

UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA
FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA
DEPARTAMENTO DE FILOLOGÍA INGLESA (LENGUA INGLESA)

**TRANSLATION AND CENSORSHIP OF
U.S. COUNTERCULTURE AUTHORS
IN FRANCO'S SPAIN**

Tesis Doctoral presentada por Anna Rose
Thomas, bajo la dirección del Prof. Dr. D.
José Enrique García González y del Prof. Dr.
D. Juan Ignacio Guijarro González
(Universidad de Sevilla)

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Vº Bº



Dr. José E. García González

Vº Bº



Dr. Juan I. Guijarro González



Anna Rose Thomas

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction to the Topic	1
1.1 Introduction to the Study	4
1.2 Objectives and Scope	5
1.3 Methodology and Selection of Authors	12
2. Theoretical Framework: Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)	33
3. Counterculture Narratives and Censorship in the United States.....	45
4. Counterculture Narratives and Censorship in Franco's Spain.....	57
4.1 Censorship under the Franco Regime: Mechanisms, Legislation and Practice (1962-1978).....	58
4.2 The Spanish Censors and Counterculture Concepts	81
4.3 Publication and Censorship of Counterculture Texts in Franco's Spain and in the Years of Transition	103
4.3.1 Counterculture Texts in Spain 1960-1965	169
4.3.2 Counterculture Texts in Spain 1966–1975	185
4.3.3 Counterculture Texts in Spain 1976-1978	206
4.4. Publishing Houses Promoting Counterculture Texts in Franco's Spain	141
5. Descriptive-Comparative Study of Kurt Vonnegut, Robert A. Heinlein and Norman Mailer in Franco's Spain	157
5.1 Translation and Censorship of Kurt Vonnegut in Franco's Spain	158
5.1.1 Descriptive-Comparative Study of <i>God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1965) / <i>Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1966)	169
5.1.2 Descriptive-Comparative Study of <i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> (1969) / <i>Matadero cinco</i> (1970)	185
5.1.3 Descriptive-Comparative Study of <i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974) / <i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)	206
5.2 Translation and Censorship of Robert A. Heinlein in Franco's Spain	230
5.2.1 Descriptive-Comparative Study of <i>Revolt in 2100</i> (1953) / <i>Revolta en el 2100</i> (1968)	246
5.2.2 Descriptive-Comparative Study of <i>Farnham's Freehold</i> (1964) / <i>Los dominios de Farnham</i> (1968).....	259
5.2.3 Descriptive-Comparative Study of <i>The Moon is a Harsh Mistress</i> (1966) / <i>La Luna es una cruel amante</i> (1975)	270

5.3 Translation and Censorship of Norman Mailer in Franco's Spain	294
5.3.1 Descriptive-Comparative Study of <i>The Armies of the Night</i> (1968) / <i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i> (1969).....	320
5.3.2 Descriptive-Comparative Study of <i>Advertisements for Myself</i> (1959) / <i>El negro blanco</i> (1973)	342
5.3.3 Descriptive-Comparative Study of <i>Cannibals and Christians</i> (1966) / <i>Caníbales y cristianos</i> (1975) and <i>Días de gracia y arena</i> (1976)	361
6. Conclusions	381
7. Bibliography	406
8. Appendices	427

List of Figures

4. Counterculture Narratives and Censorship in Franco's Spain

Figure 1. Blank Censor's Report: "Informe del lector"	78
Figure 2. Censorship Outcomes for Counterculture Texts in Spain 1960-1965.....	108
Figure 3. Censorship Outcomes for Counterculture Texts in Spain 1966- 1975.....	119
Figure 4. Censorship Outcomes for Counterculture Texts in Spain 1976-1979.....	136
Figure 5. Censorship Files Reviewed in the Survey of Counterculture Texts in Sections 4.2-4.3.....	137

5. Descriptive-Comparative Study of Kurt Vonnegut, Robert A. Heinlein and Norman Mailer in Franco's Spain

Figure 1. 1968 Timeline of Negotiations between Géminis and the Censors Regarding Heinlein Texts	245
Figure 2. Segment Marked for Suppression in De La Torre's Translation of <i>Revolta en el 2100</i>	255
Figure 3. Back Cover of <i>Costa bárbara</i> , Editorial Tiempo Contemporáneo, 1971	314
Figure 4. Front Cover of <i>El negro blanco</i> , Tusquets, 1973	344

List of Tables

5.1 Kurt Vonnegut in Franco's Spain

Table 1. Kurt Vonnegut Publications in the U.S. from 1952 to 1975; Comparison to Publications in Spain: 1952-1975 and 1975-1977	168
Table 2. Submissions of Kurt Vonnegut Texts to Censorship by Grijalbo: 1966-1977 ...	169
Table 3. Partial Neutralization of Obscenities in the Target Text	170
Table 4. Neutralization of Sexual and Bodily Expressions in the Target Text.....	171
Table 5. Modification of Sexual Behavior in the Target Text.....	174
Table 6. Neutralized Comparisons to Christian Figures in the Target Text	175
Table 7. Uncensored Content in the Target Text.....	177
Table 8. Neutralization of Obscenities Marked by the Censors in the Source Text.....	191
Table 9. Neutralization of Obscenities Not Marked by the Censors	193
Table 10. Neutralization of Sexual and Bodily References in the Target Text	194
Table 11. Neutralization of Non-obscene References to Sex in the Target Text	195
Table 12. Un-neutralized Obscenities Marked Again in the Target Text.....	197
Table 13. Un-neutralized Sexual References Marked Again in the Target Text.....	198
Table 14. Sexual References Detected Upon Inspection of the Target Text	199
Table 15. Irreligious Notions Marked in the Source Text	214
Table 16. Negative Characterizations of Spaniards Marked in the Source Text	216
Table 17. Negative Characterizations of the Military Marked in the Source Text.....	217
Table 18. References to Drug-Use Marked in the Source Text.....	219
Table 19. Uncensored Descriptions of Drug-Use in the Target Text	222
Table 20. Uncensored Criticisms of U.S. Military and President Nixon in the Target Text.....	223
Table 21. Uncensored Statements of Irreverence and Irreligiosity in the Target Text.....	224
Table 22. Uncensored References to Marxist and Socialist Ideas in the Target Text	225
Table 23. Intensified References to Sex in the Target Text.....	226

5.2 Robert A. Heinlein in Franco's Spain

Table 1. Robert A. Heinlein Works Published in Spain from 1955 to 1967	235
Table 2. Blasphemies in the Source Text and Target Text	240
Table 3. Replacement of Common Religious Titles and Terms in <i>Revuelta en el 2100</i> ..	251
Table 4. Modification of Problematic Sexual Behavior in the Target Text.....	263
Table 5. Passages of Christian Faith Added to <i>Los dominios de Farnham</i> (1968)	265
Table 6. Neutralized References to the Female Body in the Target Text.....	273
Table 7. Neutralized References to Casual Sex ("Bundling") in the Target Text	277
Table 8. Neutralized References to Prostitution in the Target Text	279
Table 9. Neutralized References to Non-traditional Marriages in the Target Text	284

5.3 Norman Mailer in Franco's Spain

Table 1. Norman Mailer Novels Submitted to Spanish Censorship 1957-1976.....	302
Table 2. Mailer Collections and Nonfiction Submitted to Spanish Censorship 1964-1976	303
Table 3. Generalized Translation of Police and Military Titles in the Target Text.....	329
Table 4. Obscured Obscenities in the Source Text and Target Text.	332
Table 5. Unobscured Obscenities in the Source Text and Target Text	333
Table 6. Uncensored Obscenities Applied to Women and Feminized Characters	334
Table 7. Neutralization of Obscenities in the Target Text	335
Table 8. Neutralization of Racial Slurs in the Target Text	336
Table 9. Neutralization of Drug References in the Target Text	338
Table 10. Obscenities in "Petty Poems on Some Sex in America," Not Translated.....	367
Table 11. Neutralization of Colloquial Expressions in the Target Text	369
Table 12. Uncensored Profanity in the Target Text.....	376

1. Introduction to the Topic

From the late 1950s to the late '70s, U.S. society witnessed a rising current of sociocultural change and experimentation along with intensified political unrest and activism as a generation of postwar youth reached their teens and twenties with access to new mass technologies, unprecedented levels of postsecondary education and greater economic freedom and mobility than had been imaginable before 1945 (Gair 2007, 3-10).¹ As movements powered primarily by U.S. youth steadily challenged the established or "mainstream" culture and confronted the nation's institutional authorities, this era has been characterized especially by the rise of 'the counterculture.' Highlighting the role of counterculture movements in provoking the forces of the State, Gair asserts that "As much as anything else that it achieved, the counterculture in these decades brought the limits of national doctrines of 'freedom' to the surface" through events that "forced the violently oppressive elements of institutional control into the open and demonstrated the length to which the State was willing to go to protect its own interests" (2007, 10). Moreover, large-scale dissent against U.S. involvement in Vietnam and growing support for the Civil Rights Movement, which aimed to secure equal rights for African Americans, "both called into question America's moral and cultural high ground" (Swartz 2015, 153).

Counterculture sensibilities also had an important place in sixties-era literature as a number of increasingly prominent authors worked to interrogate the actions of U.S. institutions and undermine the dominant narratives of the nation's heroic and moral character. Though a generation older than the burgeoning "hippies," writers who had served in World War II, such as Joseph Heller, Norman Mailer and Kurt Vonnegut, would connect to the nation's youth by offering insistently critical portraits of the military and war. And gains made against obscenity laws also meant that these writers were freer to incorporate

¹ Born between 1946 and 1964 in the 'Baby Boom' that followed the end of World War II, this large generation of 'Baby Boomers' was shaped by "economic improvements" in the postwar period (Colby and Ortman 2014, 2).

provocative street language and direct references to sex in their work, further appealing to a generation of young people ready to reject the social mores of their parents and "the mainstream sense of propriety" (Macfarlane 2007, 20). The same can be said of the often critical and irreverent examinations of Christian institutions brought by sixties-era authors contending with the unreckonable atrocities and injustices of the mid-twentieth century, and the "alienation" of modern society (235). Vonnegut points to these failings when he expresses his wish that "priests would lie more convincingly about how honest and brotherly we should be" (1974, 240). Instead, the much-needed sense of brotherhood seemed to be supplied by underground lifestyles: "It's like the drug thing among young people. The fact that they use drugs gives them a community. . . . You're able to greet and trust strangers because they look like you, because they use marijuana, and so forth" (251). In this area, authors such as Hunter S. Thompson, Ken Kesey and William S. Burroughs would emerge as central figures in the widespread experimentation with psychedelic drugs, while simultaneously leading the front in alternative lifestyles and experimental art forms. Indeed, many of the sixties-era authors working to interrogate traditional institutions and values were also introducing the most innovative narrative styles. What resulted were significant ruptures to long-held notions of literature and form. Yet, in contrast to earlier generations of the avant-garde, these literary iconoclasts would benefit from a growing mass-market readership as the U.S. counterculture blossomed in the late sixties.

Though still restricted by tight controls on publications under the Franco regime (1939-1975), Spanish publishing houses—likewise enjoying a boom in mass literature—were eager to inject the Spanish market with works originating in the United States, as cultural and political ties between the two countries strengthened in the fifties and sixties. Indeed, the introduction during this period of a wide variety of 'escapist' fiction and best-selling novels in translation is well studied (Gómez Castro 2009, 40). Many such works were included in

popular collections of mass-market paperbacks which had begun to take off in Spain in the fifties (69) filling the apparent demand for works aimed primarily and entertainment (331).

As counterculture authors steadily gained readership and notoriety in the U.S. during the sixties, their works also represented potential best-sellers in Spain, and attracted significant interest from Spanish publishers in the last decade of the Franco dictatorship. Yet, the inherently subversive nature of the original works, which had already begun to generate controversy in U.S. communities, meant that counterculture publications also presented glaring targets for Francoist censorship, even as the regime's controls were beginning to shift in the late sixties in response to national and international demands for greater freedom of expression. Thus, in examining the translation and censorship of U.S. counterculture authors in Franco's Spain, this PhD Dissertation ultimately sets out to navigate the crosscurrents of rising dissidence, expanding cultures and growing literary markets against active mechanisms of cultural repression, manipulation and control—as made visible through a provocative body of translated, partially-translated and untranslated texts.

From a general survey of counterculture texts submitted to Francoist censorship, many of which never made it to Spanish bookshelves during the years of the regime, the embattled trajectories of three sixties-era novelists in translation were found sufficiently ample and enduring so as to merit a descriptive-comparative study of their works in Franco's Spain.² Thus, while a wide range of authors and texts will be discussed as part of the broader context of U.S. counterculture publications that passed through censorship, it is the works of Kurt Vonnegut, Robert A. Heinlein and Norman Mailer that will form the central object of analysis, including, among others, iconic counterculture novels such as Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961) and Mailer's *The Armies of the Night* (1968).

² Note that the full process and criteria of selection will be described in detail in the Methodology (section 1.3).

1.1 Introduction to the Study

A profoundly interdisciplinary and multicultural project, this PhD Dissertation truly calls for multiple levels of introduction.³ The nature of the study and basic structure of the work are described here, followed by an overview of the research objectives and scope in 1.2 and an outline of the methodology and the selection of authors in 1.3. Then, in the interest of fashioning an analytical frame out of an assortment of multicolored lenses, sections 2, 3 and 4 bring into focus the different areas of inquiry that have informed and structured this research. To this end, section 2 lays out the theoretical underpinnings of the descriptive-comparative analysis, which emerge primarily from the field of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). Section 3 offers an overview of the U.S. counterculture and an examination of key cultural developments and literary features pertaining to sixties-era literature coming out of the U.S.

Crossing the pond, section 4 examines the patterns of translation and censorship in Franco's Spain which were likely to affect the translation of U.S. counterculture texts during the 1960s and 1970s. Section 4.1 serves to introduce Spanish scholarship on translation and censorship during the late Francoist period. Focusing on the common elements flagged in sixties-era works, section 4.2 paints a unique portrait of the censors' reactions to U.S. counterculture themes. Then, in order to sketch the panorama of censorship practices that affected the proposed publications, section 4.3 looks at a range of sixties-era works in translation, analyzing censorship verdicts under the regime as well as final publishing results. Section 4.4, in turn, looks at eight publishing houses that strove to make U.S. counterculture works available in Francoist Spain, and the common strategies they developed in their negotiations with the Spanish censors. In the broadest sense, these sections each introduce different aspects of the research project, and should be understood as distinct yet complementary lenses through which to view the analysis of selected authors in section 5.

³ At the level of mechanics, it should be noted that the formatting and style of this document have followed the Author-Date system of *The Chicago Manual of Style*, in its 16th edition (2010).

1.2 Objectives and Scope

At its most basic level, this PhD Dissertation has been designed to test the hypothesis formulated after the initial study of Kurt Vonnegut works in translation: that iconic works of the U.S. counterculture would prove particularly hazardous in relation to the repressive mechanisms of Francoist censorship in the sixties and seventies.⁴ During the Franco regime, any publication had to receive the censorship board's authorization in order to circulate (legally) in Spain, regardless of whether it was an original, imported or translated work. Indeed, Spanish translations of imported English-language texts abounded in the sixties and seventies, allowing publishers to fill the growing "demands of the market" (Rioja Barrocal 2008, 73).⁵ Yet, these translations were found to be mainly works of "entretenimiento y evasión," (Gómez Castro 2009, 331)—that did not propagate "ideas revolucionarias o contrarias al régimen" (76). As such, the introduction of this type of mass-market literature in translation was not found to be especially problematic for the censorship board (Ibid.).

In contrast, counterculture authors and works were known for the considerable controversy they generated in the U.S.—a decidedly more permissive context—suggesting that those counterculture publications which were ultimately permitted in Franco's Spain would have required heavy manipulation in the translation and editing process and/or hard-fought negotiations with the censors. In order to determine if this is true, the first step is to gauge the extent to which Spanish publishers showed an interest in translating U.S. counterculture works during this period. Judging by the case of Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), it would seem that U.S. counterculture works were indeed desirable in the final years of the regime, in spite of the likely obstacles and pitfalls for translators and/or editors

⁴ The study titled *Traducción, recepción y censura de Kurt Vonnegut en la España franquista* (Thomas, 2009) was completed under the direction of Dr. José Enrique García González as the final requirement for the 2008-2009 Master's program in Translation and Intercultural Studies (Máster Universitario en Traducción e Interculturalidad) at the University of Seville.

⁵ Elsewhere, Rioja Barrocal (2010) shows that of a growing body of English-language narratives in translation, more than half (53%) originated in the U.S.

under the constraints of censorship.⁶ Where this same interest was found to apply to a broad range of counterculture authors, the outcomes with regard to publication, or non-publication, of counterculture texts in translation thus help to answer questions regarding the impact of the censorship process for these works.

Many of the most controversial counterculture authors were found to enjoy a wide readership in the U.S., and thus presented prime test cases for the study of counterculture publications in Spain, as the lure of their popularity and status was sure to be matched by the presence of censurable subject matters and expressions. In short, the publishing efforts to bring such risky, though potentially best-selling, authors to Spain (or lack thereof) would reveal the willingness of Spanish publishers to test the limits of the censorship board. Yet, even where such willingness was manifest, this study posits that the path to publication for counterculture translations would be far from straightforward. As will be discussed in section 3, these works were contentious in the U.S. precisely because they combined newfound freedoms to incorporate obscenity and sexual content in printed material with elements of strong social criticism and antiauthoritarianism as well as great irreverence and irreligiosity. Indeed, many such authors had already begun to see their works banned in the schools and libraries of certain U.S. communities in the sixties and seventies. Certainly, the trajectories of such publications in the U.S. suggest that counterculture works were likely to raise an array of red flags upon inspection by the Francoist censors.

While the practice of self-censorship in relation to obscenities and sexual content in translated works has been commonly documented by scholars of Francoist censorship (Gómez Castro 2009, 334), it is not clear that for many counterculture works such a strategy would alone have rendered them acceptable. Thus, in addition to determining the extent to

⁶ Since Vonnegut's work will be discussed in great detail in section 5.1, it is not necessary to repeat the conclusions of that initial study here. Suffice it to say that the publisher, Grijalbo, showed keen interest in getting *Matadero cinco* published, though it required textual manipulation, persistent negotiations with the censorship board and years of delay before the work could circulate in Spain.

which this practice was applied to the translation of counterculture texts in Franco's Spain, this study aims to identify further modes of (self-)censorship and mediation—perhaps more unusual or severe—that might have been used in the translation and editing process in order to get counterculture works past official censorship. In this regard, the developing negotiations between censors and publishers—and the role of each in the translation process—will be a key area of investigation.

Also key to this study is a vision of which kinds of counterculture publications were actually attempted under the regime, and which ones ultimately made it to the shelves of Spanish bookstores (and when). Again taking Vonnegut works as a model, it is hypothesized that long publication delays would form a significant part of censorship's impact on counterculture works. For works that were resonating with a generation of youth in the U.S. in the late sixties, such delays could conceivably cause the publications to 'miss the mark' in Franco's Spain and reduce the long-term impact of the texts in question—though the overall reception of these works in Spain is beyond the scope of the present study.⁷ Rather, evidence of publishers' interest in counterculture texts, through submissions and resubmissions to the censorship board, will be taken as an indicator of their perceived relevance during the period in question—regardless of the final publishing outcomes or enduring appeal.

Because the original works examined did not serve exclusively as 'entertainment' but rather sought to challenge dominant social and political forces, another important part of this investigation will be to determine the effects of censorship and self-censorship on the subversive aspects of the translations. In cataloguing these effects, the first consideration will be whether or not proposed counterculture translations were permitted under the Franco regime at all. That is, the authorization or non-authorization of such works will be considered the first major battle line for censorship aimed at silencing counterculture voices. To this end,

⁷ However, the reception of these works in Spain is undoubtedly an interesting avenue of further study that would directly complement the results of this PhD Dissertation, helping to determine if the impact of Spanish censorship on U.S. counterculture authors also proved detrimental to their popularity and acclaim in the country.

a survey of counterculture works in section 4.3 will help to determine if the translations of counterculture texts were more heavily blocked by the censors, especially in comparison to the more "representative" translations examined in the studies of Rioja Barrocal (2008) and Gómez Castro (2009).

For a set of counterculture works that resulted in publication, this study will closely examine the submission process, documenting not only the hesitations and impediments posed by the censors, but also the strategies employed by publishers, editors and/or translators in regard to censorship demands—whether this meant compliance with the board's recommendations, or, to the contrary, strategies of resistance and/or circumvention. The distinction between different areas of censurable content may also serve to characterize the actions of censors, editors and/or translators. For works that presented multiple types of affronts—for instance, frequent obscenity or sex as well as criticism of the church or military—it would be important to know if censorship outcomes affected these areas differently. In this aspect, it is hypothesized that editors would be more willing to comply with censorship demands targeting crude language and sexuality than those targeting the ideological aspects of the works in question, especially since the very appeal of U.S. counterculture works for Spanish publishers may have been those aspects that ran "counter" to dominant ideologies and social norms in Spain. Thus, a fundamental question informing the textual analysis is whether or not the counterculture works translated during this period could be said to constitute subversive works after the censorship process.

Indeed, the examination of U.S. counterculture translations in Franco's Spain presents a specific terrain in which concepts of civil disobedience, popular resistance, anti-authoritarianism and religious irreverence (among others) were developed in a distant and foreign setting—the U.S.—leaving censors to judge the relative hazards that such texts presented to the local "law and order" in Spain. At the same time, the inventive social

concepts and playful language that were characteristic of many sixties-era authors meant that what would constitute "dangerous" content might not at first be obvious. Because specific expressions of irreverence and anti-authoritarianism, or even sexuality, were likely to be unpredictable in counterculture publications (and likewise unpredictable in translation), this study proposes a tailored methodology which considers the unique content of each work and each author. Beyond looking at the censorship and self-censorship in the translation of specific language known to be problematic—obscenities and swearwords, for instance—this investigation will aim to identify what was particularly censurable in the texts examined, also testing the notion posited by Meseguer Cutillas (2014) that the censorship strategies employed in Franco's Spain varied in direct relation to the themes treated in each work (3). Indeed, this hypothesis will be tested not only with regard to the actions of the censors but also with regard to the decisions made by publishers, editors and/or translators.

Moreover, this PhD Dissertation posits that an examination of multiple works by the same authors will reveal strategies of publication and (self-)censorship that developed in relation to each author's trajectory in Franco's Spain. While this might be especially visible in those cases where a single publishing house attempted to publish multiple works by the same author, it is likewise hypothesized that the attitudes developed by the censors in relation to given authors and works functioned in direct relation to their overall trajectory. Therefore, the Descriptive Study in section 5, which forms the analytical heart of the present endeavor, has centered on three emblematic authors of the U.S. counterculture who each had multiple publications submitted to the censorship board during the Francoist period. The full process of selection will be described in detail in the Methodology (section 1.3), though it is worth restating here that these authors are Kurt Vonnegut, Robert A. Heinlein and Norman Mailer. The translation and censorship of iconic counterculture works by each of these novelists, as part of their rich and complex trajectories in Spain in the final years of the Franco regime,

will provide ample ground for exploring the gamut of censorship interventions for counterculture works in translation, exposing not only the actions of translators and censors, but also the important role of Spanish publishers and editors in negotiating censorship outcomes.

Finally, this project hopes to emerge as one small stepping stone in the long path to better understanding and breaking down mechanisms of cultural repression and social control in our modern history. Just as Spanish activists, scholars, writers and artists work tirelessly to recover the *Memoria histórica* of 20th century Spain, so too do U.S. activists, scholars, writers and artists seek to clarify the troubled history (and future) of a progressively imperialistic and increasingly mythologized "United States." While it would be tempting to uphold the dissident voices of the 1960s U.S. as the ultimate anecdote to this imperialistic power, it is clear—in 2017—that there is even more to learn about the socio-political and economic powers at work in nearly every aspect of modern existence, including, especially, the production and reproduction of knowledge and culture. As new technology and social media become a bigger and bigger part of daily life across the world, it has never been so urgent to recognize and remember that behind every publication (post, news article, story) there may be interests, influences and filters—human or otherwise—yet to be made visible.

In this sense, the present study not only aims to add another tile to the 'mosaic' of translation history in Spain—as is eloquently described by Merino Álvarez (2008, 14)—but its focus on the practices of censors, publishers and translators in reaction to counterculture works will offer a step-by-step vision of how cultural repression is actually carried out (and combatted), with the broader hope of demystifying those decisions that shape the way knowledge and culture are packaged and perceived. While so often these important decisions are made beyond the level of public awareness, the censorship files that are now accessible in the *Archivo General de la Administración*, in Alcalá de Henares, provide valuable

documentation that can help to unveil the process by which different entities and individuals implemented and negotiated cultural repression in the specific context of the Franco regime.⁸ Through a selection of authors whose works were found to provoke a wide variety of censorship responses, this investigation hopes to explore not merely the regularities of translation and censorship, or self-censorship, under the dictatorship, but also the outer bounds of the censorial practices and publishing maneuvers carried out for the particularly provocative works growing out of the U.S. counterculture.

⁸ A large portion of this archival research was conducted with the support of the TRACE Research team (TRAducciones CEnsuradas), through the nationally-sponsored project: Traducción inglés-español y censura en España (TRACE 1939-1985): cadenas textuales y contexto cultural. Ref. FFI2012-39012-C04-03. MINECO, directed by Dr. Camino Gutiérrez Lanza.

1.3 Methodology and Selection of Authors

As noted in the Introduction, this PhD Dissertation has grown out of the 2009 Master's Thesis on the translation and censorship of Kurt Vonnegut in Franco's Spain. It is worth highlighting that initial study here because it offers a starting point for the methodology that will be described in the following pages. Indeed, the earlier analysis of the translation and censorship of Vonnegut revealed that elements in the author's works which had often met with controversy in the U.S. proved to be doubly problematic in Spain, where the texts underwent significant censorship and self-censorship during the translation and editing process. With evidence to suggest that many of the defining features and themes of iconic sixties-era texts, such as Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), also made these texts prime targets of banning and censorship, the results of the 2009 study have served as a basis for the expanded analysis of U.S. counterculture narratives translated during the Francoist period.

Regarding the selection of authors and works to be analyzed, the first stage of investigation was aimed at further examining notions of the U.S. counterculture in order to identify key texts and outline common styles and themes in counterculture literature. Parallel to this examination, research on works that were banned and suppressed in the U.S. also served to confirm the subversive quality of many emblematic counterculture narratives in the source culture, and helped to identify common areas of cultural confrontation that emerged in a body of sixties-era works. A summary of this background research is presented in section 3, which provides an overview of U.S. counterculture movements and the literature associated with this period, and highlights those elements of counterculture narratives that were especially prone to censorship in the United States. The subsequent process of selecting authors for analysis was decisive for the research design of this PhD Dissertation, and will be outlined in the following pages.

Amid the countless counterculture texts emerging in the 1960s and early 1970s, the descriptive study in section 5 is focused on the work of widely-read U.S. novelists who were considered to have made a significant cultural impact among the country's youth during this period.⁹ The decision to look at the works of prominent sixties-era novelists—foregoing lesser-known writers who may have also played a part in the counterculture—was based precisely on the fact that their works enjoyed mass distribution and were readily available to readers across the country, having also drawn the attention of critics, scholars and teachers. The growing interest in counterculture narratives and their subsequent inclusion in high school literature courses meant that these potentially subversive works were also made visible to parents and conservative community members, and were thus more likely to become targets of censorship efforts affecting U.S. schools and libraries.¹⁰ By the same token, the sales potential of well-known counterculture novelists would make them prime candidates for translation in the increasingly market-driven publishing sector of Spain (Gómez Castro 2009, 76), while the controversial aspects of their works have been hypothesized to present major obstacles to publication under the constraints of the regime.¹¹

⁹ Though decidedly beyond the scope of this study, the presence and impact of small presses is no doubt significant in the development of the U.S. counterculture. "As commercial printing evolved from lithography to offset press [and] production became more cost effective and less labor intensive . . . thousands of small presses emerged" in the fifties and sixties (Susko 2015b, 578). The fact that these presses "could maintain control over production and distribution and bypass corporate ownership and censorship" opened up new spaces for independent magazines, newspapers, pamphlets and manifestos as an avenue of cultural and political expression (578). Indeed, "the women's, civil rights, and peace movements of the 1960s and 1970s provided the context for America's small presses to grow in size and influence. Radical thinking, marginalized for years by mainstream publishers, found expression in small presses during these decades" (Ibid.).

¹⁰ Before this, works by Beat writers Allen Ginsberg and William S. Burroughs had come up against legal restrictions on 'obscene' literature in the late fifties and early sixties, yet where these works were ultimately judged to have some 'redeeming social value,' they managed to push the line of what could be legally sold, shipped and circulated in the United States. Indeed, Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* (1959) "has the distinction of being the last literary work to be declared obscene and brought to trial in America" (Sova 2006a, 231). As a result, the sixties-era authors to follow "were allowed to say absolutely anything without fear of punishment" (Vonnegut 1981, 3). While unrestricted in legal terms, counterculture authors can be seen as breaking down barriers in terms of what kinds of literature would be published on popular presses, and what would be permitted in classrooms and libraries across the country.

¹¹ In other words, this selection splits the notion of 'literature for the masses' adopted by Gómez Castro (2009, 86), since many counterculture novels, with their humor and capacity to entertain, did achieve best-seller status, though these works were clearly not uncomplicated, unintellectual or apolitical. It is precisely this combination of popularity and 'difficulty' that interests the present study.

The first step to selection thus involved a review of secondary sources in order to establish a list of emblematic sixties-era authors and works which spoke to counterculture themes. Although consideration of U.S. counterculture narrative as its own category of cultural production has been relatively limited, it is notable that three manuscripts examining this topic in detail were published in 2007.¹² These included Scott Macfarlane's *The Hippie Narrative: A Literary Perspective on the Counterculture*, looking at fifteen representative novels; Christopher Gair's *The American Counterculture*, with main chapters dedicated to counterculture fiction of the fifties and sixties; and a revised edition of Peter Whitmer and Bruce VanWynngarden's *Aquarius Revisited: Seven Who Created the Sixties Counterculture that Changed America*, which traces the intertwining lives and literary influences of seven counterculture authors.¹³ Using these three studies as a guide, an initial list of novelists and works was elaborated for further exploration in the Spanish censorship files. Among these, the most emblematic counterculture authors included (from oldest to youngest):

Kurt Vonnegut	(1922-2007)	<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> (1969)
Norman Mailer	(1923-2007)	<i>The Armies of the Night</i> (1968)
Tom Wolfe	(1931-)	<i>The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test</i> (1968)
Tom Robbins	(1932-)	<i>Another Roadside Attraction</i> (1971)
Ken Kesey	(1935-2001)	<i>One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest</i> (1964)
Richard Brautigan	(1935-1984)	<i>Trout Fishing in America</i> (1967)
Hunter S. Thompson	(1937-2005)	<i>Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas</i> (1971)
Thomas Pynchon	(1937-)	<i>The Crying of Lot 49</i> (1966)

In addition to the iconic works by these authors (shown in the right column), the widely-read novels *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961), by Robert A. Heinlein, and *Catch-22* (1962), by Joseph Heller, emerged as prominent counterculture narratives, despite the fact that the authors themselves demonstrated little personal affinity for the counterculture scene. The vast

¹² Gair (2007), for example, notes that compared to the fifties counterculture where "the fiction and poetry of the Beat Generation remain central to critical reconsiderations, . . . it is as if the hippie generation had no interest in books" (143), a notion which he calls "a major misrepresentation" (143). Macfarlane (2007) highlights the difficulty of pinning down a counterculture literature which, admittedly, "was not the dominant form of expression," yet he posits that "as early as 1962, and heavily influenced by the Beat movement that preceded it, several literary gems began to appear with enough similarity in voice, tone, roguishness, iconoclastic whimsy and antiestablishment sentiment to consider grouping them as a distinct body of literature" (21).

¹³ An earlier (and shorter) edition of *Aquarius Revisited* was published in 1987.

appeal of these two works among those coming of age in the sixties have earned both Heinlein (1907-1988) and Heller (1923-1999) a place in the literary history of the counterculture.¹⁴ As such, the preliminary list of counterculture authors to be investigated in the context of Spanish censorship included ten: Kurt Vonnegut, Norman Mailer, Tom Wolfe, Tom Robbins, Ken Kesey, Richard Brautigan, Hunter S. Thompson, Thomas Pynchon, Robert A. Heinlein and Joseph Heller.

From this list of ten, preliminary research in the database of censorship files housed at the Archivo General de la Administración (AGA) revealed that four of these authors would not be viable candidates for the textual analysis of works translated during the Franco regime. For instance, no attempts had been made to publish Ken Kesey until 1976.¹⁵ For Tom Robbins it was not until 1978, and for Hunter S. Thompson, until 1979.¹⁶ There were no

¹⁴ Excluded from the list above are Richard Fariña (1937-1966) and Gurney Norman (1937-), who had each written only one novel and no other narrative texts within the period examined. This was based on the consideration that analysis of any author's trajectory in Franco's Spain would require multiple texts. Fariña, the author of *Been Down So Long It Looks Like Up to Me* (1966), was "at the leading edge of what would explode into the counterculture of the late '60s" though he was known especially as a folk musician, often described in connection to his marriage and "musical alliance" with Mimi Baez Fariña, the younger sister of Joan Baez (Macfarlane 2007, 61). Gurney Norman was the author of *Divine Right's Trip* (1971), a novel included in *The Last Whole Earth Catalog*, edited by Stewart Brand, which had "sold 1.5 million copies and won the National Book Award for contemporary affairs in 1972" (163). Norman's novel, exhibiting the same values as the *Catalog*, "took its readers deep inside the lives and minds of two young hippies trying to navigate a 'righteous' path" that would allow them to "embrace the alternative lifestyle" (Ibid.).

¹⁵ Kesey's famously anti-establishment novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962) was brought to Spain fourteen years after the original, with *Alguien voló sobre el nido del cuco* becoming an instant best-seller in the months after publication, just barely preceding the film's arrival in Spanish movie theaters, as described in section 4.3.

¹⁶ Robbins's *Another Roadside Attraction* (1971), which *Rolling Stone* magazine had called "the quintessential '60s novel" (Whitmer and VanWyngarden 2007, 238), has never been introduced in Spain. However, his later novel *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (1976) was published by Grijalbo in 1978, under the title *También las vaqueras sienten melancolía*. The 'Gonzo' journalist Hunter S. Thompson, who published *Hell's Angels: The Strange and Terrible Saga of Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs* in 1966, had also introduced the motorcycle gang to Ken Kesey and seen these two facets of his rebelliousness—his "left-hippie" life and his associations with the Hell's Angels—merge at Kesey's home in La Honda, California, where he first experimented with LSD (Whitmer and VanWyngarden 2007, 83). The journalist was likewise responsible for first putting Tom Wolfe in touch with Kesey (81). Thompson's novel *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* would appear in *Rolling Stone* in 1971, and in book form in 1972, with one reviewer declaring it "The best book on the dope decade" (Woods 1972, 17). The translation, *Miedo y asco en Las Vegas*, was published in Spain in 1979, followed by *Los Ángeles del Infierno* in 1980.

ensorship records at all for Richard Brautigan.¹⁷ Of the six remaining authors, further investigation was conducted regarding the works submitted to the Spanish censorship board in the years of the dictatorship. From the smallest number of files to the largest, AGA database entries through 1975 amounted to the following:

Pynchon	2 files
Wolfe	3 files
Heller	4 files
Vonnegut	4 files
Mailer	26 files
Heinlein	32 files ¹⁸

Regarding the files corresponding to Pynchon, both entries represented attempts to publish a Spanish edition of Pynchon's first novel, *V* (1963). The original work was submitted for inspection in 1964 (File no. 1560-64), and again in 1966 (File no. 449-66).¹⁹ However, no translated text resulted from these efforts. The censorship board did initially authorize the publication, pending suppressions on seven pages; however, the publishers abandoned the project due to the fact that the author himself would not accept the changes required in the translation (File no. 1560-64).²⁰ While the lack of translated texts from the period of the dictatorship meant that there would be no basis for a textual analysis of Pynchon translations, the censors' reactions to the author's work will be discussed in section 4.3 as part of the broader panorama of counterculture texts reviewed by the Spanish censors.

The files corresponding to Wolfe revealed that three of his early collections were published in translation in the final years of the dictatorship with no complaints or interventions from the censors. The first was a translation of *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-*

¹⁷ Strikingly, while a handful of Brautigan's novels were translated in the following decades, his most iconic work, *Trout Fishing in America* (1967), was not published in Spain until recently, in a 2010 edition by Blackie Books, *La pesca de la trucha en América*.

¹⁸ While thirty-three files were actually listed in the database, it should be noted here that one of the files catalogued under Heinlein's name, *Monstruos del espacio* (File no. 5993-54), was in fact the work of A. E. Van Vogt, which was listed correctly in the file itself.

¹⁹ Here, it should be noted that the two digits of the File number that follow the dash (-) correspond to the year the work was submitted to the censorship board.

²⁰ *V* was finally published by Tusquets in 1987.

Flake Streamline Baby (1965), published under the title *El coqueto aerodinámico rocanrol color caramelo de ron* (File no. 15169-72). The second was a translation of *Radical Chic & Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers* (1970), published under the title *La Izquierda Exquisita y Mau-mauando al parachoques* (File no. 11907-73). These were followed by a translation of *The Pump House Gang* (1968), under the title *La banda de la casa de la bomba y otras crónicas de la era pop* (File no. 4119-75).

Considering this interest in Wolfe's writing, it is especially telling that no attempt was made to translate his experimental nonfiction novel, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), which actually came out the exact same day as *The Pump House Gang*, and had garnered significantly more attention. Not only was *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* Wolfe's most celebrated work, it was his primary connection to the counterculture. Indeed, he was more generally known as an "outsider" to that scene (Macfarlane 2007, 125-128). While the author was consistently recognized for his exciting and innovative style, his choice of subject matter in *Kandy-Kolored* and *Pump House* had been described as "a bore" by a *New York Times* reviewer (Bryan 1968, BR1). Yet, in the same review, *Electric Kool-Aid* was qualified as "an astonishing book, . . . a celebration of psychedelia," significant because "it accurately and absolutely depicts the change that has occurred in the ethics in the American Young" (Ibid.). Of the novel, Macfarlane describes that "Even though Wolfe does not drop acid, he does approach the drug in an open and curious fashion" (Macfarlane 2007, 119). Yet, Wolfe's immersed and non-judgmental approach to describing the LSD-imbued journey of author Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters²¹ contrasts with the journalist's distant, mocking stance toward the figures portrayed in *Radical Chic & Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers*. In the earlier account of high-society New Yorkers who aligned with the Black Panthers to combat civil rights abuses, Wolfe had come off not as a participant but as a "voyeur," lacking the

²¹ Merry Pranksters is the name commonly used for Kesey's close group of companions during this period.

compassion and depth to engage with the seriousness of the matter (Epstein 1970, 3).²² Taking these aspects into consideration, the censors' indifference to Wolfe's collections is not surprising. Without *Electric Kool-Aid*, the submissions of Wolfe cannot be said to represent counterculture sensibilities, though they undoubtedly offer relevant examples of a budding New Journalism.²³ For this reason, Wolfe's collections are not included in the textual analysis. However, the fact these works were introduced in Spain, while his most well-known work was not, is no doubt significant for understanding the trajectory of counterculture narratives during the dictatorship, and will be discussed further in sections 4.3 and 4.4.

