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Feminist publishing projects after Franco: Solidarity through cultural translation

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Abstract: In the 1960s and 1970s, second-wave feminism promoted important feminist publishing platforms, especially in North American and European countries. After the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939-1975), the need to seek foreign ideological mothers led to the emergence of the first feminist series and journals in Spain. In Barcelona, in 1976, the journal *Vindicación Feminista* (1976-1979) was born, giving voice to many international feminist authors and their publications. A year later, in 1977, in Madrid, the publishing house Debate produced the series Tribuna Feminista (1977-1982). In 1978, in Barcelona, the first Spanish feminist publishing house, LaSal. Edicions de les Dones (1978-1990), was founded. In this article, three post-Francoist feminist publishing projects based on "solidarities" are presented. All of them were "agents of cultural translation" that shared a main objective: to normalize Iberian feminism by introducing new literary movements, works and authors for theoretical discussion after the National-Catholic-patriarchal regime of Francoism. The arrival of feminist literature through practices of "solidary cultural translation" was crucial to the social transformations at the time.

Keywords: Spain, publishing, translation, feminism, solidarity, "solidary cultural translation".

1. Introduction. "What is feminism?" in post-Francoism

In *¿Qué es el feminismo?* (*What is feminism?*) (1976), the feminist lawyer Magda Oranich analysed the state of feminism in Spain in the 1970s, taking into account the changing and promising political, social and cultural panorama: the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939-1975) had just ended, demonstrations and demands for political amnesty were taking place, and women began to legally organize themselves into associations and join political parties, mostly linked to the left. Published by La Gaya Ciencia, Oranich's work summarises the history of international feminism (origins, the fight for the right to vote and retreat after the Second World War, etc.), and reflects on the feminism of the time in the West, and especially in Spain. According to Oranich (1976, pp. 10-11), "being a feminist" during the Spanish Democratic Transition (1975-1982) implied not only fighting for a more just society, where men and women had the same rights and obligations, but also fighting against the ideological structure of Francoism that had permeated all social layers, including the left itself, with phallocentric principles. Oranich denounced that, after Franco's death, the androcentric and sexist residue was still very present. Though admitting that, like any revolutionary movement, the fight for the total emancipation of women would not be easy, Oranich predicted that it would

slowly gain more strength until it became the greatest revolution in history (1976, p. 12).

In Spain, the effervescence of the feminist movement in the second half of the 1970s led to a true social, political, and intellectual "revolution", which faded and had to be repositioned at the end of the 1980s (Falcón, 1992; Sendón de León, 2002; Martínez Ten, Gutiérrez López & González Ruiz, 2009; Duch, 2011; Ferré Baldrich, 2018; Nash 2018). In those years, Madrid and Barcelona were two of the gateways to European and North American feminist culture. They became catalysing and disseminating centres for the ideas and actions of the international feminist movement. Among other relevant factors, they had powerful universities, with combative anti-Francoist students (militants or not of political parties and unions), progressive publishing houses and magazines that stimulated the traffic of subversive ideologies, and a large network of women's associations and neighbourhoods that fought for community and family welfare. Both cities, with a plural and heterogeneous feminist movement, were agents of social transformation that pushed for changes, in the short, medium, and long term, in the social and cultural history of the time.

Coinciding with the United Nations declaration of the International Women's Year, the death of the dictator Francisco Franco on 20 November 1975 represented a real starting point for feminist groups. Despite ideological differences, from the outset the various feminisms —liberal or Marxist, reformist or radical— collaborated in multiple actions in favour of women's rights (Amorós 2009; Llinàs, 2008; Johnson, 2018). From 6 to 9 December 1975, the First Conference for the Liberation of Women (*Primeras Jornadas por la Liberación de la Mujer*) was held in Madrid and, from 27 to 30 May 1976, the First Catalan Women's Conference (*Primeres Jornades Catalanes de la Dona*) took place in Barcelona. The first meeting brought together around 500 women and the second around 4000, the latter being one of the most significant gatherings for the feminist movement after the dictatorship. Both events gave rise to shared programs of old demands —salaried work, socialization of domestic chores, non-discriminatory education, and legislation, etc.— and new ones —rights to abortion, sexual education, contraceptives paid by Social Security, legalization of abortion, suppression of legislation that condemned homosexuality and prostitution, etc. Broadly speaking, three ideological currents were defined: in Madrid, that of the Movimiento Democrático de Mujeres (Democratic Women's Movement) —a clandestine feminist organization that originated in 1965 under the tutelage of the Communist Party of Spain—, radical feminism, and socialist feminism; and in Barcelona, socialist, radical, and independent feminism (Moreno, 1977, pp. 21-68; Nash, 2007, pp. 105-136).

In those days socialist and radical feminism were the mainstream currents. On the one hand, socialist feminism conceived the struggle for women's emancipation as an integral part of the socialist revolution. Thus, the feminist struggle had to go parallel to the class struggle and, therefore, it urged the double militancy of women: political and trade union organizations and feminist organizations. On the other hand, radical feminism was nourished by Marxism. It considered women to be a social class oppressed by men and patriarchy to be the instrument for perpetuating this domination. These feminists were therefore in favour of a single militancy. For example, this latter discourse was articulated by the Colectivo Feminista de Barcelona (CFB) (Feminist Collective of Barcelona). In general, all left-wing feminist positions particularly internalized the Marxist and socialist discourses of the British Juliet Mitchell and Sheila Rowbotham (Godayol, 2022a); the North American feminist activists Shulamith Firestone, Kate Millett, or Susana Solanas (Godayol, 2022b); the French Flora Tristán or Christine Delphy (Falcón, 2021); the Italian, Carla

Lonzi, or the Russian Alexandra Kollontai. Likewise, it should be remembered that Betty Friedan's liberal feminism (*La mística de la feminidad*, 1965; orig. *The Feminine Mystique*, 1963) and the existentialist feminism of Simone de Beauvoir (*El segon sexe*, 1968; orig. *Le deuxième sexe*, 1949) were the first to be translated in Spain in the late Franco era and that they were part of the readings of all feminisms at the time (Godayol, 2017).

