A Violent Spectacle: Terrorism in Contemporary Peninsular Drama

by

Tara Elizabeth Downs

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Department of Spanish and Portuguese
University of Toronto

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Abstract

Terrorism and violence have long been a part of Spanish history and culture, although the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries brought a notable increase of these phenomena with the Spanish Civil War, Franco dictatorship, the Basque conflict, and the Madrid train bombings in 2004. Prior to the early 1990s – 2010s, however, there was not much evidence of this in the cultural sphere---especially on the stage, which has always served an important role in Spain. This dissertation examines the reasons behind the amplified experience of violence and terrorism in Spain in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries through a look at significant historical events leading up to and during these periods and notes the quotidian nature of violence in Spain at this time due to its repeated nature. This is amplified by a parallel examination of the history of theatre in Spain during the same time in order to demonstrate the effects of political upheaval on both the production (censorship placed on texts, etc.) and performance (availability of funds, actors, and spaces) of dramas. After establishing this historical connection between theatre and violence in Spain, I address the intersection of the two institutions as observed in the works of contemporary Spanish playwrights. I divide my analysis of these dramas into three thematic sections, all of which pertain to terrorism: the representations
of control, ideology, and alterity. Through my treatment of these plays, I argue that frequent interaction with violence and terrorism affects the individual and the cultural identity of those forced to experience it. Additionally, I propose that the playwrights in my study employ the theatrical genre as a form of violence itself in which to combat current societal norms and responses to violence, urging the public to “think outside the box” and find a new way to deal with the issues at hand. In other words, I suggest that terrorism, like other phenomena present in society, is a social construct; it is relative, and most importantly, it is not a fixed entity. Spanish identity does not have to “go hand in hand” with violence. It can change.
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A Violent Spectacle: Terrorism in Contemporary Peninsular Drama

INTRODUCTION

Despite the increased presence of terrorism in the media after the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 and later the Madrid train bombings on March 11, 2004, terrorism is not unique to the twenty-first century. Rather, counter-terrorism laws and public safety measures began to appear in Western countries such as the US, UK, and Spain in the 1960s (Jackson 52). The creation of laws coincides with the beginning of youth mobilization movements worldwide, and the founding of terrorist organizations such as ETA (1959) and the IRA (1969). Moreover, the media started framing political violence as “terrorism” as early as the 1970s (Zulaika and Douglass 45). This is evidenced in a study of North American and European newspaper indexes by Ronald Crelinsten, to which Zulaika and Douglass refer in their Terror and Taboo. According to Zulaika and Douglass, Crelinsten notes that prior to 1970 only the Reader’s Guide to Periodical Literature included “terrorism” as a heading. The New York Times Index incorporated it for the first time in 1970 and had four citations. It was not until 1972 that the heading began to appear with more frequency in more indexes. That year, for example, the New York Times Index had 64 citations (46). As a result of the increasing popularity of the term, the creation of cultural productions such as novels, films, television programs, and theatrical works with terrorism as a subject increased in many Western countries (46).

During the 1970s, Spain did not experience a similar surge in cultural production about the theme of terrorism. This difference is due to the censorship inflicted on the Spanish public by
the Franco regime. Censorship affected daily life in Spain in a variety of ways, including the outlawing of the use of regional languages and a re-structuring of the educational system. In addition, post-war censorship also affected the reception of information via artistic and media outlets, such as the news, cinema and theatre. For example, newspapers and news broadcasts were prohibited from reporting on certain topics of violence, including crimes. Cinematic and theatrical pieces were also banned from discussing various themes, including violence and anything that promoted hatred between different groups. Officials were tasked with ensuring that writers and actors obeyed the rules. For the theatre world, this meant that inspectors would be sent to watch rehearsals and first performances of plays—given that performances change from time to time. The taboo upon the discussion of terrorism in Spanish cultural discourse, such as the media and cultural productions, began to lessen during the end of Spain’s transition to democracy which occurred between 1975-1982. This is evident in the increase in published cultural productions, such as literary and theatrical works, which explicitly deal with the theme of terrorism during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Nevertheless, I argue that despite the eventual decrease in censorship, the aforementioned repression during the post-war years and the rising Basque conflict, caused terrorism to become an everyday experience in Spain.

Even in the absence of terrorist attacks, terrorism becomes everyday because terrorist actions themselves are only part of the problem. The fear and the anticipation of the next violent

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1 Daniele Conversi’s *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, César Oliva’s *El teatro desde 1936*, Julio Martínez Velasco’s *El teatro de la libertad: sofocado en el franquismo* and Eduardo Ruíz Bautista’s *Tiempo de censura: la represión editorial durante el franquismo* provide great insight into the issues of censorship during the Franco dictatorship.
act are also contributing factors to the ordinariness of violence in Spain. The playwrights included in this project allude to this issue throughout their plays. For example, in Belbel’s *Blood* a woman—the wife of a prominent political figure—is kidnapped by an unnamed terrorist organization. The other characters, including two police officers, as well as the victim’s husband and his mistress, are aware of her kidnapping. They are also aware of the organization’s process of amputating up to four different body parts and distributing them across town, while awaiting the payment of the ransom; however, they do not know when or where the woman’s body parts will appear and this creates a sense of panic. Furthermore, in Barrena’s *Eusk* the several groups of characters are aware of being in close proximity to terrorists as they live in the Basque Country, a conflicted region. None of the groups of characters are sure as to which of their neighbours (if any) are terrorists. This is clear, for example, in the case of Ana and Felix who are newcomers to the Basque Country and begin to receive threats and question one another. It is also evident in the case of one father who has to be wary of what he says in front of his daughter for fear that she may denounce him. These are two theatrical instances that I analyze in depth

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2 This is evident through the examination of various stories in the press. For example, sites for news companies such as BBC, ElPeriódico.com, and 20minutos.es have articles listing the chronology of terrorist attacks (primarily perpetrated by ETA) in Spain. Others discuss the influence of fear and anticipation of attacks in Spain and Europe in general. There has been a particular increase in such articles in the wake of the ISIS attacks in Paris on November 13, 2015. Some examples of these articles include Raquel Villaécija’s “¿Puedes no ir a trabajar por miedo a un atentado? En Francia sí, en España no,” J.M. Olmo et al.’s “La Inteligencia militar alerta de un posible atentado en España similar al de París,” Pablo Muñoz and Javier Pagola “El miedo se propaga en las redes sociales,” Vice.com’s “¿Reconozco que tengo un poco de miedo’: reacciones de los europeos a los atentados de Bruselas,” Greta Hamann’s “¿Cómo manejar el miedo a un ataque terrorista?,” Lainformación.com’s “El miedo, un peligro para una sociedad debilitada tras los atentados en París,” and José María Olmo’s “España se prepara para enfrentarse a una ola de atentados como los de París.”
during this project. Barrena details other situations like these as well, all of which put friends and families on edge; nobody knows who they can trust and they have to modify their behaviour for fear of being reported to the authorities or terrorist organizations.

The sense of the ordinariness of public fear and its effects on civilian life are evident in the works of scholars such as Joanna Bourke. Writing about fear during World War II, she notes that “During the air raids it was the surprise elements of the attacks that proved the most frightening. This was why people coped better with the conventional raids of the early years of the war than with the later attacks by V-bombs which did not provide any warning” (229-230). Bourke’s observation demonstrates the value of “security” provided by the habitual practice of the raids. That is, despite the violence of the early raids, their routine nature offered a sense of security or certainty because in the very least they were expected events and people knew how to respond to them. Ben Highmore highlights this idea suggesting that not only can anything become “ordinary” if you get used to it (Ordinary Lives 6), but also that “ordinary life is the arena of fear and threat as much as it is of reassurance and safety” (20). Begoña Aretxaga addresses this sense of the ordinariness of violence in Spain in her book States of Terror. She writes that while growing up in the Basque Country she learned that terror “was not the product of estrangement but of familiarity, not a force but a state of being, one deeply immersed in the everyday order of things” (128). She elaborates her explanation of the notion of terror as part of the everyday by detailing the situation in the Basque Country during the 1990s. Aretxaga observes that both the Basque police and youth involved in kale borroka3 (a form of urban violence by young people with a political motivation which was particularly popular in the 1990s

3Some examples of kale borroka attacks consist of burning trash containers, attacking the property of people belonging to certain political parties, rioting at demonstrations and the use of Molotov cocktails. Other common forms of kale borroka violence include burning flags, burning cars, and attacking banks or ATMs. In the article “Vuelve el miedo: 33 actos de ‘kale borroka’ desde el ‘fin’ de ETA,” J.M. Zuloaga details examples of street violence that has occurred since October, 2011.
resorted to diverse “technologies of control.” The police utilized street video surveillance and wore shirts with hoods in order to conceal their identity. The youth, in turn, employed mimetic forms of disguise, including the use of hooded shirts, as well as pirate radios and internet networks. Because both sides used similar strategies—which made it possible for them to manage who was aware of their true identities and who was not—it was impossible to distinguish who was who on the street. This lead to the spread of mirroring stories of violence by both sides through distinct social networks, including informal conversations and the mass media, and the generation of a sense of fear and distrust which “dominated the everyday order of things” (Aretxaga 145).

It is important to note the presence of terror in everyday life in Spain which Aretxaga and other scholars mention. In his book *Everyday Life* Michael Sheringham asserts that “the everyday invokes something that holds [...] things together, their continuity and rhythm or lack of it, something that is adverbial, modal, and ultimately therefore ethical because it has to do with individual and collective *art de vivre*” (361). The everyday serves as an “adverb” in that it describes how individuals and collectives relate to one another. As a result, it is also “ethical” because it serves as a sort of code which determines what is and is not “ordinary.” This code, however, is not concrete. As Highmore indicates, “the ordinary is never set in stone: ordinariness is a process (like habit) where things (practices, feelings, conditions and so on) pass from unusual to usual, from irregular to regular, and can move the other way (what was an ordinary part of my life is no more)” (*Ordinary Lives* 6). Thus, the everyday is relational. It differs depending on the individuals or groups involved. In addition to its “descriptive” quality, another crucial characteristic inherent in the everyday is its location in the present, which is evident in

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4 See Jerome Montes and Antonio Cazorla Sánchez.
the adaptability that Highmore observes. The everyday’s existence in the present is significant because it suggests a sense of continuous flow. As a result, the everyday cannot really be history or a stale part of the past because it occurs in a period of time that is ongoing.

Given this refusal of the everyday to become history, terrorism’s transformation into an everyday experience in Spain is of particular significance. For the purposes of this project, I define terrorism as a special type of warfare with both political and psychological aspects that is used to achieve a specific political goal. It places a heavy emphasis on the manipulation of its targets’ psychology, with the explicit intention of inspiring fear. During the occurrence of exceptional events, such as terrorist attacks, fear can cause instability and disrupt the routine of everyday life. However, ongoing, systemized terror, or the ongoing threat of terror, produces a climate of fear in which the experience of fear transforms into habit (Highmore 168; Sloterdijk 28).

In this project, I examine this intersection of terrorism and the everyday in contemporary Spain through its representation in dramatic texts produced during the 1990s-2010s. I chose this historical period as a point of departure because it is a particularly noteworthy stage in the context of terrorism in Spain. For example, despite its foundation in 1959, it is only since 1981 that the Basque nationalist group ETA started announcing a series of truces and ceasefires. Between the years of 1996 and 2011 there were at least nine declarations of such, with the most recent occurring on October 20, 2011. The increased amount of treaties demonstrates a decline in the amount of legitimacy and support extended to ETA and the way it manages its affairs. In addition to the anti-state terrorism perpetrated by nationalist groups like ETA, Spain also experienced state terrorism by the GAL (a government-lead antiterrorist organization created to

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5 See “Las treguas de ETA” on the La dictadura del terror website by Elmundo.es <http://www.elmundo.es/eta/negociaciones/treguas_eta.html>
fight ETA) between 1983-1987. Moreover, while the GAL’s activity occurred before the 1990s it was not until early in that decade that their activities truly came to light as a result of a judicial inquiry of the organization in 1994. On top of this mixture between state and anti-state terrorism, Spain suffered international terrorist activity at the beginning of the twenty-first century with the Madrid train bombings by Al-Qaeda on March 11, 2004. The bombings are significant because of their physical and emotional impact on the country; however, the events are also influential because the reactions to the bombings evidenced a changing mindset within the Spanish state regarding the terrorist phenomenon. This change was clear in the election of Zapatero as prime minister over Aznar (the original favourite) in the 2004 elections.⁶

The late 1980s and early 1990s were also a crucial period in Spain’s history because they symbolise the country’s modernization and emergence as a democratic nation. Spain joined the European Union in 1986 and then, in 1992 held several monumental events, including the Olympic Games in Barcelona, the World Fair in Seville, and the quincentennial commemoration of Columbus’s voyage to the Americas. Additionally, Madrid was also named European Capital of Culture. The numerous celebrations and recognitions were important and popular moments intended to mark Spain’s coming of age as a modern country and signal the end of the period of transition; however, whether or not they achieved these goals remains a point of contention given that some scholars, such as Helen Graham, believe they also “tended to neglect the past and glorify the present” (406). That is, Graham argues that the festivities forgot to take into consideration how the country had achieved its current state. This take on the events contrasts with the tactics of the Franco dictatorship, which glorified the past in the hopes of returning the country to its former Golden Age. Both of these strategies are problematic because they ignore a

portion of the country’s history and inhibit the process of the construction of a cultural identity (Graham 418). Regardless of how one views the events in Spain in 1992, though, one thing remains certain: they brought Spain into the spotlight and put an emphasis on the image of Spanish culture while it was still in the process of being redefined.

The dramas studied in this project include *Interacciones* (2005) by Ignacio Amestoy, *Eusk* (2002) by Koldo Barrena, *Blood* (1998) by Sergi Belbel, *Ello dispara* (1990) by Fermín Cabal, *Burundanga* (2011) by Jordi Galcerán, *El Tesoro del predicador* (2005) by Juan Alberto López and ¡Han matado a Prokopius! (1996) by Alfonso Sastre. Through the representation of the terrorist phenomenon and its intersection with the everyday each of these plays comment upon the construction of cultural identity.\(^7\) Some examples of this intersection of violence and the everyday in these plays include the representations of *kale borroka* attacks, such as the burning of cars in *Eusk* by the characters Koldo and Txomin, as well as the representation of domestic violence in *El Tesoro del predicador*, an issue which has affected Spain for decades.\(^8\) I argue that other instances of the mixture of terrorism and the everyday are evident in the casual manner in which violence is performed. For example, in *Ello dispara* the characters discuss the protocol of torture indifferently while watching television or after having sexual relations. The indifference that the characters display in each of these instances of violence demonstrates the that terrorism and violence had become a quotidian experience.

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\(^7\) For the purposes of this project, I define “cultural identity” as the identity of a group or culture – or that of an individual pertaining to a specific group. This identity is influenced by a variety of factors, including language, education, religion, nationality, etc.

\(^8\) In their article “Professional Opinions on Violence against Women and Femicide in Spain” Rosaura Gonzalez Mendez and Juana Dolores Santana-Hernandez note that there has been an upward trend of women killed by their partners. This number rose from 54 deaths in 1999 to 73 in 2010 (42). For more information on domestic violence in Spain, see also “Intimate Partner Violence in Spain” by Juanjo Medina-Ariza and Rosemary Barberet.
In addition to the intersection of terrorism and the everyday, the combination of terrorism with theatre is fundamental to this project because as Frank Furedi suggests, “fear gains its meaning through the mode of interpretation offered by the narrative culture” (20). Fear is situational. The conceptualization of fear—who/what to fear and how to do so—is dependent upon how it is framed in cultural discourse. This is why, for example, cultural productions were severely censored during the Franco dictatorship. By prohibiting criticism or representations of the regime, Franco aimed to demonstrate that there was nothing fearful or negative about his government. This also explains why both opposing armies in the Civil War (the nationalists and the republicans) and terrorist organizations such as ETA have their own publications. Discourse, such as theatre and the media, is used as a tool in order to shape the thoughts and identity of a nation. It is important to note, as Richard Jackson indicates astutely, that the depiction of events in discourse as “fearful” is not a neutral or objective representation, but rather the product of a series of choices (55). Nevertheless, the repetition of dominant narratives encourages audiences to identify with certain characters in a story over others (Jackson 55).

Anthony Kubiak addresses the formative nature of theatrical discourse in conjunction with fear, stating that “theatre is not merely a means by which social behaviour is engineered, it is the site of violence, the locus of terror’s emergence as myth, law, religion, economy, gender, class or race” (4-5). Theatre is not only used as a vehicle in order to contemplate pre-existing ideas of national and cultural identity, but it is also used proleptically to help shape the future conceptualization of identity as well. As a result, theatre does not merely serve as a means of artistically representing violence. It is also a form of violence in itself due to its ability to enforce and negate ideas. This is especially true of dramas, such as those included in this project, which explicitly consider violent and political subject matter. They demonstrate the performance of
terror, as well as reactions to it. Jean Baudrillard alludes to this impact of the performance of simulated violence in *Simulacra and Simulation*. He provides the example of organizing and performing a fake bank hold-up. He observes that no matter how intent the organizer is on maintaining the falsity of the situation something will inevitably go wrong because someone will end up believing it. For example, police will fire real shots or tellers will pay real ransom. He adds that, regarding acts of terror, it is now impossible to distinguish between illusion and the real. He states that “all the holdups, airplane hijackings, etc. are now in some sense simulation holdups in that they are already inscribed in the decoding and orchestration rituals of the media, anticipated in their presentation and their possible consequences” (16). In other words, even real acts of terror have become spectacular as a result of their framing in the media. This in turn creates a cycle of the spectacular with “simulations” modelled after modified real acts and vice versa. Furthermore, because these simulations are so “realistic,” they also continue to inspire a certain degree of fear – despite distancing themselves from the real through their falsity. I employ this notion of the similarity between the “real” and the “spectacular” in my project. However, returning to the staged hold-up as an example, I also argue that because this theatrical violence can have real effects, it is also a form of real violence.

The results of this violence and the relationships between terrorism, theatre, and the everyday in/on contemporary Spain are vital because they show that both terrorism and identity are social constructs through the recurring themes of the relations between terrorism and identity, terrorism and temporality, and the search for “authenticity” (or the juxtaposition between real and imaginary/ “fake”). However, despite the significance of the connections between these phenomena, there are currently no other studies on the subject. What is more, there remains a considerably large lacuna concerning the state of scholarship on individual topics, such as
everyday life and terrorism in Spain. Some examples of studies of the quotidian in Spain include Antonio Cazorla Sánchez’s *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco’s Spain 1939-1975*, and Gavin Smith’s “*Formal Culture, Practical Sense and the Structures of Fear in Spain.*” Begoña Aretxaga also mentions some aspects of everyday life in her study on violence in the Basque Country. Nevertheless, most of the few works concerning everyday life in Spain pertain to the civil war, the post-war years or earlier historical periods. There is nothing specifically written about the quotidian in Spain during the 1990s-2010s.

The lack of critical scholarship on terrorism in Spain is particularly concerning especially given the surge of theoretical studies on terrorism after the events of September 11, 2001. Most of these investigations focus mainly on the symbolic nature of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the fact that the occurrence of these events in the USA was exceptional. For example, Jean Baudrillard alludes to the extraordinariness of 9/11 by stating that the attacks represented the fantasies of the Western subconscious depicted in countless disaster movies adding that “at a pinch, we can say that they *did it*, but we *wished* for it” (5). In contrast with the American experience of terrorism at the time when Baudrillard’s “*Spirit of Terrorism*” was written, the Spanish experience was not extra-ordinary. The occurrence of terrorist attacks in Spain was not as “unexpected” as the attacks on the World Trade Center were for the United States; instead, many aspects of the terrorist phenomenon in Spain, such as the formation of organizations like the GAL and ETA, are interrelated. Furthermore, while the Madrid train bombings were similar in their symbolic nature to the events of 9/11, not all instances of terrorism in Spain exist principally in the symbolic sphere. Historians such as Daniele Conversi, Paddy Woodsworth, Jan Mansvelt Beck, André Lecours, Fernando Reinares, and José Olmeda address these characteristics of terrorism in Spain in their touchstone works which discuss ETA, the GAL, and
the Spanish “War on Terror.” These sources provide detailed and necessary accounts of the state of terrorism in Spain, including information regarding the initial formation of ETA and the GAL and the actions of both organizations; however, they do not recompense the lack of theoretical texts regarding the experience of terrorism in Spain.

In addition to the lack of criticism regarding terrorism in Spain, there is also a limited amount of critical studies concerning terrorism in Spanish theatre. This is principally due to the inclusion of explicit terrorism in Spanish theatre being a relatively recent phenomenon. The most extensive study on it is Manuela Fox’s article “Teatro español y la dramatización del terrorismo: Estado de la cuestión” in which she briefly outlines the history of terrorism in Spain and provides an overview of Spanish plays about terrorism including “acontextual” dramas, as well as works about the Madrid train bombings, 9/11, ETA and the GAL. However, while this article provides an extensive overview, the analysis of the texts and their implications is rather limited. There are also a handful of articles pertaining to the works of specific dramatists such as Fox’s “El terrorismo en el teatro de Ignacio Amestoy: De lo particular a lo universal” and Sharon Feldman’s “Theatre of Pain: Sergi Belbel,” which briefly address Amestoy’s *Interacciones* and Belbel’s *Blood* respectively. Laura López Sánchez’s article “La barbarie del 11-M en el teatro español” also comments briefly upon each of the plays from the *Once voces contra la barbarie de 11-M* anthology, the only collection of plays about the Madrid train bombings. Due to the limited of bibliography on terrorism in Spanish theatre, I have also consulted works such as the aforementioned *Stages of Terror* by Kubiak and Lucy Nevitt’s *Theatre and Violence* which provide general discussions on the combination of violence and theatre, though often in the contexts of medieval and mythological theatrical works. To further address this disparity, I include a literature review chapter in which I study other contemporary Spanish plays about
violence that were written prior to the historical period examined in this project. The research for said chapter aided me in finding resources about the general use of violence in theatre, as well as by providing examples of the specifics regarding violence in Spanish theatre.

More specifically, this project examines a series of dramas in order to explore the effects of terrorism in Spain on the everyday life and cultural identity of the Spanish people. The plays studied in this project include: _Interacciones_ (2005) by Ignacio Amestoy, _Eusk_ (2002) by Koldo Barrena, _Blood_ (1998) by Sergi Belbel, _Ello dispara_ (1990) by Fermín Cabal, _Burundanga_ (2011) by Jordi Galcerán, _El Tesoro del predicador_ (2005) by Juan Alberto López and ¡Han matado a Prokopius! (1996) by Alfonso Sastre. I specifically selected these plays because they each explicitly refer to terrorist activity by citing ETA and the GAL, and alluding to the train bombings in Madrid. With the exception of Amestoy’s _Interacciones_ and Sastre’s ¡Han matado a Prokopius! many also depict terrorist acts, such as kidnappings, car bombs, and murders on stage. Furthermore, each of these plays demonstrates the idea of terrorism as a social construction through the discussion of concepts such as power/control, alterity, and ideology. The discussion of these themes occurs in the selected dramas through the filter of the quotidian, which includes personal relationships, language, and individual behaviour.

The three aforementioned themes of power/control, alterity, and ideology are common notions pertaining to each type of terrorism (state, anti-state and Islamist) that Spain experienced during the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. I use these themes as the deciding factor in the division of my chapters. This allows me to observe how the mixture of different types of terrorism – and their representations – transforms the quotidian into a site of struggle. Upon analysis of the staging of these different terrorisms, I observe the use of theatre as a form of violence itself, employed as a method to reinforce the struggle of the everyday. My dissertation
is divided into five chapters with the first offering a brief history of terrorism and theatre in Spain and the second providing a literature review of the use of violence in contemporary Spanish theatre prior to the 1990s-2010s. The subsequent three chapters discuss the themes of power/control, alterity and ideology in each of the dramas selected for this project.

Chapter One, “Retracing Footsteps: The History of Terrorism and Theatre in Spain,” consists of a review of significant historical events in the late 1800s-early 2010s in order to demonstrate the consistency and magnitude of violence in Spain during the late twentieth – early twenty-first centuries. This examination of history includes instances such as the origin of anarchism in Spain, the rise and fall of General Primo de Rivera, the Second Republic, the Spanish Civil War (including the causes, atrocities, and results), the Franco dictatorship, the Transition to democracy and the 2004 Madrid train bombings, as well as a brief history of ETA and the Basque conflict. In addition to this political history, I also provide a detailed account of the history of contemporary theatre in Spain and how it relates to the aforementioned incidents of violence. Finally, I include a section titled “Violence and the Everyday,” which discusses the impact and influence of occurrences such as wars and terrorist attacks through the analysis of sociological and anthropological works, such as memoirs and surveys. Through this study of public experiences and opinions, in conjunction with the description of historical and cultural background, I show that violence and terror had become a quotidian experience in Spain during the 1990s-2010s.

The second chapter, “Branching Out: The Roots of Violence on the Spanish Stage,” builds upon the background provided in the previous chapter, showcasing the roots of violence in Spanish theatre. It contains a brief examination of theories of violence, as well as theories of the everyday by scholars such as Ben Highmore, Michael Sheringham, Anthony Kubiak and others.
It also consists of an analysis of a selection of plays on violence pertaining to significant historical moments mentioned in the first chapter, such as the pre-civil war era, the Civil War, the Franco dictatorship, and the Transition. The plays studied in this chapter include *Guernica* by Fernando Arrabal, *Jueces en la noche* by Antonio Buero Vallejo, *Espíritu español* by Valentín García González, *Voz de España* by José Herrera Petere, *El miliciano remigio pa la guerra es un prodigio* by Joaquín Pérez Madrigal, *El saboteador* by Santiago Ontañón, *Escuadra hacia la muerte* by Alfonso Sastre, and *Luces de bohemia* by Ramon del Valle-Inclán. Two Golden-Age dramas, Miguel de Cervantes’s *La Numancia* and Lope de Vega’s *Fuenteovejuna*, are also briefly examined in this chapter. In my study of these plays, I underline a few recurring themes and tactics that appear in different dramas in this chapter, as well as some of the more contemporary works in the rest of the project: the use of language as a way of performing caricatures of social life, the juxtaposition between reality and fantasy, time, the internalization/perpetuation of violence by civilians, and, the use of multiple sets of characters who rarely interact with one another. Further, I also demonstrate an evolution in the use of stage directions to detail violence. I argue that earlier plays rely more on character dialogue to discuss acts of violence (which may or may not have occurred on stage, depending on the preferences of those conducting the performance), whereas contemporary dramatists depend more and more on stage directions to provide as many details as possible to the readers (and possible actors/directors) of the play. This ensures that all visions of the playwright’s original idea and version of social commentary, guaranteeing that no mixed messages are sent. This also explains why Golden Age plays, such as *Fuenteovejuna* and *La Numancia*, were reappropriated by both the nationalists and the republicans during the Civil War—because the texts were more easily manipulated. By conducting this literature review, I propose that the use of violence in Spanish
theatre is nothing new; I also emphasize that the explicitness with which the contemporary playwrights included in this project handle the idea of terrorism is noteworthy as it suggests both the ordinariness of the concept as well as an intense desire for change.

Chapter Three, “Casting Spells: The Illusion of Control,” marks the beginning of my analysis of the contemporary plays chosen for this project—and their representation of themes such as control/power, ideology, and alterity. I commence this chapter with a brief discussion of the theory behind the notions of control, power and legitimacy, alluding to scholars such as Michel Foucault, Patricia Marchak, and Jeffrey Alexander, among others. I note that, for the purposes of this project, I define control as a tool or type of force used on someone in order to achieve a specific outcome, whereas power is the ability to control someone or something, without necessarily actually doing so. I also propose that the representation of control as an illusion in these plays by Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López, and Sastre is primarily evident through the depiction of substance abuse, patriarchal societies and institutions, and experimentation with multiple roles. For example, substance abuse is predominant in Galcerán’s Burundanga and Sastre’s ¡Han matado a Prokopius! through the main characters’ use of drugs and alcohol to help them deal with difficult situations, such as unwanted pregnancies and trying to serve a murder case. Commentaries on patriarchal societies and institutions are also prevalent in each of the plays, but some of the more significant examples include the effects of fathers on daughters in Amestoy’s Interacciones and López’s El tesoro del predicador, as well as the consequences of education and certain types of upbringing in Belbel’s Blood and Barrena’s Eusk. Finally, the experimentation with multiple roles is also a common theme in these dramas; however, it is especially clear in Galcerán’s Burundanga, as well as Cabal’s Ello dispara through the agents’ varying levels of secrecy and the need to perform in
their mission. Through my discussion of these themes, I highlight the playwrights’ emphasis on the malleability of control as a social construct. This is particularly clear through the idea of narrative framing, which I emphasize in this chapter through examples such as Silvia and Berta taking over Manel and Gorka’s failed kidnapping in Burundanga, the kidnapping of the woman (and the systematic public distribution of her body parts) in Belbel’s Blood, as well as several episodes depicting everyday life in the Basque Country in Barrena’s Eusk. These incidents point to the impact of fear on daily life and how it can be used to mold societies and change the everyday order. The idea of social manipulation is also evident in the playwrights’ treatment of ideology and alterity, which I discuss in chapters four and five respectively.

In Chapter Four, I include a discussion of the theory of ideology and the understanding of the concept which I employ in this project. I explain Althusser’s concepts of RSAs and ISAs, as well as important definitions of ideology by scholars such as Göran Therborn, Guy Debord and Roland Barthes, etc. This chapter, entitled “Getting Schooled: Terrorism and the Use of Ideology” explores representations of the arbitrariness and impact of ideology through the discussion of cultural productions and media, language, religious and educational institutions, political and familial relationships and the influence of society. Some noteworthy episodes that I reference in this chapter include the contrast between present and “myth,” in Amestoy’s Interacciones, the overwhelming amount of references to media and cultural productions such as Almodovar’s Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios in Cabal’s Ello dispara, and the use of language as a weapon/tool to enforce ideas in schools in Barrena’s Eusk, among others. My analysis of these and other significant moments in the dramas selected for this project proposes that ideology---like the concepts of control and alterity, studied in the other chapters—is not a fixed entity, but rather an ongoing social process as we are, like Althusser suggests (264), both
constantly subjected to and agents of it. That is, culture is continuously in a state of flux which serves to both shape us and be shaped by us. Thus, ideology, like other social constructions that help us create our different definitions of culture and identity, must also exhibit a degree of mutability. Therefore, I argue that this also suggests that because ideology cannot be static, the influence of negative and violent ideologies such as those perpetuated during the terrorism phenomenon can be undone.

Lastly, in Chapter Five, “Mirror, Mirror: Reflections on Alterity,” I study the issues of otherness which are so prevalent throughout Spanish history. I do so through a brief explanation of theories of alterity, such as those proposed by scholars including Edward Said, Slavoj Zizek and Dani Cavallaro, among others. I also analyze the representation of this theme through the discussion of the juxtaposition of terrorist vs. terrorized, which is portrayed via the discussion of the idea of blood (including both its humanizing and distinguishing factors), the contrasts between sameness and difference, and the profiling of the “ideal” (or typical) terrorist. I argue that otherness and difference are also present through the depiction of geographic and temporal distance – or the contrast between reality and imagination. The discussion of who is a terrorist and why/how someone becomes a terrorist is particularly crucial to this chapter and the project as a whole as it suggests the arbitrariness of our concern with identity and describing ourselves. Identity is relational: we define ourselves based on how we compare to those around us and what they are/are not. This is especially evident in plays such as Jordi Galcerán’s Burundanga and Juan Alberto López’s El tesoro del predicador, which highlight the idea that we are all always both Self and Other.

In my summaries of the project’s last three chapters, I have described theoretical backgrounds as well as textual analyses pertaining to the specific themes. Additionally, it is
important to note that each of these chapters also contains a concluding section which considers the implications of the playwrights’ representations of certain themes and the terrorism phenomenon in Spain. This portion of each chapter reinforces the impact of the intersection of violence and everyday life in Spain, as well as highlighting the roles that intellectuals and artists, such as those included in this project, play regarding the propagation and/or questioning of cultural and political norms.

Throughout the development of this project, with the exception of the two chapters outlining historical and theatrical context, I address my primary research questions regarding the ordinariness of violence and its effects upon cultural identity in Spain via the analysis of dramas by Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre. The examination of these dramas focuses primarily on the dramatic texts themselves. It is worth mentioning that, originally, I also intended to research the reception of these plays in order to gain insight into how they affected/were perceived by the Spanish public as this would provide truly invaluable insight regarding the effects of violence on the everyday life and theatre in Spain. However, during my research trip to Spain in March 2014 I learned at the Centro de Documentación Teatral (CDT) in Madrid and the Sociedad General de Autores y Editores (SGAE) that information and statistics on ticket sales, etc. for specific plays are not recorded in Spain. The only details they had available were some annual reports for theatre sales in general, to which I allude in Chapter 1.

In order to analyze these works I employ theories of the everyday, such as Michael Sheringham’s *Everyday Life*, and Ben Highmore’s *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday*. I also utilize texts which comment more specifically upon the quotidian in Spain and certain theories of performance including Richard Schechner’s *Magnitudes of Performance* and
Performance Theory, Judith Butler’s Sovereign Performatives, as well as Erving Goffman’s The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Despite this project not being centered on an analysis of theatrical performances, the use of performance theory is imperative for my dissertation because of the performative nature of both everyday life and the dramatic texts I study. The correlation between life and drama emphasizes a sense of immediacy and a need for self-awareness. This is true in the context of the dramatic text as well as its performance because, unlike novelists, the playwright relies on dialogue as the primary vehicle to transmit information (Leach 20). Drama intensifies the experience of life through its playful aspects that function in a similar manner to children’s games, which allow us to explore various life-like situations. Alan Read suggests that this realistic quality of theatre is essential because “everyday life [demonstrates] the intimate relationship between thought and action” (8).

The use of the artistic exploration of difficult life-like situations, such as the confrontation with terrorism, contrasts with experimental reactions and modifications to behaviour in real life. This contrast is clear in that the potential consequences to artistic experimentation with social behaviour are less threatening than those provoked by radical changes in actuality. For instance, the representation of Galcerán’s Burundanga which features the commandeering of an ETA kidnapping by two insecure female university students does not put real lives in danger; instead, it suggests a change in thought regarding the concepts of power and control and the ways in which these tools are attributed to people and organizations without question. In addition to this distinction between dramatic and real experimentation with social behaviour, it is also crucial to realize that regardless of the spheres in which these experiments occur the consequences they ultimately produce always occur within the realm of the everyday.
It is significant that writers such as Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre seek to stage the Spanish terrorism phenomenon in their work---especially given the lack of artistic material on the subject by previous generations. However, it is even more notable that these writers choose to discuss this phenomenon through the medium of theatre. This is because, as Robert Leach suggests, “the drama happens in the present, and therefore it heightens life and intensifies the experience of life. Because it is taking place here and now it is fundamentally different from the novel or films, which are reports on events which have happened in the past” (25). In this project, I argue that by situating their works in the present through drama and the inclusion of elements of everyday life in their texts, playwrights such as Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López, and Sastre underscore and intensify the reality of the terrorist phenomenon in Spain, by emphasizing its presentness. It is important to remember that at the time when the playwrights wrote the texts studied in this project, terrorism was still an ongoing and quotidian experience. The focus on the presence of terrorism in everyday life through the representation of acts of kale borroka, as well as stressed personal relationships, highlights Sheringham’s idea of the everyday as a site of struggle between alienation and appropriation (360). Sheringham suggests that there is a certain tension inherent in the everyday given that it implies both repetition and change. It is through repeated practice that something becomes part of the “manifold lived experience” (360) and acquires a sense of everydayness. This notion of the everyday as both repetition and change is similar to Roland Barthes’s conceptualization of the myth as speech. Barthes indicates that anything can become a myth. The key functions of myth are that of naturalization (which occurs over time) and that of discussion. He elaborates this notion stating that “myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent… it gives them a
clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact” (255). In other words, it is only when something becomes naturalized or “mythical” that it can truly be understood. The discussion of myths occurs both orally and through modes of writing and representations. Both the theories of Sheringham and Barthes, I argue, can be applied to the experience of terrorism in Spain. This is because, until the 2011 ETA ceasefire, acts of terror were a common occurrence. Nevertheless, despite (or perhaps because of) their ordinariness, these acts continued to be scrutinized by people of diverse political affiliations. This sense of struggle is heightened in the dramas I study via the prominence of the themes of power/control, ideology, and alterity. In each of these texts, which contemplate many forms of terrorism, the playwrights allude to the malleability of these three concepts and emphasize the notion of terrorism as a social construct. This idea is further evidenced by the playwrights’ own decision to resort to the use of theatre, which is known for its flexible nature, in order to comment upon the situation in Spain. Thus, I argue throughout this project that the dramatists utilize the theatre, a form of violence and entertainment, to discuss the experience of terrorism and how it is (and should be?) affecting the shape of Spanish identity. The playwrights themselves are careful to not offer any direct answers to the questions they pose in their works, but, under the guise of entertainment, they allow their audience to make believe and play with different possible outcomes.
CHAPTER 1

Retracing Footsteps: The History of Terrorism and Theatre in Spain

The Formation of Habit: The Beginning of Terrorism as an Everyday Experience

The Basque conflict was, undoubtedly, one of the most significant causes of the transformation of terrorism into a quotidian experience in Spain. Nonetheless, other events such as the presence of anarchist terrorist attacks in the early twentieth century, as well as the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorships of Generals Primo de Rivera and Francisco Franco were also contributing factors to the amplification of the impact of terrorism in contemporary Spain. In this chapter, I examine these events as well as the beginning of international terrorism in Spain in the form of the Madrid train bombings in 2004 in order to establish the historical background that underpins dramas such as those by Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López, and Sastre. Given the connection between theatre and terrorism that I trace in this study, I also review the history of Spanish theatre during the time periods mentioned in order to observe the effects of political violence on the theatre world, including tendencies in form and the staging of spectacles. By studying the history of the theatre world during times of violence, I note that theatre serves as both a form of violence via its possible manipulation by the State, as well as an indication of the mindset of the general public.
Anarchism originated in Spain in 1868 as a result of a propaganda tour lead by Italian anarchist, Giuseppe Fanelli. The anarchist leader, Michael Bakunin, had sent Fanelli to promote their ideas upon hearing of the political situation in Spain after the revolution that ended Queen Isabel II’s reign. He thought that Spain would be an ideal breeding ground for the anarchist ideology. Bakunin promoted the idea of a new society in which state religion, monarchy, classes, and the state itself would be abolished (Kern 19). He “stressed that revolutionaries should use all means at their disposal to end separation of the rural and urban proletariats and to unite and organize these two groups into one” (19). That is, he wanted urban workers to join the peasants in a fight against property-owners. If this occurred, civil war would be almost inevitable; in addition, Bakunin was not opposed to war because he viewed it as a chief agent of progress (21). Later, other anarchist intellectuals from Europe came to Spain to try to broaden the horizons of Spanish anarchists, but they remained unsuccessful until the Spanish-American War in 1898, a “disaster” during which Spain lost the last of its colonies and resulted in intellectuals showing a new interest in change.

Following the war of 1898, the anarchist cause was revived and experienced growth across the country. Previously, anarchism had been prevalent primarily in Catalonia. At the turn of the century, large groups of anarchists organized in Andalucía and Aragon. Chapters of anarchist organizations also appeared in Madrid, Asturias and Galicia. Nevertheless, despite the increase in popularity, anarchism was also highly controversial as a result of a practice they employed called “propaganda by deeds.” Originally, this practice referred to the mix of individual action or “deeds” with the activism imposed by the communist anarchist movement (Abelló 92). These actions were subject to the individuals’ interpretation and were based on the
idea that “peaceful propaganda would be unable to arouse the masses to social revolution” (92).

Eventually, the notion of “propaganda by deeds” became synonymous with terrorism. The practice commenced in Europe in the 1880s, with terrorist acts beginning in the 1890s. It was around this time that the phenomenon also arrived in Spain. In Barcelona, the anarchist violence began in the form of fireworks set off at textile factories. While there were no victims from the firework attacks, the tactics escalated and in 1893 anarchists launched two Orsini bombs at Barcelona’s Liceu opera house during the second act of the opening performance for the season.\(^9\)

Even though only one of the two bombs exploded, according to Teresa Abelló, this was the bloodiest anarchist attack waged in Barcelona and it resulted in 22 deaths, dozens of injuries, and severe panic (92). The theatre was targeted because of its function as a symbol or showcase of Barcelona’s industrial and financial bourgeoisie. The opera house was closed for a year afterwards, not reopening again until 1894. The seats occupied by those killed in the attack were not used for a number of years following the event. The government considered this act, along with other instances of “propaganda by deeds,” an act of terrorism. The Liceu bombing was followed by an attack on a religious order on Canvis Nous Street during Corpus Christi in 1896. The government used this last attack as an excuse to launch a repressive operation against anarchism and the organised labour movement in Catalonia. This resulted in the accusation of hundreds of people as terrorists and the suspension of constitutional guarantees.

In addition to terrorist attacks and the expansion of chapters across the country, anarchism also gained support through the rise of the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo), a workers’ union that was created in 1911. Another important event in the history of anarchism in

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\(^9\) More recently, similar events have occurred in other theatres, such as the Moscow Theatre Hostage Crisis, in which armed Chechens took the audience of a play hostage between October 23-26, 2002, as well as the 2012 Aurora shooting when a gunman shot into the audience of a screening of *A Dark Knight Rises*. 
the early twentieth century was the Tragic Week in 1909. This event consisted of a general strike in Barcelona\textsuperscript{10} that turned into a widespread uprising with attacks on police stations and railway lines, the destruction of eighty churches and monasteries, and the creation of barricades in the streets. In addition to ruining churches, there were also many cases of graves being emptied. Approximately 100 civilians and another 100 police officers and soldiers died during the Tragic Week and 1,700 people faced charges due to their involvement in the week’s events. The Tragic Week provoked more government-enforced repression, including the closing of newspapers, schools and unions.

Throughout this period, from the early 1900s to 1923, Primo de Rivera had been gaining popularity in the military and was promoted to general in 1911. Despite his advances in his career, he was discouraged by the state of the country, including the violence that had erupted during the Tragic Week and its consequences. The aftermath of World War I in 1918 also left the country with heightened economic difficulties and social unrest (Quiroga 2). The monarchy was unable to resolve the levels of unemployment, poverty, and labour strikes that resulted due to these circumstances and rumours began to circulate about corruption in the government and military. On September 13, 1923, General Primo de Rivera led a military coup and overthrew the government (2). He worked to create infrastructure and restore order to the country through the expansion of railroads and the installation of electricity in Spanish rural regions, among other reforms. Nonetheless, despite his improvements, his actions took a heavy toll, including the suspension of the constitution and the movement to repress separatists (49). Political parties were made illegal and town councils were dissolved (45). As a result of these changes, Primo de

\textsuperscript{10} Contemporary events parallel to Tragic Week include the “Indignados” or “Occupy” movements that occurred in Spain and other international locations such as New York and Montreal, among many others. The Spanish protests, also known as the Movimiento 15-M, began on May 15, 2011. For more information on these events, see Movimiento15M at http://www.movimiento15m.org/ and the El País special section at http://elpais.com/tag/movimiento_15m/a/.
Rivera’s regime began to lose support (Rial 63-64). This coincided with the international economic depression of the late 1920s-early 1930s. Recognizing his inability to solve the country’s economic crisis, Primo de Rivera resigned in January 1930.

After the fall of Primo de Rivera in 1930, Spain began an important step towards democratization: the Second Spanish Republic. During the 1920s and the 1930s Spain, as with the rest of the world, experienced a period of severe economic depression. The Spanish situation was worsened due to the recently terminated dictatorship which had contributed to the country’s poor financial circumstances via its promotion of inequality. This was especially clear in the distinctions between tenants and landowners and the power attributed to the aristocracy. The Second Spanish Republic, the new government that was instated on April 14, 1931, marked Spain’s transformation from a monarchy to a republic. It sought to put an end to the special status of Spanish nobility and to address other fundamental issues, including sexual politics and educational reforms. For example, women were given the right to vote and divorce was made legal (Graham 101). It also granted autonomy to all of Spain’s regions. These social and cultural reforms were significant because their aim was to revolutionize and modernize Spanish society, and to create a new Spanish cultural identity in which everyone was allowed to participate.

