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## Tracing the Past: An Introduction

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## Tracing the Past: An Introduction

IN THE YEAR 2000 SPAIN COMMEMORATED THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY of the death of Francisco Franco. Remembering the end of the Francoist regime marked an occasion to reflect on the silence that followed his death—a silence that reflected the tacit pact among politicians from the Right and Left to forget the past in order to save the future.<sup>1</sup> As Paloma Aguilar has observed, Spain, unlike other countries that have experienced profound political transformations and have dealt with institutions and individuals linked to the previous regime, witnessed no purge of civilian or military institutions inherited from the dictatorship.<sup>2</sup> Aguilar notes that the Spanish case became “the paradigm of a peaceful transition from an authoritarian to a democratic regime” and that other countries tried to emulate the “Spanish model.”<sup>3</sup> In spite of this model of nonviolent political change, some critics started to question the consequences of the country’s politics of consensus, especially in regard to its treatment of the past. They viewed the lack of memory as an “active erasure of the social memory that has been hegemonic up to 1975”<sup>4</sup> and a “deliberate turning-off of the collective memory” motivated by fear of repeating the country’s troublesome past.<sup>5</sup> Once critics recognized society’s disavowal of the past, they began to question the narrative constructed around Spain’s democratization and to focus on the recovery of what for more than thirty years had been repressed or subdued in the country’s ideologically polarized cultural landscape.<sup>6</sup>

The retrieval of this past left the remains of the authoritarian regime and the ideology it embraced during Franco’s dictatorship from 1939 to 1975 largely unexplored. Motivated by an ethical imperative to redeem and preserve the memories and experiences of those persecuted under Francoism, scholars of the period neglected to inquire into what happened to the hegemonic ideology that had shaped the nation’s culture for almost four decades. In other words, beyond what had been suppressed, erased or ignored, the question of what Spaniards integrated and normalized during the dictatorship had been overlooked. As Teresa Vilarós suggests in her study of post-Franco Spain, the past cannot be so easily undone, especially taking

into account the patriarchal and repressive structure to which the Spanish collective was addicted before and during the country's transition from dictatorship to democracy.<sup>7</sup> The problem with omitting the less palatable aspects of the past is the implication that its ideological practices have ceased to exist and are no longer relevant in the democratic Spain of the present.<sup>8</sup>

*Traces of Contamination* explores the remnants of Francoist and Falangist ideology in contemporary Spain. The essays in this volume examine current fictional and intellectual discourses that relate the past to the present; they locate these ideological traces—be they veiled or visible, conscious or unconscious—in the concrete experiences and expressions of the dictatorship. The purpose of this collection is not to disclose instances of extreme ideologies still in practice, but to scrutinize the ways in which their legacy continues to complicate already thorny relations with the present. Our contributors demonstrate how the past still endures in the Spanish psyche in a variety of texts: memoirs, historical novels, testimonial literature, democratically reformed political proselytism, journalism, popular culture, and fiction. As these texts are in some cases concerned with fascist alliances and authoritarian rule, the essays in this volume analyze how authors negotiate their burdensome past—a past struggling to find its place in the present, stigmatized by the world and still divisive for Spaniards.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the morally justified recovered memories of those who lost the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), the texts under discussion present a highly conscious approach to memory by either diverting or revealing unexpected aspects of their authors' experiences. These texts, when read against the apparently seamless narrative that tells the successful story of the Spanish transition to democracy, and that in turn projects an inflexible frame of interpretation, offer another perspective into the experience of the political transformation and the country's unavoidable ties to the past.

The period that followed the death of Francisco Franco in 1975, known as the "Transición" [Transition], was defined by Spain's political and cultural transformation from an authoritarian regime to a democracy. All political parties were legalized, including the PCE (the Spanish Communist Party); the 1978 Constitution recognized the *Comunidades Autónomas* [autonomous communities] while laying out a new concept for *nacionalidades* [nationalities]; and Spanish workers were granted the right to unionize and strike.<sup>10</sup> The complexity of these phenomena, however, was later reflected in criticisms of their actual accomplishments.<sup>11</sup> The political reforms failed to address the divide between Spaniards and their expectations after the death of the Caudillo. This period was supposed to be the beginning

of a new era of freedom and equality for the country—a departure from the antiquated Francoist cultural and political machinations to which it had been subjected since the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939. At the same time, there was hope that the victors and losers of this historical conflict would resolve their differences, putting to rest divisive ideologies while collectively embracing democracy. However, the compromise reached after the death of the dictator by those who wished for a *reforma* [reform] within the old regime and those who demanded a clean *ruptura* [break] with it, proved incapable of fully resolving these issues.

