the neighborhood associations, though they should not monopolize the campaign so much as make every effort so that it reaches all entities in Santa Coloma. For this reason the neighborhood associations should consider what role other entities should play…The municipal government, through the Department of Citizen Participation, has already summoned these entities to begin working. It is worth noting that the municipal government did not present a finished program in the meeting, but gave the initiative to entities. The neighborhood associations should read this as a positive indication.[15]

The neighborhood associations read this as a "positive indication" and joined forces with the municipal government in May to prepare informational leaflets, co-organize film screenings, and participate in round table discussions.[16]

Catalunya. It seems, however, that as the entirety of the Spanish left was initially against NATO, the anti-NATO movement was not initially divided by tensions within the Communist party or between the Socialists and Communists.

[14] This attitude is addressed in Chapter 2.

[15] "Asamblea Campaña anti-OTAN," 1981, Eloy Jurado and Alicia Ruzafa Personal Collection. For more on the role of dual militancy during the early stages of the Transition, see Sánchez León, "Politics and memory of democratic transition," 95-112. While Sánchez León argues that dual militancy contributed to the successful subordination of the neighborhood, labor and student movements during the Transition, Enric Pratt argues that dual militancy, in combination with the remobilization of previously organized activists—namely progressive Christians, neighborhood activists, labor organizers and militants of the extra-parliamentary and institutional left— allowed the peace movement to emerge and expand so rapidly during the NATO debates. Prat, *Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra*, 77.

[16] "Actos del Ayuntamiento contra la entrada de España en el OTAN," *El Correo Catalan,* May 6, 1981. The informational leaflets distributed in the city were signed by AAVV, Entidades Culturales, Juveniles, de

In Santa Coloma and throughout Spain the anti-NATO campaign helped to revive the neighborhood associations.[17] In Santa Coloma, the Coordinator of Neighborhood Associations began to publish a new bulletin in May 1981with a periodicity "dependent on campaigns and activities" and the purpose of "defending the interests and aspirations of neighbors in our punished Santa Coloma."[18] With the anti-NATO campaign at the front of its agenda, the Coordinator reinforced the newly achieved collaborative environment within the municipality while also emphasizing the independence of neighborhood associations.

> The neighborhood associations of our city, together with the municipal government, have initiated a campaign in all of the neighborhoods against Spain's entry into NATO. During the past weeks we have explained our reasons through talks, informational pamphlets and film projections, and we will continue to explain the reasons why we, *as neighborhood associations,* should say NO TO NATO.[19]

The "no" of the neighborhood associations, as the Coordinator further explained, was rooted in longstanding social concerns. Specifically, the neighborhood associations feared that membership in NATO would lead to an increase in the military budget and a decrease in social spending, soldiers would have to fight in wars "provoked by the interests of other countries," and nuclear bases would turn the country into a danger zone. In agreement with the parties of the institutional left, the Coordinator concluded, "it

---

Jubilados y El Ayuntamiento de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "no a la o.t.a.n: por la paz la distensión y el desarme," May 1981. Personal Collection Mn. Cata, Museo Torre Balldovina.

[17] For a comparable discussion of the case of Valladolid see Constantino Gonzalo, "El movimiento vecinal español frente a la OTAN: el caso de Valladolid," *Historia* 396 no. 2 (2011): 247-63.

[18] "Editorial," Coordinadora informa: hoja informativa de la coordinadora de AA.VV. de Santa Coloma, May 1981.

[19] "Campaña contra la entrada en la OTAN," Coordinadora informa: hoja informativa de la coordinadora de AA.VV. de Santa Coloma, May 1981.

should be the Spanish people, expressing themselves freely and democratically, who decide on Spain's membership in NATO."[20]

In concert with the revival of the neighborhood associations, militants of the extra-parliamentary left began to establish new organizations "of combat to unify all those who do not want to be locked inside [the Alliance]."[21] By October 1981, over eighty *Comités Anti-OTAN* were coordinated throughout Catalunya, unified by a shared understanding of NATO as an "instrument of repression against attempts for social change" with a "harmful trajectory of coup-plotting" and "incessant interventions in the third world."[22] Hoping to join "forces with the great anti-militarist struggles flourishing in Europe," the *Coordinadora Comités Anti-OTAN* described the UCD government's endorsement of the Alliance as "demagoguery…empty words of peace, democratic consolidation and European integration."[23]

In Santa Coloma, the *Comité Anti-OTAN* included neighborhood associations, feminist groups, cultural organizations, parties of the extra-parliamentary left, and labor unions.[24] Under the leadership of Coordinating member Gabriela Serra of the *Movimiento*

---

[20] Ibid.
[21] "Tríptic de la Coordinadora de Comités Anti-OTAN," 1981, document republished in Enric Prat, ed. *El moviment per la pau a Catalunya: passat, present i futur* (Barcelona: Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona, 2007), 375-77.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Comité Anti-OTAN de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "Jornadas informativas del 20 al 29 de noviembre,"1981. Personal Collection Mn. Cata, Museo Torre Balldovina. "Tríptic de la Coordinadora de Comités Anti-OTAN," 1981.
[24] The Anti-NATO Committe in Santa Coloma included the *Coordinadora de Asociaciones de Vecinos*, the *Casa de Cultural*, *Casal de la Dona*, *Asociació Catalana de la Dona, Nazarín, Grupo de Teatre Auta, Grupo de Teatro Faravía, Grupo de Teatro La Luna, Grupo d'esplai Arrabal, Escoltas Jaume Gordi*, the MJCC, MCC, OCE-BR, PCE-ML, PCE-ML-La Causa, CCOO, and USTEC. See, Comité Anti-OTAN de Santa Coloma, "OTAN NO, per la pau! Contra el Militarisme! Bases Fora!," pamphlet, October 1981. Personal Collection Mn. Cata, Museo Torre Balldovina. According to Enric Prat the *Coordinadora de Comités Anti-OTAN* was "a unitary setting, because there was a confluence of people from diverse political forces and social entities that, following the disenchantment of the Transition, perceived the possibility of returning to work together in a movement with mobilizing capabilities; because it maintained relations with

Comunista de Catalunya (MCC), the city's *Comité Anti-OTAN* organized meetings, demonstrations and candlelight marches while distributing informational pamphlets and collecting signatures.[25] The events organized by the local committee were frequently attended by one thousand people and coordinated in conjunction with collective actions organized by the region's other *Comités Anti-OTAN*.[26]

As the anti-NATO campaign intensified after the UCD-led central government proposed NATO membership to Parliament, social movement activists and municipal officials collaborated in Santa Coloma to co-organize the *Festa Popular Anti-OTAN*. In a jointly authored statement explaining the significance of the festival, activists and officials wrote:

> In Santa Coloma we need money from the State to fight unemployment, opportunities for the youth to work and entertain themselves in a healthy manner, possibilities to elevate our educational and living standards, and peace for our children. What we do not need as citizens of Santa Coloma is to have the threat of atomic bombardments and total destruction over our heads, to send our children to do the 'mili' in Germany or Turkey, for our hard earned money to be utilized in the service of war. For these reasons the municipal government, the representative of the people of our city, condemns the attempt of the UCD Government to introduce Spain into NATO through a simple majority of votes in Parliament instead of consulting our opinion through a Referendum. For these reasons we have organized a Popular Anti-NATO festival as a symbol of our will to live in peace, to not contribute to international tensions, and to promote the development and coexistence of all the worlds peoples and workers.[27]

---

all types of political, syndical and social organizations to realize joint actions; and because internally the distinct currents of the left, until then incapable of acting with unity from their diversity, were able to work together." Prat, *Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra*, 101.

[25] Comité Anti-OTAN de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "Jornadas informativas del 20 al 29 de noviembre,"1981. Personal Collection Mn. Cata, Museo Torre Balldovina.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Organitzada per les entitats i l'ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "Festa Popular Anti-OTAN: 17 i 18 d'octubre a la plaça de la vila," 1981. Personal Collection Mn. Cata, Museo Torre Balldovina.

On 17 October 1981, 5,000 people attended the *Festa Popular Anti-OTAN* in Santa Coloma. [28] The following day 50,000 people attended a demonstration in Barcelona organized by the *Coordinadora Comités Anti-OTAN* under the slogan "NATO no, [military] bases out, referendum now."[29]

In addition to reinvigorating grassroots activism, these local collaborations contributed to the triumph of the PSOE in the 1982 general election. When the UCD government's proposal to join NATO passed by a slim majority in the Parliament on 29 October, Felipe González (the national leader of PSOE) reaffirmed his party's commitment to organize a referendum.[30] In this manner, as the historian Pardo Sanz argues, PSOE "recuperated political initiative; wore down the government on an innocuous matter for democratic stability; and trumped its competitor the PCE by taking over the political space of the left." [31] Internally split, the UCD-led central government called early elections for 28 October 1982 and the PSOE, with its platform to consolidate democracy and modernize Spain, rode the anti-NATO momentum into office in December.[32]

---

[28] In January 1981 the municipal government published a selection of children's drawings, essays and poems from the *Festa popular anti-OTAN* to "help ensure that the seeds planted by the 2,000 children and youth of our city will one day bear fruit in a great wave of popular opinion for peace." "Selecció de dibuixos, redaccions i poesies del concurs 'No a la guerra visca la pau' organizat per les entitats i l'Ajuntament de la nostra ciutat amb motiu de la proposta del Govern d'entrar a l'OTAN," (Servei d'Informació Municipal: Santa Coloma, January 1982).

[29] Ibid. It is likely that Gabriela Serra, who was also a member of the *Cordinadora Comités Anti-OTAN*, coordinated with the municipal government to schedule the *Festa popular anti-OTAN* as a prelude to the demonstration in Barcelona.

[30] The UCD proposal won with the support of the Catalan and Basque nationalist parties.

[31] Rosa María Pardo Sanz, "La política exterior de los gobierno de Felipe González: ¿un nuevo papel para España en el escenario internacional?," *Ayer*, no. 84 (2011): 79-80.

[32] According to the calculations of Alfonso Guerra (the vice president of Felipe González's PSOE government from 1982 to 1991), the anti-NATO campaign resulted in nearly two million votes for PSOE at the 1982 general election. Two million votes is equal to approximately twenty-three percent of the votes that were cast for PSOE at the 1982 general election. Alfonso Guerra's calculation as cited in ibid., 80.

Gabriela Serra of the MCC and *Coordinadora Comités Anti-OTAN* later described the dynamics between the distinct forces at play during the anti-NATO campaign of 1981. According to her analyses:

> It could be said that there were two branches of the future movement. On the one hand, there was the moderate and controlled opposition that operated within the game of political consensus, led by PSOE and its famous "*OTAN, d'entrada no.*" On the other hand, an autonomous movement composed of grassroots collectives, stimulated by antimilitarist, ecologist, and feminist movements that were pushed along by the extra-parliamentary left (mainly the LCR and MCC, and later the splits of the Communist parties PCE and PSUC). It is worth emphasizing that the media and the political establishment attempted to isolate the movement that was more autonomous by calling it radical, while legitimating the movement led by the PSOE with the tacit approval of the PCE as a valid interlocutor.[33]

Whether or not these "two branches" were clearly distinguishable in 1981, it is clear that the first stage of the anti-NATO campaign renewed the Spanish left from the grassroots up. Municipal officials ceded the initiative to their social movement allies in the neighborhood associations and the parties of the extra-parliamentary left while the Socialist party reinforced the popular demand for a referendum at the national level.