Spanish writers active around this time (1920s), included Miguel de Unamuno, Ramón del Valle-Inclán, and Pío Baroja, among other members of the Generation of ’98, a group of Spanish writers and philosophers. For more details on the Generation of ’98, see Simon Barton’s A History of Spain, Raymond Carr’s Spain 1808-1939, and Jochen Mecke’s Discursos del 98: albores españoles de una modernidad europea. The Generation of ’27, including writers such as Federico García Lorca and Rafael Alberti were also becoming more active during this time and continued to increase in popularity into the 1930s. For more information on the Generation of ’27 see Rafael Cózar’s Panorama del 27: diversidad creadora de una generación and Gabrielle Morelli’s La generación del 27 y su modernidad.
The numerous reforms and missions tackled by the Second Republic in its brief lifespan attempted to improve various aspects of Spanish society and living conditions within the country. They were also sometimes overly ambitious for a new government (especially during economic depression). This is clear in that the unresolved political imbalance between republicans, anarchists, and nationalists impeded the Republic’s progress in carrying out all of their proposed reforms, leading to the eventual demise of the Second Republic and the beginning of the Civil War in 1936. Nonetheless, despite its political failure, the Second Republic is often recognized by scholars for its efforts as a “cultural project.” In addition to the adaptation of cultural symbols, these cultural efforts are most evident in the shape of the proposed educational reforms, which included the provision of new schools and teachers, as well as co-ed classrooms and a secular curriculum. In an attempt to further educate both children and adults in the rural areas, the government also created cultural agencies such as the Council for the Exchange and Acquisition of Books and the Misiones Pedagógicas (Pedagogical Missions). The Council strove to provide each school with a library, which would be open to adults and children. The Missions, on the other hand, consisted of teams of “missionaries” bringing theatrical and musical performances to remote villages and organizing screenings of movies and exhibitions of paintings. This part of the Missions’ work was not as successful as anticipated due to the limited nature of the groups’ visits, as well as because many of the communities they visited required “charity” in the form of food and medical assistance as opposed to cultural experiences. However, the Missions also conducted another project which set

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12 See Christopher Cobb’s “The Republican State and Mass Educational-Cultural Initiatives 1931-1936” and Richard Cleminson’s “Politics of Spanish Anarchism.”
13 There was an average of nearly 2,000 new schools built per year while the Republic was in power; however, it is important to note that many of these were in rural areas and consisted of one classroom for the entire school (Cobb 135).
14 Gonzalo Tapia’s 2007 documentary entitled Las misiones pedagógicas: 1931-1936 discusses the history and impacts of the Missions at length, including interviews with individuals who had lived in rural Spain at the time.
up over 5,000 small libraries in communities with less than 200 inhabitants (137). This project was more successful as it was not an isolated event, but rather something more concrete in which everyone could participate. These educational projects and reforms demonstrate the Republic’s commitment to the process of modernization in Spain. They also stress the importance of awareness (through literacy and political involvement such as suffrage) for the development of a new cultural identity. This did not go unnoticed by the opposition (as is evident in examples of Civil War propaganda from both sides); however, the continuous debates regarding the image of the new Spain and the church’s role within it were some of the leading factors in the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, which began in July 1936 via a military coup and continued until April 1939.

In addition to the disagreement about education and sexual politics, other factors contributing to the war included issues with the military and agriculture, the attempt to secularize the State, which many moderate Catholics opposed, and regionalism. While agriculture was one of the mainstays in Spain at the time, it was a major problem due to the rising tensions between large landowners (latifundistas) and their farm workers: the majority of the land was owned by a small portion of rich landowners while those who actually worked the land lived on the edge of starvation. The military was also a source of conflict because the majority of officers opposed military and other social reforms (such as regional autonomy) promoted during the early years of the Republic. Their opposition was noted via a series of staged rebellions, one of which was the military coup led by General Francisco Franco in 1936. It succeeded in further dividing the country’s political stance and provoked an extremely bloody war of attrition.

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15 These issues continued into the 1960s as Mario Camus demonstrates in his film Los santos inocentes (1984).
The principal parties involved in the war included the republicans and the nationalists, although the anarchists also participated. The republicans sought to maintain the democratic government of the Second Republic, fighting for freedom of speech and association and the recognition of the distinct cultures that comprise Spain. The nationalists, on the other hand, were more conservative and wanted to return to the values of a unified and Catholic Spain. Despite being a civil war both sides also benefited from international support.\textsuperscript{16} For the republicans and their sympathizers, the war was seen as a battle between tyranny and democracy. Their international support included a small amount of weapons from the Soviet Union and Mexico; however, the largest amount of support they received came in the form of volunteers from the International Brigades. Reasons for enlisting varied, including restoring democracy in Spain, or escaping unemployment in their own countries. Unfortunately, the International Brigades were eventually forced to leave in 1938 and the Spanish republicans were left to fight the remainder of the war on their own. They ultimately failed due to their lack of organization and training in comparison with the nationalists’ forces, and an insufficient amount of weapons and supplies.

While the republicans viewed the war as a fight for democracy, the nationalists and their sympathizers viewed the war as a struggle against communism and the destruction of Christian civilization. The nationalists were very closely connected to the Church and many of their leaders had land-owning backgrounds. As a result, the nationalist army was better funded and had more access to resources than the republicans. They also received international support in the form of guns, tanks, warplanes, and troops from Germany and Italy. Portugal assisted by contributing ammunition and help with logistics and several hundred Irish citizens created an

\textsuperscript{16} The Civil War also made a large impact, nationally and internationally, on literary and cultural productions, and continues to do so today. For more details on this literary impact of the war, see sources such as \textit{Hell and Good Company: The Spanish Civil War and the World it Made} by Richard Rhodes, \textit{The War that Won’t Die: The Spanish Civil War in Cinema} by David Archibald, and \textit{Writers in Arms: The Literary Impact of the Spanish Civil War} by Frederick R. Benson.
Irish brigade in support of the nationalist army too. In addition, Franco had control over the Army of Africa originating from Morocco.

Although many international volunteers considered the war as a fight for ideals, the Spanish reality at the time was much more than that. For the Spanish, it was about saving the homeland. The problem was that both sides had different ideas about what this “salvation” meant. They were both willing to do whatever it took to achieve victory, including committing atrocities. The most well-known atrocity committed by the nationalist army was the bombing of the Basque town of Guernica in 1937, which caused widespread destruction and civilian deaths. It is considered one of the first aerial raids on a defenseless civilian population and many people suggest that Hitler used Guernica and the Spanish Civil War as a practice run for World War II. During the aftermath of the attack, an agreement was made between the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief and the British government in which Britain would receive evacuated children from the Basque Country.\(^\text{17}\) The situation was supposed to be temporary; however, by the beginning of the Second World War many children were still in the UK and some never returned home (McVeigh, “Basque child refugees meet for final reunion, 75 years after arrival in Britain”). The bombing of Guernica and its aftermath had a significant impact throughout Spain, sparking outrage across the country.\(^\text{18}\) Nonetheless, it especially strengthened the feelings of resentment by Basque nationalists who would later rise up in arms during the subsequent dictatorship.

\(^\text{17}\) For more information on Basque children refugees in the UK, see Hywel Davies’s *Fleeing Franco: How Wales Gave Shelter to Refugee Children from the Basque Country during the Spanish Civil War* or Adrian Bell’s *Only for Three Months: Basque Refugee Children in Exile*.

\(^\text{18}\) This event remains highly symbolic in art and literature about the Civil War. Notable examples include Picasso’s painting and Arrabal’s play *Guernica*.
In addition to the bombing of Guernica, other atrocities occurred during the war, including politically motivated violence, rape, mass executions and other crimes. This violence was known as either the “Red Terror” or the “White Terror,” depending on whether the acts were committed by the republicans (the “reds”) or the nationalists. The Red Terror also included acts of anti-clerical violence like burning monasteries and churches, and killing members of the clergy. The White Terror was generally considered “worse” because the horrors they carried out were “under the benign gaze of the Church and perpetrated by the forces of law and order – the army, the Civil Guard and the police” (Preston 201). The nationalists utilized their connections, employing this violence as a weapon to generate fear. This was evident in broadcasts by Generals Mola and Qeipo de Llano, in which they would describe bloody atrocities (206). Many of these acts were against Republican women, whom they depicted as “whores” who must be punished for the brief liberation of the Republic.\(^{19}\) Some possible forms of punishment included rape, sexual harassment, being paraded naked in the streets, being tarred and feathered, or being forced to ingest castor oil so they would publicly humiliate themselves (207).

By 1938, when the International Brigades were forced to leave, Franco and the nationalist army had already become dominant. Nonetheless, at that point the outcome of the war still remained uncertain. This would eventually change as the nationalists continued to obtain several victories, including important battles such as the Battle of Teruel (1938), the Battle of the Ebro (1938), Barcelona (late 1938-early 1939), Madrid (1939) and, finally, Valencia (1939).\(^{20}\) The siege of Madrid was one of the most important factors leading to the eventual victory of the

\(^{19}\) These and other Nationalist/Republican viewpoints are clear in propagandistic art that was circulated at the time, including wartime theatre and posters. Miriam Basilio’s Visual Propaganda, Exhibitions, and the Spanish Civil War and Jerry Knudson’s “The Ultimate Weapon: Propaganda and the Spanish Civil War” both discuss the use of propaganda art during the war.

\(^{20}\) For more information on these and other battles, see Paul Preston’s The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution, and Revenge.
nationalists in the civil war. The nationalists began their attack on Madrid during October 1936, with their heaviest offensive against the city occurring in November 1936. However, the city did not fall; instead, it remained besieged for three years. In 1938, the siege on Madrid tightened, causing the population to further suffer from lack of food, clothing, and weapons and ammunition. By early 1939 it was clear that Madrid would not last much longer: the republican fronts in many other cities had already fallen and Madrid’s conditions continued to worsen. Republican leaders in Madrid tried to negotiate with Franco; however, it was of no use. Franco demanded an unconditional surrender. On March 28, 1939, Madrid fell to the nationalist forces and by March 31, 1939, Franco controlled the entire country. On April 1, 1939 Francisco Franco announced his victory over the radio.

Despite the war’s end, the atrocities were not over. Many republicans or wartime enemies of Franco were either imprisoned or executed, while others were made to conduct forced labour including the construction of the Valle de los Caídos (Valley of the Fallen) monument. Scholars estimate that between 1940 and 1942 more than 200,000 people died from forms of political repression, as well as hunger and disease related to the negative economic impact of the civil war (Ealham and Richards 2-3). According to the regime’s calculations, by the end of 1939, there were more than 270,000 men and women in prison for political reasons (Ealham and Richards 3). While it is important to note that these numbers are estimates and some sources doubt the accuracy of the regime’s calculations, this does not negate the high amounts of suffering that was endured during the dictatorship. Beatings, executions, starvation, epidemics, and suicides were common occurrences in these prisons, making incarceration a difficult obstacle to overcome. In addition to the violence committed by Franco’s regime against political opponents, there was
also a guerrilla warfare movement operated by republicans forced to live in exile. This movement continued into the 1950s.

The events of the war continued to have a violent impact long after the war’s official ending. This was especially true for those with high political motivations. However, the severity of the war’s aftermath also affected the general public. This is evident in facets of everyday life, including the reforms of education and language usage, the censorship of television and other cultural productions, as well as increased security measures and the prohibition of political parties other than Franco’s own party, the Falange. These methods of reform and censorship were employed to promote the nationalist ideals of Franco’s regime, including the “re-Spanification” and “re-Catholicization” of Spanish society. Franco enforced his goal of a unified Castilian state by prohibiting the use of languages other than Castilian. He changed street names and forbade names in languages other than Castilian to appear on official records. He also ordered the removal of tombstone inscriptions in languages such as Euskara (Conversi 81). In addition to the restrictions on language use, Franco arranged a re-structuring of the educational system which aimed at creating a unified Spanish nation. All classes were taught in Castilian. In addition, the co-education of men and women was prohibited; instead, men and women received separate education, with women being taught subjects such as “domestic science.” Moreover, post-war censorship also affected the reception of information via both fictional and non-fictional outlets, such as the news, television shows, cinema and theatre. Newspapers and news broadcasts were banned from reporting on topics such as crimes, arrests or executions. Similarly,

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21 For more information on guerrilla warfare after the Spanish Civil War, see Julio Aróstegui and Jorge Marco’s *El último frente. La resistencia armada antifranquista en España, 1939-1952*

22 Another example of censorship (and propaganda) includes Franco’s Noticiarios y Documentales (NODOs), state-controlled cinema newsreels showed in Spain starting in the early 1940s until the early Transition period. For more information on this, see *Boletín Oficial del Estado, 356* (Dec. 22, 1942), María Antonia Paz’s “The Spanish Remember: Movie Attendance During the Franco Dictatorship, 1943-1975,” or Sheelagh Ellwood’s “The Moving Image of the Franco Regime: Noticiarios y Documentales 1943-1975.”
some of the prohibitions in film and theatre included the justification of revenge and pain, scenes of brutality and terror, and scenes that promote hatred between peoples, races, or social classes (Oliva, *El teatro desde 1936* 218). Inspectors would also frequently attend the dress rehearsals and first performances of plays in order to ensure that the performance, as well as the script, adhered to the rules. Through this censorship, the government was able to enforce a silence over the discussion of the civil war and the republican effort. Nevertheless, despite the authoritarian attempt to control all aspects of life, tensions and discontentment did not cease to exist.

During the early 1960s, Spain began to experience an economic boom. This was due in part to the Decree of Economic Stabilization introduced in 1959; however, it was also heavily influenced by social and political pressures from within the country, as well as other nations and institutions around the world. Prior to this point, Spain had been facing economic hardship. For example, it was not until 1953-1958 that income levels returned to their pre-war levels from 1935 (De Riquer i Permanyer 260). The Stabilization Plan, which was introduced despite Franco’s uncertainties, was backed by institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. This plan worked to adapt financial policy within the country. It also introduced policies for foreign investment, as well as a program for the development of public services.

The tourist boom was extremely influential in the transformation of the service sector. For example, as De Riquer i Permanyer notes, “the 6 million visitors in 1960 rose to 30 million in 1975, when they contributed $3,000 million to the Spanish economy” (260). The

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23 The 1960s also saw an increase in university and independent groups trying to bring theatre to a larger, more public audience. These groups preferred different styles of theatre than those seen on the Spanish commercial stage at the time, such as those used by theatre professionals like Brecht, Artaud, and Beck. As Rodgers notes, the main common characteristic between these groups was that they rejected the idea of the dramatic text as a fixed and unchangeable entity and emphasized the importance of an actor’s ability to improvise (514).

24 Frank Howie and Dorothy Kelly explain, in their respective works, how Spain marketed themselves internationally via the promotion of tourism to improve its economic situation.
industrialization of the country also played a major role in the economic boom, as well as the need for urbanization – which affected the property and construction sectors as a result of increased need for housing construction in major cities and public works projects. The public sector also experienced growth as the inadequate condition of education, health, and social security measures required the State to heavily invest in their improvement. The rapid rise of populations in major cities, such as Madrid, Barcelona, and Bilbao also emphasized that, although the State had invested in the creation and increase of public services, the quality of these services was still poor and inefficient. While the quality of life was seen as “improved” during this period of economic growth, there was still a great amount of inequality between the social classes regarding income distribution.

Due to these economic and cultural changes, public opinion began to shift, demonstrating a public that was more alienated from and less involved with the regime (266). Francoism was slowly beginning to lose its hold on the people. This was especially evident among the younger generations, who were more disconnected from the tensions of the civil war as they had not experienced it. Other conflicts also began to arise, including the continuing issues of nationalism in Catalonia in the Basque Country.

The dictatorship ended in 1975 with the death of General Francisco Franco. This lead to the period known as the “Transition,” which lasted from 1975-1982. During this time, the Spanish government transformed from a dictatorship to a constitutional monarchy, led by King Juan Carlos whom Franco had appointed as his official successor in 1969. This period was also interesting theatrically as censorship laws were repealed and new theatre institutes and centres, such as the Centro Nacional Dramático, were created. Moreover, the Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música (National Institute for Performing Arts and Music – INAEM)
launched an important effort to “protect and promote theatrical activities in Spain and to open up possibilities for co-operation between theatre professionals and public institutions” (Rodgers 514). That is, the theatre began to move away from something entirely controlled by the government, to something more open to the involvement of the people it represents. Overall, the democratization of Spain was successful and quick. This caused the country to play a major role in the third wave of democratization in the 1970s, which originated in the Mediterranean and later spread to other parts of the world, such as Latin America and Eastern Europe (Tusell 270).

Nevertheless, despite its success, the Transition was not without road bumps. Some of the obstacles faced during the transition to democracy included the increase of terrorism and a failed attempt at a military coup. The surge of terrorism during the Transition was largely due to ETA, which was responsible for 70 percent of the terrorist activity at the time (Tusell 286); however, other terrorist organizations such as GRAPO (Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre or First of October Antifascist Groups) were also active in Spain, especially during the transition years. GRAPO was founded by former members of the Organization of Marxist-Leninists in Spain (OMLE) after Franco’s death in 1975 and arose as a form of protest against political reforms occurring at the beginning of the transition. ETA also increased its activity in response to the political reforms and creation of the constitution in 1978. Additional factors contributing to this political unrest included the over-bearing actions of police and the “reclassification” of veteran specialists from the Franco regime within the new democratic government (Olmeda 167).

25 For more detailed information regarding the transition to democracy, see Javier Tusell’s Spain From Dictatorship to Democracy: From 1939-Present.
The military coup of 1981 was also an important obstacle that the new government had to confront. There were many issues leading up to the event, including the increase in terrorism, relations between Madrid and regions such as Catalonia and the Basque Country, and general reluctance by Francoist supporters to accept the new government. Known as 23-F, the coup began on February 23, 1981 when Lieutenant-Colonel Antonio Tejero and 200 members of the Guardia Civil interrupted a meeting of the Congress of Deputies with machine guns. TVE cameramen recorded almost half an hour of footage of this event before soldiers forced them to stop. Shortly after, Lieutenant General Jaime Milans del Bosch released tanks onto the streets of Valencia, declaring a state of emergency. The King issued a statement declaring that he did not support the military coup and reiterated this during a television appearance on February 24, ending the coup. The attempted takeover and the King’s swift resolution serve as a defining moment for Spanish history and have inspired many books and documentaries. The King’s reaction quelled the fears of another oppressive regime, which came naturally after nearly 40 years of repression. It also marked the definitive commencement of the Spanish democracy, while establishing the political strength of the King and the government.

A Brief Look at the Basque Conflict

The region where the Basque people have historically lived covers four Spanish provinces (Vizcaya, Guipuzkoa, Navarra, and Alava) and three French provinces (Labourd, Basse Navarre, and Soule). They have inhabited the same region for centuries and have a long history of territorial conflicts, starting with the Romans in the first century BC. The disagreement

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26 For more detailed information on the military coup, see Javier Cercas’s *The Anatomy of a Moment: Thirty-five Minutes in History and Imagination* and Amadeo Martínez Inglés’s *23-F: El golpe que nunca existió*. 
between the Basques and the Spanish has been ongoing for centuries. While many historians disagree on the exact beginning of this dispute, there are three main factors contributing to what is now known as the Basque Conflict in Spain. These include the loss of the *fueros* during the Carlist wars, Sabino Arana, and General Francisco Franco’s dictatorship. Each of these factors pertains to the Basque people’s insistence on defending their social identity, which includes a different language, culture and customs than those practiced in the rest of Spain.

During the Middle Ages, the Basque people governed themselves following their own set of laws (known as “*los fueros*”\(^{27}\)), which were transmitted orally and stemmed from traditional regional practices. Later, with the arrival of the foreign king Theobald I to Navarra in the thirteenth century, these laws were transcribed. The loyalty of the Basques to the king was conditional upon his upholding of the customs and traditions. In the 16\(^{th}\) century, King Fernando II of Aragon conquered Navarra and the other Basque provinces, including Vizcaya and Guipuzkoa and the Castilian kings agreed to comply with the self-governing of the Basque provinces again. In the centuries that followed, the level of autonomy in the Basque Regions began to vary, resulting in the complete loss of the *fueros* due to the laws of 1839 and 1876.

The ability to maintain these laws was both politically and symbolically important to the Basques.\(^{28}\) As a result, the loss of the *fueros* in the Carlist wars was devastating to the Basque people because the *fueros* are a part of their identity (Weaver 22). The *fueros* enabled the Basques to utilize significant amounts of local power, as well as to veto Spanish laws, to be exempt from serving in the military outside their own province, and to have their own legislative and judicial institutions. It also gave them a sense of maintaining their unique culture, while

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\(^{27}\) The term “*fueros*” means “codified local customs.”

\(^{28}\) For a detailed history of the Basques’ involvement in the Carlist Wars, see John Coverdale’s *The Basque Phase of Spain’s First Carlist War*. 
living under the Spanish State. For example, when the *fueros* were still intact representatives from the local assemblies would meet under the sacred oak tree in Guernica. This tree became a symbol for the rights of the Basque people as a whole, and the seedlings have continued to be replanted until as recently as 2005.29 The struggle to maintain the *fueros* became a central point for Basque nationalism.

Following the abolition of the *fueros*, the Spanish state focused on the industrialization and political centralization of the Basque region. The emphasis on the economic development and expansion of Basque urban centres attracted immigrants from rural areas of the Basque Country, as well as other areas in Spain. As a result, policies regarding the need for a “linguistically unified education” (Tellidis 418) were created. Many Basque people, including Sabino Arana,30 were not in favour of the new State discourse on language and culture, fearing that it would lead to the elimination of the Basque identity, which was deeply rooted in community and in the Euskara language. Sabino Arana, a writer now known as the “father of Basque nationalism,” addressed this issue by creating the Basque flag and founding the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) in 1894.

While Arana acknowledged the great importance of the use of language, the scarcity with which it was spoken in the urban centres or even in much of the rural areas could not be ignored. As a result, the pillars of Arana’s understanding of Basque nationalism include an emphasis on the purity of the Basque race and its supremacy over the Spanish (similar to the “limpieza de sangre” ideology in early modern Spain between the Catholics and the “conversos”), as well as

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30 For more information on Arana and the beginning of Basque nationalism, see Daniele Conversi’s *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, Ioannis Tellidis’s “Terrorist conflict vs. civil peace in the Basque Country,” or Javier Santamaría’s *Sabino Arana : Dios, patria, fueros, rey un Dios o un Loco?*. 
religion. Arana’s nationalism highly disapproved of the integration of Basques and the “maketos” (a derogatory term for Spanish people), urging that they must isolate themselves in order to maintain the purity of their race. His ideology attracted many liberal members of the Basque bourgeoisie and the increased amount of popular support is what lead to the creation of his political party, the PNV. Paradoxically, shortly after the foundation of the PNV, Arana transformed his conceptualization of the economic development in the Basque Country, realizing that it could aid in the revival process of Basque language and culture (Tellidis 419). He passed away before he was able to explain what made this transformation occur.

Approximately 50 years after Arana’s death, Basque nationalism began to surge again during Franco’s dictatorship as a result of the repression that minority groups, such as the Basques and Catalans, were experiencing. As mentioned previously, the dictatorship affected everyone via the extreme censorship and harsh laws, as well as food and economic scarcity. However, groups such as the Basques and Catalans also suffered the prohibition of the use of their language and the practice of their cultural traditions. Basque nationalism grew as a manner of combatting Franco’s oppression and took a variety of forms. While many Basques and PNV members were fearful of overtly displaying too much nationalism given the economic and political circumstances of the region (Conversi 83), others approved in the interest of promoting cultural events and folkloric activities. However, due to the prohibition of the use of minority languages and the existence of different political parties in Franco Spain, the PNV was exiled in a sense and forced to conduct most of its political activities (such as the 1956 World Basque Congress) abroad.

The forced silence of the PNV and a growing sense of discontent with the situation caused nationalist youth organizations to emerge. The most notable of these organizations is the
group Ekin, created in 1952 by university students in Bilbao who held weekly meetings to study and discuss Basque history and culture. In the beginning, they were a clandestine group and focused on intellectual tasks, such as the distribution of an irregular newsletter named Ekin (to do), which became the name of the organization.

Eventually the PNV became aware of Ekin’s existence and Ekin briefly worked alongside the PNV’s youth branch, EGI. However, the two organizations did not coexist well as Ekin believed that the leaders of the PNV were too conservative in their approaches to nationalism, which did not blend well with the group’s ultimate goals of saving and reviving the Basque culture. The groups broke their alliance in 1959 and Ekin took most of the EGI youth with them. ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna or “Basque Homeland and Freedom”) was born on July 31, 1959 and caused PNV to lose its status as the only legitimate representative of Basque nationalism.

At the beginning, ETA continued their activities along the lines of what they had done as Ekin: cultural and intellectual pursuits, including pamphlets, graffiti on walls, and the hanging of Basque flags. The organization was divided into several branches, but had two main categories: militants and supporters. As Conversi observes, ETA was basically a cultural movement concerned with the promotion of Euskara language and culture (90). For years, it remained a relatively marginal group, supported mainly by young activists and others who were unhappy with the PNV’s lack of political activity. However, as ETA grew in popularity, during the dictatorship, it also counted on the support of non-nationalists and citizens of the rest of Spain.

While Basque literature encountered many difficulties following the Civil War, writers began to flourish again in the 1950s – especially through poetry as is the case with writers such as Gabriel Aresti and Blas de Otero. Another noteworthy Basque writer of this time was José Luis Álvarez Enparanza who published the famous Leturiaren egunkari ezkutua under his pseudonym “Txillardegi” in 1957. Other modern Basque authors include Bernardo Atxaga, Kirmen Uribe, and Unai Elorriaga.
who were tired of the oppression imposed by Franco’s authoritarian regime and who felt that the struggle for the revival of Basque culture was synonymous with the struggle for democracy.

ETA’s form of nationalism is similar to Arana’s in that it focuses on the rejection of all things Spanish and the superiority of the Basque people. However, Arana’s pillars of the Basque race and religion were replaced. Federico Krutwig, one of ETA’s most important intellectuals, wrote a book entitled *Vasconia* which was to mark the transformation of modern Basque nationalist ideology. In it, he suggests that the centre of Basque nationalism should not be race and religion, as Arana indicated, but rather language and violence. He argues that while Basque ethnicity is unique, it is a product of their language and therefore the emphasis must be placed on the use of language. Furthermore, he advocates the use of political force and violence over religion as a result of the Church’s “betrayal” and connection with the Franco regime.

The first instances of political violence occurred in 1961. These included the explosion of buildings and the unsuccessful attempt to derail a train carrying Francoist war veterans. At this time, ETA still considered itself a Marxist organization and had not yet commenced the stream of violence and terrorist attacks that would develop in later years. The brutality escalated slowly with bank robberies and roadblocks. ETA claimed its first victim, a member of the Guardia Civil, in 1968 during a fight that erupted at a roadblock. The two etarras responsible for the guardia’s death were later tracked down and shot at a second roadblock. One was wounded and the other was killed. The guard instantly became a hero for many Basque people who proceeded to hold

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mass demonstrations throughout Euskadi for weeks to display their indignation at the etarra’s killing. These mass demonstrations would become a familiar part of the Basque conflict, as citizens would frequently protest ETA’s terror attacks in this way. This is a significant occurrence due to the symbolic nature of demonstrations as a way of representing strength in popular opinion, as well as the spectacular aspects of the event as well. Demonstrations are performative in that they serve to encourage people to outwardly perform their role of concerned/active citizen. Yet, the repetitions of the protests in response to attacks, also becomes part of the process then of the terrorism phenomenon. If terror attacks eventually become devalued because of the frequency of mediated images in the news, etc., so too do our responses, making the situation more and more improbable to resolve. This, perhaps, becomes clear in the continued history of ETA and their attacks – and the evolution of the people’s reactions.

Later in the same year, ETA carried out its first planned assassination on the police commissioner, Melitón Manzanas. The commissioner was targeted due to his notoriety for torturing people. He was shot in front of his wife while entering his house. The government responded by declaring a “state of emergency” and illegally detaining and beating hundreds of ETA sympathisers. People took to the streets with mass demonstrations again.

Other significant ETA attacks include the assassination of Prime Minister Luis Carrero Blanco in 1973, the 1987 Hipercor bombing in Barcelona, and the kidnapping and execution of Miguel Ángel Blanco in 1997. These attacks are significant for a variety of reasons pertaining both to the history of ETA and terrorism in Spain, as well as to this project. The assassination of Carrero Blanco is often considered one of ETA’s most important attacks because only a few months prior to his assassination, he was named as Franco’s successor. If the assassination had

33 For more information on this ETA attack, see Conversi.
not occurred, the state of democracy in Spain following Franco’s death could have been drastically different given that Carrero Blanco had not only been named by Franco as his replacement, but he had also worked alongside Franco since the beginning of the dictatorship.

The Hipercor bombing was a car bomb attack that took place on June 19, 1987 in the parking lot of the Barcelona department store. It killed 21 people and injured 45 others. It is known as ETA’s deadliest attack. This event is significant because prior to this incident, ETA’s violence had not been aimed at civilians, but rather politicians and police officers. Similar assaults that took place within the sphere of “everyday” locations like the Hipercor department store also include the 1974 bombing on Cafetería Rolando (a popular place for police officers to eat lunch) in Madrid, as well as the 2004 Real Madrid stadium bomb threat. While the Cafetería Rolando bombing was aimed at police officers and the stadium threat was not realized, these events also demonstrate the familiarization of ETA’s terrorism given that the attacks targeted commonly frequented areas, as opposed to merely political ones. As Eliseo Bayo observes, the Hipercor bombing was “un acto de estricto terrorismo…sin otro alcance que provocar el terror en la población para que ésta oblige al Estado a plegarse ante ETA” (133). This change of tactics demonstrates the severity of the combination of terrorism and the everyday, which is essential to this project, both in the etarras’ choice of location for the bombing, as well as the reactions to it. It also highlights an acknowledgement of the importance of civilians in the terrorism phenomenon, suggesting that they are not merely observers or victims, but also actors to a certain extent. Public opinion can have an impact on the State’s actions, as well as on actions of the terrorist organization (in the example of anti-state terrorism).

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34 For more information on these and other ETA attacks, see Iker Casanova’s ETA 1958-2008: medio siglo de historia.
35 Events of a similar nature took place in Paris on November 13, 2015 including a series of coordinated attacks by ISIL on cafés, restaurants, and a music venue.
It also serves as a way of measuring the effect of terrorism on society, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

The execution of Miguel Ángel Blanco, a young politician and member of the local council for a small town in the Basque Country, was also an important moment in the history of terrorism in Spain. During the 1990s ETA had been working on bringing the majority of its campaign back to the Basque Country after having conducted a series of attacks in other regions of the country, including Madrid and Catalonia (Tellidis 428). As a result, their target selection was expanded to include journalists, academics, and people with moderate nationalist beliefs, as well as politicians and police officers. On July 10, 1997 Blanco became one of the targeted victims when he was kidnapped. The etarras grabbed him as he was exiting a train to go to work. Shortly after, the organization threatened to assassinate him if the Spanish government did not transfer all ETA prisoners to prisons in the Basque Country within 48 hours. Unfortunately, the short time frame allotted was not sufficient for the Spanish government to complete the task, making Blanco’s death certain. On decision day, July 12, 1997, they transferred him to a vacant lot, where he was shot and left for dead. His death provoked outrage and mass demonstrations across the country, in which the people expressed their lack of support for extremism. For example, those with moderate nationalist views, such as the members of Herri Batasuna (ETA’s political arm), were targeted with arson and other general violence (Tellidis 429). In addition to being the recipients of the people’s rage, Herri Batasuna also received the blame from the State.

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36 Further examples of this are noted in Begoña Aretxaga’s *States of Terror* in which she discusses daily life growing up in the Basque Country in the 1990’s.
37 Koldo Barrena does an excellent job of portraying the various angles of the conflict in the Basque Country, including feelings of distrust and being under surveillance in *Eusk*.
38 Significantly, this issue continues to be a problem in 2015 as is evidenced by bulletins and announcements on the websites of associations such as Exterat, Dick Emanuelsson’s report “Primeros días en libertad,” and articles such as BBC’s “Huge March in Spain after Ban on ETA Prisoner Rally.”
Miguel Ángel Blanco’s death signalled the need for change in both people’s tolerance for political extremism, as well as their reactions to it.\textsuperscript{39}

Over the years, the State and public have adopted different methods of dealing with ETA’s actions, including numerous attempts at negotiations, as well as banning organizations, such as Herri Batasuna and newspapers such as Egin and Egunkaria that are associated with the terrorist group. Another example of a “solution” to the Basque conflict came in the form of an illegal anti-terrorist organization called GAL (Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación or Antiterrorist Liberation Groups).\textsuperscript{40} Most of their activity occurred in the French Basque territories, in the hopes of pressuring the French government into a harsher stance against the Basques (Laquer 226). Their attacks included bombings and revenge killings, as well as kidnappings and assassinations and targeted ETA members and nationalist Basque activists. Nevertheless, they were also known for attacking people with no known connection to ETA or the nationalist cause (Encarnación 951). As a result, the GAL’s support was limited. The GAL were active just after the end of the Transition to democracy from 1983-1987; however, their existence was not widely publicized until the mid-1990s when their actions were unearthed by journalists and they entered the public eye due to a national trial.\textsuperscript{41} This organization was very controversial due in part to its clandestine activities, as well as its membership and supporters. It was long suspected that the organization was run by police officers or State officials, but it was not confirmed until the trial when José Barrionuevo (Minister of the Interior from 1982-1988)

\textsuperscript{39} For a detailed examination of the impact of the Miguel Ángel Blanco assassination, see Justin Crumbaugh’s “Are We All (Still) Miguel Ángel Blanco? Victimhood, the Media Afterlife, and the Challenge for Historical Memory.”

\textsuperscript{40} There are a variety of sources that discuss the history of the GAL. Many of these are Spanish-language books. However, many are also quite biased. For unbiased accounts of the GAL’s history, see Eliseo Bayo’s GAL: Punto final and Paddy Woodworth’s Dirty War, Clean Hands: ETA, the GAL and Spanish Democracy.

\textsuperscript{41} As a result of their extremely covert nature, there were not many literary or cultural productions created about the GAL; however, some of the few that do exist include, Fermín Cabal’s Ello dispara (which I study in this project), Miguel Courtois’s film GAL (2006), and Jesús Campos’s Diente por diente (1995). For a larger list of plays about terrorism in general, see El País’s “La violencia terrorista en el teatro.”
confessed that he himself had signed the deed of foundation. As a result of the involvement of high officials, such as Barrionuevo, and other members of the police force, the GAL is representative of State terrorism in Spain.

The GAL’s mission to end ETA’s reign of terror failed to accomplish its goal. What is more, it negatively influenced the experience of terrorism in Spain by providing ETA with more legitimacy in the eyes of Basque nationalists. Funded and organized by representatives of the State, the GAL death squads exemplified the repression and violence that ETA claimed to experience at the hands of the Spanish. This is especially clear through their kidnapping and killing of innocent people with no connections whatsoever to the terrorist organization. One of the most famous examples of this is the case of Segundo Marey, a French citizen who was mistakenly confused for an etarra leader named Mikel Lujua in 1983. He was kidnapped from his house and he and his wife were abused and sprayed with tear gas. Later, he was taken by car to Navarra, where his kidnappers awaited orders from Spanish police officers. The police then took him to Cantabria, where he was locked up and further tortured for ten more days. Marey was finally released and left at the border; however, this was not the case for many of the GAL’s victims. In response to the GAL attacks, ETA amplified its violence, making the years following the Transition some of the most violent years in the history of ETA.

The increase in violence during and after the Transition is noted by many scholars, including Alfredo Grimaldos, Jan Mansvelt Beck and Daniele Conversi. The escalation is also evident in the list of ETA victims published by the Spanish Ministry of the Interior. This list spans from 1968 to the last ETA attack in 2010. It notes that ETA’s bloodiest year was in 1980.

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42 For more information on the Marey case, see El Mundo’s “Cronología del ‘caso Marey’, la historia de un secuestro,” El País’s “Muere a los 69 años Segundo Marey, secuestrado por los GAL en 1983” or Agustín Yanel’s “Marey, la primera víctima de los GAL.”
in which they killed 92 people. It also demonstrates that between 1981 and 1987 ETA killed between 30-40 people a year, a significant difference from the average of 7-8 people a year before 1978 and after 1993.\textsuperscript{43} The surge of violence during the 1980s and early 1990s caused terrorism to become a more common experience in Spain not only due to the attacks, but also because of its increased presence in the media\textsuperscript{44} as a result of the discussion of terrorist incidents, the judicial trial of those implicated in the GAL death squads, and the need to put an end to ETA. This led to a series of truces and ceasefires, beginning in January 1988. The 1988 truce was broken in February of the same year when ETA kidnapped an influential businessman and held him hostage for eight months. An onslaught of bombings, shootings and assassinations followed. The pattern of broken truces has continued over the years, with at least nine declarations of truces and ceasefires between the years of 1996 and 2011.\textsuperscript{45} These are significant because they indicate a decreased amount of legitimacy and support for the way in which ETA conducts its business. The constant rupturing of agreements also creates a sense of uncertainty and distrust whenever a new treaty is announced. The most recent ceasefire was announced on October 20, 2011\textsuperscript{46} through the publishing of a statement and video on Gara’s website. Members of ETA

\textsuperscript{43} See “Últimas victimas mortales de ETA estadísticas cuadros” by the Spanish Ministry of the Interior more information. <http://www.interior.gob.es/es/web/interior/ultimas-victimas-mortales-de-eta-cuadros-estadisticos>

\textsuperscript{44} Theatre was regaining its prominence with larger audiences during the 1980s and 1990s as well due to the repeal of censorship laws during the Transition. Part of this was also facilitated by the reorganizing of Spain into autonomous regions, which then created their own regional centres for the study and performance of theatre. Moreover, these larger public theatres also increased the prominence of theatrical performances by staging works by some of the most famous contemporary playwrights, such as Fernando Arrabal and Alfonso Sastre, as well as younger dramatists like Sergi Belbel. They also promoted their official support for historic avant-garde figures through their productions of works by García Lorca and Valle-Inclán, etc. Finally, dramatists who had primarily staged their works via independent groups in the 1960s and 1970s were now able to have their plays performed for larger audiences as well. Some of these writers include Fermín Cabal and Ignacio Amestoy. For more information, see Eamonn Rodger’s Encyclopedia of Contemporary Spanish Culture, pg. 513-516.

\textsuperscript{45} See “Las treguas de ETA” on the La dictadura del terror website by Elmundo.es <http://www.elmundo.es/eta/negociaciones/treguas_eta.html>

\textsuperscript{46} The fact that this ceasefire was announced months after the original staging and release of Galcerán’s Burundanga is especially interesting. It shows that while Galcerán’s hypothesis was hypothetical, its basing on reality was also not far off. It also then provides a sense of the organization’s diminishing public legitimacy and their need to make a change.
appeared on camera in black clothing and hats, with white masks covering their faces. While other terrorist organizations, such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS have used similar tactics to instill fear in their global audiences, ETA resorted to videos in October 2011 to publicize the end of their violence. Both communications also appeared on several other Spanish and non-Spanish language media outlets at the time. As of yet, the agreement has not been broken. ETA declared that they had decided on the “cese definitivo de su actividad armada” (El Mundo, “La declaración de la banda”). Many suggest that ETA was given the “final push” in the direction towards peace after an international peace conference held in San Sebastian the weekend before; however, ETA does not explicitly acknowledge this in their statement.\(^47\) This ceasefire and the fact that it has remained unbroken for over four years marks the end of the quotidian experience of violence in Spain. Despite this violence’s enduring psychological and emotional effects on people for years, which provoked a constant sense of fear and distrust, the people can now begin their steps towards recovery and a less violent future.

\textit{The Awakening of International Terrorism in Spain}

Besides the Basque conflict and the trauma experienced as a result of terrorist attacks by ETA and the GAL, contemporary Spain has also suffered other incidents of terrorism. This is evident in the form of the international or Islamist terrorists, which performed the March 11, 2004 train bombings in Madrid now known as 11-M. These attacks consisted of 10 bombs, which exploded in four Cercanías commuter trains between 7:37 and 7:41am. In total 191 people were killed and 1,841 were injured (Reinares 8). For many, the morning train commute was part

\(^{47}\) For the full text of ETA’s statement, see El mundo’s “La declaración de la banda” at \url{http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/10/20/estatal/1319132546.html}. For more details on the end of ETA, visit RTVE’s special site entitled “Fin de Actividad Armada” at \url{http://www.rtve.es/noticias/especiales/eta/}. 47
of their daily routine and the intersection of this routine with such an act of violence had previously been unthinkable even in the wake of the Al-Qaeda attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. Nobody had considered a terrorist enemy other than ETA (V. Hernández and M.J. Hernández, “Cuidadanos más vulnerables”) and, even though it did not fit their profile, President José María Aznar initially blamed the Basque nationalist terrorist organization for the attack.

The train bombings are widely considered the largest terrorist attack ever to occur on Spanish soil. The physical and emotional devastation caused by the bombings were unprecedented. The aftermath of the bombings also precipitated a change in the Spanish political mindset, as was evidenced by the results of the federal elections which occurred a mere three days after the terrorist attack. This occurred as a result of Aznar’s blaming the bombing on ETA, as well as the government’s reactions to the event. It was originally predicted that Aznar would be re-elected; however, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, leader of the opposition party, won instead. The last minute change in political stance by the majority of the voting public highlighted a conscious need for change in regard to the handling of the terrorist phenomenon in Spain.48

While the 11-M events represent a historical turning point for Spain, the importance of the bombings are also frequently understated by many foreign (non-Spanish) periodicals who refer to the events as the “Spanish 9/11.” This is evident in their original coverage of the incident in 2004, as well as in their coverage of the 10th anniversary of the attacks in March

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48 For more information on the effects of violence on political discourse and identity, see Asta Maskalinaite’s article “The Role of (ETA) Violence in the Construction of Nationalism in Spain and the Basque Country.” Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism 7.3 (2007): 78-93.
I argue in this project that it is important to note the severity of the occurrence of the events of March 11, 2004 and their significance within the context of the history of terrorism in Spain. I do not, however, believe that they should be acknowledged merely as a result of their similarity to a major terrorist attack in New York.

In addition to the trivialization of 11-M in comparison to American historical events, the train bombings are also further misunderstood in that they are often considered to have occurred within the same context as the terrorist attacks of 9/11. That is, the media frequently misconstrues the setting of the 11-M attacks, stating they occurred within the larger context of the War on Terror as a result of the World Trade Center attacks. Historians, such as José A. Olmeda and Fernando Reinares, have proven that this is not true. Instead, Reinares indicates that the plan to conduct a terrorist attack against Spain was originally discussed prior to 2001 (149). He observes that the key factor which provoked Amer Azizi (and the other jihadists involved in planning the attack) was not Spain’s military presence in Iraq, but rather the feeling of persecution and a need for revenge (152). These individuals had been members of the Abu Dahdah cell of Al-Qaeda and had also created their own jihadist cell in Madrid. However, the terrorist cells were dismantled by the Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad Española (FCSE) and many of the cells’ members were detained (152). These events provoked Azizi and led to the planning of the attacks on Madrid. This finding is also supported by a document known as Sumario 2004, the summary of the judicial proceedings against the perpetrators of the Madrid

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49 See Tim Garton Ash’s “Is This Europe’s 9/11?”, Diego Muro’s “The Madrid blasts, ten years later,” Robert Matthews’s “Madrid through American Eyes,” and CBC Radio’s “Spain’s 9/11: Terrorists bomb trains” for more examples of the americanization of the Spanish tragedy.

50 For some examples of the misunderstanding of the context of 11-M, see Uriel Rosenthal and Erwin R. Muller’s The Evil of Terrorism: Diagnosis and Countermeasures, Emma Schouwenaar’s “11-M: the Ultimate Consequence of the War on Terror,” Jonathan Gatehouse’s “Trains of Terror,” Sebastian Rotella and Tracy Wilkinson’s “Terror in Madrid: Al-Qaeda Link is One Possibility,” and Tim Gaynor’s “Suspect has links to Sept 11; Madrid Massacre: Surviving cellphone clue to bombers.”
train bombings. Moreover, this discovery of the reasoning behind the attacks demonstrates not only that the Madrid bombings were not simply a part of the larger War on Terror, but also that they were not a random attack either. The Madrid bombing was meaningful for its perpetrators and it had been very thoroughly planned and calculated. The investigation of the case uncovered a large web of jihadist terrorist cells in Spain with connections across the world. Nonetheless, the discovery of this terrorist web did not put an end to Islamist terror in Spain. For example, Reinares alludes to a “Second 11-M” that was intended to occur in the Barcelona subway system in January, 2008 (227); however, a protected witness exposed the plot to the Paris police and authorities dismantled the plans days before the attack. While the proposed Barcelona attack was now several years ago, police have also stopped plots for smaller attacks as recently as 2013 (Escrivá, “España bajo la amenaza del islamismo radical”) and scholars, including Reinares, predict that the threat of Islamist terror in Spain and Western Europe is not over (Escrivá, “España bajo la amenaza del islamismo radical”). Olmeda also alludes to the ongoing threat of jihadist terrorism in Spain through his detailed history of Islamic terrorist organizations in Spain, suggesting that the jihadists hold a grudge against Spain as a result of previous historical instances, including the end of the Arab empire in the country.51

The Transformation of the Dramatic Arts through Violence

Similar to the previously examined trends in the country’s political history, the history of theatre in Spain has also experienced bouts of uncertainty and change. These changes were often influenced by the political atmosphere of the country at the time. As a result, the understanding

of the history of Spanish theatre during each of the influential historical moments previously examined in this chapter is also crucial for the progress of this project.