The Spanish "feminist revival" (Nash, 2018, p. 280) of the 1970s reveals the significance of transnational and local activist networks and contributes "to a better understanding of the global dynamics of feminist mobilisation" (Bracke, Bullock, Morris & Schulz, 2021, p. 5). On the one hand, groups, associations, committees and coordinators were born or consolidated (Luna, 1997): among others, Movimiento Democrático de Mujeres (Democratic Women's Movement) (1965-1982); Colectivo Feminista de Barcelona (Feminist Collective of Barcelona) (1974-1977); Frente de Liberación de la Mujer (Women's Liberation Front) (1976-1980); DAIA, Mujeres para el Autoconocimiento y la Anticoncepción (Women for Self-Conception and Contraception) (1976-1984); Mujeres Libres (Free Women) (1976-1979); Organización Feminista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Feminist Organization (1977-1979), and Dones en Lluita (Women Fighters) (1977-1983). It should be emphasized that the plurality of orientations was the hallmark of the feminisms of the time. They all had physical and symbolic sites (bars, bookshops, consultancies, cultural centres, etc.), such as the Barcelona bar-library LaSal or the bookshop Pròleg, which were points of reference for the movement and strengthened relations and common work among women, such as presentations of books and reading clubs or mobilizations and campaigns to restore the rights won during the Second Republic (1931-1939) and lost during Franco's dictatorship. On the other hand, multiple feminist social, cultural, and literary initiatives emerged, with new publishing houses, series, publications, and journals, as we will see later. As far as the feminist journals are concerned, the most relevant of that time were the Catalan *Dones en Lluita* (Women Fighters), the Basque *Leihoa* (Window) and the general *Mujeres Libres* (Free women), *Opción* (Option) or *Vindicación Feminista* (Feminist Vindication), this last being one of the most important feminist projects during the Transition in Spain (Larumbe, 2002, pp. 149-59; Llinàs 2008, pp. 111-24).

In this context of feminist awakening in the Spanish democratic Transition, we will analyse three feminist publishing projects, three key moments of "transnational encounter, feminist translation, and resignification" (Bracke, Bullock, Morris & Schulz, 2021, p. 5). We will work from a feminist historiographical approach to translation —which seeks to contextualize the factors that promote, determine or veto the production and circulation of works by feminist authors (Sánchez, 2015; Castro & Ergun, 2017; Bracke, Morris & Ryder, 2018; Flotow & Kamal, 2020; Godayol, 2021)— and taking into consideration the anti-essentialist approaches to history of translation —which advocate studying subaltern "microhistories" made invisible by the dominant discourses (Munday, 2014; Bermúdez & Johnson, 2018; Fernández & Evans, 2018; Vidal, 2018). Firstly, we will examine the journal *Vindicación Feminista* (Barcelona, 1976-1979), which gave voice to many international feminist authors and their publications, as well as launched a brief feminist series that would translate the radical essay *SCUM: Manifiesto* (1977), by Valerie Solanas. Secondly, we will analyse the series Tribuna Feminista (Madrid, 1977-1982), published by Debate, which mainly included translations of feminist literature by foreign women writers. And, finally, we will focus on LaSal, Edicions de les Dones (Barcelona, 1978-1990), the first Spanish feminist publishing house. All of them were born, developed, and managed from "solidarities", understood as David Featherstone does in *Solidarity. Hidden histories and geographies of*

internationalism (2012). Featherstone vindicates "the creation of solidarities from below" and he encourages us to seek and make visible "stories about forms of agency and political activity constructed through mobilizing practices of solidarity" (2012, p. 4). To illustrate the "productive", "transformative" and "diverse" character of solidarity, Featherstone urges us to focus on events and movements, and we wish to contribute to this goal with our research.

The three feminist platforms we present here acted as "cultural translation mediators" during post-Francoism, creating solidarity publishing networks to promote different theoretical and activist feminist thoughts, actions, and ventures. Using the Lisia Bürgi and Kristina Schulz concept applied to the role of Swiss feminist bookshops during the 1970s, they all played a part as "cultural translators for the women's liberation movement" (2021, p. 93). We understand "cultural translation" as Bürgi and Schulz, who employ the term to a "broader process of mediation between reference systems and contexts of understanding, which goes beyond a word-to-word translation from one language to another" (2021, p. 93). Both authors vindicate "to study the social contexts and material conditions in which transfers of feminism knowledge and resignification take place" (2021, p. 93). In this case, we argue that these three Spanish feminist solidarity publishing projects played a paramount role so as to expand, consolidate, and disseminate the women's liberation movement after Franco's desert. With these case studies, we want to rethink translation "as a political act and as central to the articulation of political programmes" (Bracke, Bullock, Morris & Schulz, 2021, p. 31) and to introduce the dynamics of solidarity in feminism as "a powerful force for reshaping the world in more equal terms" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 4).

