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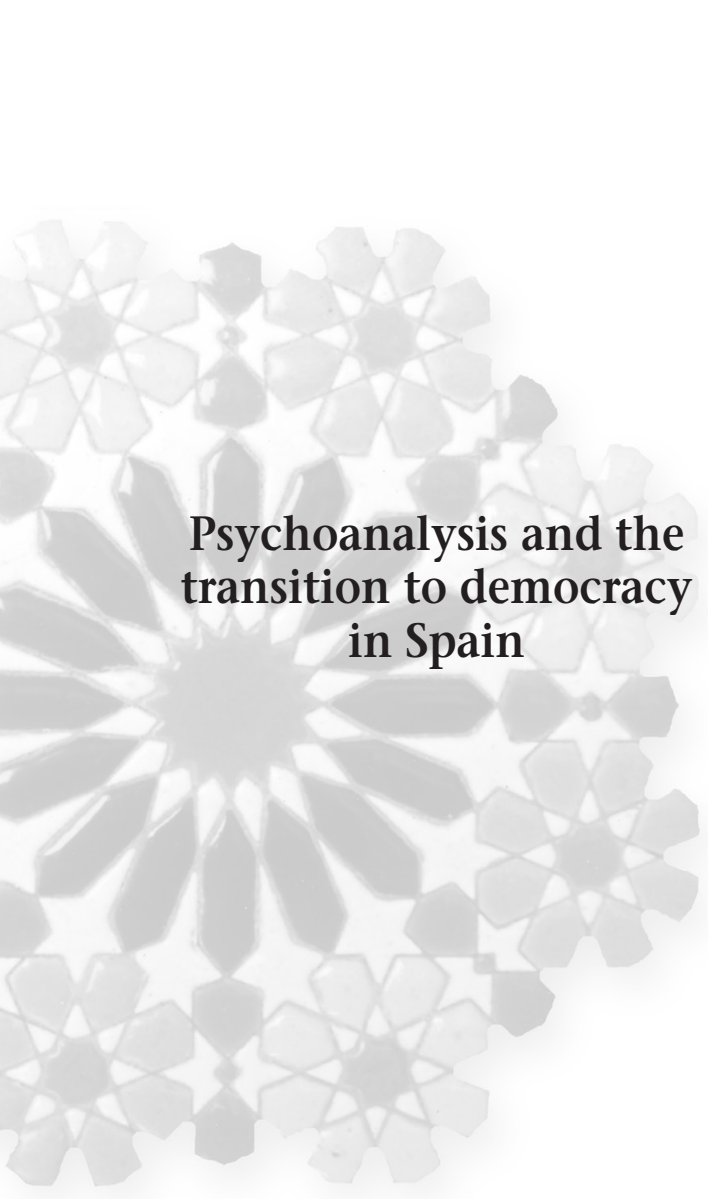
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# Psychoanalysis and the transition to democracy in Spain

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## Abstract

This article studies the links between psychoanalysis and the transition to democracy in Spain. It examines the major changes that characterized the spread of psychoanalysis in the years after Franco's death, in particular the rise of the Lacanian movement, the impact of this phenomenon on the sociocultural sphere and, in broader terms, its role in the re-emergence of psychoanalysis as a cultural object in the country. The article also analyzes factors linked to the history of psychoanalysis during the Franco dictatorship; factors that, together with the arrival of Oscar Masotta and numerous Argentinian analysts in Spain, help explain the new vision of the field that emerged during the transition.

Keywords: history of psychoanalysis; history of the Lacanian movement; Spain; transition to democracy.

In the movie *Labyrinth of passion*, which premiered in 1982 and was set in Madrid during the years of the countercultural movement known as the *Movida*, the famous Spanish film director Pedro Almodóvar uses a character who introduces herself thus: “My name is Susana Díaz. I’m a Lacanian psychoanalyst.” If a similar scene had featured in a French or Argentine fiction in the early 1980s, it would probably not have drawn much attention. But for anyone who lived through the transition to democracy in Madrid or Barcelona, Susana Díaz’s words and her reference to Lacanian psychoanalysis would, on the contrary, have resonated as an immediately identifiable situation, highly typical of the cultural environment of the time.

The years of the transition to democracy in Spain, from General Franco’s death in 1975 up until the mid-1980s, were marked by major changes in almost all of the country’s political, social and cultural spheres. The field of psychoanalysis was no exception: it underwent profound modifications that affected every aspect of its status in Spain. The scene from the Almodóvar movie reflects two of the changes that most influenced the history of psychoanalysis in Spain at that time. The first is the rise of the Lacanian movement, which had not existed prior to that point – Lacan’s ideas had barely been discussed under the dictatorship – and the second is the very fact that someone had the idea of giving a role in a movie to a fictitious analyst; in other words, the emergence – or rather the re-emergence – of psychoanalysis as a cultural object in Spain. It would have been unthinkable a few years earlier that Freud or Lacan would come to feature as part of urban culture: psychoanalytic ideas had seemingly vanished from the sociocultural map ever since the civil war.

The goal of this article is to examine the factors linked to the history of psychoanalysis in Spain, and in particular to the birth of the Lacanian movement, that were involved in this process of cultural re-emergence of psychoanalytic ideas during the transition to democracy, and how they subsequently led to such a radical change in the way these ideas circulated.