According to Juan Luis Cebrián, the problem with this settlement was that the *Transición* meant leaving intact the fundamental structure of Francoist power through democratic legitimization, and abandoning the objective of transforming the country. Noted historians Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi view the criticism of this period as a result of unrealistic expectations that arose from Spaniards' inexperience with democratic practices,<sup>12</sup> although the scholars do recognize the continued hierarchical distribution of power in the democratic government of Spain. For Cebrián, the former director of *El País*, the biggest problem of the political transition was that “no se estaba procediendo a una reconciliación fundamental entre españoles, mediante el cambio cualitativo del tejido social, sino a una aminoración de tensiones que permitiera la acomodación del viejo poder a las nuevas instancias y modas de la política” [there was no process toward a fundamental reconciliation between Spaniards, achievable through a qualitative change of the social fabric, only a reduction in tension that could allow the accommodation of the old power within a new political context and fashion].<sup>13</sup> The process of political transformation became one of continuation, in which the goal was to disguise the past and to adapt it to the present.<sup>14</sup>

The persistence of earlier practices (despite intentions to break with the past only within the *ruptura pactada* [compromised break]) begs the question: What cultural and social practices remain after nearly four decades of a culturally and socially manipulative authoritarian regime? Detecting the remains of the regime and pointing out its concrete traces—those that still exist or that have taken a very long time to disappear—are indispensable tasks. Fernando Jáuregui and Manuel Ángel Menéndez, in their aptly entitled study *Lo que nos queda de Franco* (1995) [What is Left of Franco], remind us that only in 1995 were coins with Franco's effigy finally taken out of circulation and the Instituto Nacional de Industria [National Institute of Industry] (INI), one of the last formal institutions of Francoism, closed down.<sup>15</sup> They

contrast these disappearances to the permanence of Franco's statues in parks and small cities, and the numerous members of his government still working in Spanish politics and society. They depict a current landscape of Spain that retains many aspects of the past, suggesting that these concrete vestiges imply the existence of a Francoist substratum in the consciousness of Spaniards.<sup>16</sup> The authors themselves question the significance of the Radio Nacional de España's [Spanish National Radio] 1995 use of words like "victory" or "liberation" to commemorate 18 July 1936.<sup>17</sup> Is it intentional or simply carelessness? Is it an unconscious reflex that comes from more than three decades of routine?

Despite their skeptical regard for negative accounts of the political process of the *Transición*, Carr and Fusi agree that Spaniards' attitudes toward politics have clearly been influenced by more than three decades of an authoritarian rule.<sup>18</sup> The cultural primitivism that was enforced during the dictatorship (e.g., Tridentine Catholicism, Manichaeism, miracles and mysteries) to bolster the government's power and cultural control promoted conformity in generations of Spaniards.<sup>19</sup> Apathy, passivity, and the belief that politics is reserved for a minority group left in charge constitute much of the legacy of the Francoist regime. In fact, this "excesiva confianza de los españoles en un 'papá Estado'" [excessive trust in a "father State" on the part of Spaniards] described by Jáuregui and Menéndez carried over into the negotiated transition, consolidating institutional frameworks that had been established under the regime.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, this attitude fostered a political practice that avoids open discussion and lacks transparency, which can "impose serious limits on accountability."<sup>21</sup> And finally, in the current political context Spaniards' proclivity to accept political measures without contestation has produced what Cebrián calls a "fundamentalismo democrático" [democratic fundamentalism], which has converted democracy (and consensus) into the ideology practiced until recently by the governing conservative party Partido Popular.<sup>22</sup>

Even if it is possible to speak of a legacy of Francoism, its social and psychological substrata are harder to pin down. As the essays in this volume reveal, however, they are still present in post-Franco Spain the same way the concrete social and political vestiges mentioned by Jáuregui and Menéndez remain. Noël Valis, following Vilarós's reading of the period following the end of the dictatorship, identifies the death of Franco with a "loss of oppositionality."<sup>23</sup> The deep fissure in the social imagination is for this critic fundamental to understanding post-Franco society. While the cultural underground movement, or *la movida*, that followed the end of the dictatorship attracted the post-

modern label, Valis proposes an alternative understanding for this movement, one that focuses on the “relentless insistence on the present as a refusal and inability to come to terms with the past” and which points to the process of rupture itself. For Valis, the hedonism, anarchy, aestheticism, and consumerism that marked the cultural revolt of the *movida* ultimately speak to the failure of resolving the past in the present.<sup>24</sup>