Finally, this article aims to make visible and vindicate the memory of feminist movements, authors and texts in the history of Iberian translation, as well as the memory of "cultural translation" practices in the history of Iberian feminism. By studying three post-Francoist solidary feminist publishing projects, in which the reception of foreign feminist authors and the translation of their works were of utmost importance, we will be able to see the reaction of post-Franco society and literary canon to the novelty of publishing foreign feminist literature. Moreover, it will also help us to analyse the "intersections between the narratives" (Baker, 2006, p. 472) that were established among the different operative social actors of feminism of the moment (activists, publishers, authors, translators, censors, critics, readers, etc.).

2. Feminist publishing platforms in the 1970s and 1980s

One of the priorities of the second-wave feminisms was to challenge the hegemony of the dominant patriarchal canon, which had always favoured masculine aesthetic and literary values. At the end of the 1960s, feminist activists and scholars, originally Anglo-American (such as Sandra Gilbert, Susan Gubar or Elaine Showalter), decided to alleviate the chronic maternal orphanhood by promoting the recovery, analysis and circulation of original texts by hitherto neglected classic women writers (Alexandra Kollontai, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mary Wollstonecraft, Virginia Woolf, etc.), as well as by promoting the foundational texts of the new feminisms (Shulamith Firestone, Germaine Greer, Audre Lorde, Kate Millett, Juliet Mitchell, Adrienne Rich, Sheila Rowbotham, Valerie Solanas, Susan Sontag, etc.). They counted on the complicity of bookstores and cultural spaces, as well as the creation of feminist publishing houses and series, most of which were cooperatively managed in associational and university contexts (Howe, 1995; Murray, 2004; Riley, 2018a, 2018b). Florence Howe shows clearly the direct connection, either through

necessity or as a response, between the second-wave feminist movement and the origin of the first feminist publishing houses of the second half of the 20th century[1]. "Some feminist presses began in direct response to the needs of the women's movement, some as a response to the energies released by that movement, which saw women entering competitively into various streams of life hitherto off limits. The motivation, in some cases, mixed the two agendas (Howe, 1995, p. 131).

Established with different capital, as well as publishing and distribution policies, multiple newly created feminist publishing platforms emerged in the early 1970s in Europe and North America (Butalia & Menon, 1995, pp. 1-14; Murray, 2004, pp. 1-6). In the United States, examples included Aunt Lute, Feminist Press, Firebrand, Kitchen Table Women of Color Press, Know, Seal Press and Spinsters Ink; in Canada, Les Edicions Remue Manage and The Women's Press; in Great Britain, Aurora Leight, Feminist Books, Feminist Publishers, Onlywomen, Pandora Press, Silver Moon Books, Urban Fox Press, Open Letters and Scarlet Press, The Women's Press and Virago; in France, Des Femmes; in Germany, Frauenoffensive and Orlanda; in Austria, Weiner Frauenverlag, and, in Spain, LaSal, Edicions de les Dones, the first feminist press in the country, with which we will deal later. Though many of them disappeared or were absorbed by major publishing companies in the 1990s, when these feminist publishing houses emerged in the 1970s, they all committed themselves to two basic objectives: 1) to retrieve literary and essay works, both original and translated, by forgotten women authors of all times, and 2) to vindicate symbolic mothers and sisters in order to shape the emerging feminist discourses in theoretical terms.

In Spain, from the seventies onwards, with the rise of the national and international feminist movements, autochthonous and translated international feminist literature appeared (Godayol, 2021). With the complicity of feminist groups and associations, various left-wing intellectuals, and publishers, such as Carlos Barral (Seix Barral), Josep Maria Castellet (Edicions 62), Jorge Herralde (Anagrama) or Salvador Paniker (Kairós), began to publish titles by foreign women writers of different feminist schools (liberal, Marxist, existentialist, radical, etc.). These were included in general essay collections of the progressive publishing houses seeking to import literature that had been previously prohibited: for example, Seix Barral published *Una habitación propia* (1967) (*A room of one's own*, 1929), by Virginia Woolf; Edicions 62, *La mística de la feminitat* (1965) (*The feminine mystique*), by Betty Friedan; *El segon sexe* (1968) (*Le deuxième sexe*, 1949), by Simone de Beauvoir; Anagrama, *La liberación de la mujer: la larga lucha* (1975) (*Women: The longest revolution*, 1965), by Juliet Mitchell; and Kairós, *La dialéctica del sexo* (1976) (*The dialectic of sex*, 1970), by Shulamith Firestone. To sum up, in the last years of the dictatorship, some significant feminist titles were published – although scattered in different collections— after overcoming censorship. After

[1] Lynne Pearce and Catherine Riley use the metaphor of "waves" (even though they recognize that it has its limitations) to describe a brief history of the European and Anglo-American feminist publishing platforms of the 20th century up to the present. They divide it into four stages (2018, pp. 11-12): (1) During the first wave, a considerable number of publishing houses were set up before the outbreak of the First World War. (2) The second-wave feminist publishing phenomenon was based on the idea that literature was a tool for gaining empowerment. (3) During the third wave, the debates moved into academia and small-scale feminist publishers were excluded from a fierce market. (4) And, finally, fourth wavers are characterized by new kinds of feminist publishers: they exchange ideas online, self-publish and make use of social media to create movements.

Franco's death, with the impetus of women's social movements, feminist creation and publication was systematized editorially and the first feminist journals, series, and publishing houses emerged in Spain (Llinàs, 2008; Nash, 2018).