### **Psychoanalysis in the later years of the dictatorship**

Exactly a month before General Franco’s death, the Argentinian philosopher Oscar Masotta gave the first of a series of seminars on Freud and Lacan in Barcelona, which would lay the early groundwork for the Lacanian movement in Spain.<sup>1</sup> It was October 1975 and the field of Spanish psychoanalysis had been undergoing changes for some years.

In the early years of the dictatorship, from the civil war until the late 1960s, psychoanalytic ideas, while never officially banned in Spain, had circulated under very specific conditions that had significantly impacted their spread. There were two psychoanalytic circles, one in Madrid and the other in Barcelona; both were recognized by the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA) and by Spanish authorities (Bermejo Frígola, 1993; Carles et al., 2000, p.225-295). Despite the markedly anti-Freudian tendencies of the elite in the psychiatric field, psychoanalysts were not only able to work within the framework of the associations they had founded, but also participated in different activities organized by official psychiatric circles, and even, in some cases, became university professors. This was because there were very few members in the psychoanalytic groups (less than thirty in 1975) and they worked discreetly, without attempting to promote Freudian ideas beyond the medical sphere. Furthermore,

they never publicly questioned the theoretical stance of the all-powerful psychiatric elite, so they presented no threat to them (Druet, 2012a).

The existence of the Spanish psychoanalytic movement was, however, constrained from all angles. To begin with, as we have seen, the two groups belonging to the IPA contained very few members, and almost all of them were psychiatrists or psychologists. The groups grew very slowly, focusing mostly on institutional life and training the few candidates they accepted. Spreading Freudian ideas beyond the medical field was not one of their goals, so the existence of IPA groups in the country did not mean that psychoanalytic ideas ever featured in the press, either in cultural magazines or in the daily newspapers, or that the movement's leaders were known to the general public. They were known abroad, where they took part in international IPA meetings, but in Spain they felt that discretion was necessary for the survival of their association.<sup>2</sup> As a result, analysts had little or no visibility in sociocultural terms.

In the late 1960s, the status of psychoanalysis began changing, not within the IPA circles but in some progressive groups within the psychiatric and sociocultural fields, where there was new interest in psychoanalytic ideas, especially amongst younger people. In the final years of the dictatorship, the number of references to Freud – and even Lacan, who had been noticeably absent until then – began to rise in psychiatric journals, and psychoanalysis became a recurring topic in the leftist cultural magazines that were springing up at the time (Druet, 2014). The number of translations or essays on psychoanalytical topics brought over from Latin America also increased.<sup>3</sup> Freud's complete works, which had previously been available only in part, in an expensive edition, were republished in paperback, which facilitated circulation among the general public.<sup>4</sup>

One of the main characteristics of this new or renewed interest in psychoanalysis on the part of various professional and cultural groups was not only that it appeared directly, in the re-introduction of a doctrine that had been marginalized for decades, but also and above all in the way it was manifested in other issues at the heart of intellectual debate at the time, such as the anti-psychiatric movement or structuralism. This phenomenon was especially striking in the case of Lacan and references to him in the late 1960s in psychiatric publications, as well as in cultural activities organized by the first Spanish psychiatrists to become interested in his ideas.<sup>5</sup>

Besides this characteristic of continuing to appear on the periphery of other debates, there was another feature of psychoanalysis in Spain in the late 1970s and early 1980s: outside the medical sphere, there was still no group or individual devoted to spreading psychoanalytic ideas in Spanish society and identified as such in intellectual circles or by the general public. As we saw earlier, the IPA psychoanalysts were not primarily interested in spreading psychoanalysis; they devoted themselves mainly to training members within the association, taking part in institutional life and continuing to represent their ideas in the medical field. As demand for social and cultural information on psychoanalysis began to emerge, the IPA psychoanalysts did not modify their policy of discretion a great deal, so they never became widely-known to the general public nor presented themselves as experts to cultural magazines or the daily papers; they left this role to others, as we shall see shortly.

In terms of actual psychoanalytical training, the IPA's members were not able to meet the very specific demand that was starting to emerge. From the late 1960s until Franco's death in

1975, many intellectuals, artists and students who were involved in some way in the move to re-introduce psychoanalysis – including, of course, people who were doing degrees in psychology and psychiatry – began looking for training in the field, either intellectual or, in some cases, professional. It was hard to find in Spain: psychoanalysis was not yet studied in Spanish universities, and reading essays or attending talks was not nearly enough for those who were committed to practicing psychoanalysis. The IPA circles provided nationally and internationally-recognized training, but they offered an image of psychoanalysis that was diametrically opposed to the kind the transition generation was looking for. These young progressives, some of whom were actively involved in countercultural movements against the regime, were looking for Freud in a highly politicized context; that is, they sought a subversive Freud, a Freud who supported struggle against the establishment. The IPA circles, which had acquired institutional status thanks to the *nihil obstat* of the psychiatric establishment during the dictatorship, and which were furthermore characterized by the particularly severe and hierarchical nature of the training they offered,<sup>6</sup> seemed as rigid and paternalistic as the institutions the upcoming generation was struggling to dismantle.<sup>7</sup> The virulence of their rejection of the history and function of Spain's IPA circles was reflected in some of the texts published by young Lacanians in subsequent years. Referring to the past history of the IPA groups, E. Guilanyà (1984, p.88-89) writes ironically that:

Once upon a time there was... a group that fought against the Franco dictatorship – against official psychiatry – against the mediocrity of the universities... a fight that necessarily led to a long period of working in silence, underground, until they emerged in 1959, with government permission, as an association, the Sociedad luso-española de psicoanálisis (Luso-Spanish Psychoanalysis Society), and individually ... teaching in the psychiatry department ... teaching in the university.<sup>8</sup>

Around 1975, therefore, there existed a set of factors in Spain that had not yet led to any large-scale consequences but that, given the unmet demand for training and the absence of viable options either on an individual or an institutional level, created the particular circumstances that presaged a radical change in the status of psychoanalysis in the country.

## **The beginnings of the Lacanian movement in Spain**

That change came about soon enough when another factor was added to the ones mentioned above: the arrival in Spain of psychoanalysts from Argentina. Although the exact figures are unclear, the phenomenon of Argentinian analysts immigrating to Spain in the late 1970s and early 1980s was seen as significant enough for the Argentinians themselves to describe it as an “avalanche” (Auerbach, Teszkiewicz, 2001). During those years and subsequently, most – if not all – of the study groups, associations or cultural activities related in any way to psychoanalysis involved or were run by one of those Argentinian analysts (Druet, 2012b).

In the case of Lacanian theories, this Argentine presence was even more striking. Shortly before the so-called “avalanche,” the man who brought Lacan's work to Argentina, Oscar Masotta, started a seminar on Freud and Lacan in Barcelona. In 1974, after founding the Freudian School in Buenos Aires, Masotta left Argentina and moved to London, where he was

in contact with some Spanish psychiatrists and psychologists interested in psychoanalysis. At the instigation of another Argentinian based in Barcelona, Marcelo Ramírez Puig, who would act as his secretary for activities in Spain, Masotta began traveling frequently between London and Barcelona. The first study group was set up, with members who were mostly students personally known to Masotta, and others quickly formed, so Masotta decided to move to Barcelona in 1976.<sup>9</sup> In Catalunya and subsequently in other Spanish cities, Masotta's seminar became the launching point for the Lacanian movement in the country.

Masotta's students came from very different backgrounds, reflecting the diversity of the new actors on the Spanish psychoanalytic scene. Some of them were Argentinians temporarily based in Spain, who were resuming the training they had begun under Masotta in Buenos Aires. The Spanish students, meanwhile, fell into markedly heterogeneous groups. They were mostly young, and some were still in their teens; they all held progressive ideas and shared a prior interest in psychoanalytic issues. But other than that, their main characteristic was their diversity. Some were psychiatrists or psychologists, but many other artistic or intellectual professions were represented. The paths that had led them to Masotta's seminar also differed. Some of them had approached the Spanish IPA circles in the past but had chosen not to follow the training they offered, for the reasons outlined above. Others had studied in universities abroad, often in France or Belgium, where psychoanalysis was part of the academic curriculum for various subjects. Others were merely readers of Freud and Lacan who were seeking a deeper knowledge of psychoanalytic theories, sometimes simply because such theories were *dans l'air du temps*. In fact, many members of these groups never set out to be analysts, but – and this fact reveals Masotta's importance in Spain – almost all the so-called “historic members” of the Lacanian movement in Spain belonged at one time to these groups.

Masotta had less than five years to live when he moved to Barcelona; he died there in 1979. During those years, the study groups in the Catalan capital turned into the first institutionalized Lacanian movement in Spain. In February 1977, the Freudian Library in Barcelona (Biblioteca Freudiana de Barcelona, BFB), the first Lacanian institution in Spain, was founded at Masotta's initiative.<sup>10</sup> During those years, study groups were also created in other cities. Masotta traveled a lot and the intensive teaching he did, with the help of local organizers, gradually gave rise to the Lacanian field in the 1980s. In March 1977, two study groups led by Masotta were set up in Vigo, with the goal of creating the future Galician Library of Freudian Studies (Biblioteca Galega de Estudios Freudianos), under José Eiras (Eiras, Lacruz, 1983). A year before that, Masotta (1977a) had given his first lectures in Galicia, and in the year he died he taught five lessons in the city of Valencia. Masotta also had study groups in Madrid from 1977 on, but they never became institutionalized.

The Spanish Lacanian movement began developing under very particular circumstances, notably the fact that it was so marked by the psychoanalytic past of two different countries. The movement was composed of two clearly differentiated groups that had come together as a result of those circumstances: the first was made up of analysts – almost all Argentinians – and the second was made up of students – almost all younger Spaniards. A large majority of the members of the second group were not practicing analysts yet and were, or had once been in analysis with members of the first group. None of the analysts – at least Masotta's closest collaborators – had trained in Paris with Lacan or his pupils; they came from Buenos

Aires and mostly from Kleinian analysis. While Masotta was alive, this situation was not questioned.<sup>11</sup> In fact, even though Lacan was still alive and teaching his seminar in Paris, just a few hours away from Barcelona by train, there was never any attempt by the Spanish students to go to the French capital. Masotta is known to have kept his distance from Lacan, and the young Spaniards, at that time, followed suit.<sup>12</sup>