Of the entries for Heller, all four corresponded to submissions of *Catch-22*, which until 1974 was his only published novel. The Spanish edition, *Trampa 22*, was first authorized in 1962 (File no. 3442-62) and saw reprints approved in 1968, 1973 and 1975. Often compared to Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five*, which shared a similar vein of antimilitary satire, the novel is considered to be one of the earliest works to exemplify the "anti-establishment tone" of sixties-era literature (Macfarlane 2007, 153). Indeed, its popularity grew steadily throughout the decade alongside rising disaffection toward the Vietnam War (154). Yet, surprisingly, the censorship board did not pick up on the antimilitarism inherent in *Catch-22*. Identifying it as a war novel, the two-sentence censor's report pointed only to the soldiers' poor mental health, brought on by the 'panic' of war, and the presence of 'feminine elements' said to lure the soldiers into to a variety of transgressions, including "operaciones de mercado negro, sabotaje y venta al enemigo de secretos militares" (File no. 3442-62). The cursory report did not link the squadron's degeneration in the novel to any broader criticism of military institutions. At a time when Heller's notoriety was found mainly 'underground' (MacFarlane 2007, 154), and before the U.S. antiwar movement was so

²² One of the groups associated with "Black Power," the Black Panthers will be discussed further in section 4.2.

²³ Some of the key texts and characteristics of New Journalism will be described further in section 4.4.

visible, the Spanish censors may not have suspected the potential draw of Heller's first novel. In any case, they showed little interest.

Heller's second novel, *Something Happened* (1974), was translated for Spanish readers in 1976, under the title *Algo ha pasado*. Thus, with only one potential text for analysis, consideration of Heller's work in Francoist Spain would present significant limitations. While a descriptive study regarding the translation of *Catch-22* could very well reveal instances of self-censorship at the hands of translators and/or editors, it would offer little or no insight regarding the give and take of censorship negotiations over time. Still, the introduction of Heller's first novel will be discussed in section 4.3.

With similarly few entries, Vonnegut's trajectory before the censorship board presented, in contrast, a more substantial object of analysis. The four files for Vonnegut in this period correspond to a 1966 submission of *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965), followed by 1969 submission of *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), resubmitted in 1975, and a 1974 submission of *Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon* (1974). While *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater*, like Heller's novel, was authorized without impediment, this was not the case for the other two works. The documents found within the 1969 file for *Slaughterhouse-Five* account for five months of negotiations which ended in *Matadero cinco* being authorized for export, but not for circulation in Spain (File no. 12964-69). And the 1975 file reveals that a later request for reconsideration came just one month after Franco's death. The novel was thus authorized in national territory in December 1975 (File no. 13607-75). Regarding the earlier submission of *Wampeters*, the censors had warned that authorization would depend on significant modifications in the translated text. Then, *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes* was submitted to Voluntary Consultation in March 1975 and the censors did grant authorization at that time (File no. 9587-74). However, the publisher chose not to print the work until 1977 (File no. 4103-77).

In this sense, the four Vonnegut files exposed extensive negotiations and precautions informed by the mechanisms of Francoist censorship, and serve as a well-documented point of entry for analyzing translations of the author in Franco's Spain. Even though the last of these files actually came after the end of the regime, it represents the final chapter of a negotiation process that had begun six years prior. Despite the delayed circulation of *Matadero cinco* and *Guampeteros*, the fact remains that all three works were translated during the dictatorship, and thus provide sufficient material for a descriptive-comparative study of Vonnegut works during this period.

Regarding the twenty-six entries for Mailer, the first significant detail is that only twelve of these resulted in target texts. Ten other submissions were denied authorization outright; two were authorized pending revision of the translation, never produced; and two were authorized pending suppressions, yet were never resubmitted with the indicated changes. It is also worth noting that three of the resulting publications were actually written in Catalan. Of the nine ultimately published in Spanish, a translation of *The Presidential Papers* (1963) was the first. *Crónicas presidenciales* was authorized in 1964 without objection (File no. 2896-64). Yet, the entries for a handful of other translations published in the late sixties and early seventies revealed a great deal of negotiation and maneuvering in the efforts to publish works that had been an integral part of Mailer's counterculture trajectory. For example, it took seven months of negotiation in 1969 to secure authorization for *Los ejércitos de la noche*, a translation of *The Armies of the Night* (1968), which was Mailer's prize-winning account of the 1967 March on the Pentagon to protest the Vietnam War (File no. 3247-69). Another work on 'hipster' culture was submitted in 1970, under the title *Hipsters*, and initially deemed unpublishable.²⁴ It was then resubmitted and ultimately allowed to circulate in 1973, as *El negro blanco* (File no. 10454-70). The work features a

²⁴ The term 'hipster' will be explored further in Section 5.3.2.

translation of Mailer's controversial essay "The White Negro" and a handful of other pieces published in *Advertisements for Myself* (1959), though, notably, it includes only a fraction of the pieces from the collection.

The outcome was not so different for the translation of *Cannibals and Christians* (1966), which included an assemblage of the author's essays, short fiction and poetry. In this collection, Mailer is said to get at the "the insomniac, drug-ridden fancy of modern America," and with his "hallucinogenic eye" offer "a guide to the new demonology" (Sheed 1966, BR1). Upon inspection of the English-language text in 1969, the censors tentatively authorized *Cannibals* but also suggested that a few suppressions would be necessary for the translation (File no. 6808-69). Part of the text was then submitted in Catalan and authorized with suppressions in 1971 (File no. 2964-71). Yet, it was 1975 before a Spanish translation was produced. Though finally authorized without suppressions, *Caníbales y cristianos* included only part of Mailer's original work (File no. 6808-69). A second part was submitted in 1976 under the title *Días de gracia y arena* (File no. 3559-76). Exposing noticeable gaps in publication dates and translated content, the files for these translations suggested that the publication and censorship strategies developed in relation to Mailer's sixties-era works were far from straightforward.²⁵

Through a combination of the censors' repeated rejection of novels such as *An American Dream* (1965) and *Why Are We in Vietnam?* (1967), the glaringly partial and long-delayed translations of *Advertisements for Myself* (1959) and *Cannibals and Christians* (1966), and the extensive negotiations required for a Spanish edition of *The Armies of the Night* (1968), the censorship files for Mailer's works revealed abundant material for a descriptive study regarding the translation and censorship of the author in Franco's Spain.

²⁵ The partiality of the translated texts was so noticeable, in fact, that when the first Catalan text was submitted, the superiors insisted on finding out if the publisher intended to submit more of the work (File no. 2964-71).

Lastly, the thirty-two files for Heinlein plotted another intriguing trajectory. All of the submissions for the science fiction author, save one, were authorized in Spanish translation. It was a 1968 translation of *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961) that proved to be the exception. The novel had just been reprinted in the U.S., as a direct result of its being "discovered and embraced" by members of the burgeoning counterculture (Bowdoin Van Riper 2012, 637). The book, charting "a brave new world for the genre of science fiction . . . became a blueprint for unconventional religious and sexual exploration" (Macfarlane 2007, 96-97). Not only was *Forastero en tierra extraña* (1968) denied authorization in Spain, it was actually reported to the authorities, who had printed copies of the Spanish text destroyed in March 1968. Prior to this, the censors had authorized twenty-three works by Heinlein, only two of which had required minor suppressions. And although eight additional works were authorized from 1968 to 1975—following the destruction of *Forastero*—these did not pass without incident. A translation of *Revolt in 2100* (1953), submitted in June 1968, was similarly deemed unfit for publication. As with *Forastero en tierra extraña*, the censors objected strongly to Heinlein's attacks on religious institutions. Still, a revised version of *Reuelta en el 2100* was authorized later that year, and published in December (File no. 5061-68).

Notably, both works to provoke official censorship had been submitted by the same publisher. Ediciones Géminis had submitted the works in 1968 and was also responsible for three other translations of Heinlein within the span of a few months. These included translations of the novels *Starship Troopers* (1959) and *Farnham's Freehold* (1964) as well as the story "Coventry," initially submitted to censorship as part of the collection *Revolt in 2100*.²⁶ These texts were authorized with little resistance from the censors, resulting in the publication of *Tropas del espacio* (File no. 3325-68) and *Los dominios de Farnham* (File no.

²⁶ Though initially approved as part of *Reuelta en el 2100*, the story "Coventry" was published separately with a piece by Paul Anderson, "The Makeshift Rocket," translated as "Los rebeldes del espacio." Both pieces were included in Géminis's publication titled *Coventry*.

6527-68), in 1968, and *Coventry* (File no. 8440-68) in 1969.²⁷ Yet, one particularly suspicious detail stood out amid these positive verdicts. Whereas the earlier submissions of *Forastero* and *Revuelta* had been found highly objectionable on moral and religious grounds, *Los dominios de Farnham* was actually praised by one censor for the 'Christianly' lifestyles of the protagonists (File no. 6527-68). This was an extremely unusual characterization of Heinlein's work, and thus represented a likely indicator of manipulation in the translation process.²⁸

Following these submissions by Ediciones Géminis, and not counting reprints of previously authorized works, one additional Heinlein novel passed through censorship before the end of the regime—a Spanish translation of *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress* (1966), submitted and authorized under the title *La Luna es una cruel amante* in February 1975. The work narrates an anarchist revolution on the Moon and has been considered to share the kind of "outrageous behavior and unrestricted social theorizing" found in both *Stranger* and *Farnham's Freehold* (Hubble, Filtness and Norman 2013, 43). Expanding on one of the major counterculture themes from *Stranger*, the novel explores numerous alternatives to monogamous marriage, and like *Revolt in 2100*, the action centers on political revolution. Yet, surprisingly, the brief censor's report did not mention either of these subjects, also suggesting the possibility of self-censorship in the translation.²⁹

Given the documented censorship process for *Forastero en tierra extraña* and *Revuelta en el 2100*, and preliminary evidence pointing to self-censorship in the novels *Los*

²⁷ Of the three, only *Coventry* required suppressions prior to publication, and these were sparse.

²⁸ Indeed, a dedicated follower of Heinlein's work, Javier Martínez Salanova, likewise noted suspicious details in *Los dominios de Farnham*, suggesting that sexual and religious references had been subject to manipulation in the Spanish text. Martínez Salanova's work in compiling an exhaustive catalogue of Heinlein works in Spanish translation and his thoughtful observations regarding different translated editions have been invaluable to this study. The HispaRAH catalogue is available online at <http://www.umbella.com/heinlein/index.html>.

²⁹ Here again, the observations of Martínez Salanova pointed to noticeable manipulation in the translation process. He notes that references to sex and Clan marriages are suppressed and/or softened in the translation, and also comments on a significant reduction in the use of neologisms, which leave "el texto en castellano con un sabor menos futurista y tecnicado que el que se proponía Heinlein." *Hisparah*, s.v. "The Moon Is A Harsh Mistress," accessed July 17, 2016, <http://www.umbella.com/heinlein/>

dominios de Farnham and *La Luna es una cruel amante*, there was indeed reason to believe that the Heinlein texts submitted to the censorship board from 1968 to 1975 would reveal a broad range of translation and censorship strategies targeting the counterculture themes in the author's work, particularly the areas of religious dissidence, political uprisings and alternatives to monogamy.

After the examination of the censorship files for all ten authors, and taking into account both the existence of translated texts for analysis and the official documentation regarding the process of censorship, along with clues to the practices of self-censorship, three of these authors were considered prime candidates for the descriptive-comparative study: Kurt Vonnegut, Norman Mailer and Robert Heinlein. Each of these authors had a major counterculture novel translated during the Franco regime. For Vonnegut, it was *Slaughterhouse-Five*; for Mailer, *The Armies of the Night*; and for Heinlein, *Stranger in a Strange Land*. And each had multiple works submitted to Francoist censorship over the same period, provoking a range of reactions from the censors. This would allow for an exploration not just of the censorship mechanisms affecting individual counterculture texts but of the authors' trajectories throughout the dictatorship.

The descriptive-comparative study thus began with a thorough analysis of the censorship files corresponding to Vonnegut, Heinlein and Mailer, in conjunction with additional research on the authors and their works and documentation of any instances of censorship regarding the English-language publications. A brief biographical/bibliographical review of each author was focused especially on their associations with the counterculture and their socially or politically controversial viewpoints as compared to mainstream culture in the U.S., since—as initially tested with Vonnegut—it was hypothesized that the aspects of the authors which had earned them a counterculture reputation in the U.S. would prove to be especially problematic in Franco's Spain.

Research in the censorship files from the AGA was supplemented with information from the catalogues of the National Library of Spain (Biblioteca Nacional de España), the Library of Catalonia (Biblioteca de Catalunya), the Database of Books Published in Spain (Base de datos de libros editados en España. Base de datos del ISBN), the collective Catalogue of State Public Libraries (Catálogo Colectivo de Bibliotecas Públicas), as well as Rebiun (Red de Bibliotecas Universitarias Españolas) and the WorldCat catalogue.³⁰ Since publication details in the censorship files were often recorded prior to the actual printing of a work, these sources helped to verify and fill in information such as the title, collection, format, length and year of publication as well as the name of the translator(s).³¹ In some cases, the catalogues helped to identify publications that were missing from the AGA database or that had been entered incorrectly. Finally, these sources helped to plot the trajectory of each author in terms of the translations that were ultimately published during the years of the regime and to establish a comparison to the body of publications that would arrive in the years after the dictatorship.

In order to contextualize the translation and censorship of these authors under the regime, a broader survey of counterculture publications was also carried out in the Spanish censorship files and library catalogues. The survey was aimed at examining the actions of censors and publishers in relation to a range of works which embodied different aspects of the social upheaval that characterized the 1960s in the U.S. In addition to the counterculture authors that formed part of the preliminary investigation, this survey looked at writers of the

³⁰ The catalogues were also necessary for locating many of the translated editions, which more often than not had to be ordered through interlibrary loans. It is also worth noting that during phases of research in the United States, this researcher discovered that many U.S. public libraries carry the editions of these works that were translated to Spanish under the constraints of Francoist censorship.

³¹ In order to resolve occasional discrepancies or dubious entries in the catalogues, seller sites which included scanned images, such as *iberlibro.com*, *mercadolibre.com* and *todocolección.net*, were used to visualize the actual front covers, back covers, titles and copyright pages of the translated editions in question. These sites were not otherwise used to fill in publication details.

preceding Beat Generation, such as Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg and William S. Burroughs—who had in many ways opened the doors to counterculture lifestyles and themes. The survey also included selected sixties-era works by other socially and politically-engaged novelists, such as James Baldwin and Philip Roth, and nonfiction writings by intellectuals, philosophers, social critics and activists who were at the forefront of counterculture movements, such as Timothy Leary, Alan Watts, Paul Goodman, Noam Chomsky, Betty Friedan, Hal Draper, Martin Luther King and Angela Davis, to name just a few.

Approaching the U.S. counterculture from these different angles, the survey thus allowed for a general vision of the censors' reactions to a number of distinct counterculture themes, which are traced in section 4.2. In terms of translation and publishing outcomes, section 4.3 provides an overview of counterculture translations that were attempted in Spain from 1960 to 1975 and looks at the censorship verdicts for these texts, as compared to those submitted in the years of transition, from 1976 to 1978. Finally, section 4.4 sketches the trajectories of eight publishers who were actively working to introduce counterculture publications under the constraints of Francoist censorship. In these ways, the survey served in the preliminary stage of research to hone in on likely areas of censorship and common publishing strategies for counterculture works, but also in the final stage of research as a means of situating the results of the descriptive analysis of Vonnegut, Heinlein and Mailer. To situate these counterculture translations in an even wider lens, section 4.1 reviews the findings of previous scholars in relation to the common censorship mechanisms and publishing practices that were especially prominent in the last fifteen years of the Franco regime, from 1960 to 1975.

Within the frame of these overlapping contexts (or Systems),³² the main phase of the descriptive-comparative study consisted of a side-by-side analysis of the English-language

³² See discussion of Systems as applied to Descriptive Translation Studies in section 2.

source texts and Spanish-language target texts corresponding to three works by each author.³³

A close reading of each set of texts was aimed at locating censored and censurable passages which were subsequently transcribed as text pairs and later analyzed thematically. Regarding the selection of passages for analysis, the process was informed by the contextual research described above, drawing on the censorship files collected for this PhD Dissertation as well as on the findings of previous studies on the Francoist censorship apparatus, and including documented cases of censorship affecting the original works.

To begin with, those segments of text (passages, expressions, individual words) which the Spanish censors had marked or otherwise highlighted as problematic in the censorship files were automatically considered 'censurable' in the textual analysis, regardless of how they were ultimately rendered in translation. Furthermore, even where no specific passages were flagged, the concerns expressed by the censors in relation to the authors' themes and subject matter were also taken into account, as were any features that had sparked controversy in relation to their English-language publications. In this sense, the preliminary research conducted on each author helped to identify particular features and subject matter that might have been especially contentious in a given work. The survey of counterculture publications also served to identify general themes (such as drug-use, free love or civil disobedience) that had frequently put the censors on alert in regard to sixties-era works. Finally, the areas that had been identified by previous scholars as enduring targets of Francoist censorship also formed an important basis for analysis. These areas, discussed further in section 4.1, included especially: sexual mores, profane or obscene language, criticism of religious institutions and political views that represented opposition to the regime.

The close reading of each text thus took into account these broader categories of censurable material, while also pinpointing problematic content that emerged within the

³³ While for Vonnegut there were three total translations, which all formed the basis of the descriptive analysis, the selection of texts by Heinlein and Mailer will be developed further in sections 5.2 and 5.3, respectively.

specific context of the authors and works in question, or indeed in relation to the U.S. counterculture. In this respect, it should be noted that passages selected for analysis were not limited to those containing specific words or expressions.³⁴ Rather, the very innovations of counterculture narratives suggested that censurable material might take on unpredictable forms and registers, and would be best detected in the reading of each work.

The passages selected from each work were then transcribed from the source texts and target texts and analyzed as text pairs in order to determine which elements were ultimately (self-)censored in translation, or, alternatively, what kinds of censurable elements persisted in the Spanish texts. The softening, neutralization or omission of censurable segments in translation was understood to be the result of (self-)censorship, whereas the presence of censurable elements was considered an expression of non-censorship or "permissiveness."³⁵ In many cases, of course, censurable segments were neutralized in part, and were thus considered partially-censored. The range of censorship outcomes were then examined in relation to different subject areas and analyzed in the context of each publication in order to finally assess the extent to which the Spanish translation could be said to function as a subversive text in the target culture.

Following the analysis of the individual translations, censorship outcomes were compared across the nine works and three authors in order to detect any regularities with regard to the particular authors and subject areas (sex, obscenity, drugs, politics, religion), as well as text type (novels, short fiction, nonfiction), publication date and format, among other

³⁴ In Gómez Castro's corpus study from 2009, the elaboration of a list of "anchor terms" proved useful for digitally scanning the texts for sensitive passages in order to later analyze the relative permissiveness of the target context with regard to the passages in question. However, the preliminary study of Kurt Vonnegut suggested that the playful use of language and absurd or satirical humor characteristic of counterculture authors would mean that a large part of the censurable material in these works might not include obvious expressions of obscenity or irreverence, and would require the interpretation of the reader for detection.

³⁵ Gutiérrez Lanza (2000), along with Rioja Barrocal (2008) and Gómez Castro (2009), employ the concept of 'permissiveness' in regard to the seemingly dangerous content that was actually accepted in certain publications. Rioja Barrocal, for example, explains how the identification of 'pernicious' segments which went uncensored serves to define the "umbral de permisividad," or 'threshold' for such content (iv), while Gómez Castro discusses the degree of permissiveness applied to different texts and topics (2009, 335).

factors. As such, analyzing the range and type of censorship applied in different areas and in the context of different publication scenarios helped create a window for understanding the translation and censorship process as a site of negotiation within a given cultural-historical moment.³⁶ In this way, textual evidence was considered not only in light of the censors' range of actions, as documented in the censorship files, but also as part of broader publishing and translation strategies. To this end, the analysis of each work was supplemented with additional research on the publishers and translators.

In some instances, the preliminary data (also 'paratextual' or 'metatextual' features) of the translated texts offered important clues as to the publishing and translation strategies employed, and where these pertain especially to censorship outcomes they are discussed in the Descriptive Study.³⁷ The cover art, title, title page, preface, table of contents and translator's notes, among other elements, helped to situate the translations within a certain cultural context and were examined with regard to how they may have affected the censors' perceptions. Moreover, the analysis of these elements helped to determine the extent to which publishers and translators had emphasized or de-emphasized the counterculture associations of given works. Similarly, the collection or series in which the work was included also offered important clues as to the positioning of each translation in the literary culture of Spain.

³⁶ Following the proposal of Merino Álvarez (1999, 115), "la perspectiva histórica de la censura franquista" thus serves "como balcón desde el que asomarse a la realidad concreta de las traducciones . . . como hecho de cultura" (119), with the inverse implication that these facts—the translated texts—may also serve as a window that sheds light on the historical moment.

³⁷ In their 1985 piece "On Describing Translations," Lambert and Van Gorp lay out the analysis of Preliminary Data as the first basic step to a descriptive approach. This includes information that is transmitted in the title and title page as well as "metatextual" features, such as the introduction, preface and footnotes, and consideration of whether or not the translation is 'complete' or 'partial' (1985, 52). Indeed, this overlaps heavily with the concept of "paratexts" described by Genette, a term he uses to refer to elements that "surround [the text] and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it . . . to ensure the text's presence in the world, its reception and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book" (1997, 1). These "accompanying productions . . . [enable] a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public." Within the broader paratext, Genette distinguishes two categories: 'peritexts,' "inserted into the interstices of the text" like the examples mentioned above, and 'epitexts,' originally "located outside of the book," such as interviews, conversations or letters (5).

At the macrotextual level, decisions regarding format, text divisions and length were also considered in relation to their possible implications for censorship.³⁸ Of particular interest was the publication of translated texts which corresponded to a partial selection of pieces or segments from a much larger work in English. These cases would present some of the more glaring examples of translation as "a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, [and] structuration" also including the "refusal of information," as described by Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002, xxi). Such decisions would also have direct implications for the kind of series and format the work might be printed in, for instance, as a pocket-size paperback which could be sold at a cheaper price.

Beyond the information that could be gleaned from the physical texts, a survey of other titles published by these publishers around the same time, sometimes as part of a specific series, offered additional insight into how the counterculture translations were conceived. Considering, for example, that all three Vonnegut translations were submitted by a single publishing house, Ediciones Grijalbo, and that three of the most provocative Heinlein works were all submitted by Ediciones Géminis in 1968, the exploration of the publishers' trajectories presented an important avenue of inquiry that would serve to further contextualize the translation and censorship process of the counterculture works analyzed in section 5. This exploration was based largely on bibliographic and censorship data for the period in question, but in some cases included additional relevant information regarding personal or professional positions of the editors themselves, many of whom have published accounts of this period in the form of memoirs and interviews.

³⁸ In Lambert and Van Gorp's model, the examination of Preliminary Data is followed by analysis of the text at the "macro-level" and then at the "micro-level," where the macro-level is understood to encompass aspects relating to the books format and structure beyond the level of words or sentences, and the micro-level would include analysis of word selection, grammatical patterns, literary devices, etc. (1985, 52). While this specific order of operations need not be the only way to approach translated texts (that is, macro-level followed by micro-level), scholars such as Tymoczko have reiterated the value of descriptive studies that ultimately "[show] a convergence—working towards the macroscopic from the direction of the microscopic, or vice versa, so that one's data from the macroscopic level are complemented and confirmed by the data from the microscopic level" (2002, 17). Within the scope of this PhD Dissertation, the examination of macro- and micro- level shifts will be focused on elements that pertain to censorship.

Although biographical information regarding the translators was often more limited, the library catalogues were used to outline other relevant titles, common text types or genres and the main publishing houses to which they had dedicated their labor, as well as any publications that they had authored and the approximate years of professional activity. In some cases the texts themselves offered explicit clues as to the translator's intentions, in the form of notes or introductions, and in other cases their involvement in certain circles or cultural projects also helped to fill in notions of the translator's interests and motivations, especially with regard to dissident and counterculture movements. In three cases, contact information could be tracked down for the translators and they were reached by email, with all three responding at length regarding their experiences with censorship.³⁹ These included two of the translators for works by Heinlein, and one translator for a work by Mailer:

- Manuel Bartolomé López *Forastero en tierra extraña* (1968)
- Jesús de la Torre Roldán *Tropas del Espacio / Revuelta en el 2100* (1968)
- Isabel Vericat *El negro blanco* (1973)

In these cases, the translators' deliberations also informed the descriptive analysis, offering additional insight into the translator's role (or lack thereof) in negotiating censorship outcomes. By extension, the perspectives of the translators likewise shed light on the practices of editors and publishers, helping to identify cases where censorship decisions were carried out without the knowledge or participation of the individual translator, or after the initial translation task.⁴⁰

Lastly, the results of the descriptive analysis of Vonnegut, Heinlein and Mailer were situated within the broader survey of counterculture publications in Franco's Spain and

³⁹ A selection of the translators' responses is included in Appendix A2.

⁴⁰ Where such evidence or documentation does not exist, the particularities of the translated text must be taken as the combined result of multiple agents, including the translator, but also the editors and publishers, in addition to other creators or intermediaries who may have a hand in the translation and publishing process. In this sense, Gómez Castro adopts Hulpke's concept of the "composite agent" to refer to the various people or institutions involved in the process (2009, 139). Where not distinguishable, such agents will be described in this PhD Dissertation as "the translator and/or editors." Yet, where evidence does exist, it is important to discuss the distinction of these roles, which may offer valuable insight into the division of labor and the weight of economic factors in translation outcomes.

through the findings of previous scholars of Francoist censorship. Where possible to establish common practices of translation and censorship affecting counterculture publications during the Franco dictatorship, these were compared to the regularities and norms identified through the corpus studies of Rioja Barrocal (2008) and Gómez Castro (2009) regarding translations of popular and best-selling narratives that were considered representative of the period in question. The comparison was aimed at testing these regularities and norms for counterculture narratives in order to confirm where the translation and censorship practices applied to these works proved consistent with previous findings or, alternatively, to identify practices that diverged from the established patterns in the specific context of counterculture translations. In addition to further completing the "mosaic" of translation history in Spain (Merino Álvarez 2008, 14), this comparison would ultimately serve to address the question of whether counterculture narratives—which were notoriously controversial in the U.S.—had also provoked *special* scrutiny or repression under Francoist censorship.⁴¹

⁴¹ The qualifier *special* is emphasized here to express both intensity (a greater degree of censorship) and particularity (censorship based especially on the counterculture associations of the works in question).

2. Theoretical Framework: Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)

With the view that literary translation represents both a process and a product of cultural production, which is inherently subject to different types of manipulation and influence in relation to its historical and socio-cultural (including political and ideological) context, this study draws on the theoretical concepts and models developed in Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) in order to examine the translations of U.S. counterculture texts in relation to the restrictive controls of the Franco regime. Recognizing that a significant amount of work has been dedicated to the application and adaptation of such models in recent years—both internationally and within Spain¹—this section is aimed primarily at introducing those concepts and approaches that have been essential to the framing of this PhD Dissertation, particularly as they apply to the case studies of Kurt Vonnegut, Robert A. Heinlein and Norman Mailer in Franco's Spain.

The field of Descriptive Translation Studies was conceived in the 1970s with the aim of approaching translation, not through the age-old evaluation of the literary merits and shortcomings detected in particular translations but rather through the systematic study of translational phenomena, as both a creative process and a physical manifestation (the text) and serving a specific role or function within a given culture.² Through the notion of translated texts as "facts of a target culture" (Toury 1995, 23), the study of translation has been oriented toward the receiving ("target") context and the conditions in which translation activity takes place, amid a broader panorama of cultural expression. Thus, Descriptive

¹ In particular, the Descriptive approach has been one of the cornerstones of the research developed by the TRACE project at the University of León and the University of the Basque Country, discussed ahead. See, for example, Rabadán (2000), Merino Álvarez (2008), Rioja Barrocal (2008), Gómez Castro (2009), García González (2009) and Gutiérrez Lanza (2015).

² The 1972 essay by James S. Holmes titled "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" is "generally accepted as the founding statement of the field," in which the scholar "laid out the scope and structure of the new discipline" (Gentzler 2001, 93). In the essay, Holmes divides the broader Translation Studies into three branches: Descriptive, Theoretical and Applied. The present thesis is thus especially concerned with the Descriptive branch, aimed at "[describing] the phenomena of translations as they manifest themselves in the world" (94). Within this branch, Holmes also outlines three basic types of descriptions: process-oriented, product-oriented and function-oriented (Ibid.).

Translation Studies have especially furthered a "target-oriented" approach to understanding translation. Theo Hermans, developing the thesis of manipulation, posits that "from the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose" (1985, 11).³ Elaborating on this thesis, Lefevere and Bassnett posit that "Translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way" (1990, ix). Further applying this idea to questions of power, Tymoczko and Gentzler state that "'writing' about other cultures necessarily takes place from a cultural and social perspective and on behalf of a political one" (2002, 1). Taken together, these notions give rise to useful questions that can be applied to any translated text or set of texts, perhaps most basically: What kind of manipulation was carried out in the translation process? and Why? Situating translation as an act of cultural expression in its own right, these questions might be: What characteristics and features are made visible (or invisible) in the translated text? What was the context of its conception and publication? Or simply: Why and how was the translation introduced in the target culture? And, finally: What are the ramifications of the text in relation to the culture in question?

In its essence, "the descriptive method takes the translated text as it is and tries to determine the various factors that may account for its particular nature" (Hermans 1985, 13).

As such, mapping the historical and sociocultural context of a given translation or set of

³ Following the 1985 collection *The Manipulation of Literature*, edited by Hermans, the group of translation scholars initially forwarding and developing concepts of manipulation has come to be known as "The Manipulation School," though Hermans himself insists that "The group is not a school, but a geographically scattered collection of individuals with widely varying interests, who are, however, broadly in agreement on some basic assumptions. . . . What they have in common is, briefly, a view of literature as a complex and dynamic system; a conviction that there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies; an approach to literary translation which is descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systematic; and an interest in the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translations, in the relation between translation and other types of text processes, and in the place and role of translation both within a given literature and in the interaction between literatures" (1985, 11). This common basis thus united translation scholars out of the Netherlands and Belgium, such as Holmes and Hermans as well as José Lambert and André Lefevere (who later collaborated closely with Susan Bassnett), and Israeli scholars Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury, who were forwarding the use of the Polysystem theory in the study of translated texts (Vidal Claramonte 1995, 60).

translations will enable a better understanding of the position and function of the translated text(s) in the broader culture, and may offer valuable clues regarding the role of translators and editors in cultural production—and even cultural transformation. This kind of contextual approach also draws on the concepts of Systems and Polysystems developed by Even-Zohar (1979), Lefevere (1985), Toury (1995), Hermans (1999) and others, who have conceived of literature and culture as interacting realms—or systems—that can both influence and be influenced by the production of translated texts.⁴

Thus, Descriptive Translation Studies will not only yield valuable information regarding the relationship of one text to another—the original (source text) to the translation (target text)—but also regarding the relationships among different literatures and cultures which are made visible through the act of translation. Because translation "represents a crucial instance of what happens at the interface between different linguistic, literary and cultural codes" (Hermans 1985, 11-12) and "inevitably confronts different languages and cultural traditions, and hence different conventions and norms on each pertinent level" (Toury 1999, 21), the descriptive study of translational phenomena will prove especially illuminating in regard to the sociocultural (including political and economic) contexts surrounding cross-cultural encounters. Susan Bassnett thus describes the study of translation phenomena as

. . . an ideal 'laboratory situation' for the study of cultural interaction, since a comparison of the original and the translated text will not only show the strategies employed by translators at certain moments, but will also reveal the different status of the two texts in their several literary systems. More broadly, it will expose the relationship between the two cultural systems in which those texts are embedded. (2007, 19)

Hermans likewise highlights that this "intercultural traffic" will involve "agents who are both conditioned by these power structures or at least entangled in them, and who exploit or attempt to exploit them to serve their own ends and interests, whether individual or

⁴ Though diverging significantly in their conceptualization of systems, Lefevere, Toury and Hermans all cite Even-Zohar's work as an important influence in their own applications of a system-oriented approach to Translation Studies.

collective" (1996, 27). Indeed, the sociocultural dimension of translation has emerged as a crucial focus of Descriptive Translation Studies, and recent scholarship continues to highlight the complex social role played by translators who operate within given societal structures and constraints but also have the capacity to "act upon" those same structures (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002, xvii). As "cultures, communities, groups construe their sense of self in relation to others and by regulating the channels of contact with the outside world" (Hermans 1999, 95), translators can be seen as operating under a given set of constraints, or norms, in the target culture, though they may, alternatively, use translation as a means of operating outside of or against these very constraints (Lefevere 1985, 225). They may even act as agents of change (Gentzler 1996, 134), and indeed, "translators, as much as creative writers and politicians, participate in the powerful acts that create knowledge and shape culture" (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002, xxi).

In the area of literature, Toury posits that the requirements and expectations for any literary translation will be defined by at least two distinct traditions which in certain aspects may turn out to be "incompatible" or even "opposed" (Toury 1980, 56). In this regard, "Translations can be potentially threatening precisely because they confront the receiving culture with another, different way of looking at life and society, a way that can be seen as potentially subversive, and must therefore be kept out" (Lefevere 1992b, 14). On one hand, a literary translation will be positioned as a work of literature in the target culture, and on the other hand as a representation of another text "belonging to some other culture" (Toury 1999, 21).⁵ In this light, the translators and other literary agents involved in the translation process can be seen as intermediaries between these different cultural traditions, each conditioned by a unique constellation of conventions and norms.

⁵ Note that this is likewise true for pseudotranslations or "fictitious translations" (original works presented as translations) inasmuch as they represent a certain imported aesthetic, even if they are actually produced by native writers (Toury 1995, 30). For an examination of this type of text in Franco's Spain, see Rabadán (2000b).

Toury, in this aspect, describes a continuum between "adequacy," translating according to the norms of the source literature and culture, and "acceptability," translating according to the norms of the target literature and culture (1995, 56-57).⁶ Yet, in a decidedly target-oriented approach to analysis, other possible continuums and modes of translation also become visible, as the translator's straying from the norms of the target culture will not necessarily equate to greater adherence to the norms of the source.⁷ Rather, beyond considerations that relate directly to the source text and source culture, the positioning of a translation in the target culture will vary widely depending on the purpose and context of its publication—just as it would for any original work of literature. Moreover, scholars such as Baker (2009) have criticized the notion of norms "for focusing on repeated, abstract behaviour rather than the intricacy of concrete, everyday choices" (193). That is,

By focusing our attention on repeated behavior . . . norm theory 'privileges strong patterns of socialization into that behaviour and tends to gloss over the numerous individual and group attempts at undermining dominant patterns and prevailing political and social dogma.' (Ibid.)

As such, in approaching a set of U.S. counterculture texts found to be highly idiosyncratic and markedly subversive in the source culture, this PhD Dissertation will not place primary emphasis on the establishment of norms and regularities in the translation process but rather

⁶ Norms, in this sense, are understood to be "regularities of translation behaviour within a specific sociocultural situation" (Baker 2009, 189). In Toury's conceptualization, where a translation falls on the spectrum between "acceptability" and "adequacy" (described above) represents the "initial norm" which might orient the researcher toward the subsequent sets of norms informing the process. This is followed by "preliminary norms", affecting, among other things, the types of texts to be translated, the languages or countries they come from, and the specific selection of works, and "operational norms" governing "the decisions made during the act of translation" (Toury 1995, 59). Among these, the theorist contemplates "(a) *matricial* norms, which have to do with the way textual material is distributed, how much of the text is translated, and any changes in segmentation, . . . and (b) *textual-linguistic* norms, which concern the selection of specific textual material to formulate the target text or replace particular segments of the source text." (Baker 2009, 191).

⁷ Particularly insightful in this regard is Venuti's notion of foreignization, as contrasted with the more common practice of domestication. Here, the scholar explains that "The 'foreign' in foreignizing translation is not a transparent representation of an essence that resides in the foreign text and is valuable in itself, but a strategic construction whose value is contingent on the current target-language situation. Foreignizing translation signifies the difference of the foreign text, yet only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language" (Venuti 1995, 20). While believing that domestication, or "inscribing the foreign-language text with target-language values, both linguistic (fluency) and cultural . . ." (210) is to some extent inevitable—as "foreign languages, texts, and cultures will always undergo some degree and form of reduction, exclusion, inscription," Venuti sees the translator as holding a unique position from which to introduce cultural difference.

will aim to trace the translation, publishing and censorship practices—regular or otherwise—that best reveal, in Baker's words, "the intricate patterns of . . . interplay between dominance and resistance" (2007, 152). In this light, the analysis of counterculture works will not be limited to examining the extent to which the translations were made 'acceptable' through visible norms of (self-)censorship, but will be especially interested in the complex and idiosyncratic ways in which translators, publishers and censors negotiated the subversive aspects of each author and text.

In this regard, the actions of translators and publishers and their respective trajectories in the target culture are crucial to understanding the position and function of the translated text. In this vein, Hermans (1996) affirms that while "Translation used to be regarded primarily in terms of relations between texts, or between language systems[,] today it is increasingly seen as a complex transaction taking place in a communicative, socio-cultural context. This requires that we bring the translator as a social being fully into the picture" (26). Lefevere (1992b) likewise states that "Translations are not made in a vacuum. Translators function in a given culture at a given time. The way they understand themselves and their culture is one of the factors that may influence the way in which they translate" (14). Moreover, a target-oriented approach takes into account the diversity and opposition that exists within the culture itself, viewing the translator as an agent who lines up with certain ideologies and resists others. Lefevere further highlights:

We would do well to remember that cultures are not monolithic entities, but that there is always a tension inside a culture between different groups, or individuals, who want to influence the evolution of that culture in the way they think best. Translations have been made with the intention of influencing the development of a culture . . . (1992a, 8)

With the understanding that translators and publishers are social beings who play an integral role in shaping literary production, Descriptive Translation Studies must inevitably examine the social, cultural, political and economic influences that pull the translator's work

in one direction or another. It is important, then, to map the historical and sociocultural context not only in relation to the translated text, but also in relation to the translators and publishers themselves, whose actions form part of an ongoing process of cultural production and cultural influence. On this point, Lefevere insists that:

Translation needs to be studied in connection with power and patronage, ideology and poetics, with emphasis on the various attempts to shore up or undermine an existing ideology or an existing poetics. . . . Seen in this way translation can be studied as one of the strategies cultures develop to deal with what lies outside their boundaries and to maintain their own character while doing so—the kind of strategy that ultimately belongs in the realm of change and survival, not in dictionaries and grammars. (1992a, 10)

Lefevere's approach is particularly useful in considering the complex mechanism of censorship under the Franco regime. Censorship verdicts not only had direct repercussions for specific texts that were denied authorization, delayed or manipulated, but also indirect repercussions that shaped the operation of Spain's publishing houses, and informed the strategies adopted by writers, editors and translators. In this way, the functioning of the censorship board represents a strong source of "patronage," to use Lefevere's terminology, where those with relative power or influence—the patrons—have the ability "to encourage the publication of translations they consider acceptable" and "quite effectively prevent the publication of translations they do not consider so" (1992c, 19). In the case of censorship, these decisions are largely informed by politics and ideology, although ideology may in turn affect what is considered to be proper form and good taste in cultural production—the dominant "poetics."⁸ In Franco's Spain, this crossover is especially apparent with regard to obscenities and sexually explicit descriptions, which the censors judged to be simultaneously 'immoral' and 'in bad taste.'

⁸ In addition to "patronage" and "poetics," Lefevere (1985) points to three other major constraints on translations; this includes what he refers to as "universe of discourse," or "those features particular to a given culture [that] are, almost by definition, untranslatable or at least very hard to translate," as well as the "natural language in which the work is composed" (the target language), and finally "the original work itself" (232-233).

Also serving in this dual capacity are the publishers, whose decisions both impact the dominant poetics of a given time or place and represent a source of patronage for writers and translators. In Lefevere's view, their "influence on the shaping of translations should not be underestimated" (1992c, 19).⁹ Publishers may work to foreword dominant ideologies and reinforce power relations, or not, depending on their particular affiliations and ends. Publishers might choose to align with, diverge from, or actively oppose and resist other institutions exerting influence. This is an important consideration in the study of translation in Francoist Spain, where editors sometimes had direct contact with the censors and were the most alert to the functioning and outcomes of censorship. On one hand, editors were ultimately responsible for carrying out the will and instructions of the censorship board, and may be seen to extend censorship mechanisms through the self-censorship in the selection and editing process. On the other hand, publishers and editors were in the best position to push back against censorship, as their decisions regarding what texts to attempt and what strategies to employ in their negotiations with the censors also represented the main source of dialogue, mediation and resistance in regard to the censorship decisions affecting translated works.