An example of close collaboration between feminist activists and left-wing publishers to change prevailing nationalist-Catholic discourses of Franco's regime is the pioneering series La Educación Sentimental (Sentimental Education) (1977-1984), of the Barcelona publishing house Anagrama, founded in 1969 by the writer Jorge Herralde with a leftist cultural spirit and ideology (Godayol, 2018). La Educación Sentimental was an interdisciplinary project —including feminism, sexology, and socialism— which published contemporary vindicatory texts that shared a progressive model of sexuality and femininity. It distributed twenty titles in Spanish, five originals and fifteen translations. Most translations were by contemporary classics, such as the Marxist psychoanalyst Juliet Mitchell; the sociologist Ursula Linnhoff; the Marxist historians Jefrey Weeks and Sheila Rowbotham; the historian Joyce Lussu; the art critic, cofounder of the group Rivolta Femminile, Carla Lonzi; the sex therapist Anne Hooper, and the writer Christine Rochefort. In an interview (from May 20, 2017), Herralde tells how, at the outset of the collection, he was aided and advised by feminist friends of the Barcelona women's liberation movement, most of whom were writers, translators, or collaborators of Anagrama, including Mireia Bofill, Amparo Moreno, Núria Pompeia, Helena Valentí, or Laura Tremosa. In 1984 the series ceased for two reasons, as the publisher explains: because there came a moment when "there was a feeling that the work had been completed" and because "as from 1981, literature, which had occupied a second place in the publishing house, came to the fore, absorbing a great deal of publishing energies and hopes" (Godayol, 2018, p. 18). The first cause, "the work had been complied", has to do with the "libertarian spirit of those brief years of Transition" (Herralde, 2001, p. 25), which united editors and feminist activists in solidarity, thus creating "new ways of relating" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 5) to fight against the Francoist patriarchal canon with the objective of making "the world anew" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 4). In those years, both editors and feminist activists forged a relation "through political struggle which [sought] to challenge forms of oppression" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 5).

3. Barcelona: *Vindicación Feminista* (1976-1979)

In 1976, within the framework of the Colectivo Feminista de Barcelona (CFB) (Barcelona Feminist Collective), Lidia Falcón and Carmen Alcalde founded the journal *Vindicación Feminista* (Feminist Vindication) one of the outstanding publications of the feminist theoretical debate of the 1970s in Spain (Larumbe, 2002, 2009; Falcón, 2012; Jareño, 2019). To understand how it was organized, we must go back to the formation of the CFB (Larumbe, 2002, pp. 198-241; Llinàs, 2008, pp. 87-88; Ferré Baldrich, 2018, pp. 75-82, 211-214). The CFB resulted from the Seminario del Colectivo Feminista (Feminist Collective Seminar), created in September 1975 in Madrid. Shortly after, the group split and different feminist collectives emerged throughout Spain (Asturias, Barcelona, Ibiza, Madrid, Seville, Oviedo, Valencia, etc.). The one in Barcelona was led by the feminist lawyer Lidia Falcón, with the collaboration of Carmen Alcalde, Regina Bayo, Anna Estany, María José Ragué and Adela Tomás.

The feminist collectives mostly identified with the North American radical feminism of Shulamith Firestone and Kate Millett. They also defended orthodox

materialism, along the lines of Christine Delphy's French Marxist feminism. The central point of the program was based on considering women as a social class, and the maximum commitment was the feminist revolution, which was to put an end to female oppression. To change the capitalist and sexist society, they not only wanted to change the model of production, but also social relations, ideology, and culture. They defended that the feminist struggle should be independent of the political parties. In April 1977, Lidia Falcón, Regina Bayo, and Anna Estany left the CFB due to differences and decided to create the Organización Feminista Revolucionaria (OFR) (Revolutionary Feminist Organization), which later became the Partido Feminista de España (PFE) (Feminist Party of Spain).

Between 1976 and 1979, many feminist journals and magazines appeared in Spain, with the aim of providing the movement with its own and independent information media (Llinàs, 2008). Most of these publications had an ephemeral life of months or one or two years: for example, *Dones de La Mar*, *Dones en Lluita*, *Leihoa*, *Mujeres Libres* and *Xiana*. In 1976, at the State level, *Vindicación Feminista* emerged, with more than two years of regular publications and thirty issues.

Vindicación Feminista saw the light of day on July 1, 1976 (the same day that King Juan Carlos I accepted the resignation of Carlos Arias Navarro and commissioned Adolfo Suárez to form a government) and was presented in public on the 15th of that same month, at the Tinell Hall of the Barcelona City Council. The first issue opened with two startling articles: the first, dealing with the freedom of the Saharan woman, was signed by Soledad Balaguer, and the second, dealing with the Court of Crimes against Women, by Victòria Sau. The back cover could be read as a manifesto that justified the mission and explained the contents:

> VINDICACIÓN aims to fill the gap in the information media dedicated to women. To treat with dignity their specific problems of labour and professional promotion, deficiencies of current civil and criminal legislation, all the difficulties derived from an inadequate infrastructure for the greater participation of women in salaried work. To discuss, through correspondence and a dynamic exchange of information between the readers and us, the most conflictive situations in the family. To inform, and receive information, about and from women's liberation movements around the world. To analyse current political and cultural issues that affect us, in one way or another. (*Vindicación Feminista*, No. 1, 1976; my translation)

In *Vindicación Feminista. Una voz colectiva, una historia propia. Antología facsímil de textos (1976-1979)* (2009), María Ángeles Larumbe studies the journal and compiles, on paper, the most important articles; she also brings together the complete collection on DVD. Inspired by foreign magazines, such as *Ms*, from the United States, or *Spare Rib*, from the United Kingdom, *Vindicación Feminista* appeared with a suggestive title taken from the feminist classic *Vindication of the rights of women*, by Mary Wollstonecraft; the "V", sign of victory and first letter of the title, marked the design of the cover, conceived by Toni Miserachs.