Masotta had his critics among the Argentine expatriate community in Spain, but his Spanish pupils unanimously praised both his undeniable teaching skills and his personal traits.<sup>13</sup> Besides the training he was providing and his obvious gift for teaching, Masotta's life story and personality help explain his pupils' fascination with him. Masotta embodied an idea of psychoanalysis that was the opposite of the dominant variety in Spain under the dictatorship, which was being so violently rejected by the younger generation during those years. Masotta was known to have left Argentina to escape political persecution, which gave him a politically subversive image diametrically opposed to the Spanish IPA analysts, whose movement had grown up under the conditions we have examined. Furthermore, Masotta represented lay psychoanalysis, while the IPA circles were strongly medicalized and had always privileged transmission to doctors and psychologists, thus contributing to their image of rigidity and failure to adapt to new sociocultural realities, which had generated demand for a different type of training. Ever since he first arrived in Spain, Masotta, on the contrary, tried to give maximum visibility to activities involving psychoanalytic issues. In other words, with Masotta, psychoanalysis returned to its place in the sociocultural sphere, which had not occurred in Spain since the civil war. While we should not overestimate the importance of this phenomenon – which was never anywhere near as widespread as in Argentina, either in terms of the number of people involved in the Lacanian adventure or in terms of the movement's social and cultural impact – nevertheless, Masotta's work represents a radical change from the way psychoanalysis had been framed in Spain ever since Franco came to power.

The first significant crisis at the heart of the Spanish Lacanian movement occurred after Masotta's death. Masotta, whose leadership had guaranteed stability within the movement, had avoided setting up a hierarchy among his Argentinian collaborators, and none of them became his legitimate successor. The movement, particularly after the arrival of another Argentinian, Germán García, gradually turned into what was known as a "cluster:" an unknown number of small, shifting groups, including one informally known as the "grupo de los no-agrupados" ("non-affiliated group"), made up of former Freudian Library members who had left the institution for various reasons, and others who had never belonged to it. Contacts with Paris – which were virtually nonexistent while Masotta was alive – became more frequent in the early 1980s, and most of the Spanish Lacanian groups ended up uniting for a time under the Jacques-Alain Miller school.

## **Psychoanalysis, culture and society**

As we have seen, during the transition to democracy, psychoanalysis re-emerged as an object of sociocultural interest after having been confined for decades to the medical sphere. This process had begun before Masotta arrived in Spain, but it was mostly after the Lacanian

movement took off – in large part thanks to the activities of Masotta himself and to a lesser extent those of other Argentinians who founded smaller groups in various Spanish cities – that it became apparent how profoundly the spread of psychoanalysis had changed in Spain.

It was in relation to the Freudian Library in Barcelona that this new activity around psychoanalysis became most obvious. Besides the study groups, Masotta increased the number of activities promoting Lacanian ideas in Spain. These activities were emblematic of his attempt to broaden the debate on psychoanalytic issues in the country and to seek out a more diverse audience, both in the medical sphere and in cultural circles.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, the process of recuperating psychoanalysis as a cultural object continued. It had begun before and independently of the arrival of the Argentinian analysts in Spain, and was marked both by support from and clashes with this group. In the sociocultural sphere, one of the first manifestations of this phenomenon of reintroducing psychoanalysis was the notable presence of Freud and, to a lesser extent, Lacan in some leftist cultural magazines that had sprung up in the 1970s. Among these were two of the most emblematic magazines of the transition, *Camp de l'Arpa* and *El Viejo Topo*. Founded in 1976 and published in the Catalan capital, *El Viejo Topo* published a special feature on the anti-psychiatric movement in issue number 4; it devoted various articles to psychoanalysis in subsequent years and came out with a “Freud feature” in 1979, which was characterized by interest in post-Freudian dissidence and Marxist critique (González Duro, 1979). On that occasion, under the title “Jacques Lacan: the return to Freud,” the magazine published an extract of Lacan’s press conference in Rome in 1974 (Jacques..., 1979). The same magazine published a “Lacan feature” in 1981, the longest to date (ten pages), and also the most controversial, since it did not deal with the implantation of Lacanianism in Spain, but instead covered what was happening in Paris at the time. The following year the magazine *Camp de l'Arpa* also published a “Lacan feature” in issue 96, this time with direct contributions from members of the Lacanian movement in Barcelona, led at that point by the Argentinian analyst Germán García.

However, two other publications that were much less well-known were central to bringing Lacanianism onto the cultural scene; both were directly related to the movement that had grown up around Masotta. Their founding editors included two intellectuals who had belonged to Masotta’s first study group in Barcelona: Federico Jiménez Losantos and Alberto Cardín. Many years later, Jiménez Losantos would undergo a radical ideological shift and become the media idol of the far right, but at that time he was a young literary scholar and leftist activist. Cardín, a writer and anthropologist, was a prolific author, activist and provocateur during the transition, and one of the leaders of emerging gay culture; he died in 1992.<sup>15</sup>

The first of these journals, known as *Revista de Literatura* (although its original title was the unpronounceable *Qwert Poiuy*), began appearing in March 1974 as the magazine of the Department of Literature of the Faculty of Philology at the University of Barcelona, and it showed an almost immediate interest in Lacanian theory. Some months later, Losantos and Cardín, who were already Masotta’s pupils, became editors of the journal that – as far as we can tell – became the most Lacanian publication in Spain. When asked why the journal was interested in psychoanalysis, apart from its relevance to literature, Jiménez Losantos answered:

Obviously, because of politics. The lack of a theory of the subject in Marxism leaves it incapable of analyzing modern political issues ... Psychoanalysis, on the other hand, starting with Lacan, created a crucial platform form for interrogating and dealing with the 'politics of the subject, which is clearly necessary now.' We have had the good fortune to get to know Masotta, one of the best Lacanians, and the first Spanish-speaking one, and to have spent a year working with him already in seminars on Freud and Lacan (Pons, 1976-1977, p.163; emphasis in the original).