What Valis describes is the revelation of a complicated relation between the present and the unavoidable past, and the breakdown of a utopian vision of the future.<sup>25</sup> Taking into account this experience, she suggests viewing post-Franco Spain “as a displaced, ruptured narrative of identity diffusely structured through complexly ambivalent feelings,” where invisible meta-narratives act simultaneously as forms of denial and acknowledgment.<sup>26</sup> The essays in this volume suggest that this sometimes repressed displacement becomes more noticeable in memories and experiences associated with Francoism, for their traditional domains under democracy have been transformed into non-places. While undoubtedly remaining in the social and political structures left behind by the dictatorship, experiences of the dictatorship have been historically or culturally alienated. Addressing the effects of this displacement, Valis warns about the difficulty of identifying the “dis-ease and rupture” of post-Franco Spain.<sup>27</sup> The inability to recognize the Francoist legacy might well account for this hardship, especially when accompanied (consciously or unconsciously) by a repression of the fear that the experience might recur. The break with the past, while masked by temporal and cultural strategies such as the *movida*, is exposed as a complex task which keeps insisting on its own unfinished nature, and its simultaneous (dis)continuity within the social collective of all Spaniards.

The purpose behind this volume is two-fold: first, to reveal the artificiality of the break with the past, that is, Franco’s death, as a paradigmatic moment of change, a historical narrative of the end of Francoism; second, to understand the prior alliance of the authoritarian regime with fascist ideology and Falangism, and the latter’s connections to the present. The essays here explore the enduring connections between past experience and contemporary Spanish society, while raising some questions about the challenges that Spaniards face when confronted with this historical legacy.<sup>28</sup> The essays move beyond traditional approaches to the topic of fascism in Spain and to the literary and cultural study of post-Franco Spain. Such approaches tend to isolate fascism as a historical phenomenon and its ideology as represented in particular texts, or a dialectic between victors and losers. Collectively, the work of our contributors re-

veals the various moments after the death of Franco when both right- and left-wing ideologues made discernible efforts to break with the country's fascist past. As each analysis demonstrates, an unambiguous intellectual divide between present and past and a rewriting of historical, cultural, and generational antecedent can only exist in the imagination.

According to the Real Academia Española, the term "contamination" refers not only to the polluting effects on a particular environment (when it becomes contagious, infectious, corrupted, or perverted) but also to the result of mixing discordant models. In the context of this volume, the term alludes to those integral elements of post-Franco Spanish narrative, in dissonance with one another, while appearing on the surface to be in accord. As noted earlier, the purpose of the book and its use of the term "contamination" is not to identify malignant and perverse manifestations of Falangist or Francoist ideology in contemporary culture, but rather, following David Carroll's study of French literary fascism, to explore the internal connection between the consecutive periods of extreme ideologies and programmatic democracy and how one survives into the other in varying degrees.<sup>29</sup> The purpose of revealing this dissonance is to reinforce our awareness of the complexity involved when making a historical or ideological assessment of the past from the present, while taking into account the ways in which one still affects the other. If there is a cautionary corollary to the approach offered here, it is that we should keep a critical eye on the democratic rhetoric of complacency.

The articles in this volume share as a premise the perseverance of Spain's right-wing past. In this sense they add to recent scholarship on contemporary Spanish culture that exposes the impossibility of suppressing the social memory of the dictatorship. At the same time, the collection departs from previous studies framed from the standpoint of the ideological Left and focuses on the Right's repressed experiences and memories in order to demonstrate the link between Francoism and the *Transición*—a link that continues to be relevant today. Some of the volume's essays analyze cultural artifacts that lend themselves as an ideal vehicle for the preservation or dissemination of the Francoist legacy; they detect certain attitudes that societies inherit from their past, causing them to fall back on old and condemned practices that become current through an updated rhetoric and a renewed target for attacks.<sup>30</sup> Several of our contributors shift their focus to the "ghostly traces" of this right-wing ideology.<sup>31</sup> In these studies, it becomes obvious that temporal distance transforms ideological militancy, relegating it to an inaccessible non-place while leaving behind only traces of its past tangibility. Because these resid-