THE FORMALIZATION OF THE SPANISH PEACE MOVEMENT

Though Spanish activists did not succeed in joining "forces with the great anti-militarist struggles flourishing in Europe" in 1981, they did with the formalization of the peace movement in 1983.[34] Though some scholars underplay the Spanish peace movement because of its relatively late formation, the movement deserves special

---

[33] Gabriela Serra, "Ara fa vint anys ens van 'atlantizar'," in *El moviment per la pau a Catalunya: passat, present i futur*, ed. Enric Prat (Barcelona: Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona, 2007), 88.
[34] Comité Anti-OTAN de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, "Jornadas informativas del 20 al 29 de noviembre,"1981. Personal Collection Mn. Cata, Museo Torre Balldovina. "Tríptic de la Coordinadora de Comités Anti-OTAN," 1981.

attention for its seamless incorporation into the broader European movement as well as its rapid expansion and impact in the domestic context.[35] As this section demonstrates, the continuity of grassroots activism facilitated the rapid expansion of the newly formed movement. The movement also had an impact because debates regarding the negative constraints of the Cold War context powerfully intersected with ongoing domestic debates regarding the negative constraints on local empowerment.[36]

The Spanish peace movement was formalized in 1983 with the establishment of regional groups including the *Coordinadora pel Desarmament i la Desnuclearització Totals* (CDDT) in Catalunya, and the *Coordinadora Estatal de Organizaciones Pacifistas* (CEOP) in Spain. The CDDT was established in May under the co-leadership of Gabriela Serra and was composed of sixteen civic groups: including the region's major antinuclear, antimilitarist, and environmentalist organizations alongside the region's still active local committees, including Santa Coloma's *Colectiu d'Acció Popular*.[37] The CDDT became a member organization of the CEOP, an umbrella organization of over 400 pacifist organizations in Spain, which was formed later that July.[38]

---

[35] The Spanish movement is not addressed in Thomas R. Rochon, *Mobilizing for Peace: The Antinuclear Movements in Western Europe* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1988). In contrast, Wittner addresses the late formation of the Spanish peace movement and discusses its strength. Lawrence S. Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb*, Stanford nuclear age series (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 163-64.

[36] Prat also makes this point, demonstrating that the majority of peace activists in Spain had been formerly organized in Neighborhood Associations, unions, underground political parties or as members of progressive Christian movements. Prat, *Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra*, 77.

[37] The sixteen civic groups included: C.A.N.C. (the Antinuclear Committee of Catalunya), GAMBA (the Antimilitarist Group of Barcelona), MOC (the movement of conscientious objectors), Comite per la Pau i el Desarmament del Guinardó, Comites anti-OTAN de 9 barris i Sants, Justicia i Pau, Fundació per la Pau, Artesans per la Pau, Collectiu per la Pau i el Desarmament de l'Hospitalet, Collectius d'Acció Popular del Clot, Santa Coloma i Viladecans, Universitat Popular La Rambla, Amics de la Terra, Collectiu ecologista "Flor de Maig," Collectiu de Gracia.

[38] Though the CEOP was often divided by sectarian struggles, the CDDT led the peace movement in Catalunya with great unity between the end of 1983 and the 1986 referendum. The contrast, as scholars

In its first public communication, the CDDT expressed its fear of a nuclear World War III and argued that action was imperative. "We cannot wait for the solution to come from outside, we cannot accept that the destiny of the Earth remains in the hands of 'experts' who negotiate to freeze or reduce armaments while demonstrating their aggression and power to deter."[39] Explaining the international context of their campaign, the Coordinator clarified:

> As Europeans, to work for global disarmament we must participate in the denuclearization of Europe. This is not to say that we are Eurocentric, to the contrary, movements like those that propose the denuclearization of India or the Pacific are our natural allies since we seek the same objective: the denuclearization of the world.

The CDDT allied itself with the *European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign* (END), whose primary goals were to denuclearize the Euro-zone and make it free from military blocks.[40] Like END activists, the CDDT campaigned for a "détente from below" in Spain by pressuring the central government to exit NATO, dismantle military bases, reject the Agreement of Cooperation and Defense with the United States, ratify the Treaty of non-Proliferation, and reduce both the military budget and conventional armaments.[41]

Though organizations like the CDDT and the CEOP explicitly appealed to the central government, the Spanish peace movement found its greatest ally at the level of

---

have noted, distinguishes the peace movement in Catalunya from some of its Spanish counterparts. See Prat, *Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra*, 118; Serra, "Ara fa vint anys ens van 'atlantizar'," 86-94. It is likely that the uniquely unitary nature of the CDDT, drew on the Catalan tradition of unitary struggle initiated by the 1971 *Assemblea de Catalunya*.

[39] "Crida de la Campanya pel desarmament i la desnuclearització total." May 1981, document republished in Prat, *El moviment per la pau a Catalunya: passat, present i futur*, 378-83.

[40] The END appeal of 1980, largely drafted by the British historian E.P. Thompson, was eventually signed by thousands of activists in Western Europe, and many Spanish pacifist groups participated in END conventions during the 1980s. For more on END see, Patrick Burke, "A Transcontinental Movement of Citizens? Strategic Debates in the 1980s Western Peace Movement," in *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*, ed. Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

[41] "Crida de la Campanya pel desarmament i la desnuclearització total." May 1981, document republished in Prat, *El moviment per la pau a Catalunya: passat, present i futur*, 378-83.

local governments. The vibrancy of local alliances was most apparent at the end of 1983, when 323 municipal governments passed nuclear-free legislation modeled after the 1980 nuclear-free declaration of the Manchester city council and ratified in relative concert with the United Nations Week of Disarmament. Though throughout Western Europe it was local governments that "lent their authority, credibility, and resources to the peace movement," more Spanish municipalities passed nuclear-free legislation in this three-month period than in any other Western European country during the 1980s.[42]

In Santa Coloma, a nuclear-free declaration was ratified alongside the *Manifiesto ciudadano por la paz y el desarme* at an extraordinary city council session on 22 October 1983.[43] The manifesto, signed by civic groups, including the *Colectiu d'Acció Popular*, and the active political forces in the city—PSUC, PSC-PSOE, PCC, MCC and OCE-BR—reiterated the objectives of the CDDT and outlined how the CDDT's long-term campaign would be promoted within the city. The municipal campaign was based on a three-pronged approach: to analyze the danger of the current international situation; "support collective values that generate civic peace," including, "liberty, justice, education, health and quality of life, respect for rights, and popular participation in the management of collective affairs;" and educate the public, especially the city's children and youth.[44]

---

[42] Rochon, *Mobilizing for peace*, 194. In comparison to the 322 nuclear-free municipalities in Spain, there were 281 municipalities declared nuclear free zones in Belgium, 156 in Great Britain, 117 in Ireland, 93 in Norway, 86 in the German Federal Republic, and 26 in Italy. Numbers from, Prat, *Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra*, 118. See also, Juan Manuel Patón, "El paper dels municipis," in *El moviment per la pau a Catalunya: passat, present i futur*, ed. Enric Prat (Barcelona: Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona, 2007), 79-86.

[43] Pleno Extraordinario October 22, 1983, Documentació dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del Ple de l'Ajuntament, Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet Arxiu Municipal.

[44] "Manifiesto Ciudadano por la Paz y el Desarme," Pleno Extraordinario October 22, 1983, Documentació dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del Ple de l'Ajuntament, Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de

Under the leadership of the CDDT and within the framework outlined by the *Manifiesto ciudadano*, a new anti-NATO coalition was formed in the spring of 1984. The local expression of what was now an explicitly European movement, the coalition—*Collectiu Anti-OTAN* —reconvened the city's social and political forces for the second stage of the anti-NATO campaign. In Santa Coloma this stage of the campaign was especially vibrant thanks to the institutional support of the municipal government and the leadership of activists like Gabriela Serra, who continued to link local actions to broader national and international campaigns. Take, for example, the Spring For Peace campaign initiated in May 1984. Organized by pacifist groups all over Europe, the campaign began in Catalunya with a silent candle lit march in Santa Coloma. Organized by the city's *Collectiu Anti-OTAN* with the support of the city council, the march concluded with a popular dance in the city's center. At this dance participants were invited to attend the collective action that was organized in Barcelona the following day.[45] In Barcelona, 100,000 people participated in a human chain that symbolically linked Barcelona's Warsaw Street to the NATO consulate in "the first great pacifist demonstration realized in Catalunya."[46]

In addition to re-affirming the local as the center of gravity for social activism, the Spanish peace movement also gave women the opportunity to articulate alternative collective identities as part of a trans-European feminist movement. For example, the anti-militarist women of Santa Coloma's *Collectiu Anti-OTAN* prepared a peace camp on

---

Gramenet Arxiu Municipal. The manifesto was also signed by the *Casal de Cultura, asociacion de vecinos Singuerlin*, the *Ateneu Llibertari*, the *Grup Teatre Farandula*, and the *Consell Municipal de la Joventu*t.

[45] "Comenzo ayer a celebrar la primavera per la pau," *El Periodico,* May 19, 1984.

[46] "100.000 personas se manifiestan en Barcelona por la paz y reclaman el referéndum sobre la OTAN," *El País,* May 21, 1984.

the 28 and 29 of September. In solidarity with the women of Greenham Common England, two hundred women participated in the camp, which was organized as "another act of resistance in the anti-war struggle" and an effort to spread "happiness and hope."[47] These dual objectives found joint expression in camp songs, including:

Yo paso de hacer la mili	I pass on doing the mili
Y de quedarme en la OTAN	And staying in NATO
Yo paso de los fusiles	I pass up on firearms
Y de to lo nuclear	And on everything nuclear.
Ay que vergüenza	Ay, what an embarrasment!
Ay que preñez!	Ay, what a gestation!
Que el ministro Narcis Serra	That this idiotic idea
Se le ocurra esta idiotez	Occurred to [Defense] Secretary Narcis Serra.
Como no nos dan trabajo	Since they don't give us work
Ni nos dejan abortar	Since they don't let us abort
Para hacerse los "modelnos"	They'll makes us "models"
Nos meten a militar	By turning us into soldiers.[48]

Like the Spring For Peace Campaign, the peace camp in Santa Coloma was organized to initiate a larger feminist anti-war march in Barcelona, scheduled for the afternoon of 29 September.[49]

Just as the peace movement gave women the opportunity to participate in a trans-European feminist movement, it also created a forum for Spanish activists to participate in transnational debates regarding the relationship between democracy and historical

---

[47] Mujeres antimilitaristas del Colectivo Anti-OTAN por el Desarme y la Desnuclearización de Santa Coloma, "Mujeres de Santa Coloma: Solidaridad Con Greenham Common," 1984, Eloy Jurado and Alizia Ruzafa Personal Collection.