The references to Masotta multiplied in the magazine, and in 1976 it published the text of a lecture by Masotta (1976a) at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Barcelona. The magazine also took an interest into the past and present situation of psychoanalysis in Spain, and identified Masotta as the point of departure in the story:

But the status of Freudianism is nothing to write home about, unless we mention the lecture series being organized for January and February in the German Institute itself, but with a Lacanian slant (it's being run by Masotta), in other words, it promises to really get to grips with Freud. If he manages it, it might just be a first, given the meager results that the excellent early translation of Freud's complete works into Spanish by the distinguished Luis López-Ballesteros y de Torres ... have yielded on our intellectual scene. Apart from Castilla del Pino's work, we see that 'Freudian issues' i[n] Spain are a vacuum that can only be compared to 'Marxist issues' ... Few ... declare themselves to be Freudians. There's nothing to be gained by it: physicians with a quack's couch who are working without or by dint of electroshock therapy, aren't going to go around proclaiming themselves as such. They're happy just to charge for it (Jiménez Losantos, 1976-1977; emphasis in the original).

The second journal, *Diwan*, on which Losantos and Cardín were also managing editors, took on the same function in the years that followed, publishing amongst other things the work of Argentinian analysts who had collaborated with Masotta. At that point they were still the main proponents of Lacanian theory in Spain.<sup>16</sup> The magazine sought to defend French thought against what it called "Spain's long-standing stupidity" (La nueva..., 1978, p.119-121), in the highly polemical style characteristic of Cardín and Losantos that would be the end not only of the journal but also of the friendship between the two intellectuals. In one episode of the campaign waged by the magazine against its favorite enemy, the philosopher Fernando Savater, Cardín (1979; emphasis in the original) wrote the following:

Savater will no doubt call the style I employ 'punning,' but so what? We weren't all graced with that fluency of his that lends itself to any situation; we have to do the best we can using various branches of jargon, and in the end we're told no one understands us, that we're esoteric, what with all this Lacan and bizarre gibberish... So these obscure phrases you see ... with their obscure and vulgar heritage, were described by Savater as Lacanian.

*Diwan* went out of print in 1982, a few months before the first real psychoanalytic journals began appearing in Spain. We should bear in mind that the Spanish IPA groups had not created any such journal, and would not do so until 1984. The first true psychoanalytic publications in Spain were therefore Lacanian: the first issues of *Sínthoma* (Barcelona) and *Serie Psicoanalítica* (Madrid) came out at almost the same time, both from Lacanian groups and under managing editors who were Argentinian analysts.

As we can see, during the transition to democracy, Argentinian analysts played a decisive role, both in upping the number of activities related to psychoanalysis in Spain's larger cities, and in developing the Lacanian movement. This phenomenon did not pass unnoticed at the time, and the daily papers began to show an interest in the presence of psychoanalysis in the country, in particular in the city of Barcelona, which contained the largest and most active group of analysts. This visibility of psychoanalysis was so unusual that it obviously perplexed some journalists, as seen in many of the early articles on the topic, which contain rather confusing information. The muddled reporting frequently seen in early press coverage of psychoanalytical issues became somewhat of a tradition: indeed, it often provoked indignant reactions in letters to the papers' editors. This occurred with an article that appeared under the headline "Barcelona is world center for Spanish-language psychoanalysis," in which, carried away by the rather exaggerated enthusiasm denoted by the headline, and without citing any sources, the journalist lists the figure of three hundred analysts working in Barcelona and claims that Germán García's Psychoanalysis School (Escuela de Psicoanálisis) is the only institution capable of certifying practitioners of psychoanalysis, which would indeed make the city the Spanish-speaking capital of psychoanalysis. As for Buenos Aires, "currently," the journalist declares confidently, "it is once again experiencing a great deal of psychoanalytic activity, but it is not supported or institutionalized there" (Rodríguez, 1983). Needless to say, outraged letters to the editor promptly appeared.

The press also became interested in the activities of the Freudian Library in Barcelona, in particular when they involved crossover or conflict with the sociocultural sphere. An example of the latter was the one-day meeting organized by Germán García on the position of women in psychoanalysis, in which there were confrontations between the analysts invited and some feminists present in the room, which led to a long article in the Catalan newspaper *Avui* (Ibarz, 30 mar. 1982).