The work of the translator in Franco's Spain must then be situated within these realms of activity, since his or her labor would undoubtedly be conditioned by the negotiation between publishers and censors, including in what types of translations would be commissioned in the first place. Yet, even as these systems of patronage and poetics define certain constraints for translators, it is worth emphasizing that translators "have the freedom to stay within the perimeters marked by the constraints, or to challenge those constraints by trying to move beyond them" (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990, 10). On this point, Tymoczko and Gentzler also insist that the translator's role cannot be reduced to the dichotomy of either

⁹ Certainly, the work of publishers will also shape the dominant poetics of a given time and place, and must be considered in conjunction with their role as patrons.

"collud[ing] with the status quo . . . or oppos[ing] a particular hegemony," but rather that "often with divided allegiances, representing the status quo while simultaneously introducing new forms of representation, the translator acts as a kind of double agent in the process of cultural negotiation" (1992, xviii-xix).

Finally, the point should not be lost that the processes of translation and censorship are both shaped by the cultural conditions, particular ideologies and circumstantial choices of the individuals involved. This is clear of the translator and editor, but also of the censor. Operating under unique sets of constraints, all three figures have their livelihoods at stake as they make decisions regarding translated texts. Like the translator and editor, the censor also works within, and may contribute to, changing conditions and a shifting culture. The fact that the censor is poised to block, delay, manipulate and erase the textual expressions that are put on his or her desk (acts that are seen as destructive rather than creative or generative) does not make this any less true. Certainly, just as "rewritings can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices . . . [they] can also repress innovation, distort and contain" (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990, ix). Therefore, as a form of rewriting, "la traducción . . . muestra una doble faceta: supone un factor de enriquecimiento, contribuyendo a la evolución de la literatura y la sociedad, pero también puede ser utilizada para el empobrecimiento de las mismas" (García González 2009, 169). In this regard, censors, like editors, formed part of a strong system of patronage, and had a significant role in establishing the "norms" for translation activity under the Franco regime. Yet, they themselves were not the ultimate authority. The censors who reported on different works operated within the hierarchy of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, where the final verdicts were often left to the superiors. The superiors responded to the Minister, who, in turn, responded to General Franco. Thus, individual censors worked under their own set of norms and constraints, and (like translators or editors) might

sometimes stay within the normal 'perimeters' and might other times challenge or subvert the rules of the game.

It is worth noting, for example, that the censors under the Franco regime always had to argue their case for censoring or not censoring proposed publications. This meant that within the censor's report for a given text, some elements would be highlighted and others overlooked. Just as "translators must make choices, selecting aspects or parts of a text to transpose and emphasize . . . [which] serve to create representations of their source texts, representations that are also partial" (Tymoczko and Gentzler xviii), the censors, too, can emphasize or deemphasize certain elements in their representation of different texts. Applying the same logic that has been applied to translators, it is clear that "they most definitely do not do so in a mechanistic Universe in which they have no choice" (Lefevre 1992a, 9). In fact, evidence of these complex decisions abounds in the findings of numerous scholars of Francoist censorship who have pointed to the "arbitrary" nature of censorship criteria (see section 4.1).

Without losing sight of the fact that the outcomes regarding particular translations will thus inevitably reflect some set of individual choices (by translators, editors or censors), it is still productive to trace the regularities and patterns that connect sets of texts and broader translation and publishing strategies, or modes of patronage, and that shed light on the cultural or political context in which translations are produced. While the identification of constraints and norms in a given context can never be seen as fully explaining or dictating the translated text, it is nonetheless extremely useful for the purposes of comparison. For example, to note that a particular translation in a given period contains the use of obscenities is not especially illuminating unless you also know that most other translations from the same period do not. With such a comparison, you can begin to ask questions about what has changed. As such, examining the sociocultural conditions that shape and contain literary

production in given (con)texts will make way for exploring the creative strategies employed by writers, translators and editors to elude, subvert and transform those very conditions.

Establishing a descriptive framework for the study of censored translations in Spain, researchers involved with the Translation and Censorship project (TRACE) have carried out a series of database-driven corpus studies on texts translated from English to Spanish in the context of Francoist censorship and have made important strides in mapping the "regularities in translational behavior" and identifying the norms of censorship and self-censorship with regard to specific sub-periods and text types.¹⁰ In terms of narrative texts translated from English in the sixties and seventies, the studies of Rioja Barrocal (2008) and Gómez Castro (2009) have helped to "fill in pieces of the mosaic" by analyzing popular novels translated in the periods 1962-1969 and 1970-1978, respectively.¹¹ The work of these two scholars will thus be crucial for a comparative analysis of U.S. counterculture texts translated over the same periods.

While these prior studies have centered on corpuses of translated texts designed to be especially "representative" of each period (Gómez Castro 2009, 5), the present study will examine texts that due to their counterculture orientation are hypothesized to provoke more extreme or unpredictable modes of translation and censorship. Not only will examination of these texts help to further complete the 'mosaic' described by Merino Álvarez (2008, 14), it will further test and define the norms of translation and (self-)censorship already identified and may serve to trace the edges of translation and publishing behavior under the constraints of censorship. Moreover, by focusing on a set of texts with a markedly counterculture orientation, this PhD Dissertation will also shed light on the censors' reactions to a series of cultural concepts that, when examined together, provide a concentrated view of the

¹⁰ For a succinct overview of the descriptive methodology adopted by TRACE, see Gutiérrez Lanza (2005).

¹¹ Further complementing the analysis of this period are the conclusions gleaned from research in the TRACE_{nh}i database on the Translation and Censorship of English-Spanish Historical Narrative (1939-1985) such as García González's extensive work on the (self-)censorship of Walter Scott: most recently, (2012).

confrontations brewing between the source culture and target culture and a better understanding of the cultural barriers erected through acts of censorship. Lastly, by focusing on texts that were understood to push many different boundaries at once, this examination also lays the ground for exploring how publishers and translators may have used translations of U.S. counterculture texts as a "political weapon," in the manner posed by Gentzler (1996, 120), aimed at breaking down the barriers of the restrictive cultural environment.

Therefore, by bringing into focus the role of the translators, editors and censors who had a hand in creating and publishing (or restricting) the translations of U.S. counterculture texts during this period, and examining the cultural context that enveloped their work, this study proposes on the most basic level to understand and account for the particular characteristics of counterculture translations in Franco's Spain. Furthermore, the examination of these translations will help to test the established norms of translation behavior emerging from the Francoist system of cultural repression. Conversely, by tracing the trajectories of a body of counterculture translations in the target culture, this analysis may offer valuable clues as to the cultural and literary shifts occurring in the final years of the Franco regime and during the Transition.

3. Counterculture Narratives and Censorship in the United States

In order to provide a brief overview of the U.S. counterculture of the sixties and seventies, section 3 outlines major sociocultural and political movements from the period, highlighting common struggles and prominent ideologies as well as major differences among groups that formed part of counterculture movements. This section will also serve to characterize common elements in counterculture narratives and identify those elements that frequently provoked censorship in the United States. Situating these texts within the broader panorama of literary censorship in the source culture, this section will discuss how the visibility of iconic counterculture narratives in public schools and libraries beginning in the sixties—and the backlash from certain community members—also testifies to the rising importance of the counterculture across the country. Finally, connections are drawn to the present-day socio-political context of the U.S. in order to frame the continued relevance of counterculture narratives within ongoing ideological debates.

The U.S. counterculture will be examined here not as a single literary, cultural or political movement, but as a broader current of cultural expansion and confrontation surging out of—and against—the mainstream society. The counterculture can be seen as "a number of loosely connected left-wing or alternative lifestyle movements involving primarily young people" who resisted "the demands and institutions" of U.S. society, amid the backdrop of "the Vietnam War protests and the civil rights movement, both of which called into question America's moral and cultural high ground" (Swartz 2015, 153). With no precise beginning or end, the counterculture era may be studied as a period ranging from the late fifties to the late seventies. Summarizing this period, Ann Charters, a prominent sixties-era scholar, offers a vision of the changing times:

As the 1960's progressed the number of dissident writers and small press publishers swelled in the development of an American 'counterculture.' In this

time of disruptive social changes, the complacency of the 1950's evaporated as the civil rights movement took on a new militancy in the south, the troops were sent to Vietnam, students protested adult authority on college campuses across the nation, LSD became more readily available than peyote as a 'consciousness expander,' and rock music developed as an art form from earlier folk roots and black rhythm and blues. (Charters 2003, xxxiv)¹

Notable here is the amalgam of different developments throughout the decade of the sixties. In addition to the fight for racial equality through the Civil Rights Movement, and rapidly-growing disaffection with the Vietnam War, the push for women's liberation and equality also began to gain force, along with exploration of greater sexual freedom and non-monogamous living arrangements, and the questioning of traditional gender roles. At the same time, many of the writers, artists, musicians and activists who were central to the spread of counterculture ideologies were experimenting with psychedelic drugs and leading the front in alternative lifestyles and culture. In this respect, the counterculture ethos was active on countless frontiers. Approaching a variety of these frontiers through the lens of the censors, eight particular themes stand out in the present project (though they are by no means exhaustive): 1) Hippies; 2) Vietnam and the Anti-War Movement; 3) Civil Rights and Black Power; 4) Women's Liberation; 5) Civil Disobedience; 6) Free Love; 7) Psychedelia; 8) New Religions. These general themes will be discussed further in section 4.2, through the perspective of the Spanish censors.

It is important to remember that within this composite view of the U.S. counterculture, the scope and diversity of activity and cultural production was enormous, touching on a vast array of social, cultural and political issues. Moreover, the groups pushing for social justice or structural change were very often divided amongst themselves. A clear example of such divisions is that many of the women authors and activists involved in leftist

¹ Coming of age with the Beat writers, Charters published the first biography on Jack Kerouac in 1973, and has since represented one of the foremost academic authorities on the Beat Generation, with a number of key works, including *Kerouac: A Biography* (1973), *The Beats: Literary Bohemians in Postwar America* (1983), *The Portable Beat Reader* (1991), *The Portable Sixties Reader* (2003) and *Beat Down to Your Soul* (2001).

political organizations found that despite the common struggle for social change in other areas, these groups were reproducing the same sexist values perpetuated by mainstream society. On this point, Robin Morgan, in her much-cited introduction to the anthology *Sisterhood is Powerful* (1970), describes the experience of women activists of the New Left: "Thinking we were involved in the struggle to build a new society, it was a slowly dawning and depressing realization that we were doing the same work in the Movement as out of it: typing the speeches men delivered, making coffee but not policy. . ." (Morgan 1970, xxiii).² Frances M Beal, in her essay from 1969, "Double Jeopardy: To be Black and Female," sheds light on similar imbalances within the Black Power movement:

Since the advent of black power, the black male has exerted a more prominent leadership role in our struggle for justice in this country. He sees the system for what it really is for the most part, but where he rejects its values and mores on many issues, when it comes to women, he seems to take his guidelines from the pages of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. (2004, 144)

Beal applies another such critique to feminist groups that did not confront other inequalities, stating that "Any white group that does not have an anti-imperialist and antiracist ideology has absolutely nothing in common with the black woman's struggle" (145).

It is thus worth highlighting that although the counterculture arose as a wave of new—and seemingly radical—cultural models and ideologies, counterculture agents should not be seen as totally separate from, or immune to, the forces of the dominant culture. Taking this point to the literary realm, while the boundary-pushing texts of Beat poets and novelists represent an important precursor to later counterculture narratives, recent critiques of the group argue that their rebellious ethics were narrowly limited to personal freedom and fulfillment, surging from—and ultimately reinforcing—the mainstream capitalist structure, dominated by white, middle-class males. Along these lines, Martínez (2003) posits:

² Considered one of the classic texts of New Wave Feminism, the anthology was never published for Spanish readers, though Morgan's later anthology, *Sisterhood is Global* (1984), was published by Hacer (Barcelona) in 1993 under the title *Mujeres del mundo*.

The Beats dissented from participation in the capitalist money making and bourgeois suburban domesticity, but their dissent was directed at recouping or preserving the prerogatives of the self-subsisting and alienated individual. Thus the beats could not mount an effective challenge to the status quo because they shared its underlying ideology. (29)

A further parallel is drawn between McCarthyism and Beat ethics, both with a similar aim:

. . . to protect a liberty and freedom based on laissez-faire individualism: a liberty that combines a rigid hierarchy of competition with a market logic of exchange in which product choice is confused with true political and social agency, and personal movement is privileged at the expense of civic and social movement. (Martínez 2003, 31)

For his part, Macfarlane (2007) argues that hippie youth were never as thoroughly politicized as they were portrayed in the media. The agitation of New Left activists like Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin became "disproportionately associated with the whole of the hippie experience" (137), and with "growing disdain and mobilization against the Vietnam War. . . a decidedly Leftist portrait [was] painted by the mainstream media over the whole of the counterculture" (Ibid.). Certainly, the war would represent common ground for youth that were otherwise un-politicized, since "Apathy and disregard were not an option for young draft-age men. They had to take a stance on the War" (139). Still, despite the fact the "the lifestyle changes invoked by the hippies were irrefutably radical . . . only a portion of hippies were politicized activists in the manner of Rubin and Hoffman, or the San Francisco Diggers" (137).³ Irving Howe also pointed to this tendency of non-politicization in his 1965 essay

³ Hoffman and Rubin founded the Youth International Party (or Yippies), and are especially known for their leadership of the Yippies at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago (Roberts 2012, 299). Both were arrested and stood trial as part of the Chicago Seven, discussed further in section 4.3. The Diggers "remain one of the most legendary groups to have been spawned by San Francisco's counterculture and the Haight-Ashbury scene in the '60s. Founded in 1966, they combined direct action with a flair for the dramatic in an attempt to challenge society's cultural mores. . . . The loosely constructed group took the Digger name from seventeenth-century British radicals who believed that all goods and services should be communal and free. Private property and the use of money were the source of all conflict. Though the modern Diggers' program went beyond the purely economic, the idea of "free" was at the core of their ideology. They opened Free Stores with "liberated"—admittedly, sometimes stolen—goods available to the public at no cost. They served free communal lunch at 4 p.m. every day . . ." (Casey 2012, 180). For an in-depth look at this community, Todd Gitlin dedicates twenty pages to the Diggers in *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (1993, 222-241).

"New Styles in Leftism," arguing that the individualist U.S. society systematically marginalizes political will:

Society not only undercuts the possibilities of constructive participation, it also makes very difficult a coherent and thought-out political opposition. The small minority that does rebel tends to adopt a stance that seems to be political, sometimes even ideological, but often turns out to be an effort to assert a personal style. (Howe 1965, 296)

Over time it has been this emphasis on personal style that has propelled visions of the sixties counterculture into the collective memory of this period, leaving only remnants of any ideological arguments. As David Farber concludes, "Even as the counterculture retreated, much of its energy and style was repackaged by clothing manufacturers and the entertainment industry" (2001, 60).

Still, the societal ruptures and alternate viewpoints evoked in influential narratives of the sixties have played an important role in questioning the dominant institutions and social norms of the country. As part of a growing postmodernist trend, these narratives often provide alternative perspectives on historical events and question the cultural "givenness" of U.S. society, promoting a breakdown of the official story (Geyh, Leebron and Levy 1998, xiii). They represent "efforts to invent 'free' space in a landscape deeply marked with official accounts of national history . . . narratives of assimilation and, more darkly, social control," and offer "examples of how to construct other worlds" (Macfarlane 2007, 144). This kind of alternate vision of history can be seen in Vonnegut's *Breakfast of Champions* (1973):

. . . teachers of children in the United States of America wrote this date on blackboards again and again, and asked the children to memorize it with pride and joy:

1492

The teachers told the children that this was when their continent was discovered by human beings. Actually millions of human beings were already living full and imaginative lives on the continent in 1492. That was simply the year in which sea pirates began to cheat and rob and kill them. (Vonnegut 1973, 18)

From the literary perspective, counterculture texts work to dismantle the myth of a truly objective and unified narrative, purposefully undermining the author's authority in the text and interweaving, or interrupting, accounts of first-hand experiences with elements of irony, absurdity and satire.⁴ In *Catch-22* (1961), Joseph Heller draws on his personal experiences as a bomber in World War II but shapes the narrative through absurdist and satirical scenes, revealing the dehumanizing nature of the military's inner-workings. This comic extreme can be seen with his example of a condolence letter to a soldier's family: Dear Mrs., Mr., Miss, or Mr. and Mrs. Daneeka: Words cannot express the deep personal grief I experienced when your husband, son, father, or brother was killed, wounded, or reported missing in action (Heller 1961, 436). Through the ironic juxtaposition of human sensitivity and bureaucratic mechanization, Heller offers a strong critique of the military system. Similarly, Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) sets out as an autobiography, stemming from the author's personal experiences in World War II, but relies heavily on narrative interruptions and juxtaposition, weaving in and out of a parallel, science-fiction-like subplot, and ultimately reveals a strong critique of the war. These two novels suggest that coming at and describing the events and atrocities of the twentieth century may not be a straightforward narrative path.

Many counterculture authors made use of the possibilities found in science fiction to explore the idea of alternate realities and alternative perspectives on contemporary life, especially for taboo subjects like sex and religion. Robert A. Heinlein explores both topics extensively in *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961), with a number of irreverent commentaries on traditional Christian values. From the safe distance of a man raised as a 'Martian', the protagonist deliberates about human sexual relationships and the scriptures:

⁴ For a thorough discussion of postmodern elements and texts, see Geyh, Leebron and Levy (1998, ix-xxx).

The code says, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife.' The result? Reluctant chastity, bitterness, blows and sometimes murder, broken homes and twisted children—and furtive little passes degrading to woman and man. Is this commandment ever obeyed? (Heinlein 1961, 366)

Along with elements of humor and science fiction, counterculture texts make use of fragmentation, narrative gaps and ruptures, subverting the idea of a continuous, perfectly-explicable chain of events. These texts privilege personal, subjective and often marginalized voices, confronting the notion of objective authority (Geyh, Leebron and Levy 1998, xiii). These techniques call into question even the basic form and structural organization traditionally found in narrative texts, and challenge the use of coherence, closure and linear progression in telling a story. In a broader sense, postmodern and counterculture texts propose an important debate regarding the coherence—or incoherence—of human experience, suggesting that more traditional narrative models give artificial order, structure and authority to lived experiences that are not-so-neatly contained.

Parallel to the rise of counterculture themes and modes of expression, government suppression of literature began to diminish in the U.S. during the sixties (Rembar 1978, xi). The decade saw a number of important court cases dealing with books targeted as obscene, and saw the last of federal-level obscenity charges against works of literature. Nevertheless, questions regarding the acceptability, or unacceptability, of certain types of literature continued to arise in community and state-level disputes. In this regard, public schools and libraries have since been key battlegrounds for book censorship, in the position of serving readers within a particular community, where particular needs and interests may shape the selection of books for library shelves.⁵ It is precisely on such community-controlled shelves that the narratives emerging from the counterculture reveal deep fissures in the values and ideologies held up by U.S. society.

⁵ For a more detailed discussion of book censorship and selection, see Charles Rembar (1978): xi.

Through the process of selection, books for schools and libraries might be chosen or rejected for a number of reasons (including money and space). Rembar posits that the factors for selection would ideally involve: "the reputation of the author, the significance of the subject, the merit of the particular book, [or] the effect the book may have on the education (in the broadest sense) of those who use the library" (1978, xii). Yet, it is clear that other factors are often influential. In cases where book selection for libraries has been based on ideology or politics the process may be considered censorship, since access to certain types of content or thought is blocked. Still, with community-specific standards for selecting books, the clearest cases of censorship are seen with the suppression or removal of books already in the library. Indeed, the physical removal of books would suggest the direct and deliberate attempt to suppress the information contained within. In the U.S., such censorship is generally limited to particular communities and schools, where access is blocked or reduced in targeted environments, but the material remains accessible elsewhere. As some have suggested, the act of suppression in such cases may even arouse greater interest and demand for the censored texts where they are available (Banning 1971, 681). Thus, it was as the censorship process in the U.S. shifted from government-regulated prohibitions to scattered incidents of community suppression—and against a backdrop of cultural and political upheaval—that sixties-era writers began to experiment with greater freedom in their choice of both language and subject matter. As Vonnegut points out, one of the most striking characteristics of his literary generation was being able "to say absolutely anything without fear of punishment" (1981, 3).

In this sense, it is significant that legal boundaries for writers were expanding at the same time that counterculture was becoming an important cultural force across the country. This meant that in places where objections to books were raised, counterculture authors were doubly targeted, since in addition to inciting ideological confrontation through the content of

their works, they also took advantage of greater legal freedoms to include profane and provocative language. In many cases parents and community members or school boards cited examples of obscenity to justify the suppression of books that they were also opposed to ideologically. In this regard, Burrell (1989) affirms that "The existence of hidden motives behind the charges of obscenity seems well established" (44). Politically or socially confrontational works were frequently categorized as "pornography" or "trash" although the accusers often failed to produce any textual examples of explicitly sexual material. As an example of these mixed labels, *Soul on Ice* (1968), the memoir of Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, was targeted by censors as "crime provoking and anti-American," as well as "obscene and pornographic" (Sova 2006a, 261).

In a study of frequently banned books from 1950-1985, Lee Burrell identifies certain types of books that were likely to draw the attention of would-be censors for school libraries, noting that "the substantial literature of the Western world that criticizes racial prejudice, class prejudice, the glorification of war, and other tragic customs often produces complaint" (1989, 44). Indeed, counterculture authors who criticized the Vietnam War, or who pointed out pervasive social inequalities, were prime censorship targets in public schools. For instance, Vonnegut was often characterized as unpatriotic, antichristian and antimilitary in censorship attacks, and his novel *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) called a "degradation of the person of Christ," "full of repetitious obscenity and immorality" (Karolides 2006, 448). James Baldwin's works, in addition to be labeled obscene and profane, were accused of "filling a child's mind with ideas that cause him to lose confidence in the authorities" (Sova 2006a, 171). Ken Kesey's novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962) was said to "glorify criminal activity, have a tendency to corrupt juveniles, and contain descriptions of bestiality, bizarre violence, and torture, dismemberment, death, and human elimination" (245).

As the counterculture gained visibility and force, so did iconic narratives by authors such as Vonnegut, Kesey and Heller. Highly-acclaimed novels that shared counterculture ideologies were being read across college campuses and also incorporated into high school literature courses, often provoking backlash from community members, especially in conservative areas. Where young adults and students were involved, the attention to these texts was that much greater. The power of these works to incite both readership and rejection ultimately speaks to their growing importance, as the ideological battles treated in counterculture narratives also represented the conflicting ideologies of members within the community. What was considered valuable by the teachers or librarians who selected the works was often considered strictly unacceptable to the parents, school boards, religious leaders and community members who fought to suppress them. It is in this context that the true relevance (and fear) of counterculture texts becomes visible, where such narratives were persistently pushing the lines of acceptability and comfort and demanding that community values be questioned.

Truly, the battle lines and fissures made visible with the sixties counterculture are still relevant today. In the 21st century, U.S. society continues to struggle with civil rights in terms of racial and sexual equality, while new frontiers are broached with regard to rights of gay, transsexual and transgendered citizens.⁶ There have been ongoing legal and social battles over the regulation of drug-use, with medicinal marijuana now legalized in twenty-eight states, and recreational use legalized in seven (Ingraham 2017, 1). Yet, as businesses and state governments begin to reap the profits of the growing industry, thousands remain in prison as a result of a 'War on Drugs' that has disproportionately affected black and latino

⁶ In addition to the long-awaited legislation that made gay marriage possible in all 50 states, there has been considerable media attention to the edicts passed by state and local governments concerning the rights and protections of LGBTQ citizens in areas such as housing and employment, as well as the recent controversies relating to transgendered citizens in public restrooms.

communities in the U.S. (Alexander 2010, 60-61). Far from singer Joan Baez's call to "raze the prisons to the ground" (in her "Prison Trilogy" ballad), "the number of people incarcerated in state and local correctional facilities more than quadrupled over the past few decades, rising from about 490,000 in 1980 to over 2 million in 2014," according to a 2016 report from the Department of Education (Stullich, Morgan and Schack 2016, 2).⁷ Indeed, continued mechanisms of racial inequality are most apparent in U.S. prisons, where in 2014 the rate of incarceration remained six times higher for black men than white men (Carson 2015, 1).⁸ The increasing visibility of police brutality inflicted with shocking regularity upon African American citizens has also led to new calls for the protection of basic civil and human rights, voiced especially through protests and marches across the nation declaring that 'Black Lives Matter.' Beginning as a chant at anti-brutality protests, this slogan has been adopted to refer to the broader movement of anti-racist activism, which many are framing as a 'New Civil Rights Movement' (Harris 2015, 34-40).

Looking abroad, many are alarmed by the country's political-economic trajectory around the world, especially the use of U.S. military interventions, as well as evidence in some cases of government and corporate collusion.⁹ Since the events of September 11, 2001,

⁷ The July 2016 brief (based on data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics) emphasizes that during this same period "state and local government expenditures on prisons and jails have increased about three times as fast as spending on elementary and secondary education," and that "At the postsecondary level, the contrast is even starker: from 1989–90 to 2012–13, state and local spending on corrections rose by 89 percent while state and local appropriations for higher education remained flat," U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development, *State and Local Expenditures on Corrections and Education*, Brief from the Policy and Program Studies Service, by Stephanie Stullich, Ivy Morgan, and Oliver Schak, accessed August 10, 2016, <http://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/other/expenditures-corrections-education/brief.pdf>.

⁸ Whereas 1% of white males are incarcerated in the U.S., 6% of all black males are incarcerated, according to the statistics of the U.S. Department of Justice (Ibid.). For a detailed analysis of systemic racism at all levels of the criminal justice system, see Michelle Alexander's study from 2014, *The New Jim Crow*.

⁹ Following the U.S. invasion of Iraq under George W. Bush, private companies such as Haliburton, once run by Vice-president Dick Cheney, secured billions of dollars in contracts in the region (Fifield 2013). A similar link between military intervention and economic gain can be traced in the buildup to U.S. involvement in Vietnam, where the ability to control the region's natural resources was cited by the National Security Council in 1952 as one of four main reasons to prevent communist rule: "Southeast Asia, especially Malaya and Indonesia, is the principal world source of natural rubber and tin, and a producer of petroleum and other strategically important commodities. The rice exports of Burma and Thailand are critically important to Malaya, Ceylon and Hong Kong and are of considerable significance to Japan and India . . ." (National Security Council 1952).

the U.S. has seen a new wave of human rights abuses, along with the cultivation of public fear and mistrust, under a broad and nebulous war on terror (Carter 2012, A19). Through the Patriot Act, the federal government was swift to institute and legitimize unprecedented use of surveillance and detention, including of U.S. citizens, while further promoting racial/cultural profiling in the criminal justice system (Bhatnagar 2009, 9). Indeed, in light of the 2016 presidential election, questions of racial, gender and religious discrimination and concern for the country's increasing militarization—at home and abroad—have never been more relevant.

Meanwhile, the Climate Movement has incited the efforts of diverse activist groups—from college students campaigning for fossil fuel divestment at universities to indigenous communities, such as the Standing Rock Sioux, fighting against the installation of oil pipelines on tribal lands—as it becomes increasingly clear that the climate crisis has a "disproportionate and unequal impact . . . on people of color and the poor," who continue to be the most vulnerable to contaminated lands and water supplies, diminishing natural resources and destabilized environments (Morello-Frosch et al 2009, 5). Amid these ongoing struggles, sixties-era texts persist as models for pushing back against dominant socio-economic and political forces, even as the broader culture grows and shifts. Certainly, many counterculture authors are still widely read and considered culturally relevant—still capable of provoking community backlash, and in some cases, censorship.¹⁰

¹⁰ As recently as 2011, Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* was banned from a school in Republic, Missouri (Morais 2011, Culture).

4. Counterculture Narratives and Censorship in Franco's Spain

A complex system of political, social and cultural repression, censorship under the Franco regime has had direct and indirect repercussions for nearly every kind of cultural outlet, affecting not just the work of authors, poets, playwrights and journalists but also that of editors, publishers, translators, and critics—in addition to intellectuals, artists, musicians and countless others.¹ For this reason, the mechanisms of censorship must be studied from a wide range of angles, each with a focus on particular areas of cultural production and different phases of Francoist repression. Forty years after the transition to democracy, there is still much to understand about the (ongoing) effects of Francoist cultural policies, and indeed the past and present work of a wide range of scholars will help to arrive at a more comprehensive vision of this period. Drawing on previous studies that have traced the various facets of Francoist censorship, and keeping in mind the focus of this thesis, section 4.1 will provide an overview of the political situation, administrative mechanisms and censorial practices that shaped literary censorship under the Franco regime during the 1960s and 1970s.

Following this, section 4.2 will offer a glimpse at the censors' most common reactions to counterculture themes, while section 4.3 discusses the trajectory of counterculture publications in Francoist Spain, and 4.4 profiles seven publishers who were particularly active in pushing the limits of censorship through the submission of counterculture texts.

¹ The effects of Francoist cultural policies were at times felt so broadly that certain studios of Hollywood even tailored their films so as to ensure that they would be distributed in Spain. This was the case of Italian director Gillo Pontecorvo's film *Queimada* (1969), produced by United Artists, which "had earlier offended the Spanish government and its dictator Francisco Franco, who then banned one of its movies, to great financial loss. The risk-averse studio insisted that Pontecorvo fictionalize his history and turn Spain into Portugal. Instead of the Spanish word 'quemada,' the Portuguese 'queimada' was used for the name of the island and the title of the film. All of the Spanish flags, references and characters had to be refilmed as Portuguese." (Stone 2004, 15)

4.1 Censorship under the Franco Regime: Mechanisms, Legislation and Practice (1962-1978)

As an introduction to Francoist censorship, a handful of scholars deserve special mention.² Starting in the mid-seventies, the sociologist Manuel L. Abellán conducted groundbreaking research on the regime's censorship apparatus, publishing an initial series of articles from 1976 to 1979, followed by a monograph in 1980, *Censura y creación literaria en España (1939-1976)*, and additional works in the following decades.³ Abellán's work offers an arduously-documented account of the institutional structures and administrative maneuvers shaping Francoist censorship, and examines the common censorship practices and outcomes (including the actions of censors as well as writers and editors) in regard to different types of literary creations—particularly novels, poetry and plays. Following closely behind, in 1977, Georgina Cisquella, José Luis Erviti and José A. Sorolla carried out the study titled *Diez años de represión cultural: la censura de libros durante la Ley de Prensa, 1966-1976*, which offered an account of this period from the perspective of several key publishing houses.⁴ A later study by scholar J. C. Santoyo, *El delito de traducir* (1985), focused specifically on translations that suffered manipulation under Francoist censorship. Moreover, Santoyo was instrumental in promoting the study of translation history in the Spanish academy and establishing an important line of translation research at the University of León, also situating Spain's translators and interpreters within the broader historiography.

² In addition to academic studies of the censorship apparatus, it is worth highlighting perhaps the earliest and broadest consideration of Francoist censorship—that found in *Censura y política en los escritores españoles* (1975), comprised of interviews conducted by Antonio Beneyto in 1974 and 1975 with 43 Spanish writers. Not only do these interviews offer diverse perspectives on censorship from many of the most relevant Spanish writers of the period, but also considerations from figures such as Ricardo de la Cierva, the acting Minister of Information and Tourism, as well as important publishers who promoted counterculture works, such as Carlos Barral and Salvador Pániker.

³ Abellán himself describes that he was the first Spanish citizen granted access to the censorship records, in 1976, at which time he had to agree to a series of conditions, among these that he would not reveal any of the censors' names (1978, 47).

⁴ This study was re-published in 2002, and the citations that follow will refer to this new edition of the work.

In recent years, scholars at the University of León and the University of the Basque Country have established a common framework through the TRACE research project (TRAducciones CEnsuradas) for tackling the question of censored translations under the Franco regime. Collaborating with researchers at a number of Spanish universities, they have coordinated the study of different sub-periods and text types (narrative, theatre, film and poetry) to provide a comprehensive view of censored translations through a corpus-based approach. This approach has enabled a broad and systematic analysis of the censorship files, while also making way for focused research in different areas. The group's foundational work from 2000, *Traducción y censura inglés-español, 1939-1985: estudio preliminar*, edited by Rosa Rabadán, and subsequent volume of collective results from 2007, *Traducción y censura en España (1939-1985): Estudios sobre corpus TRACE: cine, narrativa, teatro*, edited by Raquel Merino Álvarez, together offer an important basis for understanding the general context of English-Spanish translation under the Franco regime.

More specific to the translations of narrative in the sixties and seventies, the recent doctoral dissertations of Marta Rioja Barrocal and Cristina Gómez Castro offer a systematic view of translated works using the TRACEni database of English-Spanish narrative texts, which was constructed by the researchers with the information garnered from the censorship files.⁵ Rioja Barrocal's study from 2008, *English-Spanish Translation and Censorship of Narrative Texts in Franco's Spain: TRACEni (1962-1969)*, and Gómez Castro's study from 2009, *Translation and Censorship of English-Spanish Narrative Texts in Franco's Spain and its Aftermath: TRACEni (1970-1978)*, cover the two most relevant periods for sixties-era translations, and thus provide an important backdrop for the comparative analysis of U.S. counterculture texts submitted to Francoist censorship.

⁵ This acronym comes from TRAducciones CEnsuradas + n (narrativa) + i (inglés). The databases for other genres follow this same system. For example TRACETi = TRAducciones CEnsuradas + t (teatro) + i (inglés).

Supported by valuable research regarding the censorship files, recent scholarship has also reexamined publishing activity from this period and analyzed the trajectories of different publishing houses in relation to the mechanisms and practice of Francoist censorship. Of particular interest in the area of dissident publishers are the works of journalist Xavier Moret, *Tiempo de editores: historia de la edición en España (1939-1975)* (2002a), and scholar Francisco Rojas Claros, *Dirigismo cultural y disidencia editorial en España (1962-1973)* (2013). While Moret looks at the general trajectory of influential publishers and their actions throughout the regime, Rojas Claros focuses on a group of markedly subversive (though lesser-known) publishers that became active in the mid-sixties. Both studies help to understand the censorship process as a dynamic mechanism that also developed and reacted in relation to publishing activity.

Previous scholars have provided detailed accounts of the nearly forty-year span of Francoist censorship in the context of legal, administrative and political changes under the regime, and regarding different types of publications and different media.⁶ Such accounts consider the shifting mechanisms of the censorship apparatus throughout the Francoist period (1939-1975), and during the transition (1975-1978), thus providing a comprehensive vision of the censorship apparatus over time and in its different facets.⁷ Since this PhD Dissertation aims to examine Francoist censorship specifically in regard to U.S. counterculture works from sixties-era authors, the following pages will bring into focus the circumstances of literary censorship during the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1951, the newly established Ministry of Information and Tourism became the main government body responsible for book censorship and would remain so through the end of

⁶ In regard to literary censorship see especially Abellán (1980), Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla (2002), de Blas (1999), Lázaro (2004), García González (2007) and Rojas Claros (2013). For the period from 1962 to 1969, see Rioja Barrocal (2008), and the period from 1970 to 1978, see Gómez Castro (2009). In regard to press censorship, see Sinova (2006).

⁷ While a merely bureaucratic process of inspection remained in place until 1985, researchers have dated the end of repressive censorship measures to the establishment of Spain's Constitution in 1978.

the dictatorship.⁸ Within the Ministry, this duty fell under the *Sección de Inspección de Libros*, which was "restructured" in 1962 as the *Servicio de Orientación Bibliográfica*,⁹ and again in 1966, when it became the *Sección de Ordenación Editorial*.¹⁰ Beyond this structural reorganization, 1962 and 1966 mark important changes at the hand of a new Minister, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, who replaced Gabriel Arias Salgado in July 1962.¹¹ In his role as Minister, Fraga became the face of the *apertura*, with a mission to improve the regime's public image and build relations with Western democracies, particularly the United States.¹² Most importantly (for the question of censorship), Fraga was the architect of the 1966 Press and Print Law, known as "Fraga's law," which was advertised by the Minister himself as a complete overhaul of the censorship apparatus.¹³

While Fraga's law by no means put an end to the regime's repression, it did change the ways in which such repression was administered. Because of this, it is important to consider the censorship process both before and after the 1966 law. The following pages will outline the legal and administrative changes during this period and consider the evolving practices of the censors and publishers. To this end, it is important to keep in mind that publishing and censorship practices changed and evolved in relation to each other and as part of broader sociocultural and political shifts—never as isolated processes.

A look at the events which ushered in the ministerial changes will provide valuable insight into the period in question. In 1956, Spain had seen the first actions of a budding

⁸ In Spanish, the *Ministerio de Información y Turismo*, or M.I.T. The institution will herein be referred to as the Ministry. Prior to this arrangement, the "Sección de Censura" had fallen under different government bodies, including the *Ministerio de la Gobernación* (1939-1941), *Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular de la Falange* (1942-1945), and *Ministerio de Educación Nacional* (1946-1951) (García González 2007, 220).

⁹ This formed part of the ministerial changes reflected in the Decree 2621/1962 of October 11, 1962.

¹⁰ Considering that in 1939 this activity fell under the *Sección de Censura* of the *Servicio Nacional de Propaganda*, the changes here mark a clear turn toward euphemistic designations (García González 2007, 220).

¹¹ For detailed profiles of the Ministers of Information and Tourism and other key figures associated with the administration of censorship in the sixties and seventies, see Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla (2002, 35-42).

¹² In his work *Franco Sells Spain to America* (2013), Neal M. Rosendorf offers a well-documented account of the Minister's initiatives to build and maintain relations with the U.S. in the 1960s, including, for example, millions invested in the Spanish Pavilion of the 1964-1965 World's Fair in New York (155).

¹³ Officially the *Ley de Prensa e Imprenta* (LPI), this law is also known as the *Ley de Fraga*.

student movement. This was followed by labor strikes in Asturias and Catalonia in 1958, though this form of protest that was still illegal at the time. The regime reacted to both events by declaring states of exception, in February 1956 and March 1958, suspending the basic rights which had been established in the *Fuero de los españoles* (Payne 1987, 455). At the same time, opposition was also surfacing among Catholic factions in the Basque Country and other regions. With growing political dissent and increasing instability within the country—matched by staunch criticism from without—a group of technocrats affiliated with the Opus Dei began to move into key positions in the administration, and were forwarding a plan to align the country's economy with that of other Western powers (García Delgado 2000, 145). This plan would come to a point of inflection in 1962.

After Spain's request to join the European Economic Community (EEC) was denied in February 1962, and as thousands of miners proceeded to strike in Asturias from April to June of that year, the regime's notoriously repressive actions against the miners 'echoed' across Europe, sparking heightened animosity toward the dictatorship (Reverte 2012, 33). Then, with the strikes still ongoing, leaders of Spain's opposition from both the left and the right met in Munich for the *IV Congreso del Movimiento Europeo* (June 5-8, 1962) to make demands for democratic reforms and come to a consensus regarding the country's "path to democracy." The meeting included monarchists, liberals, republicans, Christian democrats, as well as Basque and Catalan nationalists, and exiled communists (Villena 2012, 24).¹⁴ Yet, the regime's repressive reactions to what it pejoratively called the "Contubernio de Múnich," left its critics, as well as the EEC, even more distrustful of Spain's position and course. It was in the wake of these events that Franco decided to replace Arias Salgado, holding the Minister responsible for the retaliatory media campaign against the participants in the Munich

¹⁴ 'Communist' (capital C) will be used in relation to the Communist Party, and 'communist' to general ideology.

congress, which had provoked an unexpected backlash internationally (Chuliá 2001, 110).¹⁵ Manuel Fraga Iribarne was appointed as Minister of Information and Tourism in July 1962.