[48] Songs, Acampada antimilitarista de dones Santa Coloma, September 28 and 29, 1984. Eloy Jurado and Alizia Ruzafa Personal Collection. The song referenced ongoing national debates regarding the underemployment of women, the incorporation of women into the military, and the recent decision to legalize abortion only in cases of serious risk to the mother, rape, or defects in the fetus.The abortion law was passed in July 1985 and women were legally incorporated into the army in 1988. For more on the underemployment of women and youth see, Navarro, *El Estado de bienestar en España*.

[48] According to Enric Prat, 330 women attended the march in Barcelona the afternoon of 29 September 1984. See,Prat, *Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra*, 201.

[49] According to Enric Prat, 330 women attended the march in Barcelona the afternoon of 29 September 1984. See,*Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra*, 201.

memory. This was most apparent in May 1985, when President Ronald Reagan toured Western Europe to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of World War Two. In Spain, it did not go unnoticed that the President's visit came on the heels of the Bitburg controversy, when President Reagan and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl had paid their respects to WWII victims at the Bitburg cemetery where German soldiers were buried next to Wafen SS officers. While the commemoration was meant to symbolize the reconciliation between the two countries and, in the President's words, "the rekindling of the democratic spirit in Germany," international critics denounced the act for equating the memory of Nazi perpetrators with that of Holocaust victims.[50] In Spain, where the Reagan administration promoted NATO membership as a democratic guarantor—the relationship between "democratic spirit" and historical memory was equally as contentious. This was especially so given President Reagan's recent equation of the American volunteers struggling against the "spread of Communism" in Central America with the American volunteers who had joined the International Brigades in defense of the democratically elected Popular Front government during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). When pushed to consider the moral underpinnings of the comparison, President Reagan had argued:

> If you get into the moral issue of it, we were certainly tested with regard to that Spanish Civil War I mentioned, because I would say that the individuals that went there were, in the opinion of most Americans, fighting on the wrong side.[51]

---

[50] Remarks at a Joint German-American Military Ceremony at Bitburg Air Base in the Federal Republic of Germany, May 5, 1985, http://www.vlib.us/amdocs/texts/reagan051985.html.

[51] Ronald Reagan, "Interview With Representatives of the Scripps-Howard News Service" October 25, 1984. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=39315. As the New York Times reported, the comment produced "ire" in Spain. See, "Remark by Reagan on Lincoln Brigade Prompts Ire in Spain" *New York Times*, May 10, 1985.

The statement, alongside the Bitburg controversy, led many to reject Reagan's visit to Spain on the grounds that the American president was ill suited to give Spaniards "lessons about democracy."[52]

President Regan's visit was also rejected on the grounds that his policies had "nothing to do with democracy," giving Spanish activists an opportunity to participate in the transnational critiques of the policies and values of first world democracy.

> His imperialist policy restricts our national sovereignty and endangers world peace…Ronald Reagan, as the President of the United States, is directly responsible for sustaining the bloody dictatorships of Latin America and constantly undercutting the young Nicaraguan Republic...In addition, his economic policy is the determining factor that causes millions to live in poverty today without better perspectives for the future.[53]

Rather than adopt this model of democracy by joining NATO, Spanish activist outlined an alternative model for Spain.

> [Neutrality] constitutes the basis of an active foreign policy that would give Spain prestige and allow it to strengthen its role as a mediator in the dialogue between the North and South, as a bridge between Europe and both Latin America and the Middle East, opening possibilities—from a position of greater independence—to new political and economic relations.

These relations would not be rooted in a model of economic development that implicated Spain in the arms race, "selling technological weapons to the countries of the Third

---

[52] The full quote is: "The municipal government of Santa Coloma adds its voice to the thousands of voices that reject Ronald Reagan's visit to our country. We do not want this sinister character to come give us lessons about democracy, because we understand that his attitudes have nothing to do with democracy. An example of this was his recent declarations, affirming that the US citizens who fought in the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War in defense of the Republic fought on the wrong side." "Moción de la Alcaldía para declarar a Ronald Reagan, Presidente de los Estados Unidos, 'persona no grata'," Pleno Extraordinario May 4, 1985, Documentació dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del Ple de l'Ajuntament, Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet Arxiu Municipal.

[53] Ibid.

World," or in a foreign relations policy "increasingly aligned with North American imperialism."[54]

In Santa Coloma, an alternative model of democracy was clearly outlined in a series of pedagogical materials elaborated by the city's *Casal del Mestre* for the 1986 school year.[55] The pedagogical materials were divided into three monographs—Nuclear War, The Arms Race, and The Third World—and the authors introduced the series by explaining:

> Our knowledge of the many problems suffered both here and in more deprived areas, as well as the possibility of global destruction…obliges us to focus on pacifism: to individually and collectively attend to the inhumane conditions of two thirds of the world; to criticize the values of rich countries, specifically consumerism, the lack of participation, violence and chauvinism; to criticize how the leading classes of nations control information and decisions and thus limit the sovereignty of the majority. For these reasons it is fundamental to create concern among children, an interest to participate socially and to learn how to use local, national, state and international institutions to demand the elimination of

[54] For those supporting NATO membership, the Alliance was painted as the key to PSOE's strategy of industrial reconversion, strengthening both the electronics industry and the aircraft and naval construction industries. Throughout the government's campaign, the economic significance of the decision was continually emphasized. See, Anthony Gooch, "A Surrealistic Referendum: Spain and NATO," *Government and Opposition* 21, no. 03 (1986): 306. As for policy, the motion mentioned Spanish policy in Morocco and the Sahara, the country's growing diplomatic relations with Israel, and its vacillating position on Nicaragua. "Moción de la Alcaldía reafirmando la voluntad del Ayuntamiento a seguir promoviendo la paz, el desarme y la neutralidad,"Pleno Extraordinario May 4, 1985, Documentació dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del Ple de l'Ajuntament, Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet Arxiu Municipal.

[55] Financed by the municipal government, the materials were elaborated to dedicate the 1986 school year to the study of peace and, according to its authors, they were "unique in that they deal with themes that are not discussed in commercial [school] texts." Casal de Mestre Sta. Coloma de Gramenet, "El Tercer Món," "La Guerra Nuclear," and "La Cursa d'Armaments," Sèrie Monogràfics, Jornades per la Pau i el Desarmament a les escoles, January 1986. This was not the first collection that the *Casal* elaborated dedicated to peace. See also, *Per la Pau i el Desarmament: Recull de textos I documentació*, (Servei d'Informació Muncipal: Santa Coloma, October 1983). This textbook included pedagogical materials on peace education for teachers, articles and primary documents that could be incorporated into the classroom, and a compilation of audiovisual materials with accompanying student activities. The articles and primary documents included the 1982 Manifesto of the Comite Catala d'Acció per a la Pau i el Desarmament, an article on the emerging peace movement in Spain by the feminist journalist Imaculada de La Fuente "Deseada Paz: El auge del pacifismo ha enterrado el desencanto," and an article by the Italian physicist Roberto Fieschi on science and war "Mentre la meitat dels científics treballen per la guerra," among others.

> the many injustices committed against him, society, the least protected social groups and the most needy peoples of the world.[56]

The collection framed Spain's upcoming decision on NATO membership as a statement of domestic values as much as a matter of geopolitics. For example, in teaching students how to participate, the teachers of the *Casal* perpetuated the values of urban activism, which were contrasted with the control of information and decisions in the first world. The series also returned to the relationship between the "democratic spirit" and historical memory. In an activity that introduced the "themes and values of peace," the teachers were prompted to ask students what they knew of the Spanish Civil War and respond:

- It was a coup that followed general elections.
- The people who today lead Western democracies did not want to help the democrats of the Second Republic during the 1930s.
- These same leaders govern the European Economic Commission and NATO.[57]

In short NATO membership was seen as determining not only how information and decisions would be controlled as democracy was consolidated in Spain, but also whether democratization would be framed as a history in contrast or concert with the trajectory of first world democracies.

PSOE AND THE 1986 NATO REFERENDUM

On 23 October 1984, Prime Minister Felipe González announced to the Congress that the governing PSOE would officially support Spain's continued membership in NATO. Prime Minister González's support was conditional: Spain would not be

[56] Casal de Mestre Sta. Coloma de Gramenet, "El Tercer Món," "La Guerra Nuclear," and "La Cursa d'Armaments," Sèrie Monogràfics, Jornades per la Pau i el Desarmament a les escoles, January 1986.
[57] Ibid.

incorporated into NATO's military structure, the presence of US military bases on the peninsula would be reduced, and nuclear arms would not be housed in the Spanish territory. All the same, the decision created new divisions among PSOE officials at the same time that it disappointed the party's broader electorate. While the majority of PSOE officials followed Prime Minister González's lead, some expressed frustration that they were only given the opportunity to debate the party's position later that December (during PSOE's thirtieth congress, which was curiously titled "Spain, Commitment to Solidarity"), while others openly criticized the party or abandoned it altogether.[58] As for the party's broader electorate, many interpreted the announcement as a volte-face, with peace activists mocking the PSOE's 1981 slogan *OTAN, de Entrada NO* by adding *de Salida Tampoco* (no to joining or leaving NATO).[59] At the local level, where leftwing municipal governments had already established collaborative relations with peace activists and organizations, the repositioning of the Socialist party broke the unitary nature of the anti-NATO campaign.

In Santa Coloma, where PSC-PSOE ruled in coalition with PSUC, the unitary nature of the peace movement was broken immediately after Prime Minister González's Congressional announcement. The announcement came during the final preparations for the Fall Against War campaign. Following up on the unitary Spring For Peace campaign,

---

[58] For the division among Socialists in Catalunya, see, for instance,"PSC: división de opiniones sobre la OTAN," *La Vanguardia*, November 6, 1984. For PSOE's thirtieth congress see, PSOE, España compromiso de solidaridad: programa XXX Congreso Madrid 13-16 Diciembre, (PSOE: Madrid, 1984). Antonio García Santesmases was one of the most vocal PSOE militants regarding PSOE's repositioning on NATO membership. See especially, Antonio García Santesmases, *Repensar la izquierda: evolución ideológica del socialismo en la España actual* (Madrid: Anthropos Editorial, 1993). Other dissident sectors of the PSOE would go on to form part of *Izquierda Unida*, a political party formed from the sociopolitical alliances forged during the anti-NATO campaign.