Conceived mainly by Lidia Falcón and Carmen Alcalde, the project was established as a public limited company under the name of Ediciones de Feminismo S.A., from which the brief series Feminismo (1977-1979) also emerged, a topic about which we will talk later. Financed with personal loans, it was conceived as a modern journal, with an attractive, autonomous, and plural presentation, at the service of the entire Spanish feminist movement, with the aim of arousing interest both for the seriousness of the contents and for the

simplicity of the presentation. With a sober edition and critical vision, the magazine had more than fifty feminist editors and collaborators from all over Spain.

According to Larumbe (2009, p. 41), of the thematic distribution of the thirty issues of the magazine (international, national, campaigns, legislation, labour, feminism, culture, and others), culture and feminism were the preferred themes, which make up 50% of the total. Outstanding in the section "Women of the world", in which interviews and opinions of leading international feminists are collected, are, for example, an interview with the leader of the American movement of the sixties Black Panthers Angela Davis or another with the French feminist philosopher Luce Irigaray. The "Culture" section always included book and translation reviews (such as "Doris Lessing: la locura anestesiada" ("Doris Lessing: anesthetized madness"), by Maite Goicoechea; "Virginia Woolf y el grupo de Bloomsbury" ("Virginia Woolf and the Bloomsbury group"), by Marta Pessarrodona, or "Kate Millet. El vuelo de las aves en los ojos de las damas" ("Kate Millet. The flight of the birds in the eyes of the ladies"), by Ana Becciu), as well as announcements of new publications of feminist literature. This section is an exemplification of the relevant role "in the cultural translation of feminist ideas" (Bürgi and Schulz, 2021, p. 108) that the magazine performed during the brief period of its publication. Not only did it publicize "texts from and by women to a broader audience" (Bürgi and Schulz, 2021, p. 93), but it also promoted international feminist ideologies of the same radical political thought as the Spanish editors of the magazine. Both editors and international authors chosen mostly shared, as Mona Baker would point out, a main "narrative", a particular ideological current that was "set up outside the mainstream institutions of the society" and that "explicitly challenge[d] the dominant narratives of the time" (2006, p. 462). In general, the authors and works that appeared in *Vindicación Feminista* were to subvert the Nationalist-Catholic-patriarchal post-Francoist cultural and literary dynamics with the aim of building a "feminist solidarity space" for dialogue and debate after Franco's dictatorship.

Altogether, the magazine published around 20,000 monthly copies. Like all publications and media, it suffered post-Franco censorship with the 1966 Press and Printing Law still in force (Jareño, 2019). A seizure order fell on the journal's Issue 15, although it did not materialize because the journal had already been distributed when the police arrived at the distributor's premises. In that issue, abortion was defended and the Women's Protection Board, a Francoist institution operated by the Church that dealt with prostitutes, denounced the publication. For this reason, Carmen Alcalde and Lidia Falcón faced three judicial proceedings (Falcón, 2012).

Without external funding, and without support from left-wing parties, unions, and other feminist currents, in addition to problems with censorship, *Vindicación Feminista* had to cease publication in mid-1979. The editorial in Issue 28, dated July 1979, explained the decline: "It may be that, in a few years, the world of women needs a magazine like VINDICATION and then it will resurface with more motive. After this issue, the country and women may have achieved a greater awareness of the essential revolutionary feminist information" (Falcón, 1979, p. 3).

Though short-lived, another relevant project of *Vindicación Feminista* was the series Feminismo (Feminism) (1977-1979). It only produced two originals and one translation: *En el infierno. Ser mujer en las cárceles de España* (*In hell. To be a woman in Spanish prisons*) (1977), by Lidia Falcón; the translation of *SCUM. Manifiesto de la Organización para el Exterminio del Hombre* (*Manifesto SCUM. Society for Cutting Up Men*) (1967), by Valerie Solanas, and *Tesis del Partido Feminista* (*Thesis of the Spanish Feminist Party*) (1979), a

collective publication of the Spanish Feminist Party, legalized on 22 March 1981 and, from 2015, in coalition with Izquierda Unida (United Left Party) till 22 February 2020.

The mythical misandrist and Freudian essay *Manifesto SCUM* (1967), by the North American artist and writer Valerie Solanas, was the sole translation published by Feminismo. A popular book amongst international feminists, *SCUM* presents an apocalyptic political program in which the author metaphorically argues that for women to have a better existence, men should be annihilated. Ten years after its original publication, this text reached the Spanish public in 1977. It was accompanied by various paratexts: a preface by Carmen Alcalde, a prologue by the translator Ana Becciu, and Vivian Gornick's original introduction. According to Becciu (1977, p. 10), this seventy-page manifesto, "furious, sarcastic and stark", "emphasized with verbal aggressiveness and deliberate vulgarity", aims to "shock the reader, producing a harmful impact". Like the magazine *Vindicación Feminista*, the translation of *Manifesto SCUM* is presented as a collaborative project that "seeks to challenge forms of oppression" through effective, fertile and imaginative "practices of solidarity" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 5). In 2002, the Madrid press Kira Edit re-edited SCUM in the same translation by Becciu. Six years later, in 2008, the Barcelona feminist disseminator Herstory commissioned Inma Martin to retranslate the text into Spanish. This edition included commentaries by various national and international activists (Laura Macaya, María-Milagros Rivera Garretas, Luisa Muraro, Mafalda y Atena, and Diego Luis San Román). As we can see, all the Spanish versions of Manifesto SCUM are cooperative acts of feminist creativity that shape "political contestation" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 7) against the androcentric Spanish society of different times.