Parallel to the rise of student and opposition movements in the early sixties, the period leading up to the 1966 Press and Print Law saw invigorated publishing activity and a resurgence of dissident presses. After Fraga was appointed as Minister, publications in Catalan and other "minority" languages were more readily accepted and the publicized course of *apertura* had also encouraged new publishers to set up shop, while inspiring efforts to publish material that had previously been off limits (Rojas Claros 2013, 91).¹⁶ Although the 1966 Press and Print Law was advertised as a response to the growing demands for a free press, its application has been characterized as "enormously" repressive, leading scholars such as Rojas Claros to argue that although the period from 1962 to 1967 brought on advances in publishing freedoms, the period from 1967 to 1969 actually saw a tightening in terms of the Ministry's controls (16). Still, it is worth noting that the total number of publications continued to increase during this period (Rioja Barrocal 2008, 133).

Another point of inflection would come with the State of Exception imposed from January to March 1969, during which the Ministry clamped down on publishing activities, forced the closure of specific presses and in some cases removed works from circulation that had previously been permitted.¹⁷ At the end of that year Fraga was replaced with a more conservative Minister, Alfredo Sánchez Bella, who would remain in the position until June

¹⁵ Chuliá also notes that the Minister's actions most likely reflected the desires of other members of the government, and that his dismissal represented a way of creating a 'scapegoat' in response to critics of the regime (110).

¹⁶ Barcelona publishing houses such as Edicions 62 and Àgora (later Fontanella) began operations in 1962. The periodical *Revista de Occidente* (which had been stopped in 1936) was resurrected in 1963, and *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* was created the same year, followed by the associated publishing house Edicusa in 1965. This period saw first publications of ZYX in Madrid, in 1964, and Joan Grijalbo's return from Mexico to begin operations in Barcelona in 1965, the same year that Kairós was established in the city.

¹⁷ In the *Decreto-ley 1/1969, de 24 de enero*, this was justified as protection against 'minority' disturbances and international interference: "Acciones minoritarias, pero sistemáticamente dirigidas a turbar la paz de España y su orden público, han venido produciéndose en los últimos meses, claramente en relación con una estrategia internacional que ha llegado a numerosos países" (BOE-A-1969-98).

1973. Many have considered the period from 1969 to 1973 to represent an attempted return, on the part of the Ministry, to a pre-*apertura* state of affairs (Gómez Castro 2009, 32). This was relieved considerably with the end of Sánchez Bella's tenure. Over a sixteen-month period beginning in 1973, the Ministry would experience three rapid changes with Fernando Liñán Zofio becoming the Minister in June 1973, followed by Pío Cabanillas Gallas in January 1974 and León Herrero Esteban in October 1974. However, the most influential figure in regard to censorship practices during this period was Ricardo de la Cierva, named *Director General de Cultura Popular* in 1973. Already a well-known historian of the regime at the time of his appointment, de la Cierva has been characterized as the first true promoter of *apertura* within the Ministry, as he oversaw the authorization of many works that could not be published before, even in the years of Fraga (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 39). With these broader shifts in mind, the pages ahead will offer an overview of the mechanisms and practices relating to literary censorship in the sixties and seventies.

Up to the 1966 Press and Print Law, every publication had to pass compulsory prior inspection by the censorship board.¹⁸ During this process one or more censors would issue a report on the submission which would then be evaluated and resolved by the superiors. The process would generally result in the publication being either authorized (*autorizada*), authorized with suppressions (*autorizada con tachaduras*), or denied authorization (*denegada*). Where suppressions were required, the revised work would be subject to a follow-up inspection to confirm that it had been modified accordingly. Under this system, the Ministry's control was absolute. Only works that passed inspection could (legally) be published. Thus, the only ways for writers or publishers to definitively avoid the censors' interventions was to forego publication altogether or attempt publication abroad, which some

¹⁸ The designation "censorship board" will be used herein to refer to the acting authority in charge of censorship, including the *Sección de Inspección de Libros* (before 1962), the subsequent *Servicio de Orientación Bibliográfica* (1962-1966) and the *Sección de Ordenación Editorial* (1966-1975).

authors did choose to do (Abellán 1980, 67). Yet, this is not to say that writers and editors (or translators) could not subtly and astutely work to subvert the requirements of censorship, but rather that the Ministry still had the last say regarding what would or would not be published.¹⁹

The 1966 Press and Print Law changed the censorship process in a few key ways, though it did not eliminate the regime's ability to control publications. While Article 1 of the 1966 law recognized the freedom of expression and the right to distribute information, Article 2 defined the limitations of these rights:

La libertad de expresión y el derecho a la difusión de informaciones, reconocidas en el artículo primero, no tendrán más limitaciones que las impuestas por las leyes. Son limitaciones: el respeto a la verdad y a la moral; el acatamiento a la Ley de Principios del Movimiento Nacional y demás Leyes Fundamentales; las exigencias de la defensa Nacional, de la seguridad del Estado y del mantenimiento del orden público interior y la paz exterior; el debido respeto a la Instituciones y a las personas en la crítica de la acción política y administrativa; la independencia de los Tribunales, y la salvaguardia de la intimidad y del honor personal y familiar. (LPI 14/1966)

In other words, the Administration would still have the ability to block the publication of almost any material deemed unacceptable.

The most obvious difference that came with the new law was the change from compulsory to voluntary consultation prior to printing. It was this aspect of the legislation that allowed Fraga to announce the end of censorship with his mandate "que los lápices rojos los dejen en el fondo del cajón" (quoted in Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 28).

Regarding the new procedures, the legislation laid out two possible paths to publication. The first was to submit to *Consulta voluntaria* (herein 'Voluntary Consultation') offered by the censorship board, which in practical terms looked very similar to the consultation process in place before 1966. Alternatively, publishers could submit already-

¹⁹ Neuschäfer (1994) for one, shows how many authors began to "inventarse tácticas de camuflaje y de disimulo, es decir, formas de hablar indirectas y encubiertas, ya que la enunciación directa del pensamiento podía ser peligrosa. . . . hubo autores que manejaron este discurso, es decir el arte de la expresión indirecta, con tal ingenio y maestría que llegaron a engañar, en ocasiones a dejar en ridículo, al aparato de la censura" (10).

printed works directly for registration as a *Depósito directo*, at which point the censors would determine the acceptability of the publication and decide whether or not it could circulate.²⁰ If not, it might be reported to the authorities with a *denuncia*, and could also imply the seizure or destruction of the published copies, in addition to judicial action against the publisher (or writer), including arrest and fines beginning in 1967.²¹ Cisquilla, Erviti and Sorolla (2002) highlight the detrimental effects of such measures, particularly for the smaller presses:

Dos o tres secuestros en un corto espacio de tiempo podían ser la puntilla que acabara con una editorial de pocos recursos económicos. Pudiendo anular en cualquier momento la autorización para que circulara un texto, la censura se convertía en una usura económica practicada con la metodología de una rutina burocrática. Es más, cebándose en la obra ya editada, en un producto materializado, con un coste de fabricación, la censura no sólo alcanzaba al editor, sino también al autor, con los perjuicios correspondientes a cada sector. (62)

Indeed, one of the main principles underpinning the new system was the concept of the publisher's responsibility for printed material. Abellán describes that "en el caso nada hipotético de que alguna personalidad o institución del régimen considerara que lo publicado había infringido de algún modo la ley, el editor era subsidiariamente cómplice del delito cometido. Los editores tuvieron inclinación a excederse en celo" (1980, 118). Publishers were now 'free' to publish works without prior approval, but they would be held responsible for the contents. In this sense, Voluntary Consultation was presented as a way of relieving some of the responsibility:

²⁰ Whereas *Consulta voluntaria* can easily be described and understood with the term "Voluntary Consultation," this author has chosen to use the Spanish term *Depósito* throughout this PhD Dissertation for lack of a straightforward translation that would adequately and clearly describe the *Depósito* process in English.

²¹ Article 64 of the 1966 legislation outlined the "responsabilidad penal" and "medidas previas y gubernativas" regarding works that were found to violate the legal code, including the stipulation that a work could be seized "con carácter previo a las medidas judiciales," meaning that regardless of the judicial outcome, the economic effects would be immediate. Shortly after, *Ley 3/1967, de 8 de abril*, in its Article 175, established the punishment of "arresto mayor" and a fine of 5,000 to 50,000 pesetas (approximately 30 to 300 euros) for violation of the law "mediante la publicación de noticias falsas o informaciones peligrosas para la moral o las buenas costumbres; contrarias a las exigencias de la defensa nacional, de la seguridad del Estado y del mantenimiento del orden público interior y de la paz exterior, o que ataquen a los Principios del Movimiento Nacional o a las Leyes Fundamentales, falten al respeto debido a las instituciones y a las personas en la crítica de la acción política o administrativa, o atenten contra la independencia de los Tribunales" (*Ley 3/1967*).

1. La Administración podrá ser consultada sobre el contenido de toda clase de impresos por cualquier persona que pudiera resultar responsable de su difusión. La respuesta aprobatoria o el silencio de la Administración eximirán de responsabilidad ante la misma por la difusión del impreso sometido a consulta. (LPI 14/1966)

Submitting to *Depósito*, on the other hand, would mean assuming the economic and legal risk of sanctions being imposed after a work was already printed. In this light, Rojas Claros argues that the combination of preventative and repressive mechanisms represented an overarching strategy of reward and punishment akin to "el palo y la zanahoria" (2013, 23).

It is worth reiterating that, although the 1966 law did technically allow publishers to bypass consultation and submit directly to *Depósito*, the potential risks were considerable. Along these lines, Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla (2002) describe the effects of the 1966 law as "liberalización bajo amenaza de castigo" (73). Certainly, the Ministry's actions strongly promoted the use of Voluntary Consultation, and the first publishers to test the use of *Depósito* quickly came up against the "ley no escrita que obligaba a los editores a volver a la 'consulta voluntaria'" (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 73). That is, "La censura previa se mantuvo . . . aunque de forma encubierta bajo el eufemismo de la 'consulta voluntaria', y el Ministerio utilizó todos los medios a su alcance (tanto legales como extra-legales) para obligar a todos los editores a que emplearan dicho trámite" (Rojas Claros 2013, 308).

These potentially disastrous consequences kept many publishers from exercising this new 'freedom,' and at the same time, certain dissident publishers were actually barred from using *Depósito* through the Ministry's management of the *Registro de Empresas Editoriales*.²² Under this system, publishers were required to apply for a registration number which would then enable them to submit works directly to *Depósito*. Those who failed to obtain a registration number (oftentimes because their applications had been intentionally thwarted by the Ministry) could only publish works that were first authorized in Voluntary Consultation

²² Rojas Claros (2013), points to various publishers who faced administrative difficulties occasioned by the *Registro de Empresas Editoriales*, including Edima and Ciencia Nueva, among others (150).

(Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 69). Thus, the requirement of a registration number "se convirtió de hecho en una forma de presión para aquellas editoriales que la Administración quería tener bajo control, amén de la utilización de argucias, digámoslo así, más ruines como crear dificultades en la edición, limitar ayudas, condicionar a autores... etc." (Álamo Felices 1996, 82). This was also the mechanism through which the Ministry forced the closure of several dissident publishers in 1969 and 1970 (Rojas Claros 2013, 311).²³

In addition to these controls, Fraga's law also stipulated the continued use of compulsory prior consultation under certain circumstances. For instance, all works destined for children and young adults continued to be subject to prior consultation and were rigidly controlled under the new legislation (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 118). Moreover, Article 3 established that during any State of Exception or war prior consultation would be reinstated for all publications. Considering the extensive pressure (and in some cases, obligation) to continue submitting works to consultation, this "voluntary" process remained the norm for some time, allowing the Ministry to maintain close control over published material, while simultaneously advertising the new "freedoms."

Many scholars have also emphasized the fact that the 1966 law represented a decisive shift from the regime's prior control to after-the-fact repression, in this way putting the onus on writers and publishers to participate in prior censorship, either by taking part in the Voluntary Consultation process or by carrying out self-censorship aimed at getting publications to pass inspection in *Depósito*. As Gómez Castro describes, "parece que la nueva legislación lo que logró no fue que los lápices rojos se dejaran de usar sino que los censores se los pasaran a los editores y éstos, a su vez, a los escritores y traductores" (2009, 34).

At the same time, this more active role for the publishers also meant greater strides in negotiation. Rojas Claros points out that the "Derecho a revisión," which was first passed in

²³ These closures included Equipo Editorial de San Sebastián, Ricardo Aguilera, Halcón, Edima, Ciencia Nueva and XYZ.

1957, was more readily employed during Fraga's tenure in the Ministry (2013, 59). Publishers began to request reconsiderations regarding works that were judged unpublishable, and in some cases succeeded in having the board reverse its decision. Gómez Castro also posits that the ambiguities in the new law "dejaba[n] lugar a posibles maniobras tácticas por parte de los editores que vieron en dichas lagunas espacio para negociar autorizaciones de obras que antes hubiesen considerado impensable publicar" (2009, 33).

However, presses that tested the boundaries of what was publishable after 1966 were not always able to weather the backlash of the administration. Some chose to use *Depósito directo* in spite of the Ministry's dissuasive measures and quickly found themselves facing financial ruin or administrative sanctions. This was the fate of decidedly dissident presses such as ZYX and Edicusa, but also that of newly formed publishing houses hoping to open up the market, such as Ediciones Géminis (discussed in section 5.2). Yet, as these efforts accumulated, the *Depósito* option emerged as a means of forcing the Ministry's repressive actions into public light.²⁴ The Ministry was essentially caught between the political need to appear more 'open' in the public eye and the regime's imperative to restrict the 'dangerous' ideas that would necessarily come from a free and open press.

Thus, while the Ministry worked to muffle dissident voices in the late sixties by seizing publications, sanctioning publishers and forcing the closure of a handful of presses, such repressive actions also meant a blow to its public image. In this sense, the heavy-handed measures carried out during the State of Exception of 1969 left the Ministry in an even tighter spot heading into the seventies. These last-ditch efforts to halt the tide of dangerous ideas came with a significant cost to the Ministry's credibility both within Spain and internationally (Rojas Claros 2013, 231). After 1969, "aunque la política represiva del franquismo fuera

²⁴ This situation was due in part to Article 72 of the 1966 law, which stipulated that economic or legal sanctions imposed for publications would be reported in the press. Although this stipulation was theoretically conceived "como medida de escarmiento, acabó volviéndose contra la propia dictadura" (Rojas Claros 2013, 308).

todavía peligrosa y arbitraria, quedaba claro que su capacidad de respuesta tenía ciertas limitaciones, aunque fueran esencialmente de naturaleza propagandística" (Ibid.). The use of *Depósito directo* began to increase in the early seventies and publishers found that they could often get works passed that would have been delayed or de-authorized in Voluntary Consultation (236). This was especially true as the volume and breadth of submissions began to expand, and the censorship board could not feasibly respond by instigating a greater number of judicial cases (Ibid.).²⁵

Regardless of whether works were submitted to Voluntary Consultation or directly to *Depósito*, Fraga's Law has been considered especially effective at getting publishers, writers and translators to participate in self-censorship aimed at seeing their works authorized. This was certainly true for many counterculture works submitted during this period. In some cases, this allowed writers, publishers and translators to control for the most clearly incendiary content (obscene or blasphemous expressions, for example), in order to promote texts that were socially or politically subversive in some other aspect. Indeed, as Abellán points out, the Ministry sometimes used "moral" questions to justify the repression of works that were actually problematic from a political standpoint (1980, 223). Furthermore, as the board's actions became more limited in the final years of the dictatorship, and the courts were refusing to support judicial charges against works in which problematic content was not explicit (Rojas Claros 2013, 301), the publishers' own censorship of certain types of expressions could potentially preempt the Ministry's leverage over a publication.

²⁵ In fact, the board had expressed concern about this discrepancy in an internal report from November 25, 1970, which warned that "excesivo rigor en la consulta traería como contrapartida un desuso de la misma, lanzándose los editores masivamente al depósito directo, ante el que no habría otra opción que los secuestros y denuncias, cuyo número excesivo sería verdaderamente impolítico," also highlighting that this was already being felt, since publishers were seeing that "en determinados casos, resulta no favorecido el editor que consulta y favorecido en cambio, el editor que no consulta," *Informe de Ordenación Editorial, "Criterios de censura (hasta la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta) y de Consulta (con posterioridad a la promulgación de dicha ley,"* cited in Rojas Claros (2013, 236).

Some publishing houses also found other ways to circumvent the censors' modifications. Perhaps the simplest and most common strategy throughout the dictatorship was that of just waiting. Sometimes the same publisher would resubmit a work after a few months—or a few years—or resubmit it with superficial modifications such as a change in title. It is striking, for instance, that a series of counterculture works that were submitted to Voluntary Consultation and denied authorization in 1969 or 1970 were then re-submitted precisely in 1973. The most obvious explanation for this long delay is the presence of a more conservative Minister during three and a half years. Once Sánchez Bella left the Ministry, the publishers likely felt encouraged to retry the previously unpublishable works. Beyond such specific circumstances, sometimes a few months or a year would mean the difference between denial and authorization, as the text might be reviewed by a different set of censors. There were also cases in which a work would change hands and be re-submitted by a different publishing house, which might result in a different outcome, since, as Abellán notes, the board's evaluation was sometimes directly dependent on the affiliations of the particular publisher (Abellán 1980, 185).

Works destined for translation were often submitted to consultation in their original version, and then, if approved, submitted in Spanish. The reason for this was largely economic. Because translations required a certain investment, the publisher would want to have some assurance that the publication would pass the censorship process before contracting a translator. As such, a long period between the two submissions was not uncommon. A few months or a year might go by while the work was being translated and edited. Yet, for controversial works this delay was sometimes much longer. For instance, if the editors anticipated contentious negotiations, they might wait a year or more before submitting the translated work, or even abandon the project.

Most strikingly, the censors frequently used the evaluation of the source text to preemptively recommend modifications to the translated text. In a sense, this meant that the censors' initial concerns could be addressed in the translation and editing process, and could thus be carried out during the creative process, with the possibility of avoiding more glaring manipulation later on. Yet, in many cases the board detected additional content to suppress in its evaluation of the target text. What is clear is that the censors fully expected the translators (and/or editors) of foreign texts to manipulate works in order to render them acceptable. An example of this expectation is demonstrated in a report from 1969:

. . . debería solicitarse el texto traducido para, sobre él, efectuar nuevas posibles supresiones de frases y palabras que, por pertenecer al lenguaje popular y al slang norteamericano, incorporan un significado ambivalente o anfibológico, condicionándose su carácter admisible o no a la acepción que le sea atribuida por el traductor. (File no. 10763-69)

Interestingly, such warnings generally refer to the translator, although in many cases it was the editor who actually carried out such manipulation.

At the same time, the translating and editing process itself—even with no apparent intervention from the censorship board—frequently yielded target texts that exhibited a certain amount of self-censorship, though it is not always possible to discern whether this impulse originated with the translator, the editor or both.²⁶ In either case, it is evident that with the existence of repressive censorship controls, it would be difficult to escape a certain pressure to self-censor, though for writers this may have often been subconscious (Abellán 1980, 67). The economic pressures alone certainly inspired caution.

Nevertheless, there were times when the editor chose not to carry out the modifications or suppressions recommended by the censors, privileging the 'integrity' of the text over timely circulation in Spain. Publishing houses such as Grijalbo, Siglo XXI and Rodas, all of which also had operations in Latin America, figured out that they could

²⁶ It should be noted, however, that during certain periods the Ministry also issued instructions, "tachaduras verbales," without including them in the official reports (Abellán 1980, 238).

sometimes export works 'whole' that had been deemed unacceptable in Spain. Rather than carrying out modifications or suppressions, especially to well-known foreign works that might have a considerable readership, the publisher would request authorization to print in Spain but distribute abroad. The usual argument for this was that failing to print a work for which they had already required the rights would result in a financial loss and might also dissuade the original author (or their agents) from further dealings with the Spanish publisher. In general, the Ministry proved to be open to such arrangements, which essentially circumvented the need to report the publications to the authorities. Indeed, more than one counterculture work that was initially judged *denunciable*, and thus on the verge of being reported or seized, was then authorized for distribution abroad at the request of the publisher (see section 4.3).

In addition to strategies aimed especially at dodging censorship, one of the most significant developments from the publishing sector in the sixties and seventies was the push to distribute books in the pocket-sized paperback format. Although this included many works of popular fiction and topics of general interest that the Ministry found acceptable, the trend also provided the opportunity for dissident publishers to submit short (or lesser-known) works by controversial authors who had previously gone unpublished, or fragments of larger texts as well as collections that mixed and matched short pieces of socio-cultural interest, or articles and speeches by influential cultural figures. Prior to this, the Ministry had often considered essays, scholarly articles and works of nonfiction to be destined for a minority readership, and generally allowed such publications a greater margin of censurable content. Yet, new interest in inexpensive pocket-sized publications had put the censors on high alert, as the volume and diversity in terms of subject matter began to overwhelm their administrative capacities and challenge their usual classifications for narrative.

On one hand, the paperback model allowed publishers to pick and choose texts that would be more likely to pass censorship, but on the other hand, the Ministry adopted stricter standards and greater vigilance for publications that would enjoy mass distribution. In their reports the censors began to call attention to works they judged "folletos," "panfletos" or "libritos," further confirming the hypothesis of Rojas Claros that the format itself—more easily distributed to a mass readership—had become part of the dissident message:

La política cultural de "apertura" de Fraga podía significar que hubiera cierta tolerancia a la publicación de ciertas obras de temática hasta entonces prohibida, pero en ningún caso se permitía la posible popularización de las mismas. . . . Que el libro político tuviera un precio elevado fue uno de los principales elementos buscados por el Ministerio, y será un constante de los editores de vanguardia lograr la popularización, la "democratización" del mismo. (2013, 70)

In fact, a group of eight publishers joined forces in 1970 to distribute a collective paperback catalogue through Distribuciones de Enlace. This included Península, Barral Editores, Estela, Anagrama, Lumen, Tusquets Editores, Fontanella (and Edhasa, with limited participation), several of which were also important promoters of counterculture texts (see section 4.4).

Lastly, it is worth highlighting the basic administrative procedures followed for works submitted to the censorship board during this period—while recognizing that in many cases unofficial and off-the-record practices had a significant effect on censorship outcomes.

As a first step to the Consultation process, the publishing house would complete an application which contained basic information including the title, author, number of pages, intended print run, price and series or collection relative to the publication in question, along with the typed manuscript or galley proofs of the work.²⁷ Note that the number of pages and price were both extremely relevant, first because of paper shortages in the postwar period, and then because of the crucial distinction between publications for the elite (heftier volumes that cost more), and publications for the masses (smaller volumes that cost less). Normally,

²⁷ As mentioned previously, the compulsory consultation process up to 1966, and the Voluntary Consultation practice thereafter, were remarkably similar.

an initial censor's report—under the euphemism "Informe del lector"—would be issued within a few days of the application, though on rare occasions it could take longer. If the text was judged unproblematic—with a verdict of *autorizable* or *publicable*—then it would be passed right along to the superiors for the stamp of authorization, followed by a notice to the publisher that the work could be published. If nothing unusual was detected, authorization might be granted within a week or two of the submission.

If, to the contrary, the work were judged problematic in any way, then it would be reviewed by at least one other censor. After this, the superiors would make a decision. Authorization was still possible at this point, and indeed it was not uncommon for the superiors to overrule the judgements of the lowly "readers," but if the superiors agreed that the work was problematic then they would either deny authorization altogether or grant authorization pending modifications or suppressions. If modifications or suppressions were requested, then the publisher would have to resubmit the work for a follow-up inspection before final authorization would be granted—normally a copy of the galley proofs. However, many editors were able to negotiate such requirements and it was quite common for the actual changes to be somewhat reduced from those officially requested. In the meantime, many months may have passed since the initial submission.

Works that were destined for translation (but submitted in the original version first) would also have the target text inspected before final authorization. Whether or not modifications had been suggested with regard to the original submission, the target text would be evaluated in full, and could easily be flagged for elements that were not detected upon the initial reading. In this sense, a translated work that was in any way problematic would generally go through three separate inspections before it could be approved: first as the source text, then as the target text, and finally as the modified target text. While it was also

feasible for Spanish-language works to go through multiple phases of inspection and revision, translations submitted to consultation were subject to multiple inspections by default.

Alternatively, the process of *Depósito directo*, established as an option in the 1966 Press and Print Law, could be used when publishers did not feel that consultation was required. They completed a very similar application, but submitted already-printed copies of the work rather than the manuscript or galley proofs (or the published translation instead of the original foreign text). As with consultation, one or more censors would report on the work, although the orientation was somewhat different, as there was generally no possibility of modifications or suppressions. Here, the initial decision of the board was whether or not to authorize circulation. If authorized, the work could circulate freely, with its *tarjeta de libre circulación*, yet if circulation were not authorized, then there was a further possibility of judicial action in the form of *denuncia* and/or *secuestro*—or, in rare cases, destruction of the publication. In this regard, when the board chose to pursue a *denuncia*, reporting the work to the authorities, it could also choose to carry out, or not, *secuestro previo*, in other words, seizing the text prior to any legal ruling—an action that could devastate a small press before it ever reached the courts.²⁸

Lastly, the new law stipulated that the censors could refrain from issuing an official verdict for a work submitted to *Depósito*, and instead declare *Silencio administrativo*, which meant that after a set number of days (one day for every fifty pages), if the board had not communicated a ruling, then the publication could circulate at the publishers own risk.²⁹ This almost always implied that the board was uncomfortable with some aspect of the text, but that

²⁸ Still, it is important to note that judicial action was not all that common. Based on documentation in the AGA, Rojas Claros reveals the following statistics (bolded here for emphasis): **6** *denuncias* in 1966; **11** in 1967; **27** in 1968; **17** in 1969; **29** in 1970; **32** in 1971; **10** in 1972; **15** in 1973; **9** in 1974; and **36** in 1975. More surprising is the data from years of the transition, with **181** *denuncias* in 1976; **299** in 1977; and **68** in 1978, finally dropping to **7** in 1979 (2006).

²⁹ The risk for the publisher was that a *denuncia* could still come from entities other than the censorship board.

they did not see a clear legal infraction and did not want to jeopardize the Ministry's public image.³⁰ The usual rulings for a *Depósito* were thus:

- *Libre circulación*
- *Silencio administrativo*
- *Denuncia*
- *Denuncia + secuestro*

In addition to these, an unofficial practice which became especially common in the last few years of the regime was warning publishers prior to a possible *denuncia* so that they would retract the application for *Depósito* (Abellán 1980, 238). For certain publishers, this could be replaced with an application to distribute the work abroad.³¹ Naturally, this courtesy was more likely extended to presses that had proved willing to negotiate (and 'collaborate') with the board, although it clearly relieved pressure for the Ministry as well. For only vaguely problematic works, however, the use of *Silencio* was much more common.

Regarding the criteria used for censorship evaluations, a few general concepts can be highlighted, though it is also clear that in terms of specific content there existed few hard and fast rules for what would provoke the use of the censors' red or blue pencils. The normal form used for the censor's reports provides some of the initial guidelines that the censors would have in mind when approaching a text. This is shown in figure 1.

³⁰ Examples of the board's use of *Silencio* regarding counterculture texts will be discussed in section 4.3.

³¹ For instance, Grijalbo frequently used this strategy, to the point that the censors anticipated it: "Es de suponer, como ha sucedido en otras ocasiones, que la Editorial Grijalbo, a la menor indicación que se le haga, solicitará la anulación del depósito y la petición de autorización para exportar" (File no. 9814-75).

While censorship considerations were not strictly limited to these areas—and indeed, this top section was often left blank—the series of questions is nonetheless representative of the Ministry's underlying orientation, and remained the standard heading for the censorship reports through 1976.³³

While these broad categories leave room for interpretation, and although the Ministry's concerns morphed considerably with time and circumstance, Abellán identifies a few areas that remained steady targets throughout the regime:

1. Moral sexual: especialmente prohibidas se hallaban cualquier referencia al aborto, la homosexualidad, el divorcio y las relaciones extramatrimoniales.
2. Opiniones políticas: toda oposición al régimen dominante no era admitida.
3. Uso del lenguaje considerado indecoroso, provocativo e impropio de los buenos modales por los que se ha de regir la conducta de las personas que se autodefinen como decentes.
4. La religión como institución y jerarquía. (1980, 88-89)

Still, the way that the censors reacted to texts was extremely flexible and highly dependent on the particular context surrounding the publication, not only with regard to changing social and political situations but also in relation to the knowledge that different censors had of the author, publisher and other figures associated with the work (or referenced within it), or their particular understanding of the topic or story presented. Scholars such as Abellán have thus pointed to the "arbitrary" nature of censorship decisions, which is especially apparent at the level of textual modifications or suppressions required by the board. Yet, it can also be said that arbitrary or vague censorship guidelines allowed the censors to approach the intricate worlds of a wide range of publications in order to detect, in each particular context, what might emerge as the most imminent threat to the pillars of God, Nation and Family, or the institutions of the Church and the State, as well (including the military and police).

³³ After 1976 these were replaced with mostly blank forms that had only the headings "Informe" (on one side) and "Observaciones" (on the other).

Finally, it is evident that the censors sometimes failed to detect, or chose to overlook, the "dangerous" content of specific publications—elite or scholarly publications being the best example; and, by the same measure, they sometimes detected "danger" in the most innocuous of passages. Still, it is worth insisting that the arbitrary or subjective nature of this process was undoubtedly a powerful mechanism of control, allowing, as it did, for the repression of extremely diverse types of information and influences. This is never so clear as with systematic repression of U.S. counterculture texts, which introduced an enormous spectrum of incendiary language, taboo subject matter and subversive political themes.

4.2 The Spanish Censors and Counterculture Concepts

Before tracing the censorship submissions and publishing outcomes regarding U.S. counterculture texts in Franco's Spain in section 4.3, it is worth pausing to look at the censors' discussion of different counterculture concepts. In addition to the judgements passed on specific texts, the censor's reports also reveal general notions of counterculture movements and ideologies, and express varying degrees of interest or antagonism toward these subjects.³⁴ Based on a survey of the reports collected on counterculture writers and counterculture themes, this section will discuss the censors' understanding of the following eight concepts: 1) Hippies and Counterculture, 2) Vietnam and the Anti-war Movement, 3) The Civil Rights Movement and Black Power, 4) Women's Liberation, 5) Civil Disobedience, 6) Free Love, 7) Psychedelia and 8) New Religions.

◆ Hippies & Counterculture

Starting with censorship submissions in 1969 and 1970, the censors began to adopt terms such as *hip*, *hippies*, *hippismo* and *contracultura* or *contraculturismo* to categorize texts coming out of the sixties counterculture. They found the idea of the counterculture both intriguing (as an object of study), and disturbing (as a way of life). They most often identified hippies and the counterculture as youth movements emanating from the United States (and therefore a U.S. problem), although they also expressed the societal importance of understanding this "phenomenon." Especially interesting are the definitions of hippies and counterculture that emerge in the censors' reports.

In a report from 1970, for example, "la vida o modo de ser de los Hipsters" was described as "una de tantas degeneraciones surgidas en la pasada década" (File no. 10454-70). In another report from the same year, the "forma de vivir hippie" was also defined

³⁴ In order to highlight themes, and not specific texts, this discussion will include only the File numbers for censorship submissions; however, the titles and publishing information may be consulted in the table at the end of section 4.3.

through what it confronted: "su enfrentamiento con la sociedad de la organización y el hombre unidimensional" (File no. 7644-70). Similarly, the counterculture movement was identified by what it critiqued:

Crítica acerba de las instituciones tradicionales: Ejército, Iglesia, Estado, familia. Críticas particulares en torno a la sociedad de consumo, el capitalismo, la burocracia, el "establishment", la justicia. (File no. 7027-70)³⁵

A definition of "Hip" from 1971 identified the underbelly of the United States as the source of such movements: "Los Hip son una de esas organizaciones nacidas en los ambientes bajos de Estados Unidos y con actitudes contrarias a la sociedad en que viven" (File no. 10454-70).

This was similarly reflected in a definition of the "counterculture" from 1975:

. . . movimiento de rechazo a la cultura clásica y a la sociedad establecida, con sus diversas versiones y su extenso significado, social, humano, religioso y sexual, en los EE UU, donde más se han extendido estos grupos. (File no. 4099-75)

Another report from 1975 discusses several counterculture groups and their associations, describing "los movimientos juveniles americanos con las deserciones a la guerra del Vietnam, los movimientos 'hippies', las panteras negras, la tendencia al radicalismo anticapitalista" (File no. 12595-75).

In other reports, the hippie philosophy was understood to be a kind of existentialism, "una mera derivación del existencialismo general," as one censor stated, a philosophy which, in 1973, he declared to be already outdated: "el hippismo ya pasó de moda" (File no. 10454-70). Another report from 1973 also connected the movement to the growing interest in Zen Buddhism, a philosophy which "los estudiantes americanos la han extendido a los EE.UU. y que es la base de la teoría de los hippies y demás existencialistas" (File no. 702-73). The counterculture had likewise been described in metaphysical terms, as "una cultura de la imaginación más 'espiritual' que científica, más humana que opresiva" (File no. 7233-70).

³⁵ As a synthesis of the censors' reactions which is offered, as much as possible, in their own words, this section includes a high density of quoted material and for the sake of readability a handful of mid-length quotes are separated from the text in long quote form.

Here again the culture was defined through its oppositions, as a counter to the "science" and "oppression" of the larger culture.

Even where the censors were generally critical of counterculture figures, they sometimes pointed out positive deeds emerging from the lifestyle. For example, one 1972 report highlights the actions of the Diggers in San Francisco: "El único aspecto aprovechable de la obra es el amor que muestra el autor por la naturaleza y las obras de ayuda de la comunidad hippie a los pobres de San Francisco a los que dan comida gratis (pero previamente robada)" (File no. 14506-72).³⁶ On occasion, the censors even sympathized with the anti-capitalist sentiments detected in counterculture works, though they were critical of the alternatives proposed: "Es cierto que muchos de sus alegatos contra la sociedad capitalista son verdaderos, pero su contraideal es la droga, la haraganería, la anarquía y hasta la delincuencia" (File no. 7027-70).

On the other hand, counterculture movements were often condemned by association, especially where they were seen in connection to enemy ideologies such as Marxism and/or anarchism. For example, a report from 1975 pointed to the dangers of just such a connection in a set of collected pieces:

. . . con denominador común: la necesidad de subvertir todo orden establecido, todos los módulos por los que se rige la sociedad actual, todo sistema de autoridad, toda la cultura moderna. Ideas viejas e ideas nuevas se aglutinan para hacer una amalgama de utopismo, marxismo, anarquismo, contraculturalismo. (File no. 4098-75)

An earlier report had traced the trajectory of such movements from the infamous Beat Generation of the 1950s to the Student Movement of Berkeley in the 1960s and the upheavals

³⁶ Also discussed in section 3, the Diggers were known for their "Free Stores with 'liberated'—admittedly, sometimes stolen—goods available to the public at no cost. They served free communal lunch at 4 p.m. every day in the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park . . ." (Casey 2012, 180).

in France in 1968: "el movimiento hippie americano, con su antecedente en la beat generation y en su entronque con Berkeley y Mayo 68" (File no. 7644-70).³⁷

Regardless of the specific associations, the censors consistently expressed the importance of comprehending the hippie mentality—"una mentalidad que tanto impacto tiene en nuestros días" (File no. 10454-70)—and praised works, especially academic studies of the phenomenon that would achieve this end. Indeed, this was the justification given in the approval of several nonfiction accounts of the counterculture, with one such work described as "positivo para el estudio de tan capital fenómeno actual" (File no. 7233-70).

◆ **Vietnam & the Anti-war Movement**

Criticism of the U.S military involvement in Vietnam was frequently highlighted in the censors' reports, even for texts that were deemed acceptable. Where such criticism was accompanied by calls for direct war resistance or clear antimilitarism, the censors sometimes cited anti-war content as grounds for denial, or recommended suppressions of specific references, such as the burning of draft cards. In many instances, these ideas were also connected to a broader anti-authoritarianism and cited as an affront to 'Law and Order.'

To a certain extent, anti-war texts were judged on how "revolutionary" the message seemed to be, or how "violent" the tactics. Any Marxist, communist or anarchist content detected in these works would also provide grounds for denial. For example, a censor's report from 1969 highlights the antiwar message of a text: "enjuicia el autor la política exterior de los Estados Unidos y especialmente la guerra del Vietnam," yet concludes that "no hay llamada a la revolución ni simpatía por el comunismo" (File no. 12201-69). Meanwhile, a work from 1970 was found to be unpublishable on account of the "dangerous" actions proposed:

³⁷ Not only were the writers of the Beat Generation readily identified by the censors, in particular Jack Kerouac and William S. Burroughs, but this classification was generally included as grounds for blocking their texts. See, for example, File nos. 6776-60, 5864-70 and 9814-75.

Aunque el libro se refiere a la política americana, es lo cierto que se vierten ideas netamente peligrosas, con una peligrosidad social evidente. Así:

- a) La negación por partes de los ciudadanos a alistarse, obstaculizando las operaciones de las cajas de reclutamiento y centros de enganche.
- b) Deserción del ejército.
- c) Promocionar huelgas obreras.
- d) Organización de sentadas y huelgas para acabar con el militarismo.
- e) Sabotaje contra la guerra, sin distinción de si es justa o injusta.
- f) Posible justificación de una perspectiva marxista-anarquista. (File no. 4981-70)

As in the previous example, the assessment of antiwar actions as more or less limited to the U.S. context was a common formula for discussing the potential dangers of antimilitary and antiwar texts. Where criticisms were seen as targeting the armed forces of the U.S. or the war in Vietnam, but not military institutions in general, the censors were more likely to recommend approval. This point is made in a censor's report from 1969:

. . . el nervio principal se destaca: la denuncia y acusación de las fuerzas armadas norteamericanas y su participación en la guerra del Vietnam. . . Todo el ambiente y crítica se refiere, exclusivamente, al mundo USA. Creo que puede autorizarse. (File no. 3247-69)

A subsequent report on the same text reiterates this formula: "Se insiste, un vez más, que la obra se refiere única y exclusivamente a los USA" (File no. 3247-69). And a 1971 report made a similar case, framing antiwar sentiments as a question of U.S. politics and not of broader antimilitarism:

. . . es preciso puntualizar que el tema se concreta a la problemática estadounidense y que lo que se predica es en síntesis una postura antibelicista, pero no declaradamente antimilitarista. No se injuria ni se ofende a la institución militar como tal. (File no. 4981-70)

A further distinction was made regarding whether or not the antimilitarism appeared applicable to the Spanish context. Many texts were described as relating uniquely to U.S. politics, but the censors were nonetheless wary of the spread of these ideas within Spain. As one report noted:

Aunque el libro fundamentalmente se dirige a la política norteamericana, las frases que hemos citado son de gran peligrosidad social por cuanto pueden servir de estímulo en una obra como esta barata y de fácil difusión para que los grupos

sociales de nuestra patria hagan bandera de tales ideas de resistencia. (File no. 4981-70)

Similarly, a censor remarked in a 1972 report that "creemos que este libro sería aireado por ciertos grupos subversivos que ya han promovido disturbios basándose en la política interior o exterior de los Estados Unidos" (File no. 1348-72). A 1974 report likewise suggested that a text "Por cuanto no hace referencia injuriosa contra España, sino que su argumento básico es guerra de los Estados Unidos en Vietnam lo considero AUTORIZABLE" (File no. 7823-74).