[59] For González's full speach to Congress see Celestino Arenal, *España y la OTAN: textos y documentos* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1986), 246-50. The Socialist party stuck by these conditions up through the 1986 referendum.

which had been initiated by a silent candlelight march, the *Collectiu Anti-OTAN* implored neighbors to "now…turn off lights and make noise" to initiate the Fall Against War.[60] While the city council had voted unanimously to turn off the city's public lights in solidarity with the campaign, on the day of the demonstration—the week after Prime Minister González's Congressional announcement—the Civil Governor warned the city council against the action.[61] In a newfound state of internal division, the Socialist Municipal Group responded to the Civil Governor's warning by rescinding their support for the campaign. The city's communist majority ensured that the campaign proceeded as planned and the Civil Governor responded to the campaign by initiating a lawsuit against Mayor Hernández for endangering citizen security.[62] While the communist majority denounced the Civil Governor's "clear and unjustifiable interference in municipal autonomy" the socialist councilors newly argued that the city council's participation in the campaign had "jeopardized the free defense of anti-NATO opinions."[63]

As the peace movement continued to mobilize, Socialist officials went from defending the "free defense of anti-NATO opinions" to framing municipal governments

---

[60] Collectiu Anti-OTAN de Santa Coloma,"Ara…Apaguem Els Llums i Fem Soroll," leaflet, 1984. Personal Collection Mn. Cata, Museo Torre Balldovina.

[61] "Santa Coloma apaga hoy, durante 5 minutos, el alumbrado público en protesta contra la OTAN," *El País*, October 31, 1984.

[62] The city council turned public lights off for 3 minutes, during which time there were over 70 volunteers ensuring so-called citizen security. Mayor Hernández responded to the Civil Governor's charge by arguing that if he were indeed concerned with citizen security he would have assigned more police to the municipality per the longstanding request of the municipal government. "Santa Coloma reprova l'actitud de Cardenal" *Avui*, November 6, 1984. "Enfrentamientos en el Consistorio de Santa Coloma por el apagón' anti-OTAN,"*Correo Catalan,* November 6, 1984 and "Dan parte al fiscal del apagón de Santa Coloma," *El Periodico,* November 3, 1984 and "El governador vol processar l'alcalde de Santa Coloma,"*Avui*, November 3, 1984.

[63] As quoted in, "Santa Coloma de Gramenet: moción contra el gobernador de Barcelona," *La Vanguardia*, November 6, 1984. Unconvinced by the new logic of their socialist officials, activists in Santa Coloma expressed their continued support for Mayor Hernández and characterized the Civil Governor's lawsuit as a political maneuver. See, "El alcalde de Santa Coloma recibe la solidaridad vecinal," *El Periodico,* November 8, 1984.

as invalid sites for political discussions and decisions. This was most apparent at a 4 May 1985 extraordinary city council session in Santa Coloma, as "neighborhoods, towns and cities all over Spain celebrated countless acts and demonstrations against President Reagan's [5 May] visit" with Prime Minister Felipe González and King Juan Carlos.[64] At the session, which was organized to declare President Reagan a persona non grata and reaffirm "the will of the municipal government to continue promoting peace, disarmament and neutrality," the Socialist Municipal Group justified their abstention by arguing:

> Ninety-percent of the motion is foreign to the council, which is not a political chamber…[As the motion] is beyond our jurisdiction it [voting] does little more than turn the municipal government into an institutional joke. For this reason we cannot vote on the motion in the session, even though the [Socialist] Group shares some of its considerations.[65]

The meeting notes suggest that the attending public—which included members of the city's *Collectiu Anti-OTAN* and CCOO union—was more dismayed with the Socialist Municipal Group's conception of the municipal government as an apolitical institution than their abstention, which did not prevent either motion from passing at the session.

For progressive commentators in Spain, the manner NATO membership was debated within the Socialist party and the means that Socialist officials employed to defuse local peace movements, exemplified "the most repulsive tendencies that have been developing within the Spanish political system." According to the editors of *Mientras*

---

[64] "Los protestas contra Reagan protagonizan el 'week end'," *El Periódico*, May 5, 1985. Pleno Extraordinario May 4, 1985, Documentació dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del Ple de l'Ajuntament, Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet Arxiu Municipal.

[65] Socialist councilors Anastasio Sánchez and Joan Carles Mas as quoted in, "Moció socialista sobre l'OTAN a Santa Coloma," *Avui*, October 28, 1984 and Pleno Extraordinario May 4, 1985, Documentació dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del Ple de l'Ajuntament, Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet Arxiu Municipal. One socialist voted with the Communist majority to pass the motion reaffirming the municipality's promotion of peace, disarmament and neutrality, and the Socialist Municipal Group did vote in favor of an additional motion demanding a referendum.

Tanto (an intellectual journal founded in Barcelona in 1979 with the aim of combating "disenchantment" by uniting the new and old left), this specifically included:

> The tendency of a reduced elite—comfortably installed at the helm of the country's principal political parties—to monopolize decisions as well as political discussions; the tendency towards a growing distance and lack of communication between those who are at the helm and their apparent bases; the tendency to 'depoliticize politics.'[66]

Despite these tendencies, arguably common among first world democracies of the era, the Spanish peace movement successfully pressured Prime Minister González to fulfill his 1982 electoral promise and hold a referendum.[67]

As the 12 March 1986 referendum on Spain's membership in NATO was prepared, opinion polls signaled that the Spanish people would vote 'no' in support of leaving the Alliance.[68] In the final days before the referendum, Prime Minister González used the State TV and the national press to appeal to the Spanish people. He asked voters to consider who would "administer the no vote," leading many commentators to conclude that he converted the referendum into a plebiscite for the upcoming general elections.[69] He also warned of "political instability," arguing that membership in the Alliance was key to democratic consolidation as well as the country's full integration into Europe. Being a member of the Common Market without also being a member of NATO, he

---

[66] "Carta de la redacción," *Mientras Tanto,* 1986 #25 ½: numero de intervención immediata y despliegue rápido otaNO.
[67] For a discussion of the origins of this global trend, see Suri, *Power and protest*.
[68] According to Pardo Sanz only 28% of the population was in favor of the Alliance in 1979 whereas by 1983 favor had dropped to 13%. The 1984 repositioning of the Socialst party did not reverse this trend. Pardo Sanz, "La política exterior de los gobierno de Felipe González: ¿un nuevo papel para España en el escenario internacional?."Rosa Pardo Sanz, "La política exterior de los gobiernos de Felipe González: ¿un nuevo papel para España en el escenario internacional?," *Ayer,* (84: 2011, 73-97), 82. For a full treatment of the development of public opinion regarding NATO see Val Cid, *Opinión pública y opinión publicada: los españoles y el referéndum de la OTAN*.
[69] "Felipe González: 'Quien vaya a votar que 'no', que piense antes qué fuerza política va a gestionar ese voto'," *El Pais,* March 9, 1986.

argued, was akin to "occupying a building without paying the rent."[70] Forcefully concluding that "the gravest consequence of 'no' [to NATO] is that it doesn't lead anywhere; it only signifies a break with all that we are building," the Prime Minister admonished the population not to take "a step backwards."[71]

At the same time that he reactivated fears of a political regression, Prime Minister González distinguished peace activists in Spain from their European counterparts.[72]

> The heart of the problem is that we continue to simplify the progressive alternative; we conceive of [progressive politics] in the same terms that we did during the struggle against the dictatorship.

While the Prime Minister conceded that the peace movement had initiated long overdue debates about "the role of progressive forces in the construction of peace and the construction of Europe," he argued, "If any other European country heard the arguments advanced here, they would conclude they were used only by absolutely marginal groups."[73] The alleged contrast, the Prime Minister concluded, was rooted in the country's backward development.

> In Spain we have arrived to these debates late, as we have arrived late to so many other things. Unfortunately this has been Spain's destiny. We are

---

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid. and Felipe González on TV as quoted by Luis Peiró, "El Gran Vuelco," *Cambio 16,* March 17, 1986.

[72] Prime Minister González was not alone in his attempt to use the 1986 referendum as a plebiscite. For instance, Fraga led the conservative AP, initially the staunchest supporters of NATO, to abstain to signal their lack of confidence in Prime Minister Gonzalez as well as their dissent regarding the terms of membership that were proposed. Meanwhile, the Basque and Catalan nationalists, who had originally voted in support of Spain's membership in NATO, extricated themselves from the charged matter by telling their voters to vote with their conscious. For more on the evolving positions taken by the country's major political parties see, Gooch, "A Surrealistic Referendum: Spain and NATO."

[73] As a representative of END, E.P. Thompson had participated in a conference organized by the CDDT titled "1st Conference on the Dangers of Nuclear War and the Pacifist Alternative" on 23 May 1984 in Barcelona. *Mientras Tanto* later published the conference paper during the final stage of the anti-NATO campaign, likely to counter the Prime Minister's characterization of the Spanish peace movement. See, Edward P. Thompson "Una Europa sin bloques, una España neutral," *Mientras Tanto,* #25 ½ numero de intervención inmediata y despliegue rápida otaNO, 1986.

> a century and a half behind in respect to modernity and progress, in regards to the progressive vision of the European world.[74]

Employing the trope of Spanish backwardness, the Prime Minister collapsed the "progressive vision of the European world" to European modernity, framing Spain's full integration into the region's Cold War institutions as the only step forward.

There were, of course, other visions of how Spain might step forward. For example, Edward P. Thompson, the acclaimed historian and leading activist of the *European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign* (END), appealed to the gathered public in Barcelona, and the broader Spanish public in print, arguing:

> End Europe's civil war, with the same maturity that the Spanish people used to bring an end to the Francoist regime. Without a second civil war… Will Spain be managed by the superpowers through its NATO membership?...Or will it be converted into an actor of its own right, an agent of history, and, in the midst of the crisis of humanity, find a third way towards peace?[75]

Whereas Prime Minister González painted NATO as Spain's entry ticket into European modernity, E.P. Thompson depicted the referendum as an opportunity for the Spanish people to continue demonstrating their "maturity" on the world's stage by leading the peaceful renegotiation of Europe's divided postwar settlement.

In the end, fifty-seven percent of Spain's participating voters selected PSOE's vision of European modernity, leaving commentators throughout the country to account for how the PSOE national government was able to achieve "a spectacular turnaround

---

[74] "Felipe González: 'Quien vaya a votar que 'no', que piense antes qué fuerza política va a gestionar ese voto'," *El Pais,* March 9, 1986 and Felipe González on TV as quoted by Luis Peiró, "El Gran Vuelco," *Cambio 16,* March 17, 1986. It is worth noting, of course,

[75] E.P. Thompson speech "Una Europa sin bloques, una España neutral," for the *I Jornadas sobre el peligro de guerra nuclear y las alternativas pacifistas*, Barcelona, May, 23, 1984. Later printed in *Mientras Tanto,* #25 ½ numero de intervención immediata y despliegue rápido otaNO, 1986.

from 'yes' to 'no'…in only two days."[76] Many, including journalists from the left-leaning magazine *Cambio 16,* concluded:

> The prime minister's charisma, the deeply abusive use of the television, and the fear transmitted by members of the Government and Socialist Party to the electorate during the final stage of the campaign were key.[77]

Others also posited that the turnaround reflected a profound shift in the social landscape. Analyzing the municipal results of the referendum, the editors of *Mientras Tanto* concluded:

> NATO won thanks to the vote of fear and ignorance, thanks to the cultural disintegration of the working class, and the functional illiteracy of those disinherited by the TV. Poor Spain was a cacique Spain this time, though today the caciques speak to their clients with shining fists and roses [Socialist logo] on the screen. This combination of new and old cultural miseries, however, only explains part of the matter…The other part, which is fundamental, is the lack of class-consciousness. Without being conscious of belonging to the working class no working class exists as a collective subject, as a historical agent. On the twelfth of March little working class existed at the ballot boxes in Spain.[78]

The post-industrial transition had "unmade" the working class as both a social structure and an organized political identity throughout Western Europe. While leftist intellectuals throughout Western Europe mourned the process, leftist intellectuals in Spain stood apart for holding the working class responsible for the failures of the peace movement. [79] This blame was arguable rooted in the distinct dynamics of grassroots activism in Spain. Working class cities had served as the local center of gravity for the

---

[76] There was a 59.42% turnout at the referendum. Luis Peiró, "El Gran Vuelco," *Cambio 16,* March 17, 1986. See the cited article for more on how the government utilized TV throughout the campaign.
[77] Ibid.
[78] "Carta de la redacción," *Mientras Tanto,* 26 May 1986.
[79] Eley, *Forging democracy*, 397. For an analysis of the social ties linking intllecutals and workers, and their significance for the quality of democray, see Robert M. Fishman, *Democracy's Voices: Social Ties and the Quality of Public Life in Spain* (Cornell University Press, 2004). Also consult the honors thesis by Paolo Di Rossa, "The Disenchantment of Spanish Intellectuals: Reflections on the Relations between Intellectuals and Workers in Contemporary Spain" (Harvard, 1986).

long cycle of mobilizations that had begun in the 1960s. As 'new social movements' had emerged out of—and in tandem with—traditional working class movements, the post-class implications of the peace movement were not fully appreciated.