The phenomenon of the birth of the Lacanian movement thanks to the arrival of Argentinian analysts in Spain also gave rise to some controversies. One of the most virulent arose on the death of Lacan, when one of the most prestigious Spanish psychiatrists, Carlos Castilla del Pino (2004, p.313), who "hated" Lacan, whom he considered an "impostor", attacked the ways Lacanianism had expanded in his country at the hands of the "Argentines in Spain:"

Lacan's fabrications have been sold, extremely well, by people so skilled that real estate agents in Tarrasa or Sabadell would envy them, by pragmatists of all types, entitled he-who-knows-what-Lacan-means-when-talks, under the assumption of *nihil obstat* that Lacan himself seems to have encouraged. Money stopped being a metaphorical signifier of shit to flow directly, boldly and literally to him (Castilla del Pino, 16 sep. 1981, p.30).

Germán García (23 oct. 1981; emphasis in the original), who was at that point the leader of part of the Lacanian movement in Spain, went public with his indignation and responded to Castilla in the pages of the same newspaper:

To the shoddy news coverage provided by the Spanish press on the occasion of Jacques Lacan's death (apparently, no one had archival data, the bibliographical references were wrong and the specialists consulted didn't know what they were talking about), we

must add ‘abuse of authority’ by a psychiatrist who has no knowledge of the topic. I refer to Carlos Castilla del Pino ... When I say ‘abuse of authority,’ I refer to what this expression logically designates: someone knows about topic A and so apparently has the authority to say something on topic B.

Castilla del Pino is a psychiatrist, but he knows nothing about psychoanalysis ... Why is the prestige earned in ‘psychiatry’ used in this case to denigrate ‘psychoanalysis’? ...

What does Castilla del Pino say? That Jacques Lacan was imported by the Argentinians, that he is envious (that reference to the agents in Tarrassa or Sabadell) because he had nothing to do with it and that he hopes Jacques Lacan will fall out of fashion.

Looking beyond the personal attacks, this controversy highlighted the fact that by 1981, no one could claim to be the undisputed exponent of Lacanian ideas in Spain. One of the reasons for this is that, while the Lacanian movement was at the heart of many of the activities, the new feature of the psychoanalytic ideas circulating in Spain during the transition was that they involved more actors. As we saw earlier, interest in psychoanalysis started re-emerging in the late 1960s and early 1970s in many different professional spheres, and of course not all the people involved in that process were committed to psychoanalytical institutions. Among those who had chosen to train in Paris, the philosopher Víctor Gómez Pin (1981) was a privileged interlocutor with the Spanish psychiatric sphere, particularly for the group associated with the *Revista de la Asociación Española de Neuropsiquiatría* (Journal of the Spanish Association of Neuropsychiatry), the most important psychiatric journal during the transition, which launched its first issue in 1981. It contained an article by him on psychoanalysis, announcing the journal’s interest in the topic, to which it would devote numerous articles in subsequent years. The psychiatrists valued Pin’s analysis, since he sought to theorize the consequences of the discovery of the unconscious using Hegelian logic and linguistics, at a time when some of them felt that certain contemporary expressions of psychoanalysis had turned into a “theoretical delirium” (Lázaro, 1991, p.14; Pereña, 1981).

Another crucial figure in these new exchanges on psychoanalytic issues between the psychiatric sphere and the world of culture was the psychiatrist Carlos Castilla del Pino, mentioned earlier; during the transition he enjoyed enormous prestige and embodied more than anyone else the younger generation’s hope for a new form of psychiatry. Beyond the medical sphere, Castilla became one of the key figures in these new dialogues between psychiatry and culture (a good example of this is the inclusion of a chapter on psychiatry written by Castilla in the famous essay collection *La cultura bajo el franquismo* (Culture under Francoism), edited by J.M. Castellet). Although he had initially trained under none other than López Ibor, one of the most archetypical professors of the establishment psychiatry practiced during the Franco years, Castilla later firmly rejected the dominant theoretical approaches and university training associated with the regime. During the transition, he became “the standard-bearer for alternative psychiatry in Spain” (Gracia, Ruiz Carnicer, 2004, p.334). He was one of the main representatives of Freudian Marxism in the country, and thanks both to his personal prestige and the particular interest this approach generated, he came to occupy a “privileged role in the field of contemporary Spanish thought” (Moix, 1972, p.15). He always maintained his distance from orthodox psychoanalysis – and much more so with Lacan and what he called his “word chicanery” (Castilla del Pino, 2004, p.317) – but he often

appeared as the natural exponent of psychoanalytical issues in cultural magazines and the press, which is what so irritated Germán García. There was no group or individual within the psychoanalytical institutions themselves who appeared to be what one might call a legitimate “spokesperson” for psychoanalysis, and in this sense the Lacanian movement did not manage to achieve the recognition it might have expected and that some of its actors wished for. The polemics that grew up at the time of Lacan’s death illustrated this phenomenon, which has lasted up to current historiography: Mainer and Juliá’s well-known essay on the transition (2000, p.227), for example, only mentions the issue of psychoanalysis once, in reference to the figure of Castilla del Pino.