Still, incitement to resist conscription or to desert were considered a violation of Spain's legal code, and the censors flagged such content even when it was not taken as a general "attack" on the military, as in the following report from 1971:

Desgraciadamente, la dedicatoria debe ser suprimida, así como algunos párrafos que hemos subrayado con lápiz en los que se ataca al ejército, y al reclutamiento. Estos párrafos están en contra de la legislación española, aunque hay que reconocer que aquí el ataque es contra la intervención armada, más que contra el ejército en sí mismo. (File no. 3380-71)

In addition to condemning direct acts of war resistance, the censors also found the symbolic act of burning draft cards to be quite contentious, suggesting on more than one occasion that such references be suppressed or otherwise modified. In a report from 1969 the censors even recommended a specific translation for "draft cards" so as to limit the possible interpretation in Spain: "Es mejor hablar de cartillas de movilización (las que son quemadas) que de cartillas militares" (File no. 3247-69). A report from 1972 recommended the suppression of repeated references to burning draft cards (File no. 4267-72). A report from 1974 emphasized the criminality of these acts, describing how one antiwar activist "interviene como elemento activo quemando ficheros y despotricando contra la guerra. Fué detenido, procesado y condenado" (File no. 7823-74).

By the same token, pacifism itself was sometimes framed as an "extreme" or "obsessive" behavior. For a text submitted in 1972, one censor remarked of the author: "Se advierte su antimilitarismo y pacifismo absoluto" (File no. 4267-72). A 1974 report framed

one work as: "Un libro, en fin, de un pacifista con motivo de la guerra del Vietnam que se expone y lo da todo en honor a dicho idealismo pacifista" (File no. 7823-74); and the author of another text, submitted in 1977, was described in similar terms: "Su principal blanco es USA. Su obsesión, la guerra del Vietnam. Su tema central, el pacifismo" (File no. 4103-77).

In certain cases the censors also pointed out where anti-war sentiments represented direct confrontations with U.S. presidents, in particular Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon.³⁸ For example, a 1969 report pointed out that a work ". . . condena la política exterior de Johnson en lo que respecta a Vietnam" (File no. 6808-69); another report from the same year described that an anti-war protest ". . . tuvo por objeto la campaña pro-retirada del Vietnam, en contra de Johnson" (File no. 3247-69). A 1972 report on a satirical work described that "Se simula un diálogo en el que los discursos que ha dirigido el presidente Nixon y las acciones que ha tomado respecto a derechos civiles, la guerra en el Vietnam, etc., son distorsionados sin misericordia" (File no. 1348-72). Indeed, this parody of the president was further qualified as "una crítica feroz a su Jefe de Estado" (Ibid.).

While such criticisms of authority were not, on their own, seen as grounds for denial, they were often linked to the general question of anti-authoritarian behavior. For example, one work was called into question for its advocacy of war resistance as part of a myriad of

³⁸ While the United States had begun supplying the French army with military aid to fight communist factions in Vietnam as early as 1950, under President Harry Truman (1945-1953), and also increased its presence in South Vietnam under President Dwight Eisenhower (1953-1961) and President John F. Kennedy (1961-1963), it was President Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1969) who launched a "full-scale war" in Vietnam in 1964 (Zinn 2003, 352). Johnson had initially been supported by many antimilitary and student activists, but the bombing of North Vietnam which began in February 1965 soon provoked large-scale antiwar protests that reached a peak in 1968 (Barringer 2012, 35-36). Although President Richard Nixon (1969-1974) campaigned on ending the war in the 1968 election, U.S. troops remained in Vietnam for another five years under his presidency. "When the *New York Times* published the first installment of the *Pentagon Papers* on June 13, 1971, Americans became aware of the true nature of the war. Stories of drug-trafficking, political assassinations, and indiscriminate bombings led many to believe that military and intelligence services had lost all accountability. Antiwar sentiment, previously tainted with an air of anti-Americanism, became instead a normal reaction against zealous excess. . . . By January 1973, when Nixon announced the effective end of U.S. involvement, he did so in response to a mandate unequalled in modern times" (Barringer 2012, 38). It is worth adding that the war continued for more than two years after U.S. troops were withdrawn. The official end date is considered to be April 30, 1975, when the Saigon government surrendered to the Communist forces.

attacks against "the Establishment,"³⁹ as the censor cited "ataques al establishment, pacifismo militante, acusaciones de extrema brutalidad a la policía americana, rechazo del sistema selectivo de reclutamiento, etc." (File no. 4981-70). Regarding a work submitted in 1972, one censor noted that "Ataca constantemente la Ley, el Orden, el Servicio militar, y en general todo lo que signifique autoridad" (File no. 4267-72). Another report from 1973 cited a text's "alegatos contra la guerra, la tiranía, la sociedad de consumo . . ." (File no. 14536-73).

Equally problematic were criticisms perceived as direct attacks against soldiers and military personnel. An entire passage that characterized professional soldiers as abusive and violent was removed from a text in 1969 (File no. 3247-69), and a sentence referring to soldiers as 'mentally deficient' had to be removed from another work in 1973 (File no. 4952-69).⁴⁰ Similar passages were flagged in a 1974 text, though not ultimately removed (File no. 9587-74).⁴¹

◆ The Civil Rights Movement & Black Power

With submissions of texts by black activists and leaders as early as 1963, the censors began to discuss the "racial problem" in the United States. An early report on the subject described "la lucha de los negros" (File no. 1396-63), while many subsequent reports established a formula that referred to:

"los problemas raciales en Estados Unidos" (File no. 7010-64)
"[el] problema racial de los Estados Unidos" (File no. 1358-66)
"[el] problema racial en Norteamérica" (File no. 5238-68)
"el problema racista en los Estados Unidos" (File no. 10969-68)
"problema típicamente norteamericano . . . el problema racial" (File no. 10463-69)

³⁹ Defined by the *OED online*, "the Establishment: a social group exercising power generally, or within a given field or institution, by virtue of its traditional superiority, and by the use [especially] of tacit understandings and often a common mode of speech, and having as a general interest the maintenance of the status quo," accessed April 4, 2016, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/87113>; or, as defined by Howard Zinn, "that uneasy club of business executives, generals, and politicians" (2003, 472). While historical uses of the phrase also exist, "the Establishment" became a meaningful expression in the sixties counterculture as a way of referring to *de facto* powers, as contrasted with "anti-Establishment," describing students, artists and activists who sought change.

⁴⁰ See section 5.3.1 for discussion of this work.

⁴¹ Many of these individual works will be discussed in section 4.3 and/or in section 5.

"el problema planteado es el racial, enmarcado por la geografía americana" (File no. 5221-71)

As a "problem" seen as limited in its geography and understood to have little bearing on Spanish society, the censors were quick to show sympathy for the plight of African Americans. A report from 1965 pointed to "referencias a la violencia contra los negros," adding that "Norteamérica es el país de la violencia contra éstos" (File no. 1133-65). Another censor revealed considerable compassion when he considered

. . . la experiencia de la vida del hombre de color —el negro— en relación con el blanco. . . . Se percibe la amargura de almas que sienten cómo, a pesar de todo, e incluso en el mejor de los casos, se ven excluidos de la comunidad normal" (File no. 4009-65).

A report from 1969 even described racial discrimination as "el problema del mayor de los fracasos que se haya presentado en la historia del humanismo" (File no. 3359-69).

At the same time, the censors contrasted the use of non-violent and violent tactics in their deliberations on texts by Civil Rights and Black Power leaders. It is not surprising that non-violent tactics were in this comparison given considerable praise. In describing the outcome of the Montgomery Bus boycott, for example, one censor exalted "la victoriosa lucha, siguiendo la táctica de la no-violencia (File no. 1396-63).⁴² The message of love and non-violence of a work submitted in 1966 so inspired another censor that he declared: "Nada se opone, al contrario: todo aconseja, a la más amplia difusión de esta obra" (File no. 1358-66). In a report from 1968, a censor highlighted that "abunda el mensaje pacifista, la no violencia, en orden de [sic] resolver el problema racista . . . Nada que objetar" (File no. 10969-68). The censors were also quick to employ the example of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

⁴² The Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955 marked the beginning of the U.S. Civil Rights movement, with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. emerging as a central leader in this struggle. With "the laws of that time requir[ing] African Americans to sit at the back of city busses," the activist Rosa Parks, a member of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was arrested on December 1, 1955, "when she refused to give up her seat in the front to a white male. Parks's arrest led to the Montgomery Boycott, a communitywide strike against the bus company. The boycott proved instrumental, as it initiated similar movements across the South. It was organized by the Montgomery Improvement Association and its newly elected president, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. . . . The boycott lasted for one year and came to a close when the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in public transportation violated the U.S. Constitution" (Brown-Rose 2012, 127).

when reproaching the violent means supported by other activists. A 1968 report flagged one author's "loa y admiración" for Malcolm X, "un líder negro ya muerto como Martín Lutero King (del que se separaba en los métodos a seguir, violencia y no violencia)" (File no. 3672-68).⁴³ Similarly, a report from 1969 found the strategy of Black Power to be "muy distante de la postura mantenida por el pacifismo del difunto Doctor King" (12047-69). Nevertheless, one censor argued that violent means were actually justified:

Esta obra es un libro de protesta de los negros contra todos que han abusado del color para cometer toda clase de injusticias contra el negro, y al mismo tiempo es el grito de alarma para que los negros se unan estrechamente para hacer frente a toda injusticia incluso con la violencia, ya que hasta ahora no se hizo caso de su protesta pacífica. . . . Opino que el negro tiene toda la razón. (File no. 12047-69)

More commonly, however, proponents of violent tactics were sharply criticized. In a 1966 report that highlighted how the author "preconiza la violencia," the censor concluded his report by proclaiming that "El que predica la violencia, perecerá en ella" (File no. 8673-66). The Black Power movement itself was understood to be inherently violent, as a report from 1969 stated: "Nos encontramos ante un libro violento, como violento es en realidad el poder negro" (File no. 12047-69). At the same time, claims of self-defense were mockingly dismissed: "La introducción pretende presentar a los Panteras negras como angelitos perseguidos que usan las armas solo para defenderse de los asesinos policías" (File no. 5221-71). Another report on the same text pointed to "lenguaje descarnado y agresivo" and claimed

⁴³ Malcolm X has been called "a gifted spiritual and political leader in the post–World War II black nationalist movement in the United States and influential worldwide. [He] gained worldwide fame because of his powerful rhetoric, his opposition to white supremacy and racism, and the linking of the African American freedom struggle to anticolonialism and the global fight for human rights" (Anderson 2012, 386). He rose to prominence as a Minister of the Nation of Islam, under the leadership of Elijah Mohammed, but broke from the Nation in 1964. While Malcolm X has often been framed as a violence-predicating foil to the peace-loving Dr. King, both figures developed complex positions in their fight against the oppression of black communities. The theologian James H. Cone has argued that what Malcolm X really advocated was not violence, but self-defense: "He believed that the right of self-defense is an essential element in the definition of humanity. Whites have always recognized this principle for themselves but not for blacks. . . . He contended that blacks should use 'any means necessary' to get their freedom . . . If the government does not protect black people, they are within their rights to protect themselves, he contended" (Cone 2001, 180-181).

that the program of the Black Panthers "deja chica a la literatura revolucionaria rusa y china en su violencia" (File no. 5221-71).⁴⁴

The political affiliations of prominent Black Power leaders likewise presented a problem for the censors, since many such leaders had Marxist or communist ties. A report from 1972 condemned a work that it described as "relacionado con el tema de la violencia y la segregación racial en los Estados Unidos, pero no en los moldes normales de nivel sociológico, sino que está concebido bajo un tratamiento politizado, en base comunista" (File no. 517-72). Another report on the same text described that "se predica la revolución y se justifica la subversión," and added, in an ironic tone that "El poder debe pasar al pueblo. Naturalmente, que en esta problemática, es el comunismo el que mejor se presta a servir de instrumento y de vehículo a estas reivindicaciones raciales" (Ibid.). Other texts had been branded "puro comunismo superrevolucionario predicando violencia" (File no. 5221-71) or condemned for "su fanático espíritu subversivo y revolucionario, su ideología comunista" (File no. 11427-71). In this way the censors forwarded the idea that non-violent and non-revolutionary actions were the "normal" mode of fighting racial injustice, and in most cases ensured that black activists with any kind of Marxist ties would go unpublished throughout the dictatorship.

Conversely, works void of such ideologies were seen as readily acceptable. A 1968 report on a work characterized as a sociological study concluded that "El problema que se plantea es totalmente doméstico y no entra en aspectos políticos de carácter ideológico. Solamente buscan la política negra" (File no. 9469-68). In such cases, the censors even

⁴⁴ "The Black Panthers were part of the militant wing of the civil rights movement. . . . Originally named the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, the group was heavily influenced by the black power movement, Marxism, and the militant group Deacons for Defense. The Panthers stressed racial dignity and self-reliance but did so in a confrontational manner that scared many whites, especially those in positions of authority. The Black Panther platform included such uncontroversial planks as full employment for African Americans, decent housing, and an end to police brutality. However, the Panther platform also referenced robbery by capitalists in black communities, demanded an exemption from military service for all black men, and called for a UN-supervised plebiscite in which only black colonial subjects would be allowed to participate to determine the national destiny of African Americans" (Neumann 2012, 65).

accepted some discussion of violence, since as one censor remarked, "el tema tratado (el del racismo en USA) no nos afecta directamente" (File no. 3672-68).

◆ **Women's Liberation**

The year 1965 saw some of the earliest translations of feminist texts in both Spanish and Catalan (Godayol 2014, 269). Such translations, when authorized, would help drive the budding feminist movements in Barcelona and Madrid, and inspire original writings on the situation across Spain. As translation scholar Pilar Godayol (2014) affirms:

It is important to emphasize how these translations, along with original works by authors such as Carmen Alcalde, Maria Aurèlia Capmany, Magda Oranich, Teresa Pàmies and Isabel Clara Simó, penetrated the society of the time to the point where they became the basis of the militant and committed feminist discourse which burst onto the scene after the death of General Franco on 20 November 1975. (269)

Given that women's behavior and attitudes were understood by the regime to be a question of moral correctness, feminist translations were often reviewed by ecclesiastic censors. Yet, in spite of important departures from Catholic viewpoints, the first censors to report on these translations did not rush to dismiss feminist thought. They appeared to grapple very seriously with the questions raised, and present a nuanced evaluation of feminist ideology.

For example, a censor's report on a feminist text submitted in 1965 stated that "El libro es duro y no faltan algunas críticas de carácter religioso y sexual no enteramente correctas, pero es en su conjunto positivo para una elevada concepción de la persona humana, de la mujer, de la familia" (File no. 1349-65). A second report on the same work carefully outlined the argument of the text and highlighted the "scientific" nature of the study:

Según la autora, las conclusiones de esta educación tradicional han sido la ruina de la personalidad de la mujer bajo todos los aspectos; y por eso defiende una nueva formación, paralela al menos a la del hombre, en el sentido de que a la mujer se le eduque primero para tener personalidad humana propia, y no simplemente para ser mujer dominada por el hombre y para el hombre. . . . A pesar de que pueda haber alguna exageración o malentendido en algunos puntos,

principalmente para la mentalidad española, creemos que la obra, por ser de carácter científico y no simple literatura puede publicarse. (File no. 1349-65)

While the censors pointed to elements which they believed to be "exaggerated" and hard to assimilate from the Spanish perspective, they also emphasized the notion of women's "humanity." At the same time, the censors were careful to deny any problems regarding women in Spain's own society, and oversaw the suppression of content that would argue otherwise, noting that "Debe suprimirse la alusión extemporánea a la sumisión de la mujeres de la 'España de Franco'" (File no. 1349-65).

Following these early submissions, the late sixties and early seventies saw even more translations of feminist texts filter into Spain from the U.S., Great Britain and France, in addition to texts by Spanish and Catalan authors.⁴⁵ In many cases, such texts found a place among other works of social and political dissidence, as is apparent in the catalogues of Edicions 62, Tusquets and Kairós from the period in question.

In reaction to works that spoke directly to Women's Liberation, the censors revealed a particular defensiveness regarding the subject.⁴⁶ For example, a 1972 report on a collection of feminist writings affirmed that "la liberación que propugnan es a todas luces extremista e insensata pues busca una paridad absoluta con el varón" (File no. 3640-72). The same censor went on to argue that in the collection "Se queja de que los hombres sólo ven a la mujer el

⁴⁵ It is worth noting, however, that texts on the subject of lesbians continued to be "totalmente inadmisibles" (File no. 6841-66).

⁴⁶ While the phrase 'women's liberation' has been used since the nineteenth century (at least), it now popularly refers to the second-wave feminist movement of the 1960s. "When the women's liberation movement (WLM) emerged in the late 1960s, it was shaped both by similarity to first-wave feminism, in the way that both grew out of their limited roles in black rights movement and also by changes in the political order brought about by that earlier feminism. In other ways, women's liberation was radically different. Women's liberation extended the terms *politics* and *economy* to sexuality, encapsulated in the slogan 'The personal is the political.' The movement created new political organizations—small antihierarchical consciousness-raising groups—and new vocabulary, like the term *sexual politics*, the title of Kate Millett's now classic book (Millett, 1970). . . . in the United States[,] [t]he WLM grew from radical groups such as the New York Redstockings; from concern about reproductive issues . . . from the first women's studies programs . . . and from direct actions, such as the demonstration at the Miss America pageant in 1968 when bras were trashed (but not burned). Another stimulus was the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), which described the frustration of white, heterosexual, middle-class women without careers, locked into domesticity, and Friedan's founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966" (Humm 2000, 706).

sexo y la mayor parte del libro está dedicado justamente a la mujer como sexo. Y esto lo hace con una inusitada crudeza de lenguaje" (File no. 3640-72). Not only do these comments confirm the strict moral standards placed on women writers under the regime, but they also reveal the censor's attempts to discredit the ideas presented. To him, the idea of true gender equality was both "extremist" and "foolhardy," and he found it utterly contradictory that the women talk about their own sexuality yet do not want to be treated like sexual objects. His stance thus ignored (or could not conceive of) the possibility that women might choose to talk about sex for their own benefit and pleasure; though, in either case, their language would surely be found "exceptionally" crude.

While some censors dismissed the possibility of women's liberation altogether, others argued that women in Spain had already achieved the status sought in years past. In fact, a report from May 1975 declared that "teniendo en cuenta que casi todo lo que pedían . . . lo han conseguido las mujeres de la España nacional, y por tanto todo ello se queda anticuado y absurdo" (File no. 5803-75). Yet, this assessment would prove to be rather shortsighted, considering the wave of feminist texts that "burst onto the scene" after Franco's death (Godoyol 2014, 269).

◆ **Civil Disobedience**

With large-scale activism emerging in the fight for Civil Rights and against the war in Vietnam, in addition to demands for students' rights on college campuses and the second wave of women's liberation, texts on the U.S. counterculture brought new attention to practices of political organizing, civil disobedience and popular resistance. Beyond actions such as draft-dodging or desertion that could be denounced on the grounds of antimilitarism, the censors broadly flagged those acts of organized resistance which they believed to be dangerous models for the Spanish population.

For example, a 1968 report flagged a text for its antimilitary message, but also for "propugnar la desobediencia civil." Another report from 1970 recommended suppressing a direct reference to "civil disobedience" in a text said to present "revolutionary theory":

Aborda unos temas tales como revueltas estudiantiles contra la guerra del Vietnam, resistencia al alistamiento, teoría revolucionaria. . . difíciles de matizar, delicadas y con una inevitable repercusión en nuestra sociedad. (File no. 4981-70)

Similar suppressions were suggested for a work submitted in 1972 which was characterized as "obra de protesta y disconformidad" (File no. 4267-72). A report from 1974 likewise suggested that the term "Desobediencia civil" be removed from the title of a work "por inducir a error" (File no. 7823-73).

Especially contentious were works that condoned armed or "revolutionary" resistance, even where the context was seen as limited to the U.S. For instance, a work submitted in 1972 was labeled a "Denuncia cruda, despiadada, violenta y revolucionaria de la sociedad blanca americana, de su organización política y sistemas judicial y penitenciario," with the censor concluding that "El libro está dirigido casi exclusivamente para los EE.UU. pero la incidencia en problemas españoles aconsejan SU NO PUBLICACIÓN" (File no. 517-72). In a 1970 report, one censor was especially alarmed at a text that included "una fórmula para construir una bomba Molotov" (7027-70), while another censor concluded that the basic aim of the text was the "destrucción del Estado burgués por las huelgas, la violencia, las guerrillas, la guerra y la revolución," (Ibid.), adding ironically: "como se ve, libro muy recomendable." In a 1972 report that highlighted "actividades pacifistas, antimilitaristas y anarquistas," the censor determined that "su lectura podría inducir a lectores jóvenes a imitar al protagonista. Es por tanto propaganda y de la peor" (File no. 4267-72). Finally, a report from 1975 flagged a text containing "SUGESTIVAS aportaciones al análisis de la situación actual de la revolución, señalando fallos tácticos y ACONSEJANDO soluciones que pueden impulsar la subversión en las condiciones actuales" (File no. 4098-75).

Ultimately, while in many reports the censors appear to condone "peaceful" or "nonviolent" actions to promote societal change, this is not generally true for movements that might garner the slightest support among Spanish dissidents. Rather, the censors show strong opposition to any kind of resistance tactics that could be taken as a model for Spanish subversives, including non-violent actions such as strikes.

◆ **Free Love**

A number of counterculture texts ran into trouble in Franco's Spain due to the topic of sex. In the U.S., sixties-era authors were freer than ever before to write sexual scenes into their fiction: gay, lesbian and bisexual authors began to create works that reflected their own realities, and many intellectuals were confronting the institutions of marriage, monogamy and family from sociological and cultural perspectives. In this sense, the censors' objections ran the gamut. While the enduring categories of obscenity, perversion, pornography, eroticism and homosexuality continued to be targeted in these texts, another category also surfaced: "free love" and "sexual freedom."

Without using these exact terms, a report from 1965 described the kind of sexual lifestyle that would later become associated with communes and hippies: "un círculo de jóvenes que practican ritos budistas y que huyendo del mundo se refugian en lo alto de una montaña. En su refugio viven en promiscuidad jóvenes de ambos sexos" (File no. 6928-65). The concept of "free love" was highlighted in a report from 1968, which described that the protagonist of a novel "funda una especie de iglesia, basada en una comunidad feliz mediante la fornicación a mansalva e indiscriminada. El amor a la humanidad pasa a ser un amor libre en el que maridos, novios, amantes, etc., comparten sus amores con los demás sin celos ni odios" (File no. 1056-68). Later in the same report the censor again emphasized this

philosophy, pointing to "la libre fornicación y el desnudismo con finalidad de felicidad suprema" (Ibid.).

Free love was often identified as a unique category of censurable content, in addition to obscene language or explicit sexual references. For instance, a report from 1970 objected to "los pasajes en que se refiere al sexo, amor libre, actos sexuales etc." (File no. 10543-70). Even for texts that did not include explicit references to sex, the idea of sexual freedom was still objectionable. For one such work submitted in 1970, the censor protested a mentality "de absoluta libertad en el campo sexual" (File no. 10454-70). Furthermore, sexual freedom was often associated with criminal activities. For example, a report from 1972 objected to a text that "Idealiza y defiende el robo, el asesinato, la libertad sexual, el amor libre y hasta determinadas perversiones sexuales" (File no. 14506-72). Another report from 1975 described "conceptos e ideas tan nocivos como la droga, la bebida como liberación del hombre, la libertad indiscriminada sexual" (File no. 9814-75). Such lifestyles were also associated with a kind of primitive lawlessness: "las comunas, con sus rituales religiosos, sin normas ni leyes de funcionamiento, y la promiscuidad de vida natural social y sexual" (File no. 4099-75)

The idea of free love was also seen as a direct affront to the institution of marriage:

Merece destacarse el concepto de la institución matrimonial monogámica que desprecia tanto el autor, por no efectuar una defensa de la misma, ante la exposición de sus motivaciones por parte de los habitantes de estas comunas. . . que defienden la unión sexual libre dentro de los miembros de la misma, de una forma rotativa y caprichosa. (File no. 4099-75)

Moreover, a handful of counterculture texts that promoted free love were also flagged for explicit attacks on the family, which the censors defended as one of the most basic forms of "convivencia cívica" (File no. 7027-70). Indeed, a series of reports in 1972 revealed the censors' alarm at a text which conceived of the family as "una de las fórmulas básicas que es preciso derribar" (File no. 1280-72). In this sense, the notion of free love seemed to represent

not just a moral transgression (though that alone would merit reproach), but also a step toward destabilizing the all-too-important structures of marriage and family.

◆ **Psychedelia**

While the censors expressed consistent opposition to drug-use throughout the Franco regime, the terms they used to discuss such activities began to change in the late sixties due to the introduction of the counterculture, which brought with it an emphasis on reality-altering substances such as LSD ("acid") and other hallucinogens.⁴⁷ Not only did the censors flag references to these substances in their reports, but they also began to incorporate vocabulary referring to hallucinations, psychedelia and drug-induced states of consciousness.

The censors frequently targeted sixties-era texts for their advocacy of drug-use as a means of enhancing consciousness or altering one's state of mind. They highlighted how different texts presented drugs as a "método de invasión interior" (File no. 7644-70), "modo de interpretar la vida" (File no. 11228-75), or encouraged "al presunto injerente de droga a enfrentarse con un mundo nuevo, el auténtico" (File no. 6065-76). A 1971 report likewise flagged a text's publicity of "las propiedades 'teofágicas' de las drogas" (File no. 10454-70); and a 1973 report criticized a text that "defiende las drogas como posibilidad de llegar a una introspección" (File no. 702-73); while a 1975 report pointed to "la velada defensa que se

⁴⁷ Usó Arnal affirms that before LSD was made illegal in Spain, "Muy pocos sabían sobre el fármaco como vehículo de exploración de espacios interiores ni se interesaban en la autoexperimentación como forma de conocimiento" (1993, 40-41). The philosophy professor and leading expert on the matter, Antonio Escohotado had written an article titled "Los alucinógenos y el mundo habitual", which was published in *Revista de Occidente* in April 1967, "donde se ocupaba ampliamente de las modificaciones perceptivas, filosóficas y culturales que implicaba el consumo de drogas visionarias" (41). Then, just three months later, "el general Camilo Alonso Vega, en calidad de Ministro de la Gobernación, dio una orden sometiendo al régimen de control de estupefacientes «los productos alucinógenos en general y con carácter especial los denominados LSD-25, mescalina y psilocibina»"(Ibid.). Still, Usó explains that "La devaluación de la peseta de 1967 atrajo a los primeros hippies a Ibiza, y con ellos llegó el primer ácido a España. El fármaco estaba prohibido pero, al principio, nadie pareció preocuparse lo más mínimo." However, after the international news of gruesome murders committed by members of the Manson "family," and their publicized use of acid, "el LSD pasó a ser una sustancia diabólica, intrínsecamente maligna, una droga esencialmente criminógena. . . . De nada sirvió que, a los pocos días de haberse descubierto los asesinatos cometidos por el clan Manson, casi medio millón de jóvenes –la mayoría consumidores de LSD– se dieran cita en un festival de música rock celebrado en Woodstock y convivieran en un mínimo espacio durante tres días consecutivos, sin provocar ningún acto de violencia u hostilidad" (41-42).

hace de los 'psicodélicos', como medio para una fortificación de la evasión y raciocinio" (File no. 4099-75).

Moreover, the censors began to identify and condemn what they understood to be drug-induced narrative styles. For example, a report from 1970 described a text in which "las frases se cortan, entrecruzan, se yuxtaponen y se insinúan como un caleidoscopio alucinante" (File no. 12499-70). A second report on the same text declared the content to be comprised of "visiones psicodélicas" (Ibid.). Similarly, a 1973 report described "oníricas y alucinógenas asociaciones de ideas que harán las delicias de las exquisitas minorías" (File no. 14536-73). Another text was ridiculed for the drug-induced utterances of the main characters:

En los pesados y frecuentísimos monólogos de la obra, a veces parece que el autor está tomando el pelo al lector, por su cantidad de incongruencias mezcladas, todas ellas en boca de algún protagonista drogado. (File no. 9814-75)

A 1977 report described a text as "alucinante en el sentido estricto de la palabra, con frases inconexas, expresiones simbólicas y léxico desgarrado sin freno alguno" (File no. 12461-77). Meanwhile, a character from another work was labeled "LSD-íaco" (File no. 856-77), revealing the censors' playful use of drug-related language.

Yet, incitement to drug-use was taken very seriously, including after Franco's death, as the censors continued to flag works that could be considered drug "apologies." For a work that was blocked in late 1975, the censors criticized the author for accepting "la droga como algo normal, como un modo lícito de interpretar y vivir la vida," and cited direct references to marijuana, opium, morphine, cocaine and peyote, as well as the author's "afirmaciones tajantes . . . sobre los beneficios que proporcionan al hombre estas drogas" (File no. 11228-75). Another text submitted in 1976 was found to offer "toda una serie de consejos para que quien tome la droga sepa discernir y encarar los fenómenos alucinatorios que va a experimentar," and labeled "un mensaje de apología acerca de las consecuencias favorables para la personalidad en quien experimente la droga," with one of the censors declaring that

"no cabe duda que esta obra debe ser denunciada" (File no. 6065-76). In fact, the topic continued to be flagged as late as January 1979, as one text was described as follows:

Ideológicamente el libro es difícil. Porque recrea el ambiente de la iniciación al LSD y sus experiencias cuando aun es tolerado sin estragos por el organismo. Naturalmente esa experiencia es grata. . . . (File no. 1050-79)

Overall, the censors revealed little sympathy or tolerance for the subject of drug-use, regardless of the exact substance or stated purpose, and tended to malign authors who discussed their own use or addiction. Any notions of mind-expansion using LSD and other hallucinogens were disparaged and condemned. At the same time, the language adopted by the censors also suggests a sort of literary fascination (and sometimes sheer bewilderment) at the "hallucinogenic" narrative styles of sixties-era authors. In particular, terms such as *alucinante* and *psicodélico* began to pepper the censors' reports from this period.

◆ **New Religions**

The theme of religion in counterculture texts presented two main problems for the Spanish censors. The first was that a number of sixties-era texts were critical of organized religion as a whole, taking particular aim at the Christian churches that dominated the U.S. landscape and vocalizing strong atheist, agnostic or generally irreligious and irreverent beliefs. The second problem emerged from the fact that certain counterculture figures (especially on the West Coast) had taken an interest in religious and philosophical traditions such as Zen Buddhism and Taoism, as well as practices involving meditation and Yoga, or religious rituals that included the ingestion of substances such as peyote, yage and marijuana. This was especially trying for the censors because these 'new' religious practices were sometimes combined with certain Christian beliefs and values presenting a kind of hybrid religiosity; or worse, pitted against the "alienating" effects of Christian institutions.

In many cases the censors simply pointed out the strangeness of new or hybrid religious concepts. For example, a 1965 report stated that "En el orden religioso, aunque el autor es católico, intenta una extraña (y desde luego no profundizada) síntesis entre catolicismo y budismo" (File no. 6316-65). Similarly, a report from 1972 highlighted "una extraña y nueva moda por la filosofía oriental. Es un neoculturalismo con una base filosófica por completo extraña a nuestra cultura" (File no. 4043-72). A report from 1973 also expressed concern for an unorthodox interpretation of Christianity: "Difícil juicio plantea este libro. Interpreta el cristianismo, sin negar su valor, de un modo extraño" (File no. 5641-73).

Another report from 1973 argued that it was fine to discuss other religions, as long as it did not inspire an attack on Christian culture or morality: "Se está llenando el mercado de este tipo de literatura sobre religiones orientales. Nada censurable en principio, mientras ello no suponga que, al amparo de esta literatura, se empiece a deslizar un ataque a la religión, a la cultura o a la moral" (File no. 702-73). In fact, the censor felt that the work in question had established an unfavorable comparison to Christianity, "dejando a esta en mal lugar, al considerarla alienante para el hombre" (Ibid.).

Religious parody presented a similar problem since Christianity was a primary target. For instance, a report from 1968 condemned a work for establishing "un nuevo concepto moral," culminating in "una parodia religiosa que puede recordar la venida de Jesucristo para salvar al género humano . . . El género humano le responde como ya lo hizo con Jesucristo: asesinándolo" (File no. 1056-68). The text was criticized for presenting "un panteísmo exagerado" and invoking biblical passages "para desvirtuar su alcance e intención" (Ibid.). This also left the censors guessing at the underlying intentions: "parece un zaherir continuamente las ideas religiosas" (Ibid.). Of another text submitted the same year, the censors complained that "da la impresión de que toda religión es una ficción y un engaño" (File no. 5061-68).

At the same time, the introduction of non-Christian religious and philosophical traditions was sometimes viewed by the censors as a kind of swindle. One figure was described as

el tipo de americano que no teniendo necesidad de trabajar para vivir se mete a hablar de lo divino y lo humano, del más allá y del más acá . . . un rollo impresionante de analogías pretendiendo sentar cátedra de todos los sabores, aunque lo que demuestra es más bien bastante confucionismo. Alegaría el autor que no comprendemos su pensamiento por ser contraculturista, es decir contra lo generalmente aceptado en la cultura occidental. El que es más listo y le sobra tiempo para evadirse, se va a buscar en lo oriental . . . Con lo cual escribe cosas como éstas, los americanos las compran como rosquillas, él se hincha de ganar dinero y por consiguiente ya tiene categoría para ir dando conferencias por las universidades como un sabio iluminado. (File no. 8242-78)

In addition to questioning new religious movements and their comparison to Christianity, the censors also highlighted unambiguous statements against Christian institutions, and organized religion in general, in a number of counterculture works. For example, a 1971 report recommended blocking a text which "condena toda clase de religión organizada" (File no. 10454-70), and a 1973 report described a text in which "se da el cristianismo por algo superado y ya fuera de la realidad y del tiempo" (File no. 4952-69). Moreover, passages that cited harm or violence at the hand of Christian institutions were often recommended for suppression. In this manner, the censors saw to the removal of statements such as this one: "las instituciones del cristianismo, religiosamente inanes, siguen causando estragos emocionales en niños y adolescentes" (File no. 4952-69).

What is clear is that the religious explorations of counterculture authors and their frequent rejection, revision or parody of traditional Christian models represented an attack on a core pillar of the Franco regime and put the Spanish censors on the defensive. Most striking is that many such offenses were detected in works in which religion was only a minor theme or incidental reference. What this reveals is that attempts by counterculture authors to reimagine their society and culture often included a non-traditional understanding of religion and spirituality, if not a full-frontal assault on Christian institutions.

4.3 Publication and Censorship of Counterculture Texts in Franco's Spain and in the Years of Transition

In order to further contextualize the translation and censorship of works by Kurt Vonnegut, Norman Mailer and Robert Heinlein, examined in section 5, the following pages will outline the results of a broader survey of U.S. counterculture works that were published (or at least attempted) in Franco's Spain, and in the period of transition from 1976 to 1978.⁴⁸ With the goal of exploring how censors and publishers generally handled counterculture content across a wide variety of texts, the parameters of the survey expand well beyond the initial list of authors. Placing primary emphasis on the themes and subject matter of the texts, this survey includes works by writers such as Jack Kerouac and William S. Burroughs, of the preceding Beat Generation, as well as selected works by politically-engaged novelists such as James Baldwin and Philip Roth, and an extensive sample of non-fiction writings, manifestos and speeches by a range of intellectuals, philosophers, social critics and activists who were at the forefront of counterculture movements.

The censorship files reveal that a small number of these texts were submitted to Spanish censorship in the early part of the sixties. Thus, an examination of these first attempts, in section 4.3.1, will serve as a reminder that long before 'The Summer of Love' a number of Spanish publishers had their sights set on the underground literary models emerging amid the U.S. counterculture.⁴⁹ After the Press and Print Law of 1966, with its ostensible freedoms, and as counterculture works also made their way to bestseller lists in the United States, the volume of attempted counterculture translations rose steadily in the late

⁴⁸ More concretely, files will be examined from Franco's death in November 1975, up to February 1979, when the censors' reports still included a written evaluation of each work.

⁴⁹ "'The Summer of Love' refers to June through September 1967, when thousands of young Americans migrated to San Francisco, California, to participate in the hippie counterculture of peace, love, and communal living. They gravitated to the Haight-Ashbury district, where cheap Victorian-style houses coexisted alongside Beat-era icons. . . . Prior to a police crackdown in mid-1967, it was common for hippies to sleep in nearby Golden Gate Park, and the overall community ethos rejected traditional jobs and responsibilities in favor of a commitment to finding alternatives to mainstream American culture" (Fletcher 2012, 641).

sixties and throughout the decade of the seventies. Section 4.3.2 will examine the U.S. counterculture texts that passed through censorship from 1966 to 1975, while section 4.3.3, as a mode of comparison, will discuss the texts submitted from 1976 to 1978, from the death of the dictator to the establishment of the Spanish Constitution.⁵⁰

4.3.1 Counterculture Texts in Spain 1960-1965

It is fitting that the denied import of *The Subterraneans* in 1960, written by Jack Kerouac two years earlier and translated in Argentina under the title *El ángel subterráneo* (File no. 6776-60), should mark the beginning of a history of counterculture publications in Spain.⁵¹ The attempt to circulate Kerouac's work—however harmful it was judged by the censors—pointed to a growing interest in the same literary and cultural models that set the stage for the counterculture novelists of the sixties, and a certain awareness that these models were yet to be discovered by Spanish readers.⁵² Likewise denied authorization was James Baldwin's sexually charged novel *Another Country* (1962), set in the Greenwich Village scene of 1950's writers and musicians.⁵³ The censors characterized the novel as an "auténtico engendro propio para el solaz y recreo de mentalidades psicopáticas" (File no. 6258-62). The Catalan translation was then denied authorization in 1964, with the censor describing that "Todos los personajes –blancos y negros– son viciosos, alcohólicos, pederastas e inmorales.

⁵⁰ Scholars from the TRACE research group have chosen to distinguish the period from 1962 to 1969 in which Manuel Fraga Iribarne served as the Minister of Information and Tourism, and a second period from 1970 to 1978, including the years of Transition; however, the trajectory of counterculture texts in Franco's Spain is more adequately described by the distinction between the final years of the dictatorship following the 1966 Press and Print Law, 1966-1975, and the years of transition following Franco's death, 1976-1978. The publications in the years following the dictatorship are useful here as a mode of comparison.

⁵¹ The work was later published in Spain in 1986, under the title *Los subterráneos*. For an examination of censurable elements in both Spanish versions of the work, see Thomas (2013).

⁵² As with the case of Kerouac, this void was made more visible by the fact that such works were being made available in Spanish translation in places like Argentina and Mexico.

⁵³ For the sake of readability, the Spanish titles will not be included in every description, but can be found under the censorship outcomes listed in Figures 2, 3 and 4, at the end of each subsection, along with the names of the publisher and translator (if the translation was published). Where the translated title is not easily recognizable, it will be noted alongside the original. The censorship files consulted are listed in figure 5, following this section.

La mayor parte del contenido contiene descripciones crudas de una pornografía que no conoce límites" (File no. 3272-64).⁵⁴

In truth, it was the more absurd and less controversial *Catch-22* (1961), by Joseph Heller, which would become the first sixties-era novel published in Spain. In spite of Heller's strong antimilitarism, the censors found nothing objectionable in the text, authorizing it just days after it was submitted in the summer of 1962 (File no. 3442-62). The Spanish translation, *Trampa-22*, was printed in September of that year and reprinted three more times during the years of the dictatorship.⁵⁵ A Spanish translation of *V* (1963) by Thomas Pynchon was authorized in 1964 pending the suppression of descriptions found to be in 'very bad taste' and which reflected the 'immorality' of a few of the characters (File no. 1560-64). However, Seix y Barral reported having strict instructions from the author not to accept the suppressions and the board responded by revoking its authorization (Ibid.). A proposed Catalan translation by Edicions 62 also had to be abandoned for similar reasons (File no. 449-66).⁵⁶ The novel would not be published in Spain for another twenty years.

This period saw the first texts related to the budding Civil Rights Movement, with growing interest in the work of Dr. Martin Luther King, evident in the submissions of *Stride Toward Freedom* (1958) (File no. 1396-63), and *Why We Can't Wait* (1964) (File no. 7010-64). The religious nature of Dr. King's work was praised effusively by the censors, who tended to show considerable compassion for the struggles of African Americans, as demonstrated in the section 4.2. However, the introduction of works by a range of more

⁵⁴ Though less representative of counterculture themes, Baldwin's earlier novel, *Giovanni's Room* (1956), had been denied authorization on account of its sexual descriptions in 1961 (File no. 5187-61).