4. Madrid: Tribuna Feminista (1977–1982)

In Madrid, the series Tribuna Feminista (Feminist Tribune) (1977-1982) was launched by the progressist publishing house Debate, founded in 1977 by the psychologist and lawyer Ángel de Lucía and the editor Francisco Pabón. In 1994 Debate joined Grupo Bertelsmann, and, in 2001, Random House Mondadori. Specializing in foreign feminist literature, Tribuna Feminista was codirected by Fini Rubio and Jimena Alonso, two prominent activists of the Frente de Liberación de la Mujer de Madrid (FLM) (Women's Liberation Front of Madrid).

Founded in Madrid on 25 January 1976, one month after the celebration of the Primeras Jornadas por la Liberación de la Mujer (First Conference for the Liberation of Women), the first national feminist meeting held in Spain after Franco's death, the FLM defined itself as an autonomous feminist organization, independent of the State political parties, which tried to reconcile feminist militancy with the struggle for socialism (Amorós, 2009). The two hundred women militants accepted the so-called double militancy. Grouped into work commissions, they had affiliates who paid dues and participated in specific presentations and projects. They only operated in Madrid, although they had contacts in the Basque Country and in Catalonia. Founding members included Jimena Alonso, Celia Amorós, Elena Arnedo, Carlota Bustelo, Gloria Nielfa and Fini Rubio.

In *Mujeres en lucha, el movimiento feminista en España* (*Women fighters, the feminist movement in Spain*), Amparo Moreno (1977, pp. 167-169) reproduces the founding Manifesto of the FLM. In this document the ideological pillars of the movement are made explicit: "we affirm that the

feminist struggle is directed against capitalism and a class society and aspires to the achievement of a truly socialist society", which must meet, among others, the following objectives: "the disappearance of all structures of domination: economic, legal and ideological; the suppression of the traditional family and its economic and ideological relationships; the elimination of the sexist division of labour; the disappearance of the institution of matrimony and the free choice of relationship between sexes based on equality; the achievement of a conscious and voluntary maternity; the incorporation of all women in productive, political and creative social tasks; and the socialization of domestic work, of the education of children and the control of its execution by the whole of society" (1977, pp. 168-169). The Manifesto also joined the demand for democratic freedoms in Spain asking, for example, for a general amnesty and the repeal of the anti-terrorism decree-law and of the death penalty.

Linked to the FLM, the publishing house Debate initiated the militant and supportive project Tribuna Feminista, codirected by Fini Rubio and Jimena Alonso. Though short-lived (1977-1982), it imported works by feminist authors, classic and contemporary, such as Isadora Duncan, Ann Foreman, Evelyn Le Garrec, Alexandra Kolontay, Rosaria Manieri, Anaïs Nin, Ann Oakley, Annie Pisan and Anne Tristan, Sheila Rowbotham, and Mary Wollstonecraft. Most of the works were unpublished in Spanish and were published in this collection for the first time in Spain after the dictatorship. Of diverse geographical origin, classic and contemporary, the authors share subversive feminist discourses not related to the Francoist literary canon. Of the fourteen titles in the series, ten were subject to post-Franco censorship.

The British socialist feminist Sheila Rowbotham was the most translated author of the series with three essays: *Mundo de hombre, conciencia de mujer* (1977) (*Woman's Consciousness, Man's World*, 1973), translated by Ana Magraner, *Feminismo y revolución* (1978) (*Women, Resistance and Revolution*, 1972), translated by Rosa Aguilar and *La mujer ignorada por la historia* (1980) (*Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It*, 1974), translated by Verónica Fernández-Muro, were numbers four, eight and fourteen, respectively, in the series. Unfortunately, *La mujer ignorada por la historia* was the last title in this pioneering series. Having published regularly for five years (1977-1982), Tribuna Feminista, like other international feminist series and publishing houses, disappeared when the political commitment and profitability took conflicting directions. Tribuna Feminista, a series created by FML leaders, is another paradigmatic example of "solidary cultural translation" that tries to bring together "the 'insiders' of the [women's liberation] movement and a large –not exclusive feminist– public" (Bürgi and Schulz, 2021, p. 95).

To finish this section, we present some examples of post-Francoist censorship imposed on two texts by Sheila Rowbotham published in Tribuna Feminista (Godayol, 2022a): *Mundo de hombre, conciencia de mujer* (1977) and *Feminismo y revolución* (1978) –no file was opened on the third one. Debate applied to the MIT to publish *Mundo de hombre, conciencia de mujer* on 2 September 1977 and received approval four days later. It was the first work by Rowbotham to reach Spain. In the report, the censor presents the text "as a feminist plea", whose main purpose is "to attack the capitalist society of which women are, according to the author, one of the most oppressed sectors" (AGA 73-6267, file 10021). He adds that Rowbotham calls on women to rebel "against their state of oppression by constituting an effective movement to achieve their liberation" (AGA 73-6267, file 10021). Finally, the resolution was favourable, but not without including a pejorative comment: "A work in which all the well-known clichés on these subjects are repeated and which lacks objectivity in its approaches and conclusions, which sometimes makes them unclear and even contradictory" (AGA 73-6267, file 10021).