This situation can be explained in part by the evolution of the Lacanian movement after Oscar Masotta’s death. As we saw earlier, none of his closest collaborators appeared as his legitimate successor, so the stability of the movement he had founded did not outlast him. The internal polemics and divisions affected relations with the outside world, which helps explain why the cultural movement to re-appropriate psychoanalysis never got as far as it aspired to initially. As a result, historiography of the transition in Spain devotes very little attention to what was no more than a microphenomenon— in comparison with other aspects of the cultural boom during those years – that never reached the same level of sociocultural importance as in other countries, like France or Argentina. It is striking that none of the best-known essays on the transition even mentions the issue of Spain’s psychoanalytic movement, even when the author frequently uses psychoanalytic concepts and even Lacanian terminology as a hermeneutic tool (Vilarós, 1998).

However, both the leading figures in the contemporary Lacanian movement in Spain and elsewhere, as well as those who participated in some way in the cultural boom of the transition years, still recall that period as one of remarkable enthusiasm for psychoanalytic ideas.<sup>17</sup> The Almodóvar film mentioned earlier certainly reflects this reality, but just as so many of the anonymous actors of that movement of inquiry into psychanalytic ideas subsequently disappeared without trace, I regret to inform the reader that no one knows whatever happened to Susana Díaz, the Lacanian psychoanalyst.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The poster announcing the upcoming seminar series that was displayed on the streets of Barcelona read: “Freud/Lacan (A structuralist reading of Freud): Study groups, classes taught by Oscar Masotta, start date 10/20/1975.” This poster is preserved in the private archive of the Catalan analyst Joan Salinas i Rosés.

<sup>2</sup> In the words of Pere Bofill, leader of the circle of Spanish analysts during those years, “My idea was very clear: to work our way very carefully around the difficulties. Don’t get into confrontations because you’re going to be forced to back down, and it’s worth it for us to have an institution ..., it’s worth it so we can keep on quietly working” (cited in Carles et al., 2000, p.262).

<sup>3</sup> These essays came mainly from Argentina. The list of authors includes Arnaldo Raskowsky, Marie Langer, Telma Reca and León Grinberg, among others.

<sup>4</sup> Spain is known to be the first country in the world to have undertaken a translation of Freud’s complete works, at the instigation of the philosopher José Ortega y Gasset. The volumes, which were published by the Madrid press Biblioteca Nueva, began appearing in 1922. After the civil war, part of Freud’s work previously translated in Spain was republished in a luxury edition, and Ortega y Gasset’s initial prologue was replaced with one defending the compatibility of certain aspects of psychoanalysis with Christian religion (Druet, 2012a, p.68-69). In 1968, another volume appeared with texts by Freud that had not previously been

published in Spain, in a translation that plagiarized one published in Argentina (Vezzetti, 1991, p.199). In 1972, Biblioteca Nueva published a new edition of the complete works, this time with a prologue that returned to the scientific debate about Freud's contributions, in a definitive break from the dominant discourse on psychoanalysis during the dictatorship (Rof Carballo, 1972, p.XVIII).

<sup>5</sup> En 1972, Lacan gave a lecture during the opening session of the Psychiatric Association at the Academy of Medical Sciences in Barcelona, at the invitation of Ramón Sarró, professor of psychiatry at the University of Barcelona, and one of his close collaborators, Josep Lluís Martí-Tusquets, who was one of the doctors who cited Lacan the most in Spanish psychiatric journals at the time. Sarró had been interested in structuralism for a long time; four years before issuing the invitation to Lacan, he was one of the organizers of a one-year seminar on that topic at the French Institute in Barcelona, which included contributions from leading structuralist theorists (Sarró Maluquer, 2006, p.122). The first text by Lacan to be published in Spain, "El objeto del psicoanálisis", a translation of the "Réponse à des étudiants en philosophie," was done by Ramón García, one of the Spanish psychiatrists most interested in antipsychiatry, and appeared in a volume that also contained Althusser's "Freud et Lacan" (Lacan, 1970; Althusser, 1970).

<sup>6</sup> A comparison of the requirements for analyst training during those years between the Spanish IPA circles and those of associations in other European countries at the same time does indeed show greater rigidity in the Spanish requirements, particularly regarding control over the various stages of training for candidates (see Sociedad..., s.d.).

<sup>7</sup> One example of this is the testimony of Carmen Gallano (interview with the author, 24 Mar. 2006), who is now one of the most well-known Lacanian analysts in Spain: "We were very critical of the IPA; how could we not be ... We were coming from leftist activism, the anti-asylum movement, the struggle against Franco, all the cultural critique and critique of the family etc. They gave me [an analyst] whom I considered conventional, bourgeois, reactionary, with a certain way of interpreting oedipal adaptation and so on ... it was unthinkable. They also told me: "You send two letters, and as a psychiatrist you will be assigned a teacher." I said, "No, I don't want to" ... It was a bureaucratic thing where a secretary said to me, "Are you a psychiatrist? Write us a reasoned request." I sat down to do it that night and realized I couldn't. I thought, "What is this? Are they doing hand-writing analysis?" What interested me about Lacan was the subversive side of psychoanalysis, which is what Lacan meant to me when I discovered him. [The IPA analysts], it's like they hadn't realized we were the national opposition movement; they were from our parents' generation. We were in a generational conflict with them, also because of their complicity with the Franco regime and the establishment in Spain." On the training requirements for analysts in those circles, see also Vicens (1981).

<sup>8</sup> In this and other citations of texts from non-English languages, a free translation has been provided.