⁵⁵ In May 1968 (File no. 4151-68), February 1973 (File no. 1617-73), and November 1975 (File no. 12521-75).

⁵⁶ While the censorship file for this work reveals only that the galley proofs were submitted in January 1966, and no subsequent authorization was granted, Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla (2002, 204) list this work among those that had to undergo suppressions. As such, it may be reasonably assumed that Edicions 62 found itself in the same place as Seix Barral, unable to comply with the censors' demands.

militant African American activists after 1966, discussed in section 4.3.3, would prove that this was still a potentially problematic area for the board.

Another work of non-fiction submitted during this period was the set of Norman Mailer's political essays collected in *The Presidential Papers* (1963). The work was submitted in May 1964 and authorized in December, making it the first publication of the author's work in Spain (File no. 2896-64). Then, a Catalan translation of Mailer's antimilitary novel *The Naked and The Dead* (1948) was submitted to the censorship board at the end of that year, yet would pass through lengthy negotiations and numerous cuts before it could be published in February 1966 (File no. 5695-64). Meanwhile, the author's controversial novel *An American Dream* (1965) was denied authorization in 1965 due to its abundant displays of 'immorality,' discussed in detail in section 5.3.

The first two Kerouac novels to be published in Spain both received initial authorization in 1965, though the translated texts would not be published until 1967 and 1968, respectively. A proposed Catalan translation of *The Dharma Bums* (1958) was found to be acceptable on account of its humor and style, serving as "[un] ejemplo valioso de uno de los nuevos rumbos de la novela moderna," despite its subject—"un sector juvenil norteamericano disconforme con las ideas y costumbres tradicionales . . . al margen de la moral" (File no. 6918-65). Similarly, a Spanish translation of *Desolation Angels* (1965) was considered highly unusual in content and style—"anárquica de forma y fondo"—yet judged acceptable as long as a criticism of Franco was cut from the Spanish text (File no. 6316-65).

1965 would also see the first feminist texts to be authorized in Spanish territory since before the war (Godayol 2014, 273). In particular, these included the translations in both Catalan and Spanish of *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) by Betty Friedan. The Spanish edition of this work was introduced within Catholic sectors which supported the regime (Godayol

2014, 276).⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the Catalan edition released the same summer, *La mística de la feminitat*, would have the distinction of receiving the first authorization for a feminist work under the dictatorship (273), though the censors did require the suppression of a sentence that referred to "la sumisión de la mujeres de la 'España de Franco'" (File no. 1349-65, cited in Godayol 2014, 279). As with Kerouac, it is notable that the international perspective of many dissident writers from the U.S. meant that their critiques of social and political institutions sometimes pointed directly to Francoist policies, drawing extra scrutiny from the Spanish censors.⁵⁸

Finally, in the period leading up to the new Press and Print Law of March 18, 1966, the first submission of a Kurt Vonnegut's text was promptly granted authorization and published. *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965) was judged acceptable in September 1965, and then approved in translation the first week of March, 1966 (File no. 6533-65). This would make *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* the first of the author's works to circulate in Spain, printed just before the new law would take effect. Yet, Vonnegut's novel was not as benign as it would seem—as the analysis of this text in section 5.1.1 has revealed extensive self-censorship in the translation and editing process.

Ultimately, despite the failed attempts during this period to publish provocative sixties-era novels such as Baldwin's *Another Country*, Pynchon's *V* and Mailer's *An American Dream*, the range of works submitted to censorship (if not published) from 1960 to 1965 are nonetheless illustrative of the interest among Spanish and Catalan publishers in the underground literary models and burgeoning social movements coming out of the U.S. at that

⁵⁷ Though no censorship file has been located for this edition, its framing within a more conservative ideology has been the subject of extensive analysis in Godayol's study (2014).

⁵⁸ For instance, negative remarks about Francoist Spain also had to be cut from works by James Baldwin (File no. 10763-69), Joseph Berke (File no. 5830-70), William S. Burroughs (File no. 12499-70 and 1280-72), and Philip S. Foner (10465-70).

time—an interest that would only increase as the counterculture blossomed. The survey of censorship outcomes from this period is shown in figure 2.

Figure 2. Censorship Outcomes for Counterculture Texts in Spain 1960-1965⁵⁹

Authorized

Fiction:

- 1962: Joseph Heller, *Trampa 22*, Plaza y Janés, Trans. Francisco Elías.
- 1965: Jack Kerouac, *Els pòtols místics* [*The Dharma Bums*], Aymá, Trans. Manuel de Pedrolo [Published 1967]
- 1966: Kurt Vonnegut, *Dios le bendiga Mr. Rosewater*, Grijalbo, Trans. Amparo García Burgos

Non-Fiction:

- 1963: Martin Luther King, *Los viajeros de la libertad*, Fontanella, Trans. Pedro Medina and María Antonia Barquero
- 1964: Martin Luther King, *Porque no podemos esperar*, Trans. Joaquín Romero Maura
- Norman Mailer, *Crónicas presidenciales*, Caralt, Trans. Francisco Elías y Luis Buelta
- 1965: Betty Friedan, *La mística de la feminidad*, Sagitario, Trans. Carlos R. de Dampierre

Authorized with suppressions

Fiction:

- 1965: Jack Kerouac, *Ángeles de desolación* Caralt, Trans. María del Carmen Azpiazu [Published 1968]
- 1966 Norman Mailer, *Els nus i els morts* [*The Naked and the Dead*], Edicions 62, Trans. Ramon Folch i Camarasa

Non-Fiction:

- 1965: Betty Friedan, *La mística de la feminitat*, Edicions 62, Trans. Jordi Solé-Tura⁶⁰

Denied Authorization

Fiction:

- 1962: James Baldwin, *Otro país*, Mateu
- 1964: Thomas Pynchon, *V*, Seix y Barral
- James Baldwin, *Un altre Mon*, Aymá
- 1965: Norman Mailer, *Un sueño americano*, Caralt
- 1966: Thomas Pynchon, *V*, Edicions 62

Denied Import

Fiction:

- 1960: Jack Kerouac, *El ángel subterráneo*, Sur, Trans. Juan Rodolfo Wilcock

⁵⁹ Also included here are works that were processed by censorship between January and March 1966, before the Press and Print Law took effect on March 18 of that year. Note that for submissions that were ultimately not published, no translator will be listed in the table.

⁶⁰ As Godayol notes in her article, "Jordi Solé-Tura . . . was [a] professor of constitutional law at the University of Barcelona, a left-leaning politician and one of the fathers of the Spanish Constitution of 1978. . . Working only for Edicions 62, he translated 30 titles in 5 years. . . works of political and sociological thought related to his Marxist ideology, the authors of which were almost all unpublished in Catalan" (2014, 271). He was also the Minister of Culture from 1991 to 1993, under the Administration of Felipe González.

4.3.2 Counterculture Texts in Spain 1966–1975

The second period examined begins with the new Press and Print Law, of March 18, 1966, and ends in late 1975, with the end of the dictatorship. What is immediately visible is that counterculture works of fiction were heavily restricted during these years, while counterculture works of non-fiction were more readily published. This supports the findings of Rojas Claros (2013, 310), who posited that the real effect of Fraga's Law was to open up possibilities for publications that were limited in scope and distribution, while literature for the masses remained under strict control. Indeed, a number of non-fiction works were authorized with no changes at all, including translations of Paul Goodman's best-selling study of American society, *Growing Up Absurd: Problems of Youth in the Organized Society* (1960) (File no. 3940-69), and Theodore Roszak's chronicle of sixties-era movements, *The Making of a Counterculture* (1969) (File no. 7233-70). This also included calls to action against the Vietnam War, such as the translations of Martin Luther King's *The Trumpet of Conscious* (1968) (File no. 10969-68) and Noam Chomsky's 1969 piece for the *New York Times* "The Responsibility of Intellectuals" (File no 12201-69).

Much more commonly, however, sixties-era works expressing dissent or calls to action resulted in *Silencio administrativo*. Beginning with the new legislation and the option to submit already-printed works to the censorship board through the process of *Depósito*, the censors applied the mechanism of *Silencio* as a means of withholding—without openly denying—the authorization of such works. As discussed in section 4.1, the increasing use of *Silencio* can be attributed to the fact that the Ministry was beginning to face bad press for works that were denied authorization and seized (Rojas Claros 2013, 308). Regarding these already-printed works, the censors could no longer make approval contingent on their recommended modifications. Yet, granting authorization too permissively would highlight the discrepancies between the process of Voluntary Consultation—which afforded the

censors systematic control over what was published—and the process of *Depósito*—which forced them to either approve, explicitly or implicitly, or actually stop circulation. *Silencio* thus emerged as a way for the censors to document their disapproval of a given text without exposing the Ministry to the negative publicity of judicial action, which could potentially be decided in the publisher's favor (Rojas Claros 2013, 308). Functionally, however, *Silencio* allowed a text to circulate as if it had been authorized, which would explain the expression '*Autorización por Silencio*' used in some of the reports.

Under *Silencio*, a number of non-fiction texts relating to the counterculture were published and circulated freely, though they were never expressly authorized. Stuart Hall's *Hippies: una contra-cultura* (1970) circulated in this way (File no. 7644-70),⁶¹ as did Norman Mailer's *El negro blanco* (1973), originally submitted under the title *Hipsters* (see section 5.3.2).⁶² A Noam Chomsky collection on political resistance, *Sobre política y lingüística* (1970), was initially denied authorization and later authorized for distribution abroad, but was able to circulate by way of *Silencio* the following year (File no. 4981-70).⁶³ Among other publications to merit *Silencio* were two works by the New Age philosopher Alan Watts, including *El libro del tabú* (File no. 4043-72) and *Naturaleza, hombre y mujer* (File no. 5641-73), as well as *Las comunas en la contracultura* (1975) by Keith Melville (File no. 4099-75), and a collection of pieces by prominent feminists, *Hablan las women's lib* (File no. 3460-72). Two additional texts by Paul Goodman were tacitly permitted in this manner, *La nueva reforma: un nuevo manifiesto anarquista* (1972) and *La des-educación obligatoria* (1974), as well as Daniel Berrigan's work on civil disobedience, *Conciencia, ley y desobediencia civil*

⁶¹ The Jamaican-born scholar spent most of his adult life in the United Kingdom, where he became an important figure at the University of Birmingham (discussed further in 4.3.3). While not a U.S. author, Hall's work, originally titled *The Hippies: An American 'Moment'* represents a key study of the U.S. counterculture. It is included in the present survey in order to help paint a broad picture of the censorship reactions to that topic.

⁶² Translated works which were submitted directly to *Depósito* will be described here under the Spanish title, particularly because some of these texts did not correspond to a single English-language publication. *El negro blanco* is a clear example of this.

⁶³ However, the censors' reversal regarding the Chomsky text also required the replacement of an entire chapter, discussed further in 4.4.

(File no. 7823-74). Above all, the use of *Silencio* for these texts highlights the censors' insecurities regarding counterculture works.

This was also how a translation of William S. Burroughs's *Nova Express* (1964) first circulated by way of the press *Papeles de Son Armadans* in 1973.⁶⁴ The censor commented snidely on the leftist politics and excessive eroticism of the text, as well as the author's status as an addict, yet affirmed that since the work was destined for an elite readership there was no reason to intervene:

Engendro "importante" de este inglés drogadicto, representante del hermetismo y con la no menos "importante" caja de resonancia de las "izquierdas mundiales" que le consideran un "clásico" moderno. Sus alegatos contra la guerra, la tiranía, la sociedad de consumo, y su erotismo desbordado... están velados por sus oníricas y alucinógenas asociaciones de ideas, que harán las delicias de las "exquisitas" minorías, pero que estimamos no causarán impacto en la masa sana del lector consciente y consecuente. (File no. 14536-73)⁶⁵

While showing clear disdain for the author and his would-be readers, the censor suggested that the text could be authorized. By opting for *Silencio administrativo*, the board essentially washed its hands of the matter. At the same time, the censor's emphasis on the elite readership was reminiscent of the justifications used for authorizing the earlier works of Jack Kerouac, discussed in section 4.3.1. Of Kerouac's *Els pòtols místics* (1967), one censor had affirmed that the work was "sin duda, una novela para minorías," arguing that its essence rested in "la confusion de fondo y de forma" (File no. 6918-65). The publication of *Ángeles de desolación* (1968) was judged in a similar fashion:

A pesar de la anarquía de su contenido, y de los defectos de forma se considera autorizable la obra por ir dirigida a un público muy escaso y de alta preparación intelectual. Constituye a pesar de todo, un ejemplo interesante de la literatura americana. (File no. 6316-65)

⁶⁴ Another factor in this decision may have been the fact that the editor of the press was the well-known writer Camilo José Cela, who had ties within the Ministry and at times enjoyed the favor of the censorship board (Abellán 1980, 118), having himself worked in that capacity in the early forties. Indeed, the only other work by Burroughs allowed to circulate in Franco's Spain, *Las últimas palabras de Dutch Schultz*, had also been published through *Papeles de Son Armadans* in 1971. However, no censorship record exists for this publication (or none was found in the AGA database).

⁶⁵ Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Burroughs was from the United States—not England, as the censor declares.

The censor's consideration of the novel as an 'interesting example of American literature' also suggests a certain recognition of the underground literary models coming out of the U.S.

While a few such publications were making their way through the 'cracks' in the late sixties (Rojas Claros 2013, 35), the censorship process was alive and well in its ability to limit dissident and counterculture texts. The major works of popular counterculture novelists came up against heavy restrictions, although a few scattered works were authorized with suppressions or for export during this period. For instance, Grijalbo ultimately pushed to have a translation of Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) approved for distribution abroad after an edition for Spanish territory was judged to require numerous modifications and cuts to obscene and irreverent passages (see section 5.1.2). The publishing house then had to repeat this maneuver in 1975 in order to print a translation of Jack Kerouac's *Visions of Cody* (1972), which the censors had deemed utterly unacceptable for Spanish readers on account of "sus diálogos y sus expresiones . . . tremendamente groseros, con un vocabulario soez, y un abuso de palabras malsonantes . . . descripciones de índole pornográfico . . . y una irreverencia religiosa" (File no. 9814-75).

Other cases demonstrate that without such maneuvering the publication of counterculture works in translation could be treacherous. One particularly notable case was that of Robert A. Heinlein's iconic counterculture novel *A Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961), which no publisher had dared to attempt in translation during the years of prior consultation, or the first two years of Fraga's Law (Santos 1996, Afterword). When the newly-founded Ediciones Géminis submitted *Forastero en tierra extranjera* as a *Depósito* in 1968, it meant the beginning of the end for the publishers, who saw the entire edition of their hoped-for bestseller destroyed at the hands of the authorities. The trajectory of Géminis in relation to this and other works by Heinlein will be discussed in section 5.2.

Similarly, an already-printed translation of Daniel Odier's interview with William S. Burroughs, submitted in 1972 under the title *El trabajo: conversaciones con Daniel Odier*, provoked an immediate *Denuncia judicial* from the censorship board, with one report characterizing the text as:

. . . un largo, farragoso y pesado sermón en el que W. Burroughs expone sus peculiares ideas sobre el mundo, la sociedad, las relaciones humanas y el poder político, llegando a conclusiones tales como la destrucción del concepto y de la realidad de nación, la disolución de la familia, así como el mostrarse en cierto modo partidario del consumo de drogas. (File no. 1280-72)

Not surprisingly, the works by Burroughs that were submitted to Voluntary Consultation during this period were resoundingly denied authorization. For instance, a proposed Spanish edition of his novel *The Soft Machine* (1961) was found replete with "salacidad, pornografía y obscenidades de toda índole, con la continua y cruda descripción de toda clase de lubricidades y desviaciones sexuales, especialmente de la homosexualidad" (File no. 5864-70). A translation of *Apo-33: Bulletin* (1966), by way of the French text *Apomorphine* (1969), was discarded in 1971 as an apology for drug-use and an "ataque virulento contra la policía y la autoridad" (File no. 12499-70). Taken together, these results would mean that in spite of the tacit acceptance of two elite publications of Burroughs's work submitted to *Depósito*, discussed previously, none of the author's publications were actually "authorized" under the Franco regime.⁶⁶

The trajectory of Norman Mailer's works is similarly remarkable for the sheer number of proposed translations that were denied in Voluntary Consultation, including multiple submissions of his sixties-era novels *An American Dream* (1965) and *Why Are We in Vietnam* (1967), among others (discussed in section 5.3). Notably, the one novel authorized in Spanish translation during the regime was his non-fiction novel *The Armies of the Night*

⁶⁶ The only publications appear to be the elite printings of *Nova Express* and *Las últimas palabras de Dutch Schultz*, noted previously. It is worth reiterating that while no file was found for *Las últimas palabras de Dutch Schultz*, the similarity of its publication to that of *Nova Express* suggests that it was tacitly allowed to circulate. However, with no documentation of this process, the work is not included in the table of censorship outcomes.

(1968), chronicling the March on the Pentagon to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Though ultimately authorized, the text was subject to extensive modifications before *Los ejércitos de la noche* could be printed in 1969 (File no. 3247-69). While Mailer's other works of non-fiction were all authorized without the board imposing changes, it is worth adding that *El negro blanco*, a specially-selected collection of Mailer's essays on hipsters, was initially denied authorization in 1969 and not published until 1973. When the translation did finally circulate, it was under the board's declaration of *Silencio* (File no. 10454-70).⁶⁷

As already suggested, counterculture works of non-fiction, with a limited target audience, did fare a little better than popular novels, even when they represented political opposition. For example, translations of *Daybreak* (1968) by the folk singer Joan Baez (File no. 3380-71), and *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (1970) by the historian Dee Brown (File no. 11388-72) were authorized with just a handful of suppressions, as the censors characterized politically sensitive passages as 'unfortunate' or 'unnecessary' exceptions in these works, rather than integral to their underlying message.⁶⁸ Paul Goodman's collection titled *Ensayos utópicos* (1973) was also authorized despite the author's clear position as an atheist in essays such as "El hombre poscristiano," in which "se da el cristianismo por algo superado" (File no. 4952-69). The board required the removal of a handful of passages—like those below—yet authorized the Spanish text:

De modo que el pacifismo cristiano, el universalismo cristiano y la caridad cristiana se han convertido, irónicamente, en un Anticristo.

Pero las instituciones del cristianismo, religiosamente inanes, siguen causando estragos emocionales en niños y adolescentes. (File no. 4952-69)

⁶⁷ These and other Mailer works attempted in Franco's Spain will be discussed in detail in section 5.3.

⁶⁸ Of Baez's memoirs, the censor judged that "La célebre cantante ensalza la no violencia y el amor universal, en tonos líricos y usando, además, una gran sencillez en el estilo. Desgraciadamente, la dedicatoria debe ser suprimida, así como algunos párrafos que hemos subrayado con lápiz en los que se ataca al ejército, y al reclutamiento" (File no. 3380-71). Of Brown's work, which looked at the colonization of North America from the perspective of indigenous communities, the censor described "El trabajo, muy completo, no duda en narrar los métodos, no siempre éticos, utilizados por los colonizadores en su afán de dominar las tierras indias. La obra es PUBLICABLE, excepción hecha de la parte acotada en la página 2 y que hace referencia, innecesariamente, a atrocidades cometidas por los españoles" (File no. 11388-72).

Here, the censors' framing of the collection as a work of 'social theory,' or 'of a sociological nature' may have been a factor in this surprising verdict (File no. 4952-69). In the case of Vonnegut's collection *Wampeters, Foma and Granfalloon* (1974), the censors had initially recommended major cuts and modifications to obscene and irreligious content found in the original text, tentatively authorizing the Spanish translation "with suppressions" in 1974. Yet, the Spanish version of the work submitted the following year was approved without the need for any additional intervention, as the censor felt that the "poor" translation (in his view) would sufficiently limit access to the text (File no. 4340-74). When the work was finally published, in 1977, this consideration was replaced with the argument that the social commentary would "escape" the Spanish reader on account of its being firmly anchored in the U.S. context:

Mordaz e hiriente, ataca a la actual sociedad y sus falsedades e igualmente a sus monstruosas contradicciones y tinglados. . . . Muchas de las alusiones e invectivas que aquí se encuentran, escapan al lector español; pues es un libro eminentemente americano. (File no. 4103-77)

Once again, the framing of the text as limited in its scope or appeal was used as justification for approval.

Yet, the popularity and sales potential of certain works was also used by publishers as an argument in favor of publication. This was the case of Philip Roth's political satire *Our Gang* (1971), which was flagged for its biting depiction of President Nixon—Spain's newest ally—and denied authorization in March 1972. The censors were concerned that the book would be "aireado por ciertos grupos subversivos que ya han promovido disturbios basándose en la política interior o exterior de los Estados Unidos" (File no. 1348-72). In response to the negative verdict, the publisher sent a copy of the *Publisher's Weekly* list of best-sellers, noting that Roth's work "se mantiene en décimo lugar tras cinco meses de figurar en dicha lista. En consecuencia se trata de un libro importante que está logrando un notable éxito comercial en Estados Unidos, y, por lo tanto, es de esperar que también lo sea su edición

española" (Ibid.). Despite the initial apprehensions of the censors, the verdict was reversed almost immediately and the work was authorized in April, to be published the following year.

The period from 1966 to 1975 also saw the introduction of numerous texts by African American writers, intellectuals and activists, though not all of them would be approved. Starting in 1966, Lumen was able to publish several essay collections and one play by James Baldwin (discussed in 4.4), while his 1962 novel *Another Country* was again rejected on account of the 'strong' language and 'abnormal' sexual relationships, especially between men, which the censors objected to precisely because they were treated as 'totally normal' (File no. 10763-69). Of the essay collections, *Nothing Personal* (1965), with photographs by Richard Avedon, is notable for its indictment of U.S. society. Translations were authorized in both Spanish and Catalan in 1966, though the Spanish edition had to have a passage removed that referred to sex and masturbation (File no. 1132-65).⁶⁹

Regarding non-fiction texts on Black Power, a small collection titled *Textos sobre el poder negro*, featuring Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, was authorized in 1968 (File no. 11494-68), as was Julius Lester's study *¡Cuidado blanco!* (File no. 9469-68). *Black Power / Poder negro*, with nearly 400 pages of interviews and speeches collected by Italian sociologist Roberto Giammanco, was authorized in 1970 with the suppression of crude expressions and an entire passage on the involvement of churches (File no. 5948-68). Meanwhile, a collection edited by Angela Davis, *If They Come in the Morning: Voices of Resistance* (1971), was twice denied authorization in 1972, considered nothing but 'revolutionary propaganda' (File no. 12510-71 and 517-72). With ample coverage of her arrest and trial in Spanish newspapers, and her much-publicized connection to the Black Panthers and the Communist Party, Davis's reputation certainly preceded her:

⁶⁹ While the Catalan translation appears to have been authorized at the same time, it is unclear whether it also faced this exact same suppression because the file for *Res de personal* was not found within the corresponding Box in the AGA. With this uncertainty the Catalan edition is left out of Figure 3 ahead.

El prefacio, de la famosa Angela Davis, ya se inicia hablando de la revolución y antiimperialismo . . . En la pag. 7 hace una confesión de fé marxista etc. Hay páginas enteras . . . de excitación a la rebelión en las cárceles. Después, una selección de casos de Panteras Negras presos, en que todos son inocentes, y la Policía una masa de violadores, torturadores y sádicos. Los jueces son injustos y todo está podrido por lo que no hay más que una verdad. La rebelión marxista de los Panteras Negras. (File no. 517-72)

A proposed translation of her speeches from the French text *Angela Davis Parle* (1971) had been denied authorization in 1971, for similar considerations:

. . . expone de manera radical su fanático espíritu subversivo y revolucionario, su ideología comunista y, en fin, su odio al capitalismo y sentimientos antirreligiosos. . . . El hecho de que . . . se refier[a] a la cuestión del racismo norteamericano, no mitiga en absoluto, a nuestro parecer, el carácter subversivo y de peligrosidad doctrinaria del libro. (File no. 11427-71)

Another collection that might have given voice to this movement, *The Black Panthers Speak* (1966), edited by Philip S. Foner, had been denied authorization the same year on account of its 'super revolutionary' politics (File no. 1290-71).

Indeed, nonfiction publications that let counterculture activists and leaders speak for themselves—rather than presenting them as subjects of analysis—were often the most problematic. This appears to be the case for works such as *Berkeley: The New Student Revolt* (1965), by the activists Hal Draper and Mario Savio, which was initially denied authorization in Voluntary Consultation, in 1969 (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 182), before being accepted the following year.⁷⁰ And it was certainly true for the 1969 collection edited by Joseph Berke, under the title *Counter Culture*, labeled "un violento ataque contra las formas más elementales de convivencia cívica" (File no. 5830-70), or *Ringolevio* (1972), by Diggers founder Emmet Grogan, deemed "un libro en el que toda la acción se desarrolla entre ladrones, drogadictos y miembros de gangs" (File no. 14506-72). Both were denied authorization in Voluntary Consultation. Also denied authorization on account of the violence

⁷⁰ Draper and Savio were both important figures in the Free Speech Movement out of the University of California-Berkeley. Savio, especially, became an iconic figure for the counterculture after giving his famous "bodies upon the gears" speech on the Berkeley campus in 1964.

portrayed was Ed Sanders's nonfiction work *The Family* (1969), based on the events surrounding the Manson Family murders. The censors at first felt the work might be authorized with suppressions but ultimately opted for de-authorization (File no. 2842-72), as will be discussed in 4.4. Clear apologies for drug-use, such as *The Book of Grass* (1967), by George Andrews and Simon Vinkenoog, were also blocked during this period (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 182), as were certain New Age texts such as Watts's *Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen* (1959), said to "deslizar un ataque a la religión" (File no. 702-73). These works will be discussed further under the trajectories of Grijalbo, Anagrama and Tusquets in section 4.4. The survey of censorship outcomes from 1966-1975 is shown in figure 3.

Figure 3. Censorship Outcomes for Counterculture Texts in Spain 1966- 1975

Authorized

Non-Fiction:

- 1968: Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X, *Textos sobre el poder negro*, Halcón, Trans. Teresa Isasi
- 1968: Julius Lester, *¡Cuidado blanco! Que llega el poder negro*, Ediciones de Cultura Popular [Not published].
- 1968: Martin Luther King, *El clarín de la conciencia*, Aymá, Trans. Ramón Moix.
- 1969: Noam Chomsky, *La responsabilidad de los intelectuales*, Ariel, Trans. Juan Ramón Capella
- 1970: Theodore Roszak, *Nacimiento de una contracultura*, Kairós, Trans. Ángel Abad
- 1971: Paul Goodman, *Problemas de la juventud en la sociedad organizada*, Ed. 62, Trans. Melitón Bustamante

Fiction:

- 1973: Philip Roth, *La pandilla*, Grijalbo, Trans. Marcelo Covián

Authorized with Suppressions

Non-Fiction:

- 1966: James Baldwin, *Nada personal*, Lumen, Trans. Beatriz de Moura
- 1969: Norman Mailer, *Los ejércitos de la noche*, Grijalbo, Trans. Juan Carlos García Borrón
- 1970: Roberto Giammanco, *Black Power / Poder negro*, Edicions 62, Trans. Melitón Bustamante
- 1971: Joan Baez, *Al romper el día*, Grijalbo [Not published].
- 1972: Dee Brown, *Enterrad mi corazón en Wounded Knee*, Bruguera, Trans. Carlos Sánchez Rodrigo
- 1973: Paul Goodman, *Ensayos utópicos* Edicions 62, Trans. L. Carbonell Torras and Melitón Bustamante
- 1975: Kurt Vonnegut, *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes*, Grijalbo, Trans. Marcelo Covián

Authorized for Export

Fiction:

- 1970: Kurt Vonnegut, *Matadero 5*, Grijalbo, Trans. Margarita García de Miró [Authorized in Spain: Dec. 1975]
- 1975: Jack Kerouac, *Visiones de Cody* Grijalbo, Trans. Marcelo Covián

Non-Fiction:

- 1970: Noam Chomsky, *Sobre política y lingüística*, Anagrama, Trans. José Cano Tembleque [*Silencio* in 1971]

Silencio Administrativo

Fiction:

1973: William S. Burroughs, *Nova Express*, Papeles de Son Armadans, Trans. Martín Lendínez

Non-Fiction:

1970: Stuart Hall, *Hippies: una contracultura*, Anagrama, Trans. Isabel Vericat

1971: Noam Chomsky, *Sobre política y lingüística*, 2nd edition, Anagrama, Trans. José Cano Tembleque

1971: Norman Mailer, *El negro blanco* [*Advertisements for Myself*], Tusquets, Trans. Isabel Vericat

1972: Paul Goodman, *La nueva reforma: un nuevo manifiesto anarquista*, Kairós, Trans. Ángel Abad

1972 Alan Watts, *El libro del tabú*, Kairós, Trans. Rolando Hanglin

Naomi Weisstein, Anne Koedt, Laurel Lempus, et al, *Hablan las women's lib*, Kairós, Trans. M^a José Ragué Arias

1973: Alan Watts, *Naturaleza, hombre y mujer*, Kairós, Trans. José Martín Arancibia

1974: Daniel Berrigan, *Conciencia, ley y desobediencia civil* [*No Bars to Manhood*], Atenas, Trans. Juan J. Coy

1974: Paul Goodman, *La des-educación obligatoria*, Fontanella, Trans. Ramón Ribé

1975: Keith Melville, *Las comunas en la contracultura*, Kairós, Trans. Rolando Hanglin

Reported ("Denunciado")

Fiction:

1968: Robert A. Heinlein, *Forastero en tierra extraña*, Ediciones Géminis, Trans. Manuel Bartolomé López

1973: William S. Burroughs, *El trabajo: conversaciones con Daniel Odier*, Mateu, Trans. Antonio Desmonts

Denied Authorization

Fiction:

1967: Norman Mailer, *Un sueño americano*, Caralt [Denied again in 1967 (Seix Barral), and twice in 1972 (Rodas)]

1969: Norman Mailer, *¿Por qué estamos en Vietnam?*, Anagrama [Denied again in 1970 (Lumen)]

James Baldwin, *Otro país*, Lumen

1970: William S. Burroughs, *Apomorfina*, Tusquets

William S. Burroughs, *La máquina silenciosa*, Lumen

Non-Fiction:

1969: Hal Draper and Mario Savio, *La revuelta de Berkeley*, Anagrama [Authorized in 1970]

1969: George Andrews and Simon Vinkenoog, *El libro de la yerba*, Anagrama

1970: Joseph Berke, *Contra cultura*, Grijalbo

1971: Philip S. Foner, *Las panteras negras hablan*, Artiach

1972: Angela Davis, *Angela Davis habla*, Ayuso

1972: Angela Davis, *Si llegan a por ti en la mañana*, Siglo XXI España, [Denied again in 1972 (Barral)]

Emmett Grogan, *Ringolevio*, Grijalbo

Ed Sanders, *La familia Manson*, Grijalbo

1973: Alan Watts, *Beat zen, square zen y zen*, Tusquets

4.3.3 Counterculture Texts in Spain 1976-1978

After Franco's death on November 20, 1975, a new wave of counterculture works appeared before the censorship board. This section will thus examine the works that were processed by the censors in the final weeks of 1975 and throughout the period of Transition, which is generally considered to end with the passing of the Spanish Constitution in December, 1978.⁷¹ From the beginning part of this period, perhaps most striking is the account of the Chicago Seven trial, titled *Testimonio en Chicago*, which Fontamara submitted to *Depósito* on November 21.⁷² This translation of Allen Ginsberg's testimony and deposition for the widely-publicized 1968 trial was the first text under the poet's name that was submitted to the censors, who clearly saw the work as representative of the counterculture:⁷³

Precedido de un largo prólogo . . . acerca de la generación Beat y la contracultura o cultura "underground", los movimientos juveniles americanos con las deserciones a la guerra del Vietnam, los movimientos "hippies", las panteras negras, la tendencia al radicalismo anticapitalista, que incita al famoso movimiento de Chicago con su choque con la policía. . . . Se publica aquí el interrogatorio y la deposición testifical de Ginsberg en el famoso proceso de Chicago con el propósito evidente de darnos a conocer el pensamiento de tal poeta con sus originalidades místico-oscenas y oníricas. (File no. 12595-75)

While noting the presence of obscenities on certain pages and allusions to drug-use, the censor judged that these were not enough for legal action: "no se dan en la obra bases suficientes para una denuncia" (File no. 12595-75). The work was initially approved with

⁷¹ Also discussed are a small number of submissions from January 1979, representing some of the most iconic sixties-era novels and the last counterculture works to receive full reports with the censors' written deliberations.

⁷² "The Chicago Seven (originally Eight) was the popular name for a group of anti-Vietnam War protestors and New Left radicals charged and brought to trial on charges of conspiracy, inciting to riot, and resisting arrest stemming from street demonstrations and clashes with police during the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, held from August 24 to 29" (Shantz 2015, 108). The eight demonstrators included Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Bobby Seale, and Lee Weiner. A number of well-known counterculture figures testified in their defense, such as "folk singers Pete Seeger, Judy Collins, and Phil Ochs; poet Allen Ginsberg; writer Norman Mailer, and LSD guru Timothy Leary" (Ibid). The Spanish text was a translation of Ginsberg's testimony published by City Lights, *Chicago Trial Testimony* (1975).

⁷³ The anthology titled *Contra-Cultura* by Joseph Berke included passages of Ginsberg's work, but was denied authorization in 1969 (File no. 5830-70).

modifications, but promptly accepted in its already printed form (Ibid.). By November 26, the first translation of Ginsberg could freely circulate for Spanish readers.⁷⁴

Yet, it is worth noting that not all works were approved during this period. Simultaneous to the approval of Ginsberg's text, the censorship board denied authorization for a translation of the novel *Junkie* (1953) by William S. Burroughs, making it the fourth work denied by the experimental author since 1970. Producciones Editoriales had submitted the work to Voluntary Consultation at the end of October 1975, and a final report on the text was issued the last week of November. The censor Morán offered the following indictment: "Defensa de la droga como un modo de interpretar la vida. . . . Es un testimonio malsano, inmoral, en absoluto constructivo ni crítico, carente de todo interés social. Nada en absoluto justificaría la publicación de la obra" (File no. 11228-75). This echoed the judgement of the earlier report:

. . . escrita en 1953 por un drogadicto norteamericano en estilo autobiográfico, tiene por exclusivo objeto difundir el uso de las drogas. Dentro de esta temática, el relato consiste en una continuada exposición de técnicas para el empleo de drogas desde la marihuana, el opio, morfina y cocaína hasta llegar incluso al peyote (droga extraída de un cactus mejicano). Así mismo en su continua degradación humana se llega a narrar escenas de homosexualismo. (File no. 11228-75)

The board's final assessment affirmed this characterization of the work and also made a note of the publishing house's involvement: "La editorial Producciones Editoriales viene editando obras pseudoeróticas, narraciones sexuales etc. Los temas en general, suelen estar tratados superficialmente y las portadas de los libros corrientemente son muy llamativas" (Ibid.). Although fifty copies of the original text had already been authorized for import, the translation was judged "desaconsejable" in the final days of November, reinforcing the author's marginal status during the Franco regime and in the period to follow.

⁷⁴While beyond the scope of the present study, another interesting avenue of investigation would be the inclusion (or exclusion) of counterculture texts in literary anthologies published during the dictatorship, which might reveal that certain authors or poets were published in translation sooner than is currently documented.

Though many counterculture novelists were not as categorically unpublishable as Burroughs was, it is also true that major novels by sixties-era authors had been systematically delayed if not entirely blocked by the pressures of Francoist censorship. So much so that by November 1975 the most popular and influential novels by authors such as Jack Kerouac, Norman Mailer, Tom Wolfe, and Kurt Vonnegut had not yet been authorized or made available for circulation in Spain, though other works by the same authors were already available on the Spanish market. Other popular novelists such as Ken Kesey and Terry Southern had never been published during the regime. If anything, the availability of some works and not others may have only heightened the awareness that a number of well-known counterculture novels were missing from the shelves. In this sense, the period that begins in December of 1975 is notable for the publication of major counterculture novels that had been glaringly absent in the years before.

With the dictator nearing death, Producciones Editoriales was moving to print a translation of Kerouac's seminal novel *On the Road* (1957), which it submitted to Voluntary Consultation on November 19, 1975.⁷⁵ Reviewing the work in December, the censors showed little sympathy for the protagonists—"una pareja de muchachos, drogadictos, ladrones de coches, sin el más leve vestigio de pudor"—yet suggested that the translation could be printed and reviewed as a *Depósito* (File no. 12472-75). Authorized in January 1976, *En la carretera* would become the first number of the Star Books Collection.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ While Franco's death was announced to the country on November 20, 1975 (the death date of Falange founder José Antonio Primo de Rivera), Ricardo de la Cierva has repeatedly affirmed that Franco was "clinically dead" by the evening of the 19th (1996, 170-171). In either case, it should be noted that the dictator's rapidly deteriorating health had been in the headlines since the end of October, as was the transfer of power to Juan Carlos de Borbón. The front cover of *ABC* from October 22 reads, for example, "España, pendiente de la salud del Jefe del Estado," <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1975/10/22/001.html>, while the cover from October 31 announces that "Don Juan Carlos de Borbón asume las funciones de Jefe del Estado," <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1975/10/31/001.html>. In this regard, it is not unreasonable to assert that the editors at Producciones Editoriales were anticipating the end of the dictatorship when they submitted works such as *Junkie* and *En la carretera* in those final weeks.

⁷⁶ Horacio Quinto is listed as the translator, although Zamora Salamanca and Zamora Carrera (2013) affirm that this is a pseudonym, detailing that version for "la publicación contracultural pionera en aquella época, la revista *Star*. . . . En realidad se trataba de la traducción de Miguel Amilibia (o Miguel de Hermani) para la editorial

On December 15 1975, Grijalbo re-submitted *Matadero cinco* to the censorship board, hoping to see the book on the market just before the film version was to arrive in Spain. The previous attempts by the publisher had only been authorized for distribution abroad, despite a number of early modifications aimed at neutralizing the content of the translated text. This time around the censor flagged a handful of obscenities and irreverent passages, yet concluded that there was insufficient basis for legal action: "quizás no prosperase una denuncia judicial" (File no. 13607-75). Six years after the first attempt at publishing the popular counterculture novel, Grijalbo was given the green light to circulate *Matadero cinco* in Spain (See section 5.1.2).

An iconic precursor to the counterculture texts of the sixties, Allen Ginsberg's *Howl and other poems* (1956) was submitted in Spanish translation by Producciones Editoriales in late March 1976. The work was submitted directly to *Depósito*. A report from that month not only found Ginsberg's poetry to be "distasteful," but also suggested that the work might be reported to the authorities:

Los poemas . . . reflejan y describen el mundo y el ambiente beat, son poemas crudos fuertes y hasta desagradables. Quieren reflejar esta juventud hippie de estos tiempos, cuya existencia discurre de un modo un tanto anormal, y en donde las drogas y el sexo apenas tienen más valor que del placer. (File no. 3597-76)

Further highlighting the "falta de respeto e irreverencia religiosa," "obscenidad" and "exaltación de la homosexualidad," the censor felt that these were "materia posible de denuncia." Nevertheless, the *Depósito* was accepted on April 1, 1976 and *Aullido* became the fifth publication in the Star Books collection.