ual functions are internalized and rewritten into reality, identifying them results in an examination of what already exists below the surface in various, context-dependent articulations. The latent nature of these specters recalls the previously mentioned (dis)continuities in the social collective of post-Franco Spain. Ironically, as Tacussel has observed, "only the transmission of the intransmissible seems [to] be an operation worthy of solidarity."<sup>32</sup> It is the prohibited nature of these traces that gives them their ghostly quality, so that they function undetected, unnoticed, and banned from normal communication by their own historical destiny.

From this perspective, the essays that constitute this volume become pieces of a puzzle in which the reader can follow the traces of Francoism in their concrete or ghostly instances into the present. These traces are found in the ideological residue of the past regime, specifically in the legacy of their cultural objects and rhetorical practices that have distanced themselves from past affiliations. This distance in part accounts for their currency in contemporary Spain. Yet the difficulty in approaching them either by expunging or exposing their historical past calls into question Spain's purported success in overcoming the experience of its recent dictatorship. This unrelenting past is also found in the trauma of those who experienced it, which is in turn passed on to generations that cannot precisely point to reasons for their affliction. The persistence of an ill-fated past creates a challenging problem for the authors of our essays, who attempt to articulate the reasons behind the complexity of the study of this legacy.

The essays in this collection do not represent an exhaustive or unique analytical perspective; they are instances of different approaches to the various traces located by our collaborators. Together, the essays analyze the manifestations of the Francoist and Falangist past that influence the present. Structured around three working themes that touch the many aspects of their experiences, from public to private, our collaborators examine the ways this past is still relevant in the field of contemporary Spanish literature, culture and politics. First, to identify the ideological residue of this past, there is a study of how this past is being recovered and recreated through nostalgic memory or anecdotal recreation, which in turn, fictionalizes history. Second, considering the legacy of the dictatorship as a distressing conditioner of the present, there is a focus on how the past haunts and produces victims, whose world view is mediated by his or her historical experience. Finally, there is an analysis of the traces of a past ideology that resists obliteration and resurfaces unexpectedly in discourses reenacting past rhetorical and social practices. The collection ends with a postscript that explores how literary legacies are

necessarily bound by historical specificities, which in turn, determine their interpretation and preservation.

We start the volume with an essay that exposes the tension that exists between the Francoist past and the present democracy. Patrick Paul Garlinger analyzes the uses of the cultural icon of the Transition, Bibi Andersen, to illustrate the conflict between *ruptura* and *reforma* that took place during the country's democratization. He parallels this political debate with the public discussion surrounding Bibi's life as a transvestite and subsequently as a transsexual. Analyzing transvestism from the perspective of artifice and masquerade, his essay questions the political changes in post-Franco Spain in the context of the *movida* and its newfound freedom and apparent embrace of social, cultural, and sexual pluralities as they materialized in the collective obsession with Bibi. However, as Garlinger reflects, the misconceptions surrounding her sexual identity parallel the common misunderstandings of the political process that took place after the end of the dictatorship.

Having established the problematic nature of the political transition after the death of Franco, the first group of essays addresses the ambiguity of the regime's ideological residue—a passive yet active influence of the past—in several works. The activation of the ideological content of these texts would depend on their readership. Ricardo Krauel studies how Giménez Caballero's open affiliation with the fascist movement is reaffirmed in his autobiographical text published in 1979. The title of this book, *Memorias de un dictador*, suggests the memories are those of the Caudillo, but the reader quickly discovers the play on words. Krauel contends that by having been dispatched to distant diplomatic missions by Franco, Giménez Caballero is enabled, on the dictator's behalf, to redefine the controversial relationship between himself and the regime. Giménez Caballero's physical distance from Spain in the 1950s and 1960s allowed him in 1979 to act as a chronicler of the fascist movement in Spain. Using the memoir as a literary vehicle, Giménez Caballero recovers the history of the Falangist movement while re-examining its relation to the dictatorship; the end result is a revisionist picture of Spain. The process through which this project is carried out, however, becomes questionable since one must weigh between the literary quality of the memoir and the ideological purpose behind it. As Krauel himself concludes, the ambivalence of the text itself makes it difficult to discern its intended purposes. Left to the interpretation of the reader, the text allows for multiple readings that depend on the reader's approach to the texts as either literature or historical document.