Seven months later, on 17 April 1978, Debate sent a second request to translate the same author's *Feminismo y revolución* (1978), which received a positive reply after four days. The censor presents the text as a "work that approaches the revolutionary movement from a feminist perspective" and specifies that the author "makes a historical tour of the different feminisms", from the thirteenth century, "in which the incipient feminism could only be supported by witchcraft and heresies", to the nineteenth century, "with the utopian socialisms" (AGA 73-6565, file 4283). He especially notes "the author's communist ideology" and the fact that she criticizes Marx and Engels for not knowing how to "liberate women" (AGA 73-6565, file 4283).

5. Barcelona: LaSal, Edicions de les Dones (1978-1990)

On 6 July 1977, the feminist bookshop-café LaSal opened in the Raval district of Barcelona. Co-owned and managed by five activists who bought the premises with individual bank loans, this was a bar where a variety of activities were organized, such as exhibitions, seminars, and book presentations. It was also an information centre where women could receive advice on legal, work, and health matters. A year after the opening, the publishing house LaSal, Edicions de les Dones was established in the opposite premises. The founders (Mari Chordà, Mariló Fernández, Isabel Martínez, and Isabel Monteagudo) had been involved, as were many others, in the previous project. Although they began by contacting other publishing houses, which only offered them sections for feminism, theirs was a more ambitious vision of a cultural project, along the lines of the first North American feminist presses, so they decided to set up their own company, LaSal, Edicions de les Dones (see Llinàs, 1998; Plaza, 1998; Almerini, 2014; Bofill, 2014; Godayol, 2017).

LaSal had two principal objectives: to bring to the fore the ideas, discourses, and tendencies of the feminist culture of the time, both national and international, and to retrieve symbolical mothers of all times. Over a period of thirteen years, more than sixty titles appeared (forty originals and twenty translations), and more than 180,000 copies were distributed, not including the 135,000 women's agendas. The press published, regularly, in Spanish and Catalan. Six collections were established: LaSal Narrativa (LaSal Narrative) (1978-1989), LaSal Poesia (LaSal Poetry) (1978-1981), LaSal Ensayo (LaSal Essay) (1979-1989), Cuadernos Inacabados (Unfinished Notebooks) (1981-1988), Manuales de Salud (Health Manuals) (1981-1989) and Clàssiques Catalanes (Classic Catalan Writers) (1983-1989).[2]

Three of the most important series were LaSal Narrativa, LaSal Ensayo and Cuadernos Inacabados. On the one hand, LaSal Narrativa produced sixteen works: ten originals by contemporary women writers and six translations of classical and contemporary Anglo-American and European writers (Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Alexandra Kollontai, Christiane Rochefort, Verena Stefan, and Rose Tremain). Two works by the North American writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman were of particular interest: *El paper de paret groc* (1982) (*The Yellow Wallpaper*, 1892), which reached Spain for the first time in the Catalan version of the poet Montserrat Abelló, and *El país de ellas: una utopía feminista* (1987) (*Herland*, 1915), in the version of the writer Helena Valentí.

In 1979, LaSal began a series publishing exclusively feminist essays. LaSal Ensayo, which ultimately consisted of nine titles (four originals and five

[2] See a panoramic study of the publishing house including its complete catalogue in Godayol (2017).

translations), dealt with various significant issues, such as sexuality, prostitution, pornography, pacifism, sexism in school textbooks, group therapies, the fight for women's voting rights in Spain, or the presence of women in the French Revolution. Amongst other writers, the series includes the journalist and pioneer of the German feminist movement Alice Schwarzer, the North American sociologist Kathleen Barry, and the French sociologist André Michel.

In 1981, a new collection was launched: Cuadernos Inacabados. It was the crowning activity of the publishing house and was directed by the feminist activist Mireia Bofill. When LaSal closed in the nineties, its catalogue was incorporated into the newly created Madrid feminist press horas y Horas under the same direction. Cuadernos Inacabados published eight volumes on various subjects. Five of these were by national authors (Eli Bartra, María Jesús Izquierdo, Amparo Moreno, Victoria Sau, and Carmen Sáez Buenaventura) and three by outstanding international feminists of the time: the North American activists Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, the French sociologist Christine Delphy and the French psychoanalyst Luce Irigaray.

On March 10, 1990, the journalist Rosa María Piñol announced in the newspaper *El País* the winding up of the publishing house LaSal: "Twelve years ago the publishing house LaSal was founded in Barcelona to publish books by and for women. The closure of the company will create a vacuum in the field of feminist publications". She emphasized that the publishers had decided to give up their activity because of the acute fatigue of the team, who had worked for years "with great doses of willpower and enthusiasm" (Piñol, 1990a, p. 36).