In May 1976, Argos submitted a translation of Ken Kesey's novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962), which had not been attempted previously, despite its status as a

Losada [from 1959] . . . Sobre todo, se suprimían los argentinismos y se hacían algunas correcciones de estilo" (738). The work was retranslated by Martín Lendínez for Bruguera in 1981, under the title *En el camino* (matching the original title used in Argentina).

bestseller.⁷⁷ In the work, the author "[drew] on his own experiences working as a night steward in a mental institution . . . [to explore] madness, institutionalization, and rebellion, reflecting a broader critique of the social restrictions placed on the individual in that time" (Deller 2012, 344). In the U.S., the novel had been banned in a number of schools and libraries on account of the characters' use of profane language (Burruss 1989, 370). The Spanish censor to review the novel in 1976 highlighted Kesey's anti-authoritarian message, yet did not find the work to be particularly problematic. He noted 'crude scenes' in the text but did not consider them 'pornographic' (File no. 5750-76).⁷⁸ Once the *Depósito* was approved, *Alguien voló sobre el nido del cuco* became a best-seller in Spain in the span of a few months. So much so that in September the novel was cited as the top-selling book in the country, even before the premiere of the popular film by the same title.⁷⁹ Moreover, the translation was reprinted at least a dozen times from 1976 to 1980, with an average of 20,000 copies per print run.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ After his enrollment in a graduate writing program at Stanford in 1959, and participation in hallucinogenic drug trials sponsored by the U.S. government starting in 1961, Kesey became an active figure in the counterculture scene around San Francisco (Deller 2012, 344). Along with his band of "Merry Pranksters" he became a notorious advocate for the use of hallucinogens, supplying LSD at events in the Bay Area, which became known as "Acid Tests" (Charters 2003, 294). Though Kesey had begun to use LSD while writing *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* and later became a celebrated figure in San Francisco's drug scene, drug-use did not figure prominently in the author's novels. In 1964 Kesey and his Merry Pranksters set off on a cross-country trip from California to New York in a vividly painted school bus, with supplies of LSD, and Neal Cassidy as their driver (who was also the inspiration for Dean Moriarty, in Jack Kerouac's 1957 novel *On the Road*). The journey was chronicled by Tom Wolfe in the novel *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), and is considered by some to mark "the mythologised starting point of the psychedelic 60s" (Helmores 2011, 27).

⁷⁸ However, preliminary analysis of the source text and target text suggests that some of the crude language was in fact self-censored in the translation process.

⁷⁹ Indeed, a headline from the September 4 issue *El País* declared "'Alguien voló sobre el nido del cuco', libro más vendido," accessed May 22, 2016, http://elpais.com/diario/1976/09/04/cultura/210636002_850215.html, just before the 1975 film directed by Miloš Forman, and starring Jack Nicholson, premiered in Spain on October 7, 1976. A full-page ad for the premiere can be seen in the *ABC* archives online, accessed May 22, 2016, <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1976/10/06/117.html>

⁸⁰ This average has been calculated based on the requested print runs in the censorship files for the novel from 1976 to 1980: File no. 5750-76 (47,500 copies), File no. 11388-76 (12,500 copies), File no. 11389-76 (10,000 copies), File no. 14596-76 (13,000 copies), File no. 14997-76 (25,000 copies), File no. 1587-77 (10,000 copies), File no. 3368-77 (60,000 copies), File no. 4429-77 (3,000 copies), File no. 4430-77 (7,000 copies), File no. 11732-77 (5,000 copies), File no. 12272-77 (19,000 copies), File no. 14631-77 (35,000 copies), File no. 9987-80 (15,000 copies). These total 262,000 copies and 13 submissions over the five-year period.

The first Spanish edition of a work by experimental psychologist Timothy Leary was also submitted in May 1976.⁸¹ Producciones Editoriales set out to publish a translation of *The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead* (1964), titled in Spanish *El libro tibetano de los muertos*, also to be included in its Star-Books collection.⁸² The censors were well aware of Leary's reputation for promoting the use of hallucinogenic drugs, and the initial report highlighted this aspect of the text:

Médico norteamericano, muy conocido por sus experimentos sobre drogas y por ser un defensor de estas a ultranza. Esto le lleva a la cárcel en su país. . . . ya se indica en la contraportada que este texto es "una guía de innegable valor psicológico para aquellos que quieren iniciarse en las experiencias con drogas psicodélicas". . . . Si como parece obvio, el sentido y fin del texto es un mensaje de apología acerca de las consecuencias favorables para la personalidad en quien experimente la droga, no cabe duda que esta obra debe ser denunciada. (File no. 6065-76)

Yet, a second report argued that the incitement to drug-use was not so clear, finding no 'legal basis' for reporting the text to the authorities: "En el contexto general de la obra no existe realmente una referencia directa a las drogas, y mucho menos una apología de la misma" (File no. 6065-76). The *Depósito* was then approved on May 28, 1976.⁸³ Here, it is worth comparing the censors' measured reception of Leary to that of the novelist William S. Burroughs. While both authors were primarily characterized as advocates of drug-use, the reports on Burroughs had emphasized his homosexuality and his position as an 'addict,' and repeatedly insisted that his texts had no social or literary value; whereas the "value" of Leary's non-fiction text was never called into question. Leary's "aseptic" approach, though he

⁸¹ "Timothy Leary's call to 'turn on, tune in, drop out' made him one of the most notorious figures of the 1960s. Committed throughout his life to an unswerving belief in the capacity of hallucinogenic drugs to instigate profound individual and social transformation, Leary became an enduring icon of the psychedelic counterculture" (Deller 2012, 365).

⁸² It should be noted that Leary's work was based on the *Bardo Thodol*, a text dating back to the 14th century: "Traditionally, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, or the *Bardo Thödol*, is read to a dying person as a guide to equip them for a 49-day journey between lives. It is believed to help the dying overcome attachment to their bodies and personal relationships. However, as Leary's colleague at Harvard, Richard Alpert, recalls, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* provided 'the most vivid descriptions of what we were experiencing with psychedelics but hadn't been able to describe'" (Partridge 2006, 97).

⁸³ Producciones Editoriales would publish a second work by Leary in 1979, *Confesiones de un adicto a la esperanza*, a translation of *Confessions of a Hope Fiend* (1973), also as part of its Star-Books collection.

was also a drug-user, was seen as inherently more acceptable than the autobiographical narrative of a known addict.⁸⁴

Burroughs's novel *Junkie* was newly submitted by Júcar in November 1976, this time as a *Depósito*. *Yonqui* was authorized for circulation that month, forming part of the "Azanca" collection.⁸⁵ Yet, even as the censor recommended approval, he made a point of disparaging the novel:

Un drogadicto desde pequeño, nos va describiendo cómo nace en él la aflicción, cómo la satisface, las técnicas que emplea para proveerse del producto, las sensaciones que experimenta y el terrible mundo que se crea en torno a la droga.

No hay que buscar algo literario, alguna reflexión acerca del mundo de la droga, del mundo "Yonqui" como aquí se le llama. La experiencia es deprimente. Es un arrastrarse en la vida, sin más ideal que vivir, tirar adelante.

No tiene nada que lo contraindique, aunque libros como este nada aportan a nada. (File no. 13754-76)

After the 1976 publication of *Yonqui*, Júcar's edition was re-printed in 1977, 1978 and 1980, while Bruguera printed a new edition of the same translation in 1980 and 1981. For a work considered by the censors to be utterly devoid of value, the novel faced no lack of readership in post-Francoist Spain.

Opposite the successful publication of *Yonqui*, Norman Mailer's controversial novel *Un sueño americano* was blocked yet again in the fall of 1976. Ediciones Rodas had resubmitted the translated text to Voluntary Consultation in March of that year and finally received the board's verdict in September.⁸⁶ Following six months of review and multiple

⁸⁴ In fact, Burroughs had an academic background in the field of Anthropology, which he had studied as a graduate student at Harvard University and Columbia University in the late 1930s (Harris 2010, 37). Beyond the author's confessional account of his own heroin addiction in the pages of *Junkie* (subtitled *Confessions of an Unredeemed Drug Addict*), the work has also been considered an "anthropological examination of the drug underworld," written in "straightforward" prose and including "important historical references" (Johnson and Hemmer 2010, 163). The novel was written before Burroughs's more experimental phase and represents a traditionally-structured "work of literary realism" (165). Yet, it also "takes up what will become a fertile subject for the writers of the 1960s—the growing police state in America (Ibid.), offering the perspective of someone "far outside normal society" (Ibid.). In this sense, the Spanish censors may have targeted Burroughs not only for his sexuality and confessed drug-addiction, but also for his anti-authoritarian politics.

⁸⁵ From 1971 to 1974 the press associated with *Papeles de Son Armadans* came out with numbers 1-8 of the Azanca collection. Starting with number 9, the collection was assimilated by Júcar.

⁸⁶ See section 5.3 for a detailed discussion of these attempts.

reports pointing to the immoral sexual scenarios in the novel, the board notified the publisher that the work was 'not advisable,' but attached the following statement:

No obstante, de acuerdo con la vigente Legislación de Prensa e Imprenta, puede proceder a constituir el preceptivo depósito de ejemplares, previo a la difusión. . . . Si se estimase que el contenido de aquélla incide negativamente en la legislación vigente, serían de aplicación las previsiones del artículo 64 de la citada Ley de Prensa e Imprenta. (File no. 2608-76)

This by no means guaranteed that the publication would be safe from legal action if presented as a *Depósito*.⁸⁷ Rather, it suggests that the censors themselves were caught between the Ministry's need to appear less repressive and the continued vigilance regarding certain kinds of literature.

Counterculture texts appear to be published freely beginning in 1977, though it should be noted that this did not mark the end of the Ministry's intervention in the publishing sector.⁸⁸ What is clear is that 1977 saw a number of counterculture titles that had not previously circulated in Spain. A translation of Pynchon's *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966) was submitted by Fundamentos in January 1977. Since earlier attempts to publish a translation of the author's novel *V* (1963) had been aborted in order to avoid suppressions, this became the first text by Pynchon made available to Spanish readers. Even as the work was approved, it is worth noting the censor's perspective on the style and content of *La subasta del lote 49*:

Disparate onírico-literario de este premiado y celebrado autor americano, que ha escrito una nueva "americanada" onírico-sensual-policíaco-filosófica y cripto-europeo y creyéndose, con la ingenuidad USA, haber descubierto un estilo nuevo, cuando no es en realidad su obra sino un nuevo Mediterráneo, con las amorales relaciones sexuales de la ninfómana Edipa, con la complaciente aceptación de su LSD-íaco marido. (Véase pág. 38, a modo de ejemplo de su "franqueza sexual", no apta para "Lectores timoratos", como reza la "crítica del Library Journal USA). (File no. 5910-77)

⁸⁷ In fact, a Catalan edition of Philip Roth's *The Breast*, titled *El Pit*, was submitted to *Depósito* two months later, in November 1976, and reported to the authorities on account of explicit sexual content.

⁸⁸ As Rojas Claros (2007) has documented, a total of 299 publications were reported to the authorities in 1977, followed by 68 publications in 1978 and 7 publications in 1979.

Though the censors continued to be critical of counterculture lifestyles, the Ministry was no longer stepping in to block publications advertising drug-use and free love as a way of life.

The autobiography of Angela Davis (titled simply *Autobiografía*) was published by Grijalbo in February 1977. This is indeed notable considering the fact that three previous submissions of Angela Davis's work had been denied authorization in 1971 and 1972. Here, the censor highlighted the activist's political trajectory, in addition to references to drugs and violence, yet noted that these were not sufficient reason to object to the work:

Como indica el título se trata de una auténtica autobiografía donde la líder del movimiento de liberación de los negros . . . nos habla de su vida, nos relata todos aquellos actos que influyeron posteriormente en el desarrollo de los acontecimientos que la llevaron a la cárcel y a su liberación, nos relata todas sus ideas políticas, sus contactos con el partido comunista, . . . Aparece la droga, la violencia pero . . . nada que nos lleve a una IMPUGNACIÓN. (File no. 2769-77)

Indeed, the report appears quite gentle compared to the previous condemnation of Davis as a "comunista rabiosa" in 1971 (File no. 11427-71).

1977 also saw the first works by Terry Southern published in Spain. This included a translation of *Red-Dirt Marijuana and Other Tastes* (1967), submitted by Anagrama in March, and a translation of *Candy* (1958), by Southern and Mason Hoffenberg, submitted by Grijalbo in July. Both texts elicited a thorough examination by the censors, who even reverted to using their red pencils. Of *A la rica marihuana y otros sabores*, the censor's report described the following:

Está compuesta la obra por una serie de relatos que en su mayoría reflejan un aspecto de la juventud moderna americana para la que la droga es algo habitual, sin inhibiciones en el aspecto sexual y carente de ideales positivos.

Se emplea también el argot de la juventud, especie de lenguaje cifrado referido principalmente a las drogas y que hacen a la obra confusa en algunos momentos.

. . . [la obra] puede . . . resultar perjudicial e incluso denunciabile teniendo en cuenta que se refiere siempre a la droga como una experiencia normal y positiva que aumenta la capacidad intelectual y la creatividad del hombre sin hacer alusión a aspecto negativo alguno. . . .

Considero sin embargo que la denuncia puede ser evitada teniendo en cuenta que no se hace una apología directa de la droga y que por el tipo de literatura bastante sofisticada no va a ser una obra popular. (File no. 2810-77)

The censor highlighted drug references on nine pages of the translation and obscenities on three pages, but these were ultimately overlooked. The work was approved on March 3, 1977, becoming the first number of Anagrama's "Contraseñas" series.

Grijalbo's submission of *Candy*, with its heavily sex-driven plot, was met with even greater scrutiny in July:

Inocente y al mismo tiempo carente de inhibiciones morales, [Candy] está dispuesta a entregarse físicamente a cualquiera que la necesite. . . . De esa manera pasa por un joven jardinero mejicano, por su propio tío, por un jorobado vagabundo, por un médico, un miembro de una comuna hippy, etc. . . . Podría considerarse incluso como se dice en la contraportada como una sátira de la pornografía. . . . Se han señalado sin embargo las numerosas escenas sexuales cuya excesiva descripción y lenguaje podría haberse evitado y que pueden encerrar gravedad suficiente para una denuncia que en mi opinión habrá que considerar el tono humorístico de la obra y su fama internacional llevada ya a la pantalla. (File no. 8543-77)

Obscenities and sexual references such as "clitoris," "miembro" and "conejito" were marked on 28 pages of the target text. A subsequent censor likewise considered that the work might need to be reported, yet expressed a similar conflict between his own opinion and the applicable law: "Personalmente toleraría su circulación pero a través de nuestro ordenamiento jurídico, parece que podría darse la figura de escándalo público del artículo 431 del Código Penal" (File no. 8543-77). Finally, he noted that 550 copies of the original work had been approved for import that year.⁸⁹ Notwithstanding the concerns raised regarding the novel's sexual content, the *Depósito* was accepted on July 7.

Regarding a translation of Burroughs's *The White Subway* (1973), submitted by Pre-Textos the same year, the censors highlighted the difficult style of the work, pointing to Burroughs's use of the cut-up technique.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ A copy of the import record included in the censorship file reveals that *Candy* had been denied for import five times between 1969 and 1972, before its import was authorized in 1977.

⁹⁰ Directly inspired by the painter Brion Gysin, a longtime friend and collaborator of Burroughs, the technique consisted of cutting up existing texts (initially newspaper articles) and rearranging the pieces to create new texts (Miles 2001, 194-195).

El libro está compuesto utilizando la absurda técnica de unir frases fragmentadas, sin pies ni cabeza, sin reglas sintácticas ni lógica alguna. En consecuencia resulta sumamente difícil –por no decir imposible– descifrar su contenido o intencionalidad. Parece adivinarse una cierta actitud de rebeldía contra todo orden y toda ley, de ansias de libertad absoluta, etc. Por su misma oscuridad no ofrece inconvenientes para su publicación. (File no. 11160-77)

While the attitude of 'rebellion' and the desire for 'absolute freedom' were duly noted, the work was deemed acceptable and the *Depósito* approved on October 10 (Ibid.).

In November 1977, Grijalbo resubmitted its edition of *Visiones de Cody*, by Jack Kerouac, which had been authorized exclusively for export in 1975. Grijalbo had withdrawn the *Depósito* in October 1975 after the censors determined that the work would constitute 'public scandal' and cautioned the publisher that it would be reported. Two years later, the work was reviewed by the same censor, Antonio Barbadillo, who recognized that the publisher was attempting to distribute the same edition that it had supposedly exported:

La Editorial "Grijalbo", constituyó el deposito de ejemplares el 22 de Septiembre de 1975. Fue anulado a petición de la propia Editorial, y posteriormente autorizada la exportación de los 8.000 ejemplares oficialmente declarados.

La misma Editorial, con fecha 3 de los cttes. deposita la misma obra para su difusión por territorio nacional. Hay que señalar que los ejemplares depositados cuentan con el deposito legal de 1975, lo que indica que lo que se pretende difundir ahora es el remanente de lo que no se pudo exportar en su día. (File no. 12461-77)

Even so, Barbadillo no longer found the work to warrant legal action. While he did judge Kerouac's text to be one of "inconformismo puro" with "conceptos y afirmaciones groseros hasta la reiteración," he nevertheless affirmed that these did not "[llegar] a constituir figura delictiva clara," insisting that "En Kerouac no existe por supuesto pornografía." Concluding the report, the censor posited: "entiendo que ni la personalidad del autor, ni el contexto e intención de la obra merecen la comunicación judicial" (File no. 12461-77).⁹¹ The *Depósito*

⁹¹ This is a striking conclusion compared to the 1975 report in which Barbadillo highlighted "Las descripciones de un crudo realismo, pornográficas o casi pornográficas . . . de una reiteración tal que califican la obra como reprochable," and judged the work to constitute a "Public Scandal" in violation of Article 431 of the Penal Code (File no. 9814-75).

was approved on November 4, 1977, with *Visiones de Cody* finally circulating in Spain two years after Grijalbo's initial submission.

The first works by Charles Bukowski were introduced in 1978, including the collected writings from his newspaper column, *Notes of a Dirty Old Man* (1969), rendered as *Escritos de un viejo indecente*, and the collection *Erections, Ejaculations, Exhibitions* (1972), translated in two volumes: *Erecciones, eyaculaciones, exhibiciones* and *La maquina de follar*.⁹² The censor of this second volume found the provocatively titled work to contain "descripciones realmente duras que podrían ser conflictivas desde el punto de vista de nuestro ordenamiento jurídico," yet concluded that "quizás no valga la pena proceder a la comunicación judicial, ya que la figura de escándalo público podría ser discutible" (File no. 5618-78).

In June 1978, Grijalbo submitted a translation of *Gravity's Rainbow* (1973), by Pynchon. Considered one of the most influential works of postmodern fiction, the novel also represents, in the words of Joanna Freer, "a response to the recent failure of the youth movements of the sixties, . . . offering further insight into [Pynchon's] assessment of the political values and methods of the New Left (as well as of the wider counterculture), and demonstrating a far greater attachment to the earlier manifestations of such movements" (2014, 45). Upon inspection of *El arco iris de la gravedad*, the censor found Pynchon's technique to be 'visionary' but also qualified the work as confusing and tedious, as if written in a drug-induced state:

Esta obra que no tiene un argumento propiamente dicho, es una especie de fresco gigantesco en el que, con una técnica - surrealista y visionaria, el autor quiere reflejar panorámicamente el mundo del siglo veinte. . . . La guerra, su gestación y sus consecuencias, la lucha por el dominio de la técnica, la droga, las multinacionales, el sexo, el colonialismo. . . . Hay algunas escenas que podrían ser consideradas como pornográficas pero considero que no dan a la obra el carácter de tal en su conjunto y más teniendo en cuenta la carga de crítica que incluso

⁹² All three works were translated by J.M. Álvarez Flórez and Ángela Pérez.

encierran y lo confuso y pesada que resulta la obra que da la impresión de estar escrita por un paranoico o bajo los efectos de alguna droga. (File no. 7758-78)

In this sense, it is worth highlighting that even though very few counterculture texts were blocked by censorship during the Transition, the censors continued to issue lengthy considerations of their content and themes throughout this period.

With the Spanish Constitution of December 1978 came the "official" end to the government's censorship (Gómez Castro 2009, 41), and by February 1979 the censors appear to have stopped issuing evaluations. Still, the administration would be responsible for affirming the legality of each publication for several more years.⁹³ In the last stage of the board's existence, the censor's reports consisted of little more than the publication details and the following check boxes:

<input type="checkbox"/> NO PROCEDE ADOPTAR LAS PREVISIONES DEL ARTICULO 64 DE LA LEY DE PRENSA E IMPRENTA.
<input type="checkbox"/> REQUISITOS FORMALES COMPLETOS

Thus, it is striking to note that just prior to this switch, the translations of Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* (1959) and Wolfe's *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), submitted in January 1979, each merited lengthy deliberations. On January 18, Júcar's submission of *El almuerzo desnudo* was judged worthy of "Comunicación Judicial," but was approved by the superiors the next day. An uneasy report described the work as "una serie de relatos en los que se narra el mundo de las drogas, con su mezcla de alucinaciones, pesadillas, delirios, erotismo y perversiones, con lo cual nos hacen ver el avanzado estado de descomposición en que se encuentra la sociedad actual con estas epidemias" (File no. 597-79).⁹⁴ A second censor was of

⁹³ Rabadán (2000, 9) affirms that some of the administrative functions "inherited from the regime's censorship apparatus" remained in place through 1985, and scholars of literary censorship such as Urrutia (2003, 15) and Lázaro (2004, 29) describe censorship files for books dating to 1983. In the survey of counterculture publications for this PhD Dissertation the last files were from the year 1983 as well.

⁹⁴ Likewise notable is the fact that when Pre-Textos submitted the translated transcripts of *Snack* (1975), from Eric Mottram's radio broadcast with Burroughs, the publisher chose to request authorization for Export only. It is telling that the censor of *Snack* highlighted how little known the author was in Spain. His brief report from January 15, 1979 did not fail to include snide comments on the type of publication—"uno de tantos

the same opinion, finding that "[el libro] incide en la legislación penal vigente debido a su contenido obsceno y de apología y exaltación de los alucinógenos, por lo que se propone la comunicación al Ministerio Fiscal" (Ibid.). Yet, in spite of the censors' judgements, the *Depósito* was accepted.

Following the authorization of Burroughs's iconic work, Júcar finally submitted Wolfe's *Gaseosa de ácido eléctrico* on January 26, 1979, eliciting a full page of commentary. Representing one of the last written evaluations of a counterculture work by the Spanish censors, a portion of this report is worth including here:

Historia de las primeras experiencias psicodélicas, capitaneadas por el famoso autor de "Alguien voló sobre el nido del cuco". Escritas con ese periodismo histórico "modernísimo", que consiste en hacer historia con forma de novela. . . .

Ideológicamente el libro es difícil. Porque recrea el ambiente de la iniciación al LSD y sus experiencias cuando aun es tolerado sin estragos por el organismo. Naturalmente esa experiencia es grata. No lleva la contrapartida de sus perjuicios. Pero no es la etapa que quiere narrar el autor. Y no, por propaganda de la droga, sino porque a él le interesa sólo narrar un hecho histórico (los principios del movimiento psicodélico) de indudable interés sociológico. Y eso es lícito.

¿Conveniente un libro así? Es indudable que puede llevar en algunos casos a que lectores poco formados intenten vivir esos momentos de loca aventura colectiva. Pero su fin no es ese. Quien lo lea con atención advierte junto a aspectos elogiosos de algunos personajes (que realmente tenían aspectos muy positivos), junto a la narración de sensaciones gratas, cierto tonillo zumbón y la descripción desapasionada de aspectos menos gratos. (File no. 1050-79)

Above all, the sample of publications that were finally submitted, or finally approved, in the years of the Transition—shown in figure 4—reveals that some of the most innovative and iconic counterculture works were the last to circulate on Spanish soil. Furthermore, the censors did not miss a beat in identifying the marriage of "difficult" content and innovative or hybrid narrative styles in these texts, expressing mixed reactions of both disdain and fascination for the literary modes presented. Yet, as the works submitted during this period were presented almost exclusively to *Depósito*, the censors were fairly limited in their final

criptocamelos como ahora se ven. Cositas dichas o escritas por famosos, que luego algún autor/periodista y algún editor avispados hacen pasar por genialidades para iniciados" (File no. 464-79).

decisions. A number of scathing reports concluded uneventfully with the board's approval. It is also clear that there is a notable shift to language that considers strictly whether or not the text is *denunciable*—and whether a legal case would hold up in court. The answer was nearly always that it would not. Perhaps most striking is the fact that the two counterculture novels actually blocked (in the first year of the Transition) were in fact the two works submitted to Voluntary Consultation rather than *Depósito*, further confirming the stark gap between the two mechanisms. The consultation process, down to its last dregs, represented one of the primary ways in which the censors still exercised control over published materials.

Figure 4. Censorship Outcomes for Counterculture Texts in Spain 1976-1979⁹⁵

Authorized

Fiction:

- 1975: Kurt Vonnegut, *Matadero cinco*, Grijalbo, Trans. Margarita García de Miró
- 1976: Ken Kesey, *Alguien voló sobre el nido del cuco*, Argos, Trans. Mireia Bofill
- Jack Kerouac, *En la carretera*, Star Books, Trans. Horacio Quinto
- William S. Burroughs, *Yonqui*, Júcar, Trans. Martín Lendínez
- 1977: Terry Southern, *Candy*, Grijalbo, Trans. Adrián Celaya
- Thomas Pynchon, *La subasta del lote 49*, Fundamentos, Trans. Verónica Head
- Terry Southern, *A la rica marihuana y otros sabores*, Anagrama, Trans. Kosián Masoliver
- William S. Burroughs, *El metro blanco*, Pre-Textos, Trans. Francisco Sanz
- William S. Burroughs, *¡Exterminador!* Júcar, Trans. Martín Lendínez
- Jack Kerouac, *Visiones de Cody*, Grijalbo, Trans. Marcelo Covián
- 1978: Thomas Pynchon, *El arco iris de la gravedad*, Grijalbo, Trans. Antonio Pigrau
- Charles Bukowski, *Erecciones, eyaculaciones, exhibiciones*, Anagrama, Trans. J. M. Álvarez Flórez and Ángela Pérez
- Charles Bukowski, *La máquina de follar*, Anagrama, Trans. J.M. Álvarez Flórez and Ángela Pérez
- Charles Bukowski, *Escritos de un viejo indecente*, Trans. J.M. Álvarez Flórez and Ángela Pérez

- 1979: William S. Burroughs, *El almuerzo desnudo*, Júcar, Trans. Martín Lendínez
- Tom Wolfe, *Gaseosa de ácido eléctrico*, Júcar, Trans. José M Álvarez y Ángela Pérez

Non-Fiction:

- 1975: Allen Ginsberg, *Testimonio en Chicago*, Fontamara, Trans. Julia Osuna
- 1976: Allen Ginsberg, *Aullido*, Producciones Editoriales, Trans. Sebastián Martínez, Jaime Rosal y Luis Vigil
- 1976: Timothy Leary, *El libro tibetano de los muertos*, Producciones Editoriales, Trans. Unknown
- 1977: Angela Davis, *Autobiografía*, Grijalbo, Trans. Esther Donato
- Kurt Vonnegut, *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes*, Grijalbo, Trans. Marcelo Covián

Authorized for Export

- 1979: William S. Burroughs, Eric Mottram, *Snack*, Pre-Textos, Trans. Pedro García Montalvo

Denied Authorization

- 1975: William S. Burroughs, *Junkie*, Producciones Editoriales
- 1976: Norman Mailer, *Un sueño americano*, Rodas

⁹⁵ The survey for this section has focused especially on well-known counterculture authors and intellectuals whose works were noticeably "absent" in the years of the regime. There were undoubtedly countless other counterculture works published during this period. As noted at the beginning of the section, this examination includes files submitted after November 20, 1975, and through the end of January 1979, prior to an important shift in the bureaucratic process.

Figure 5. Censorship Files Reviewed in the Survey of Counterculture Texts in Sections 4.2-4.3

File no. - Year	Title (of Submission)⁹⁶ Author	Source Text⁹⁷ Year	Publisher in Spain
6776-60	<i>El ángel subterráneo</i> Jack Kerouac	[<i>The Subterraneans</i>] 1958	Sur
3442-62	<i>Trampa-22</i> Joseph Heller	[<i>Catch-22</i>] 1961	Plaza y Janés
6258-62	<i>Otro país</i> James Baldwin	[<i>Another Country</i>] 1962	Mateu
1396-63	<i>Los viajeros de la libertad</i> Martin Luther King Jr.	[<i>Stride Toward Freedom</i>] 1958	Fontanella
1560-64	<i>V</i> Thomas Pynchon	[<i>V</i>] 1963	Seix Barral
3272-64	<i>Un Altre Mon</i> [Catalan] James Baldwin	[<i>Another Country</i>] 1962	Aymá
7010-64	<i>Porque no podemos esperar</i> Martin Luther King Jr.	[<i>Why We Can't Wait</i>] 1964	Aymá
1133-65	<i>Nada personal</i> James Baldwin, Richard Avedon	[<i>Nothing Personal</i>] 1964	Lumen
1349-65	<i>La mística de la feminitat</i> [Catalan] Betty Friedan	[<i>The Feminine Mystique</i>] 1963	Edicions 62
2973-65	<i>Un sueño americano</i> Norman Mailer	[<i>An American Dream</i>] 1965	Caralt
4009-65	<i>¡Escucha blanco!</i> Frantz Fanon	[<i>Peau Noire, Masques Blancs</i>] ⁹⁸ 1952	Nova Terra
6316-65	<i>Ángeles de desolación</i> Jack Kerouac	[<i>Desolation Angels</i>] 1965	Caralt
6533-65	<i>Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater</i> Kurt Vonnegut	[<i>God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater</i>] 1965	Grijalbo
6918-65	<i>Els pòtols místics</i> [Catalan] Jack Kerouac	[<i>The Dharma Bums</i>] 1958	Aymá
449-66	<i>V</i> Thomas Pynchon	[<i>V</i>] 1963	Edicions 62
1358-66	<i>La fuerza de amar</i> Martin Luther King Jr.	[<i>Strength to Love</i>] 1963	Aymá
6841-66	<i>Elegida por sorteo</i> Ann Bannon	[<i>Odd Girl Out</i>] 1957	Reus
8673-66	<i>Malcolm X: El poder negro</i> [Catalan] Alex Haley	[<i>Malcolm X: Autobiography</i>] 1965	Edima

⁹⁶ It should be reiterated that some of these works were never published, or were later published under different titles than was initially registered. The titles shown here reflect those recorded in the censorship files.

⁹⁷ Information regarding the source text and publication date is not always found within the censorship files. This information has been researched through a variety of catalogues and is included here to orient the reader.

⁹⁸ Though the English edition of *Black Skin, White Masks* was not published until 1967, the arguments of the Martinique-born revolutionary in this work and *The Wretched of the Earth* [*Les damnés de la terre*, 1961] would serve as an important influence for the developing positions of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panthers (Alessandrini 2014, 4). The file for *¡Escucha, Blanco!* has been cited in section 4.2 for its relevance regarding the censor's view of Black Power and Civil Rights.

1181-68	<i>Forastero en tierra extraña</i> Robert A. Heinlein	[<i>Stranger in a Strange Land</i>] 1961	Géminis
3672-68	<i>Malcolm X, el hombre y sus ideas</i> George Breitman	[<i>Malcolm X Speaks</i>] 1965	Ciencia Nueva
5061-68	<i>Revolta en el 2100</i> Robert A. Heinlein	[<i>Revolt in 2100</i>] 1953	Géminis
5238-68	<i>Adonde vamos: ¿caos o comunidad?</i> Martin Luther King Jr.	[<i>Where Do We Go From Here?</i>] 1967	Aymá
5945-68	<i>Black Power / Poder negro</i> Roberto Giammanco	[<i>Black Power: Potere Negro</i>] 1967	Edicions 62
9469-68	<i>¡Cuidado blanco! Que llega el poder negro</i> Julius Lester	[<i>Look Out Whitey! Black Power's Gonna' Get Your Mama</i>] 1968	Cultura Popular
10969-68	<i>El clarín de la conciencia</i> Martin Luther King Jr.	[<i>The Trumpet of Conscience</i>] 1968	Aymá
11498-68	<i>Textos sobre el poder negro</i> Rap Brown, et al.	[multiple source texts]	Halcón
3247-69	<i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i> Norman Mailer	[<i>The Armies of the Night</i>] 1968	Grijalbo
3359-69	<i>La revolución negra en los Estados Unidos</i> Antonio Massimo Calderazzi	[<i>La rivoluzione negra negli Stati Uniti</i>] 1968	Bruguera
3940-69	<i>Problemas de la juventud en la sociedad organizada</i> Paul Goodman	[<i>Growing Up Absurd: Problems of Youth in the Organized Society</i>] 1960	Edicions 62 (Península)
4257-69	<i>¿Por qué estamos en Vietnam?</i> Norman Mailer	[<i>Why Are We in Vietnam?</i>] 1967	Anagrama
4952-69	<i>Ensayos utópicos</i> Paul Goodman	[<i>Utopian Essays</i>] 1962	Edicions 62 (Península)
6808-69	<i>Caníbales y cristianos</i> Norman Mailer	[<i>Cannibals and Christians</i>] 1966	Edicions 62 (Península)
10763-69	<i>Otro país</i> James Baldwin	[<i>Another Country</i>] 1962	Lumen
12047-69	<i>La revuelta del poder negro</i> Floyd B. Barbour	[<i>The Black Power Revolt</i>] 1968	Anagrama
12201-69	<i>La responsabilidad de los intelectuales</i> Noam Chomsky	[<i>"The Responsibility of Intellectuals"</i>] 1967	Ariel
12964-69	<i>Matadero cinco</i> Kurt Vonnegut	[<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i>] 1969	Grijalbo
4981-70	<i>Sobre política y lingüística</i> Noam Chomsky	[<i>"Linguistics and Politics"</i>] 1969	Anagrama
5864-70	<i>La maquina silenciosa</i> William S. Burroughs	[<i>The Soft Machine</i>] 1961	Lumen
7027-70	<i>Contra cultura</i> Joseph Berke	[<i>Counter Culture</i>] 1969	Grijalbo
7233-70	<i>Nacimiento de una contracultura</i> Theodore Roszak	[<i>The Making of a Counter Culture</i>] 1969	Kairós
7408-70	<i>¿Por qué estamos en Vietnam?</i> Norman Mailer	[<i>Why Are We in Vietnam?</i>] 1967	Lumen

7644-70	<i>Hippies: una contra-cultura</i> Stuart Hall	[<i>The Hippies: An American 'Moment'</i>] 1968	Anagrama
10454-70	<i>Hipsters. El negro blanco.</i> Norman Mailer	[<i>Advertisements for Myself</i>] 1957	Tusquets
10543-70	<i>Cuentos de Norman Mailer</i> Norman Mailer	[<i>The Short Fiction of Norman Mailer</i>] 1967	Edhasa
12499 -70	<i>Apomorphine</i> William S. Burroughs	[<i>Apo-33 Bulletin</i>] 1965	Tusquets
3380-71	<i>Al romper el día</i> Joan Baez	[<i>Daybreak</i>] 1968	Grijalbo
5221-71	<i>Las panteras negras hablan</i> Philip S. Foner	[<i>The Black Panthers Speak</i>] 1970	Artiach
11427-71	<i>Angela Davis habla</i> Angela Davis	[<i>Angela Davis Parle</i>] 1971	Ayuso
517-72	<i>Vendrán de madrugada</i> Angela Davis	[<i>If They Come in the Morning</i>] 1971	Barral
1280-72	<i>El trabajo</i> Daniel Odier, William S. Burroughs	[<i>The Job</i>] 1970	Mateu
1348-72	<i>Nuestra banda</i> Philip Roth	[<i>Our Gang</i>] 1971	Grijalbo
2842-72	<i>La familia Manson</i> Ed Sanders	[<i>The Family</i>] 1971	Grijalbo
3640-72	<i>Hablan las women's lib</i> Naomi Weisstein, et al.	[multiple source texts]	Kairós
4043-72	<i>El libro del tabú</i> Alan Watts	[<i>The Book</i>] 1966	Kairós
4267-72	<i>La nueva reforma</i> Paul Goodman	[<i>The New Reformation</i>] 1970	Kairós
11388-72	<i>Enterrad mi corazón en Wounded Knee</i> Dee Brown	[<i>Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee</i>] 1970	Grijalbo
12510-72	<i>Si llegan a por ti en la mañana</i> Angela Davis	[<i>If They Come in the Morning</i>] 1971	Siglo XXI
14506-72	<i>Ringolevio</i> Emmett Grogan	[<i>Ringolevio</i>] 1972	Grijalbo
702-73	<i>Beat zen, square zen y zen</i> Alan Watts	[<i>Beat Zen, Square Zen and Zen</i>] 1959	Tusquets
5641-73	<i>Naturaleza, hombre y mujer</i> Alan Watts	[<i>Nature, Man and Woman</i>] 1958	Fundamentos
14536-73	<i>Nova Express</i> William S. Burroughs	[<i>Nova Express</i>] 1964	Papeles de Son Armadans
651-74	<i>La des-educación obligatoria</i> Paul Goodman	[<i>Compulsory Miseducation</i>] 1964	Fontanella
7823-74	<i>Conciencia, ley y desobediencia civil</i> Daniel Berrigan	[<i>No Bars to Manhood</i>] 1970	Atenas
9587-74	<i>Buenos misiles, buenos modales</i> Kurt Vonnegut	[<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i>] 1974	Grijalbo
4098-75	<i>Conversaciones con los radicales</i> Michel Foucault, et al	[<i>C'est demain la veille</i>] 1973	Kairós

4099-75	<i>Las comunas en la contracultura</i> Keith Melville	[<i>Communes in the Counter Culture</i>] 1972	Kairós
9814-75	<i>Visiones de Cody</i> Jack Kerouac	[<i>Visions of Cody</i>] 1972	Grijalbo
11228-75	<i>Junkie</i> William S. Burroughs	[<i>Junkie</i>] 1953	Producciones Editoriales
12472-75	<i>En la carretera</i> Jack Kerouac	[<i>On The Road</i>] 1957	Producciones Editoriales
12595-75	<i>Testimonio en Chicago</i> Allen Ginsberg	[<i>Chicago Trial Testimony</i>] 1975	Fontamara
13607-75	<i>Matadero cinco</i> Kurt Vonnegut	[<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i>] 1969	Grijalbo
2608-76	<i>Un sueño americano</i> Norman Mailer	[<i>An American Dream</i>] 1965	Rodas
3597-76	<i>Aullido</i> Allen Ginsberg	[<i>Howl and Other Poems</i>] 1956	Producciones Editoriales
5750-76	<i>Alguien voló sobre el nido del cuco</i> Ken Kesey	[<i>One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest</i>] 1962	Argos
6065-76	<i>El libro tibetano de los muertos</i> Timothy Leary	[<i>The Tibetan Book of the Dead</i>] 1964	Producciones Editoriales
13754-76	<i>Yonqui</i> William S. Burroughs	[<i>Junkie</i>] 1953	Júcar
856-77	<i>La subasta del lote 49</i> Thomas Pynchon	[<i>The Crying of Lot 49</i>] 1966	Fundamentos
2769-77	<i>Autobiografía</i> Angela Davis	[<i>Angela Davis: An Autobiography</i>] 1974	Grijalbo
2810-77	<i>A la rica marihuana y otros sabores</i> Terry Southern	[<i>Red-Dirt Marijuana and Other Tastes</i>] 1967	Anagrama
4103-77	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> Kurt Vonnegut	[<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfaloons</i>] 1974	Grijalbo
8543-77	<i>Candy</i> Terry Southern and Mason Hoffenberg	[<i>Candy</i>] 1958	Grijalbo
11160-77	<i>El metro blanco</i> William S. Burroughs	[<i>The White Subway</i>] 1973	Pre-Textos
12461-77	<i>Visiones de Cody</i> Jack Kerouac	[<i>Visions of Cody</i>] 1972	Grijalbo
5618-78	<i>Erecciones, eyaculaciones, exhibiciones</i> Charles Bukowski	[<i>Erections, Ejaculations, Exhibitions</i>] 1972	Anagrama
7013-78	<i>La máquina de Follar</i> Charles Bukowski	[<i>Erections, Ejaculations, Exhibitions</i>] 1972	Anagrama
7758-78	<i>El arco iris de la gravedad</i> Thomas Pynchon	[<i>Gravity's Rainbow</i>] 1973	Grijalbo
8242-78	<i>La suprema identidad</i> Alan Watts	[<i>The Supreme Identity</i>] 1950	Bruguera
597-79	<i>El almuerzo desnudo</i> William S. Burroughs	[<i>Naked Lunch</i>] 1959	Júcar
1050-79	<i>Gaseosa de ácido eléctrico</i> Tom Wolfe	[<i>The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test</i>] 1968	Júcar

4.4 Publishing Houses Promoting Counterculture Texts in Franco's Spain

Though many iconic counterculture texts would only become available to Spanish readers after 1975, it is worth highlighting the sustained efforts of a handful of publishers who sought to make counterculture models available in Spain while still under the Ministry's repressive controls.⁹⁹ This section will offer brief profiles of seven that have been particularly visible in the present study: Ediciones Grijalbo, Edicions 62 (Península), Seix Barral, Lumen, Kairós, Anagrama and Tusquets.¹⁰⁰

Having founded Ediciones Grijalbo from exile in Mexico, Joan Grijalbo earned a reputation for promoting Marxist publications as well as bestsellers from the U.S. (Moret 2002b, 36). While a Spanish branch of Ediciones Grijalbo was set up for distribution between 1944 and 1945, it was not until 1965 that the editor, with connections to the Republic, could re-establish himself in Spain (Moret 2002a, 165-166). Once operations were established in Barcelona in the late sixties, the publisher would introduce a number of counterculture translations to Spanish readers. Indeed, Grijalbo became one of the key promoters of U.S. counterculture literature in the late sixties and early seventies, and proved to be a persistent actor in the wake of the *apertura*, submitting and resubmitting texts that called into question the tolerance of the censors. While publishing a wide range of best-selling works in translation, Grijalbo consistently defended the line of counterculture texts coming out of the U.S., despite facing long delays and frequent denials from the Spanish censorship board.