Gabriela Serra, for example, recounts her great surprise that nearly fifty-two percent of voters in Santa Coloma cast their votes in favor of NATO.[80]

> The anti-NATO campaign was positive, it helped reconsolidate the citizen movement…Santa Coloma had a model anti-NATO campaign. That is to say, you couldn't fit another placard or another graffiti…We did everything, an alternative referendum, we turned off the lights, there were signs all over the place, continuous acts, marches from here to Barcelona…The campaign lasted for more than two years of intense activity. There were anti-NATO organizations all over the place and the municipal government, for example, paid for our leaflets. It was a beautiful moment, but then the Referendum lost in Santa Coloma. It was one of the things that surprised us most.[81]

Following up on this surprise, members of the city's *Collectiu anti-OTAN* surveyed the population in the days that immediately followed the referendum. They found, as Serra remembers it, that "nobody said that they voted 'yes.' Out of shame, nobody said 'yes.' All said 'I voted no' or 'the vote is secret.'"[82]

Ashamed or not, it is clear that many of the city's voters put aside their negative opinions of NATO to support the PSOE national government. The limits of local empowerment—constrained by the lack of consensus among the Left, the authoritarian legacy of the Francoist regime, as well as regional, national and international institutions—had been clearly demonstrated and enforced since the Transition. And

---

[80] In Santa Coloma, the 'yes' vote triumphed 51.6% to 45.7%. For the referendum results in Catalunya, see, "Referéndum 86: Los datos de Catalunya," *El Periódico* March 14, 1986.
[81] Gabriela Serra, interview with Andrea Davis, (August 1, 2012).
[82] Gabriela Serra, interview with Andrea Davis, (August 1, 2012). In this interview Serra reiterated the thesis that the PSOE government played off of the populations' fear and ignorance, esentially repeating the"cultural disintegration" of the working class thesis.

without the leadership of a strong national party like the PSOE, these constraints made it difficult for voters to imagine a political force capable of administering the non-aligned position.

During the course of the NATO debates, the PSOE did more than rescind its support for the non-aligned option. Party officials actively undermined local empowerment throughout the final stages of the anti-NATO campaign. Even after the referendum, the Socialist Municipal Group in Santa Coloma organized an extraordinary city council session to reinforce the limits of local empowerment. Their goal was "not to initiate an ideological debate regarding the positions maintained during the referendum," but to demand "accounts and information."[83] They requested that the majority Communist Group provide them with the budget that had been spent on the NATO campaign, a list of the individuals who had participated in the campaign, and an account of whether the name of the municipal government had been "utilized" to promote a concrete option.[84] The message of the session was that municipal governments were administrative bodies that did not have the jurisdiction to collaborate with civic organizations to fund or endorse political campaigns.[85] As the national leaders of PSOE

---

[83] Socialist city councilor Carles Mas as quoted in, "Información de la Campanya de l'Ajuntament sobre el referendum de l'Aliança Atlantica a Sta. Coloma de Gramenet," Pleno Extraordinario July 12, 1986, Documentació dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del Ple de l'Ajuntament, Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet Arxiu Municipal.

[84] "Información de la Campanya de l'Ajuntament sobre el referendum de l'Aliança Atlantica a Sta. Coloma de Gramenet," Pleno Extraordinario July 12, 1986, Documentació dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del Ple de l'Ajuntament, Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet Arxiu Municipal.

[85] A number of civic groups petitioned to participate in the session. The *Coordinadora de Asociaciones de Vecinos* captured collective sentiments, rejecting the PSOE's top-down vision of politics by arguing: "The PSC-PSOE Municipal Group does not have the right to demand explanations from the municipal government when their party has so easily changed its position on NATO membership, when the PSOE and its government has spent so many millions in favor of the 'yes' vote for NATO, when the PSOE has utilized the means of communication incessantly, especially the TV." "Información de la Campanya de l'Ajuntament sobre el referendum de l'Aliança Atlantica a Sta. Coloma de Gramenet," Pleno

negotiated a prominent role for Spain among Western Europe's first world democracies, PSOE municipal officials further undermined local empowerment, helping to bring the long cycle of Spanish mobilizations to an end.

Extraordinario July 12, 1986, Documentació dels expedients de les actes de les sessions del Ple de l'Ajuntament, Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet Arxiu Municipal.

Bibliography

ARCHIVES

Arxiu històric Museu Torre Balldovina

The historic archive of the Torre Balldovina Museum serves as the historical archive of Santa Coloma. Collections consulted include:

- The personal collection of neighborhood activist and urban movement chronicler Marcelo López Ródenas
- The donated personal collection of worker-priest and PSUC official Jaume P. Sayrach
- The donated personal collection of worker-priest Mn. Cata
- The institutional archive of the local newspaper *Grama*
- The records of the local committee of *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (PSUC)

Arxiu municipal administratiu de Santa Coloma de Gramenet

The administrative archive of Santa Coloma de Gramenet is an active government office. Collections consulted include:

- Collected press (national and regional), 1972-1991
- City council sessions, 1974-1991
- Education
- Wounded veterans and widows of the war
- Popular and neighborhood festivals

Arxiu nacional de Catalunya

The national archive of Catalunya is the official archive of the Catalan autonomous government. It also includes collections of private documents relating to Catalan society and politics. Collections consulted include:

- *Omnium Cultural* (an independent foundation promoting Catalan)
- *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (PSUC)
- *Assemblea de Catalunya* (the unitary opposition movement of Catalunya)
- *Congrés de Cultura Catalana* (a campaign of the *Assemblea de Catalunya*)

Biblioteca central de Santa Coloma de Gramenet

The public library of Santa Coloma houses the archive of the city's neighborhood commissions, collected leaflets and print versions of the local press.

Centre de Documentació de Museu d'història de la immigració de Catalunya

The documentation center of the Museum of the History of Immigration to Catalunya contains a series of demographic reports, oral histories, and primary documents related to the study of immigration in Catalunya.

Centre d'Estudis sobre les Èpoques Franquista i Democràtica

The research group of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona has a collection of police reports and oral interviews related to the urban movement of the 1960s and 1970s in the province of Barcelona.

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL COLLECTIONS

Casal del Mestre, Private Collection

The private collection of the Casal del Mestre, the pedagogical reform movement of Santa Coloma, contains educational materials and movement communications, including the bulletin *Diari de l'escola d'estiu*.

Partit dels Socialistes de Cataluny de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Private Collection

The private collection of the PSC-PSOE of Santa Coloma contains printed party documents and electoral campaigns.

Chema Corral Personal Collection

Chema Corral was a militant of *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (PSUC) and served as a municipal official in Santa Coloma beginning in 1979 and a representative in the Catalan Parliament beginning in 1980. As a leading member of the so-called pro-Soviet faction of PSUC, he participated in the foundation of the *Partit dels Comunistes de Catalunya* (PCC) in 1982. His personal collection contains documentation on municipal policy, the internal documents of the local and central committees of PSUC, the internal documents and printed materials of the pro-Soviet faction, and the founding statutes of the PCC.

Eloy Jurado and Alicia Ruzafa Personal Collection

Eloy Jurado and Alicia Ruzafa were both longtime neighborhood activists and PSUC militants. Their collection contains documentation on neighborhood commissions and associations, as well as memorabilia related to feminist and pacifist movements.

Joan Moran Personal Collection

Joan Moran was a worker-priest. His personal collection contains documentation on worker-priest campaigns and the city's social centers.

Josep Pitarque Personal Collection

Josep Pitarque was a militant of the *Movimiento Comunista de Catalunya* (MCC) and longtime neighborhood activist. His personal collection contains neighborhood association press and campaigns.

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS (ARCHIVED WHEN NOTED)

Antonijoan, Antoni. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Antxustegui-Etxearte, Jon. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Bellete Donay, Enrique. Interview with José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2002).

Bolancer, Salvador. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Candel, Miguel. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Colell Vilajosana, Pere. Interview with José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2001).

Corral, José Maria (Chema). Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Cuenca Puigdellívol, Antoni. Interview with David Monsergas, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2001).

García Gil, Cristóbal. Interview with José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2002).

Guerrero Luque, Joan. Interview with José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2001).

Hernández, Lluís. Interview with Nadia Varo Moral, *Movimient Veïnal, Fonts Orals*, El Centre d'Estudis sobre les Èpoques Franquista i Democràtica, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, (2009).

———. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Jurado, Eloy. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Lacasta, José Miguel. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Lopez Arnal, Salvador. Interview with Luis Martn-Cabrera, Elize Mazadiego and Andrea Davis, *Testimony of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Dictatorship*, University of Californa, San Deigo, (2010).

Lopéz Rodriguez, Miguel. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Madueño, Eugeni. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Maquinay, Aurora Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Martínez, Alfons. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Martín Martín, Antonio. Interview with Andrea Davis and Elize Mazadiego, *Testimony of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Dictatorship*, University of Californa, San Deigo, (2009).

Martínez, Remei. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Más, Joan Carles. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Moran, Joan. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Muñoz, Isabel. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Olivé, Maria José. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Ovalle Cuevas, María. Interview with José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2002).

Palacios, Josep. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Parra Chica, Rafael. Interview with José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2001).

Pérez Moreno, Angel. Interview with José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2001).

Pitarqué, Josef. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Rey, Lluís. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Rico, Agustina. Interview with Jessica Cordova and Andrea Davis, *Testimony of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Dictatorship*, University of California, San Diego, (2010).

Román Rodríguez, Epifanía. Interview with José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2002).

Ruiz, Elvira. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Ruzafa, Alicia. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Salinas, Emiliana. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2011).