During the Golden Age, theatre was a popular pastime that was enjoyed by people of all social classes. Spectacles occurred in various types of theatres, including “corrales.” These spaces were of particular significance because the only form of separation that existed was the seating: there were different sections for spectators, depending on their sex and position in society. This seating arrangement allowed a popular form of entertainment to be shared by everyone, instead of further dividing the country. In addition, there were also mobile theatre companies, which would travel across the country bringing their performances to rural and urban communities alike. This practice of mobile theatre companies continued into the twentieth century. It was especially prominent during the time of the Spanish Civil War in 1936-1939. Both the republican and nationalist sides recognized the importance of this medium and used it for various purposes, including political reasons like propaganda and recruiting troops, as well as for entertainment and increasing morale. A common theme in the productions of both sides was the return to the Golden Age. This was especially evident in the choice of genres that both groups decided to perform (although the nationalists took this revisiting of the past further, aiming, also, for a restoration of past values, and not just methods of entertainment). The republicans often employed forms such as the entremés which consists of “lower class” or “vulgar” humour used to produce a carnavalesque atmosphere, especially in the sense of hierarchy. The nationalists, on the other hand, preferred genres such as the auto sacramental (a brief Spanish religious play). It is worth noting, too, that both sides employed ideas used by

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52 There were certain types of theatre that were directed more towards specific social classes; however, there were still spectacles such as those of “teatro breve” which were open to everyone. For more information on the history of Spanish theatre, see María Delgado and David T. Gies’s *A History of Theatre in Spain*. 
Lorca’s pre-war travelling theatre group called La Barraca, such as that of “taking the classics to the people.” This often involved a slight rewriting of the play to place it in a modern context and appeal to their cause. For example, it is recorded that both parties adapted and performed Lope de Vega’s *Fuenteovejuna* (Labanyi 163). The adaptation of these classic plays is significant because the general storylines were already known by the public, making them more suitable for use with an educationally varied audience. The public’s familiarity with the themes and general plot of the dramas allowed theatre groups to experiment more with nuances in order to appropriate the play for their own political purposes. Using the modification of classic texts as an example, it is clear that the use of theatre as a sort of “weapon” or political tool, in addition to its artistic value, was heavily emphasized during the time of the Spanish Civil War. This is because both sides recognized theatre’s ability to transmit ideas within the primarily oral culture of the time. Theatre was also more physically accessible because performances can occur in a variety of settings.

During the subsequent dictatorship, the influential abilities of the theatre continued to remain strong despite the challenges drama suffered as a result of the Franco regime’s recognition of the impact of cultural productions on society. These obstacles are clear in the form of the censorship I mentioned when describing the incidents of terror and repression in Spanish history. This censorship included the translation of all foreign texts (such as works by Shakespeare) or texts written in minority languages into Castilian. It also consisted of the inability to discuss certain topics in dramatic texts, as well as the inspections of performances and scripts by State officials in order to ensure that actors and dramatists were adhering to the rules (Oliva *El teatro desde 1936* 219).
Other obstacles for theatres during the post-war years included a lack of writers and poor economic circumstances. The majority of the country’s artists (poets, dramatists, novelists, etc.) had supported the Republican party during the war. When the war ended, many of those who had survived either went into exile or were killed. Others decided against writing for fear of censorship, which resulted in a limited amount of participants writing for the Francoist stage.

Censorship was strongest at the beginning of the dictatorship. In these early years, plays were not allowed to be political unless they supported the regime’s values. Some examples of playwrights who produced works of “official” (state-supporting) theatre include José María Pemán and Juan Ignacio Luca de Tema. As Martha Halsey suggests in her article “Theatre in Franco Spain,” these playwrights “reflected the Franco regime’s vision of itself as heir to what it considered Spain’s past glories and national virtues as they idealized a dubious past while ignoring real problems of their own present” (659). Other playwrights, such as Alfonso Sastre and Antonio Buero Vallejo were also important figures in Spanish post-war theatre. Both of these playwrights remained loyal to the republican cause; however, they disagreed on the best way to represent their commitment in their work. Sastre’s work was more outwardly and realistically political, such as in the case of his Escuadra hacia la muerte (1953), which was eventually censored by the Franco regime, whereas Buero Vallejo’s work relied more heavily on symbolism.

Surprisingly, despite the more overt political nature of Sastre’s work, many of his plays were authorized by the regime. This appears to be due to their perceived nationalist ideologies, as Catherine O’Leary suggests (93). Despite their varied approaches, both Buero Vallejo and Sastre were influential personages in Spanish drama during the 1950s and 1960s. They also represent a brief of example of how tensions affected those who worked in theatre during the dictatorship.
They constantly had to decide how best to compromise to express their thoughts in their writing, while also obtaining approval from the censors in order to have their works performed.\(^{53}\)

In addition to the limited amount of dramatists during this time, another factor affecting post-war theatre was hard hit the Spanish economy received after the Civil War. These poor economic circumstances were caused by the large amounts of destruction caused during the war, as well as General Franco’s insistence on solving the matter without appealing for foreign aid. As a result, there were less spaces and actors available for performances due to a lack of funding for cultural endeavours. The post-war economy also affected the theatre as a result of its toll on the audience. During the war, the \textit{clases populares} had still been able to attend the theatre, maintaining its traditional stance as an activity for everyone. This changed in the post-war period. Prices for shows began to rise and the lower classes were less able to attend. (Oliva, \textit{El teatro del siglo xx} 139) Consequently, the popularity of cinema as a form of entertainment increased, which is of particular interest because while both theatre and cinema were subject to the same types of censorship regarding language use and subject matter, cinema was easier to control. Theatrical performances change every time they are presented, whereas a movie remains the same once it has been filmed. The fact that the more restricted form of entertainment is the most accessible (along with the reality that the majority of those who belonged to the “upper class” were Franco supporters) is significant, then, because it demonstrates how carefully Franco tried to mold the Spanish identity.

The impact of censorship and other factors affecting dramatic production during the Franco dictatorship continued to be evident during the years immediately following his death and the Transition to democracy. During the early 1980s the censorship of theatre was lessened in

\(^{53}\) Catharine O’Leary provides an extensive description of the effects of censorship on Buero Vallejo, Sastre, and their contemporaries in \textit{The Theatre of Antonio Buero Vallejo: Ideology, Politics and Censorship}. 
terms of the themes playwrights could discuss; however, it was difficult for unknown authors to stage their work. Unlike writers such as Buero Vallejo and Sastre, the new dramatists of the early Transition years did not have a lot of training available to them and most were self-taught as a result of the censorship during the dictatorship and the fact that many public theatres had emphasized the representation of classic texts as opposed to the creation of new, potentially dangerous works (Oliva, *El teatro desde 1936* 426). Nevertheless, the theatre world began to flourish once more. César Oliva notes that the theatre of the 1980s was “más sociológica que estéticamente marcado por la decadencia del régimen y el principio de un difícil, ambiguo y prolongado proceso de cambio” (*El teatro desde 1936* 426). He adds that the theatre of the time consisted of an increased amount of experimentation, with an emphasis on spectacle and performance (*El teatro español del siglo xx* 264). He indicates that in 1985 the *Ley del Teatro* was established, a law which provided a series of rules and regulations, allowing any theatre company to solicit funding for its projects (Oliva, *El teatro desde 1936* 430). This opportunity was seized by many, as is evidenced in the large quantities of theatre centres and programs created in Madrid, Barcelona, and other regions across the country, including Extremadura, Andalucía, Galicia, and the Balearic Islands. There was also a brief attempt to create a Teatro Público de Guipuzkoa in the late 1990s (Feldman, “Post-Franco Theatre” 728); however, this initiative failed due to the limited amount of playwrights writing in Euskara. Oliva observes that the tendency towards experimentation and spectacle continued into the 1990s, significantly impacting Spanish theatre and culture to the extent that part of the program of the Theatre Centre at the 1992 Exposition in Seville was dedicated to contemporary theatre and dance. Some examples of popular productions during the 1980s and 1990s include *Dimonis* performed by the group Els Comediants in 1983 in Retiro Park in Madrid, as well as *Accions* (1983) by La Fura
dels Baus, which was staged in the Galileo Funeral home in Madrid. Additionally, Carlos Cytrynovski played with the idea of spectacle in his 1989 production of Tirso Molina’s *El vergonzoso en el palacio*, in which he used human actors as rugs, trees, and tables. Gerardo Vera also utilized human actors as a fence in his staging of García Lorca’s *Don Perlímpín* in 1990. Paradoxically, a restrictive cultural policy was instated to limit resources available for experimentation after the event in Seville (*Teatro español del siglo xx* 264).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the theatre in Spain experienced a variety of changes, including funding, promotions, dramatic styles, and themes. Scholars such as Oliva and Feldman note the emphasis on spectacle and experimentation previously mentioned. Another key factor in the theatre of this era was the prominent sense of historical amnesia that characterizes many works from this period. This amnesia consists of the deliberate overlooking of the events of the dictatorship the country had recently escaped. This, however, was not the answer. It also led to the augmentation of other problems, such as the terrorism phenomenon, which was commonly neglected theatrically until more recently in the later 1990s and early twenty-first century.

There are few histories of the trends and changes in Spanish theatre after the 1990s. Nonetheless, despite the lack of historical accounts of the current theatrical tendencies in Spain, statistics show that it continues to have a major role in the country’s cultural sphere and Madrid and Cataluña remain the theatrical capitals of the country, with 29.6% of performing arts shows in 2012 occurring in Madrid and 23.1% occurring in Cataluña (*SGAE, Anuario 2013* 9). It is also clear upon examining anthologies of contemporary dramas that the openness towards variety of styles and subject matter that began after the Transition is ongoing in the contemporary peninsular theatre world. Groups such as Els Joglars and Fura dels Baus (two alternative theatre
companies founded in Barcelona in 1962 and 1979 respectively), which are known for their emphasis on the spectacle, remain popular. Foreign shows such as Cirque du Soleil and performances of plays in languages other than Castilian, such as Catalan, are also more acceptable now. This contrasts with the values of the Franco dictatorship when non-Castilian plays were banned. Furthermore, there no longer exists censorship on theatrical subject matter. This allows for dramas such as Jordi Galcerán’s *Burundanga*, a play currently in its fifth season of performances in Madrid, to thrive. The success of a play like *Burundanga* demonstrates not only the type of change that Spanish theatre has undergone in the last thirty years, but also the way in which Spanish society itself has changed.

**Violence and the Everyday**

I have noted that by means of events such as the Franco dictatorship, the Basque conflict, and the Islamist terrorist attacks of 11-M, the terrorism phenomenon became an everyday occurrence for the Spanish population. The cultural effects of this quotidian violence were visible in the history of theatre in Spain via censorship and the economic impact of destructive acts on the country during the Civil War and dictatorship. Later, it was also evident in the deliberate historical amnesia of the Transition and early democracy. More recently, the cultural impact of violence became clear through the discussion of terrorist acts by playwrights, such as Ignacio Amestoy and Juan Alberto López whose plays (along with the work of nine other playwrights) were part of a popular theatrical memorial for the Madrid train bombings during the first anniversary of the event. The effect of the 11-M attacks was also noted in SGAE’s *Anuario*.

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54 SGAE’s *Anuario 2003*, which details the statistics and success of cultural productions, such as theatrical performances, specifically indicates that the arrival of Cirque du Soleil in Spain in 2002 significantly impacted the numbers of theatre shows attended and tickets sold that year. For more information, please see: <http://www.anuariossgae.com/anuario2003/frames.html>
2005, in which it states that “el 11-M tuvo un efecto negativo sobre la asistencia a espectáculos a lo largo de las semanas inmediatas al atentado, lo que sin duda ha afectado a los resultados globales aquí analizados” (37). However, this citation was the only mention of the attack and its effect on theatre in the entire publication. There are no other reports available on the impact of terrorist attacks on the theatre industry in Spain.

The literal and thematic intersection of violence and theatre evident in this brief overview of Spanish history is central to this project. It emphasizes the performative nature of the everyday via the imposition of certain rules by the government, in addition to the forceful/violent qualities of theatre itself. Nevertheless, despite the extreme significance of the crossing of violence and theatre for this project as a whole, it is not the only evidence of terrorism’s transformation into “ordinariness” in Spain. As a result, I propose to briefly examine other important indications of this transformation in order to highlight the notion that terrorism did not become more commonplace only for playwrights and those involved in the theatre, but also members of the general public.

Antonio Cazorla Sánchez and Begoña Aretxaga provide scholarly accounts of everyday life during two influential periods in twentieth century Spain: the Franco era and the 1990s. Cazorla Sánchez indicates that during the 1960s Spain was continuing to suffer from what he calls the “skeletons of Franco’s ‘peace’” (189); the apparent agreement caused by the economic boom was beginning to fall apart and nobody knew how to fix it. The ruptures in the “peace” were caused by the conflict between the regime and the young people, ETA, and the labour markets. As Cazorla Sánchez highlights, tensions between young people and governments were rising all around the Western world and the ETA conflict cannot be entirely separated from this general youth rebellion of the time (195). The difference between Spain and other Western
countries experiencing similar youth uprisings was that the democratic societies were able to adapt and resolve the issues, whereas Francoist Spain “could not count on the mediating mechanisms of a civil society to find solutions… [and thus] it became more aggressive towards those challenges and in so doing, ironically less able to solve them” (Cazorla Sánchez 189). This description of events at the end of the dictatorship demonstrates the increasing clashes within Spain, while situating them within the context of common world events during the time period. It also underlines the growing tendency of using violence to fight violence in Spain.

In her account of life in the Basque Country during the 1990s, Aretxaga further exemplifies instances of state and opposition violence and its effects on daily interactions. For example, she writes:

In the Basque Country, the state appears as a recurrent presence in the constant “talk” that circulates in the public sphere (bars, cafes, streets, newspapers, radios) about security, terrorism, police harassment, youth riots, and so on. It manifests itself in the signs and images that inscribe the urban landscape (murals, political posters, graffiti and memorializations of killed activists) (146).

The constant presence of terrorism and other related themes in the landscape as well as in official discourse and informal everyday conversations highlights both a sense of growing concern as well as the commonality of terrorist and other violent occurrences. This also shows that terrorism had become an everyday phenomenon even in the absence of terrorist attacks because it revealed itself in the thoughts and fears of the people: whether they were announcing news reports, personal experiences, mourning the fallen victims or activists, protesting, or rallying in favour of nationalism, terrorism was clearly on their minds. The intensified circulation of discussion of political violence resulted in the generation of “a climate of social tension in towns and city
neighbourhoods that materialized in public clashes between social intimates (neighbors, friends, relatives) who found themselves on opposing sides of the political divide marked by ethnonationalist violence” (145). That is, in addition to its widespread presence in the public sphere, terrorism also began to manifest itself in the private sphere by causing rifts in personal relationships due to not sharing the same political values. Several of the dramatists included in this study allude to these damaging effects of terrorism on domestic life in their plays, including Ignacio Amestoy, Koldo Barrena, Sergi Belbel, Jordi Galcerán, and Juan Alberto López. As a result, through their portrayal of the combination of everyday life and acts of violence, these playwrights, like Aretxaga, demonstrate that the fear and anticipation of the next terrorist attack, as well as the increased sense of distrust contribute to the ordinariness of violence in Spain.

In addition to scholarly and literary works on the topic of the “normality” of terrorism in Spain, the creation of associations for victims of terrorism points to the severity of the situation. María Belén Pulgar Gutiérrez’s book Víctimas del Terrorismo 1968-2004 underscores the importance of the acknowledgement of victims and their families for the process of overcoming terrorist violence.55 The concept of “victim” goes beyond those who were directly injured by the attack and it is important to realize this both for the purposes of this project as well as in the context of further studies on the effects of terrorism. The concept of “victim” can encompass people at risk of being attacked, those whose family members or friends were attacked, as well as other members of society who are affected by the results of the aftermath of the attack (Mingolarra, Arocena and Martin Sabaris 107). As Mingolarra, Arocena and Martin Sabaris note in their book Violence and Communication, “the whole of society becomes a collective victim

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55 For more information on associations for victims of terrorism, as well as the progress in legislation recognizing these individuals and their families, see María Belén Pulgar Gutiérrez’s Víctimas del Terrorismo 1968-2004.
when it feels threatened and therefore modifies certain kinds of social behaviour: mistrust and fear of public expression are generated…” (106).

These notions of fear and mistrust were examined in a handful of sociological studies conducted in Spain during the late 1990s and early 2000s. These studies consisted of the interpretation of surveys and questionnaires given to a large sample of the general public. Answers were separated depending on the age groups and region of origin of the individuals. In the 1995 study *Los españoles y la inseguridad ciudadana* by Carmen Ruidiaz García, the author reveals that many people continued to worry about their safety. She affirms that “en 1995 los españoles manifiestan que se habla mucho de este problema social con compañeros de trabajo, amigos o familiares próximos en un 48,2% de los casos porque, tanto hoy como ayer, se sigue considerando un problema importante” (15). It is important to note that this study focused on the perception of safety in regards to crime and street violence, without a major emphasis on bigger terrorist attacks. This information is emphasized by a question in which the respondents indicate that when they contemplate the term “citizen insecurity” they generally think of situations of robberies and hold-ups, drug use, and street violence (25). Given the varied reasons behind these types of crimes, as well as their similarities with kale borroka attacks, this data remains significant for the purposes of this project. As Luis de la Calle Robles observes in his investigation entitled “Fighting for the Local Control: The Street Violence in the Basque Country,” street violence plays a significant role in the context of the Basque conflict. From 1990-1994 the annual mean was approximately 400 street attacks (7). Furthermore, in 1995 Basque cities had to pay 2.5 million euros to repair damages caused by street violence (2). This cost rose to nearly 9 million euros in 2000 (2). Street violence attacks served a variety of purposes within the context of the terrorist phenomenon in Spain and their frequency and
importance has grown since 1995. These incidents served as a way to “broaden the battlefield…and to spread the fear on a local base” (8). They allowed the terrorist organization to maintain public visibility of the violence, demonstrating the continuation of the fight for the cause. They also served as a tool (for both the organization and the authorities) to help identify the people who do not support radical nationalist ideologies.

In addition to this examination of citizen insecurity and street violence, Amando and Iñaki de Miguel published an investigation in 2004 entitled Las mentalidades de los españoles a comienzos del siglo XXI and José Manuel Mata and Rafael Leonisio published a chapter in a study in 2005 called Los españoles y las víctimas del terrorismo. This report, coordinated by Francisco J. Llera and Alfredo Retortillo, was the first national survey dedicated entirely to the perception of terrorism and its victims in Spain. In their pre-11-M study, de Miguel and de Miguel observe that as of September 2002 the Spanish opinion regarding the evolution of international terrorism was pessimistic, with 63% believing that there could be another attack similar to those of September 11, 2001 in the United States or any other developed country within the next few weeks or months (155). Interestingly, they also suggest that based on their research, the fear of another Islamist terrorist attack was higher in younger people than in older people. For example, 69% of those 18-29 thought there would be another attack, whereas for those aged 30-44 only 65% agreed (157). On the other hand, 62% of those aged 45-64 and 53% of those aged 65 or over predicted another attack (157). This discovery is of particular interest, given its contradiction with Mata and Leonisio’s report, which finds that younger people in 2004 mention terrorism as a major preoccupation less than older people. For example, only 54.7% of people 18-24 list terrorism as a major problem, whereas as 65.1% of people 25-34, 69.8% of people 35-49, 69% of people 50-64 and 63.3% of people 64 and older consider it a significant
issue (57). There are many possible reasons for this differentiation in information, including the
groups polled, as well as the timing of the survey. The fact that this most recent survey occurred
during the year of the 11-M attacks and the impact of these attacks on the social mindset cannot
be ignored. Furthermore, this particular question in Mata and Leonisio’s study included both
ETA and Islamist terrorism. Significantly, when asked about a possible connection between ETA
and international terrorism in Spain and the Basque country, 54.1% of the Basque participants
refuted the possibility, whereas 54.3 of the “Spanish” participants indicated that they believed
the two groups were related (73). Moreover, 21.7% of “Spanish” participants and 19% of Basque
participants said they did not know (73). While the first question mentioned in Mata and
Leonisio’s study demonstrates the seriousness of the terrorist phenomenon and its impact in
Spain, the second highlights the high degree of uncertainty and lack of information of the
Spanish people regarding this phenomenon. There is no direct relation between ETA and Al-
Qaeda; the only similarities between the two groups lie in their feelings of persecution by the
Spanish government. They do not, however, work together. Nevertheless, this investigation
offers important and necessary insight into the mindset of the Spanish public regarding the
terrorist phenomenon.

To date, the collection of surveys published by Llera and Retortillo remains the only
national study on citizens’ perception of terrorism. Throughout the inquiry researchers asked
both “Spanish” and Basque citizens about their opinions and perceptions of terrorism. They
concluded that because of the “terrorismo en la vida política vasca y por la incidencia ideológica
del nacionalismo institucional en la cultura política de los vascos” (Llera and Retortillo 155) the
nature and impact of the process of victimization is different for the two groups (155). They also
noted a larger sense of fear in the Basque Country regarding the expression of political opinions.
Given the declaration of ETA’s definitive ceasefire in 2011, an updated survey on the perception of the threat of terrorism in Spain would be useful to gage if and how the phenomenon continues to affect the Spanish people as a whole. As a result of this ceasefire, and without this potentially valuable information, I maintain that terrorism was an ordinary occurrence in Spain during the 1990s and early 2000s as evidenced by formal and informal discourse of the time, as well as studies of public opinion, the creation of associations for victims of terrorism, and the increased presence of the phenomenon in the Spanish imaginary. Nonetheless, I also add that the progression of the Basque conflict and the subsequent ceasefire announced in October, 2011, contributed to the end of the commonness of terrorism and political violence in Spain.
CHAPTER TWO

Branching Out: The Roots of Violence on the Spanish Stage

As we have seen through the examination of historical events in the previous chapter, Spain has had a violent and dramatic past. This statement applies both to the time periods studied in this project as well as to earlier eras. The aim of this second chapter is to expand upon the last chapter’s historical background of terrorism and theatre in Spain with a brief literature review, while also taking into consideration the intersection of violence and the everyday. As Willem de Haan notes, “violence is socially constructed because who and what is considered as violent varies according to specific socio-cultural and historical conditions” (28). This notion will be vital to our understanding of the importance of playwrights’ representation of terrorism in the later chapters as we examine the how and the why of their choices. Austin Sarat et al. observe the significance of performances of violence noting that “performing violence involves a quest to move the hearts and minds of people, every bit as much as or perhaps even more than the staging of a play or the production of a film or novel. The staging of violence sometimes glamorizes, sometimes degrades those who are its purported agents. When violence is performed we are moved” (7). This applies both to acts of genuine violence, such as terrorist attacks, as well as the staged violence that I examine in this dissertation. The fact that this violence collides with the everyday in Spain is equally important as both Ben Highmore and Anthony Kubiak suggest. For instance, Highmore states that:

if the threat of disaster produced fear, then (given the right measures) such fear could be absorbed into a habit of simply getting on with the business of everyday life. Habit, that
centrally ambivalent characteristic of the everyday, could delegate anxiety to a kitchen
drawer or could closet it away in the recesses of the mind so that it doesn’t clutter up the
day-to-day job of “getting on with things” (“Ordinary Lives” 168).

Thus, although fear or terror is often portrayed as an extraordinary circumstance in the case of
terror attacks or “random” acts of violence, it can also become an ongoing experience during
times of war and political crisis. As such, people may not outwardly exhibit symptoms such as
they would during exceptional moments. However, the results of the continuous nature of their
fear would continue to affect their thoughts and behaviours---even if these results were not
obvious upon first glance. Kubiak adds “as the actual practice of terrorism is dissolved into the
numbing repetitions of terror’s mediated images, violence and terror seem to be everywhere, and
theatre and terrorism become, ironically, emptied of terror” (4). This may appear to conflict with
my explanation of Highmore’s quote, given that Kubiak states that terrorism becomes emptied of
terror due to its constant repetition, whereas in discussing Highmore I state that the ongoing
experience of fear/terror continues to affect individuals and societies; however, such is not the
case. The repeated images of violence and terror aid in the increasing “accustomation” (or
“numbness” as Kubiak calls it) to fear, but becoming used to these experiences does not lessen
their impacts. In the case of recurring representations of violence, they may no longer have their
original shock value once an individual or collective adapts to such practices and people may
become less openly responsive or horrorified; that said, the very fact that people become familiar
with and used to such things, whether in terms of physical acts or representations, suggests that
anything can become part of the everyday and also signals a systemic cultural problem that needs
to be addressed. Such occurrences should never not provoke a response. This is why playwrights
such as those included in this project intertwin violence with their theatre, in an attempt to break
down the boundaries created by regular social and political interactions and indicate that there is a clear need for change in terms of the Spanish experience of and reactions to terrorism and violence.

The plays that I study in this chapter were written in the early twentieth century between the pre-civil war era and the Transition period. These dramas include Fernando Arrabal’s *Guernica* and Antonio Buero Vallejo’s *Jueces en la noche*, Valentín García González’s *Espíritu español*, José Herrera Petere’s *Voz de España*, Joaquín Pérez Madrigal’s *El miliciano remigio pa la guerra es un prodigio*, Santiago Ontañón’s *El saboteador*, Alfonso Sastre’s *Escuadra hacia la muerte*, and Ramon del Valle-Inclán’s *Luces de bohemia*. The analysis of these plays is necessary for the development of this project and its study of terrorism in contemporary Spanish drama from the 1990s to 2010s because both the differences and similarities between the representations of violence during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries provide insight into the evolution of the terrorist phenomenon in Spain.

Due to the emphasis on the evolutionary progress of the representation and performance of violence, the analysis of plays in this chapter will be organized by historical period beginning with pre-civil war theatre, such as Valle Inclán’s *Luces de bohemia*. However, before I begin my analysis of Valle Inclán’s work, it is useful to briefly examine a pair of classical representations of violence on the Spanish stage.

Golden Age dramas, such as Miguel de Cervantes’s *La Numancia* (1582) and Lope de Vega’s *Fuenteovejuna* (1619), are prime examples of the combination of violence and the stage. The age of these plays demonstrates that the acknowledgement of the power of the mixture of these two influential elements is not merely a modern development, but rather a centuries-old phenomenon. Cervantes, Lope and their contemporaries employed violence through language
and the representation of techniques including sword-fighting and “engaños” to discuss themes such as honour, class, and the purity of blood. Hugh Long discusses this presence of stage fighting in Golden Age theatre in his dissertation entitled “At a Sword’s Length: Theatrical Dueling in Early Modern Spanish Drama.” Long observes that despite the frequency of action in early modern plays, the stage directions were often vaguely or simply worded (such as “they fight”) leaving room for interpretation regarding the actual performance of combat (13).

Furthermore, he adds, there are no records or detailed accounts of what duelling scenes in the period actually looked like (13). Due to this absence of documentation, Long observes:

Fight directors have theorized that the depiction of swordplay and violence on stage was commonplace and an exciting aspect of public theatres. Part of its common quality was that violence was a daily part of existence in early modern Europe. Any man who could afford one owned a sword and typically wore it on a daily basis. With the increase in population in urban centers, personal violence began to rise (13-14).

The audience’s familiarity with weapons would suggest, then, that on-stage battles would need to be at least somewhat realistic in order to be taken seriously. This mirrors the apparent theory of contemporary playwrights, such as Koldo Barrena and Sergi Belbel, who stage more “realistic” models of terrorist attacks in their plays. Similarly, Jordi Galcerán portrays a kidnapping (albeit a failed one) in his comedy in order to criticize ETA and the society in which the organization emerged.

The study of Long’s work in addition to the analysis of contemporary plays suggest that the use of realistic and personal violence present in Golden Age dramas serves as an example of the roots of violence in both Spanish drama and the daily life of Spanish citizens. This is evident in the examination of Golden Age plays, including La Numancia and Fuenteovejuna. For the
study of these plays and the intersection of theatre, violence, and the everyday, it is significant to note that both Cervantes’s and Lope’s dramas take place within small towns and are based on actual historical events. *La Numancia* is an interpretation of the proceedings of the battle between the Romans and the citizens of Numancia sometime between the years 133 and 153 BC (Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas 1). *Fuenteovejuna*, on the other hand, is based on events that took place in 1476 between the village of Fuenteovejuna and don Pedro Girón, the commander of Calatrava (Alcina Franch 24). Each of these plays contemplates a variety of themes; however, the primary focus of both dramas remains on notions of collective identity and rebellion. These themes are clear in *La Numancia* in that the villagers, tired of the ongoing siege, decide to take action. The men suggest going to fight the Romans, rather than continuing to suffer from hunger. The women, however, reject this idea and instead decide with Teógenes that the best option would be mass suicide. Teógenes explains this decision stating:

> Terrible es el dolor que se previene  
> con acabar la vida en fin violento,  
> y más el mío , pues al hado plugo  
> que yo sea de vosotros cruel verdugo.  
> No quedaréis, ¡oh hijos de mi alma!,  
> esclavos, ni el romano poderío  
> llevará de vosotros triunfo o palma (l. 2064-2070).

Following this decision, everyone burns all of their valuable property and the men kill their wives and children, and then later throw themselves into the flames to die as well. After these scenes of death and destruction occur, the Roman general realizes that his plan to bring the citizens of Numancia home as his slave will not work (2392-2399) and the allegorical figure of
Fame appears to announce the future glory of Spain (2424-2431). The notion of collective rebellion is evident through the story of Numancia in the town’s realization that they would not be able to win the war through standard battle. Instead, they went against normal battle procedures and sacrificed their lives in order to avoid further torture and the triumph of their enemies, thus becoming heroes according to Cervantes and Fame.

The concepts of rebellion and collectivity are also present in Lope’s *Fuenteovejuna* through the town’s struggle and their eventual murder of Fernán Gómez, the Comendador. Gómez is a violent man who rejects his loyalty to the Catholic Kings, Fernando and Isabella, and embarks on a quest to capture the city of Fuenteovejuna for Portugal. During his adventure, he harasses, beats and violates several of the female villagers, including Laurencia and Jacinta. After escaping the commander (who had arrested her during her wedding), Laurencia speaks with the male villagers, upset that they had not attempted to rescue her, and convinces the men to kill him. Later, the villagers are brought before a judge and the Catholic Kings. When asked who committed the murder, everyone answers with a resounding “Fuenteovejuna lo hizo” (154). The village is later pardoned. The village, instead of succumbing to the terrors of the commander, came together to fight and kill their torturer, which is extremely significant. It highlights an overwhelming sense of rebellion, given that the power hierarchy between peasants and nobles was not often disputed (out of peasants’ fears of the consequences). It also emphasizes the notions of loyalty and power – with the commander struggling to adhere to either phenomenon. That is, out of his wish for more power and recognition, Gómez ends up betraying his country whilst also failing his new connections and himself. His hunger for power causes him to lose everything. Gómez’s egocentrism is contrasted, though, with the townspeople’s inherent sense of community and loyalty. By killing Gómez because of his violent treatment of the women and
other members of the town, and by claiming collective responsibility for his murder, the villagers save themselves and gain the respect of the Catholic Kings.

After this brief review of the two plays, it is clear that both La Numancia and Fuenteovejuna feature scenes of immense violence, including mass suicides, murders, and rapes. Both of these works are known for being classic and violent dramas. Nonetheless, it is important to note that, returning to Long’s observations of sword-fighting in Golden Age dramas, the majority if not all of this violence is not mentioned in the stage directions of the play. Instead, the information of the horrendous occurrences included in each play is ascertained through the characters’ dialogue. As a result, the degree of brutality in each performance of the play is left to the discretion of the directors and actors. This lack of the use of stage directions to convey information to the readers and performers of a play is not uncommon in Golden Age and Early Modern dramas; however, as I will demonstrate through the rest of this project, this is also one of the factors that changes the most in regards to Spanish dramas about terrorism / violent events.

Shining Light on the Problem: Luces de bohemia

Ramon del Valle-Inclán’s 1924 play Luces de bohemia pertains to a literary style created by the playwright called “esperpento.” The RAE defines esperpento as a literary genre “[…] en el que se deforma la realidad, recargando sus rasgos grotescos, sometiendo a una elaboración muy personal el lenguaje coloquial y descarrado” (“Esperpento”). Valle-Inclán was a member of the Generation of 1898, a group of writers and intellectuals active in Spain at the time of the Spanish-American War (1898) and the anarchist revival. This group was known for its belief in “rebellious living and rebellious writing” (Perriam 54). Critical of and unhappy with the current
situation in Spain, they strived for radical formal change in the educational, political, and literary spheres, including “new rhythms…in verse; new approaches to prose writing; [and] a poetic anti-realist theatre” (54). Therefore, Valle-Inclán employs the esperpento style in _Luces de bohemia_ as part of the new style of theatre, demonstrating the decadence of Spain during the time in which he was writing. He does this by describing a day in the life of Max Estrella, the play’s protagonist who is a poor, blind poet. Max highlights the idea of Spanish decay in Scene 12, especially when he and Don Latino are walking along the Callejón del Gato (a famous street in Madrid known for its concave and convex mirrors). There Max explains the notion of the esperpento, stating “los héroes clásicos reflejados en los espejos cóncavos dan el Esperpento. El sentido trágico de la vida española sólo puede darse con una estética sistemáticamente deformada” (169).

The use of the esperpento is clear in the grotesque representations of the spaces and people with whom Max interacts. Through these representations the playwright manipulates language in order to highlight the violence and inequality that existed in Spanish society at the time. These phenomena are noticeable through the use of multiple characters and different linguistic styles as a means of distinction between characters. For example, the authorities, the intellectuals, and the members of the lower classes all use different registers. This is especially clear when they speak about money. Due to the use of many linguistic styles, the word “money” appears under many different masks (such as “durros” and “perras” amongst others\(^5^6\)), all of which demonstrate the significance of the social inequality problem in Spain. This use of language by Valle-Inclán underlines the idea that social injustice does not only exist simultaneously with violence, but also that it serves as a cause and product of it.

\(^{56}\) Other examples of ways of saying “money” include “parné” (pg. 79), “pápiros” (pg. 140), and “luz” (pg. 62). Instances of other words related to the general topic of money are “propí” (meaning “propina”, pg. 206), “roña” (meaning “tacaño,” pg. 149 and 206), and “apré” (meaning “sin dinero,” pg. 86).
Critics, such as Alonso Zamora Vicente and Antonia Roberto Pérez allude to the importance of the linguistic element of *Luces de bohemia* suggesting that Valle-Inclán embellishes the “marginal condition of language” and the rural qualities of characters (Zamora Vicente 167). This exaggeration of popular slang, they add, allows him to hide real facts about social and political life in Spain, as well as caricatures of real people (such as the poet Rubén Darío) in his play (Roberto Pérez 109-10). In addition to these scholarly analyses by critics, such as the aforementioned Zamora Vicente and Roberto Pérez, Max Estrella himself also adds to these critiques of the esperpento. Max elaborates this sentiment later adding that “España es una deformación grotesca de la civilización europea” (169). Valle-Inclán’s vocalization of this definition of the esperpento through Max’s character is significant because it serves as yet another way to further criticize society. It calls the audience’s attention to the fictitious or arbitrary aspects of daily life given that the blind poet is the only one who can see the world for what it is. It is also worth noting that even though Max is a poet, he considers himself a poet “of the people” and thus associates more with those from the lower classes (80) instead of other intellectuals and the authorities. As a result, Max’s speeches illuminate Spanish society’s blindness regarding greed and brutality and highlight the problems related by this indifference.

Similarly to Max, Anthony Kubiak alludes to this challenging connection between what he calls “social decay” and the repeated reproduction of societal issues/violence: “The resistance to social decay comes more and more to represent the ideals of a decaying status quo. The images of what was once, somewhere, real violence---whether as news event or performance---lose their meaning through repetition and become more and more saleable and entrenched in the symbolic of art of media” (Kubiak 149). In other words, through the constant repetition of resistance against social problems such as violence and inequality in cultural productions, the
images and meanings of these phenomena begin to lose their controversiality and become empty. Therefore, Valle-Inclán employs the esperpento in order to demonstrate the grotesqueness of this situation and to critique the authorities to whom the social instability was accredited. He also criticizes intellectuals who have not taken advantage of art and language as a way to solve the Spanish problem.

The duality of identity (intellectual / poor person) allows Max’s character to play a fundamental role in the drama. Through Max’s ability to participate in both sides of society, the audience is able to step outside of the lines and briefly experience both worlds as well. As a result, the character of Max allows Valle-Inclán to highlight the corruption and inadequate conditions that form a part of the people’s daily experience. An example of this character duality is evident during the jail episode when Max speaks with a Catalan prisoner:

Max: ¡Paria!…Solamente los obreros catalanes aguijan su rebeldía con ese denigrante epíteto. Paria, en bocas como la tuya es una espuela. Pronto llegará vuestra hora.

El preso: Tiene usted luces que no todos tienen. Barcelona alimenta una hoguera de odio, soy obrero barcelonés y a orgullo lo tengo (100).

This episode serves a variety of purposes, including establishing a connection between two revolutionaries. In this instance, Max represents the intellectuals. The conditions of the situation (a Catalan worker and a poet in the same jail cell) as well as Max’s unusual views towards politics and the authorities allow for the incident to serve as an equalizing experience, putting the two characters on the same level. The characters themselves draw attention to their similarities and anarchist views: both are striving for an end to capitalist structures and believed that both the rich and the poor are barbaric (105). As John Lyon notes, these views were typical of anarchists

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57 For other studies on Valle-Inclán and the esperpento, see Robert Lima’s “The Esperpento: A Theatre of Absurdity, Cruelty, and Savagery” and Kyle Brandon Davis’s “Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Luces de bohemia (Bohemian Lights), and the Development of the Esperpento.”
in the period: “Their fundamental aims were not higher wages or better working conditions, but the complete eradication of capitalist structures that enslaved the proletariat” (165).

Furthermore, in various instances during their conversation, Mateo, the prisoner, alludes to Max seeing things that others cannot. This suggests that, through his blindness, Max is able to see the world clearly and not the deformed reality through which the others must suffer. Mateo, too, is able to predict the fate that awaits him: “cuatro tiros por intento de fuga” (104). Through the prisoner’s prediction, Valle-Inclán alludes to the malicious acts of the Spanish civil guard and police during the early twentieth century, including the execution of government opponents under the pretense of attempted escape (Davis 101). This practice “was so common from 1915-1922 that it was referred to as the ley de fugas, or ‘the law of fugitives’” (Davis 101). The jail scene concludes with Mateo being taken away for his inevitable execution as Max cries. Neither the characters nor the audience realize it at the end of this scene, but Max also dies three scenes before the end of the play. He passes away suffering from hallucinations and is left alone on the street by Don Latino who ostensibly does not notice his friend had deceased. It is notable that both of the characters who are able to see beyond the grotesque deformation are the only ones who perish in the play. Through the deaths of Max and Mateo, Valle-Inclán indicates that violence and social inequality is unavoidable, suggesting that there is always a sort of imbalance in society.  

Another example of this imbalance is evident in scene 11 when an inconsolable mother cries holding her dead son in her arms in the middle of the street. The son, we later learn, is Mateo (Valle-Inclán 164). The mother’s outburst receives reactions from several characters in her vicinity. Despite the varied backgrounds of those who respond, all of the responses (except  

58 These ideas suggested by Valle-Inclán in Luces de bohemia echo the beliefs of the Spanish anarchists of the time. For more information on the anarchist situation in Spain see Murray Bookchin’s The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years 1868-1936.
for that of Max who reproaches his colleagues and acquaintances) are unsympathetic and even odious. The bartender states that the deaths of young people in this fashion are “desgracias inevitables para el reestablecimiento del orden” and the police officer states that “la autoridad también se hace el cargo [sic]” (160). Additionally, one of the older women demands that the woman have prudence (161), while other neighbours and pub regulars discuss the country’s plight of hunger and poverty with indifference. Finally, Don Latino, Max’s friend and representative, observes: “hay mucho de teatro” (163). With this observation, Don Latino suggests that the mother is being overly dramatic and that her performance is not real – or rather that her pain is not as severe as she makes it seem. All of these characters, including the authorities (the police officer), the intellectuals (Don Latino), and the woman’s neighbours underestimate and ignore the circumstances of the mother and her son and what they mean for Spanish society as a whole. Moreover, these reactions highlight the hypocrisy of society. This is clear in the intellectuals who contemplate social problems but do not do anything to resolve them, as well as through the mother’s neighbours who experience the same violence and pain but continue to pretend to be ashamed or embarrassed like everyone else. The brief examination of these characters through their dialogues and interactions with Max demonstrates how Valle-Inclán employs the esperpento through language to deform the image of Spain at the time and emphasize the idea of the country’s inevitable (if not current) deterioration.

In addition to Valle-Inclán’s use of the esperpento to accentuate the grotesque reality of Spain in the 1920s, the playwright also employs the theme of greed in order to amplify his commentaries on the issues of violence and social imbalance. This theme is evident through the symbol of money, which is a common preoccupation for all characters in the drama. One of the earliest examples of the emphasis on money occurs in a dialogue between Max and his wife at
the beginning of the play: “Max: ¡Collet, mal vamos a vernos sin esas cuatro crónicas! ¿Dónde
gano yo veinte duros, Collet? / Madama Collet: Otra puerta se abrirá. /Max: La de la muerte.
Podemos suicidarnos colectivamente” (40). This conversation emphasizes the importance of
money and alludes to the widespread poverty of the era due to the corruption of Spanish
authorities. The sheer desperation of the poverty is evident given that in the absence of the
“veinte duros” the only other plausible option for Max is to suggest collective suicide for his
entire family. Max is aware of the distraught state of his family and his country and believes that
living in that situation would be worse than death. Max’s suggestion of this decision is serious
and emphasizes how disastrous life for the lower classes would have been at the time. 59 While
the family did not immediately heed Max’s suggestion, Max’s wife and daughter do eventually
commit suicide upon learning of his death as they have no other means of survival.

The juxtaposition between greed and poverty repeats itself throughout the play. For
example, other instances of this occur in the aforementioned scenes with Mateo and his mother
when the police are present, as well as when other characters discuss their views on police
repression in these same scenes. The notion of greed is also present in scene 2 where Max and
Zaratustra negotiate payment for Max’s writing, as well as in scene 12 when Don Latino robs the
dying Max of his lottery ticket. In the former, Max goes to Zaratustra because he is unhappy with
the deal that Zaratustra and Don Latino have arranged, one that would pay Max less than he
deserved for his work. Zaratustra is inflexible and says the deal cannot be undone. The
playwright mixes political commentary into this scene by including a tertulia of animals,
including a parrot, a dog and a cat, who make different exclamations about the country. This use

59 As Murray Bookchin notes “Spanish Anarchism was rooted in an era of material scarcity; its essential thrust was
directed against the poverty and exploitation that had reduced millions of Spanish workers and peasants to near-
animal squalor” (4). For more information on living conditions and anarchism in Spain during the time Valle-Inclán
wrote Luces de bohemia, see the chapter entitled “The CNT” in The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years 1868-1936.
of animals is significant and also employed by famous writers such as Cervantes and Kafka,\(^6\) among others, as it can be utilized for a variety of purposes, including establishing a connection between the self and Other, as well as creating a discussion on reality vs. fantasy and recalling literary traditions such as fables. Alicia Ramadori explains the juxtaposition between the real and the imaginary through the usage of actual animals (as opposed to mythical creatures like unicorns, hippogriffs, and phoenixes), stating that: “los animales integran así imágenes la refieren la realidad fáctica y cotidiana, se los incluye en expresiones figuradas tales como similes y metáforas o en locuciones proverbiales, se convierten en símbolos y alegorías” (509). In the case of *Luces de bohemia*, the animals also appear to call out Zaratustra by barking and meowing when he accuses a rat of being a thief, perhaps noting the irony of Zaratustra’s comment. The use of non-human characters to conduct these political commentaries allow Valle-Inclán to highlight the commonality or obviousness of the injustice and corruption on which he comments given the frequent human consideration of animals as inferiors or Others because they cannot accomplish the same sorts of tasks as us. However, by positioning Zaratustra as human and the animals as those who speak out against him, Valle-Inclán shows that even those who some may consider the “least suspecting” are aware of the circumstances. In the latter scene, under the guise of protecting Max from thieves, Don Latino takes Max’s lottery ticket from the unknowing blind man as he died. This is especially significant given that Don Latino was not aware that Max was actually dying and assumed he was merely passed out from drunkenness. Don Latino, Max’s supposed friend, abandons Max in his doorway and does not return the winning ticket to Max’s family upon learning of his death. Max’s family’s lack of financial security due to his death and

\(^6\) Cervantes’s use of animals is especially noted through Don Quijote’s partnership with Rocinante; Alicia Ramadori details this and other uses of animal figures in “Figuras de animales en el Quijote.” Similarly, Matthew T. Powell discusses the function of animals in Kafka’s work in “Bestial Representations of Otherness: Kafka’s Animal Stories.” See also L.A.J.R. Houwen’s *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature* and Marc Lucht and Donna Yarri’s *Kafka’s Creatures: Animals, Hybrids and Other Fantastic Beings*. 
the stealing of the lottery ticket cause Madama Collet and Claudinita to kill themselves. As a result, Don Latino who pretended to be Max’s friend was no different than the other intellectuals who Max detested – those who only thought of themselves, those who saw the problems but did not do anything to resolve them. If anything, Don Latino took advantage of Max’s desire to help people and made the situation worse.