In a similar vein, Dionisio Viscarri's essay tells us that the rewriting of the Falange's history is characteristic of a particular type of contemporary narrative. Analyzing the works of Falangist Fernando Vadillo, Viscarri demonstrates that, ironically, the loss of political currency reinvigorated Falangist aesthetic militancy in democratic Spain. He also shows how past and current ideologues of the Falange, taking advantage of the freedom of expression under the democratic government, have been publishing a significant number of memoirs, chronicles, and fictional works. Ranging from the testimonial to the nostalgic, these texts serve to revive the Falangist past by conferring popularity to its rhetoric, which, according to Viscarri, has trickled into the literary mainstream. The line between historical revision and ideological recruitment is blurred in these texts because, on the one hand, they recover the forgotten history of the Falangists who fought in World War II; but on the other, they rewrite this history in an attempt to cast it in a more favorable light, possibly winning popularity and sympathizers for their cause.

The rewriting of the fascist past is also the focus of Ana Gómez-Pérez's analysis of well-known Spanish author and intellectual, Gonzalo Torrente Ballester. Following the official demise of Franco's regime, this writer felt profoundly guilty about his political affiliations which, coupled with his subsequent social rejection, worked to create a personal literary theory that distanced his creative work from reality and any type of political ideology. Gómez-Pérez explains that the motive behind creating a self-contained form of literature that avoids any reference to reality was to keep his work separate from politics; for to do otherwise would have run the risk of bringing up his fascist past. Gómez-Pérez concludes that, paradoxically, Torrente Ballester's works only become fully comprehensible when taking into account and understanding his previous political affiliations. The impossibility of breaking free from the past is evident in this author who, by either anecdotal references or fiction, managed to create a new history for himself and a new context for his work.

Carmen Moreno-Nuño, Louise Ciallella, and Ulrich Winter explore the idea of the conditioned subject affected by the passive influence of the past. Their analyses reveal the lingering repression that affects the subject consciously or unconsciously and shapes irremediably his or her outlook of life. Moreno-Nuño's essay is structured around the memory of the Spanish Civil War and its destructive influence on those who were born after the event and who came to know about it through later references. Studying how these memories are often present through the experiences of close relatives or

the collective echo that naturally endured in Spanish society during the first two decades of the regime, Moreno-Nuño suggests that this shared memory is individually channeled into a traumatic personal experience. Focusing on the novels of the popular contemporary writer Javier Marías, she isolates war as one of the leitmotifs in all of his writing. She notes that war is often metaphorically presented as a ghost or specter, which irrupts into Javier Marías's discourse, dictating its bearing and reach and victimizing his characters.

Louise Ciallella explores the subjugation of women as it relates to one of the cliché icons of Francoism: the image of the protecting father. This image, projected through the person of the dictator, is a metaphor that, like many other Falangist concepts, was borrowed from Italian fascism. Franco-as-father-figure was presented as benefactor of the new Spanish land born of the Civil War, and the traditional motherland became the dictator's daughter. Keeping in mind this Francoist formula, Ciallella investigates the aftermath of Franco's death in the imaginary equation of father-daughter that the regime created. Ciallella studies *El cuarto de atrás*, whose main character, C., nostalgically equates herself with the dictator's real daughter, Carmencita Franco. Ciallella detects a subtle mourning and pain caused by Franco's passing, suggesting that what is superficially rejected (Francoism) is at the same time desired; C. misses her Father. A victim of the dictatorship while it lasted, she is now once more traumatized by its loss.

What these essays detect in particular works and authors, Ulrich Winter discovers in the collective effect of Francoist repression. Articulating the tension between the Francoist past and the democratic present, Winter argues that many contemporary Spanish novels position themselves between historical reference and the aesthetization of history. He examines how their authors portray Francoism through polyphonic memory or through the conceded impossibility of representing the era altogether. Winter proceeds to analyze a mode of historical rewriting on the part of a generation of writers, including José María Guelbenzu, Juan José Millás, and Antonio Muñoz Molina. In their works the past appears unbidden and artificially implanted, splitting the subject (into self and double, a phantasmagoric other) while fragmenting memories of the past into a myriad of details. As Winter states in his conclusion, these works point to the existence of a subject whose identity is lost in his/her negotiations with the past—lost between a failed evasion from the past and a false hope in the future.