Saro, Ferran. Interview with José Manuel Hidalgo Ramírez, *Colección Biografias Obreras*, Arxiu Historic de CCOO de Catalunya, (2002).

———. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Sayrach Fatjo dels Xijeres, Jaume Patrici. Interview with Nadia Varo Moral, *Movimient Veïnal, Fonts Orals*, El Centre d'Estudis sobre les Èpoques Franquista i Democràtica, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, (2009).

———. Interview with Jessica Cordova and Andrea Davis, *Testimony of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Dictatorship*, University of California, San Diego, (2010).

Serra, Gabriela. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

Tellez, Francisco. Interview with Elize Mazadiego and Andrea Davis, *Testimony of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Dictatorship*, University of California, San Diego, (2010).

Trías, Rafael. Interview with Andrea Davis, (2012).

CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS/JOURNALS

Grama

Gramanet

Iglesia de Santa Coloma

L'Ajuntament Informa

El Viejo Topo

Mientras Tanto

Taula de Canvi

Triunfo

Cambio 16

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Agranoff, Robert. *Local Governments and their Intergovernmental Networks in Federalizing Spain*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

Aguila, Juan José del. *El TOP: la represión de la libertad, 1963-1977* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 2001.

Aguilar Fernández, Paloma. *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. English-language ed ed. New York: Berghahn Books, 2002.

Aguilar Fernández, Paloma, and Carsten Humlebaek. "Collective Memory and National Identity in the Spanish Democracy: The Legacies of Francoism and the Civil War." *History & Memory* 14, no. 1 (2002): 121-64.

Aguilar, Paloma. "Transitional or Post-Transitional Justice? Recent Developments in the Spanish Case." *South European Society and Politics* 13, no. 4 (2008): 417-33.

Ainaud, Josep Maria. *Immigració i reconstrucció nacional a Catalunya* [in Catalan]. Barcelona: Blume, 1980.

Andrade Blanco, Juan Antonio. *El PCE y el PSOE en (la) transición: La evolución ideológica de la izquierda durante el proceso de cambio político* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Siglo XXI de Espan˜a Editores, 2012.

Arenal, Celestino. *España y la OTAN: textos y documentos*. Madrid: Tecnos, 1986.

"The Authoritarian Past and South European Democracies." *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010).

Baby, Sophie. *Le mythe de la transition pacifique: violence et politique en Espagne, 1975-1982* [in French]. Madrid: Casa de Vel·zquez, 2012.

Balcells, Albert *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present* [in English]. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

Balfour, Sebastian. *Dictatorship, Workers, and the City: Labour in Greater Barcelona since 1939* [in English]. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Balfour, Sebastian, and Paul Preston. *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century* [in English]. London: Routledge, 1999.

Balibrea Enríquez, Mari Paz. *En la tierra baldía: Manuel Vázquez Montalbán y la izquierda española en la postmodernidad* [in Spanish]. [Barcelona]: El Viejo Topo, 1999.

Barahona de Brito, Alexandra, Carmen González Enríquez, and Paloma Aguilar Fernández. *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies* [in English]. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Barcelona, Rosa Sensat Escola d'Estiu de. *Per una nova escola pública catalana: planteig, discussions dels grups de treball del Tema General de l'Escola d'Estiu de Barcelona* [in Catalan]. Barcelona: Publicacions de Rosa Sensat, 1977.

Barcelonès, Comissions Obreres del. *Lluites obreres a la Termica del Besòs: 30è aniversari de l'assassinat de Manuel Fernández Márquez*. 1a ed ed. Barcelona: Comissions Obreres del Barcelonès, 2003.

Bermeo, Nancy. "Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict During Democratic Transitions." *Comparative Politics* (1997): 305-22.

Bernard, Robert. "L'Assemblea de Catalunya (1971-1982). Catalanisme popular i antifranquisme." Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, 2001.

Berriatúa San Sebastián, Javier. "Las asociaciones de vecinos." Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1977.

Berruezo, Grupo de Historia José. *Una Ciutat dormitori sota el franquisme: Santa Coloma de Gramenet*. Santa Coloma de Gramenet: Carena, 2006.

Bischof, Günter, Stefan Karner, and Peter Ruggenthaler, eds. *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010.

Blakeley, Georgina. *Building Local Democracy in Barcelona* [in English]. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004.

Bordetas Jiménez, Ivan. "De la supervivencia a la resistencia: la gestació del movimient veïnal a la Catalunya franquista." In *Construint la ciutat democràtica. El moviment veïnal durant el tardofranquisme i la transició* edited by Carme

Molinero and Pere Ysa`s, 265-317. Barcelona: Icaria: Memorial Democràtic 2010.

Borja, Jordi. *La Gran Barcelona*. Madrid: Alberto Corazo´n, 1972.

———. *Por unos municipios democráticos : diez años de reflexión política y movimiento ciudadano* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1987.

Botey Vallès, Jaume. *Cinquanta-quatre relats d'immigraciö* [in Catalan]. Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona: Centre d'Estudis de l'Hospitalet, 1986.

Botey Vallès, Jaume "Una experiéncia política: l'esquerra: testimonis d'una resisténcia utópica." Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona, 1993.

Bou, LluÌs M. *El Carmelo ignorado: historia de un barrio imposible* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2007.

Boyd, Carolyn P. "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617, no. 1 (2008): 133-48.

Bracke, Maud. *Which Socialism? Whose Détente?: West European Communism and the Czechoslovak Crisis, 1968*. Central European University Press, 2007.

Brassloff, Audrey. *Religion and Politics in Spain: The Spanish Church in Transition, 1962-96*. New York: Macmillan 1998.

Burke, Patrick. "A Transcontinental Movement of Citizens? Strategic Debates in the 1980s Western Peace Movement." In *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*, edited by Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.

Cabré, Salvador. *Diàlegs d'un rector*. Barcelona: Mediterrània, 1998.

———. *L'Església del segle XXI: hipòtesi de treball*. Barcelona: Mediterrània, 1998.

Callahan, William James. *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998*. Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2000.

Calleja, Eduardo González, Olivier Compagnon, and Sophie Baby, eds. *Violencia y transiciones políticas a finales del siglo XX: Europa del Sur-América Latina*. edited by Eduardo González Calleja, Olivier Compagnon and Sophie Baby. Vol. 110: Casa de Velázquez, 2009.

Calvo Salgado, Luís M. *Historia del Instituto español de emigración: la politica migratoria exterior de España y el IEE del Franquismo a la Transición* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, 2009.

Cámara de la Hoz, José. *La Verdad de un soñador*. [S.l: s.n.], 2005.

Caminal i Badia, Miquel. *Nacionalisme i partits nacionals a Catalunya* [in Catalan]. Barcelona: Editorial Empúries, 1998.

Campo Vidal, Manuel, Gregorio López Raimundo, and Antoni Gutiérrez Díaz. *El PSUC y el eurocomunismo*. Colección 80. Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1981.

Candel, Francisco. *Algo más sobre los otros Catalanes*. Barcelona: Luis de Caralt, 1977.

———. *Apuntes para una sociología de barrio*. Ediciones de bolsillo. Barcelona: Península, 1972.

———. *Crónicas de marginados* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Editorial Laia, 1976.

———. *Donde la ciudad cambia su nombre*. 2a ed ed. Barcelona Plaza & Janés, 1965.

———. *Els altres Catalans*. Llibres a l'abast. 7a ed ed. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1965.

———. *Els altres Catalans vint anys després*. Llibres a l'abast. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1985.

———. *La nueva pobreza* [in Spanish]. Esplugues de Llobregat: Plaza & Janés, 1989.

———. *Un Ayuntamiento Llamado Ellos*. Barcelona: Ediciones B, 1994.

Carbonell, Jaume. *La lucha de barrios en Barcelona* [in Spanish]. [Madrid]: E. Querejeta, 1976.

Carrillo, Santiago. *Eurocomunismo y estado*. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1977.

Carrión Cazorla, Lola. "La conflictivitat laboral a Santa Coloma de Gramanet des de 1968 a 1978." UAB, 2008.

Casals i Meseguer, Xavier *La tentación neofascista en España*. Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1998.

Castells, Manuel. *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. California Series in Urban Development. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Castro Torres, Carmen. *La prensa en la transición española, 1966-1978*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2010.

Claudín, Fernando. *Documentos de una divergencia comunista: [los textos del debate que provocó la exclusión de Claudín y Jorge Semprún del PCE]* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Iniciativas Editoriales, 1978.

———. *Eurocomunismo y socialismo* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1977.

Clifford, Rebecca, and Nigel Townson. "The Church in Crisis: Catholic Activism and'1968'." *Cultural and Social History* 8, no. 4 (2011): 531-50.

Colomé, Gabriel. *The Left Parties in Catalonia: The Case of the PSC and the PSUC*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales Instituto Juan March, 1996.

Colomer, Josep. *Assemblea de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Editorial Avance, 1976.

Comín, Alfonso C. *Cristianos en el partido, comunistas en la iglesia* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Laia, 1977.

Comín, Alfonso Carlos. *Obras*. Barcelona: Fundació Alfons Comín, 1994.

Comín, Francisco. "Reaching a Political Consensus for Tax Reform in Spain: The Moncloa Pacts, Joining the European Union and the Rest of the Journey." In *Fiscal reform in spain: Accomplishments and Challenges*, edited by Jorge Martínez Vázquez and José Félix Sanz Sanz: Edward Elgar, 2007.

"Conversaciones sobre Inmigracion Interior : Barcelona." edited by Patronato Municipal de la Vivienda de Barcelona. Barcelona: s.n., 19 a 22 octubre de 1965.

Conversi, Daniele. *The Basques, the Catalans, and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1997.

Crexell, Joan. *La "Manifestació" de capellans de 1966*. Biblioteca Serra d'Or. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1992.

Cruells, Manuel. *Els no catalans i nosaltres* [in Catalan]. Barcelona: Mediterrània, 1965.

Cuenca Toribio, José Manuel. *Catolicismo social y político en la España contemporánea (1870-2000)*. Madrid: Unión Editorial, 2000.

Darder, Pere. *El funcionament de l'escola privada a Catalunya*. 1a ed. ed. Barcelona: Rosa Sensat/Edicions 62, 1987.

Davis, Belinda. "What's left? Popular political participation in postwar Europe." *The American Historical Review* 113, no. 2 (2008): 363-90.

Davis, Belinda, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke, and Carla MacDougall. *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the US in the 1960s and 1970s*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013.

Delgado Ruiz, Manuel. *Diversitat i integració: lógica i dinámica de les identitats a Catalunya* [in Catalan]. Barcelona: Editorial Empúries, 1998.

Di Rossa, Paolo. "The Disenchantment of Spanish Intellectuals: Reflections on the Relations between Intellectuals and Workers in Contemporary Spain." Harvard, 1986.

Di´az, Jose´. *Luchas internas en Comisiones Obreras (Barcelona, 1964-1970)*. 1 ed. Barcelona: Bruguera, 1977.

Domènech Sampere, Xavier. *Clase obrera, antifranquismo y cambio político: pequeños grandes cambios, 1956-1969* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2008.