In addition to these instances of greed and poverty I have illustrated above, the significance of financial wellbeing is also highlighted through money’s different names in the play, including the aforementioned “duros” (40), as well as “beatas” (58), “perras” (86), etc. The repetition of the theme through varied vocabulary and expressions supports Van Humbolt’s idea that language represents a society or community’s way of thinking and thus the words that occur in a language emerge because they are important and hold a special significance for people and culture using it. This also suggests, then, that perhaps the greed present in the drama is not merely a temporary issue of the time, but rather more of a systemic social inequity given its deep embedment in the language. Moreover, this appeals to the anarchist tendencies of the period in which Valle-Inclán wrote as the concern for social inequity in Spanish society is exactly what the anarchists wanted to change.

In short, in his play *Luces de bohemia* Valle-Inclán depicts a day in the life of the fictitious “people’s poet,” Max Estrella, who is forced to confront poverty, incarceration, and death. During the course of the day, he converses with people of all backgrounds. These dialogues provide a means for the playwright’s critique given the distinct dialects and ideologies the large array of characters requires. The dramatist elaborates his commentaries about social inequality and violence through images of deformity and grotesqueness, as well as through the recurring theme of greed. In this way, Valle-Inclán is able to include a large variety of social,
political, and cultural critiques in one theatrical piece. He comments on political and literary figures, as well as media personnel and members of the general public. This attack on everyone is crucial to his message that the situation in 1920s Spain was not merely a political issue, but also a cultural one.\(^6\)

While the creation of the esperpento genre is indebted to *Luces de bohemia*, it is worth noting that, in general, the representation of violence and greed through the emphasis on absurdist language is not unique to this drama. It is also evident in other more contemporary plays that will be studied later in this project, such as Juan Alberto López’s *El tesoro del predicador*, as well as certain characters in Sergi Belbel’s *Blood*. The continued use of techniques evidenced here in Valle-Inclán’s work serve as an example of the roots of Spanish theatre on violence and the tools used to represent certain phenomena. Moreover, this highlights the importance of the mixture of violence and language and how these elements can be used to affect people – both positively and negatively. For example, they could be used as a tool for awareness as in the instance of *Luces de bohemia* and the other plays as I have mentioned. In contrast, they could also be used to provoke violence through extremist ideological discourses. The significance of this combination is invaluable for the study of plays in this project and will be analyzed more throughout this chapter and its examination of other important early twentieth century dramas.

**Rough-Housing: Theatre During the Spanish Civil War**

\(^6\) For more information and studies on language in *Luces de bohemia*, see Kyle Brandon Davis’s *Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Luces de bohemia (Bohemian Lights), and the Development of the Esperpento*, Antonia Roberto Pérez’s *Esperpentización en “Luces de bohemia,”* Alonso Zamora Vicente’s *La realidad esperpéntica* and Frances Wyers Weber's *“Luces de bohemia and the Impossibility of Art.”*
As noted in the previous chapter, much of the theatre produced in Spain during the Civil War era revolved around the notion of mobile theatre. This was due to the unstable environment caused by the war, as well as to the desire to reach as many people as possible. I also explained that many travelling theatre groups focused on adapting versions of classic plays, such as \textit{Fuenteovejuna} and \textit{La numancia} (Parker 126), which we examined earlier in this chapter. As Jason T. Parker notes in his article “Recruiting the Literary Tradition: Lope de Vega’s \textit{Fuenteovejuna} as Cultural Weapon during the Spanish Civil War,” \textit{Fuenteovejuna} was particularly popular. Parker acknowledges that the exact reasons for \textit{Fuenteovejuna}’s popularity over other Golden Age dramas remain unknown and states that, unfortunately, there were not many articles written about the play during the Civil War era in order for us to be able to attempt to discern these reasons (124). Nonetheless, he is able to briefly comment upon the differences between the two different representations of the play. He notes that “whereas Nationalists choose to highlight the question of divine intervention and the attack on traditional moral values, Republican interpretations tend to focus more on the issues of class conflict and legality” (130).

In addition to these adaptations of classical theatre pieces, new dramas were also created by both the republicans and the nationalists. This new theatre was aptly named “teatro de urgencia” (short propagandistic plays about the war). Often dramatists from both sides focused on the same types of themes, including patriotism, heroism and civic duties. Nigel Dennis and Emilio Peral Vega have compiled two excellent anthologies that provide examples of works of “teatro de urgencia”: \textit{Teatro de la Guerra Civil: el bando republicano} and \textit{Teatro de la Guerra Civil: el bando nacional}. For the purposes of this study, I have selected two plays to further analyze from each: \textit{Espíritu español} by Valentín García González, \textit{La voz de España} by José Herrera Petere, \textit{El saboteador} by Santiago Ontañón, and \textit{El miliciano Remigio pa la guerra es un prodigio} by
Joaquín Pérez Madrigal. From this selection of dramas, the plays representative of the republican side include *La voz de España* and *El saboteador*. *Espíritu español* and *El miliciano Remigio pa la guerra es un prodigio* were created by nationalists.

*La voz de España* is comprised of four relatively generic characters: two soldiers, referred to as Soldier 1 and Soldier 2, a fascist, and the personified version of Spain. The use of generic character names is especially common during the period of Civil War drama and occurs in many other plays during the era, including *Lección y escarmiento del derrotismo* by Anónimo, *La conquista de Madrid* by César M. Arconada, *El cuartel de la montaña* by José Antonio Balbontín, and *Marionetas en batalla (para un guiñol antifascista)*. *El moro leal* by Rafael Dieste. This practice allows for a certain degree of ambiguity and openness in the characters. Because they do not have specific names, they are not closed off to representing only one fictitious individual. Instead, they can symbolize or be anybody, permitting the audience to more easily relate to the characters as they can seem themselves and people they know in similar situations. This is evident in later plays, such as Sergi Belbel’s *Blood*. The personification of places such as Spain (as well as cities/regions in the country) is also significant because it serves as a symbol of patriotism, allowing the dramatist to voice their opinion of the state of the nation and its importance. In *La voz de España* Herrera Petere utilizes the character of España in order to petition the public for their assistance and participation in the war. He portrays Spain as the mother figure, with the soldiers (the citizens) as her children. Spain frequently draws attention to this nurturing relationship, calling out “¡salvadme, salvadme, hijos!” (288). These cries are also interchanged with exclamations of “auxilio, favor, me matan” (289). In addition, the notion of Spain’s maternal role is highlighted in the following passage:

*Soy vuestra madre española*
entraña de vuestro llanto,
la leal, la liberada
de opresores y malvados,
la que a sus hijos reserva
fábricas, cosechas, campos,
cultura e independencia,
alto y seguro salario (288).

By means of the character of Spain, Herrera Petere alludes to certain positive characteristics of the country, including the countryside and culture, as well as the attempts at modernization urged by the republicans and the government of the Second Republic (eg. “fábricas” and the “seguro salario”). Spain voicing her good herself and not via one of the other characters makes the plea for help more urgent. That is, by calling attention to her own attributes during her moments of pain / sickness, Spain appears not only as a mother figure but also, now, as a sort of “damsel in distress” appealing to the macho nature of the heroic Spanish man to save her. The pleas serve as a reminder of all that republican Spain has done for her people, emphasizing that these benefits will die with her if she is not saved.

In addition to Spain’s SOS, the play also consists of a conversation between the two soldiers and a fascist. Soldier 1 is very courageous and patriotic and is willing to make a sacrifice for the better good of his country. Soldier 2, on the other hand, is fearful and unsure of the need for him to go to the front. The Fascist is evil and conniving. He plays to Soldier 2’s weaknesses, namely the fear of death, and tries to convince him not to join the war. Some of his tactics include comments such as “pon pretextos, sobrehumanos, / no te expongas ni combatas; / sé pillo, pillo y sensato” (287) and “¿ir al frente? ¡Qué locura! / Di que te duelen los callos” (287).
The fascist also assures the soldiers that the war is already lost and that “muy pronto va a llegar Franco” (287). Moreover, the Fascist repeatedly makes angry asides in which he states “entonces te cogeré y te ahogaré con mis manos” (287). The representation of the Fascist in such a manner fits the typical depiction of nationalists in republican propaganda. This repetition of similar traits, metaphors, etc. was important for civil war propaganda on both sides. The nature of wartime propaganda requires a message that is easily and quickly communicated. The repetition of a certain set of ideas allows for rapid transmission of messages and ensures a better understanding by the audience. Interestingly, through the combination of the two soldiers, as well as the Fascist, Herrera Petere represents standard characters seen in propaganda pieces from both sides of the front: the patriot, the “weak” soldier that needs convincing, and the “intelligent” fascist. Herrera Petere utilizes these characters to demonstrate how Spanish society has been manipulated and damaged by the nationalist forces, as well as to suggest to the public that they can overcome the current dire situation. It is not weakness, he proposes through Soldier 2, to be afraid of death and war. In fact, it is a natural reaction. The important thing is to be able to suppress or work through these fears in order to do what is right and save one’s country. This is demonstrated through Soldier 2’s eventual dismissal of the Fascist’s comments in exchange for his newfound understanding of Soldier 1’s patriotism as the two leave to go aid their ailing country.

Patriotism as a theme is also present in Santiago Ontaño’s’s _El saboteador_, in which he writes about a group of soldiers in a makeshift base office in the province of Madrid. The plot is centered on the need to deliver a letter to another office. Two of the characters, Montes and Márquez, delay the group that is performing the delivery by chatting, as well as by being unable

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62 For more information on Spanish Civil War propaganda see Miriam Basilio’s *Visual Propaganda, Exhibitions, and the Spanish Civil War*.
63 Santiago Ontaño was a member of the Generation of 27 and a friend of famous republican supporters such as Rafael Alberti and María Teresa León. For more information on Ontaño, see José María Moreiro’s _Unos pocos amigos verdaderos_ and Esther López Sobrado’s _Las pasiones de Santiago Ontaño_. 
to find a stamp (and then later finding it in Montes’s pocket). This delay later fatally affects Serrano, one of the protagonists, as well as some of the other soldiers who accompanied him in his mission. The dramatist notes the presence of bombings in the background on a couple of occasions through the play’s progression. At first, these attacks are more distant as is clear through the playwright’s indication that “solo a lo lejos se oye un ruido de combate que se mezcla al del teclear de la máquina de escribir” (300). Later, the sounds of bombings get louder, causing the characters to notice and discuss them more. Serrano’s sister Nati observes: “Esto me pone nerviosa. Ademáś. Como oyes tantos, no sabes cuáles son los tuyos o los de ellos…, y claro, si te pones a pensar que a lo mejor son todos de ellos…” (300-01). Nati’s fears eventually come to fruition. We learn that Serrano’s delay caused him to encounter and be killed by one of the explosions in the middle of the bridge.

Serrano was an intelligent, practical, and hardworking character. His comments prior to his departure and death demonstrated his realistic contemplations on the notion of war. For example, when Montes suggests that Serrano and his crew postpone their mission to see if the bombing will stop, Serrano states “Camarada Montes, en la Guerra no se debe esperar” (296). When Nati worries about the risk of danger in Serrano’s mission, he replies: “no creo, ahora, que ya sabes, en la Guerra, peligro…, peligro…, siempre hay un poco” (300). Serrano’s musings allude to the importance of time in moments of war, indicating that there are always risks, but that these risks are not excuses. Time must be used efficiently and not wasted – especially in periods of violence.

The concept of time is elaborated later in the play when, after receiving news of Serrano’s death, Salas accuses Montes of being a murderer and saboteur. Salas blames Montes for Serrano’s death because his procrastination (which Salas appears to believe was intentional)
triggered Serrano to leave later than planned, causing him to cross the bridge during the exact
moment it was bombed. If Serrano had left earlier, he and the other soldiers may not have been
killed. According to Salas, this makes Montes one of the worst types of criminals:

‘Le acuso en nombre de esos muertos, de esa hermana enloquecida y de otras tantas, y en
nombre de nuestra causa y nuestro ejército le acuso de sabotaje. ¡Saboteador! Le acuso de
traidor. (Todos avanzan hacia MONTES.) Con el más bajo oficio de los traídores: el
sabotaje. La ley militar, justa y rápida, ha de hacer justicia. Llevadle. ¡Asesino! Más
enemigo y más vil que los que disparan desde enfrente. ¡Saboteador! (306).’

Thus, Ontañón’s play El saboteador not only addresses the themes of patriotism and time, but
also that of blame and/or causation of actions. By examining Montes’s behaviour, it is true that
he procrastinates and does not acknowledge Serrano’s rush, despite Serrano’s frequently
reminders. However, it is also worth noting that my analysis of Montes’s behaviour did not
reveal Montes to be overly suspicious or deliberate in his procrastination. Instead, I believe that
the issue of Serrano’s death and Montes’s possible guilt serves as a critique of society’s reactions
to violence. Nobody can confirm that Serrano and his team would not have died had both
Serrano and Montes handled the situation differently. This leads us to wonder to what point we
can blame others for acts of violence and not take at least some responsibility for ourselves as
individuals and as a society. For example, knowing that there were several bomb attacks
occurring outside, Serrano could have decided to temporarily postpone his mission until a more
stable atmosphere prevailed. Finally, in a more general context, the play suggests that wars and
conflicts cannot solely be blamed on the opposing party as it takes two groups to enter into such
a situation.
With these issues of accountability and the multifaceted nature of conflict in mind, I will now examine a selection of nationalist Civil War dramas in order to off-set the republican perspective of the war presented thus far. Valentín García González’s Espíritu español is a highly propagandistic work, which incorporates the usage of Falangist slogans such as “¡Viva España!” and “¡Arriba España!” The play is aimed towards nationalist women, specifically mothers of soldiers. It is divided into three acts and in each act only one character speaks. The first act features a son who is enlisting in the nationalist army, the second highlights the younger sister reading a letter (from her brother) to her mother, and the third focuses on the mother and her reactions to the news of her son’s death. The notion of acting and sacrificing for Spain is emphasized throughout the drama. For example, the son addresses his mother before his departure, stating:

Y si en la lucha cayera
en combate duro y fuerte,

moriré como un valiente,
como se muere en España (74).

In the final act the mother addresses the audience and observes:

Mi hijo murió por España,
y si precisas mi vida,
aunque mujer solo soy…,
aquí está, ¡Patria querida!,
esta mujer española (81).

Both of these cited passages highlight the idea of patriotism and what it means to be “Spanish.” For the soldiers, that is being brave and dying “like a man” by fighting in the war. For the
mothers and other family members at home, it means accepting that adults and children must sacrifice themselves for the good of the country. The fact that the mother also delivers this last speech of hers specifically to the audience (80) is particularly noteworthy. It breaks the boundaries between reality and the performance, drawing attention to the situation seen on stage (a family learning of the death of their son at war), a real-life experience that many will face. In doing so, it also suggests that the methods used by the mother in the play are the appropriate ways of coping (namely praying and accepting the sacrifice) with these matters of wartime deaths.

As Nigel Dennis and Emilio Peral Vega observe in their introduction to the *Teatro de la Guerra Civil: el bando nacional* anthology, this play and others written by nationalist playwrights “...directa o directamente acaban por constituir ‘modelos de escritura’ en el sentido de que representan intentos... de crear ‘mitos’ (el de Franco, por ejemplo, o el de la Cruzada) y de destruir o al menos desprestigiar los mitos elaborados por los escritores del bando republican” (43). This recalls Roland Barthes’s conception of myth – the idea that history can become myth through both oral and written forms of speech (218). Through myth, Barthes adds, a concept becomes naturalized and therefore more easily integrated by a society through innocent speech (241-42).

Civil War propaganda plays strove to integrate their respective ideologies through the repetition of certain models of behaviour. In addition to the wartime plays examined thus far, this idea is also clear in Joaquín Pérez Madrigal’s *El miliciano Remigio pa la Guerra es un prodigio*, which is particularly noteworthy because it was not a traditional theatrical work, but rather part of a regular program for a radio-theatre series.64 The text included in the anthology

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64 The Spanish Civil War is known as the first Radio War. Both sides utilized radio broadcasts as a tool to inform the population of their situation and to easily spread propaganda. This is especially true of the Nationalists who placed a
and in this project consists of two transcriptions or excerpts of the program. These texts / performances had distinct formats depending on the episode: some were written in prose and others in verse (Dennis and Peral Vega 54). All episodes centre on the character of Remigio, a republican reporter and soldier, offering a parodic perspective of the war and its progress in republican territories. It is also through this mixture of parody and comedy that Pérez Madrigal discusses such phenomena / issues as the republicans’ (in)ability to provide sustenance for their people, as well as the “red terror,” the republican counterpart of violent attacks against its enemies’ civilian population.

The first episode65 of El miliciano Remigio in the nationalist theatre anthology takes place in the streets of Madrid outside a bakery where a long line of people, patrolled by “este heroico miliciano rojo” (129) wait to receive bread. The crowd is anxious because they have already been in line for two hours. Through the various characters in the lineup, the author perpetuates the idea of the poor state of the republican zone, highlighting the plight of hunger suffered by the people and suggesting that this is caused by the republican army’s lack of organizational skills. This situation becomes evident through the cries of “¡Pan! ¡Pan!” (131), as well as through the character of Mercedes, who complains frequently to Remigio: “Mercedes: ¿Y nuestros hijos? [...] ¡Se nos mueren! ¡Nos morimos de hambre! Y encima nos atropelláis, y nos mentís, y nos amenazáis con unos bríos que no tenéis na más que con nosotras, con las mujeres solas e indefensas” (131). By emphasizing the impoverished state of the army and its citizens,

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65 Unfortunately, information regarding broadcast dates of the El miliciano Remigio series is unavailable. There are two books that mention the series, Nigel Dennis and Emilio Peral Vega’s Teatro de la Guerra Civil: el bando nacional and Joaquín Perez Madrigal’s El miliciano Remigio pa la guerra es un prodigio, but neither list the broadcast dates.
the writer is not trying to call attention to the republican cause (as could be expected if it were in fact a republican publication); instead, he attempts to ridicule their condition in order to stress the superiority of the nationalist army.

In addition to his emphasis on the republicans’ supposed economic inferiority, the author also alludes to their other perceived negative aspects through the crowd’s discussion of battles, as well as through the description and behaviour of Remigio. This is evidenced at the beginning of the play in the following battle conversation:

Locutora: Menos mal. Desde Valencia nos mandan los días el desayuno.

Mercedes: Sí, esta mañana hemos tomado Huesca.

Locutora: Y antiayer, Teruel. Tomamos Teruel.

Mercedes: Los desayunos más frecuentes han sido con mazapán...¡Hay que ver la de mañanas que hemos tomado Toledo!

Miliciano: Bueno, bueno, a ver si va a haber fomaliá...A la cola viene por el ceneque, si quede alguno, y no a dar mitines” (129).

The above excerpt encompasses the general idea of this and other Remigio plays. The complaints of the women detail the chaotic and seemingly “inept” (Dennis and Peral Vega 54) progress of the war. They refer to several battles in towns surrounding / near Madrid without focusing on any one in particular. This creates a sort of geographic confusion as a result of all the place names being mentioned. The fact that they have to wait in line in order to receive pieces of bread delivered from still other towns heightens the impression of the ineptitude of the war. The passage is also demonstrative of the character of Remigio. He describes himself as impatient and fierce and he has difficulties controlling his charges (129).
In addition to his military duties on the home front, Remigio also works as a reporter for republican broadcasts. This position is more evident in the second episode studied in this project, in which he describes a “sesión, con ejecución y todo, de una de las terribles checas que han entenebrecido a Madrid” (133). The term “checa” in this instance refers to a violent organization that abuses human rights, similar to secret prisons and police groups in Russia of the same name (“Checa”). This use of exaggerated language and images is also evident when, at the beginning of his broadcast Remigio indicates “este heroico miliciano rojo prosigue facilitándonos estampas impresionantes de la trágica vida de la zona moscovita” (133). The description of Madrid as a “zona moscovita” alludes to the fascist perception of all republicans as communists. This reference is also noted when the Prosecutor, in his defence of the terror techniques employed by the Red Terror, states that “hay que matar, como el ruso / a todo bicho viviente” (135). The exaggeration and ridiculization of characters is apparent through this episode via their overzealous acceptance and promotion of violence. For example, the Prosecutor also observes:

Planta es la Revolución
que sin la sangre se seca.
Al pueblo se hace traición
si cerramos la checa (134).

The Executioner adds to this statement that “ochenta mil fusilaos / no es una cifra horrorosa” (134) and that “es un crimen de Levante / el dejarle a uno cesante / cuando domina la cosa” (134). As addressed in the previous chapter, the violence perpetrated by the Red Terror is not unknown and the program’s audience would have been very familiar with the atrocities discussed in this play. However, because of its usage as a piece of nationalist propaganda, it negates / declines to mention that massacres and other violence were also carried out by the
White Terror in favor of the nationalist cause. By omitting this vital information, the dramatist characterizes the republicans as violent, blood-thirsty monsters. This serves a couple purposes: a) to further anger and entice the republicans, b) entertain nationalist supporters, and c) to draw attention to the republicans’ violence in the hopes of converting people to the nationalist side.

So far in this chapter I have addressed a handful of Civil War plays while paying particular attention to the reality that playwrights pertaining to both major political parties contributed to the corpus of Civil War dramas. Naturally, the amount of theatre produced during this period is too vast to consider in this project. However, there are many excellent works on the subject for those who desire extra information, including César Oliva’s *El teatro desde 1936*, and James McCarthy’s “Drama, Religion and Republicanism: Theatrical Propaganda in the Spanish Civil War.” For my purposes, I have examined the common practices that span across the front lines in order to further explore how and why drama was employed during the war. An understanding of these concerns will further aid the development of the rest of this chapter and the project as a whole.

**The Continued Saga: The Presence of War in Post-Civil War Theatre**

The Spanish Civil War played an important role in the development of contemporary theatre in Spain. The dramas written during the war were direct, used for entertainment and ideological purposes, but they had to be managed efficiently as they often took place in the middle of war zones. Due to their obvious use as ideological tools, they were also more straightforward so that the principal message of the play was not lost on any audience members. In addition to the Civil War’s impact on format and content of theatrical pieces, it has also
became a thematic preoccupation for many present-day dramatists and film directors. This is clear in a variety of films, including *La lengua de las mariposas* by José Luis Cuerda (1999), *Balada triste de trompeta* by Alex de la Iglesia (2010), *Bajo un manto de estrellas* by Oscar Parra de Carrizosa (2014), and *¡Ay, Carmela!* by Carlos Saura (1990). It was also the subject of popular television series, including *Amar en tiempos revueltos* (2005) and *El tiempo entre costuras* (2013) (based on the novel by María Dueñas). Playwrights such as Fernando Arrabal, Alfonso Sastre, Antonio Buero Vallejo, and others also employed the theme of the Spanish Civil War in their theatrical pieces during the Transition to democracy as well as during the early stages of the Franco dictatorship. The use of this theme in literary and theatrical pieces so soon after the war (and at the beginning of the Francoist regime) is extremely noteworthy—especially given that it occurred during a time of censorship. The civil war theme’s continued appearance 75 years later in literary and cultural productions also highlights the historical impact of the event on Spanish culture and society.

Arrabal demonstrates this historical influence in his 1959 piece entitled *Guernica*. This play takes as its focus an elderly couple during the famous bombing of the Basque town of Guernica. Significantly, as Francisco Torres Monreal observes, this is the first dramatic text published on the Guernica bombing (188). The play features four main sets of characters, including Fanchu and Lira (the elderly couple), a mother and her 10 year old daughter, a writer and a journalist, and a soldier (who is referred to both as the “Oficial” and the “military”). Despite the division of the characters into different “groups” or “sets,” most of the characters never directly interact with those pertaining to other groups. The only exception to this rule is the official who occasionally appears and taunts Fanchu with visual and physical threats, such as

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66 For a more detailed examination of the representation of the war in cinema and narrative, see Francisco Gutiérrez Carbajo’s article “Algunos textos narrativos y teatrales sobre la guerra civil española y sus adaptaciones cinematográficas.”
making faces at him through the window and pushing him around. The lack of direct interaction amongst the other characters is clear in that the majority of the play’s dialogue occurs between Fanchu and Lira while Fanchu tries to appease and console Lira who has been trapped in part of their house as a result of the enemy bombing. The other conversation that occurs is that of the writer, who speaks to himself and to the silent journalist.

Most of the dialogue that ensues in the play (eg. the conversation between Fanchu and Lira) is absurdist. The use of this type of language in a play about societal violence recalls Luces de bohemia. It also would serve as inspiration for future dramatists, such as Juan Alberto López and Sergi Belbel, whose works I will examine starting in the next chapter. This mixture of absurdist language and violence is used for a variety of purposes. In Guernica, Fanchu and Lira’s absurdism contrasts with the writer’s realism. That said, both dialogue styles present in this play highlight the people’s lack of knowledge about the war and the circumstances that provoked it. This is clear, for example, when the Writer states: “¡Qué novela haré de todo esto! ¡Qué novela! O quizás una obra de teatro, e incluso una película. ¡Qué película! ¡Qué películlan!” (121). It is also clear in the following conversation between Fanchu and Lira:

Fanchu: ¿Es que no te das cuenta de que estamos en Guerra?

Voz de Lira: Pero no hemos hecho nada a nadie.

Fanchu: Pero eso no cuenta. Luego soy yo quien se olvida de todo. Te has olvidado ya de las reglas.

67 The term “theatre of the absurd” was coined by the critic Martin Esslin. It refers generally to plays that depict society’s reaction to a world without meaning and/or society as a puppet controlled by invisible outside forces. For more on the genre, see Esslin’s The Theatre of the Absurd. Arrabal’s theatre often fits into this category of absurd theatre through his expression of the theme of freedom. However, he generally refers to his theatre as “panic” theatre. For more information on Arrabal’s notions of panic and absurdism, see the chapter entitled “Panic Theater: The Baroque Dream” in Thomas John Donahue’s The Theater of Fernando Arrabal. See also El teatro de vanguardia de Fernando Arrabal by Fernando Cantalapiedra and Francisco Torres Monreal. Antonin Artaud and Bertolt Brecht are also significant figures in the absurdist theatre movement. See Artaud’s discussion on the “theatre of cruelty” in The Theatre and Its Double, as well as Claude Schumacher’s Artaud on Theatre. See also Bertolt Brecht’s Brecht on Theatre: the Development of an Aesthetic.
Voz de Lira: ¿No pueden hacer una excepción con nosotros que somos viejos?

Fanchu: Pero ¿es que te has pensado que esto de la Guerra no es una cosa seria? Bien se nota que no tienes ninguna cultura (123).

The writer represents both Arrabal himself, who produced an unpublished novel and a film entitled *El árbol de Guernica* (1975), as well as other more contemporary writers who wrote about the war. He also represents foreign writers who came to Spain (on both the republican and national sides, although most foreign writers/artists who travelled to Spain at that time associated more with the republican cause). Some of these writers include Ernest Hemingway and George Orwell, among others. The tone in the writer’s observations is also somewhat absurd and critical, commenting on those artists and writers who use the event as an occasion to produce creative works, without actually participating in or experiencing the event itself. Arrabal also disparages the Spanish people for not being fully aware of the political situation and the implications of the war. This is evident through the conversations between Fanchu and Lira. In the previously cited excerpt Lira displays a lack of understanding of the country’s crisis and how it affects her, asking if “they” cannot make an exception because she and Fanchu are old and have not “done anything.” She does not realize that war affects innocent bystanders as well as active participants in the government or militaries.

In contrast to this naivety, she is also preoccupied with the notion of freedom. This preoccupation becomes clear through her constant requests for Fanchu: “mira a ver si han destruido el árbol” (115). “El árbol,” of course, refers to the tree of Guernica—el Gernikako Arbola—which serves as a symbol of Basque nationalism and is known for withstanding the fascist bombing of the city. Lira asks Fanchu to keep checking the tree to see if “they” have destroyed it and if it is still standing on three separate occasions in the drama. This idea of
freedom is also highlighted through the symbolism of the balloon, a gift that Fanchu gives Lira in an attempt to calm her nerves. For example, in one instance, she fears that the balloon will pop (125). On another occasion, Lira utilizes the balloon to signal that she is still alive after a bombing. Additionally, at the end of the play, the stage directions indicate the following use of the balloon image:

El bombardeo termina: en escena sólo ruinas. Largo silencio. De entre las ruinas del lugar exacto en el que Fanchu y Lira han desaparecido, se elevan lentamente dos globos hacia el cielo. Entra el oficial con un fusil-ametralladora. Dispara a los globos sin tocarlos. Desaparecen éstos en el cielo. El militar les sigue disparando. De arriba bajan las risas felices de Fanchu y de Lira (142-143).

Using a balloon to symbolize freedom is not new or unique. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that prior to this instance at the end of the drama only one balloon (that which Fanchu had given Lira) had been mentioned. This indicates a sort of duplication that is intentionally left unexplained. The doubling of the balloons, together with their now bullet-proof nature and Fanchu and Lira’s smiles, symbolizes the idea of the protection and continuation of the Basque culture. It suggests that no matter what obstacles they may face, as long as the people stay together, their traditions will survive.

Finally, in addition to the use of dialogue and symbolism to critique the war and people’s reactions to it, Arrabal also heavily relies on the use of stage directions in Guernica. This is due to the aforementioned point that the majority of the drama’s characters (all but three) do not speak. Therefore, it is through these written directions that most of the play’s action occurs. For example, the stage directions are where all of the descriptions of the bombings occur, as well as the accounts of Fanchu’s interactions with the Militar. It is also through these notes that we are
introduced to the characters of the mother and her daughter. In my opinion, this is perhaps the second most important group of characters in the play---next to Fanchu and Lira. In his first introduction of these characters Arrabal observes “durante el bombardeo atraviesan el escenario de derecha a izquierda, una mujer y una niña con aspecto irritado e impotente (ver cuadro de Picasso). Cesa el bombardeo” (113). Two aspects of this initial depiction are noteworthy: the reference to Picasso’s famous painting, as well as their appearance during the bombing.

Francisco Torres Monreal also notes this significant reference, stating:

> durante la redacción de la obra, posiblemente durante su concepción primera, Arrabal tiene presente el célebre cuadro de Picasso: de él extrae y en él se inspira para la caracterización de la madre y de su hija de diez años (en la configuración del personaje de la madre ha podido influir igualmente el recuerdo mitificado de las heroínas que destacan en la historia de España [...] (19).

While I agree that Arrabal’s direct reference to the Picasso painting is noteworthy, I disagree with his explanation of its meaning. It is obvious through the playwright’s explicit mention of the painting that the images of the mother and child inspired Arrabal’s characters; however, neither the pair in the painting nor the pair in the drama represent “mythologized heroines” in my opinion. In the painting, the mother is distraught, holding her lifeless child in her arms. She is sad, she is suffering, and she has lost a child, but, is this enough to be a hero?

In contrast to the sense of despair in Picasso’s piece, the overall presence of Arrabal’s depiction of the mother and child is not one of sadness. Instead, it is one of violence, constituting, in conjunction with the death of Fanchu and Lira in the bombed ruins of their home, a prime example of the intersection of violence / terror and the everyday. This becomes clear in that the mother and daughter only appear alongside the attacks. In addition, not only do the
characters arrive during times of hostility, they also contribute to it by carrying weapons such as a cart full of dynamite (119), hunting rifles (125), cartridges (129), a sack of ammunition and supplies (133), and a cart of shotguns (138). The only instance of weakness comes at the end of the play when, suddenly, the daughter dies. Arrabal demonstrates this through the stage directions once again, indicating: “al final del largo bombardeo pasa de derecho a izquierda la mujer. La niña ya no la acompaña. Al hombre lleva un pequeño ataúd. Aspecto irritado e impotente (ver el cuadro de Picasso)” (142). The reference to Picasso and the depiction of the woman as “irritado e impotente” mirrors the playwright’s initial introduction of the character; that being said, the word “impotente” does not appear to fit the woman and child who had previously carried and employed different types of weaponry back and forth across the stage.

Earlier in this chapter I discussed the civil war play Espíritu español, which also addresses the roles of mothers in wartime and how it is their duty to sacrifice their family and children for the good of the country. Similarly, the critique of a mother’s sadness at losing her son also occurs in Valle-Inclán’s Luces de bohemia. In both of these examples, the women only appear in their “motherly” roles of mourning. Guernica, however, is different. That mother and child are participating jointly and actively in the bombing and shooting suggests more of an internalization of the violent behaviour induced by ongoing wars. They were not surprised or confused by the events like Fanchu or Lira. Instead, the mother encouraged her daughter to join her in adding to the violence.

I acknowledge that my analysis of this play is based on the reading of Arrabal’s dramatic text and not on a personal viewing of a performance. That being said, the annotations in the text are vague and open to interpretation. They do not specify whether the women’s violence is part of the enemy attacks or if it is against them. This is what causes me to suggest that the mother
and daughter do not necessarily represent heroic characters and instead emphasize their own perpetuation of violence. In short, I argue that the behaviour of the mother and her child, in addition to the conversations held by Fanchu, Lira, and the writer serve to highlight the impact of violent occurrences on society: people may not be fully aware of the circumstances taking place, but, regardless, they adapt and can begin to internalize certain behaviours which heretofore had been foreign to them.

This questioning of people’s behaviours in times of violence and the impact of such experiences on individuals is also addressed in Alfonso Sastre’s *Escuadra hacia la muerte* and Antonio Buero Vallejo’s *Jueces en la noche*. Sastre’s play centres on a group of soldiers (Pedro, Adolfo, Andrés, Javier, and Luis) and their captain. The play takes place in a forest ranger’s home in the middle of a hypothetical third world war. Each of the men was sent to that specific squadron as a form of punishment for their misbehaviours in previous roles. As the play develops, the reader/audience gains further insight into the personalities of each of the characters. However, the captain makes his disdain for the other soldiers known from the beginning, remarking that:

> no basta con vestir este traje [el uniforme]…, hay que merecerlo…Esto es lo que yo voy a conseguir de vosotros…, que alcancéis el grado de soldados, para que seáis capaces de morir como hombres. Un soldado no es más que un hombre que sabe morir, y vosotros vais a aprenderlo conmigo. Es lo único que os queda, morir como hombres. Y a eso enseñamos en el ejército (106-107).

The idea of death, first alluded to by the captain, is present throughout the play. This is not unusual given that the drama takes place during a war; however, the men’s perspectives on death seem to vary greatly. The captain, for example, considers it to be part of a soldier’s job to “know
how to die as a man,” whereas the others think of death as a punishment --- or in the case of Luis, something to fear. This is clear in the following conversation between Javier and Andrés:

Andrés: Esto es una ratonera. No hay salida. No tenemos salvación.

Javier: Ésa es (con una mueca) la verdad. Somos una escuadra de condenados a muerte.

Andrés: No, es algo peor…de condenados a esperar la muerte. A los condenados a muerte los matan. Nosotros… estamos viviendo… (106).

The eventual conflict between the soldiers and then with their captain is seemingly based on their contrasting ideologies. The captain, for example, believes in strict orders and routines. He also dislikes it when people show signs of weakness. Conflict arises because the soldiers can no longer tolerate his overbearing nature. This results in them killing the captain and later disputing over whether or not they should lie about the murder. The dispute leads to the departure and disappearance of Adolfo and Andrés, as well as the suicide of Javier. As far as society is concerned, each of the combatants are bad men, which is why they have been grouped together in their squadron. The grouping was made despite some potentially being “worse” than others. For example, Pedro was sent to the squadron for abusing prisoners, the Captain for killing two cowards and a deserter (109), Luis for refusing to execute somebody, Javier for trying to avoid being drafted, Andrés for killing a sergeant, and Adolfo for selling and stealing food from the other members of his original regiment. This pairing of characters in such black and white terms along the scale of “good and bad” is particularly noteworthy. This is significant because, while the play is set in a hypothetical war, with some possible references to the Cold War (according to footnotes by César Oliva (104, 108)), more Spanish interpretations of the events are clear as well, such as allusions to the Civil War and dictatorship. The classification of characters as bad vs. good also recalls Jerald Post’s *The Mind of the Terrorist: The Psychology of Terrorism from
the IRA to al-Qaeda in which he observes: “those of us who have studied terrorist psychology have concluded that most terrorists are “normal” in the sense of not suffering from psychotic disorders” (3). He also adds that while “some emotionally disturbed individuals have carried out acts of violence in the name of a cause, severe psychopathology is incompatible with being a member of a terrorist group. Indeed, terrorist groups regularly screen out individuals who are emotionally unstable” (4). The military or police forces, as well as other Special Service organizations do not permit unstable individuals to join their ranks due to security risks. The same theories apply to terrorist groups, according to Post, as they do not want to risk jeopardizing their operation. Post’s observations, then, indicate that similar to a government military organizations, a lot of thought and preparation goes into the formation of a terrorist cell.

By alluding to Post’s work, I am not suggesting that the characters in this play are terrorists. I am merely using these comments to indicate that, no matter the purposes for the constitution of their particular squadron, it was clearly not done without thought as any organization that is creating a group of people for the purposes of participation in a war or battle would carefully consider its members. This does, however, beg the question of why the superiors in charge of the formation of the characters’ squadron in Sastre’s Escuadra hacia la muerte would have placed all of these particular men together. As the reader/audience sees through the development of the play, this mixture is volatile. It leads to murder, suicide, disappearance, sacrifice to the court (Pedro) and a life-time of haunting memories (Luis). The combination of these characters makes it clear that this is not simply a story of war and life in the trenches. Instead, Sastre employs this unpredictable mixture of men to discuss the experience of life in a dictatorship and how its effects vary with each individual, suggesting as Andrés did that it is a trap without any exit – or rather that, while such experiences of violence can affect people in
various ways, none of them are positive. Forced imprisonment in a dictatorship or punishment squadron will heighten people’s nerves and cause them to fight harder to find a way out in any way possible – even if it means more violence and/or repeating their original “crimes.”

Similarly to Alfonso Sastre, Antonio Buero Vallejo addresses the idea of the effects of living in a dictatorship in his play Jueces en la noche, which premiered in 1979. This play received varied, although primarily negative, criticism when it was first performed. It did, however, run for 10 weeks with approximately 120 performances (Sánchez Sánchez 328). The negative reception of the play was attributed mainly to the drama’s more “explicit” nature provoked by the lifting of censorship laws at the end of the dictatorship. Juan Pedro Sánchez Sánchez comments on this change in Buero Vallejo’s writing, indicating that:

con la llegada de la democracia, Buero Vallejo rompe con ciertas vaguedades de algunas de sus obras anteriores y localiza más concretamente el lugar de la acción. […] La desaparición de la censura le permite este giro que no es más que una localización inequívoca del conflicto para que el espectador, concretamente el espectador español, tome conciencia de los hechos que se van a describir. (324)

The “explicitness” of Jueces en la noche is not, by any means, extreme compared to the more contemporary dramas that follow. However, it is daring for the time given that people were not accustomed to openly speaking about political and social issues. Buero Vallejo avoids the masking use of metaphors to discuss notions of terrorism and the life of an ex-minister of the Franco regime (the protagonist Juan Luis). Moreover, as Sánchez Sánchez observes, the dramatist explicitly situates the drama in Spain: “en la capital del Estado y en nuestro tiempo” (Buero Vallejo 32). He is also careful to note that when the stage directions refer to “left” and “right” it is implied that these are the audience’s “left” and “right.” Buero Vallejo adds the
following message: “los personajes de la presente obra son ficticios. Ninguna possible semejanza con personas reales debe entenderse como alusión a éstas” (32). Each of these details is significant because the emphasis on directions also serves as a reference to the political scale and to which side the characters pertain. For a country just recently out of a dictatorship, these details would be immensely important and noticeable. For this reason it is important to know which side of the stage Juan Luis and Julia are on and why/if/when they move. Juan Luis’s movements, together with his unstable emotional and mental state, demonstrate a sense of humanity, an interesting detail given that he is supposed to be an ex-member of the regime. The political nature of this character placement is elaborated in that the two protagonists, Juan Luis and Julia, can both serve as representations of Spain, thus creating a theatrical dichotomy of the “two sides” of the country. The emphasis on the fictitious nature of these characters is of equal importance because, despite the lack of official governmental censorship, Buero Vallejo’s statement serves as a sort of self-censorship. It acknowledges the extreme sensitivity of both the historical and political issues at stake in his play, as well as at his time of writing.

Beyond the stylistic importance of Jueces en la noche, the plot itself also offers several points of significance. The play centres on Juan Luis, an ex-minister in the Francoist regime, and his wife Julia, who is depressed and upset upon learning of her husband’s past. The two are currently experiencing a marital crisis as Juan Luis is too focused on his work and his status. Juan Luis is haunted by memories of atrocities he committed during the dictatorship and often travels in and out of dream-like sequences. Over the course of the play, he learns that one of his old police acquaintances plans to commit a terrorist attack and he is now forced to deal with, in addition to his other mental and emotional issues, the decision of whether or not he should inform the authorities about the event. In the end, Juan Luis decides not to disclose his
knowledge of the planned terrorist attack, which occurs and results in the death of a soldier. Julia, on the other hand, commits suicide due to her depression and falling out of love with her husband. The direct references to terrorism and, more specifically, attacks committed by the police and other State organizations was not a typical occurrence at the time due to the only recently (1975) ended Franco dictatorship. What is more, Juan Luis’s failure to report the attack and Julia’s eventual suicide can also be seen as surprising. Juan Luis’s actions go against the glimpses of humanity that he had shown throughout the rest of the play and, in doing so, suggest the dangers of the new territory into which the country is entering. This warning is paralleled by the death of Julia, who represents the “softer,” more innocent side of the country, hinting that the people and the country as a whole could not survive another wave of Francoism.

The political awareness evident in Buero Vallejo’s *Jueces en la noche* is a critical component to the play and to the corpus of contemporary Spanish drama. It stresses that the dramatist is not only criticizing the current state of Spanish society and its intersection with violence, but inviting and urging the people to participate in this critical contemplation. This aspect of the conscious use of violence in theatre to comment upon society is also clear in the other plays studied in this chapter, including *Fuenteovejuna, La Numancia, Luces de bohemia, Voz de España, El saboteador, Espíritu español, El miliciano Remigio es pa la guerra un prodigio, Guernica, and Escuadra hacia la muerte*. It is apparent in many ways, including language, stage directions, and ideology, among others. Taking the progressive “explicitness” demonstrated in these plays as a point of inspiration / departure, violence in theatre for critical reflection is expanded in the later twentieth century and early twenty-first century. This will become more evident in the following chapters through the analysis of the themes of control, ideology, and alterity in Amestoy’s *Interacciones* (2005), Barrena’s *Euskalcalá, 23* (2003),
CHAPTER THREE

Casting Spells: The Illusion of Control

Power and control are complex concepts that can affect the social, political, and cultural realms. Given their diversity, these terms also pertain to various philosophical approaches and can have several definitions. My approach towards the topic is informed by scholars such as Michel Foucault, Giorgio Agamben, Patricia Marchak, Mark Haugaard, Alain Beaulieu, Paul Sites, and Jeffrey Alexander. I will henceforth use the following definitions when referring to these concepts: control is a tool or type of force used on someone in order to achieve a specific outcome—or rather, it is the attempt to impose a particular set of rules on a person or group of individuals and their acceptance/participation in the imposition. It is important to note that this acceptance is vital. It is what provides the controller with legitimacy and, thus, authority. Power, on the other hand, is the ability to control someone or something, without necessarily actually doing so.

These definitions discussed above apply to all types of terrorism (state, anti-state, and Islamic/international) experienced in Spain. It is important to note the application of these issues to all terrorisms because the State’s involvement in such activities is often overlooked. This is because, in contrast to anti-state and Islamic terrorism, the State is responsible for determining what “legitimate” violence is and what it is not. Therefore, as Judith Butler suggests in “Sovereign Performatives,” in which she discusses the regulation of hate speech, the state produces violence (to a certain extent) because it draws the line demarcating the difference between acceptable and unacceptable (77). One example of State violence being initially
overlooked in Spain is the GAL, the illegal antiterrorist group created by the State as a way of battling ETA. This organization was active from 1983-1987; however, their existence was not made public until years later.\textsuperscript{68}

The power of control enables governments to define “legitimate” violence and can be attributed to both democratic and authoritarian states. Patricia Marchak explains this concept of legitimacy, stating it is “an implied and occasionally explicit agreement on the part of the governed and outsiders that a state has the right to determine the domestic rules for citizens to act on their behalf and to control the armed forces of the country” (7). She adds that there is an inherent flexibility regarding the conceptualization of legitimacy that depends on the context and circumstances of the population involved (7). That is, the quest for legitimacy is not only experienced by governments, but also by terrorist organizations such as ETA and Al-Qaeda. They strive for it in order to fight and acquire power on behalf of their cause. In each case, control is a tool that is obtained (either peacefully or forcefully) from the people. As a result, this implies that it is also something that can be lost or taken away. However, the disappearance of control is not always noted immediately.

In this chapter I examine how playwrights such as Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre portray this idea of control, which is inherent in the terrorist phenomenon. I note that control is frequently represented as an illusion. One example of this is the representation of substance abuse in plays such as Galcerán’s \textit{Burundanga} and Sastre’s \textit{¡Han matado a Prokopius!} For example, in \textit{Burundanga} the characters Silvia and Berta drug Berta’s boyfriend, Manel, with scopolamine as a precaution in order for Berta to discover how he will

\textsuperscript{68} For more information on the GAL and its activities, please refer back to Chapter 1.
react to the news of her pregnancy. They later employ the drug again, upon learning that Manel and his friend Gorka are etarras, in order to orchestrate the demise of ETA. In Sastre’s ¡Han matado a Prokopius! Isidro is a detective known for his alcoholism. He manipulates people’s knowledge of this problem in order to extract information during an interrogation. However, sometimes he merely pretends to be intoxicated. In both plays, the characters employ substances such as drugs and alcohol in order to control themselves and/or others. The emphasis on such substances indicates that the effects of this type of control are not long-lasting and eventually wear off. Moreover, the need to resort to such external sources further demonstrates the illusion, suggesting that if these people were truly in control they would not need to rely on substances for assistance.