LaSal's last assignment was of transnational importance: the coordination of the IV International Feminist Book Fair held at the Drassanes exhibition hall in Barcelona on June 19 to 23, 1990 (Piñol, 1990b; Aubet, 1991). Previous editions had taken place in London in 1984, in Oslo in 1986, and in Montreal in 1988. Two years before, at the request of the direction of LaSal, the Town Council of Barcelona had officially presented the city's candidature to host the Fair. Although a decision had been made to cease publishing, those responsible for LaSal, especially Mireia Bofill, took part in organizing the event along with activists from other institutions (Spanish Women's Institute, Catalan Women's Institute, etc.). At the inauguration, Bofill spoke on behalf of the organizing committee. She emphasized that the Fair was the culmination of the struggle sustained by women in Barcelona and Spain for many years. She also referred to feminist publishing: "Over the last twenty years, the feminist movement has fought to give a voice to the social force that we, women, represent, by publishing and circulating books by and on women, amongst other activities". She ended by expressing gratitude to "everyone, men and women, readers, writers, publishers, booksellers, distributors, translators, illustrators, literary agents, journalists, institutions, women's groups and, finally, to all women" (Bofill in Aubet, 1991, pp. 363-364).

In 2014 the editor and translator of LaSal, Edicions de les Dones Mireia Bofill defined the internal situation of dynamic collaboration in the publishing house as a "space for working in relation" (2014, p. 30): from the selection of books to their material realization and distribution, the prologues and introductions, the translations, the corrections, the relationships with the authors, the presentations in bookshops, etc. Cosmopolitan and subversive, LaSal published regularly for twelve years thanks to the personal and professional dedication of a group of Barcelona feminist intellectuals and activists from the women's liberation movement, moved by hope and enthusiasm to regain lost time.

Like the other two projects studied in this article, LaSal paradigmatically illustrates what is "solidarity as a practice" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 5) and what

is a process of "cultural translation of feminist ideas" (Bürgi and Schulz, 2021, p. 108), driven by the principles of constructing relations and building bridges between geographies, texts, authors, activists, publishers, and translators, with the aim to restore Spanish feminism to normality. Definitely it was a locally rooted social actor "that was at the same time oriented towards a transnationally connected women's movement and network" (Bürgi and Schulz, 2021, p. 93).

6. Conclusions: Practices of "solidarity" through "cultural translation"

The feminist publishing house LaSal, the journal *Vindicación Feminista* and the series Tribuna Feminista, the three projects studied here, were powerful "agents of cultural translation" during post-Francoism (Bürgi and Schulz, 2021, p. 102, 108): on the one hand, they played an essential role in providing feminist concepts, ideas, and publications, from all over the world; on the other, they created empowering and gathering "solidarity spaces" that made more available feminist opinions and points of view to a general public, especially bringing together women from various backgrounds. They all tried to transcend the individual or specialized projects of the women's liberation movement. Through political publishing practices of "solidarities" that created a relevant counterculture, they fought against Franco's Nationalist-Catholic-patriarchal cultural policies to recover women's social, political, and physiological rights of the Second Republic (1931-1939), before the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Following Featherstone's model (2012, p. 5-6), they challenged the Francoist unequal, hierarchical, sexist, and asymmetric literary canon, dominant discourse, and publishing structures, as follows.

First, after Franco's death, during the early "emergence" of Spanish feminism of the 1970s, these publishing projects comprehended solidarity as a "transformative relation", "from below", that helped to construct "relations between places, activists, diverse social groups" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 5). Mostly created with personal capital and cooperative editorial policies, with non-hierarchical systems, interconnected with different Spanish women's movements, they infiltrated into the post-Francoist androcentric cultural mainstream of publishing. Together, classic and contemporary authors, editors, translators, readers, critics, and booksellers, all built an intertextual, subaltern, complex and interrelated female "solidarity zone", with all the ambivalences and diversity. It was an attempt to weave a lineage of symbolic mothers, sisters, and cousins, from all publishing sectors, that would provide authority and influence to combat the fact that, during Francoism, all the reading, original or translated, available for inspiration and stimulation of ideas was written by men and on a patriarchal basis.

Second, following the second-wave feminist publishing ideals, all three projects produced "new ways of configurating political relations and spaces" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 6). They understood that feminist publishing was, and still is, crucial for feminism for two central reasons: "its dissemination of literature by and about women acts as a means to their gaining empowerment" and "the act of publishing *itself* is a moment of feminist praxis—an enactment of feminist politics through an incursion into 'male' areas of economic and cultural authority" (Riley & Pearce, 2018, pp. 12-13). Although the three projects studied here closed their doors —like other national and international feminist publishing platforms that disappeared or were absorbed in the 1990s by the major labels— when the political commitment and the generation of profits took incompatible directions, they had a profound impact on what was written, translated, and read in the 1970s and 1980s in Spain. They all

interrogated the Francoist canon and fuelled the counterculture of the democratic Transition years, marked by the awakening of social and university women's movements after the wasteland of the dictatorship. All these editorial projects shared a major objective: to normalize Spanish feminism by introducing and making visible new feminist movements, works and authors with the aim of building a theoretical space for discussion and reflection that would provide answers to so many silenced questions. And, as we have seen, "cultural translation" played a decisive role in this feminist operation of historical recovery.

Finally, these three practices of "solidary cultural translation" were "part of the process of politicization" (Featherstone, 2012, p. 7) of women's liberation movement after Franco's authoritarian regime. Despite their differences and contradictions, they all shared the perception that the act of publishing was "an inherently political act" and that women had to "intervene in the processes of literary production to ensure that women's voices were made audible" (Murray, 2004, p. 2). Almost half a century after their foundation, we wish to pay them tribute and we thank them for having attempted not only to help to put an end to the fascist model of femininity and impel the struggle for emancipation (inside and outside the parties), but also to forge a new transnational, interdisciplinary, intergenerational, and non-hierarchical political sentiment, sorority –that solidarity bond that unites women from here and there, from past and present, in the feminist struggle.

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