The persistence of certain ways of thinking about Franco's regime is discussed by Jacqueline Cruz, Eloy Merino, and H. Rosi Song.

These analyses reveal an active rehabilitation or reenactment of previous practices that betray the endurance of the past. Jacqueline Cruz, studying the work of one of the best selling Spanish contemporary writers, Antonio Muñoz Molina, asks why the ideological implications in this author's work are often ambiguous to his readers. In Cruz's view, this writer reflects the recent intensifying right-wing transformation of Spanish society (to which no intellectual was immune). She delineates in the novelist's work a rewriting of recent history that directly touches on the role the dictatorship and its opponents played. Centering her analysis on *Plenilunio* [Full Moon] (1997), Cruz demonstrates that in the democratic period political inertia, public indifference, skepticism, and tacit complicity eventually reproduce some of the worst traits of the totalitarian regime. Documenting Muñoz Molina's intellectual participation in Spanish political debate, Cruz discovers a new formulation of familiar conservative views hidden behind an apparently progressive rhetoric. She concludes that his novel implicitly cultivates and perpetuates a simplistic vision of fascism behind an explicit condemnation of Francoism.

The rehabilitation of fascist ideals and their concurrent political aspirations find a new venue of dissemination through modern technology. Eloy Merino offers a study of the nature, scope, and significance of a Falangist website, illustrating how FE de las JONS has adapted to the current national context and the European reality at the beginning of the twenty-first century. He identifies the original tenets of Falangism that persist in their current ideological discourse, and the ones articulated from the need to adjust Spain's reality. He offers a historical perspective on this party, exposing the limitations and deviations that have been imposed on Falange after the dictator's death. While the purported rehabilitation of Falangist political ideals is easy to identify in the case of FE de las JONS, there is another discursive stream in contemporary Falangist rhetoric that, under the guise of modernization—the image of an “open” and “progressive” Falange—still manages to circulate the same historical blinders. Merino explores how these ideas might remain hidden for a Spanish electorate because of the way they are reformulated in the present.

H. Rosi Song focuses on the criticism of a widely published and popular journalist known for his antagonistic view of Spanish politics: Jiménez Losantos. She looks at how this political columnist, in his criticism of the socialist government and denunciation of the trend toward regional self-determination, creates a moralizing message of the doomed identity and future of the Spanish nation. As a preventive measure, he embarks on a literary project to rescue the “idea” of Spain to assure its survival in the future. Song reveals that

this rewriting of history echoes attitudes toward the concept of nation and culture that are clear remnants of past rhetorical (and ideological) practices.

As a way of tying together some of the recurrent themes in the collection, we offer a narrative essay by Jordi Gracia as a postscript. Gracia revisits the recent but timid effort in Spain to reintroduce to the public the works of several fascist authors who had been forgotten during the last years of the dictatorship and the advent of democracy. He offers a panoramic vision of this effort, initiated by academics and publishing houses, with limited success despite the interest of younger writers who wish to reevaluate the literary legacy of Franco's regime objectively, aided by a historical and political distance. Confronted with a literature that was committed politically to the regime, Gracia asks why these works are not being evaluated. He wonders whether their failure has to do with their intrinsic literary value or if it is because Spanish society is not sufficiently comfortable with its democratic experience to approach them. He hints that the answer might be a combination of both poor literary quality and an enduring fear of the past, and suggests that we have to wait for Spain's democracy to reach maturity before we can take a closer look at this literary past.

In an essay written around 1980, the philosopher Julián Marías wonders what scholars in the year 2000 might focus on when looking into what happened in Spain between 1976 and 1979. He predicts that the incredible changes that took place during the scarce forty months following the death of dictator Francisco Franco, might first generate a state of disbelief or scepticism. Then, confronted with all the existing criticism surrounding these changes, a state of incredulity in the form of a burning question: *How was all this possible?*<sup>33</sup> At the end, Marías endorses an inquiry into the study of post-Franco Spain. Focusing on a particular aspect of the experience of the dictatorship, the essays in the volume follow his recommendation examining the traceable remnants of Francoism and Falangism in the country's democratic present. They explore ways in which the past can be freed from earlier interpretations that tended either simply to categorize a specific brand of aesthetics and thematic recurrences, or to disdain past culture as a whole. By focusing on the residual legacy of the country's authoritarian past, the essays in this book read anew Spain's modern history and culture in an effort to recognize how the present still negotiates, consciously or not, with the traumas, cultural practices, and mind-shaping ideologies of the past. In the end, the volume reveals the continuities and discontinuities between historical periods, offering a new perspective for understanding the coun-

try's experience, not as one finished and limited to the past, but ongoing and still relevant to contemporary Spain.