In addition to substance abuse, the theme of control is also present through the discussion of patriarchal societies and institutions as well as the characters’ experimentation with (sometimes multiple) social roles. The commentary on patriarchy is especially clear in Interacciones, Ello dispara, and El tesoro del predicador, whereas the questioning of character roles is more prominent in plays such as Eusk, Blood, Ello dispara, and Burundanga. Similarly to the representation of substance abuse, both these themes demonstrate the illusion of control. This is clear, for example, in Interacciones, Ello dispara and El tesoro del predicador when each of the female characters are described as unstable in some way, usually with reference to their fathers. Amestoy’s character Garbiñe is perhaps the best of example of this. Her manner of speaking suggests that she suffers from a few mental and emotional health issues, most likely including obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD) based on her repetition of certain thoughts and

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69 Surprisingly, of the newspaper reviews I found about Burundanga, only one of them really mentions the use of scopolamine. Even still, this review (“Terrorisme, amorós” by Ramon Oliver), like the others, mainly focuses on the romance and comedy aspects of the play – as opposed to its other significant implications.
her fixation on the size of her home. She constantly refers to herself in relation to her father and her brother, instead of as her own person. This seems to make her feel safe. However, she also panics when, in a moment of crisis (the time of the Madrid train bombings), she learns that her brother is unable to protect her. This critique of patriarchal systems is also evident through the characters of Lorena and Fina in *Ello dispara*, as well as Ella and Avena in *El tesoro del predicador*. Additionally, the playwrights go beyond patriarchy and extend their commentary to social hierarchy and roles in general. Thus, while these two concepts can be related, for the purposes of this project I have divided the discussion of these topics into two different categories. This allows for a deeper examination of how each playwright portrays social roles and their implications on the Spanish experience of terrorism. It also permits me to better study the importance of each episode within the confines of the theatre.

**Manipulating Reality: Control and Substance Abuse in Drama**

In his book *Everyday Life* Michael Sheringham describes everyday life as the “site of a struggle between alienation and appropriation” (360). In other words, he suggests that the everyday is a process that involves a constant tug-of-war between both repetition and change. He also observes that “critical reflection is inevitably involved in a similar dynamic” (360). Jordi Galcerán provides an example of this dynamic in *Burundanga*, a play in which he theorizes the dissolution of the Basque terrorist organization ETA. He uses this hypothetical disbanding of the group in order to criticize the power and reactions that ETA and other similar organizations receive from spectators worldwide. This critique is especially evident through Galcerán’s use of comedy, which is clear in the failed kidnapping planned by Manel and Gorka and in the advice that Uncle Jaime (the intended kidnapping victim) gives them in order to improve their terrorist
organization. Similarly, Alfonso Sastre utilizes the quixotic and alcoholic character of Isidro, a detective, to go beyond the borders of the current Spanish reality and question behavioural and societal motives. These episodes and the use of scopolamine by Silvia and Berta and alcohol by Isidro highlight the illusion of power and control that prevail in Burundanga, ¡Han matado a Prokopius! and other cultural discourses about the phenomenon. These episodes of “staged” or “simulated” violence occurring within the confines of theatre are important because they highlight the similarities between “real” and “fictional” terrorism. Given that theatre possesses the unique ability to transform thought into flesh (Kubiak 157), it also emphasizes acts of violence as a performance of certain ideologies. In the following chapter, I examine the aforementioned episodes and their representations of control as illusion.

One of the most prominent examples of “fantastic” power in Burundanga comes in the form of the characters Silvia and Berta. The manipulation of power is clear in their decision to resort to the use of scopolamine in order to try to solve Berta’s trust issues with her boyfriend Manel. The women give him the drug in order to see how he will react to the news of Berta’s unplanned pregnancy. Given the theme of the manipulation of control that prevails throughout the play, their choice of drug is significant. Scopolamine is known for its amnesic effects and, according to Silvia, is the drug that men use to rape women in Latin America (Galcerán 3). The decision to use this drug instead of another is important because it was a conscious act that the women made even after knowing its effects. To a certain extent, this act puts them on the same level as the rapists because they both employ the drug in order to incapacitate and take advantage of someone for their own personal gain.

The women attempt to justify themselves throughout the drama by indicating that the recipients of the drug will not feel or remember anything and that it is the only way to know, in
the case of Manel, if Berta can trust him (3). At the beginning, Berta struggles slightly with the plan to give Manel a beer laced with scopolamine; however, during a vague conversation in which she attempts to discuss her insecurities, Berta convinces herself to follow through with the plan. This process of self-persuasion is clear when she states: “en la vida, hay momentos…Hay puntos que marcan un antes y un después, puntos de inflexión y es en estos puntos, en estas ocasiones, en las que una necesita cervezas…digo, certezas” (7). This episode, like the moments that Berta mentions in this excerpt, serves as a point that marks a beginning and an end. For her, this means the moment when she decides by herself how her future is going to be and whether she is going to depend on Manel or not. It is also an important incident in the play because it is one of the few times when the characters orally identify the need for some sort of order. This is an interesting incident because it alludes to the importance of “seguridad,” in both Spanish meanings of the word (“safety” and “certainty”). This Spanish play on words is something that occurs throughout the drama. Another example of a moment when the characters recognize the need for control is when Silvia alludes to her romantic preferences, stating that “sólo [se lía] con tíos con uniforme, porque a [ella] los uniformes [le] infunden confianza: bomberos, mecánicos, médicos, policías…Esos no te dejan nunca tirada, porque saben lo que es tener una responsabilidad” (4). This observation is significant because it highlights society’s insecurities, imposed/constructed in part by the authorities, including the threats of daily life and the need for protection. As a result, Galcerán emphasizes the role of both emotional and physical security in Spain during the early twenty-first century through Silvia and Berta’s repeated justifications of scopolamine as a method to extract information from Manel (and later Gorka).

Nonetheless, although the women try to defend themselves, saying that the act of giving drugs to Manel and Gorka is merely an effort to discover the truth and dissipate their anxieties,
such is not the case. Instead, it is a forced and almost authoritarian seizure of power because, like rapists, Silvia and Berta choose to use scopolamine specifically because they want a substance that will not permit the possibility of resistance. If they simply wanted to diffuse their concerns, they could do so through conversation without the element of intoxication; instead, they take control themselves without advising the others of their manipulation. Thus, it is clear that the women employ scopolamine both as a tool to seek the truth, as well as a sort of psychological violation or terrorism.

In contrast to this use of drugs as violence in *Burundanga*, substance abuse in Sastre’s *Han matado a Prokopius* is portrayed more as a manner of self-control. While minor characters, such as Edurne and Ander, also partake in alcoholic beverages, the principal instances of alcoholism occur via the character of detective Isidro Rodes. Isidro, a self-proclaimed Falangist, is personally asked by a former colleague, the Minister of Interior, to take on the case of Prokopius (a fictitious famous Basque writer and Herri Batasuna deputy) murder. Isidro makes it clear that despite the Minister’s insistence that “[van] en el mismo barco” (68), they are not on the same side. This is because, as even the Minister admits, there is a lot of suspicion regarding the PSOE’s involvement with the GAL and their potential participation in the murder. In fact, this is why the Minister calls on Isidro: because even he is unsure whether or not his men are responsible. Isidro agrees to take on the case despite—or perhaps because of—the possible police corruption he may encounter provided he is permitted to employ his own methods. These techniques are continuously called non-traditional by Isidro’s partner Pepita, the Minister, and even some of the witnesses with whom he interacts. Moreover, they primarily include

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70 Javier Villán comments a bit on the political tensions, such as the relationship between Isidro and the Minister, in his review of the play – “Brillante ‘thriller’ politico.”

71 For more information on the history of the GAL and its involvement with the PSOE, please see Paddy Woodworth’s *Dirty War, Clean Hands: ETA, the GAL and Spanish Democracy*, Antonio Rubio’s *El Origen Del GAL: “Guerra Sucia” y Crimen De Estado* or Melchor Miralles’s *GAL: La Historia Que Sacudió El País.*
“tourism”—travelling to Donostia/San Sebastián (the two names for the city are used interchangeably by Isidro, who tries to appeal to the Basques through his knowledge of Basque language and culture) to visit people close to the victim instead of questioning people in Madrid, where the incident occurred—and drinking several glasses of brandy during these visits, which usually cause him to ask unconventional questions and physically and emotionally abuse suspects, including Cráneo who was brought in for interrogation by the Minister’s men.

It is important to note that the amount Isidro drinks does not fall under “casual” or “social” consumption. This is obvious in that, throughout the play, 15 references to his drinking appear. Furthermore, characters such as Pepita, the Minister, and even Isidro make comments alluding to the seriousness and longevity of his condition. For example, at the end of the play when Isidro is preparing to leave for another case, the following conversation takes place:

“Pepita: ¿Usted ya sabe que el alcohol mata lentamente? / Isidro: No tengo prisa, Pepita, y vete a hacer puñetas” (192). This is a significant interaction because in this instance Isidro demonstrates that he acknowledges the existence of his disease and its implications; however, at the same point, he also refuses to resolve it. This is noteworthy, too, because of his association with the “real” Spain, the heroic nationalist Spain (68, 78, 113, 141, 142), given that the play takes place in 1987, in the new democratic era. The resort to alcoholism represents an inability and/or unwillingness to deal with reality. Thus, in Isidro’s case, he utilizes alcohol in order to not have to confront the changing Spanish experience; however, notably, it is also the quixotic alcoholic Isidro who ultimately solves the case of Prokopius’s murder and discovers that the author had orchestrated his own suicide (and notified the public of its eventual occurrence in one of his older novels (185)). It is interesting, then, given his current state, that Isidro solves the case
instead of the other, sober officers. This is, perhaps, a social commentary on Sastre’s part, critiquing both the older, imposed system of social order as well as the newer, chaotic and supposedly democratic system as it highlights the inherent flaws of both political structures. It shows that “new” is not always better, but it also shows that the “old” needs some modifications before being able to function properly.

Through the study of substance abuse in *Burundanga* and *¡Han matado a Prokopius!* we ascertain that in both instances the characters resort to brandy and scopolamine as a tool to help them through a situation. For them, they represent their source of control. It is interesting, then, that drugs and alcohol are their primary choice given that the effects of both are temporary. Further, they are only directly experienced by the user. Thus, I argue, that whatever type of power/control they contrive from their substance abuse is most likely ephemeral and, given the hallucinatory quality of both alcohol and drugs such as scopolamine, it also highlights the illusory aspects of control. It emphasizes that control is not definite, but rather a social construct that varies depending on social and political contexts.

**Welcome Home: The Social and Cultural Impacts of Patriarchy**

Substance abuse is a significant example of the representation of power and control in contemporary Spanish dramas on terrorism as an illusion or social construct—especially regarding the illusory quality of the concept; however, there are other equally important instances as well. One of these other themes includes the discussion and critique of patriarchy. This subject is particularly noteworthy within the context of the terrorist phenomenon in Spain.

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72 I. Fandro Rozas touches on this in his review “Sastre bromea,” noting that Sastre discusses the relativity of things through Isidro’s success – despite his “fracaso vital.”
due to Spain’s history of rigid political structure (eg. the longstanding tradition of monarchy, as well as both Primo de Rivera and Franco’s dictatorships) as well as the cultural emphasis on the figure of the alpha male. Thus, the critique of patriarchy is worth mentioning because it questions a major pillar in Spanish society and culture. The impact of this criticism becomes more evident upon the examination of plays such as *Interacciones* (2005) by Ignacio Amestoy, *El tesoro del predicador* (2005) by Juan Alberto López, and *Ello dispara* (1990) by Fermín Cabal.

Amestoy’s *Interacciones* is especially laden with comments about patriarchal society and its (potential) effects and complications on daily life. This play features three characters, Garbiñe, Iker, and Clitemnestra, and takes place on March 11, 2004 during the Madrid train bombings. The drama consists of conversations between Garbiñe and her brother Iker, as well as monologues by Clitemnestra (who never interacts with the other two characters). Amestoy’s critique of patriarchy is particularly evident via the character of Garbiñe, although it is also clear through Clitemnestra and her inherent references to the myth of Agamemnon. Garbiñe is a young woman who lives with her brother Iker, a university professor. She moved in with Iker following their father’s death by a car bomb. At the beginning of the play, she introduces herself and her current situation through monologues. Significantly, these monologues, of which the majority of the drama consists, are not explicitly directed towards the audience. Rather, they are discussions with herself and serve as an indicator of her present emotional and mental states. Based on the repetition that characterises Garbiñe’s speeches (such as her obsession with mentioning the area of her “patria” or home), it is quite possible she suffers from a mental condition such as OCD
and/or PTSD (Fox 66-67). The condition is also surely impacted by the news on the radio of the Madrid train bombings and the sound of bombs in the background. The effects of these and other events (such as her father’s death) on Garbiñe’s behaviour suggest that an individual’s emotional and behavioural responses to traumatic experiences become part of their everyday behaviour and thought (Giddens 44).

For Garbiñe, the effects of these traumatic events are evident not only through her use of repetition, but also in that she never directly critiques the patriarchal society in which she lives. Instead, she proudly describes herself in reference to her brother, stating that she is “la hermana de mi hermano” (18). Further, when discussing her previous studies, she adds “en mi tesis yo sigo las teorías de mi hermano. Y digo que Nora, cuando se va de casa, no va a ninguna parte…Ibsen la hace salir de casa y la pone a la intemperie… La pone en las fauces de una sociedad en la que la mujer no contaba…Al cabo de cien años, las cosas…Yo estoy en casa…No debo salir… Fuera ponen bombas” (16). In this excerpt, Garbiñe not only allows her brother’s ideas to affect her own (as well as her identity as a woman and a scholar), but she also makes an important reference to Henrik Ibsen’s A Doll’s House (1879). Ibsen’s play is renowned for the controversy it provoked due to its critical attitude regarding marriage norms at the time. Garbiñe’s refusal of Ibsen’s musings by saying that Nora, the protagonist in Ibsen’s work, goes nowhere and that she herself must stay home is significant. This, in conjunction with defining herself in relation to her brother, suggests that she considers herself more of an object than a subject. This revelation is fascinating given her contemplation of “interactions” when she recounts that a friend lent her a book on Einstein. She says that, in the book, she found an

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73 For more information on the psychological effects of terrorism and traumatic events on individuals, see The Psychology of Terrorism Fears by Samuel J. Sinclair and Daniel Antonius or Gerard A. Jacobs and Nitin Kulkarni’s “Mental health responses to terrorism.”
interesting sentence, which she decided to give her own twist: “donde dice objetos, yo pongo sujetos: ‘Dos sujetos que han interactuado, nunca se separan del todo, aunque estén a kilómetros de distancia el uno del otro’” (18). She also ponders another thought of Einstein’s: “Bien, me digo: ‘Dios no juega a los dados. ¡Vale!’ Pero yo me pregunto: ‘¿No juega a los dados con quién?’ y ‘¿Dios es objeto o sujeto?’ O ‘¿hemos interactuado con Dios en algún momento?’ Le estoy dando vueltas al asunto. No sé para qué. No sé por qué…” (19). Garbiñe’s theory is noteworthy because it emphasizes activity in contrast with passivity and suggests that this interaction is more consequential, if not more intentional as well. “Active” interaction is also significant due to the relational nature of identity and subjectivity. That is, the definition and understanding of the individual/collective self is double-sided. It is comprised of both the positive and the negative: who we are and what we do, as well as who we are not and what we do not do. Either way, these actions (or lack thereof) of ours and others affect us.

Michael Sheringham alludes to interaction and its implications in his book *Everyday Life*, when he proposes that “the ensemble in which we are immersed comprises other people: *quotidienneté* implies community” (360). This observation is vital for the contexts of Amestoy’s play, as well as post-11-M Spain. For the play, the notion of the effects of others on everyday life (regardless of distance, as Garbiñe suggests) is evident in the allusion to other contemporary terrorist attacks, in addition to the March 11th events, including the attack in the Paris subway, the conflicts in Iraq and Israel, and the bombing of Guernica (17; 20). According to scholars such as Manuela Fox and Laura López Sánchez, the inclusion of the Clitemnestra figure also represents the idea of interaction by demonstrating the continued effects of tragedies in time and

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74 For more information on theories of identity, please see Heidrun Friese’s *Identities: Time, Difference and Boundaries*, Richard Jenkins’ *Social Identity*, Julie Barnett and Konstantina Vasilieiou’s “Making sense of risk: the role of social representations and identity” or Neta Oren and Daniel Bar-Tal’s “Collective identity and intractable conflict.”
space (Fox 68; López Sánchez 106). It is interesting to note, then, that while Amestoy includes the figure of Clitemnestra in his play, she never converses with the other characters. She only recites monologues. Amestoy also employs her character in order to demonstrate the need to look back at history in order to improve our present and future, instead of continuing along the same path. This is clear in the final letter from Orestes, which Clitemnestra reads aloud. In it Orestes states “No te mataré, madre, no. ¡Yo, no!...no seré yo quien te prive de los placeres de tu mal hasta la consumación final, hasta el éxtasis, hasta la muerte. ¡Tu muerte y la del pueblo que ha permitido tu crimen!” (20). This alteration of the myth through the refusal of Orestes to kill Clitemnestra, as well as the lack of interaction between Clitemnestra and the other two characters demonstrates both the need and the possibility for change within society regarding the use of violence. Most importantly, it suggests that the perpetrators of violence are not the only ones at blame; rather, the circumstances which lead them to violence, as well as societal reactions to such incidents, must also be examined.

The techniques used by Amestoy in his critique of Spanish society—including repetition to represent a distressed mental/emotional state and a heavy reliance on male/father figures—are also present in Fermín Cabal and Juan Alberto López’s dramas. Cabal’s *Ello dispara* focuses more on the discussion of state terrorism via the undercover mission of a group of agents, whereas López’s *El tesoro del predicador* contemplates Islamic terrorism within the surrealist context of the unknowingly intertwined actions and conversations of three distinct sets of characters. In *Ello dispara* both of the aforementioned elements (emotional distress and reliance on men) are especially associated with the character of Fina and her relationship with her husband, Don Julio. Like Garbiñe, Fina has experienced trauma and loss as a result of her son’s drowning in a pool. We learn of this event through Don Julio who indicates: “Él tenía que
vigilar, de acuerdo. Y no vigiló. El niño no tenía que acercarse a la piscina. Desobedeció y cayó al agua. ¿Por qué lo hizo? ¿Por qué desobedece la gente y se asoma al peligro? ¿Por qué es siempre así?” (148). Although neither Don Julio nor the audience realize it at the time, this utterance is prophetic. It is stated in response to Fina’s rejection of his advances. Later, through Fina’s repetition of comments such as “ha llamado papá” (145) and “dice que tengas cuidado” (157) and her self-identification as “la mujer que hace la limpieza” (154), we realize the extent of the damage of the tragedy. Don Julio appears to blame both his father-in-law and his son for the child’s death. Likewise, Fina harbours resentment towards her husband and refuses to acknowledge their relationship.75 As noted in the stage directions, she also demonstrates suicidal tendencies by playing with a gun at the end of the play. Given the frequency with which Fina announces her father’s calls, we are also left assuming that the event was rather recent. The urgency and insistence of her father’s calls, then, provokes a sense of doubt in the audience as to who is really to blame. Is Fina’s father calling to apologize or to comfort and offer condolences? Who was the mysterious “él” to whom Don Julio referred? Was it him? Was it his father-in-law? Was it anybody? It is possible that, perhaps, Don Julio was not present and not directly responsible, but blames himself, nonetheless, because of his absence. As his son’s father, as “the one in charge,” he may believe that he should have been in control. I suggest this possibility due to what happens later with Ramón, a subordinate agent who was working undercover and betrayed their mission. Upon discovery of Ramón’s deceit, Don Julio (with the help of another agent) subjects Ramón to water torture, submerging his head into a bucket of cold water several times. He explains this decision to Lorena stating: “Papá ha echado una moneda al agua y el pequeño Ramón se la va a traer con los dientes” (166). This parallels, to a certain extent, the

75 Lorenzo López Sancho observes this briefly in “Ello dispara', cine negro para escenario negro: cabal en la carpa del español,” writing that Cabal “deja aparte, más definida, la esposa del jefe, una mujer que representa la otra orilla de la sociedad, la que padece los sucesos sin entenderlos y de este efecto resulta marginada por los marginados.”
situation with his son given the issues of “disobedience” (although the son’s death was accidental and Ramón’s torture and eventual death by gunpoint were intentional), as well as the use of water and paternal language. It also suggests, in conjunction with Fina’s obsession with her own father, a heavy emphasis on patriarchy, while simultaneously highlighting the unhealthiness and danger of relying on a damaged system of order.

Juan Alberto López also alludes to the dangerous implications of following a societal structure that, possibly, no longer makes sense in El tesoro del predicador. This is clear in each of his three sets of characters: Él and Ella, Triticale and Alforfón, and Mijo and Avena. The emphasis on father figures is most prominent in the discussions between Mijo and Avena, although each set of characters does demonstrate a reliance on a strong male lead – whether this character directly presents himself in the play or not. For example, Avena is planning on running away and is waiting at the train station with her friend Mijo. She wants to escape because she had had a fight with her father earlier that morning over the fact that Avena had taken and eaten all the bread. Avena states that she will not leave if she receives a phone call before the train arrives. When Mijo asks whose call Avena is awaiting she responds: “¡¿Quién va a ser?! Mi padre” (70). This demonstrates the significance of her father’s role in Avena’s life given that she would rather abandon everything than face his disapproval. However, that being said, while she fears his condemnation, that does not stop her from rebelling against him in the first place. This is clear through her disregard for the family when she ate all the bread (something that her father considers “sagrado” (70) and later when she steals her father’s cell phone. Consequently, this last act of rebellion makes it impossible for her father (Él) to call and, indirectly, leads to her unintended death at the hands of the pirates, who had been fighting with Él and Ella. It is important to note that this scene, which results in the death of four of the six characters, is the
only scene in which all characters are on stage at the same time. Despite the fact that all characters are conducting their scenes on stage Tritcale and Alforfón, fighting with Él and Ella, propel themselves wildly across the stage: “Los piratas esgrimen sus espadas contra Él y Ella, que esquivan las acometidas como pueden. Los piratas, enfurecidos, arremeten una y otra vez contra ellos, persiguiéndolos por el espacio, hasta que en uno de sus sablazos, sin pretenderlo, hunden sus florets en los cuerpos, que hasta entonces no veían, de Mijo y Avena” (75). This is an important moment given both the events leading up to and proceeding it. For example, at the same moment when Avena realizes she has been trying to call her father on his own phone, the pirates are also trying to call their boss. Neither receive an answer. After their phone call, the pirates notice Él and Ella eating their treasure—a loaf of bread—and angrily charge towards them with their swords. The pirates end up accidentally killing Avena and Mijo in their fury, and then commit suicide after realizing what they have done. Él then steals the cell phone from Triticale’s lifeless body to dial a number, which causes Avena’s phone to ring in her backpack. Thus, through the story of Avena, López highlights the theme of family and more specifically, patriarchy, as an important form of control and ideological influence. For Avena her father is the only person who matters—he is the only one who can stop her from carrying out her plan, yet he is also, in a way, the person who caused her to enter her predicament. He allowed her or gave her the tools to develop the habits of gluttony and stealing. This notion of patriarchy applies to the characters on an individual level in the sense of their family life, but it also applies to the characters on a larger collective scale in relation to the “patria” or fatherland itself. Therefore, I argue that in addition to the critiques of the media and religious and political institutions present in this play (all of which will be examined in Chapter 4), López also suggests that the country of
Spain itself, the collective Spanish public, is also, in a way, responsible for allowing the values that cause the ongoing terrorist phenomenon to be instilled in their culture.

**Multi-Tasking: Individual Actors, Multiple Roles**

In addition to the dual function of scopolamine in Galcerán’s *Burundanga*, the use of the drug demonstrates the manipulation of control because it permits Silvia and Berta to act simultaneously as both witnesses and accomplices of Manel and Gorka’s attempted terrorist activity. They are witnesses given that they did not have prior knowledge of the plan to perform a kidnapping. They are accomplices because they discovered Manel’s terrorist identity via the drug and they decided not to report him to the police. Moreover, the women are also implicated because Manel’s attempt to stage a kidnapping in the women’s apartment was a result of his drug-induced confusion. He was unable to bring the already-kidnapped victim to his house because he had accidentally grabbed Berta’s keys instead of his own and spontaneously had to bring the victim to the only other location he could access. Silvia and Berta’s involvement was unintentional – and unknown by the terrorists. Nevertheless, they were also directly responsible for the events that occurred within their household. This episode highlights that people can play multiple roles in life, even within a single situation. These roles can be conflicting (such as being a witness/victim of an event, as well as an accomplice) and are also often involuntary.\(^{76}\) This sense of involuntary or unintentional roles is fundamental because it demonstrates that no individual ever fully has control over their own life, but rather they are continuously subjected to and influenced by the forces around them. Galcerán emphasizes this through Silvia and Berta, as

\(^{76}\) For more information on the various roles people play in their everyday lives, please see Erving Goffman’s *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. 
well as other characters. Playwrights such as Koldo Barrena, Sergi Belbel, and Fermín Cabal also employ this discussion of roles in their dramas in order to criticize the way in which power is attributed to political organizations and to suggest that this “power” is simply a social construction.

Richard Schechner alludes to the concept of multiple roles in “Magnitudes of performance” in which he explains the theory of “Goffman performers” or actors that perform a role without being conscious of said performance. Schechner elaborates his explanation, suggesting that these actors can be divided into two categories:

ordinary people playing their “life roles” as waitresses, doctors, teachers, street people, etc. and those whose particular actions have been framed as a performance in documentary film shows like Candid Camera or on the 6 o’clock TV news. The woman whose children have perished in a fire in Brooklyn pours out her grief and bewilderment in front of and for whom? For the cameras and behind them, invisible but present, the “public.” Perhaps, even, for herself as later she watches replays of her own grieving. A person in a similar plight who does not “make the news” has not become a performer (28).

Schechner suggests that everyone plays a variety of roles; however, only those who represent their roles with an implied or present audience are actors. The concepts of the theatricality of life and the different types of performance we experience on a regular basis are similar to the terrorism phenomenon in that it also receives narrative framing through the media. That is, as Jackson et al. indicate in Terrorism: A Critical Introduction, narrative framing in the news is useful because it shows that, like theatrical performances, the representations of terrorism in the media are not neutral representations of external events, but rather a series of decisions (55).
Therefore, the fact that Silvia and Berta serve both as witnesses and accomplices of Manel and Gorka’s kidnapping supports the concepts proposed by Schechner and Jackson. It also highlights the “fantastic” nature of power, indicating that everything is dependent upon the decisions made by actors on the global stage. For example, in the case of the drama’s intended kidnapping, the sequence of events could have been much different had Silvia and Berta not been in their apartment or if Manel and Gorka had taken Jaime to another location. Similarly, real-life actions are also dependent on the decisions made by individuals and how these decisions interact with those made by others. Terrorist attacks, for instance, can be provoked by political policies—such as the staging of the Madrid train bombings, September 11th, and comparable actions in Paris and London; however, they could also be prevented by implementing new or different strategies.

Further to the notion of narrative framing, which I explained through the example of Galcerán’s characters Silvia and Berta and their participation in the staged kidnapping of Silvia’s uncle, is the importance of who is making the decisions regarding how to “frame” particular occurrences and what factors they allow to influence said decisions. Koldo Barrena and Sergi Belbel contemplate this paradigm in their respective dramas, focusing specifically on the element of fear and how it can be utilized to manipulate power relationships. Barrena’s Eusk follows a series of characters, including a couple who recently moved to the Basque Country, a local school principal, a nationalist women whose child attends the school, a professor and his family, some clergymen, some older ladies, and two etarras. Through the depiction of episodes of the daily lives of each of these sets of characters, Barrena demonstrates how the interaction of daily life with violence affects both individuals and the collective. Similarly, Belbel’s Blood, is also comprised multiple unrelated sets of characters who are all connected by one incident: the
kidnapping of a woman.\textsuperscript{77} As a result of their focus on fear as a means of manipulation, both playwrights aim to show, as Begoña Aretxaga suggests, that “terror [is] not the product of estrangement but of familiarity, not a force but a state of being, one deeply immersed in the everyday order of things” (128). Moreover, the dramatists also demonstrate that “the very concept at the heart of the nation, ‘the people,’ becomes an object of fear and violence by a state that wants to have absolute control of a nation it is at once dividing and destroying” (259). It is important to note that, in the case of these dramas, the idea of the violent/dividing State is associated with ETA – or, in Blood, which does not specify the name of the group, the anti-state terrorist organization. That is, the plays distinguish between the Spanish State and ETA, emphasizing the group’s position as a totalitarian entity in the Basque region and its overpowering effects on the community. This is clear in Eusk in that characters such as Ana, Félix, and the professor begin to feel anxious and fearful even in their own homes.

Ana and Félix recently moved to the Basque Country from Madrid for Félix’s job. The longer they are living in their new home, the more tensions rise. For example, Ana becomes upset in Scene 16 because ETA controls the town and none of the local store owners will conduct business with her because she is an outsider. Félix receives death threats at work and is forced to be more suspicious in his daily interactions. One instance of this is clear in a conversation between Ana and Félix in Scene 24. Ana states “los teléfonos están controlados” (104) and Félix responds asking “¿quién controla….a quién?” (104). His suspicion is augmented later in the same scene when Félix begins to wonder if even Ana is informing on him to ETA and he asks her point blank: “Y tú, realmente, ¿de qué lado estás?” (109). Similarly to Ana and Félix, Juan Carlos Olivares discusses this notion of the sets of characters and the normalization of horror in his review of the play, “El horror normalizado.” Berta Flores also reviews Blood in her “Kòmix estrena 'La sang' a casa,” however, this review (like others by Flores and Joan-Anton Benach) is rather vague and simply comments on the upcoming performance of the drama and the fact that it discusses the state of society and that it was a hard play for the actors and director to stage.

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the aforementioned professor also experiences a tense home life. His situation arose because he refused to teach in Euskara and some people (who posed as students in his class) took offense. They began to send him death threats and denied him the “luxury” of continuing to teach class with a bodyguard at his side under the pretense that the bodyguard’s presence in the classroom made them feel unsafe. At home, the professor must also heed his words when discussing matters with his wife because they suspect that either their housekeeper or their daughter will denounce them.

The examination of both these sets of characters highlights how fear is employed to provoke changes in social behaviour and power relationships. Arocena, Mingolarra and Sabaris mention this phenomenon in their book *Violence and Communication*, explaining astutely that:

In general, terrorist acts do not have explicit objectives except to make their presence known and to terrorize society to produce insecurity or generalized suffering so that the terrorist actions transcend the victims in order to reach the public in a way that would not be possible by any other means. In this sense, the whole of society becomes a collective victim when it feels threatened and therefore modifies certain kinds of social behaviour; mistrust and fear of public expression are generated…(106).

In other words, the constant, looming shadow of the terrorist organization (ETA, in this case) causes people to have to adapt to their current situation because they learn quickly that if they step out of line, they will be corrected and/or punished. When people are aware of this surveillance, they will actually begin to police their own behaviour. Thus, daily behaviour becomes more of a conscious performance as individuals are forced to focus on how they will “frame” themselves in any given situation and how much information they will provide to those with whom they interact.
In the case of ETA and potential attacks on community members, the threat against the public was very real during the 1990s – early 2000s. Studies have noted that ETA has killed people at every level of society, including high-ranking political members such as Carrero Blanco and children (Alexander, Swetnam and Levine 27). While it is clear that ETA frequently targeted individuals such as politicians, journalists, university professors, and military or police officers whose political beliefs did not align with their own, scholars have also observed that the selection of these and other innocent individuals became increasingly arbitrary over the years. Luis de la Calle and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca allude to this in their article “La selección de las víctimas de ETA,” in which they state: “Muchas veces, las imputaciones de ETA son falsas y con el paso de los años se han vuelto completamente rutinarias, en el sentido de que primero se elige la víctima por los motivos que sean y después se busca cómo encajar su muerte entre el abanico de explicaciones disponibles” (66). In addition to assassinations and bombings, kale borroka incidents escalated in 1992 after the arrest of ETA’s leadership in Bidart. This provoked an increased sense of insecurity and fear in citizens as they never know the form or target of the next attack given that sometimes the young terrorists would attack the relatives or property of those they wish to target. Moreover, these acts of street violence used to instill fear are also, significantly, a spectacle of their own. As Yonah Alexander, Michael S. Swetnam, and Herbert M. Levine detail interestingly: “this activity [kale borroka], which terrorizes citizens, takes place simultaneously in different cities of the Comunidad Autónoma Vasca [sic] […] on the same dates at the same time” (32). The synchronization of these episodes is highly noteworthy as it indicates that they are not merely the spontaneous result of bored or drunken teenagers, but rather carefully orchestrated plans to antagonize their communities and contribute to the prevention of the normalization of daily life in the Basque Country.78

78 For more detailed information on incidents of violence by ETA against community members, see Luis de la Calle
Belbel’s *Blood* also includes some examples of how fear and surveillance affect the ways in which individuals frame or perform themselves. These examples are primarily evident via the juxtaposition between the Woman (a professor and wife of a politician) and the organization that sequesters her. For instance, despite being afraid of her current situation, the Woman is resilient and does not show her fear to any of her kidnappers. Instead, she channels her emotions in an effort to make her captors uncomfortable. She does so by talking back to the Man, as well as defecating and cleaning herself (using his handkerchief) in front of him. Later, she also asks him to scratch the foot he and his colleagues had amputated hours prior. By behaving thusly and pretending she is not afraid, the Woman hopes to remove or lessen any power the Organization may have had over her. Conversely, the Organization itself also strives to fight for power despite any possible influences of the Woman or her husband. They do so by aiming to create a larger sense of panic in the public by dropping off amputated parts of the Woman’s body in different locations, knowing that the reception of said parts will eventually be broadcast to a wider audience via the news’ constant updates on the situation. They also advise the Woman of their plan (and its steps) before they commence the amputations and tell her that they will proceed accordingly whether her husband pays or not. Based on these examples of both the Woman and the Organization, I argue that, in this instance, both parties are equally victims and propagators of fear and surveillance. They are both watching the other and being watched simultaneously. This is noteworthy given, as Erich Fromm suggests, that “in order that any society can function well, its members must acquire the kind of character which makes them want to act in the way they have to act as members of the society or of a special class within it” (380). This is evident in

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79 For more information on theories of surveillance and its impacts on individuals/societies, see David Barnard-Wills’ *Surveillance and Identity: Discourse, Subjectivity and the State* and David Lyon’s *Theorizing Surveillance: The panopticon and beyond.*
the circumstances outlined in Belbel’s play in that we witness the adaptation of the Woman to the hostile environment of her captors as the plot progresses. Further, it is evident in real-life situations of terrorism and dictatorships as well as we have discussed above. The Woman is subject to fear induced by the act of being kidnapped, but she also creates a sense of insecurity in the Organization given that neither she nor her husband responds to their tactics as they had hoped. Instead, she watches their reactions to her behaviour and uses it to her advantage as much as possible. The Organization, on the other hand, must then search a larger audience in order to solicit their desired reactions and position themselves as a serious, fear-inciting group that requires attention.

The conceptualization of narrative framing proposed by critics such as Schechner y Jackson, is undoubtedly fundamental to the understanding of the performance of everyday life, as well as the terrorist phenomenon in Spain. Nevertheless, the contemplation of this theory requires deeper thought. One cannot consider the framing of these occurrences without also considering the meaning and reasons behind the limits imposed. If a situation only becomes a performance or spectacle when there is an audience, what constitutes the need for this audience to appear? How do we define an event in contrast with a non-event? The definition of the term “event” is complicated because it requires a distinction between something that happens and something that simply is. Bill Nichols addresses this dilemma in his article “The Terrorist Event.” He suggests that usually an event has a specific point of origin and, unlike a parade or other ritual occurrence, is not part of a series or chain of related moments (131). Significantly, Nichols also adds that an event does not usually achieve the title of “event” until after its

80 The “event” is a very highly theorized term. For more details and discussion on the various theories of the Event, see works such as Ilai Rowney’s The Event: Literature and Theory, Adrian Costache’s “Real Events – Ideal Events: A Deleuzian Approach to the Concept of Historical Event,” or Roland Faber, Henry Krips and Daniel Pettus’s Event and Decision: Ontology and Politics in Badiou, Deleuze, and Whitehead.
occurrence (133). This act of labelling an occurrence retrospectively indicates the arbitrariness of framing and the categorization of certain acts as “terrorist events” and others as mere happenings.

In addition to a scholar such as Nichols, Galcerán also criticizes this arbitrary nature of terrorism, especially through the characters of Manel and Gorka. The self-identification of these characters as etarras and their behaviour on behalf of the organization is of particular interest because, as Berta wonders, it causes one to contemplate the “typical” profiling of a terrorist (Galcerán 36) and how and why they achieved that position. Neither Manel nor Gorka appear to be what we would call “good” terrorists, or rather capable terrorists. Both possess a degree of weakness and disorganization, as well as a lack of charisma and confidence. The incapability of these two men to triumph as terrorists is clear from the beginning of the kidnapping when Gorka calls Jaime’s wife to announce her husband’s disappearance. During this phone call he is vague or uncertain with details and demonstrates a considerable lack of authority. As a result, he confuses the woman with whom he is speaking and allows her confusion to confuse himself as well (38). By allowing the woman to confuse him, Gorka demonstrates that he never really had control. He shows that his seizure of power is merely a failed performance of authority.

Galcerán elaborates the idea of a failed performance of power through the use of language by both Manel and Gorka. For example, at one point Berta asks the men if they had considered the possibility of Jaime reporting them. They respond in what Berta deems as “mafia” language, uttering phrases such as “no lo hará” (42) and “no se atreverá” (42). Moreover, during another episode Gorka tries to force the women to become members of ETA because his and Manel’s terrorist identities were compromised. He states that “a partir de este momento, vosotras también estáis dentro. Y cuando uno está dentro, está dentro y ya no sale” (44). In both
instances, the men try to act as if they were strong and powerful; however, their act remains ineffective because the women are aware that it is falsified behaviour and do not feel compelled to comply. The women rebel against the men stating that Manel is acting strangely and that they refuse to join the organization.

The lack of adherence to the demands of the terrorists shows, as Gorka admits at the end of the play, that neither Manel nor Gorka are believable as terrorists. This lack of credibility could be related to another important factor: their level of commitment to the cause of the organization. According to David Rapoport, there are four “waves” or phases of terrorism. The founding of ETA corresponds with the third wave, which occurred from 1960-1990 (although groups such as ETA and IRA continue to be active). Groups pertaining to the third wave are characterized by a more leftist ideology (COT Institute for Safety, Security and Crisis Management 60). Nevertheless, in his re-appropriation of this theory for the analysis of the changes within al-Qaeda, Marc Sageman adds that these waves of terrorism are also characterized by the members’ different levels of dedication, as well as the reasons for which people join the group. He indicates that the first ripple consists of the founding members who are generally married, religious, and educated men (87). The second ripple consists of new members who are not as educated or religious, but they are still dedicated and identify greatly with the organization (87-88). On the other hand, the members in the third ripple are not very educated and they come from more modest backgrounds. They also generally enlist out of anger or despair (89). With this in mind, it is clear that Manel and Gorka represent the third ripple of the third wave of terrorism because neither are actually very committed to ETA’s original cause: Gorka enlisted for economic reasons and started as the pizza boy, whereas Manel enlisted because he was Gorka’s friend. The mockery of the composition of terrorist groups, in addition to the use of
unbelievable characters and their failed terrorist attacks plays a fundamental role in Galcerán’s critique of terrorist organizations like ETA. This combination of elements stresses that the terrorists or actors are not the only individuals who have “control” over situations. Spectators also play a major role because their reactions affect the reception and continuation of “events.”

The figure of Uncle Jaime allows Galcerán to elaborate his critique of the arbitrary distribution of power because of his multiple roles, including kidnapping victim and advisor for the terrorists. His role as “victim” does not last very long because, while Jaime does allow Manel and Gorka to kidnap him, he does not participate in the charade for long. This is clear when Jaime exits Berta’s room (the place where the terrorists had left him) in order to inform Manel and Gorka that they had tied him up improperly and that they had forgotten the gun in the room (Galcerán 45). After this episode, Jaime becomes an advisor for Manel and Gorka, as well as Silvia and Berta who try to stop the kidnapping. He assumes this role because, as he indicates to the others, in his youth he was an “authentic” revolutionary (49) and a member of OLLA (a Catalan organization that fought against Franco [48]). As a result of these references to Jaime’s past, it is clear that, in contrast with Manel and Gorka, Jaime relates more with the first waves of terrorists—the founders and those who shared a passion for the cause of their organization.

Jaime’s reference to the oppression during the Franco regime, in conjunction with his observation that dangerous men and men in uniforms are the same because they both represent authority or the “alpha male,” shows another provocative aspect of Galcerán’s critique of terrorism: the manipulation of power is enacted by anti-state groups, as well as by the state itself. Fermín Cabal alludes to this in his play Ello dispara as well. For example, at one point during the beginning of their mission, the stage directions indicate that “Menéndez saca un magnetofón y una caja de herramientas. Desarma el teléfono y empalma un cable al magnetofón. Mientras
This episode is primarily noteworthy due to its reference to “Cara al sol,” a nationalist propagandistic song used during the Spanish Civil War. Thus, like Sastre did in his *Han matado a Prokopius*, Cabal draws attention to the fact that even after the end of the Franco dictatorship, many people in positions of power were still partial to the Francoist cause.

As mentioned in previous chapters, as well as in the discussion of other plays, such as Alfonso Sastre’s *¡Han matado a Prokopius!*, the lack of a clear transition from authoritarian to democratic leaders was controversial and worrisome for many members of the Spanish public due to the reclassification of Francoist veterans and the disputes this provoked between State and Autonomous police forces. As a member of a government agency, the character of Menéndez plays an interesting role in the drama. Not only does he make references to Falangist propaganda, but he also alludes to 23-F and continually disrespects the authority of Don Julio, his supervisor, and his other co-workers. For example, during the group’s stakeout in a hotel room, Menéndez says to Don Julio: “Sonríe, sonríe, chulo putas, pero todos te vimos el 23-F cagándote en los pantalones…” (157). Menéndez’s negative attitude and lack of regard for others provoke a sense of unease and distrust in the audience, who sense that perhaps something is amiss within the group dynamics and that a power struggle is imminent. However, this anticipated struggle is not what anyone expects, nor is it precipitated by Menéndez. Instead, it is Ramón, the seemingly quiet and dutiful employee who is secretly working as a double agent and betrays them all. Lorena, the female agent, discovers Ramón deceit upon entering Mr. Fuyad’s

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81 For more information on the government and police issues during the Transition, please see Jerome Montes’s “The Basque imbroglio: a clash of logics and a multiplicity of actors” and José A. Olmeda’s “War on Terrorism: The Spanish Experience, 1939-2006.”
82 The attempted coup d’état led by Antonio Tejer on February 23, 1981. For more information on this incident, please refer back to the description in Chapter 1 or see Javier Cerca’s *The Anatomy of a Moment: Thirty-five Minutes in History and Imagination.*
(their target) hotel room. She commences her lines as rehearsed, only to realize that she is conversing with a disguised Ramón instead of the real Mr. Fuyad. Menéndez and Don Julio then also arrive on scene and torture and kill Ramón because of his duplicity. Later, the characters learn while watching the news that “Ramón” was really a young army official named Aurelio García Sánchez who had let Mr. Fuyad go because of his important connection to the country’s illegal weapon trafficking industry (168). Consequently, through the use of characters such as Menéndez and Ramón, Cabal discusses roles and hierarchy. This is clear in that their position as state agents is one that is very heavily reliant upon structure and power; however, both of these characters appear to question these concepts through their behaviour (both intentionally and unintentionally). Most importantly, in doing so, Cabal also suggests the familiar adage that “appearances may be deceiving.” For example, Menéndez gives off the air of a rebel and troublemaker, whereas Ramón appears to do exactly what he is told. Nobody suspects Ramón will be the traitor. Thus, through the contrast of characters such as Menéndez and Ramón, Cabal demonstrates the idea of a duality of terrorisms that was also present in Galcerán’s Burundanga. Cabal shows that while betrayal is often associated with individuals, it can also be applied to organizations and States. This is clear through Ramón’s actions in the drama, as well as those of the State who allowed a soldier to infiltrate another State-run organization and sabotage their mission---most likely because they did not want their involvement in the larger issue of arms-trafficking to be exposed.

The problem with this duality of terrorisms is that, in general, anti-state terrorism is more public and more spectacular, whereas state terrorism is more covert, something that is hidden. In other words, state terrorism is a “non-event,” something that does not happen, something with no origin and, therefore, something that cannot be easily confronted. Anti-state terrorism, on the
other hand, becomes an “event” and specifically employs the use of the media in order to encourage and intensify spectators’ reactions (Nichols 37).