———. "El cambio político (1962–1976). Materiales para una perspectiva desde abajo." *Historia del presente* 1 (2002): 46-67.

———. *Quan el carrer va deixar de ser seu: moviment obrer, societat civil i canvi polític, Sabadell (1966-1976)*. 1. ed. ed. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2002.

Eley, Geoff. *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Encarnación, Omar Guillermo. *The Myth of Civil Society: Social Capital and Democratic Consolidation in Spain and Brazil*. 1st ed ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Española, Caritas. *Plan C.C.B. (Comunicación Cristiana de Bienes.) Plan de promoción social, asistencia social y beneficencia de la Iglesia en España* [in Undetermined]. Madrid: Euramérica, 1968.

Espinosa Maestre, Francisco. *Shoot the messenger? Spanish Democracy and the Crimes of Francoism: From the Pact of Silence to the Trial of Baltasar Garzón* [in English, Translated from Spanish by Richard Barker]. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2013.

Faber, Sebastiaan. "The Price of Peace: Historical Memory in Post-Franco Spain, a Review-Article." *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 58, no. 1/2 (2005 2005): 205-19.

———. "Revis(it)ing the Past: Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Post-Franco Spain, a Review-Article (Second Part)." *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 59, no. 1/2 (2006): 141-54.

Fabre, Jaume, and Josep Maria Huertas Clavería. *Tots els barris de Barcelona* [in Catalan]. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1976.

Ferguson, Niall. "Crisis, What Crisis?". In *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*, edited by Niall Ferguson. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.

Fernández, Francisco José Carmona. *Cambios en la identidad católica: la juventud de Alfonso Carlos Comín*. Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias/Prodhufi, 1995.

Fernández, Paloma Aguilar. "Justicia, política y memoria: los legados del franquismo en la transición española." Paper presented at the Las políticas hacia el pasado: Juicios, depuraciones, perdón y olvido en las nuevas democracias, 2002.

Ferrando Puig, Emili, and Juan Rico Márquez. *Les comissions obreres en el franquisme: Barcelonès Nord, 1964-1977*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2005.

Ferrer i Aixalà, Amador *Els Polígons de Barcelona : l'habitatge massiu i la formació de l'àrea metropolitana* [in Catalan]. Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 1996.

Field, Bonnie N. "Interparty Consensus and Intraparty Discipline in Spain's Transition to Democracy." In *The Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition: The Spanish Model*, 71-91. New York Routledge, 2011.

Fina, Albert. *Des del nostre despatx*. 1. ed. ed. Barcelona: DOPESA, 1978.

Fishman, Robert M. *Democracy's Voices: Social Ties and the Quality of Public Life in Spain* [in en]. Cornell University Press, 2004.

———. *Working-class organization and the return to democracy in Spain*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Gallardo Romero, Juan. *Lucha sindical, tortura y transición democrática: "el caso Téllez"*. 2. ed. ed. Barcelona: Ediciones Carena, 2004.

Gallego Margaleff, Ferran. *El mito de la transicio´n: la crisis del franquismo y los orígenes de la democracia (1973-1977)*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2008.

Garcés, Joan E. *Soberanos e intervenidos, estrategias globales, americanos y españoles*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2008.

Gildea, Robert, James Mark, and Anette Warring. *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt* [in English]. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Gillespie, Richard. *Democratic Spain: Reshaping External Relations in a Changing World*. London: Routledge, 1995.

———. *Spain: The European and International Challenges*. London: Frank Cass, 2001.

———. *The Spanish Socialist Party: A History of Factionalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Gilmour, John. *Manuel Fraga Iribarne and the Rebirth of Spanish Conservatism, 1939-1990* [in English]. Lewiston E. Mellen Press, 1999.

Ginsborg, Paul. *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Goldsmith, Trevor. "From Falangism to Technocracy: The Legislation and the Reality of Spanish Urbanism in Barcelona, 1939-1976." *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 3 (2011): 331-54.

Gómez Alén, José, and Rubén Vega García, eds. *Materiales para el estudio de la abogacía antifranquista*. Madrid: GPS, 2010.

Gonzalo, Constantino. "El movimiento vecinal español frente a la OTAN: el caso de Valladolid." *Historia* 396 no. 2 (2011): 247-63.

Gooch, Anthony. "A Surrealistic Referendum: Spain and NATO." *Government and Opposition* 21, no. 03 (1986): 300-16.

Graham, Helen. *The War and its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century*. Apollo Books, 2012.

Groves, Tamar. *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Grugel, Jean. *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*. Political analysis. Second edition ed. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Guibernau, Montserrat. *Catalan Nationalism, Francoism, Transition and Democracy*. London: Routledge, 2004.

Guillamet, Jaume. *La premsa comarcal: Un model català de periodisme popular*. Barcelona: Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat, 1983.

Gunther, Richard. *Democracy in Modern Spain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Gunther, Richard, Giacomo Sani, and Goldie Shabad. *Spain After Franco: The Making of a Competitive Party System* [in en]. University of California Press, 1988.

Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Heller, Agnes. "The Year 1968 and its Results." In *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion, and Utopia*, edited by Vladimir Tismaneanu: Central European University Press, 2011.

Hispán Iglesias de Ussel, Pablo. *La política en el régimen de Franco entre 1957 y 1969: proyectos, conflictos y luchas por el poder*. Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2006.

Holman, Otto. *Integrating Southern Europe: EC Expansion and the Transnationalization of Spain* [in en]. Routledge, 1996.

Horn, Gerd-Rainer. *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976* [in English]. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Horn, Gerd-Rainer, and Padraic Kenney, eds. *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.

Humlebæk, Carsten. "Party Attitudes Towards the Authoritarian Past in Spanish Democracy." *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010): 413-28.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* [in English]. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Inglehart, Ronald. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics* [in English]. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.

Jacobson, Stephen. "Navigating Divisions between Linguistic Communities: during the Spanish Transition to Democracy (1975-1982): The Spanish Socialist Party in Catalunya." In *Institutional Change and Stability Conflicts, Transitions and Social Values*, edited by Andreas Gémes, Florencia Peyrou and Ioannis Xydopoulos: Edizioni Plus-Pisa University Press, 2008.

Jamieson, Alison. *The Heart Attacked: Terrorism and Conflict in the Italian state*. London: Boyars, 1989.

Jerez Farrán, Carlos, and Samuel Amago, eds. *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010.

Jiménez Losantos, Federico. *La ciudad que fue Barcelona, años 70* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2007.

Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin Press, 2005.

Juliá, Santos. "Echar al olvido. Memoria y amnistía en la transición." *Claves de razón práctica*, no. 129 (2003): 14-24.

Jutglar, Antoni. *La inmigración en Cataluña* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Edición de Materiales, 1968.

Kenney, Padraic. *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe 1989*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Kornetis, Kostis. *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the Long 1960s in Greece*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013.

Kurth, James, and James F Petras. *Mediterranean Paradoxes: Politics and Social Structures in Southern Europe*. Berg Publishers, 1993.

La época socialista: política y sociedad (1982-1996). Ayer. 2011.

Laiz, Consuelo. *La Lucha final: los partidos de la izquierda radical durante la transición española*. Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 1995.

Linz, Juan J, and Alfred Stepan. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe*. Baltimore: JHU Press, 1996.

Lo Cascio, Paola. *Nacionalisme i autogovern: Catalunya, 1980-2003*. Recerca i pensament. Catarroja ; Barcelona: Afers, 2008.

López Ródenas, Marcelo. *Historia social de la Santa Coloma moderna: vida cotidiana y conflicto social, 1954/1979*. Santa Coloma de Gramenet: Regiduria de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Santa Coloma de Gramenet, 1982.

"Los suburbios: 1957." Paper presented at the Los suburbios, 1957: compendio de las ponencias y coloquios desarrollados durante la 'Semana del suburbio', 1957.

Madueño, Eugeni. *Grama. Una experiencia insolita de periodisme popular*. Barcelona: Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya, 1988.

———. *Xavier Valls: L'Arquitecte de la solidaritat*. Barcelona: CEMUT, 1988.

Maier, Charles. "Conclusion: 1968—Did It Matter?". In *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion, and Utopia*, edited by Vladimir Tismaneanu: Central European University Press, 2011.

Mangen, Stephen P. *Spanish Society After Franco: Regime Transition and the Welfare State* [in en]. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

Maravall, José María. *La política de la transición*. Vol. 46: Taurus Madrid, 1981.

Marín i Corbera, Martí. *De immigrants [sic] a ciutadans: la immigració a Catalunya, del franquisme a la recuperació de la democràcia*. Barcelona [etc.: Diputació de Barcelona], 2004.

———. *Els ajuntaments franquistes a Catalunya : poli´tica i administracio´ municipal, 1938-1979*. 1. ed. ed. Lleida: Page`s Editors, 2000.

———, ed. *Memòries del viatge: 1940-1975*. 1. ed ed. Valls: Cossetània Edicions, 2009.

Marsé, Juan. *El amante bilingüe* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Planeta, 1990.

———. *Ultimas tardes con Teresa* [in Spanish]. Barcelana: Editorial Seix Barral, 1966.

Marshall, T. H. *Citizenship and Social Class, and Other Essays* [in English]. Cambridge University Press, 1950.

Marti´, Francisco. *Barcelona a dónde vas?* [4. ed. ed. Barcelona: Editorial Dirosa, 1974.

Martín García, Oscar José , and Manuel Ortiz Heras. *Claves internacionales en la Transición española* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2010.

Martín-Cabrera, Luis. *Radical Justice: Spain and the Southern Cone Beyond Market and State*. Lanham, Md.: Bucknell University Press ; Co-published with the Rowman & Littlefield Pub. Group, 2011.

Martínez, Carmen González. "El tránsito de la dictadura a la democracia en Murcia. Acción colectiva, respuestas institucionales y posicionamientos políticos." *Ayer*, no. 79 (2010): 87-120.

Martinez-Vazquez, Jorge, and José Félix Sanz-Sanz. *Fiscal Reform in Spain: Accomplishments and Challenges* [in English]. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2007.

Maxwell, Kenneth, and Steven L Spiegel. *The New Spain: From Isolation to Influence*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press 1994.

Maxwell, Richard. *The Spectacle of Democracy: Spanish Television, Nationalism, and Political Transition*. Minneapolis Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles G. Tilly. *Dynamics of Contention* [in English]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

McDonogh, Gary W. *Conflict in Catalonia: Images of an Urban Society* [in English]. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, University of Florida Press, 1986.

McDonough, Peter, Samuel Henry Barnes, and Antonio López Pina. *The Cultural Dynamics of Democratization in Spain*. Cornell University Press, 1998.

McNeill, Donald. *Urban Change and the European Left: Tales from the New Barcelona*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Miley, Thomas Jeffrey. *Nacionalismo y polítiica lingúistica: el caso de Cataluña* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Centro de Estudios PolÌticos y Constitucionales, 2006.

Molinero, Carme. *Els Anys del PSUC: el partit de l'antifranquisme (1956-1981)*. Barcelona: Avenç, 2010.