## NOTES

1. Teresa Vilarós, *El mono del desencanto. Una crítica cultural de la transición española (1973–1993)* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1998), 8.

2. Paloma Aguilar, "Justice, Politics, and Memory in the Spanish Transition," in *The Politics of Memory*, eds. C. González-Enríquez, Paloma Aguilar, and Barahona de Brito (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 92.

3. *Ibid.*, 93.

4. Salvador Cardús i Ros, "Politics and the Invention of Memory. For a Sociology of the Transition to Democracy in Spain," in *Disremembering the Dictatorship. The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy*, ed. Joan Ramon Resina (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000), 19.

5. Joan Ramon Resina, "Short of Memory: The Reclamation of the Past Since the Spanish Transition to Democracy," in *Disremembering the Dictatorship*, 90.

6. The projection of a coherent historical narrative of the *Transición* is challenged by Teresa Vilarós in *El mono del desencanto* (6). She criticizes the artificial break with the past offered by the account in which Franco's death is a final point and the start of new era for Spain. In the same vein, two recently published collections of essays about modern Spain and its transition to democracy shift their attention to what is not there, that is, to the vacuum created by what has been forgotten, ignored or silenced in the process of its formulation. What both Resina, *op. cit.*, and Jo Labanyi (*Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain. Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practice* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002]) lay out is a re-examination of the legacy of the narratives brought forth, on the one hand, during modernity's continued project of nation-building (as suggested by Labanyi), and on the other, the political construct surrounding Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy (as underscored by Resina). These two volumes stress the importance of recovering the absent experiences of the country's past to critically examine the present.

7. Vilarós, 20.

8. Although Mechthild Albert addresses this question in her edited volume *Vencer no es convencer* [Winning is not Convincing] (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 1998), it shares the historical perspective of the other works that study the relationship between literature and culture and fascism, Falangism and Francoism, in Spain. The other previously published works are José-Carlos Mainer's *Falange y literatura* [Falange and Literature] (1971); Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas's *Literatura fascista española* [Spanish Fascist Literature], vols. 1 (1986) and 2 (1987); and Ángel Llorente's *Arte e ideología en el franquismo* [Art and Ideology in Francoism] (1995). Unlike these works, which offer a historical study of fascism and its influence on literature, our volume addresses the legacy of this experience in the present.

9. The history of fascism in Spain is in itself very complicated. Fascism in Spain, embodied in the Falangist movement *Falange Española* (FE) was articulated in the early 1930s under the leadership of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, who was inspired mainly by Mussolini's party, as well as by the Nazis. However, his early disappearance at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War meant the later transformation of the party into a political tool of Franco who seized its control on the defeat of the Axis powers as an opportunity to *defascistize* his regime, reiterating Spain's neutral stance dur-

ing the conflict. Moreover, to ensure his power he declared that FE had not been a political party in Spain, only an administrative tool for the obtainment of national cohesion and unification. The historian Stanley Payne has the standard account of the history of fascism in Spain in his book *Falange. A History of Spanish Fascism* ([Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961] and its updated version, *Fascism in Spain, 1923–1977*, from 1999). Another complete study is *Historia de Falange Española de la JONS* [History of Spain's Falange and the JONS] (Madrid: Alianza, 2000) by José Luis Jiménez Rodríguez. Ultimately, the conflictive relationship between Franco and FE had the side effect of partially purging Spain of its fascist identity and traits. One of its most direct consequences is that specialists like Payne regard fascism in Spain as a historical phenomenon and a particularization of Spanish experience within the context of the country's past, labeled as "Falangism" and "Francoism." These terms are generally used instead of "fascism" when referring to the period between 1939 and 1975 in Spain, which distances the country from the other European nations with fascist antecedents in the first half of the 20th century.

10. For a detailed and concise narration of the political changes that took place during this period, see Ramón Arango's *Spain. Democracy Regained* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995).