The fact that the two types of terrorism exist as two different points in the scale of spectacularity indicates, as Baudrillard establishes in *The Spirit of Terrorism*, that “there is no ‘good’ use of the media; the media are part of the event, they are part of the terror and they work in both directions” (31). This becomes clear in *Burundanga* through Jaime’s multiplicity of roles because he takes advantage of his unique position and through the tidbits of advice that he offers to Manel and Gorka in order to “make them better terrorists,” he also ends up organizing the disbanding of ETA.  

[83] In order to emphasize the seriousness of this act, Jaime and the two young men redact a statement and go to Jaime’s office to translate it into Euskara. The emphasis on making it “official” through the use of the media is significant because it supports Schechner’s aforementioned notion of narrative framing and the fact that an act only serves as a performance or spectacle if it is done with an audience in mind. This act of Jaime’s represents, to a certain extent, his solidarity with anti-state revolutionary groups; however, it also serves as a representation of state terrorism in that he secretly manipulates Manel and Gorka in order to obtain what he wants without them realizing his ulterior motives.

**Playing Rough: The Implications of Representations of Terrorism and Control**

Throughout this chapter’s examination of the theme of control in plays by Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre, I have noted that power/control is represented in three main ways: through substance abuse, reliance on patriarchal systems and

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[83] Significantly, only one review of Burundanga discusses this important part of the plot. Moreover, it does not address the importance of this act and merely alludes to its comical value. See: Joan-Anton Benach’s “Ridículo Comando.”
figures, and the discussion of social roles and hierarchy. A fourth technique, the use and
manipulation of ideology is also present in each of these dramas: however, this last method is
extremely detailed and complex and will, thus, be the subject of the next chapter. Each of the
aforementioned representations of control is significant because they highlight control’s social
and illusory aspects. For example, Jackson’s theory of “narrative framing”—the idea that the
representation of each story is not a neutral event, but rather the product of a series of
decisions—is present through the study of each of the dramas. Narrative framing also recalls the
“Goffman performer,” which relates more to how individuals “frame” and “perform” themselves
in public instead of how they share information. The combination of these two theories is
important for this project because it can be used to further determine how people utilize cultural
productions, such as theatrical works, in order to make sense of themselves. This is especially
significant when instances of self-examination occur within the confines of the intersection of
violence and the everyday—such as in the case of the terrorism phenomenon in Spain.

Jeffrey C. Alexander alludes to the consequence of the mixture of culture and power in
the introduction to his book *Performance and Power.*” He observes that:

Culture structures are powerful, but they provide only the background representations for
active social life. Real living people, whether as individuals or in groups, move about in
practical situations of multiple possibility. Even in theatrical set pieces, when actors share
the same culture structures and the same stage, it is difficult for audiences to be certain
what the actors means to say. It is that much more difficult for social actors. Because they
must bring meaning to bear pragmatically, in situations of multiple possibility, they try to
carve fluid action specific scripts from the background of broad cultural meanings (3).
That is, Alexander suggests that the combination of culture and power is complex, because social actors (people living their everyday lives) all hail from a variety of distinct backgrounds (which we will discuss further in the upcoming chapters), which thus also permit/cause individuals to interpret cultural codes differently based on the “decoding systems” they were taught. The act of interpreting these messages in cultural, social and political discourse becomes increasingly difficult because, like control itself, the scripts/messages we are attempting to understand are not set in stone. Instead, they are constantly being revised and actors and audiences must be able to adapt and quickly figure out where they fit in.

The use of artistic exploration of difficult life-like situations, such as the confrontation with terrorism, contrasts with experimental reactions and changes to behaviour in real-life. This contrast is clear in that the potential consequences to artistic experimentation with social behaviour are less threatening than those provoked by radical behavioural changes in real-life. For instance, the representation of Galcerán’s *Burundanga* which features the hijacking of an ETA kidnapping by two insecure female university students does not put real lives in danger; instead, it suggests a change in thought regarding power and control and the ways in which these tools are attributed to people and organizations without question. In addition to this distinction between dramatic and real experimentation with social behaviour, it is also crucial to realize that regardless of the spheres in which these experiments happen the consequences they ultimately produce always take place within the realm of the everyday.

The occurrence of important “events” (real and dramatic) in the everyday is significant because, as Erving Goffman suggests, the everyday presupposes a degree of performance and interaction. The projected performance of self differs depending upon the situation, as many individuals will choose to only portray certain sides of themselves to certain people. Usually, this
performance of self is already predetermined given that individuals tend to perform a variety of set roles on a daily basis. For example, Silvia performs the roles of student, roommate, niece and employee in her daily life, but she does not perform all of those roles all the time. However, as Goffman notes, occasionally events that do not fit into the normally projected definition of everyday situations occur. Due to the exceptionality of these events, people do not have a pre-existing set of responses prepared in order to deal with them appropriately and they are forced to improvise (23). This improvisation emphasizes the generative nature of the everyday, suggesting that no performance can ever really be staged, as it is always subject to unexpected outside influences. Nevertheless, these unexpected occurrences also provide participants with guidelines for coping with similar disruptions in the future. This, I argue, is comparable to the terrorist phenomenon in Spain. For example, at one point, incidents such as the news of the Woman’s kidnapping in Blood, Prokopius’s murder in ¡Han matado a Prokopius! or Ramon’s death and betrayal in Ello dispara, the professor’s need for bodyguards in class or Ana and Felix’s reception of death threats in Eusk, or the eruptions of bombs or shootings in Interacciones and El tesoro del predicador would have seemed exceptional. Nonetheless, with the progress of the Basque conflict and the increase of worldwide Islamic terrorism in the late 1990s and early 2000s, these occurrences became more frequent and less uncommon in Spain. It is no doubt that these type of happenings disrupt daily life; however, their repetition also contributes to a sort of normalization or adaptation to violence, which allows individuals to more easily adjust to and cope with the circumstances.
CHAPTER FOUR

Getting Schooled: Terrorism and the Use of Ideology

Ideology is instrumental in day to day life and, as a result, impacts the conceptualization of ourselves as subjects. For example, ideology affects family life because the values of the parents will affect how a child is raised. Similarly, the values of the groups, such as religious and political institutions, to which the parents belong will affect their values. Louis Althusser further explores the role of ideology in the constitution of individuals as subjects in his essay “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses.” Althusser suggests that the subject is always split: it becomes both the agent of ideology and subjected to it at once (264). That is, he suggests that subjects experience a duality of roles and that we acquire subjectivity through ideology. This function of ideology is especially crucial during times of war, as is evidenced by the heavy use of censorship which I detailed previously in Chapter One.

My understanding of ideology, and the definition which I will employ throughout this chapter and the project as a whole, is primarily informed by Althusser’s conceptualization of ideology and its role in subject formation. That being said, I also consider the observations of critics such as Göran Therborn, Terry Eagleton, Paul de Man, Guy Debord, Roland Barthes, Jean Baudrillard, and Michel Foucault to be relevant to my project as well. Upon explaining his use of the term, Therborn states that his definition:

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84 For more in-depth details on these scholars’ particular views on ideology, please see their individual works: Althusser’s On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses, Therborn’s The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, Eagleton’s Ideology, de Man’s Resistance to Theory, Debord’s The Society of the Spectacle, Barthes’s Mythologies, Baudrillard’s Simulacra and Simulation, and Foucault’s Discipline and Punish: The Birth of The Prison.
will refer to that aspect of the human condition under which human beings live their lives as conscious actors in a world that makes sense to them to varying degrees [...] Thus the conception of ideology employed here deliberately includes both everyday notions and “experience” and elaborate intellectual doctrines, both the “consciousness” of social actors and the institutionalized thought-systems and discourses of a given society. (2).

Furthermore, Therborn adds that “to study these as ideology means to look at them from a particular perspective: not as bodies of thought or structures of discourse per se, but as manifestations of a particular being-in-the-world of conscious actors, of human subjects” (2).

Like Althusser, Therborn also suggests that we are both the producers of and the products of ideology. Because of their role in identity and subject formation, ideological apparatuses are often considered a significant area of study when trying to understand an individual or culture. However, Therborn observes that it is important to not think of ideology as purely discourse or schools of thought when approaching such an investigation. Instead, he recommends considering ideology as a combination of thought-systems, discourses, and encounters—or rather the manifestation of lived human experiences. Similarly, Eagleton adds that “theories of ideology are, among other things, attempts to explain why it is that men and women come to hold certain views; and to this extent they examine the relation between thought and social reality” (15). This combination of understandings of ideology will be important for the plays studied in this project, as they were written in response to the playwrights’ confrontation with the terrorism phenomenon in Spain.

In this chapter I analyze the use and representation of ideology in the works of Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López, and Sastre. It is important to note that this representation occurs through various methods, including references to the use of cultural
production and/or the media, as well as the discussion of language usage, religious and educational institutions, and political and familial relationships. *Eusk* is a play that is filled with the use of media, something which is amplified even more in the modified version produced by Ángel Berenguer entitled *Euskalcalá,23*. This version of the play consists of a selection of 23 scenes from the original drama and commentary as to how the University of Alcalá’s Drama Department staged their production. The playwright calls for the projection of Basque anthems, as well as for clips from news programs on a screen. These episodes are usually breaks from the plot, which serve to place the spectators and the actors on the same level. Sometimes, as indicated by the author, they fade into the following scene via the continuation of music or the prolonged display of pictures/clips from one episode to another, demonstrating that often we are not aware of all the propaganda surrounding us on a daily basis.

In contrast to *Eusk* and *Euskalcalá,23* plays such as *Interacciones* and *Ello dispara* mention characters learning news of terrorist attacks via the radio. Others, such as *El tesoro del predicador* and *¡Han matado a Prokopius!* allude to the educational and formative qualities of cultural productions such as film and literature. For example, in *El tesoro del predicador* one of the pirates indicates that he learned how to be a pirate by watching movies. Moreover, Prokopius, the protagonist and victim in Sastre’s play was a strong, vocal Basque nationalist and a famous writer. He spread his nationalist viewpoints through his novels, which he wrote under the pseudonym “Prokopius.” The fact that he had to use a pseudonym (similar to Koldo Barrena, author of *Eusk*) out of the fear of being persecuted for his ideas highlights the danger and power of the ideas he expresses in his literature. Furthermore, as I will analyze more deeply later in this chapter, Prokopius organized his own assassination following the plot of one of his own books.
The use of media I have outlined here is only one aspect in which the theme of ideology is mentioned in these plays. Other elements, such as those of language, politics, religion and education, are also present. I intend to examine the ways in which ideology is presented in these dramas; however, I have paid particular attention to the use of media here because it is one of the elements of ideology that plays a prominent role in each of the plays selected for this project. Through my analysis of the representation of ideology in dramas such as Interacciones (2005) by Ignacio Amestoy, Eusk (2002) by Koldo Barrena, Blood (1998) by Sergi Belbel, Ello dispara (1990) by Fermín Cabal, Burundanga (2011) by Jordi Galcerán, El Tesoro del predicador (2005) by Juan Alberto López and ¡Han matado a Prokopius! (1996) by Alfonso Sastre I aim to show that ideology is not an ominous, fixed entity, but rather part of an ongoing social process. The following text analyses will indicate that ideology is a) not definite, but conducive to change and b) not one overpowering school of thought, but the combination of multiple manifestations of “sense-making.” In other words, similar to the notion of control studied in the previous chapter, ideology is a social construct that is used on and by us in order to help make sense of ourselves both individually and collectively. Thus, I argue that the playwrights included in this study suggest through their commentaries on the terrorism phenomenon in Spain that if the cultural identity with which a group (in this case the Spanish public) is confronted no longer depicts who they want to be, they must take the necessary steps towards changing this identification process.

Building Blocks: Ideological State Apparatuses and Identity

Althusser’s theory of ideology is especially important for our understanding of the concept and its impacts on the malleability of individual/collective identity. If we are both agent
of/subject to something, we must remain continuously aware of this in order to maintain the balance not allow certain aspects of this dynamic to overpower others – eg. not allow ourselves to become more subject than agent, etc. Althusser elaborates his theory of ideology, detailing that it is comprised of various factors, which can be divided into two main categories: Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) (243). Both of these types of state apparatuses function by violence and ideology; however, ISAs (such as religions, schools, family, legal systems, political parties, media/communications and cultural productions) function primarily through ideology, whereas RSAs (the government, the administration, the army, the police, the courts, and prisons, etc.) function primarily through violence/repression. Each of these apparatuses affects us all in some way, influencing our ideas and our actions as many of them are ingrained with various practices or rituals, such as church masses, political meetings, sports games, school-days, etc. The longer we are involved with these activities, the more they influence our ways of thinking and behaving. I will be focusing on ISAs for the rest of this chapter, analyzing how institutions such as language, political parties, education, religion, media and cultural productions, as well as the general influence of society are represented by Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre in their discussion of the terrorism phenomenon in contemporary Spain.

Firstly, language plays an important role as an ideological tool/vehicle because it is through language that individuals and nations are able to create and express their ideas. Language is able to be employed as such because it is not a static structure, but rather an associative system of communications. Historically, this significance of language has been noted by scholars such as Ferdinand de Saussure, Paul Simpson, Andrea Mayr, Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge. For example, Saussure proposes that language is arbitrary: the concept or
signified behind words such as “tree” or “sister” has nothing to do with the signifier (the oral or visual form attributed to the word).\textsuperscript{85} That is, language is relational because words and their meanings are defined in comparison to others. This allows for language to be more malleable as it is also a social product and not something that can be used/created exclusively by one sole individual. It adapts and exists only through the active spoken use of a collectivity (Saussure 13-14). The arbitrariness of language and its social nature are, however, the reasons behind its frequent use as an ideological vehicle. In addition to being observed by scholars, this quality of language has also been recognized by major political figures – especially in times of war and conflict. In the Spanish context, this is obvious in their use of language as a colonizing instrument by conquistadors, such as Hernán Cortes, in their conquest of the New World by forcing the indigenous peoples to communicate and conduct business in Spanish. More recently, language was also employed as a weapon during the Civil War and Dictatorship eras, when the use of languages such as Basque, Catalan and Galician were banned. Consequently, the appropriation of language as an instrument of nationalization or community building was also adopted by separatist/nationalist movements as evidenced by the Basque conflict and the Catalan nationalist movement,\textsuperscript{86} as well as arguments on bilingualism or the designation of official languages for everyday use.

These examples demonstrate recognition of the political and performative aspects of language, while also highlighting its ideological functions. That is, as J.L. Austin observes in his \textit{How to Do Things with Words} with this examples of the process of naming a ship or saying “I

\textsuperscript{85} For a more detailed explanation of Saussure’s conceptualization of the “sign” and how it relates to language and semiology, please see his \textit{Course in General Linguistics}.

\textsuperscript{86} It is important to note here that while language played an important role in both the Basque and Catalan movements, language revitalization was more instrumental to the Catalan cause. For more information on this and other aspects of the nationalist movements in the Basque Country and Catalonia, see Daniele Conversi’s \textit{The Basques, the Catalans and Spain}. 
do” at a wedding, “it seems clear that to utter the sentence (in, of course, the appropriate circumstances) is not to describe my doing of what I should be said in so uttering to be doing or to state that I am doing it: it is to do it” (6). These examples, such as claiming territory or banning a language through declarative/legal statements, are not passive linguistic occurrences or meaningless words. Instead, they are powerful usages of language that show that language is not merely a way of describing actions, but also a manner in which to execute them. With these ideas and other lived experiences in mind, dramatists such as Barrena, Galcerán, López and Sastre the theme of language as ideology in their plays in order to comment on its effects on identity formation and the Spanish experience of terrorism in the 1990s-early 2010s. Their use of language as ideology is evident primarily through character conversations, but it is also clear in the stage directions (eg. through annotations to add certain visual or aural effects) and the dramatic text as a whole, something which is obviously also shared by Amestoy, Belbel and Cabal, who do not explicitly comment on the violence of language in their plays.

Characters’ conversations in the aforementioned plays by Barrena, Galcerán, López and Sastre discuss the ideological nature of language in two main ways: a) the juxtaposition between Euskara and Castilian and b) hate speech (in the sense of Judith Butler’s understanding of the concept as the communication and enactment of an offensive idea or set of ideas with the purpose of relaying a message of inferiority). Butler describes the process of defining hate speech, indicating that “the state actively produces the domain of publicly acceptable speech, demarcating the line between the domains of the speakable and the unspeakable, and retaining the power to make and sustain that consequential line of demarcation” (77). She also adds to her explanation, stating that “being addressed in an injurious way establishes that person’s social

87 See How to Do Things with Words for more information on Austin’s explanation of performatative utterances.
88 For more information on Butler’s conceptualization of hate speech, see the chapter “Sovereign Performatives” in her book Excitable Speech.
subordination and, moreover has the effect of depriving the addressee of the capacity to exercise commonly accepted rights and liberties within either a specific context (education or employment) or within the more generalized context of the national public sphere” (75). I argue that although the ban on Euskara has since been lifted, thus ending its status as an “unspeakable” language, the act of illegalizing the language was itself a form of hate speech, which caused irreparable damage on Basque society and culture. Consider, for instance, how Basque names were scratched off tombstones and people were forced to change their names on all official documents to the Spanish versions (Conversi 81). Many children would have lost their sense of heritage, too, due to not being able to learn or study the language in school. These sorts of incidents could have drastic effects on individuals, forcing them to find new ways to make sense of themselves and their culture. The resurgence of the language in retaliation against this oppression was a major part of the beginning of the Basque nationalist movement. However, that being said, Basque nationalists also soon realized that they could not create a language revitalization to the same extent as their Catalan counterparts. As a result, they also had to emphasize other cultural aspects, such as race and religion in their campaigns. 89

The debate between Euskara vs. Castilian is primarily evident in Eusk; however, it is also present in Burundanga and ¡Han matado a Prokopius! I will detail these less-prominent examples first. In Burundanga this question of language is mainly introduced with the character of Gorka who, despite being one of two etarras in the group, is the only Basque. (Manel, the other etarra, does speak some Euskara; but, Silvia and Berta are not aware of this to begin with as they are, initially, equally unaware of his etarra status). In their surprise and confusion upon

89 For more information on the Basque and Catalan nationalist movements, see Daniele Conversi’s The Basques, the Catalans and Spain, André Lecours’s Basque Nationalism and the Spanish State, Cameron Watson’s Modern Basque history: eighteenth century to the present, Patricia Gabancho’s El retorn dels Catalans, and John Hargreaves’s Freedom for Catalonia?: Catalan nationalism, Spanish identity, and the Barcelona Olympic Games.
learning that Manel and Gorka are etarras—and under the premise of seeming friendly, albeit awkward, to the visiting Gorka—Silvia and Berta utter a few words of Euskara (such as “agur” or “good-bye”) to Gorka. Sastre’s character Isidro also resorts to similar linguistic tactics in ¡Han matado a Prokopius! These are primarily present during his trip to the Basque Country, but also in his references to it. For example, when first planning the trip he mentions to his assistant Pepita that Prokopius “vivía en Donostia, o sea, San Sebastián” (80). Similarly, when referring to one of the interviewees for the case, Isidro states that her name is “Eukene, o sea, Eugenia” (160). In their book Language as Ideology, Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge note that:

Language […] reflects the social structure of the community in a variety of ways. A social structure is an ordering or distribution of power and social functions. At the largest level power is distributed asymmetrically between social classes or different national or racial groups. Such a distribution is normally reflected in and sustained by differences of language, class languages, and regional and social dialects of various forms (77).

Isidro’s use of Basque names for people and places is important, then, because of the power struggle between Euskara and Castilian. His effort to use Euskara first shows his recognition and attempted acceptance of the culture. However, the fact that he still feels the need to translate the names back into Castilian stress that despite the end of the Civil War and the dictatorship when the banning of the use of Euskara took place, tensions continue to exist between users of the two languages.

Language comes up again later in Burundanga when Jaime is helping Gorka create a press release to send to the media regarding the dissolution of ETA. The pair decides that in

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90 There are a limited number of occurrences of this listed in my copy of the script. However, the performance of the play that I saw in the Teatro Lara in Madrid on March 21, 2014 highlighted this aspect even more with several repetitions of “agur” when the girls were trying to get Gorka to leave before entering their house and finding Manel in his drugged state.
order to make their communication seem more official they should submit not only the original Castilian/Catalan version, but also a translated version in Euskara:

Manel: Habría que poner algo más ideológico porque en los comunicados siempre…

Gorka: Es verdad.

Silvia: No os lieis. Ese comunicado está muy bien.

Berta: Breve y contundente.

Silvia: Tú eres un tío simple, pues un comunicado simple.

Manel: Y habrá que hacerlo en vasco.

Gorka: No, claro, en vasco.

Jaime: Vamos a mi despacho y ahí lo redactamos y lo traducimos al vasco y lo que haga falta. Venga, que tenemos un montón de cosas que hacer. (82-83).

This episode is noteworthy because of the characters’ recognition that one language is seemingly more official than the other. This is reminiscent of Paul Simpson and Andrea Mayr’s assertion that:

in democratic societies, power needs to be seen as legitimate by the people in order to be accepted and this process of legitimization is generally expressed by means of language and other communicative systems. When institutions legitimate themselves with regard to citizens, it is through language that the official action of an institution or the institution itself is justified (5).

This recalls Austin’s ideas regarding the performativity of language, suggesting that language is not only a means of expressing a particular political agenda, but it can also play a role in enacting that plan as well. Manel and Gorka suggest this with their assumption that the communication of the Basque nationalist organization must be made in Euskara. However, the
dramatist himself is clearly conveying a social critique here, given that the character Manel also proposes that the statement needs to include something slightly more “ideological.” Manel shows his weaknesses and lack of understanding of the situation here by not realizing that “ideology” goes beyond pure politics and words, a misconception held by many members of society. By using comedy to draw attention to Manel’s flaws, Galcerán shows us the mistakes that many of us continue to make.

Finally, another important instance regarding the issue of language in *Burundanga* comes not from the plot, but from the dramatic texts itself: the play was originally written in Catalan, but was later translated into Castilian in order to be performed in Madrid. It was first performed in Madrid and Barcelona in 2011. As of June 2016, it continues to be performed in Madrid due to its overwhelming popularity. I alluded briefly to this duality of performance languages when I mentioned that Jaime and Gorka originally wrote their press release in Castilian / Catalan. This is left up to the imagination of the audience and the language in which they themselves witness the play. This is significant because a person’s language affects their cultural context and the way in which they will interpret the play. Moreover, the characters’ juxtaposition Catalan and Euskara vs. Castilian and Euskara could be more culturally significant since both Catalan and Euskara suffered repression, whereas Castilian has historically enjoyed the status of official, privileged language.

In addition to these discussions of language in *Burundanga* and *¡Han matado a Prokopius!*, linguistic conflict plays a major role in Barrena’s *Eusk*. In terms of the issue of Castilian vs. Euskara, this theme is especially evident in Ana and Felix’s discussion regarding

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91 In his critique entitled “Reservoir Underdogs,” Marcos Ordoñez notes that he saw the “original” (Catalan) version of the play, but he does not say how or if the two versions differed.

92 Belbel’s *Blood* was also originally written in Catalan and is published as *La sang*. It is also available in Castilian as *La sangre*. The issue of translation and cultural context could also potentially affect a reader’s interpretation of this drama, although it is also slightly more open to possibilities given that Belbel never explicitly references ETA.
whether or not they should learn Euskara in order to work in the Basque Country following their move from Madrid: “Ana: A lo mejor encuentro trabajo allí. /Félix: Seguro que necesitan una ATS como tú. /Ana: Hablando vasco, ¿no? / Félix: Yo tendré que aprenderlo. / Ana: No lo creo. Eso es sólo si tienes que tratar con la gente” (48). Later, in the same conversation, Ana also adds: “Tendré que ir a una academia de euskera, eso sí que me jodería, de verdad. Allí, ¿Inglés y francés? Nada, y lo mismo en las clínicas privadas. Lo hacen para que los mejores trabajos se lo reparten los de allí” (49). The linguistic power struggle is also clear in the conversation between Irune and the principal of her son’s school about the teachers’ and students’ language usage in class:

Jefe de estudios: Los amigos, a veces, en el recreo, hablan español, no se les puede controlar.

Irune: Pues que hagan recreos separados. Fíjese si es fácil.

Jefe de estudios: No se puede prever todo.

Irune: Pues para eso están los castigos. La mitad de lo que le hablo a mi hijo no lo entiende. ¿Quién es la profesora que le da clases? ¿Será nacionalista, no?

Jefe de estudios: Es vasca y habla sólo Euskara, pero algunas veces los chavales le hablan en español.

Irune: Ya, pero ¿es nacionalista o no?

Jefe de estudios: No se lo he preguntado.

Irune: Yo se lo contesto; tiene que serlo ¿El espíritu nacional vasco, dónde lo va a encontrar, en la calle? (64).

Each of these episodes demonstrates that language functions as a cultural code, which is necessary to be able to successfully interpret certain shared social realities. Ana fears being
unable to get a job due to her inability to speak Euskara (and therefore her “inferior” status in her current community), whereas Irune alludes to the cultural implications of language and the importance of her son’s exposure to such elements in her discussion with the principal. Robert Porter explains this idea in his *Ideology: Contemporary Social, Political and Cultural Theory*, utilizing Ricoeur’s example of the American Declaration of Independence:

“This interpretative code exercises a decisive ideological influence on US political society as it embodies certain values—-that is, individualism, freedom, equal rights and so on—-that, by and large, remain unquestioned. That many different social and political actors interpret these values differently, and argue about how best to ensure their observance, precisely shows how the values themselves are fundamental to the self-understandings of those who share this social space, or who belong to this community (6).

“Cultural codes” come in different forms. Some are written documents, such as the American Declaration of Independence. Others manifest in the form of traditions and behaviours. Regardless, each of these codes are indicative of cultural values; they are also open to the interpretation of everyone who wishes to partake in the experience. This is true even of language as, even though grammatical rules are present, most people do not strictly adhere to all linguistic requirements – such as the use of formal vs. informal language. Porter and Barrena recognize this, suggesting that while these codes serve as a cultural manual of sorts, the script is not written in stone. Instead, they suggest that cultural codes are improvisational and should be considered as more of an ongoing process. Barrena reiterates this idea later in his play via the character Aguirre, a politician, who states: “La renuncia al diálogo deja los problemas sin resolver e induce a buscar soluciones de violencia o de poder. Más les valdría desarmar sus palabras que desarmar a ETA” (52). Here he employs the theme of language by representing it as a tool for conversation
and not as a hierarchy in which certain languages are superior to others – as some of his other characters, such as Irune, had mistakenly proposed.

This last example from *Eusk* opens up the possibility for the discussion of other ideological apparatuses, such as political institutions. In *Eusk*, this is evident in the conversations between Koldo and Txomin, as well as references to official political parties, such as the PP, PSOE, PNV, and HB. For instance, in one conversation Koldo and Txomin observe the following: “Koldo: Los votos de los pueblos nos dan la fuerza. Están con nosotros. / Txomin: Adonde quiera que vayamos somos respetados. / Koldo: Temidos. Es mejor” (28). Koldo and Txomin are *abertzales* (radical Basque nationalists) and etarras. Here they show the significance of fear in their political actions. They state that the people’s votes give them strength, but also that being feared is better than being respected. This is a powerful, yet true statement on Barrena’s part, which highlights the role and impact of fear on our day to day and political lives. Moreover, it is also a direct reference to Machiavelli’s sixteenth century political treatise, *The Prince*. Other references to political institutions in these plays include Manel and Gorka’s ETA membership, as well as Jaime’s mention of belonging to a Catalan group called OLLA during the Franco dictatorship in *Burundanga*, state departments and political parties such as CESID (*Centro Superior de Información de la Defensa*, the Spanish intelligence agency of the time), the PSOE and the GAL in conversations between Isidro and the Ministro del Interior as well as Isidro’s discussion of the PNV, HB, and ETA in *¡Han matado a Prokopius!*; Menéndez’s allusion to the civil war by whistling “Cara al sol” or his reference to the incident of 23-F.

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93 In Chapter 17 of his *The Prince* Machiavelli states “a prince must not worry about the infamy of being considered cruel when it is a matter of keeping his subjects united and loyal. With a very few examples of cruelty, he will prove more compassionate than those who, out of excessive mercy, permit disorders to continue from which arise murders and plundering, for these usually injure the entire community, while the executions ordered by the prince injure specific individuals. Of all the types of princes, the new prince cannot escape the reputation for cruelty, since new states are full of dangers” (57).
general references to the government via stage directions\textsuperscript{94} or the comments of the Voz Locutora revealing that Ramón was actually working for the military in \textit{Ello dispara}, and lastly, the overwhelming power of the Organization on its members in \textit{Blood}. This reflection on politics is important given the nature of the phenomenon upon which the playwrights are commenting; however, it is equally noteworthy that the emphasis of the plays is never solely on the political implications of terrorist actions. This posture demonstrates an awareness on the dramatists’ behalf that the situation is not purely political, but also cultural to an extent. This idea is further evidenced by their inclusion of other ideological apparatuses such as language, education, religion, and the media.

The Organization in Belbel’s \textit{Blood} is particularly representative of both this aforementioned political aspect and the influence of education. For example, the Young Man and Young Woman, who are the Woman’s kidnappers and torturers, are also the Child’s guardians. They teach her to show restraint regarding her urges to exact violence on someone and how to behave in certain situations (i.e., not to get mad at the victim for being upset, and how to appropriately target her anger). Further, the Woman, a University professor, also taught the Young Man and some of his colleagues. She recalls that the Young Man and his group were problematic students: “you didn’t want a philosophical response. You wanted a political answer. To find my weak spot. You tried to get at all the professors that way. Not just you, of course. All those in your group. You didn’t want a philosophical answer, so I didn’t give you one. The reasoning you all used seemed to me childish” (6). This specific example of education as ideology in the university atmosphere is repeated in other plays, such as \textit{Interacciones}, in which

\textsuperscript{94} For example, at one point the stage directions indicate that “Lorena y Ramón se van al dormitorio. Copulan. Menéndez ha puesto la televisión. En la pantalla el discurso del presidente del gobierno sobre el estado de la nación. Fina recoge el desayuno y vuelve a la cocina…” (157). This combination of politics with activities such as sexual intercourse and cleaning up after breakfast highlights the quotidian nature of the various ideological institutions and their interactions with society.
Iker is a university professor and Garbiñe a former graduate student, as well as *Burundanga* in which Silvia and Berta are university students, and *Eusk*, in which a university professor is forced to hire a bodyguard after receiving multiple death threats. *Eusk* also provides examples of education as ideology in the primary/secondary school spheres, as I have noted in my discussion of the episodes in which two mothers complain about the use of language in the schools. This is also clear in the conversation in Scene 13 between two adolescents, Joaquín and Ander, during recess. The two boys discuss the affiliation of the PNV, arguing whether it is a left- or ring-wing party. Joaquín states that even though he is leftist he would vote for the PNV (which they eventually agree is right-wing) because he could get a good job as judge and change the current situation. He observes that this is the most convenient option because the HB does not have governing power and therefore cannot affect any change.

The discussions on education that occur in these dramas are extremely significant. Moreover, that children and adolescents, such as Joaquín and Ander are engaging in these types of conversations is noteworthy – especially given the realism of Barrena’s work. These dramatized dialogues highlight the extent to which similar situations are occurring in real life. In his book *War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*, Chris Hedges indicates that:

States at war silence their own authentic and humane culture. When this destruction is well advanced, they find the lack of critical and moral restraint useful in the campaign to exterminate the culture of their opponents. By destroying authentic culture—that which allows us to question and examine ourselves and our society---the state erodes the moral fabric. It is replaced with a warped version of reality. The enemy is dehumanized; the universe starkly divided between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. The cause
is celebrated, often in overt religious forms, as a manifestation of divine or historical will. All is dedicated to promoting and glorifying the myth, the nation, the cause (63).

During times of conflict, the information regarding the “reality” of the situation with which we are confronted is often distorted beyond the normal realm of the media. Further, the promotion of specific “myths” or ideas is amplified,\textsuperscript{95} to the extent that political conversations, temporarily, become more common. When periods of conflict are long-lasting or ongoing, these conversations integrate themselves more and more into daily life, becoming topics of discussion at the breakfast/dinner table, and parts of lesson plans for children. As a result, children, such as Joaquín and Ander, also adapt these ideas into their activities and games. Additionally, the dramatists’ examples of talks of terrorism in the universities are also important as young adults often seem to gravitate more towards experimenting with political expression and activism, as well as the fact that university is a place for freedom of expression, exploring new ideas and engaging with other like-minded scholars. University students already have a basic set of knowledge, but are generally there to further expand their minds and learn new ways to look at the world. As a result, professors hold a high degree of power as the classroom setting is a more asymmetrical power relationship in which they can open their students up to certain ways of interpreting material. This is noted in Amestoy’s \textit{Interacciones}, for example, when Iker worries that his and Garbiñe’s analyses of the Orestes myth oppose one another and have both been

\textsuperscript{95}It is important to note this switch in ideas that are promoted during times of war and conflict versus those promoted during times of peace. However, it is also noteworthy that, contrary to what Hedges indicates, there is no such thing as “authentic” culture. Culture is not something with a fixed definition, but rather something that changes over time. Critics such as Foucault and Baudrillard demonstrate this in their discussion of “social texts” as forms of power and control – and the broad ranges of these texts. For instance, Baudrillard suggests that in this period of postmodernity or “hyperreality” we are no longer able to distinguish between reality and the simulations (such as advertising, news, etc.) of it. Ben Agger also alludes to this notion in his \textit{Critical Social Theories: An Introduction} in which he states that “the distinction between text and world blurs in postmodernity to such an extent that people do not recognize advertisements as the ideological enjoinders and arguments they really are, celebrating consumerism as a way of ameliorating alienation” (125). Similarly, David Riesman et al. also describe this lack of authentic culture in their sociological study, \textit{The Lonely Crowd}, which describes an evolution towards a more malleable society that is less tradition-based in lifestyle and focuses more on the definition of self in terms of how one lives and interacts with others.
presented to his students. It is also evident in other plays when professors must obtain bodyguards because they have received threats as a result of their teaching methodologies.

Simpson and Mayr discuss the educational power relationship, stating that:

In a traditional classroom setting, students take turns usually only when the teacher directs a question to the class or an individual. What they can say in the turns they take is also constrained: essentially students are limited to giving “relevant” answers to the teachers. What is relevant or irrelevant depends on the context of course. But the teacher, or any person who has more power in an interaction such as a judge or police officer, can [...] define the context and decide what is discoursally relevant (11).

These conversational constraints are also usually more present in university classrooms, in which classes usually take the form of lectures, providing little room for interaction for the students. The limitations of these types of in-class dialogues are also more frequently observed in higher education classrooms given that the students are more mature and less prone to speaking out without permission. Simpson and Mayr’s comments on the definition of “relevance” in discourse also recall Jean-François Lyotard’s theories of the “differend.” In his book *The Differend: Phrases in Dispute*, Lyotard explains the differend as a type of injustice that occurs through language. He contrasts “plaintiff” and “victim,” proposing that the difference between the two is that while both represent wronged parties, the victim’s wrong cannot be presented, whereas the plaintiff can defend himself through litigation (9-10). Another example he provides is that of the discussion of historian Faurisson’s revision of the Holocaust. Faurisson refuses to accept anything other than the testimonials of gas chamber witnesses as evidence of their existence. However, because those who did experience the gas chambers themselves died, according to him, there were no gas chambers (3-4). That is to say, the “differend” represents an injustice or
occurrence that cannot be accurately represented or understood. The same applies to this notion of determining what is “discoursally relevant” for a classroom. Why are the teachers/school authorities (usually) the only ones who are allowed to decide what is and is not an appropriate classroom discussion and not also the students, who are actively trying to learn? Or, in the case of Spain and other regions experiencing political conflict, why is it that those who are not remotely involved in education (neither the parents, nor the teachers, nor the students), such as political organizations and extremists, who have control over what students do and do not learn? The aforementioned theatrical episodes are significant because of their accurate representation of this reality in Spain during the terrorism phenomenon. Alexander, Swetnam and Levine allude to this in their study of ETA, noting that “the emotional pressure suffered by the professors [at the University of the Basque Country] who do not share ETA’s radical ideology has forced some of them who were subjected to threats and boycotts to abandon teaching and even leave the Basque Country and move abroad, including to the United States” (28).

Another important ideological institution that is present in the plays studied in this project is religion. This is particularly clear in El tesoro del predicador and Eusk. Religion appears in López’s El tesoro del predicador through Él and his speeches. According to scholars such as Laura López Sánchez, these discourses give Él the air of an overzealous imam:

Cada uno de estos seis curiosos personajes son víctimas o verdugos de una delirante situación comparable con el mundo que se esconde tras grupos terroristas de tipo yihadista. Él y Ella, pero, especialmente el predicador, que es un personaje sin escrúpulos, con reminiscencias de los guías espirituales, imanes fanáticos, de las células islámicas, capaz de embaucaur con su enajenante charlatanería a Alforfón y Triticale, dos miserables piratas fácilmente manipulables, que nos recuerdan a los terroristas que se
I agree that his speeches were obviously intended to create some sort of allusion to religion and its ideological function. This is also evident via the drama’s title, which translates to “the preacher’s treasure”---and the way in which Él is linked to all of the play’s characters. He is Ella’s partner/leader, he is the pirates’ victim (as well as, apparently, their boss), and he is Avena’s father. He and his treasure are what connect the seemingly unrelated characters. That being said, if I were to analyze Él based solely on his speeches, as López Sánchez does, I would add that he could also be representative of any political/influential figure or charismatic leader that is able to convince others to do his bidding. Él demonstrates his magnetic and controlling qualities through his formal speeches to the pirates in which he tries to “set them on the proper path,” and his informal conversations with Ella, which are often interrupted by his and her frequent physical attacks on one another. Moreover, the dramatist’s descriptions of him in the stage directions also allude to the idea that appearances may be deceiving. The opening description states “Ella lleva un vestido de lona con fantasias imitando camuflaje, con la pinta de una puta barriobajera muy sensual. Él viste como predicador. Se comportan como si estuvieran solos, pero en primer término está Avena” (57). In my opinion, the use of the word “como” is particularly suggestive here, indicating that Él dresses and acts like something, but that he is not necessarily actually it. In other words, he acts as a figure of importance, trying to impose power and control over others. However, the authority he claims to possess does not really exist. Instead, it is merely a construction that he uses to manipulate others.

From the perspective of a study on performance, this notion of role playing is important. It suggests that Él’s performed self (or the image of self that he presents to others) is different
from his real self. Additionally, as with Baudrillard’s discussion of a simulated hold-up in his *Simulacra and Simulation*, the boundaries between performance and reality begin to blur when the performance becomes credible enough that it produces real consequences. In the case of Baudrillard’s staged robbery, this includes people giving the “robbers” real money. In the case of Él, this includes people carrying out real acts of violence---such as Ella’s abuse or the murder of the children by the pirates---as a result of his “sermons” and self-righteous behaviour.

This would also highlight the impact of the interconnectedness of many ideological apparatuses (eg. politics, religion, and family), demonstrating that ideological tools have a greater chance at success (affecting identities and societal changes) when they are widespread, rather than when only one facet is employed. This representation of the combination of several ideological institutions is especially prominent in *Eusk*, which follows a variety of characters from different walks of life and details their everyday experiences in the Basque Country. Barrena alludes to the religious implications of the Basque conflict by not only including two clergymen as characters in his play, but also by having them create graffiti, noting in the stage directions that the two spray “ETA Mátalos” on a wall and banner. This is significant because in addition to acts such as Molotov cocktails and burning trash cans, graffiti is also considered an act of street violence or kale borroka.\(^96\) Thus, to a certain extent, it appears that Barrena is equating the clergymen with terrorists by having them engage in similar acts. This is a strong statement. It alludes to the deep-rooted problems of the Basque conflict given the history of the Church’s connection to the State. For example, the Church was associated with the nationalist side during the Civil War. Beyond that, the Church has also enjoyed connections to the State via its links to monarchs such as Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic Kings, and the Spanish

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\(^96\) Jan Mansvelt Beck notes in *Territory and Terror* that kale borroka became legally classified as urban terrorism in 2002 (180).
Inquisition, as well as the Carlist wars in which the Basque Country first lost their fueros. By equating the clergymen with terrorists, then, Barrena suggests that they are also to blame for the environment in which the public is forced to live. They cannot trust anybody because both the “activists” and the members of the religious community behave the same. Likewise, because of their similar tactics, no change will ever be accomplished because nobody is willing to think outside the box and truly discuss the issue to resolve the matter.

In addition to the representation of ISAs such as language, education, politics and religion, the theme of ideology is also clear in the depiction of the media and cultural productions as well as the general discussion of the influence of society. References to the media and cultural productions, such as movies, literature, and myths are obvious in each of the plays by Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre. Some instances of these references include allusions to pieces of audio and visual technology, such as radios, tape recorders, and televisions. For example, Amestoy notes in his play that “se escucha la emisión radiofónica de las noticias del atentado del 11-M” (15). His character Garbiñe also observes: “en el salón hay un televisor. Iker está suscrito a Canal Digital. Por las películas. También por la CNN. No suelo ver la tele, ni las películas, ni la CNN. Leo a Ibsen y libros de economía” (118). Amestoy demonstrates the importance of the media and technology / communicative devices in his play through the juxtaposition of the characters Iker and Garbiñe. Iker is more traditional in the sense that he subscribes to common services, such as movies and CNN and he is insistent on teaching the “conventional” interpretation of the Orestes myth to his students. Garbiñe, on the other hand, does not watch the movies or the news. Instead, she reads Ibsen and Einstein, two controversial scholars who are known for their alternative thinking. She is also more open to adapting these established theories and considering other options. This comparison of characters
(who are also siblings) is interesting as it shows that there are always multiple sides to a story and not just one strict viewpoint. In her book *Theatre and Violence*, Lucy Nevitt indicates in her discussion of the WWE that “when stereotyped representations of particular social, national, ethnic, religious, class or political groups are positioned on either side of the face/heel divide, an ideological choice is being made” (37). Amestoy’s literary decisions are noteworthy, then, because by putting Iker and Garbiñe alongside one another, he is specifically not putting one viewpoint above the other and is allowing the audience to make their own ideological choices.

The presence of technological devices is also apparent in Cabal’s *Ello dispara*, which features five mentions of tape recorders, six of televisions and four of radios through both dialogue and stage directions. Cabal’s drama also includes references to cultural productions, such as three references to magazines, three mentions of books, and one allusion to a movie (specifically, Almodóvar’s *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios*).97 The quantity of these references to audio/visual technology, especially within the context of a State agent stakeout, is significant because it suggests a connection between the State and ideology, given that these works and devices are powerful methods for the distribution of ideas. The majority of these means of communication are also all one-sided. That is, unlike theatre, for example, they are not interactive. They allow for the dispersal of a message, but they purposefully do not allow engagement or discussion. This is interesting, then, given that the State agents are both surveilling/recording Sr. Fuyad and thus imposing their political beliefs on him, while also simultaneously subjecting themselves to the continuous cycle of ideology’s impact and demonstrating that it is not an escapable thing, but rather something that affects all aspects of everyday life. Further, the allusion to Almodóvar’s film is noteworthy in itself given that it

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97 This presence of the media in *Ello dispara* is briefly noted by Enrique Centeno in his review “Paisaje de cloaca,” however it is not expanded upon or explained.
discusses the theme of terrorism (via Candela’s unintentional involvement with a group of Shiite terrorists who plan to hijack a flight) and also contains characters who are experiencing emotional crises---similar to the characters in *Ello dispara*.

Other plays that refer to the media and cultural productions include *Burundanga*, given that Berta, Manel, Silvia, and Gorka were originally going to meet to watch a movie, *Blood* in that the Policeman and Policewoman make allusions to the news and reporters, and *El tesoro del predicador*. López alludes movies both through use of stage directions and character conversations. For instance, when Triticale and Alforfón are first introduced the playwright indicates: “durante el final de la escena anterior han aparecido dos piratas vestidos como piratas de las películas de piratas” (62). Also, Triticale and Alforfón draw attention to their paradoxical nature themselves in the following conversation: “Alforfón: El barco no está. Nos han traicionado. No podemos huir, y terminará hincándonos el garfio. / Triticale: ¿Quién te ha dicho que tenga garfio? / Alforfón: Yo qué sé… Lo he visto en las películas. / Triticale: ¿En qué películas? Los piratas no vamos al cine, gilipollas” (63). Alforfón reveals that he learned about the pirate lifestyle from the movies. Triticale, on the other hand, says that pirates do not go to the movies. Both of these statements are curious because, on the one hand, Alforfón demonstrates the magnitude of cinema as an ideological tool, whereas, on the other, Triticale appears to also be conditioned by another behavioural code, suggesting that pirates can only do / not do certain things. This is further echoed by López’s comments in the stage directions, indicating that the two characters are dressed “like pirates in pirate movies.”