<sup>9</sup> It is not known for sure how many study groups Masotta eventually held in Barcelona. According to all Masotta's former pupils I interviewed, this fact as well as other information about the classes lay in the hands of Marcelo Ramírez Puig, who was Masotta's secretary. Ramírez died in 1989 and his records were probably not preserved after his death. As to how those study groups worked, there were from eight to 15 people in each group, and the classes were recorded; transcriptions of the seminars circulated at the time, and some were published (Masotta, 1992). In the first study group, the pupils included Alicia Roig (a young psychiatrist who had met Masotta in London), the philosopher Eugenio Trias, the anthropologist Alberto Cardín, and Federico Jiménez Losantos, who was a literary scholar at the time. More information, as well as testimonies about the study groups, can be found in Druet (2006, p.205-227).

<sup>10</sup> The expression "at Masotta's initiative" is used because Masotta does not in fact formally appear on the official documents establishing the Freudian Library. It was set up as a non-profit entity on February 18, 1977, before a notary. The legal agreement was signed by Carmen Gallano, Federico Jiménez Losantos, Xavier Baixas de Ros, Alejandro Sáez Pons, Marcelo Ramírez Puig, Joan Salinas, Alicia Roig and Eugenio Trias (Acta..., 18 feb. 1977).

<sup>11</sup> There were exceptions, like the case of Carmen Gallano, who decided to continue her training in Paris while Masotta was still alive (Palomera, Roldán, Segura, 1982, p.128-129). Years later, she described the situation as follows: "[Oscar Masotta] defined himself more as a reader of Lacan than as an analyst, unlike the others, who having undergone some limited and sometimes 'questionable' analyses in Argentina, prioritized the label of analyst when promoting themselves. For most of them, those analyses had been provided by APA analysts or dissidents from the APA, who were at best 'readers' of Lacan, and their clinical practice and therapeutic goals derived from that reading. And the transmission too" (Gallano, Salinas 2001, p.13).

<sup>12</sup> Questioned on the topic, the Catalan analyst Miquel Bassols (interview with the autor, 19 Jun. 2006), one of Masotta's youngest pupils during those years, commented that "Masotta could have connected

more with the people in Paris while he was here in Barcelona, but it didn't happen. It's very interesting: we ourselves didn't go to Paris. We were closely linked with Lacan's readers ... We could have gone to Lacan's seminar, for example, but it never occurred to us, which has something to do with Masotta. ... Germán [García] used to say that Masotta had a bit of a phobia about it, and it's true there was something to that." Meanwhile, Joan Salinas i Rosés (interview with the author, 6 Jul. 2004) – the first president of the Freudian Library in Barcelona –, believes that Masotta preferred to consolidate his group in Spain before presenting them to the EFP.

<sup>13</sup> Some of Masotta's Spanish pupils published reminiscences about those classes. See Berenguer (1999) and Palomera (1993). Other testimonies on the subject can be found in Druet (2006).

<sup>14</sup> Among many other activities, Masotta (1976a) gave a lecture on psychosis in the department of psychiatry at the University of Barcelona, which was published later in that university's literary magazine. Another cultural magazine, *Trama*, edited by the same intellectuals, published a lecture by Masotta (1977b) at the Miró Foundation on "Freud and esthetics". In 1976, he published his "Essays on Lacan" (*Ensayos lacanianos*) in Barcelona and the following year the "Introductory lessons on psychoanalysis" (*Lecciones de introducción al psicoanálisis*), mentioned earlier. He also wrote various prologues, among others for Spanish editions of Lacan's works *The four fundamental concepts of psychoanalysis* and *The family* (Masotta, 1977c, 1978). Even before the Freudian Library was founded, Masotta had started running lecture series featuring speakers who were intellectuals from various related fields. In January and February 1977 there was a seminar titled "Readings of Freud" at the German Institute in Barcelona, during which after Masotta's opening speech, the speakers were the philosopher Eugenio Triás, Argentinian analysts Germán García and Arturo López Guerrero, the anthropologist Alberto Cardín, the philologist Federico Jiménez Losantos and the lawyer Alejandro Sáez (Lecturas..., 1977).

<sup>15</sup> Losantos and Cardín met at the German Institute in Barcelona, which was at the time a platform for the intellectual and artistic wing of the PCE-PSUC (communist and Catalan socialist parties) (Jiménez Losantos, 1995, p.28). They collaborated during the late 1970s on a series of initiatives and activities reflecting on contemporary Hispanic culture. At the end of this period they ceased collaborating, after a very fierce and public disagreement (Cardín, 1980; Jiménez Losantos, 1980).

<sup>16</sup> It was this journal that published a manifesto attributed to Germán García that is still famous in Spanish Lacanian circles, called "Twenty Frenchmen, they say," which criticized the members of the Lacanian establishment in Paris, who were visiting Barcelona at the time, for their attitude to the real difficulties of spreading Lacanianism in Spain (Veinte..., 1981).

<sup>17</sup> Among the Lacanian analysts interviewed as part of a broader study of this issue are Jorge Alemán, Miquel Bassols, Miriam Chorne, Gustavo Dessal, Carmen Gallano, Germán García, Vicente Mira, Vicente Palomera, Joan Salinas and Antoni Vicens (Druet, 2006, p.430).

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