11. See for example the writings of Juan Luis Cebrián ("La experiencia del período constituyente" [The Experience of Writing the Constitution]) in *España 1975–1980: Conflictos y logros de la democracia*, eds. John Crispin, Enrique Pupo-Walker, and José L. Cagigao [Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, S.A., 1982] and, with Felipe González (*El futuro no es lo que era. Una conversación* [The Future Is Not What It Was. A Conversation] [Madrid: Taurus, 2001]); Fernando Jáuregui and Manuel Ángel Menéndez (*Lo que nos queda de Franco. Símbolos, personajes, leyes y costumbres, veinte años después* [What's Left of Franco among Us. Symbols, People, Laws, and Customs After Twenty Years] [Madrid: Temas de hoy, 1995]); Salvador Cardús ("Politics and the Invention of Memory, op. cit."); Joan Ramon Resina ("Short of Memory: The Reclamation of the Past since the Spanish Transition to Democracy," in Resina, op. cit.) and Aguilar, op. cit., among others.

12. Raymond Carr, "El legado franquista," in *España 1975–1980: Conflictos y logros de la democracia*, 134; 172–173.

13. Cebrián, "La experiencia," 15.

14. *Ibid.*, 18.

15. Jáuregui and Menéndez, 17–18.

16. *Ibid.*, 18–20.

17. *Ibid.*, 47. The date of the military uprising against the Republican government that marks the start of the Spanish Civil War.

18. Carr, 135; Juan Pablo Fusi, "España: el fin del siglo XX" [Spain: At the End of the 20th Century] in *Visiones de fin de siglo* [Visions at the End of the Century], ed. Raymond Carr (Madrid: Taurus), 172.

19. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, *Spanish Cultural Studies. An Introduction* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 170.

20. Jáuregui and Menéndez, 52.

21. Aguilar, 118.

22. Cebrián and González, 14. The Partido Popular lost the general elections of 14 March 2004, even though polls taken close to the election date showed them being favored to win. After the terrorist bombing of the trains in Madrid on 11 March 2004, the government of José María Aznar tried to blame the attack on ETA. Despite evidence that linked the bombings to Islamic terrorist groups, the government, in its investigation and communications to the press, continued to focus on the Basque

terrorist group. When this manipulation of information became known to the public, an unexpectedly large number of Spaniards showed up to the polls and voted against the conservative party. The socialist party PSOE and its leader, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, emerged as the winner of the election.

23. Noël Valis, *The Culture of Cursilería. Bad Taste, Kitsch, and Class in Modern Spain* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), 282.

24. *Ibid.*, 282–283.

25. By evoking the phenomenon of the *movida*, which ended around 1986, we are not suggesting a discussion of the lasting effects of its suspected excesses in the continuing decades. We refer to this cultural experience as an example of Spain's inability to address the past and how the difficulty of this task still resonates within its society.

26. Valis, 285.

27. *Ibid.*, 286.

28. The works that deal with the literature of fascist and Francoist Spain have been, at most, scarce and sporadic. Jordi Gracia revisits the existing studies on the topic in the postscript for this volume.

29. David Carroll, *French Literary Fascism. Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and the Ideology of Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 7.

30. Richard Golsan's *Fascism's Return: Scandal, Revision, and Ideology Since 1980* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998) is a good collection of detailed studies of this tendency, especially as manifests itself in Western Europe. Although presently the extreme Right does seem to have a negligible strength in Spain, with the recent political invigoration of the nationalist parties in France and Italy, this scenario could change. Although none of the essays contained in Golsan's book deals directly with the situation in Spain, the description of the interests that unite these radical parties also fits the country's current problems. Some of the essays in this volume lay out the ideas and attitudes that could serve to energize these political movements, especially as they find the appropriate channeling for their interests. For example, it is interesting that Peter Davies writes that the National Front in France "has involved itself in both high-brow and low-brow publicity offensives. For the educated and literary, there is now a lecture series, a pseudo-academic review, *Identité*, and a publishing house, *Editions nationales*, committed to 'cultural combat through literature'" (Davies, 6). These efforts can also be found in lesser degree in Spain, as exemplified in Dionisio Viscarri's essay contained in this book.

31. We borrow from Labanyi's use of Derrida's historical-materialist reading of ghosts (Labanyi, 1).

32. Patrick Tacussel, "The Laws of the Unspoken: Silence and Secrecy," *Diogenes* 144 (1998): 30.

33. Julián Marías, *Cinco años de España* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982), 138.

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