Finally, references to the importance of the combination of cultural productions and ideology also appear in Sastre’s *¡Han matado a Prokopius!*; which tells the story of Isidro’s investigation of Prokopius’s (a famous Basque author) murder. As Isidro eventually discovers,
Prokopius orchestrated his own death (including hiring his own assassin), modelling it after one of his novels: “En esa novela, el protagonista prepara su atentado, como ahora lo ha hecho en la realidad. Yo decidí ir a San Sebastián a confirmar mi novela, o sea, la novela de Prokopius. Había tenido el flash de la solución en cuanto leí la noticia en los periódicos: ‘Han matado a Prokopius’” (185). Prokopius’s plan to carry out his death according to the plot of a novel he wrote years earlier is noteworthy because it draws attention to the parallels and the increasingly blurred lines between art and life.98 It also recalls Guy Debord’s thoughts in *The Society of Spectacle*,99 in which he observes that:

the spectacle presents itself simultaneously as society itself, as a part of society, and as a means of unification. As a part of society, it is ostensibly the focal point of all vision and all consciousness. But due to the very fact that this sector is separate, it is in reality the domain of delusion and false consciousness: the unification it achieves is nothing but an official language of universal separation (2).

That is to say, because of constant exposure to images of violence through the media, such as newspapers, television, movies, etc. we are becoming more accustomed and indifferent towards noticing it in our daily lives and acts of violence must be ever more extreme for us to pay attention. Therefore, the constant representation of violence under the pretense of promoting awareness, and thus a more connected/unified society, achieves not much more than separating us further from our fellow citizens---making us feel less like participants in the spectacle of life and more like distant spectators. The spectacularity of Prokopius’s life/death is further

98 Amalur Artola also argues in his “Han matado a prokopius una década más tarde, Alfonso Sastre” that Prokopius’s life also mirrors Isidro’s own life, which is perhaps why Isidro was the only one who could solve the case. However, he does not provide enough evidence to fully support this theory, in my opinion.
99 This is a classic philosophic text in which Debord discusses the transformation of modern society. He notes the commodification and fetishism of the mass media, which comes into play with issues such as class alienation and cultural homogenization. Like others, such as Baudrillard and Eco, he discusses the importance of images and representation in today’s society and how we can no longer distinguish between reality and spectacle, which he believes has led to the degradation of true social life.
augmented by his “murder” being staged according to a specific novel entitled *El atentado* (or “The [Terrorist] Attack”). This title heightens the sense of spectacle because the purpose of most terrorist attacks is to gain an audience and perpetuate a sentiment of fear through violence. By placing himself as victim of the attack, Prokopius is bringing himself centre stage for one last time. Notwithstanding, the emphasis of the play is on Prokopius’s victimization despite him now being in the spotlight as a result of his death. The drama does not continue long after the murderer is discovered. For most people, this seems only logical: Sastre does frame it as a crime/mystery play after all. Why continue the play if the story is done? I would argue here that solving the case is not the only thing that matters --- especially when concerning a terrorist attack. It is as much about the victims as it is about the perpetrators and underlying causes of the occurrence. When people thought Prokopius was murdered for being too outspoken and patriotic, it was a big deal. Yet, when it turns out he orchestrated his own death to escape his depression (due to a variety of factors, including the loss of his son), people were no longer interested. Through this portrayal of the treatment of Prokopius’s death, Sastre underlines a major societal problem: the fact that instead of focusing on resolving social issues/conflicts before they cause a lot of harm, there is instead the tendency to focus on trying to repair the damage as much as possible after it occurred. This is clear in Spain, for example, through the laws on Historical Memory passed in October 2007 as a means of formally recognizing the victims of the Civil War in 1936-1939 and officially condemning the Franco dictatorship and the creation of associations for the victims of terrorist attacks. These are, of course, important parts of coping

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100. For more information on the Historical Memory Law, see Daniel Stofleth’s “Memory Politics in Spain: The Law of Historical Memory and the Politics of the Dead” and the Economist’s “A Rude Awakening: The Spanish Government Rakes Up Painful Past Memories.” See also Marcos Criado de Diego’s *El itinerario de la memoria: derecho, historia y justicia en la recuperación de la memoria histórica en España*, Pablo Sánchez León’s “Overcoming the Violent Past in Spain 1939-2009” and Elsa Cajiao C.’s “La recepción de la ley de la memoria histórica en España.”
with acts of violence; however, they are also “social bandaids” to a certain degree given that they do not, nor will they ever, solve the issue of violence.

The societal need for Spain to change its approach towards violence is also present through the representation of myth. This is especially evident in the form of Amestoy’s characters Clitemnestra and Orestes in *Interacciones*. While these characters pertain to the Greek myth of Agammenon, they are not portrayed by Amestoy as they appeared in the original myth. Clitemnestra still learns of her husband’s infidelity and kills him for it. Orestes, however, does not kill his mother upon learning of her actions. Instead, he sends her a letter, advising her that he knows what she has done and that he will not kill her because “pienso que en tu cáncer está tu condena. Por eso, no seré yo el cirujano que acabe con tu enfermedad. No quiero ser yo quien te prive de los placeres de tu mal hasta la consumación final, hasta el éxtasis, hasta la muerte” (20).

Scholars such as Victor Turner note the cultural significance of myths, such as the one I described above, stating that these narratives are useful to help one make sense of themselves—culturally and individually. However, there is more to “myth” than the stories of Greek and Roman gods that many students learn about in school. Roland Barthes explains this in his book *Mythologies*, describing that everything can be myth as myth is, simply put, a system of communication, a message. As a result, myth is not confined to oral speech—it can also consist of writing of representations, such as photography, cinemas, shows, sports, reporting, etc. The most important aspect of myth is not its form, but rather its meaning (218). To that end, Barthes adds: “one can conceive of very ancient myths, but there are no eternal ones; for it is human history which converts reality into speech, and it alone rules the life and death of mythical language. Ancient or not, mythology can only have a historical foundation for myth is a type of speech chosen by history: it cannot possibly evolve from the “nature” of things” (218). This
emphasis on history and its contribution to the meaning (or lack thereof) of mythical language is crucial—as is Barthes’ stressing that there are no eternal myths. Human nature changes with time and so must our narratives. Amestoy appears to agree with this statement given his adaptation of the Agamemnon myth, which now suggests that instead of exacting his revenge in the form of killing his mother Orestes allows Clitemnestra to live, describing her actions as the symptoms of a diseased society. Orestes also indicates in his letter that “el pueblo que no se alza contra el tirano, contra el terror, llevará marcada en su frente, con la sangre derramada por el traidor, su propia condena, su fin” (20). That is, he suggests that it is necessary to speak up against the violent actions of others and not simply just let them happen to you. If you do not try to stop violence, the disastrous results are still partially your fault, even if you were not the person directly committing the acts. The other playwrights in this project, such as Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre are also working on creating their own new myths by re-appropriating what it means to be Spanish. Instead of letting their country’s violent history define them, they are employing their dramas to find new ways to resolve societal conflicts by reaching out to the public and allowing them to experiment with new possibilities.

The last way in which the theme of ideology appears in these dramas is through the theme of the influence of society. These considerations take different forms in the plays. In some texts, comments upon the state of society occur through the representation of sex and sexuality. In others, the critique occurs through more philosophical thoughts revealed by specific characters. Alexander McKay describes the importance of sexuality in ideology in his book *Sexual Ideology and Schooling*. He states that “what we teach young people about human sexuality will at least partially influence the shape of society’s future social norms. Social norms related to sexuality are widely regarded as being an important determinant of the nature of society and we are deeply
divided as a culture as to the appropriate shape and substance of these norms” (7). The greatest differences of opinion regarding approaches for teaching about sexuality include whether to focus on “traditional” gender arrangements, which many believe contributes to gender inequality and other major social issues, or to rebel against these traditional viewpoints and teach children to think outside the box. The choice of pedagogical approach is often not entirely left to the teacher, but rather enforced by provincial or federal government curriculum standards. These governmental teaching methodologies would also vary depending on the party in power (and whether they were an imposed or elected government).

Some instances of the combination of sex and violence emerge in *Burundanga, Blood* and *Ello dispara*. In *Burundanga*, this is most evident in the intoxicated ramblings of Manel and Gorka after they are drugged with scopolamine. Both men mention the physical attributes of Silvia and Berta that they prefer most. Moreover, Manel confesses to sleeping with other women since he began dating Berta. When asked how many women he slept with Manel provides responses such as “¿desde cuándo consideras que salimos juntos?” (15). He also further demonstrates his non-committal attitude in the following conversation when Berta asks why he had sexual relations with Chantal, a French girl who ends up being another ETA colleague of Manel’s:

Berta: ¿Y cómo, cómo… cómo fue?


Berta: Lo que quiero decir es cómo fue que os metisteis en la cama.

Manel: Estaba en la ciudad, de paso, y vino a dormir a mi piso. Bebimos cuatro cervezas, se me puso bien y…

Berta: Se te puso bien.
Manel: Oh sí, se me puso… de cara, de culo, de lado, de medio lado… (16).

For Berta, this news of Manel’s infidelity is troubling—especially since he had to ask how long they had been officially dating, which suggests that the number of his adulteries is perhaps much higher. Manel, however, clearly sees sexual relations as a more commonplace, trivial occurrence than Berta does. This is evident in his drugged nonchalance while recounting the tales of his escapades to his girlfriend. Of course, the fact that he only relates these details while high is also significant. It suggests that, while Manel is less committed with his sexual acts, he does also realize that this contrasts with Berta’s practices or else he would have mentioned them to her while he was sober. This demonstrates a juxtaposition between more traditional (in the sense of monogamous sex) and more modern (or “noncommittal”) viewpoints towards sexual activity.

A similar degree of sexual promiscuity is evident in _Ello dispara_, mainly through the characters of Lorena and Don Julio, who engage in sexual acts while in the same room as their other co-workers. Lorena performs these sexual activities with Don Julio and Ramón. Don Julio, on the other hand, has intercourse with Lorena while disregarding his wife’s participation in the stakeout. Furthermore, during his engagement with Lorena, he observes “aquí entre el ano y la vagina, dicen los chinos que está el punto de la memoria. Estimulándolo brotan los recuerdos” (149). This remarks occurs within the broader context of the play’s discussion of torture techniques and Don Julio’s personal attempts at dealing with the grief of losing his son. Thus, as a result of the combination of the acts performed by Don Julio and the context in which they take place, Cabal suggests a connection between sex, ideology, and violence. I argue that sex, in this case, can be representative of more than just the union of two bodies, although this simplistic conceptualization of the phenomenon could also have interesting implications (such as

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101 Eduardo Galan refers briefly to the presence of sex and naked bodies in _Ello dispara_ in his review “Hiperrealismo sociológico.” Unfortunately, he does not elaborate upon the significance of the combination of sex and violence.
the depiction of the merging of different viewpoints, for example). In general terms, I believe that this demonstration of sexual relations can be considered representative of the everyday given that it is a natural occurrence associated with romantic relationships between individuals who are both single and married. Further, if we are being realistic, we can add to this that the romance factor is not entirely necessary. Many individuals engage in casual relations with unknown people either for fun or money. This acknowledgement highlights and extends the quotidian nature of the act. Thus, for the purposes of Cabal’s drama, the inclusion of sex during a stakeout mission symbolizes the combination of violence and the everyday. This idea is elaborated with the discussion of torture techniques during sex. Lorena and Don Julio, and later, Lorena and Ramón, resort to sex because they are bored during their mission.

Belbel depicts a similar situation near the end of Blood via the interactions between the Man and Young Woman after the Woman’s decapitation: “Man: I love you. /Young Woman: Love you too. /[…]/ Man: How...how long has it been since we fucked? /Young Woman: You always think of the same thing. Finish the job first. /Man: I will, but then what? Then we’ll go to the meeting and it’ll run late and afterwards...” (50). Interestingly, this is the only instance in the plays studied in this project when the characters mention love in conjunction with their discussion of sexual acts. This love would, traditionally, be considered an important factor before beginning a sexual relationship. However, this expression of amorous sentiments is contrasted by the question “how long has it been since we fucked?” which is a considerably less romantic way of addressing the topic. Further, it is important to note that this conversation between the Young Woman and Man takes place in the same room they had held, tortured and decapitated the Woman---in front of her now lifeless body. While they are not engaging in sexuality activity like Lorena and Don Julio, their ability to discuss it so casually after assassinating someone (and
while still in the same room as their dead victim), is concerning and suggests a desensitization to violence as they do not appear to be remotely affected by their actions and can carry on such a light, personal conversation under what would normally be considered unusual circumstances. This interaction, similar to that of Lorena and Don Julio, indicates a combination of sex, violence and the everyday. This association of sex with violence is particularly significant given that while it is traditionally considered as a romantic or practical interaction with the goal of procreation, it can also be utilized as a form of violence or way of exerting power itself. This is clear in a variety of extremes, including partners withholding sex from one another until they get their way, bondage and other fetishes, and even rape when sex is forced onto an un-consenting victim. The association of these sorts of behavior with the everyday is also important because these sexual acts are presumably more ordinary than full-fledged terrorist attacks. However, by combining the two acts of violence into one quotidian experience, Belbel indicates how the two can be related, suggesting that the country’s inherent violent past and their incapability of resolving the political and cultural hostility has allowed them to become more accepting of aggressive acts in general.

Similarly, we witness other social critiques through the philosophical thoughts of different characters, most notably Cabal’s Don Julio and Amestoy’s Garbiñe and Orestes. For example, during the opening of the drama Don Julio states: “se retira la noche y el sol llega con una puntualidad asombrosa. Una maquinaria perfecta que los hombres nunca podrán imitar. El animal humano siempre falla. Su condición natural es el error. Lucha, estudia, sueña, se esfuerza, y todos los días el sol viene a iluminar su fracaso” (145). While we are unaware of the meaning behind this observation at the beginning of the play, upon reading the rest of the drama we realize that this comment emphasizes a lot of what Don Julio is experiencing during the moment
in which the action occurs. He is haunted by the loss of his child and is constantly left to wonder whether or not the accident was his fault or someone else’s. Similarly, the statement extends beyond Don Julio, also being applicable to society and humanity at large. He highlights the idea that, as humans, we are not perfect and we are bound to make mistakes. Further, he adds that these errors are implicit in our humanity and that the imitation of nature’s perfection is impossible. That is, he offers a rather negative perspective (most likely due to his current situation), suggesting that we must simply accept how/who we are as it is not possible to achieve change. Garbiñe seems similarly pessimistic in her contemplations. It is important to note that she is also mourning a loved one and is currently in the midst of a terrorist attack, which is demonstrated by the sounds of bombs in the background as indicated in the stage directions (16). Garbiñe observes that “nunca es el asesino el que mata a su víctima. Siempre hay alguien por encima del ejecutor que es el que ordena la matanza” (16). She also adds that “los asesinos de cara y huellas son sólo actores que interpretan una tragedia que ellos no han escrito” (17). That is, for Garbiñe, those who carry out acts of violence are not completely responsible for their actions. Instead, she suggests that they are merely actors playing a role that was written for them by some outside entity. The fact that Amestoy adds mythological references and his own updated interpretations of said myths in Interacciones is not lost here. In fact, one of these mythological characters, Orestes, adds his own thoughts at the end of the play: “El pueblo que no se alza contra el tirano, contra el terror, llevará marcada en su frente, con la sangre derramada por el traidor, su propia condena, su fin” (20). Thus, through the juxtaposition of Garbiñe and Orestes, Amestoy suggests that while there may always be outside forces enticing us to make certain decisions or act in a certain way, in the end we must be our own heroes and we must be responsible for our own lives. In other words, despite potentially experiencing personal or
Making Believe: The Implications of Representations of Terrorism and Ideology

Throughout this chapter’s study of the representation of the theme of ideology in plays by Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre I have shown the arbitrary and influential nature of ideology. This idea is clear through the analysis of each of the ideological tools mentioned, including language, politics, religion, education, media and cultural productions because each of these tools are designed to affect people thoughts and behaviour and can be employed to achieve a variety of objectives and can be employed to achieve a variety of objectives. As a result, each of these factors are undoubtedly significant for the discussion of the terrorism phenomenon, since the central issue behind all terrorist conflicts is a fundamental difference in ideology. This is obvious in the Basque conflict as ETA was created as a response to the repression of the Basque people and culture. It is also evident in the case of the 11-M attacks performed by Al-Qaeda cells due to their feelings of persecution and the need for revenge. The fact that playwrights such as Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre choose to complete their discussion on the terrorism phenomenon in Spain by including such a large variety of ISAs in their representations (which also serve as examples of the cultural ISA themselves) is significant. These multidimensional representations show the many branches of ideology and highlight its connectedness to all facets of everyday life. Because of this variety, theatrical performances of violence, such as those included in this project, are not
as flat as the images we continuously see through the media. Lucy Nevitt mentions this in *Theatre and Violence*, explaining that “actual violence, when the harm is happening as it appears to be, is such a common feature of the news that many people have developed a spectatorial distance from it. We know it is real, but paradoxically its impact can be less immediate and strong, and less long-lasting and troubling, than the impact of some simulated violence presented in theatres” (2-3). Simulated violence in theatres becomes more “real” than the stories and images of real violence in the news because it is happening in front of us in the now. It does not permit distance. It forces spectators to become involved and really consider that which is occurring before their eyes. These representations of violence can tell us a lot about the culture that produced it, including their values and attitudes. They can also repeat or challenge that culture’s normalized social structures.

In addition to this discussion of performed or simulated violence, it is important to note that, in the case of playwrights such as Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre, all of the acts of violence committed on stage are based on or staged in response to real terrorist acts. These are not plays written by dramatists with a taste for gore, but rather social responsibility. They are simulating something that is already a spectacle in itself. Nevitt discusses the spectacularity of terrorism in relation to the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City. She observes that:

This act of “terrorist” violence was also an act of spectacle, of imagery—we might say, of choreographed violent action. It caught the public imagination not just because of its individual victims but because of its large scale, the iconic nature of the buildings it destroyed and its wide range of symbolic possibilities. It also left behind its site of destruction as a second spectacle to be visited and viewed, and it is important to
remember how much significance has been accorded to decisions about the medium- and long-term future of the “Ground Zero” site (61).

This example, unintentionally, reinforces the connections between violence, ideology, and spectacle. Nevitt employs words like “symbolic” and “iconic” to describe the buildings, the attack and the site of violence. These things can only be described as such thanks to ideology and the way in which different values are attributed to different things. Now the monument that stands at the Ground Zero site is also “symbolic” and “iconic.” Similar to the monument built in Madrid’s Atocha station in memory of the 11-M attacks or the one in the Madrid Adolfo Suarez Barajas airport parking lot in memory of the ETA bombing, the Ground Zero monument serves as a performance of the nation’s values and a reminder of the lives lost. Monuments and statues such as these can hold significant cultural and ideological meaning and this is why, during times of war and conflict, they are also often destroyed—because they are the embodiment of the nation’s myth. Cultural productions, such as plays, are also important manifestations of state ideologies and nationalities as, to an extent, States are in control of which plays are allowed to be performed. For example, the governments regulate which plays are performed in their government-run national theatres, whereas others are left to private local theatres, which are not likely to receive the same sort of endorsement via advertisements and reviews in newspapers. This also serves to demonstrate the commodification of culture to a degree given that the “best-selling” plays are kept in bigger cities or theatrical hubs, like Madrid and Barcelona and the majority of the publications about performances come from those in these regions, despite the fact that they may not be representative of the entire country. Smaller towns or autonomous regions cannot afford to put the same infrastructure into cultural affairs and thus are also unable
States also govern performances and theatrical texts by the establishment of a literary canon and prizes. Plays that are canonized are considered more “classic” and are both studied and performed more. They may receive more analysis than other dramas as a result of their status, even when/if national ideals have changed. It is difficult for an author to become part of a country’s literary canon, but once inducted, it is nearly impossible to be removed – thus allowing them a continued impact on the shape of that country/geographical region’s literary/cultural identity. Furthermore, dramas that have won prizes or earned a public mention are perceived as “successful” and will attract more interest/attendance. This does not necessarily mean that in order to be performed or win prizes, a play must or should display the ruling government’s values. This would vary depending on the degree of democracy or authoritarianism in the government, although it certainly can be true in dictatorships. It does show, though, a change in the Spanish mindset and values that plays such as those by Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre are now able to be and even encouraged to be written/staged.

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102 For more information on the distinctions between cultural initiatives on regional and national levels in Spain, see “The Economic Dimension of the Culture and Leisure Industry in Spain: National, Sectoral and Regional Analysis” by María Isabel García et al, Francisco Marco-Serrano’s “Monitoring Managerial Efficiency in the Performing Arts: A Regional Theatres Network Perspective,” and Juan Francisco Gutiérrez Lozano’s “Public TV and Regional Cultural Policy in Spain as Reflected Through the Experience of Andalusian Regional Television.”
CHAPTER FIVE

Mirror, Mirror: Reflections on Alterity

The notion of otherness is another common theme in the discussion of terrorism. Similar to the ideas of control and ideology, the concept of otherness is problematic due to its variability. Peter Sloterdijk alludes to this issue in his book *Terror from the Air*. He observes that “Every terrorist attack sees itself as a counterattack in a series allegedly always started by the enemy. As a result, terrorism conceives itself in an “anti-terrorist” fashion” (27). “Terrorist” attacks are always in response to an action that the perpetrator sees as endangering to himself. These acts are seen as methods of defense against the enemy or the Other rather than as methods of offense. For example, in the case of Spain, ETA was formed in response to the repression imposed on the Basque people by the Spanish State. The GAL was later formed in response to the violence and terror perpetrated by ETA. Similarly, the jihadist terrorist network responsible for the bombing of the Cercanías trains in Madrid was created by Amer Azizi and his colleagues because they felt that Muslims in Spain and Europe were being persecuted and felt a need for revenge. In the cases of each of these three terrorist organizations in Spain, neither side is able to see themselves as the “Other”; instead, they see themselves as the victim.

In this chapter I study the representation of alterity in the works of Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López, and Sastre. Each of these plays presents one “typical” model of otherness in the form of the dynamic between the “terrorist” vs. the “terrorized.” They also present another model of otherness, suggesting that both sides play victim and victimizer. Or

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103 For a more detailed look into the creation of the terrorist network responsible for these attacks, see Fernando Reinares’s ¡Matadlos!: Quién estuvo detrás del 11-M y por qué se atentó en España, especially the chapters entitled “Cómo se formó la red terrorista del 11-M” and “Amer Azizi y sus relaciones con la red del 11-M.”

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rather, that there is no “Other.” An example of the “typical” model is evident in the contrast between the Arabic businessman accused of trafficking (the “terrorist”) and the group of police officers on a covert mission to arrest him (the “terrorized”) in *Ello dispara*. However, it is subsequently revealed that Ramón (one of the police officers) is also a “terrorist” named Aurelio working undercover for the military. This fact is revealed after Ramón/Aurelio releases the suspect. Ramón/Aurelio’s role as a “terrorist” highlights the idea that there is no real Other because anyone can be the outsider, a concept which repeats itself in each of the plays in this project. Sergi Belbel particularly emphasizes this idea in *Blood* in which he explicitly states in the stage directions: “MAN and TIMID MAN, CHILD and LOST CHILD, and YOUNG WOMAN and YOUNG MESSENGER must be played by the same actors (one actor and two actresses) in order to preserve, in the three cases, the ambiguity of whether it is a single character who is disguised or two different characters” (xvi). Moreover, Amestoy also underscores the problem and ridiculousness of attempting to define otherness in *Interacciones* through the character Garbiñe who consistently suggests that fear equalizes us and that we are all the same.

I use the study of these dramas and their presentation of the terrorist vs. terrorized dynamic in order to examine the arbitrary nature of the concept of alterity and how it is manipulated for political gain. My understanding of issues of otherness and alterity is influenced by scholars such as Edward Said, Nick Crossley, Ernst van Alphen, Slavoj Zizek, Jonathan Hart, Jeffrey Nealon and Dani Cavallaro. Each of these critics displays through their work the notion of otherness as a malleable construct. Specifically, Ernst van Alphen writes that:

> Identity and alterity are not ‘givens,’ they are not presences behind the self or the other, but changeable products of the ongoing process of constituting a self-image. Speaking about the self is not the equivalent of speaking about the other. The other is other because
s/he is focalized by the self of the observer. While the self is in the position of subject of focalization, the other is by definition the object. The only way to know the other is by letting the other speak about me, by giving the other the position of “I” (15).

That is, similar to the notions of control and ideology that I have explored in other chapters, the concept of otherness is not fixed. It is an ongoing process and one that is susceptible to change. And, in fact, it is this susceptibility to change that is perhaps most significant. It is, however, also a characteristic of the phenomenon that is not commonly perceived. It is what allows us to share and interact with others, without establishing superiority complexes. When left unnoticed, this can lead to political and social conflicts such as those detailed in this project. This is, I argue, what playwrights such as Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López, and Sastre aim to demonstrate through their representations of the terrorism phenomenon in Spain and the theme of otherness via the depiction of not only the terrorist vs. terrorized dynamic, but also issues of blood, sameness, and geographical and temporal distance. By means of their plays, these dramatists illustrate, as Bertolt Brecht suggests, that “we need a type of theatre which not only releases the feelings, insights, and impulses possible within the particular historical field of human relations in which the action takes place, but employs and encourages those thoughts and feelings which help transform the field itself” (190). That is, through their theatre, these playwrights urge people to truly examine the state of the society in which they live and question how they should proceed to further develop it in the future.
The notion of difference is an idea that is frequently displayed in contemporary Spanish culture. It occurs in terms of race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, political affiliation, nationality, and other factors. It is used to distinguish Spanish citizens from one another, as well as to discern between these and other European or global citizens. This emphasis on difference is noted in cultural productions, as well as political decisions and Franco’s use of the slogan “Spain is different” in the 1960s to try to attract more international tourism to the country.\(^{104}\) This slogan has frequently been seen as controversial because it highlights stereotypical aspects of Spanish culture, such as bulls and flamenco dancers, as widespread phenomena, instead of cultural activities that are more prominent in certain regions of the country over others.\(^{105}\) This over-exaggeration of difference (despite its purpose to promote economic growth and decrease political isolation in Spain) is similar to the tactics employed in the stereotyping of terrorists and enemies, given that the overall focus is on a few select qualities, as opposed to the big picture of the individuals/groups as human beings. While this is one of the most famous examples of Spanish tourism slogans, it is not the only one that plays with the idea of uniqueness. In 1984, the Spanish government launched the “Everything under the sun” campaign, which continued until 1992 (Howie 145). This new image was symbolized by a sun designed by Joan Miro and was used to focus on the natural vistas and monumental sights, emphasizing the country’s diverse and multicultural history. However, despite this change in self-presentation, Dorothy

\(^{104}\) Jessica A. Folkart discusses the cultural and historical importance of this slogan in the introduction to her *Angles on Otherness in Post-Franco Spain*, pg. 13-29. Dorothy Kelly also examines the significance of this and other tourism slogans in her chapter “Selling Spanish ‘otherness’ since the 1960s.”

\(^{105}\) Luis García Berlanga alludes to this phenomenon in his 1953 film *¡Bienvenido, Mr. Marshall!*
Kelly notes that there still remained a clear lack of understanding as to what it meant to be Spanish at this time. She also adds that:

The nationalists in the Basque Country and Catalonia have had little problem in casting off the old imposed “Spanish” identity in favour of their own national and regional identities. They have made, and make, extensive use of oppositional discourses when promoting themselves abroad. Indeed, the promotion of Euskadi and Catalonia internationally […] began studiously to avoid the use of any terms relating to Spain, preferring to refer to themselves as “European,” or “Mediterranean.” They even began to make use of the old cultural stereotypes of inefficiency and backwardness often linked to Spain in order to construct a positive and heavily differentiated self-image of extreme efficiency and modernity (32-33).

This reaction to the campaign and question of Spanish identity in itself is worth mentioning as it highlights the double-sided nature of “difference.” On the one hand, officials used the idea of cultural dissimilarity as a positive characteristic to distinguish Spain from other tourist destinations. However, on the other hand, it was also a source of conflict as the various cultural groups that comprise the country were not allowed to celebrate and acknowledge their own uniqueness. Thus, it became an increasingly tense situation as instead of alleviating pressures and creating a more synchronized nation, it encouraged disharmony as regional communities decided to forgo their Spanish ties and instead promote themselves as incredibly non-Spanish entities. In other words, the use of tourism campaigns promoting a welcoming and diverse nation during the dictatorship and early democracy era served only to mask and augment the country’s domestic turmoil. 106

106 For more information on the role of tourism campaigns during the early dictatorship, see Justin Crumbaugh’s *Destinationship Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain’s Tourism Boom and the Reinvention of Difference* and
In this chapter I examine how contemporary Spanish playwrights, including Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López, and Sastre, represent this dynamic of terrorist vs. terrorized and their commentary on the societal emphasis on difference vs. sameness. My study of these dramatists’ works shows various approaches to the juxtaposition of terrorist and terrorized. This includes the profiling of the “ideal” terrorist, the discussion of the theme of blood (both the notions of “pureza de sangre” as well as the actual bodily fluid itself), and, lastly, the idea that there is no “other,” but rather, that we are all the same. For the purposes of this project, I believe it is best to start with an examination of the description of the “ideal” terrorist.

In his book *The Mind of the Terrorist*, political scientist and terrorism scholar Jerold Post explains that:

> While, to be sure, some emotionally disturbed individuals have carried out acts of violence in the name of a cause, severe psychopathology is incompatible with being a member of a terrorist group. Indeed, terrorist groups regularly screen out individuals who are emotionally unstable. Just as the British Special Air Service (SAS) commandos would not wish to have an emotionally unstable individual in their ranks because they would pose a security risk, for the same reason neither would a terrorist action cell wish to have an emotionally unstable member in its ranks (4).

He also adds that: “given the diversity of […] causes there is no reason to believe that there is one terrorist mindset, one overarching terrorist psychology. Why should we assume that the motivations and attitudes of individuals and groups who are pursuing such diverse causes are the same?” (6). Both of these points that Post addresses are significant. It is impossible to ascertain a specific terrorist psychology or mindset as they are all individuals like the rest of us. To do so

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Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella’s *Spain is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity*. 
would be the same as to attempt to discern a politician mindset or a doctor psychology. Each individual enters into their chosen field of interest for their own varied reasons. Likewise, it is illogical to assume that those who decide to be terrorists are unstable, as the organization for whom they work would need to be able to rely on them to carry out specific tactical procedures and would not want to worry about potential deviations from their plan. Nonetheless, these images of the “crazy” terrorist that many people have are important for this chapter as they demonstrate how quickly people are willing to judge and alienate others, which can often lead to much more serious problems than possibly would have occurred if we took the time to try to understand those around us.

The discussion of “who is a terrorist?” and “what does a terrorist look like?” is especially clear in *Burundanga* through the characters of the failed “terrorists,” Manel and Gorka, and the other characters’ perception of them. For example, the following conversation takes place between Silvia and Gorka shortly after the girls learn that Manel (and by extension, Gorka) is an etarra: “Silvia: La verdad es que os imaginaba de otra manera… / Gorka: ¿A quién? / Silvia: A…vosotros. Quiero decir a… los vascos. / Gorka: ¿No conocías a ningún vasco? / Silvia: Sí, hombre. A alguno sí pero Manel nos ha dicho que tú eras especial” (31-32). Similar to Silvia’s shock at discovering the men’s terrorist identities, Berta also expresses surprise and doubt, observing: “Manel trabaja en una oficina reparando ordenadores, su madre canta en una coral, los sábados por la tarde juega a fútbol sala. ¿Es este el perfil de un terrorista?” (36). Both women appear to have a stereotyped image in the mind about who and what a terrorist is like, most likely attributed to the portrayals of such characters in political discourse, as well as media and cultural productions. They do not think that a terrorist could seem to live such a normal life, just like anyone else. They imagine them as villains and monsters and not as people who play sports and
have families. This representation of Silvia and Berta’s contemplation of terrorist profiles undoubtedly brings to attention our own thoughts of these individuals and thus, Galcerán causes us to wonder about how we can distinguish between our “selves” and the “other,” between “good” and “bad,” as well as about what really makes us all so “different” anyway?

The questioning of “who is a terrorist?” is further criticized by Galcerán through his use of Gorka, who explains that he became the surviving member of ETA because he was usually their errand/pizza boy and, one day, the leaders of the organization were arrested while he was out on a pizza run (55-56). Additionally, Gorka attempts to force Silvia and Berta to join ETA for questionable reasons:

Silencio. Debéis tener esto muy claro. Yo, si dejo un cabo suelto, pringo, me paso el resto de mi vida en la cárcel. ¿Lo entendéis, verdad? Pues intentad entender también lo que os digo ahora: eso no va a pasar. No voy a dejar ningún cabo suelto. Esto no tendría que haber sucedido pero así están las cosas. El caso es que, ahora, vosotras sabéis que tanto él como yo somos miembros de ETA. ¿ Esto qué significa? Es muy sencillo. Significa que, a partir de este momento, vosotras también estáis dentro. Y cuando uno está dentro, está dentro y ya no sale (44).

In an attempt at salvaging his and Manel’s atentado, Gorka explains that because the women now know that he and Manel are etarras, they must also join as he cannot let anything derail his plan and get him in trouble. He does not appear to realize that it is already far too late and that this performance of false authority will only further hurt his chances. The women are not so easily pushed, they also know that they cannot simply become terrorists by default. Silvia and Berta use this opportunity to do exactly what Gorka fears: take over his plan and ETA.
Perhaps, in his moment of despair, Gorka is attempting to appeal to the women’s social and sentimental sides, knowing that these are often reasons why women have joined ETA in the past. However, the circumstances and execution of the plan were such that they were not destined to work. The women valued other factors, such as their independence and relationships with other friends and family members, over Gorka’s attempt to instill fear. Silvia and Berta’s decisions are notable because “while men are lured to ETA for ideological reasons, women seem to join the organization based on social relations with other ETA members” (Post 58). Further to this topic, Jerold Post also explains that “[…] sentimental relationships were the primary social factors for the recruitment of women into the terrorist organization. The casualness with which they became associated with this violent group is remarkable” (58). Post elaborates this point through his inclusion of excerpts of his interviews with former ETA terrorists. In one such interview the interviewee states:

They just suggested it to me. There was this guy I was going out with. He joined [ETA] and I did, too. I went to the other side, well, because he went over. And I was out of work just then, and anyway, I wasn’t feeling too good about myself in a lot of ways and I sort of said to myself: right now I haven’t got too much going for me here so I might as well see what happens there, do you see? So I went to live with him (58-59).

This process of member recruitment through personal relationships is not unique to ETA. Al-Qaeda uses a similar informal process. For example, Al-Qaeda members recruit from their own family and social groups. After they are trained, new members are often reintegrated into their own communities very similar to the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamic organization that

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107 Jerold Post notes this in his *The Mind of the Terrorist: The Psychology of Terrorism from the IRA to al-Qaeda* in his discussion of various organizations, including the IRA, ETA, al-Qaeda, FARC and the RAF, among others. He specifically mentions al-Qaeda’s processes in the chapter “Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda Version 1.0,” pg. 193-206. Scholars such as Fernando Reinares and Marc Sageman also discuss people’s motivations for joining groups such as al-Qaeda.
originated in Egypt. This emphasis on “brotherhood” suggests that familial ties are binding, a concept prevalent in Islamic tradition. This is accentuated by the fact that Al-Qaeda members call each other “brother” and view colleagues within the organization as their extended family (205). The sense of familial ties and community is especially important for the newer generations of Al-Qaeda members, who are often immigrants and refugees, as it helps them feel less alienated and develop a feeling of belonging. Many of these young men had families who emigrated to Western Europe to seek a better life, but they and their families were unable to integrate well into western society. As a result, they become more vulnerable and exposed to extreme ideologies then radicalize them more and more and can encourage them to begin the road towards terrorism (225).

This sort of occurrence was particularly common for those involved in the Madrid 2004 train bombings and the July 2005 London train bombings. Gorka’s enrolment in ETA does not explicitly follow the typical recruitment norms; however, the comical promotion from pizza/errand boy to leader of the organization is used by Galcerán to criticize the relatively loose standards with which people decide to join terrorist groups, as well as those with which the organization allows potential recruits to join them. This is emphasized by his attempted conscription of Silvia and Berta who do not display any sort of commitment to the cause.

Other plays that also depict the terrorist recruitment process include Belbel’s Blood and López’s El tesoro del predicador. In Blood the organization’s indoctrination of the Child is an excellent example. The training is mentioned by both the Young Woman and the Child herself. For instance, the Child indicates “I’ve learned about hating the enemy ever since I was born. […] It’s not easy to get rid of hate when you’ve grown up with it. […] And with all the harm the enemy keeps causing us every day. […] My mother was smart. She taught me a lot of things.
How to invent. Keep my mouth shut. To sense things” (9). Both the Child’s parents died when she was young and since their death, she was left in the care of the organization. Thus, her learning comes from both the teachings of her mother, as well as those of the Young Man and Young Woman who now serve as her caregivers. She seems eager to learn and participate, but, given that she was basically born into the group, she was never given a choice, nor does she really know any other sort of life. She is a young child who has been taught about enemies and hatred her whole life. However, because she is a child, she does not fully understand how to direct her emotions either. This is clear in the following dialogue between the Young Woman and the Child:

Young Woman: […] Do you think there’s only a little drop of blood when you cut off a finger? It gushes, so much, sweet, you wouldn’t know how to stop it. Besides, you’d take forever to do it as awkward as you are, with that outburst you just had, that fervor of yours scares me, that…passionate drive. When I came in, you told me she hadn’t hurt you. What’s happened? No, if you had it your way you’d slash her open like a pig in the slaughterhouse and for…what?

Child: Don’t scold me, please.

Young Woman: You can’t behave like this. You disappoint me? You’re a disappointment to me and all the others. You have to live on after we’re gone. You’re the future. We’ve put all our hopes in you. And you have to be clean. You have to be unstained. Without bitterness, no bitterness.

The above is an interesting passage because Belbel displays the complexity of the terrorist organizations’ psychology. On the one hand, the Young Woman recognizes the importance of controlling her emotions and being able to successfully identify who the target is (eg. groups vs.
individuals) when executing her actions; however, on the other hand, she scolds the Child for being unable to do so. She does not recognize the frailty of the child with whom she is dealing or that, perhaps, the environment in which the child has been raised makes her impervious to notions of right and wrong and the reasons behind the organization’s behaviour.

In *El tesoro del predicador* the critique of group member enlistment procedures is evident through Triticale and Alforfón and their interactions with their unidentified boss. The fact that their boss’s face is unknown to them and that they have only ever communicated with him via phone is significant. It suggests that the recruitment process was not very involved given that they were not familiar with each other. Iñaki Rekarte, former boss of the Santander ETA branch, outlines similar recruitment proceedings in his interview with *El País*, indicating that “no hubo ninguna reunión. A mi amigo Juanra y a mi nos dieron un papel con un dibujo donde se explicaba cómo hacer bombas y explotivos” (Congostrina). Rekarte’s interview seems to go against what Post suggests about the psychology of a terrorist. Post insists that organizations perform some sort of initial examination to ensure that their recruits are stable enough to perform their duties and to know why they are doing what they are doing. For ETA, this may have been true originally with the founding members who were aware of and fully believed in their cause. However, this also seems to have dwindled as the need for new blood continued to grow in the organization. Rekarte suggests this in his interview when he states “soy el máximo responsable de mis crímenes. Entré en ETA pensando que me encontraría con el Che y con lo que me tope fue con un grupo de personas que utilizaban a jóvenes y balas perdidas como yo para matar” (Congostrina). He also adds that “la mayoría de los miembros de ETA éramos los más burros de nuestros barrios, pudimos ser cualquier cosa pero, te aseguro que nada bueno…Fuimos una cuadrilla de locos capaces de matar a desconocidas. Me arrepentiré toda la vida” (Congostrina).
Thus, López’s representation of Triticale and Alforfón is significant because of its realistic portrayal of parts of the terrorist phenomenon occurring within Spain. Granted, López’s play was commissioned as part of the memorial events for the Madrid 2004 train bombings by Al-Qaeda, but while many dramatists (such as Amestoy) included specific references to the attacks in their dramas, others still (such as López) chose to comment on their experience of terrorism as a whole. This is noted in López’s surrealist or absurdist presentation of his work.

Another important aspect of the relationship between Triticale, Alforfón, and their boss is that it alludes to the power dynamic between the self and the Other. This relationship between the two identities is noted by several scholars, such as Ernst van Alphen to whom I referred earlier in this chapter, as well as Jeffrey Nealon who notes the following:

If we’ve learned anything at all from the so-called linguistic turn in the human sciences, we’ve learned that any state of sameness actually requires difference in order to structure itself. Identity is structured like a language: we can only recognize the so-called plenitude of a particular identity insofar as it differentiates itself from (and thereby necessarily contains a trace of) ostensible nonplenitude of difference (3-4).

That is, he observes a structured quality to the association of self and Other, equating it to the same sort of structure as a language. This is interesting given that in a typical grammatical situation there is always a subject, an object and a verb. In other words, there is always someone who is doing the action and someone or something who is receiving the action. Both beings are equally important parts of the sentence and they are only so named or distinguished from one another as a result of the differences they have. Neither one – the subject nor the object, the self nor the Other – is implicitly “better.” Each individual does have a certain role to play; however, these are not fixed as people can change from being subject to being object, and from being self
to being Othered. The interactions between the pirates and their boss demonstrate this dynamic in that, on the one hand, they are the ones performing the desired actions; however, on the other, they are doing the tasks out of the fear of punishment from their boss. Thus, they display a constant flux between being fear-inducing and fearful.

Beyond this depiction of the ideal terrorist, the juxtaposition of terrorist vs. terrorized is also demonstrated through the theme of blood. The issue of blood has long been a source of conflict in Spanish history. At times it has been utilized to demarcate difference, whereas at other times it has been used to emphasize sameness. Jean Dangler discusses the historical impact of the interactions between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in *Making Difference in Medieval & Early Modern Iberia:*

The other always inhabited medieval Iberia because people clearly viewed one another as different. Yet the other as a person pejoratively different from more esteemed individuals, as we understand it today, was an early modern creation that accompanied the replacement of the medieval tenets of alterity with homogenous subject formation and rigid classification. These new principles coincided with the ideals of the Catholic Kings and were bolstered by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century literatures and institutions that collaborated in the effort to unify the peninsula politically and culturally (26).

Through the use of physical and ideological means, the Catholic Kings, Fernando and Isabel, created these imagined communities of Christians, non-Christians, and converts and forced Spaniards to constantly focus on notions of difference. This is especially evident through the statutes of purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) and the establishment of the Inquisition in 1478. Both of these tools caused identity to focus on absolute definitions of religious and ethnic origin, refuting any possibility of grey areas. You were either Christian or you were not. The “converso”
status was no longer acceptable as many were accused of secretly practicing their old religion in their homes. In other words, if your “blood” was not Christian, you were not either. These issues of religion are not as prevalent in Spain today, especially with the Church’s decreased role in positions of power in modern society. However, these historical accounts can still be used to understand the questions of “Spanishness” that continue to frequently arise between Castile and other autonomous regions such as Catalonia and the Basque Country.  

In general, the playwrights included in this project employ the theme of blood in order to emphasize a sense of humanity and similarity. However, Koldo Barrena depicts the idea of blood as a distinguishing factor in Eusk. Consider the following passage, for example:

Hombre 2: ¿A Uribe, cómo van a matar? Si es de aquí, del pueblo.

Hombre 1: ¿ETA? Serán los otros, los de la guardia civil. ¿Cómo van a… cómo va a matar ETA… a… a uno de los nuestros?

Muchacho: Ocho tiros.


Blood as a representation of difference is also evident in the character Aguirre’s monologue on citizenship and blood:

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108 Recent examples of conflicts between Catalonia, the Basque Country and Castile include the continued occurrence of referendums on the question of Catalonia seeking separation as recently as September 2015, as well as the ongoing fight for the rights of Basque (etarra) prisoners to be returned to the Basque Country, as opposed to being detained in other parts of Spain and France. For more information on the situation in Catalonia, see Julien Toyer’s “Victorious Catalan separatists claim mandate to break with Spain,” the BBC’s article “Catalonia's push for independence from Spain,”Cristina Rubio’s “El Govern acusa a Rajoy de ‘no respetar la democracia ni la libertad de expresión,’” and Maiol Roger’s “De la Diada al ‘inicio del proceso’: tres años del reto independentista.” Additionally, to read more on the Basque situation, see the BBC’s “Huge march in Spain after ban on Eta prisoner rally,” Teresa Whitfield’s “While attention is focused on Catalonia, the debate over the Basque Country’s status within Spain remains on hold,” or visit the Etxerat (an association for family and friends of Basque militant prisoners) website at http://www.etxerat.eus/index.php/es/.
El vasco rema y vuela, tiene diferente sangre, ¿no? Los biólogos dicen que la raza vasca tiene el Rh negativo. Distinto por tanto, ¿no? Por algo será, digo yo. ¿Creéis que los que nos colaron aquí, los que no tenían trabajo en Andalucía y Extremadura cuando Franco, tienen nuestra sangre? Yo creo que no… pues esos aquí tienen que ser como cuando van los alemanes a Mallorca: extranjeros,…no son de allí. ¿Tienen derechos? Claro, son ciudadanos, hombre, están allí,…pero no son de allí. Pues lo mismo con estos. Sólo es vasco el que cree en la nación vasca. La construcción nacional se consigue día a día, nosotros estamos con los que construyen la Patria Vasca, en lucha contra ese zoco moruno de granujas que hay en Madrid, lleno de periodistas parapoliciales y terroristas del verbo (51-52).