Molinero, Carme, and Pere Ysàs, eds. *Construint la ciutat democràtica: el moviment veïnal durant el tardofranquisme i la transició*, Antrazyt; Història, vol. 343. Barcelona: Icaria: Memorial Democràtic 2010.

———. *La anatomía del franquismo: de la supervivencia a la agonía, 1945-1977* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Cri´tica, 2008.

Monés i Pujol-Busquets, Jordi. *Els Primers quinze anys de Rosa Sensat*. Rosa Sensat. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1981.

Montero García, Feliciano. *La Acción Católica y el franquismo*. Madrid: UNED, 2000.

Montero Garcí´a, Feliciano. *La iglesia: de la colaboracio´n a la disidencia (1956-1975)*. Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 2009.

Montero, José Ramón, Richard Gunther, and Mariano Torcal. "Democracy in Spain: Legitimacy, Discontent, and Disaffection." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 32, no. 3 (1997): 124-60.

Morán, Gregorio. *Adolfo Suárez: historia de una ambición*. 1. ed. ed. Barcelona: Planeta, 1979.

———. *El precio de la transición*. 1. ed. ed. Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1991.

———. *Miseria y grandeza del Partido Comunista de España, 1939-1985*. 1a ed. ed. Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1986.

Müller, Jan-Werner "What Did They Think They Were Doing? The Political Thought of the Western European 1968 Revisited." In *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion, and Utopia*, edited by Vladimir Tismaneanu: Central European University Press, 2011.

Muro, Diego. "The Basque Experience of the Transition to Democracy." In *Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition: The Spanish Model*, edited by Gregorio Alonso and Diego Muro. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Navarro, Vicenç. *El Estado de bienestar en España*. Tecnos Madrid, 2004.

Ortuño Anaya, Pilar. *European Socialists and Spain: The Transition to Democracy, 1959-77* [in English]. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Pack, Sasha D. *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*. 1st ed ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Pala, Giaime. *El PSUC: l'antifranquisme i la política d'aliances a Catalunya (1956-1977)*. Base històrica. Barcelona: Base, 2011.

———. "Una semilla de discordia. La entrada de Bandera Roja en el PSUC." *HMiC: història moderna i contemporània*, no. 9 (2011): 140-63.

Paniagua de Paz, Fernando. "Círculos de formación de cuadros - grupos obreros autónomos: los primeros pasos de la autonomía obrera en Barcelona (1969-1973)." Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, 2005.

Pardo Sanz, Rosa María. "La política exterior de los gobierno de Felipe González: ¿un nuevo papel para España en el escenario internacional?". *Ayer*, no. 84 (2011): 73-97.

Patón, Juan Manuel. “El paper dels municipis.” In *El moviment per la pau a Catalunya: passat, present i futur*, edited by Enric Prat, 79-86. Barcelona: Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona, 2007.

Pérez Ledesma, Manuel. “‘Nuevos’y ‘viejos’ movimientos sociales en la Transición.” In *La Transición, treinta años después*, edited by Pere Ysa`s and Carme Molinero, 117-51. Barcelona: Península, 2006.

Pérez Quintana, Vicente, and Pablo Sánchez León, eds. *Memoria ciudadana y movimiento vecinal: Madrid, 1968-2008*. Madrid: Libros de la Catarata, 2008.

Pevehouse, Jon C. *Democracy From Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Pichardo, Nelson A. “New Social Movements: A Critical Review.” [In English]. *Annual Review of Sociology* 23, no. 1 (1997).

Pojmann, Wendy, ed. *Migration and Activism in Europe since 1945*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Powell, Charles T. *El amigo americano: España y Estados Unidos: de la dictadura a la democracia*. Galaxia Gutenberg, 2011.

Prat, Enric, ed. *El moviment per la pau a Catalunya: passat, present i futur*. Barcelona: Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona, 2007.

———. *Moviéndose por la paz: de Pax Christi a las movilizaciones contra la guerra*. Barcelona: Harcer cop., 2006.

Preston, Paul. *El zorro rojo: la vida de Santiago Carrillo* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Debate Ed., 2013.

———. *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain* [in English]. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2012.

Puelles Benítez, Manuel de. *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea*. 2a. ed ed. Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1986.

Puig i Valls, Angelina. *De Pedro Martínez a Sabadell: L'emigració una realitat no exclusivament econòmica: 1920-1975*. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1990.

Pujol, Jordi. *La immigració, problema i esperança de Catalunya*. 1 ed. Barcelona: Editorial Nova Terra, 1976.

Quiroga, Alejandro. “Salvation by Betrayal: The Left and the Spanish Nation.” In *Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition : The Spanish Model*, edited by Gregorio Alonso and Diego Muro. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Quirosa-Cheyrouze y Muñoz, Rafael. *Prensa y democracia: los medios de comunicación en la transición* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2009.

Radcliff, Pamela Beth. “La iglesia católica y la transición a la democracia: un nuevo punto de partida.” In *Religión y política en la España contemporánea*, edited by Carolyn P. Boyd, 209-30: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2007.

———. “La Transición Española de una perspectiva comparativa.” In *¿Es España diferente? Una mirada comparativa (siglos XIX y XX)*, edited by Nigel Townson: Taurus Ediciones, 2010.

———. *Making Democratic Citizens in Spain: Civil Society and the Popular Origins of the Transition, 1960-78*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Ramos Pinto, Pedro. *Lisbon Rising: Urban Social Movements in the Portuguese Revolution, 1974-75* [in English]. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.

Resina, Joan Ramon, ed. *Disremembering the Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000.

Richards, Michael. *After the Civil War Making Memory and Re-making Spain since 1936* [in English]. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

———. *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945* [in English]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Riera, Ignasi. *El Baix Llobregat : 15 años de luchas obreras*. 1 ed. Barcelona: Editorial Blume, 1976.

Rochon, Thomas R. *Mobilizing for Peace: The Antinuclear Movements in Western Europe*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Ros, Adela. “Being Andalusian in Catalonia: A Challenge to Nation-State Construction.” University of Californa, 2001.

Ross, Kristin. *May '68 and its Afterlives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Ruiz, David, and J. Babiano, eds. *Historia de comisiones obreras (1958-1988)*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de Espan˜a Editores, 1993.

Sabater i Gracia, Jordi. *L’ICESB (1951-2001): Cronica de mig segle al servei de l’Església i la societat catalanes*. Barcelona: Editorial Claret, 2002.

Sánchez León, Pablo. “Radicalism Without Representation: On the Character of Social Movements in the Spanish Transition to Democracy.” In *Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition: The Spanish Model*, edited by Gregorio Alonso and Diego Muro. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Sánchez Soler, Mariano. *La transición sangrienta: una historia violenta del proceso democrático en España, 1975-1983* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Peni´nsula, 2010.

Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio, and Paloma Aguilar. “Terrorist Violence and Popular Mobilization: The Case of the Spanish Transition to Democracy.” *Politics & Society* (2009).

Santacana i Torres, Carles. *El franquisme i els catalans: els informes del Consejo Nacional del Movimiento (1962-1971)*. Barcelona: Afers, 2000.

Santesmases, Antonio García. *Repensar la izquierda: evolución ideológica del socialismo en la España actual*. Madrid: Anthropos Editorial, 1993.

Sanz Oller, Julio. *Entre el fraude y la esperanza. Las Comisiones obreras de Barcelona*. Paris: Ruedo Ibérico, 1972.

Sartorius, Nicolás, and Alberto Sabio Alcutén. *El final de la dictadura: la conquista de la democracia en España (noviembre de 1975-junio de 1977)*. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2007.

Sayrach, Jaume P. *En el fondo: 1965-1979: Parroquia de Sant Joan Baptista: Santa Coloma de Gramanet*. Santa Coloma de Gramanet: Fòrum-Grama, 2002.

———. *L'Esperança d'una Església pobra i evangèlica: (Santa Coloma de Gramenet), 1965-1980*. Santa Coloma de Gramenet: Fòrum-Grama, 2007.

Scott, Alan. *Ideology and the New Social Movements* [in English]. London; Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990.

Seidman, Michael. *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004.

Serra, Gabriela. "Ara fa vint anys ens van 'atlantizar'." In *El moviment per la pau a Catalunya: passat, present i futur*, edited by Enric Prat, 89-94. Barcelona: Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona, 2007.

Shafir, Gershon. *Immigrants and Nationalists: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation in Catalonia, the Basque Country, Latvia, and Estonia*. SUNY Press, 1995.

Share, Donald. *Dilemmas of Social Democracy: The Spanish Socialist Workers Party in the 1980s*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Silva, Emilio. *Las fosas de Franco: los republicanos que el dictador dejo´ en las cunetas* [in Spanish]. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2003.

Soja, Edward W. *Seeking Spatial Justice* [in English]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Suri, Jeremi. *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Tarrow, Sidney G. *Strangers at the Gates: Movements and States in Contentious Politics* [in English]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Termes, Josep. *La immigració a Catalunya i altres estudis d'història del nacionalisme català*. 1a ed. ed. Barcelona: Empu´ries, 1984.

Threlfall, Monica. "Reassessing the Role of Civil Society Organizations in the Transition to Democracy in Spain." *Democratization* 15, no. 5 (2008): 930-51.

Tismaneanu, Vladimir. "Introduction." In *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion, and Utopia*, edited by Vladimir Tismaneanu: Central European University Press, 2011.

Townson, Nigel, ed. *Spain Transformed: The Late Franco Dictatorship, 1959-75*. Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Val Cid, Consuelo. *Opinión pública y opinión publicada: los españoles y el referéndum de la OTAN*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1996.

Varo Moral, Nadia. "La conflictividad laboral femenina durante el franquismo en la provincia de Barcelona." Madrid, Fundación I de Mayo, DOC3/2005, 2004.

Vázquez Montalbán, Manuel. *Asesinato en el comite central* [in English]. Barcelona: Planeta, 2004.

———. *Barcelonas* [in English]. London: Verso, 1992.

———. *Crónica sentimental de la transición*. 1a ed. ed. Barcelona: Planeta, 1985.

———. *Los alegres muchachos de Atzavara* [in Spanish]. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1987.

Vilarós, Teresa M. *El mono del desencanto: una crítica cultural de la transición española, 1973-1993*. Sociología y política. 1. ed ed. México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1998.

Wittner, Lawrence S. *The Struggle Against the Bomb*. Stanford nuclear age series. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Woolard, Kathryn Ann. *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford University Press, 1989.

———. *The politics of Language status planning: 'Normalization' in Catalonia*. na, 1986.

Wright, Steve. *Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism*. London: Pluto, 2002.

Wright, Sue. *Language, Democracy, and Devolution in Catalonia* [in English]. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1999.

Ysàs, Pere. *Disidencia y subversión: la lucha del régimen franquista por su supervivencia, 1960-1975*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2004.

———. "La transición española. Luces y sombras." *Ayer*, no. 79 (2010): 31-57.

———. "Ni modèlica ni immodèlica. La transició des de la historiografia." *Franquisme & Transició. Revista d'Història i de Cultura*, no. 1 (2013).