Both of these incidences suggest the characters’ sense of the superiority of the Basque race, a concept which can be emphasized in talks of Basque nationalism.¹⁰⁹ In the first case, the men wonder how ETA can kill one of their friends, who is also an ertzaina (Basque police officer) and a gudari (Euskara for “soldier”) like them. They imagine that since they are all the same, all Basque, ETA would not be against them. Similarly, the character Aguirre observes that not everyone who lives in the Basque Country is truly Basque. He notes that the only real Basques are those who fight against the oppression they suffer by those in Madrid. It is important to note that, in including these ideas in his play, Barrena is not supporting these tendencies. Instead, he is highlighting these ways of thinking to draw attention to the absurdity of their widespread nature in contemporary Basque culture.

In contrast to this critical representation of nationalist Basque ideals, other playwrights utilize this theme to focus on sameness instead of difference. This is especially evident in

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¹⁰⁹ For a more detailed discussion on Arana and the beginning of Basque nationalism, see Daniele Conversi’s The Basques, the Catalans and Spain, Ioannis Tellidis’s “Terrorist conflict vs. civil peace in the Basque Country,” or Javier Santamaría’s Sabino Arana: Dios, patria, fueros, rey un Dios o un Loco?.
Belbel’s *Blood*, which features 62 references to blood over the course of the play. Some of these references occur through character conversation, such as that between the Policeman and Policewoman when they discover what is in the package delivered to their station, or that between the Boy, Girl, and Lost Child in the park: “Lost Child: Well, you have your boyfriend here bleeding out in the open and you’re more concerned with the gift he’s brought you than the state of his mental and physical health…Because besides losing blood he’s losing his sanity, can’t you see? Of course the two things are really related…” (22-23). Other examples still occur through stage directions. Scott Gooding alludes to this in his introductory note to the play, stating:

> No matter the political, social, economic and familial standing of each of the characters, the one commonality that they all have is blood. And just what impact does the loss of blood, the spilling of (innocent?) blood, and the mingling of blood have on us as a culture? It’s not just a symbol; it’s our life force. It’s one of our humanizing factors, and even when, for whatever reasons, we spill the blood of another, we are losing some of our own blood at the same time (xii).

The constant references to blood in this play serve to indicate its overall importance and presence, as Gooding observes: it is everywhere, connecting us all in some way. It is not something that can be used to distinguish between superior and inferior, good and bad. Instead, it is what reminds us that we are all human. Thus, by spilling the blood of others because they are “different,” we become less humane ourselves – and more like the monsters we think they are.110

Other plays that employ this emphasis on the similarity of human beings, regardless of race or nationality, etc. include *Burundanga* and *Interacciones*. In *Burundanga* the theme

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110 María José Rague also comments briefly on the symbolic use of blood as something that highlights both sameness and difference between people in her review of Belbel’s *Blood* entitled “Enemiga/Amiga.”
appears through the character Berta and her pregnancy. The pregnancy itself is not an overarching theme in the play, however, it is the origin of all the other events that occur through the duration of the drama as it is what sparked Berta to drug Manel: her need to know how he would respond to the news that he would be a father. Through this theme of pregnancy, various issues arise. These include the aforementioned subjects of blood and familial ties, as well as fear and uncertainty of the unknown and the establishment of the connection with other human beings. Berta has familial ties with her baby, but she is now forever linked to Manel as well – Manel who may or may not accept this unknown being for whom he is responsible. Thus, through the course of the play and amidst all the other discussion of ETA and terrorism, Galcerán perhaps makes one of his most important commentaries through this baby who is not yet born. Through the discussion and eventual acceptance of Berta and Manel’s baby Galcerán stresses the importance of the acceptance of others, no matter how difficult your relationship with them may be. This is clear in that, in addition to Manel, Berta also had to decide whether or not she would keep the baby and, even after their final decision to stay together, Manel still risks going to jail when the police eventually arrive at Silvia and Berta’s apartment.

In Interacciones, on the other hand, the subject of blood is clear in Garbiñe’s conversation with her brother, Iker: “Garbiñe: ¿Qué quieres decir que eres mi hermano? / Iker: ¡Que tenemos la misma sangre!/ Garbiñe: ¡Todos tenemos la misma sangre! ¡Nosotros somos los otros! ¡Ellos son nosotros!/ Iker: ¡No lo parece! / Garbiñe: ¡Todos tenemos el mismo miedo.! ¡El mismo miedo! ¡El miedo es lo que nos iguala!” (17-18). Like Gooding, Garbiñe draws on blood’s humanizing and equalizing qualities, suggesting that everyone bleeds and fears the same. This fear, she notes, is what puts us all on the same level. Thus, as per Sloterdijk, Amestoy
proposes through Garbiñe the relational nature of fear and violence: we always see everyone else as the enemy, but do not consider that they see us the same way.

Equality and sameness are also present in plays such as *El tesoro del predicador* and *Ello dispara*\(^\text{111}\), albeit not through images of blood. Instead, López represents this concept through the theme of greed displayed through the characters’ desire for the “treasure”—a loaf of bread--- and Cabal includes his commentary through the characters Menéndez and Don Julio, who engage in the following conversation:

Menéndez: Yo no creo en los libros. Son útiles, pero no lo cuentan todo. (*Pausa.*) Por ejemplo, ¿por qué no se tortura a todo el mundo igual? […] No me referí al trato de más cuidado que se da a la gente importante. Quiero decir, ¿por qué de repente un muerto de hambre te mira y…, no sé, te deja mal…? […]

Don Julio: Por eso no debe mirarse al detenido a los ojos. Para que él no te vea, pero también para no verle la mirada. Es mejor pensar que es una cosa, una piedra, una maleta.

Algo sobre lo que se trabaja.

This excerpt displays a juxtaposition between humanity and inhumanity. On the one hand, Menéndez admits that at times he feels bad when some of his torture victims look him in the eye. On the other, Don Julio explains that this is exactly why you must not have eye contact with prisoners. You must treat them like things, instead of like humans, in order to get the job done.

This recalls, to an extent, Slavoj Zizek’s comments in “Terrorist Resentment,” in which he explains that “an evil person is thus *not* an egotist, ‘thinking only about his own interests.’ A true egotist is too busy taking care of his own good to have time to cause misfortune to others. The primary vice of a bad person is precisely that he is more preoccupied with others than with

\(^{111}\) Fernando Lazaro Carrer describes this theme in his review of the play, entitled simply “Ello dispara.” He observes that “*ello es el poder, cualquier poder, […] Ello dispara, y el terrorista es poco más que un dedo de aquel neutro aplicado al gatillo. Una vuelta más al tópico ‘todos somos asesinos’…”
himself” (92). This relates back, in a way, to the discussion of what a typical terrorist is like. Zizek notes that many consider terrorists to be egotistical, thinking only of themselves and their needs. He also suggests, however, that such is not the case; an evil person is more concerned with others. Moreover, in discussing Islamic fundamentalists he adds “the problem is not cultural difference (their effort to preserve their identity), but the opposite fact that the fundamentalists are already like us, that secretly they have already internalised our standards and measure themselves by them” (86). He proposes that difference is not the issue between extremists and non-extremists, but rather that both groups employ the same set of standards. The problem, then, I would suggest is not the standards being used, or the people using them, but rather the various interpretations that are available. Like any other tool, cultural or moral guidelines can be employed by many, but used quite differently. Thus, while people are potentially using the same guidelines for understanding one another what they clearly lack is an awareness of how the others involved are using the tools. This is clear in the above episode with Don Julio and Menéndez. In the contrasting views they display regarding the humanization or objectification of victims, they both acknowledge that they and their victims have their humanity in common, which can make the act of torture difficult. However, while they both do the same job, they do it in very different ways: Menéndez continues to view his victims as humans, whereas Don Julio views them as things in order to make the job easier. The question that arises from this encounter, in conjunction with Zizek’s musings on terrorists, is if one of these men is more “evil” than the other? And does Don Julio’s de-humanization of his victims make him more or less humane than Menéndez? These questions are hard to answer (and I will not venture into an attempt to do so here), but they also demonstrate the complexities of the discussions of phenomena such as terrorism and acts of violence in general as, oftentimes, those committing the
acts feel they have been harmed themselves in some way and are acting out in response. These sorts of crimes occurred regularly in Spain during the 1990s-2010s, and similar acts continue to occur in numerous other countries across the world. Thus, we are frequently forced to ask ourselves which form of violence is worse; however, we often forget to ask the equally important question of “why?”

**Back to the Future: Time, Space and Otherness**

In addition to the juxtaposition of terrorist and terrorized observed in these plays through the themes of blood, terrorist profiles, and sameness, the playwrights included in this project also comment on alterity through the representation of distance, which is clear in discussions of geography, as well as the contrast between reality and imagination. The inclusion of space or separation is important for the study of otherness, as Jonathan Hart observes:

Otherness includes a comparison in which something or someone is not the self but is compared to the self and thus defines self. Self and other define and distinguish and are engaged in metaphor, in a yoked comparison. To purge the other is to purge the self. In killing the other, one kills a part of oneself. Otherness provides alter egos, others or possible worlds, choices. Otherness opens up possibility but also, if taken negatively, leads to senses of estrangement and alienation, a kind of second fall and exile from Eden (1).

Hart suggests that the comparison between Self and Other is dialectical in nature: it requires both parts, one cannot exist without the other. In order to describe both Self and Other, there must be something to which both concepts can be compared. It is the way in which this dialogue is
managed that is important. The Self and Other are like two sides of a coin: the coin is not a coin without both the heads and the tails. However, the treatment of the coin is equally significant to its existence. If it is defaced, it cannot be used. The same goes for the relationship between Self and Other; if the interaction is unhealthy, society will be unable to function as intended. Thus, it is important for nations to be aware of the differences amongst their populations and others with whom they interact, but it is also necessary to negotiate them properly and productively in order to allow healthy communications and exchanges with everyone.

Examples of this sense of physical alienation through distance occur in plays such as ¡Han matado a Prokopius!, Eusk, Burundanga, El tesoro del predicador, and Interacciones. However, the emphasis on this element is more pronounced in some works than others. For example, in plays such as Burundanga and ¡Han matado a Prokopius! the idea of geographical separation is indicated primarily through the travels of certain characters. In the case of Burundanga, this involves Jaime suggesting that Gorka relocate to Honduras. (Jaime owns a hotel there and, since Gorka is a chef, he offers him a position in the hotel restaurant.) The choice of Honduras specifically is of particular interest given that it underlines the colonial connection between Spain and the New World. For example, during the time of La Conquista, or the Spanish colonization of the Americas in the late 1400s and early 1500s, explorers such as Christopher Columbus and others went to the Americas in search of wealth and new beginnings. The fact that this historical occurrence is referenced by both Jaime and Gorka, who are Catalan and Basque as opposed to Castilian, is also interesting due to the violence and oppression the Spanish imposed on the natives during the colonialization period. By repeating these exploratory travels, Jaime and Gorka are, in a sense, echoing more than just adventure. They are also continuing the cycle of violence – not just on Honduras, but on each other. Moreover, in doing
so, they bring to light the question of their “Spanishness,” which causes us to wonder if one group is more “Spanish” than the other and if so, why? Jan Mansvelt Beck addresses this issue somewhat in *Territory and Terror*, indicating that, in contrast to politics, Basque daily life is substantially “hispanified” as exemplified by shared cuisine and common sports, etc. (72). Mansvelt Beck notes that, politically, “within Spain the Basques of Euskadi identify themselves as the least Spanish, compared to inhabitants of other Autonomous Communities” (74). However, he also adds that, even since the transition, “identification with either Spain or the Autonomous Community has decreased in favour of dual-Spanish Basque identification, which has finally reduced the polarization around the subjective identity issue” (73-74). This does not mean that the conflict has disappeared. It does suggest, though, that the extreme nationalist sentiment is felt by an increasing smaller population. It also means that people are becoming more capable of recognizing that they do not have to choose which part of their culture they accept and which they exclude, but rather that they can be inclusive of all aspects of their heritage and realize that it is the combination of these experiences that make them who they are.

In the case of Jaime and Gorka, then, their relationship of Honduras is not just one of continued violence and association with Spain’s oppressive past or simply a way to start again. It is also, to an extent, an embrace of their joint Spanish culture, something that they share, unlike their separate Catalan and Basque nationalisms.

Similarly, Isidro’s travels between Madrid and the Basque Country—and Prokopius’s choice of Madrid for his suicide location—represent the tensions between the two groups (Castilians and Basque). It is noteworthy, then that Isidro had to go to the Basque Country in order to find the answers to a crime that occurred in Madrid, as it suggests that the Basque Country is the site of truth, the site where the causes of the conflict can be found. That is not to
say that the problems originated in the Basque region, but rather that they would be most evident there, as opposed to philosophizing about them from afar. Likewise, Prokopius’s decision to die in Madrid is also significant as it places him as victim in the country’s governmental and political centre – and the place that many Basques would see as the centre of the conflict.\textsuperscript{112} It is clear in both of these instances that geography plays an important role in each of these playwrights’ commentaries on the impact of issues of alterity on the progression of the terrorism phenomenon in Spain.

The significance attributed to geography and nationalities grows in other plays, such as \textit{Eusk, El tesoro del predicador}, and \textit{Interacciones}, in which physical separation more greatly affects the outcome of the storylines. An example of this is the character Joaquín in \textit{Eusk}. He is a young boy who recently moved to the Basque Country from La Rioja and is bullied by his classmates for being an outsider. In Scene 14, his parents talk with the principal, outlining some of their concerns, such as: “Padre: Mi hijo es nacido en La Rioja, quiere que le llamen Joaquín, no sé por qué le llaman cacereño. Me dice que es para insultar, ¿qué clase de insult es ese? Se llama xenophobia, usted debería saberlo, es profesor ¿Cómo se puede insultar con un gentilicio?” (72); “Madre: Saben que mi hijo no habla euskera, pero insisten ¿Eso es legal? En todo caso, la enseñanza debe ser bilingüe, pero darle las matemáticas en vasco es un ultraje” (73); and, “Padre: Si mi hijo hace una pregunta en castellano tiene derecho a que se le conteste en ese idioma” (73). This shows that Joaquín experiences maltreatment not only from his peers, but also, to an extent, by the teachers as they refuse to accommodate him linguistically, despite the fact that the school/region is supposed to be bilingual. Moreover, the “insult” attributed to him (“cacereño”) highlights the issues of geography as nationalities as it refers to someone from

\textsuperscript{112} Mansvelt Beck’s \textit{Territory and Terror} is an excellent discussion on forced Castilianization during the Franco era and the repressive methods used to teach Basque children Spanish during the late 1800s-early 1900s before the pushes for mass education began.
Cáceres, a city in Extremadura in western central Spain, whereas Joaquín is from La Rioja, a region in northern Spain. Thus, it suggests that, if Joaquín is not Basque, then he might as well be from any other part of the country. Another example from Eusk appears in the following dialogue between a mother and child: “Niño: España, no se puede decir, ¿no, amá? ¿Aquí en casa puedo decirlo? / Madre: ¿A qué me preguntas eso, oye? ¡Qué gracioso eres! / Niño: Es que en la tele sale, pero en el colegio no dicen nada. / Madre: Claro que sale. / Niño: En el mapa del tiempo, cuando hablan Euskara, no sale España, amá” (182-183). Both of these instances demonstrate the association between geography and nationality. They also highlight, as did the character Aguirre earlier, the sentiment that “even though you live here, that does not make you one of us.” This is especially heightened through the child’s observation that when they speak in Euskara at school, Spain does not come up or appear on the maps. Benedict Anderson discusses the importance of maps within the context of issues of nationalism and nation-building in his famous book Imagined Communities. He explains that “ever since John Harrison’s 1761 invention of the chronometer, which made possible the precise calculation of longitudes, the entire planet’s curved surface had been subjected to a geometrical grid which squared off empty seas and explored regions in measured boxes” (173). This suggests that, before a certain point in time, things were not always so segmented. There were not always such specific delineations between “us” and “them,” or “ours” and “theirs.” He elaborates this in his explanation that there were primarily two types of maps, the first being that which Europeans used in attempts to justify or legitimize their spreading monopolies, showing their “inheritance” of lands owned by native rulers they had either conquered or destroyed. The second type of map is what Anderson refers to as the “map-as-logo.” He notes that:
Its origins were reasonably innocent—the practice of the imperial states of colouring their colonies on maps with an imperial dye. In London’s imperial maps, British colonies were usually pink-red, French purple-blue, Dutch yellow-brown, and so on. Dyed this way, each colony appeared like a detachable piece of a jigsaw puzzle. As this “jigsaw” effect became normal, each “piece” could be wholly detached from its geographic context. In its final form all explanatory glosses could be summarily removed: lines of longitude and latitude, place names, signs for rivers, seas, and mountains, *neighbours*. Pure sign, no longer compass to the world (175).

In other words, now, with this evolution of the map, the imaginary borders that shape each geographic territory now become representative of the nation itself. For example, if we just saw the outline of what we recognize as the shape of Spain, we would say “that is Spain.” If we saw the subway map for Madrid we would look at it and say “that is Madrid,” even though the map itself only shows subway stops and is devoid of many other details of the city. Or, there is also the possibility, as in the case of the child and his mother in *Eusk*, of using this “jigsaw” nature of maps for the negative, such as choosing which other places should and should not be included in our version of the map. If we do not include a place or country on the map, does that mean it no longer exists? Are the people who live there any less important? The more we focus on the sovereignty of the arbitrary lines and borders we have created, the more emphasis we also put on the differences between groups of people. This begs the question as to whether these differences would be as pronounced if the focus on national boundaries was lessened.

In plays such as *El tesoro del predicador* and *Interacciones*, the notions of both physical and temporal distance are explored more explicitly. Firstly, as I have mentioned in previous chapters, in *El tesoro del predicador*, the characters are divided into three pairs: Él and Ella,
Triticale and Alforfón, and Mijo and Avena. While the characters’ actions can at times occur simultaneously, all three groups do no interact until the end of the play, an event which results in the death of four of the six characters. Moreover, based on stage directions and character dialogue, despite the fact that the children appear on stage at the same time as the others, their scenes take place in different locations entirely: Mijo and Avena are waiting at a train station, whereas Él, Ella, Triticale and Alforfón are in a desert. This is noteworthy within the context of a discussion on distance given that a train station, for example, is often associated with industriousness and progress. In travel, there is a certain plan or destination involved. The passengers are going somewhere. Moreover, Mansvelt Beck suggests that transportation and communication systems are often a prime target for ETA attacks as they represent the infrastructure of the Spanish State (182). Granted, the drama itself is not supposed to be representative of ETA attacks and is more reflective of the 11-M attacks given its inclusion in the *Once voces contra la barbarie del 11-M* anthology. It is likely, though, that other terrorist organizations have similar reasons for choosing to target highly-populated locations such as train and subway stations. These details illuminated by Mansvelt Beck are especially interesting given that the characters at the train station, in this instance, are children, who also symbolize innocence and the future. Therefore, the fact that the violence occurs in this exact location is significant as it suggests an end, or in the very least a disruption, of this future and progress. It is also noteworthy, then, that this place of modernity, infrastructure and growth is juxtaposed by the desert, where both the pirates and Él and Ella are situated for the majority of the play. The symbolism of the desert is twofold. On the one hand, it can be negative: it is a place of emptiness and lifelessness, a place of loneliness and abandonment. However, it could also be positive in the sense that it is representative of eternity or endless possibilities. These borders between the
positivity and the negativity of the desert are often blended in movies, for example, when characters experience a mirage sequence. This also represents a blurring of the lines between reality and imagination as that which they desire is, at least temporarily, no longer so impossible. However, the good of the imaginary world never lasts long and the characters are forced back to their harsh reality. In *El tesoro del predicador*, the pirates briefly display this sense of fantasy in that, in addition to their search for treasure, they are also on a quest to find their boat, a nonsensical adventure that perplexes even Él and Ella. It is, obviously, impossible for them to have travelled by boat in the desert and the result of this mission is never answered. That being said, the boat does serve one purpose: it reinforces the idea of transitions and journeys implicit in the notion of travel through the train station. Also, due to the fact that neither the train nor the boat trips actually occur, both these modes of transportation also represent a sense of displacement in López’s drama. This is, interestingly, contrasted by the constant use of cell phones throughout the play, which ends up connecting the otherwise disconnected characters.

Finally, distance via geography and time is also present in Amestoy’s *Interacciones*. This play’s treatment of the theme is particularly significant given that there are references to different geographic locations or time periods, in addition to allusions to the juxtaposition of reality and imagination. This is clear through Garbiñe, who appears to be slightly emotionally/mentally unstable. It is also evident through Clitemnestra and the letter she reads from her son Orestes. For example, both Orestes and Garbiñe allude to places where significant historical and mythological events occurred, including Mycenae, Mount Ossa, Mount Parnassus, Corinth, Mount Olympus, Phocis, Gernika, Madrid, Paris, Bagdad, and Jerusalem. The Greek locations are symbolic for many reasons, whereas places like Gernika, Paris, Madrid, and Bagdad are the locales of more recent infamous acts of violence. Likewise, Jerusalem has recently been a site of
violence; however, it is also considered a holy city by the three major religions---Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—all of which have played an important role in the history of Spain. Moreover, at the beginning of the play Clitemnestra exclaims: “¡Matas desde la insondable distancia con flechas certeras y me privas de mis seres queridos!” (15). This parallels with Garbiñe who indicates: “no sé nada de mi madre. Mi padre y mi madre se separaron cuando yo era pequeña. Mi padre estuvo en la cárcel y, luego, en el extranjero…” (15). Both characters reference a sense of separation from their loved ones – Clitemnestra while mourning the power of the gods, Garbiñe while in the midst of one of her neurotic monologues. This vocabulary theme creates a contrast between notions of closeness and space. For example, Clitemnestra bemoans the fact that the gods are able to take away her relatives from such an “unfathomable” distance, whereas Garbiñe mentions how her parents were separated and how her father had lived in prison and abroad. Family members are generally associated with a sense of “intimacy” or “closeness” given that you share the same blood and genes. However, both characters describe their familiar attachment as being broken. That being said, through their monologues, they also highlight that despite the disorderly state of their familial relationships, the people involved still continue to affect them and form a part of who they are as individuals. Because Clitemnestra serves to represent the historical/mythological while Garbiñe symbolizes the present, Amestoy thus demonstrates the continued effect of the Other on identity, indicating as well that this is not a new phenomenon. As I have mentioned earlier, through the discussion of Barthes’ *Mythologies* and Chris Hedges’ *War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*, history can become myth through the celebration of certain events over others. State authorities have the ability to choose which stories of their culture and history they should promote and pass on, which is why, in times of war, cultural monuments of opposing viewpoints are often destroyed. Thus, Amestoy’s mixture

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For the analysis of Barthes’s ideas, please refer to Chapters 2 and 4. For more on Hedges, please see Chapter 4.
of myth (and reappropriation of the Agammenon myth through Clitemnestra and Orestes) and present serves to contrast not only the ideas of “then and now,” but also those of “now and if”—the real and the imaginary. He questions how cultures decide which “myths” to pass on and the distinctions between the reality and myth. Why are myths of violence and revenge, such as the original Agammenon myth, passed down through the generations and not those of acceptance? Through his reappropriation of Clitemnestra and his inclusion of Garbiñe, Amestoy strives to change this dynamic.

Other examples of the contrast between reality and imagination include the character Fina in Cabal’s Ello dispara, as well as an incident between Félix and his psychiatrist in Barrena’s Eusk. Fina has limited lines and appears primarily through stage directions. She is like a ghost who performs domestic chores, largely unnoticed by most of the other characters, except her husband Don Julio. When she does speak, it is generally through monologue. This is a striking occurrence as it suggests that, to a large extent, she exists only through others – as in the instance of the stage directions. However, these others do not pay her much attention. Yes, she does speak at times, but only her inattentive husband and the audience can hear her, not the others who share the stage. Thus, what does the existence of a character such as Fina imply? She demonstrates a sort of limbo between two worlds – the self and the other, the real and the imaginary. Further, she represents an unwillingness to be left in this indeterminate state. She seeks answers. If her co-characters will not listen, she will find someone who will: the audience. This suggests the importance of countries and individuals not isolating themselves from others’ conflicts.

Sometimes the issue at hand is simply too personal and outside help is needed to fix it. Scene 35 with Félix and his psychiatrist in Eusk parallels this message, in a way. In this scene, Félix enters into a state of hypnosis, under the guidance of his doctor. During the dream-like state, Félix
encounters an assassin who antagonizes him by always smiling sarcastically, but never responding verbally to any of Félix’s comments or questions. Finally, the assassin kills Félix. The psychiatrist then tries to revive Félix from his hypnotic state, but he does not wake up. He is dead. Like Fina, Félix had suffered emotional problems as a result of his move to the Basque Country. He felt threatened and feared for his life. He even suspected his partner, Ana, of betraying him to the authorities. He sought help through the character of the psychiatrist, as opposed to the audience like Fina. Thus, while Barrena, like Cabal, alludes to the importance of not isolating ourselves and others, he also adds an example of what happens if a solution is not found: death/destruction. Additionally, this scene is of interest due to its striking resemblance to a scene in Arrabal’s *Guernica* in which Fanchu experiences a conflict with an imaginary fascist soldier. The soldier mocks Fanchu with cold laughter and smiles. He appears from all directions, cornering and terrorizing Fanchu in his own home. At one point, Fanchu is so scared of the soldier that he neglects to answer Lira’s calls, causing tensions between the couple. Later, when the soldier leaves, Fanchu smiles happily and sticks out his tongue mockingly, but checking carefully to make sure the soldier is not there still. However, when Fanchu and Lira disappear amongst the rubble at the end of the play, symbolically replaced by the balloons they released into the sky, the fascist returns. He continues to try, unsuccessfully, to shoot the balloons.

The stories of both Félix and Fanchu exhibit the powerful effects of the imaginary on the real, and highlighting the blurred boundaries between the two as Jean Baudrillard and Umberto Eco suggest in their studies of the hyperreal.\(^{114}\) That is, they demonstrate that the notions of reality and fantasy or simulation become distorted, no longer separate points of reference when the imaginary begins to have actual effects or consequences in the “real” world – including, for example, the resultant death of Félix after his hypnosis. Moreover, in displaying stories such as

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\(^{114}\) See Jean Baudrillard *Simulacra and Simulation* and Umberto Eco’s *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays*. 
those of Félix and Fanchu on stage, the playwrights demonstrate that: “the imagination is part of
the world, but it is relegated to literary history or reading or performance on the stage […]]. The
power of poetry and art is to create story and character with such aesthetic power that people
embrace these creations as if they were, as if once upon a time they existed. This is not a worldly
power […], but it is a childlike power of the mythical” (Hart 32). In other words, spectators get
involved with the characters in a good work of literature or theatre. By making relatable
characters, such as those mentioned above, who partake in acts of make-believe and fantasy
themselves and prove it to have real results, the dramatists are outlining the importance of their
actions to the audience – hinting at the impact of that which they are currently watching. The
writers know the significance of theatre and its potential for influencing societal change, but they
also encourage their viewers to become more aware of the effects of art so they can gauge the
consequences of the cultural productions in which they and others partake.

Playing House: The Implications of the Representations of Terrorism and Alterity

In my analysis of the representation of the theme of otherness in dramas by Amestoy,
Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre I have shown the relational natures of alterity
and identity. This becomes clear through the examination of the various themes in this chapter,
such as the juxtaposition of terrorist vs. terrorized and the profile of a terrorist, as well as ideas of
blood and sameness, and the representation of geographical and temporal distance as most of
these topics are subjective/relative themselves. We have seen how, for instance, the definition of
“terrorist” changes depending on a person’s political affiliations: in the case of anti-State
terrorism, some may view the State as the initiator, whereas some may see the militant activists and the origin of violence. This blurring of lines is equally present in the issues of reality vs. fantasy that we see in some of the playwrights’ contemplation of distance via temporality. The fact that dramatists, such as those included in this project, choose to present their commentaries on the identity politics involved in the terrorism phenomenon via theatre is crucial. This is because, as Nick Crossley suggests in *Towards Relational Sociology*:

> Play is a way of “thinking through” events and significant environmental factors (mainly other people), for an infant who lacks the cultural and cognitive resources available to the adult. It has the side effect, however, that the child learns to see the world from the point of view of others and thus learns that others have such views. Playing at being others gives them a sense of the perspectives of others and, indeed, of that fact that self and other enjoy distinct perspectives. By incorporating the role of the other they increasingly appreciate that there are different sides to a story and different ways of viewing the same event. Like a method actor, but without the foreknowledge or intention, the child forms an impression of what it is like to be “dad” by playing at “dad” (89).

The critical thinking skills involved in play do not stop with adolescence, however. Social mediators such as language teachers and counselors/therapists also recognize the impact of play on social interactions. This is clear in that foreign language teachers often ask students to engage in skits when practicing their target language in order to help them learn how to behave within certain cultural contexts—in addition to serving as exercises to help improve capabilities with various grammatical structures. Similarly, counselors and therapists urge individuals and couples to utilize role-play activities to aid with the improvement of conflict resolution skills. For example, married couples with troubled relationships are asked to act as their partners, thus
helping them be able to understand situations from the other person’s point of view and teach them how to further enhance their interactions with others.

Playwrights also realize the significant social factors involved in “play” and theatre and encourage spectators to continue making sense of the world around them through the use of their imaginations. This is especially useful, then, when it comes to the attempted understanding of cultural phenomena such as deeply-rooted hatred and violence. Problems such as the Spanish terrorism phenomenon tend to be long-lasting—and, as in the case of Spain, habitualized—because “the violence perpetrated by the controlling agents is artfully covered up, while the violent acts performed by the oppressed are publicized in full colour as terrorism, sedition and crime” (Cavallaro 125-126). That is, as I have mentioned earlier in this project, instances of State violence, for example, are more covert, whereas anti-State acts of violence are overt and more spectacular in nature. Sometimes, however, this sense of spectacle is thrown out of proportion not only by those committing the crime, but by media responses to it. This is often done to further ostracize the terrorist Other, painting them as a villain in the people’s minds and justifying the State’s own actions against them – whether or not such measures are, in fact, deserved. Additionally, it is important to note that “when a culture, society, or community marginalizes certain individuals as Other what it attempts to exclude or repress is actually a part of itself, which it finds difficult to understand, let alone accept” (129). This is perhaps one of the most significant aspects to understand when contemplating issues of alterity and identity. In the case of Spain, the country is comprised of various autonomous regions, such as Catalonia and the Basque Country among others, each with their own national/cultural identity. Each of these regions promotes itself underscoring how they contrast with the other parts of the country, something which is especially evidenced in their respective tourism campaigns. However, they
are still part of Spain, despite their unique regional differences. They are a small piece that comprises the country as a whole. Thus, it is important, in the case of Spain and in general, to celebrate the various cultures and identities that encompass a community, instead of viewing these dissimilarities as something negative because it is the combination of these cultural and societal variances that make each collective what they are. It is not unthinkable, of course, that there may be tensions now and then as even neighbours and siblings argue, however, by embracing all aspects and all members of a community positively, it will also strengthen interpersonal relationships so that these small conflicts that do arise can be managed healthily, as opposed to spreading into uncontrollable acts of violence.

As I have observed throughout this chapter, the notions of identity and otherness are relational. What one person sees as “different” only exists in relation to how they view themselves and the qualities or behaviours they do and do not possess. The fact that playwrights such as Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre resort to a literary genre such as theatre to perform their social commentary, then, is also imperative. Theatre, also, is very relational in nature – in a few senses of the word. Theatre both tells a story, as well as creates connections between the actors, the audience, and the subject matter. It allows people to “play” with different versions of identity in order to see what works and what doesn’t. For example, dramatists could experiment with representing various types of “Spanishness” to see with which version the audience interacts best. It also allows them to experiment with why and how certain behaviours and characteristics are more appropriate than others, including reasons such as social, historical, and religious factors.
CONCLUSION

Throughout this project I have aimed to provide insight into the impact and implications of the terrorism phenomenon on everyday life and cultural identity in Spain. I have done so through the careful division of my project into five parts. In the first chapter, I detailed the histories of violence and theatre in twentieth- and twenty-first century Spain. In the second chapter, I analyzed the roots of violence in Spanish theatre via the examination of dramas such as Fuenteovejuna, La Numancia, Guernica, Jueces en la noche, Espíritu español, Voz de España, El miliciano remigio pa la guerra es un prodigio, El saboteador, Escuadra hacia la muerte, and Luces de bohemia. Finally, in the third, fourth and fifth chapters, I studied the themes of control, ideology, and alterity respectively through their representation in plays such as Interacciones, Eusk, Blood, Ello dispara, Burundanga, El tesoro del predicador, and ¡Han matado a Prokopius! Through my analyses of these themes and texts I have demonstrated that terrorism, like identity, is a social construct. Moreover, it is relative as it cannot exist on its own. It requires a comparison to other sorts of events and behaviours to thrive. This is especially clear in the three following categories, which have all appeared in the discussions of the representations of control, ideology, and alterity: the relationship between terrorism and temporality, the relationship between terrorism and identity, and the search for “authenticity.” I will conclude this project with a brief discussion of each of these categories in regards to how they pertain to the texts in this study specifically, as well as how they relate to the situation in Spain in general.

Through the course of this dissertation and my analysis of the aforementioned plays, the question of “is this real?” arose a few times. For example, the idea of what a ‘real’ terrorist is like appears in Burundanga or even Ello dispara. Similarly, the query “who is the real victim?” appears in Han matado a Prokopius, Blood, El tesoro del predicador, and Interacciones whereas
in *Eusk* we are forced to ask “who is a “real” Basque citizen?” Moreover, each of these dramas clearly highlight the issues of violence, drawing attention to the terrorism phenomenon in Spain and the contemplation of how we define “authentic” violence. The possible answers to this would have various implications for both theatre works, such as those produced by the dramatists in this study, and social interactions in general. For example, the Merriam-Webster dictionary defines “authentic” as “not false or imitation” or “worthy of acceptance or belief as conforming to or based on fact” (“Authentic”). The term “authenticity” has other philosophical implications as well as is evidenced in the works of scholars such as Walter Benjamin, Alessandro Ferrara, Martin Heidegger, and Charles Taylor, for example, in which authenticity can be understood not only as being truthful in one’s dealings with other people, but also as being straightforward for one’s own benefits (“Authenticity”). For the purposes of this project, however, we can understand the question as “what is “real” violence?” We have seen through the progress of my study of the themes of control, ideology, and alterity in the selected dramas by Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López, and Sastre that violence is socially constructed. This is clear given that who and what is considered violent differs according to social, cultural and historical views. For example, the surveillance of people in the Basque Country, including professors or journalists requiring bodyguards to protect themselves against terrorist threats or the monitoring of civilians through neighbours, asking people to report any “suspicious” behaviour they may note in their communities. These are both instances of events that we have discussed in plays such as Barrena’s *Eusk*, as well as examples of activities that occur in real life. To some people, such as those performing the “surveillance,” these acts may not register as “violent”; however, to those experiencing the incidents, they could be violent and fear-inducing
experiences. Willem de Haan explains this sort of situation in his “Violence as an Essentially Contested Concept,” noting that:

not only do views about violence differ, but feelings regarding physical violence also change under the influence of social and cultural developments. The meanings that participants in a violence episode give to their own and others’ actions and experiences vary and can be crucial for deciding what is what is not considered as violence since there is no simple relationship between the apparent severity of an attack and the impact that it has upon the victim (29).

In other words, there is no one set example of activities that exemplify “real” violence. Rather, the only way to distinguish this “authentic” violence from its “fake” counterpart is to examine the effect it has upon the receiver of the action. This can be observed through how the victim acts and speaks about the event. Roger Abrahams considers this in his Everyday Life, stating: “in engaging in the presentation of self, we make our choices more self-consciously, we transform our experiences into retellable and interpretable tales and turn our interactions with others into performances. […] We amplify the subjunctive while subduing the declarative side of life” (3).

That is, Abrahams suggests that every experience we have becomes a part of our performance of our selves. What we choose to disclose (and what we choose not to disclose) to others and how we do so becomes part of us. This includes casual activities such as grocery shopping and going to work, as well as more unique experiences such as childhood vacations or traumas given that each and every lived occurrence affects us in some way and our perception of these events may vary greatly from how they actually occurred. Thus, my treatment of violence – and that of the playwrights included in this project—is more concerned not with what is or is not violence, but rather what the Spanish public perceives as violence and how they deal with it.
In addition to the constant juxtaposition between the real and the imaginary (and its relationship with violence) present in the dramas studied in this project, the dynamic between terrorism and identity is also a crucial aspect of these plays – part of which we have already noted in the discussion of reality vs. imagination in this conclusion as well as throughout via the analysis of the representation of the themes of control, ideology, and alterity as well as the examination of the history of violence and theatre in Spain in the twentieth century in chapters one and two. How we identify and make sense of ourselves and others depends on a variety of factors, including the tools we are given to handle a certain situation. For example, in times of war, and major political events, the conflicting parties will propagate the population with different versions of the “truth” according to their stance on the issue. A common instance of this is the political campaigns run by candidates hoping to gain votes to become president or prime minister. They often create ad campaigns showing what the opposition is doing wrong, without mentioning what it is that they would do right. (A recent example of this might include prime minister Stephen Harper’s campaign against liberal party leader Justin Trudeau in the 2015 Canadian Federal elections in which the majority of the conservative party’s advertisements focused on what Trudeau could not do and the fact that they deemed he was “not ready,” as opposed to the benefits of electing the Conservatives.) In times of war and terror, these acts by those in charge are even more powerful because the people are already operating out of fear, looking for their leaders to give them the answer about how they should react. In “Theatre of Violence in Post-War Spain,” Joan Johnson Dlugos observes that “in the context of postwar Spain, the wide range of responses to violence is intended to controvert the truths created by the Franco regime and to offer in their place a diversity of meanings about the current and past reality of Spain” (21). Amestoy, Barrena, Belbel, Cabal, Galcerán, López and Sastre display a
variety of types of violence and responses to it in their dramas through the use of sets of multiple characters. Writing in the 1990s – early 2010s, they also show that years after the end of Franco’s dictatorship, the ideas propagated by the regime continue to plague the nation as is evidenced by the ongoing Basque conflict as well as by the people’s responses to the arrival of Islamic terrorism in Spain. Moreover, they demonstrate as Kubiak suggests that “we come to realize that the fusion itself emblematizes the absolute and pervasive tyranny of the theatrical ontology in which each of the participants in the theatrical spectacle is alike victim and victimizer” (134). That is, they highlight through their dramas the idea of duality/multiplicity of roles played by all members of society. As we saw in Chapter 5, we are all both “self” and “other,” “actor” and “spectator,” “terrorist” and “terrorized” given that these violent acts are all committed in reaction to something that is perceived as negative behaviour or treatment. Jennifer Merolla and Elizabeth Zechmeister allude to this idea as well in their *Democracy at Risk: How Terrorist Threats Affect the Public* with more elaboration on the consequences of the multiple facets of terrorism and the risk of terrorism: “the threat of terrorism may in some ways lead to shifts in behaviour that are healthy for democracy and, at the same time, in other ways lead to shifts that are less desirable for the quality of democracy. Collective crises such as terrorist threats, typically, elicit anxiety, distress, and a host of related negative emotional responses” (19). This shows that it is not only the violence of terrorist attacks, but also the fear and anticipation of future acts that will affect a population. Therefore, because people are more on edge as a result of prior instances of violence, they can also be more likely to react negatively to behaviour they perceive as violent or aggressive, thus continuing the cycle. Based on the contemporary history of Spain, the occurrence of violence was definitely repetitive, thus attributing to the increasing ordinariness of the phenomenon in the culture. The playwrights in
this project address this alarming fact and the need to change it so that the people do not identify themselves constantly with the “victim” label. Instead, they show that we can all take action to right wrongs, but they leave it up to the spectators to decide how and if they wish to do so.

Finally, through these contemplations of authenticity and identity by means of the examination of representations of control, ideology, and alterity in contemporary Spanish dramas on terrorism, we also gain insight into the relationship between terrorism and temporality. This is clear in that both the concepts of “reality” and “identity” are relative—they are social constructs that only exist in relation to one another. We cannot distinguish between “us” and “them,” or “real” and “fake” without having something to compare them to. Temporality enters into the equation, then, as the moment the time frame in which these comparisons, these bursts of violence / forceful distinctions take place—given that nothing can simply “take place,” it must happen at a specific time. The analysis of the plays in this project highlight the answer to the “when?” of terrorism and violence. This is true both in the nature and thematics of the dramas, as well as the simple fact that they are works of theatre. As Lucy Nevitt observes in her Theatre and Violence “the theatre provides us with an experience, for many reason perhaps an experience of greater immediacy than a reported news story, on which we can reflect and to which we can, if we choose, seek out ways to respond” (8). Similarly, Kubiak also suggests: “theatre is, in short, the space and time in which the ontologic split of thought is most acutely perceived in/as the body, and in which the body is itself simultaneously thought in the mind’s eye of the watcher” (156). That is, violence, like theatre, always occurs in the present. The importance of the connection between theatre and violence is that theatre allows the public to experiment with different possibilities while also permitting viewers to safely consider all options—in terms of drastic cultural/political reform. However, it is never as easy as using theatre to experiment
before executing any sort of major change because other social aspects also have impacts on the understanding and expression of temporality.

Nevitt provides examples of the consequences of the intersection of violence and time within the context of the September 11, 2011 bombings of the World Trade Center in New York City. She writes perceptively that:

This act of “terrorist” violence was also an act of spectacle, of imagery—we might say, of choreographed violent action. It caught the public imagination not just because of its individual victims but because of its large scale, the iconic nature of the buildings it destroy and its wide range of symbolic possibilities. It also left behind its site of destruction as a second spectacle to be visited and viewed and it is important to remember how much significance has been accorded to decisions about the medium- and long-term future of the “Ground Zero” site (61).

Chris Hedges, on the other hand, writes from a journalist perspective and suggests that:

just as the oppressors engage in selective memory and myth, so do the victims, building unassailable monuments to their own suffering. It becomes impossible to examine, to dispute, or to criticize the myths that have grown up around past suffering of nearly all in war. […] Each side creates its own narrative. Neither is fully true (81).

Both Nevitt and Hedges make some powerful points. In times of war and violence, the everyday progression of time and life is often distorted and frequently quotidian activities get pushed to the side or are harder to complete as the focus of the public mindset has been shifted. What happens, then, when war time finally stops? Do things “go back” to “normal”? I argue here, and in my analysis of the contemporary Spanish plays included in this project that the answer is a
resounding “no.” Time and everyday life are ongoing processes, constantly in flux. Thus, we cannot “go back” to non-war time once that period of violence ends because we never paused the “real”/“normal” time; it was simply adapted by the eruption of violence. This is especially important, I believe, for contemporary Spain, which has many cultural productions alluding to the “dictatorial time” experienced during the Franco regime. In instances such as this and other prolonged periods of violence it would seem natural to desire to either “rewind” back to the “good old days” or “fast forward” to catch up with everyone else. However, neither is possible. I argue that there is no set speed at which cultural time must progress, nor can we choose how these times vary their speeds. We may worry about the future and the possible consequences of events such as the 9/11 attacks in the US or the 11-M attacks in Madrid, and we can reflect on their histories, but thinking about the past—or the future—does not change anything. Things only happen in the present.

Myth, a significant cultural and social concept to which Hedges alluded, is one of these things that occur solely in the present as it is a speech act. Myth comes into being by doing and speaking—like culture and theatre. It may be based off prior events deemed important by the people, but myth is produced and created in the now. This is why the national myths propagated by a society can change depending on the regime in power. This is also why I believe the dramas included in this project, such as Interacciones, Eusk, Blood, Ello dispara, Burundanga, El tesoro del predicador, and ¡Han matado a Prokopius! are such effective pieces of literature. Through their writing and their use of a literary genre, which can be seen as a form of violence in itself, these playwrights highlight the effect of violence on individual and collective identity. They also stress the need for new Spanish cultural myths to be created through their acknowledgement of

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115 Some examples of this include films such as Victor Erice’s El espíritu de la colmena (1973) and Guillermo del Toro’s El laberinto del fauno (2006), among others.
the growing ordinariness of terrorism and violence in Spain during the 1990s - early 2010s by mixing the discussion and enactment of terrorist acts with everyday things such as work, school, food and intimate relationships. By presenting this inclusion of terrorism in domestic life in such a way, the playwrights demonstrate the urgent need for a new approach to dealing with violence and conflict in Spain, and other modern societies. However, by resorting to the use of theatre, they allow the public to start questioning the current state of society and its relationship with violence, with providing us with any of their own answers, which is also a noteworthy decision. In short, through their representations of terrorism, Spanish dramatists such as Ignacio Amestoy, Koldo Barrena, Sergi Belbel, Fermín Cabal, Jordi Galcerán, Juan Alberto López, and Alfonso Sastre underscore the importance of allowing the public to draw their own conclusions regarding important issues such as how to confront times and acts of violence. This emphasizes the individualism and interactivity necessary to create a healthy society, while also alleviating a bit of the power dynamic frequently present between the writer and reader/spectator of a drama.
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