⁹⁹ Starting in the mid-seventies, publishers such as Producciones Editoriales (Star Books) and Júcar began heavily promoting works of the U.S. counterculture, soon establishing their reputations as counterculture presses. Over the next several decades, counterculture titles would continue to draw the interest of Spanish publishers, and especially in recent years, as demonstrated by the catalogues of presses such as Capitán Swing, Blackie Books and Traficantes de Sueños, among others. However, this section will focus on publishers that pushed for counterculture texts in the years of the regime, facing the economic risks and considerable restrictions produced by Francoist censorship.

¹⁰⁰ In order to stitch together a brief trajectory of counterculture submissions and publications for each of these presses, the present section has supplemented the information gathered from the censorship files with bibliographical data from national and international library catalogues as described in the Methodology.

For novelists such as Jack Kerouac, Norman Mailer, Philip Roth and Kurt Vonnegut it took months and even years to have their works approved for Spanish readers. Grijalbo underwent seven months of revisions to have Mailer's antimilitary novel *Los ejércitos de la noche* published in 1969 (see section 5.3.2). Similarly, the publisher faced the deauthorization of Roth's political satire *Our Gang* (1971) due to its depiction of President Nixon, but was able to get the decision reversed with resubmission (File no. 1348-72), seeing *La pandilla* published in 1973, a year after it was presented to the board. The process required more patience for Vonnegut's antiwar novel *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969)—of which a Spanish edition was approved in early 1970, but only for export. It was not until December 1975 that the novel was approved for Spanish territory (See 5.1.2). In parallel fashion, a submission of Kerouac's *Visiones de Cody* was authorized for export in September 1975 (File no. 9814-75), but would not circulate in Spain for another two years. Grijalbo was also responsible for the continued publication of sixties-era novelists after the dictatorship, as with the 1977 translation of *Candy* (1958), by Terry Southern and Mason Hoffenberg, and the 1978 translation of *Gravity's Rainbow* (1973) by Thomas Pynchon—*El arco iris de la gravedad*.

At the same time, the publisher promoted non-fiction texts and autobiographies that discussed activist and political movements in the U.S., securing authorization for publications such as *La agonía de la izquierda norteamericana* (1970), by historian Christopher Lasch,¹⁰¹ the memoirs of antiwar activist and folk singer Joan Baez, *Daybreak* (1966), submitted in 1971, and the autobiography of the famed political activist Angela Davis, in 1977. As discussed in 4.3.1, three earlier collections by Davis had been rejected by the censors, making Grijalbo's publication of the *Autobiografía* the first translation of the activist's work

¹⁰¹ This section will include a few works such as Lasch's, which were not analyzed in the counterculture survey, but discovered in subsequent research on individual publishers. As such, the lack of information about the censorship process may preclude these titles from section 4.3.

authorized in Spain. Still, many of Grijalbo's submissions of patently counterculture texts had been denied authorization in the last few years of the dictatorship. For instance, the submission of the collection *Counter Culture* (1969), edited by Joseph Berke, was firmly rejected by the censors:

Libro publicado por el Sindicato Europeo de Prensa Clandestina y en el que colaboran conocidos "hippies" y revolucionarios como Allen Ginsberg y Stokely Carmichael . . . virulentamente antinorteamericano pero también antieuropeo y anticristiano . . . con material de primera mano, del poder negro, de las rebeliones estudiantiles, los movimientos subversivos universitarios, las comunas, los "hippies", las universidades libres, las anti-escuelas, los "comics" de sexo-violencia, las drogas, el amor libre, los provos, las luchas interraciales, etc. . . . Crítica acerba de las instituciones tradicionales: Ejército, Iglesia, Estado, familia. (File no. 2134-70)

So vile did they find the whole collection, which included instructions for making a Molotov cocktail, that when the publishers submitted the same text for reconsideration, the censors began to question the publisher's role in the matter: "no comprendemos cómo a Ediciones Grijalbo se le ha ocurrido querer convertirse en difusora de estas teorías" (File no. 2134-70).

Grijalbo submitted Emmet Grogan's *Ringolevio* (1972) shortly after it was published in the U.S, and faced another denied authorization:¹⁰²

. . . Hay que tener en cuenta aquí lo más importante, es que todo se describe desde la perspectiva de los delincuentes y de los drogadictos. La policía aparece aquí como estúpida y los tribunales suelen ser fáciles de engañar si se cuenta con buenos abogados. Se describen, además, tácticas de robo y de asesinato, lo que demuestra que el autor de este libro conoce bien su oficio.

En nuestra modesta opinión creo que ya es hora de poner coto a estas publicaciones que no tienen otro mérito que la de ser escritas por delincuentes comunes y contener un mensaje lleno de crudeza y cinismo. Estas obras son aceptadas masivamente por un público ávido de violencia y producen un impacto nefasto en las costumbres. (File no. 14506-72)

As with Berke's text, the censors questioned not just the individual publication, but what they perceived as a general tendency to publish works by 'delinquents.'

¹⁰² Emmet Grogan is known especially for his role in the formation of the San Francisco Diggers, and for his critical take, in *Ringolevio*, on many of the events coming out the hippie scene and outspoken activists such as "Eldridge Cleaver, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Timothy Leary, and all the gurus" (Flaherty 1972, BR7). For further discussion of the Diggers, see section 3.

That same year, *La familia Manson* by Ed Sanders was initially deemed 'authorizable' as a serious, detailed study of Charles Manson and "su familia de hippies," yet was later blocked (File no. 2842-72).¹⁰³ The censors judged the author to be sufficiently distanced from the subjects and repulsed by the cult and the atrocities they had committed, describing that "El libro responde a una investigación minuciosa del autor. Este se limita a contar sin meterse en comentarios, aunque su postura es de repulsa hacia los Manson y sus atrocidades" (Ibid.). Yet the descriptions were considered too 'repugnant,' and following one censor's suggestion to make suppressions on eight pages, especially targeting scenes of sexual violence and degradation, the book was denied authorization altogether (File no. 2842-72). Despite the prohibitions in Spain, it is worth noting that Grijalbo did publish *Ringolevio* and *La familia Manson* in Mexico and Buenos Aires in 1974. In this sense, the publisher's ability to operate 'across the pond' allowed for a great deal of flexibility in its approach to censorship negotiations.

The Barcelona publishing house Edicions 62 was known in the sixties for its publications in Catalan and was notable in Franco's Spain as one of the first to recover the texts of Karl Marx and to publish later Marxist theorists such as Gramsci and Marcuse (Rojas Claros 2013, 94-107). Stemming from this initial trajectory and through a second branch created for Spanish-language works—Península—the publisher managed to introduce important works from U.S. activists such as Betty Friedan and Paul Goodman—and literary works by Norman Mailer and Thomas Pynchon, among others. In its first years of operations, Edicions 62 had already gained a reputation as a subversive press, and in order to become a legally registered publisher under the 1966 legislation, the Ministry made it a condition that Edicions 62 agree to submit all of their works to Voluntary Consultation (Cisquella, Erviti

¹⁰³ Sanders was also the founder of *Fuck You* magazine, which published "the work of Allen Ginsberg, Frank O'hara and Norman Mailer . . . [and] gained national renown despite its unprintable title," according to Ratliff (2012, C4), who emphasizes Sanders' role in the creation of the counterculture (Ibid.).

and Sorolla 2002, 71).¹⁰⁴ In essence, this meant that the publisher would continue to be subject to the old system of prior authorization, despite the apparent changes in the law. With the leftist intellectual Josep Maria Castellet becoming the literary director in 1964, the publishing house also began to incorporate a greater number of works in translation (Moret 2002a, 352).

Appealing to the feminist sectors of socialist circles in Catalunya, Edicions 62 published *La mística de la feminitat* in 1965, the Catalan translation of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, making Friedan one of the "first socially active feminist models for the new generation of Catalan intellectuals in the 1960s" (Godayol 2014, 275). Godayol's study highlights the fact that this translation was the first feminist text printed legally after 1939:

At the time of publication of the translation of Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, the literary director of Edicions 62, Josep Maria Castellet, had not yet managed to secure the permit to translate into Catalan Simone de Beauvoir's *Le Deuxième Sexe*, in spite of many attempts to do so. In the case of feminist writing, the first permit for publication and translation issued by the censors was for Betty Friedan's book. While providing new, bold material for the budding feminist discourse in Catalunya, *La mística de la feminitat* became the starting point for reviving the feminist demands from before the civil war. (Godayol 2014, 277)

At the same time, Godayol reveals that the Spanish translation published by Sagitario in 1965 was promoted in circles that were friendly to the regime, and that as a result Friedan's position in *La mística de la feminidad* (1965) was framed within a conservative discourse (2014, 278).¹⁰⁵ In contrast to Sagitario, Edicions 62 stands out not simply for its initiative in promoting feminist texts, but for its inclusion of feminist viewpoints in an overall trajectory of cultural and political dissidence.

¹⁰⁴ This decision actually came in 1969, three years after Edicions 62 had applied for its registration number, and following numerous appeals to the Ministry by its literary editor Josep Maria Castellet. The absence of a registration number also meant that the publisher could not submit works directly for *Depósito*. For a detailed account of the Ministry's responses, see Cisqueña, Erviti and Sorolla (2002, 69-72).

¹⁰⁵ Demonstrating this point, Godayol analyzes the prologue by the feminist icon Lili Álvarez, who insists that "[Friedan's] statements are clearly within the family ethic of a married woman with three children—and she is very proud of this—which makes them unmistakably positive" (Álvarez, cited in Godayol 2014, 278).

The publisher's trajectory also included important U.S. novelists such as Norman Mailer and Thomas Pynchon. In 1964, Edicions 62 submitted Mailer's highly acclaimed and controversial war novel, *The Naked and The Dead* (1948), for prior consultation (File no. 5695-64).¹⁰⁶ After a year of negotiations with the censorship board and a series of suppressions, *Els nus i els morts* was published in Catalan, thirty years before it would be available in Spanish.¹⁰⁷ In 1969, Edicions 62 set out to publish Catalan and Spanish translations of Mailer's eclectic collection *Cannibals and Christians* (1966) (File no. 6808-69), which after years of maneuvering resulted in the Catalan volumes *Fets de cultura* (1971) and *La farsa política nord-americana* (1972), followed by the Spanish volumes *Caníbales y cristianos* (1975) and *Días de gracia y arena* (1976), which will be discussed in section 5.3.3. Considering that a number of publishers tried and failed to publish other Mailer works in Franco's Spain, Edicions 62 was actually the most successful at bringing the author's texts to Spain during the dictatorship, even if many of the early publications were only available in Catalan. It may also be argued that this would be the first step to establishing a solid readership for Mailer in the country.¹⁰⁸

The publisher was less successful in introducing the work of Thomas Pynchon, whose novel *V* (1963) was approved with suppressions in 1966 but never published (File no. 449-66). As had already been affirmed by Seix y Barral in 1964, the author himself took a clear stand against this type of manipulation. The uncensored *V* was finally published in 1987, by Tusquets. Despite a few such misses, Edicions 62 remained instrumental in introducing counterculture works of fiction and non-fiction, and by the early seventies the publisher had been able to circulate many important works through its Spanish-language arm—Península.

¹⁰⁶ The censorship file for this work (File no. 5695-64) contains a copy of the French translation, *Les nus et les morts* (1950), in addition to the Catalan manuscript, suggesting that the translator, Ramon Folch i Camarasa, may have translated using the French text as an intermediary.

¹⁰⁷ Published by Anagrama in 1981, *Los desnudos y los muertos* was translated to Spanish by Patricio Canto.

¹⁰⁸ With thirty-seven publications in Spain by 1997, Mailer was found to lead the way among U.S. authors of postmodern fiction published in Spain in the last half of the 20th Century (Collado-Rodríguez 1997, 179).

In fact, Península was responsible for the first Spanish translations of works by the intellectual and activist Paul Goodman, including *Problemas de la juventud en la sociedad organizada* (1971), authorized without changes (File no. 3940-69), and *Ensayos utópicos* (1973), which had to be published with suppressions (File no. 4952-69). Melitón Bustamante, who had translated both works for the publisher, was also behind the collection titled *Poder negro* (1970), which included translated interventions from Malcolm X and other members of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and members of The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), among others, all translated from the Italian collection edited by the sociologist Roberto Giammanco (File no. 5948-68).¹⁰⁹ With a variety of publications in these different areas, and despite a few setbacks, Edicions 62/Península was able to introduce three major elements of the U.S. counterculture as part of their catalogue: 1) the Feminist Movement; 2) the Student Movement; and 3) Black Power and the Civil Rights Movement.

Seix Barral, which under the direction of Carlos Barral had earned a reputation for promoting many important Latin-American writers, also endeavored to publish several key texts by prominent sixties-era authors and intellectuals from the U.S., such as James Baldwin, Norman Mailer, Susan Sontag and Angela Davis—though many of these texts would go untranslated. Indeed, it was Seix Barral who first attempted a translation of James Baldwin, with the 1961 submission of *Giovanni's Room* (1956), which was denied authorization for its sexual content just ten days later (File no. 5187-61).¹¹⁰ Similarly, the 1964 submission of Pynchon's *V* represented early interest in the novelist in Spain, yet conditional authorization of the novel had been revoked after it was made clear that the author would not allow for suppressions (File no. 1560-64). In 1967, Seix Barral submitted Mailer's *An American Dream*

¹⁰⁹ *Black Power: Potere Negro*, published by Laterza in 1967.

¹¹⁰ Although Cornellá-Detrell (2015) suggests that "el tema era tan espinoso que durante la dictadura ninguna editorial siquiera se atrevió a pedir permiso para publicarla" (38), Seix Barral's submission reveals an effort to publish the work in spite of its central focus on relationships between gay men.

(1965) (File no. 813-67), yielding the same results as Caralt, who had been denied authorization for the text earlier the same year (File no. 9055-67). A Spanish edition of Sontag's well-known essay collection *Against Interpretation* (1966) was published as *Contra la interpretación* in 1969, but first had to undergo suppressions regarding references to communism (File no. 6012-67).¹¹¹ Also of note is Seix Barral's interest in a collection edited by Angela Davis, *If They Come in the Morning* (1971), which was denied authorization in 1972 (File no. 517-72). What is particularly striking about these works—while not united by any single theme—is the broad (and highly relevant) cultural interests that they represent in this period, especially with regard to the U.S. They also demonstrate the publisher's willingness to test the censors in these areas, though the results were by-and-large fruitless.

In the late sixties, Lumen, headed by Esther Tusquets, submitted numerous works by novelists such as James Baldwin, William S. Burroughs and Norman Mailer, though many of these attempts were also stymied by the censorship board. In 1965, Lumen was granted authorization to publish Spanish and Catalan translations of the collection *Nothing Personal* (1965), with essays by Baldwin and photographs by Richard Avedon. Two of Baldwin's works had previously been published by Aymà in Catalan, yet Lumen's edition of *Nada personal* (1966) was the first of Baldwin's works to be authorized in Spanish translation, albeit with the suppression of sexual references on two pages (File no. 1133-65). This was followed by a translation of the play *Blues for Mister Charlie* (1964), also authorized with suppressions of sexual references and obscenities in 1966, under the title *Blues para Mister Charlie* (File no. 579-66).¹¹² With Tusquets at the helm, Lumen submitted three more works by Baldwin in 1969. The publisher secured publication of the collection *Nadie sabe mi*

¹¹¹ While highly acclaimed as a work of criticism, this collection was not directly engaged in counterculture themes, and for that reason was not included among the titles in section 4.3. Yet, other pieces by the leftist intellectual such as "What's Happening in America?" reveal that, like Mailer, Sontag had her finger on the pulse.

¹¹² That same year Lumen also published *El hombre invisible*, a translation of *Invisible Man* (1952) by Ralph Ellison, whose work had served as an important influence for many sixties-era novelists.

nombre [*Nobody Knows My Name* (1961)], in May 1970, with the suppression of a single word in the following phrase: "aunque se opusieran ~~Di~~os, Satanás o el Mississippi" (File no. 6947-69). Advised to carry out numerous modifications in the translation of *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* (1968), Tusquets took a different track, foregoing negotiations and waiting until 1974 to resubmit the translated text (File no. 4339-69), at which point the board declared *Silencio*. The publisher was also behind another stymied submission of Baldwin's *Another Country* (1962) in October 1969 (File no. 10763-69). A request for reconsideration of the novel was likewise denied in December.¹¹³

In 1970, Lumen became the first Spanish publisher to attempt a work by William S. Burroughs, with a submission of *The Soft Machine* (1961) which was promptly denied (File no. 5864-1970). The publisher also submitted three novels by Norman Mailer that year, including *Barbary Shore* (1951), *The Deer Park* (1955) and *Why Are We in Vietnam?* (1967), of which the last two were denied authorization. The Mailer submissions will be discussed in section 5.3. Finally, Lumen was responsible for the rare publication of Leroi Jones (Amiri Baraka), who received little attention in Francoist Spain, although he was a prominent figure in the Black Arts movement in the U.S. His classic study on Black musical origins, *Blues People* (1963), was published by Lumen in 1969 under the same title. Lumen was also the only publisher that took an interest in the work of Bruce Jay Friedman during this period, printing the novel *Besos de la madre* (1967) [*A Mother's Kisses*, 1964], and a collection of short fiction, *Los ángeles negros* (1971) [*Black Angels*, 1966].¹¹⁴

Editorial Kairós, founded by Salvador Pániker in 1965, published several key works of non-fiction on the U.S. counterculture between 1970 and 1975. The first of these was the seminal text by scholar Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture* (1969), titled in

¹¹³ Note that Mateu had been denied authorization for the same work in 1962.

¹¹⁴ Friedman is especially known for the 1969 anthology *Black Humor*, which has been credited with bringing attention to this literary genre in the United States (Oneill 2010, 82). The collection included, among others, pieces by three novelists discussed in 4.3: Thomas Pynchon, Joseph Heller and Terry Southern.

translation *El nacimiento de una contracultura* (1970). Two other works emerged out of a collaboration with María José Ragué Árias, who had been living in Berkeley from 1968 to 1970 (Herralde 2005, 22). The first of these was *California Trip* (1971), a Spanish-language text by Ragué that incorporated her translated conversations with counterculture figures such as Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Norman Brown, Theodore Roszak and Alan Watts.¹¹⁵ This was followed by *Hablan las women's lib* (1972), which included translations by Ragué of selected texts on the women's liberation movement. Finding the women activists to employ "una inusitada crudeza de lenguaje," the censors opted to use *Silencio administrativo* for the text (File no. 1776-72). Also in 1972, Kairós published a translation of *The New Reformation: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative* (1970) by scholar and activist Paul Goodman, which in Spanish became *La nueva reforma. Un nuevo manifiesto anarquista*. The translated title is striking for its political provocation, and indeed the Spanish censors labeled the text "pura propaganda anarquista" (File no. 4267-72). As with *Hablan las women's lib*, the censorship board chose to employ *Silencio*, though the objections to Goodman's work were much more strident. Qualifying *La nueva reforma*, one censor declared: "Ataca constantemente la Ley, el Orden, el Servicio militar, y en general todo lo que signifique autoridad. . . . Es propaganda subversiva y ejemplo de lo que no se puede admitir en la juventud" (File no. 4267-72).

In 1975, Kairós published two works on the tradition of communes within counterculture movements: first, *Las comunas en la contracultura*, a translation of *Communes in the Counter Culture* (1972), by Keith Melville; and second, *Un experimento "Walden Dos,"* a translation of *A Walden Two Experiment* (1973) by Kathleen Kinkade. The Melville text was considered especially problematic given its discussion of open sexual

¹¹⁵ Kairós published numerous works by Alan Watts during this period, including *El gran mandala* (1971), *El libro del Tabú* (1972)—which prompted the censors to adopt *Silencio* (File no. 4043-72)—as well as *El futuro del éxtasis* (1974) and *El camino del Tao* (1976).

relationships and drug-use, with the censors pointing to the author's defense of "la unión sexual libre dentro de los miembros de la [comuna], de una forma rotativa y caprichosa . . . y la velada defensa que se hace de los 'psicodélicos' (File no. 4099-75). Although questions were raised regarding the legality of these descriptions, and one censor even suggested that the work might be seized, the board ultimately opted for *Silencio*. Indeed, the formula of *Silencio administrativo* emerged as a common verdict for the counterculture texts among the Kairós catalogue. In 1976, after months of waiting on authorization from the censorship board, Kairós published a translation of *Becoming Partners: Marriage and Its Alternatives* by the psychologist Carl Rogers, titled *El matrimonio y sus alternativas*.¹¹⁶ With his dedication to publishing alternative texts, Pániker has often been considered one of the key promoters of the counterculture ethos in Spain in the seventies. In the words of Francisco Umbral:

Él nos ha traído a Roszak, a Paul Goodman, a Norman Brown y el cuerpo del placer. . . . cuando escribe, en su prosa vienen diluidos Alan Watts y Castañeda, flores de loto y luces de peyote, porque Salvador Pániker, escritor, ingeniero y editor, es ese barcelonés hamletiano, con un sobredorado oriental y oscuro que nunca sabremos si le nace de dentro a fuera, como a los gurús, o le impregna de fuera adentro, como a los Budas de bazar. . . . Todos, un día, nos matriculamos de contraculturales con Salvador Pániker. (1979, 52)

Another notable publishing house from this period is Anagrama, founded by Jorge Herralde in the late sixties.¹¹⁷ With an initial trajectory encompassing many philosophers and intellectuals of the left, Herralde also showed an early interest in the works of Norman Mailer, submitting three of the novelist's works to Voluntary Consultation in its first year of operation. Proposed Spanish editions of *Why Are We in Vietnam* (1967) and *The Deer Park* (1955) were both denied authorization, while a Catalan translation of *The Armies of the Night*

¹¹⁶ In an interview published by Beneyto (1975), Salvador Pániker describes this work among others delayed by the Ministry in the final months of the dictatorship: "Uno de los libros retenidos se titula *El matrimonio y sus alternativas*, y su autor es un psicólogo de fama mundial. Pero se conoce que en Madrid consideran que el matrimonio no tiene alternativas" (277).

¹¹⁷ Anagrama was officially founded in 1969, although Herralde has alluded to working on publishing projects as early as 1967 "al margen de la censura del régimen franquista," (2004, 1). He also describes the cultural environment that was transpiring at the time of Anagrama's creation, stating that "hay que reconocer que la editorial nació en un clima cultural y social muy agitado: El mayo del 68, las manifestaciones contra la Guerra del Vietnam, la contracultura americana, La Gauche Divine..." (Ibid.).

(1968) was approved with suppressions (but never re-submitted with the proposed modifications).¹¹⁸

With a clear interest in popular uprisings in the U.S., the publisher submitted a translation of *Black Power Revolt* (1969) by Floyd B. Barbour and *Berkeley: The New Student Revolt* (1965) by Hal Draper, which included an introduction by Mario Savio.¹¹⁹ Both works formed part of the "Documentos" collection, donning parallel titles in Spanish: *La revuelta del Poder Negro* (1969) and *La revuelta de Berkeley* (1970). The texts were each submitted in 1969, though Draper's work was initially denied authorization, according to Cisquella, Sorolla and Erviti (2002, 182). It would take another year to get the work published. While Barbour's work did not face this kind of delay, the censors did take issue with the author's emphasis on violent resistance, stating: "No cabe duda de que nos encontramos ante un libro violento, como violento es en realidad el poder negro" (File no. 12047-69). Yet, a second report weighed this against the many 'injustices' faced by African Americans, recognizing that "hasta ahora no se hizo caso de su protesta pacífica" (File no. 12047-69). In this sense, the plight of the black community in the U.S. was seen as a unique case that might justify violent resistance, though subsequent works on Black Power were by no means immune to censorship.¹²⁰

In 1970, Anagrama submitted other works of non-fiction by prominent intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky and Stuart Hall, who both had strong ties to the New Left.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ The Mailer submissions are discussed in greater detail in section 5.3.

¹¹⁹ Barbour, a professor of African-American studies at Simmons College and Boston University, also edited the anthology *The Black Seventies* (1970), which included pieces by Margaret Walker, Amiri Baraka, James Boggs and H Rap Brown, among others.

¹²⁰ As seen with works such as *If They Come in the Morning* (1971) and *The Black Panthers Speak* (1966) discussed in section 4.3.2.

¹²¹ *The Encyclopedia of Politics: The Left and the Right* explains that "The New Left was both a product of, and contributed to, the tremendous political upheavals that shook the United States in the 1960s. The New Left derives its name in contradistinction to the Old Left, which consisted of established Marxist parties such as the Communist Party. Many young people who became active in the 1960s considered these parties dogmatic and irrelevant. . . . The two most important New Left organizations were the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Students For a Democratic Society (SDS)" (Power 2005, 328). The cultural theorist

Translations of *The Hippies: An American 'Moment'*, published by Hall in 1968, and selected essays by Chomsky, including "Linguistics and Politics" from a 1969 issue of *New Left Review*, were submitted to *Depósito* that year, as part of Anagrama's "Cuadernos" collection. Hall's work, translated as *Hippies: una contra-cultura*, was seen as a sociological study of the counterculture, and promptly authorized (File no. 7644-70), whereas Chomsky's calls to resistance in *Sobre política y lingüística* were considered rather "dangerous," and denied authorization (File no. 4981-70). After some negotiation, however, the censors authorized the text for export in December 1970, and then allowed the work to circulate in Spain in 1971 after the most incendiary chapter was swapped for another of Chomsky's pieces.¹²²

Still, the censors could not always be persuaded to change their minds regarding a text they judged *desaconsejable*. Anagrama reported more than thirty texts that were judged unpublishable in 1968 and 1969 alone, and many of these could not be published until after 1975 (Cisquella 2002, 181-182). This was the case of *El libro de la yerba*, which was submitted and denied authorization in 1969 (Ibid.). The work was a translation of *The Book of Grass* (1967), edited by George Andrews and Simon Vinkenoog, which included contributions by prominent counterculture figures such as Alan Watts, Timothy Leary, Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs and R. D. Laing, among many well-known historical and contemporary figures. Anagrama finally published the anthology in 1977, eight years after its first attempt. The controversial mission of the text is described on the back cover of that edition:

Stuart Hall was the founding editor of *New Left Review*, started in 1958, and an influential figure for the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University (also called "The Birmingham School") where he became the director in 1968. As mentioned previously, the inclusion of his work in this analysis, though the author himself is not from the U.S., is based on its discussion of the U.S. counterculture scene. The prolific intellectual Noam Chomsky is known for his scholarly contributions to fields as diverse as linguistics, cognitive science, philosophy and history, as well as his political activism.

¹²² As noted in the censor's report, the first edition of the translated text contained the piece titled "Un nuevo llamamiento de resistencia a la autoridad ilegítima" which was replaced in the second edition with the piece "Sobre la resistencia." Even so, the board opted to use *Silencio* (File no. 4981-70).

El uso y efectos del cáñamo indio (marihuana, haschish) es un tema actualmente muy controvertido, aunque los argumentos más comunes están basados en la estólida ignorancia, o la manipulación interesada.

El propósito de esta antología es recorrer la larga y variada historia de su uso con fines religiosos, médicos y creativos. La selección de textos arranca desde los antecedentes históricos: los himnos védicos, fuentes sánscritas y Homero, pasando por Rabelais, Baudelaire, Nerval, Rimbaud, Lewis Carroll, hasta llegar a escritores del siglo XX de la talla de Herman Hesse, Aldous Huxley, Henri Michaux y Allen Ginsberg. . . . (Andrews and Vinkenoog 1977, back cover)

Though suffering many early setbacks on account of censorship, Anagrama's line of counterculture texts remained visible throughout the seventies and was reinforced with the launch of the "Contraseñas" collection in 1977, which included previously stymied publications such as *El libro de la yerba*, and previously unpublished authors such as Terry Southern and Charles Bukowski. A translation of Southern's *Red-Dirt Marijuana and Other Tastes* (1967) was published as the first number of the collection with the title *A la rica marihuana y otros sabores*. Three translations of Charles Bukowski followed in 1978, including *Escritos de un viejo indecente*, *Erecciones*, *eyaculaciones*, *exhibiciones* and *La maquina de follar*.¹²³ These sixties-era works by U.S. authors were supplemented by national texts such as *Filosofías del underground* (1977) by Luis Racionero.¹²⁴

Also notable in this collection was the publisher's attention to the developments of New Journalism, and in particular, the works by Tom Wolfe, of whom ten translations were published between 1973 and 1983, including the anthology *The New Journalism* (1973), published as *El nuevo periodismo* in 1977.¹²⁵ However, Santana (2013) points out that

¹²³ Discussed in section 4.3.3.

¹²⁴ Herralde describes Racionero as the "guru" of the magazine *Ajoblanco* (Herralde 2005, 22)—a magazine known for "cierta fascinación por las figuras de la contracultura americana" (Pecourt 2008, 166).

¹²⁵ Considered a kind of literary journalism, "'New Journalism' refers to a literary movement in the 1960s and 1970s that tried to expand the definition of journalism by arguing that feature writers could use the same techniques to write stories about real-life events that novelists used to write about imaginary worlds. Writers like Tom Wolfe, Truman Capote, and Gay Talese, often credited with launching this movement, immersed themselves in their subjects, at times spending months in the field gathering facts through research, interviews and observation. . . . Instead of forcing their story into a traditional formulaic structure and institutional voice, they constructed well-developed characters, sustained dialogue, vivid scenes and strong plot lines marked with dramatic tension" (Fakazis 2009, 946). Such writers "were contributing to a widespread discussion over the nature of 'truth' and our ability to know and represent it objectively in stories, paintings, photographs and other

Anagrama's role in introducing the genre has sometimes been overstated, as the "Contraseñas" collection has been credited with bringing the first works of New Journalism to Spain, when, in fact, important texts had already been published the decade before (41).¹²⁶ And strikingly absent from Anagrama's catalogue is, of course, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968)—finally published by Júcar in 1979. Still, the "Contraseñas" collection succeeded in its broader mission, as pronounced by Herralde: "albergar y reunir un tipo de literatura diferente a la que los lectores encontraban, una literatura bautizada o bautizable como forajida, cañera, underground, marginal, etc." (cited in Moret 2002a, 336).

The efforts of Tusquets Editores, founded in 1969 by Beatriz de Moura and Óscar Tusquets, likewise deserve mention. Like Herralde at Anagrama, Beatriz de Moura submitted a series of counterculture texts that tested the limits of the Spanish censors. A submission of Norman Mailer essays from the collection *Advertisements for Myself* (including "The White Negro" and related pieces) was denied authorization in 1969, resubmitted in 1970, and finally authorized in translation in 1973 (see section 5.3.2). Tusquets was also responsible for one of the early submissions of William S. Burroughs, a proposed translation of *APO-33* (1965).¹²⁷ The work was denied authorization in 1971 and afterwards never published in translation (File no. 12499-70). In 1973, de Moura submitted the non-fiction work *Beat Zen, Square Zen and Zen* (1959) by Alan Watts, which was likewise denied authorization (File no. 702-73). Although the submissions of texts by Burroughs and Watts were unsuccessful, they nonetheless mark a growing interest in counterculture publications. Further evidence of this is found in Tusquets's 1972 publication of *Esquizofrenia y presión social*, comprised of selected

representational arts. . . . [They] argued that objectivity did not guarantee truth, and that objective stories could be more misleading than stories told from a clearly presented personal point of view" (947).

¹²⁶ Here Santana notes that Luis de Caralt had already introduced Spanish readers to the genre with *Crónicas presidenciales* (1964), a translation of Norman Mailer's *The Presidential Papers* (1963), which included the famous essay "Superman Comes to the Supermarket." This was followed by Noguer's edition of *A sangre fría* (1966), a translation of Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* (1965), and Grijalbo's edition of *Los ejércitos de la noche* (1969), a translation of Norman Mailer's *The Armies of the Night* (1968). It is worth noting that excerpts from these last two works were included as examples in Wolfe's anthology.

¹²⁷ The text that was submitted to the censorship board was actually the French translation, *Apomorphine* (1969).

translations of R. D. Laing, and in the original work by the philosopher Josep M^a Carandell titled *Las comunas: alternativa a la familia* (1972), advertised as the first volume of a series on "la experiencia antiautoritaria."¹²⁸ Adding the successful publication of Mailer's *El negro blanco* the following year, this small body of texts carved out a space for counterculture themes among Tusquets's provocative catalogue.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Laing's writings on schizophrenia are said to have "resonated throughout the counterculture, . . . merg[ing] with feelings of alienation and a desire for transcendental experiences . . . He considered schizophrenia potentially beneficial and likened psychosis to a psychedelic trip where a person confronted the self and life's meaning. His 1967 work *The Politics of Experience* sold widely on college campuses as many young people found themselves relating to his observations regarding alienation" (Hamilton 1997, 177). Regarding J. M. Carandell, the writer Oriol Pi de Cabanyes describes the Catalan philosopher as "el prototipo del intelectual progre de los sesenta. Cuando la politiquería no había invadido todavía todos los espacios de la cultura. . . . Carandell repartió mucho juego intelectual desde las páginas del suplemento literario de *Tele/eXprés* durante la agonía del franquismo" (Pi de Cabanyes 2003, 26).

¹²⁹ The translator Isabel Vericat also had some influence in this area, having suggested the translations of Norman Mailer and R. D. Laing, after reading both texts on a commune in Birmingham, U.K. Vericat's trajectory will be discussed in section 5.3.2.

5. Descriptive-Comparative Study of Kurt Vonnegut, Robert A. Heinlein and Norman Mailer in Franco's Spain

Following the broad survey of U.S. counterculture texts in Franco's Spain, the present section offers a descriptive-comparative study of works by three emblematic counterculture authors translated during this period: Kurt Vonnegut (section 5.1), Robert A. Heinlein (section 5.2) and Norman Mailer (section 5.3). As detailed in the Methodology, these three authors were chosen based on the total number of works translated to Spanish under the constraints of the Franco regime and the wide range of responses that their sixties-era works seemed to draw from the Spanish censors as well as from editors and/or translators. Together, they present a substantial—yet cohesive—body of texts through which to examine the complex mechanisms of Francoist censorship affecting counterculture works in translation.

Sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 each begin with a brief biographical/bibliographical review aimed at tracing the author's connection to the counterculture and highlighting those areas thought to be most problematic from the perspective of Francoist censorship. This is followed by a discussion of the censorship verdicts and publishing outcomes documented for their works in Franco's Spain and a description of the texts to be analyzed—corresponding to three original works by each author. Primed by the information garnered from the censorship files and from background research on Vonnegut, Heinlein, Mailer, and the U.S. counterculture, the core analysis is thus based on the thorough reading of the nine works by these authors alongside the Spanish versions produced under Francoist censorship. Focusing on censurable content that was flagged by the censors and/or detected upon reading, each subsection carefully documents evidence of censorship and self-censorship in the translation and editing process, as well as notable instances of non-censorship. The results are discussed collectively in section 6, which looks at common practices affecting the translations of all three authors and situates them within the wider context of counterculture publications in Franco's Spain.

5.1 Translation and Censorship of Kurt Vonnegut in Franco's Spain

Recognized as a "sharp-eyed satirist" from the publication of his first novel *Player Piano* (1952), Kurt Vonnegut soon became known for his "lively" and humorous narratives (Hicks 1952, BR5), which by the late 1960s would begin to catch on with a generation of disaffected youth across the United States (Macfarlane 2007, 156). In a 1952 *New York Times* review, *Player Piano* was compared to notable dystopian novels such as *Brave New World* (1932), by Aldous Huxley, with the reviewer judging the work to be somewhat less "earnest" and "serious" than these predecessors, yet ultimately affirming that "what Mr. Vonnegut lacks in fervor, he more than makes up in fun" (Hicks 1952, BR5). And as Macfarlane notes, this "satirical wit . . . often treated as an aside" is, in fact, "central to the construction of Vonnegut's prose" (2007, 149). Indeed, it is through this humor Vonnegut transmits his deeply-felt social criticisms and pleas for a kinder, gentler world in the wake of the atrocities of World War II.

A pacifist from a young age, the author's experiences as a prisoner of war who lived through the U.S. bombing of Dresden in 1945 only strengthened his long-standing antimilitary views—views which he insisted were never radical, but rather the natural result of his education in the 1930s:

America was an idealistic, pacifistic nation at that time . . . I was taught in the sixth grade to be proud that we had a standing Army of just over a hundred thousand men and that the generals had nothing to say about what was done in Washington. I was taught to be proud of that and to pity Europe for having more than a million men under arms and spending all their money on airplanes and tanks. I simply never unlearned junior civics. I still believe in it. I got a very good grade. (Vonnegut 1974, 274-275)

During his time at Cornell University, from 1941 to 1943, he had written a number of pieces for the *Cornell Daily Sun* showing that "he sided ardently with those who believed the United States must stay out of the war in Europe" (Shields 2011, 41). Yet, knowing that he was sure to be drafted after he dropped out of college in 1943, Vonnegut decided to enlist in the army,

having also "convinced himself that the conflict was 'clearly a war that had to be fought,'" and one that was "worth fighting" (Shields 2011, 48). Still, Vonnegut never glorified participation in the conflict and even noted that among the veterans he knew after the war, "the ones who hated the war the most, were the ones who'd really fought" (1969, 11). Later, the author would posit that:

One of the great American tragedies is to have participated in a just war. It's been possible for politicians and movie-makers to encourage us we're always good guys. The Second World War absolutely had to be fought. I wouldn't have missed it for the world. But we never talk about the people we kill. This is never spoken of. (Vonnegut 2002)

Indeed, it was the silence regarding the military's bombing of civilians that most disturbed Vonnegut upon his return to the U.S.: "When we went into the war, we felt our Government was a respecter of life, careful about not injuring civilians and that sort of thing. Well, Dresden had no tactical value; it was a city of civilians. Yet the allies bombed it until it burned and melted. And then they lied about it" (Vonnegut, 1974: 264). As described in *Slaughterhouse-Five*, the novelist had returned to the U.S. a survivor the bombing of Dresden only to discover that the U.S. government was keeping details about the attack secret from the public (Vonnegut 1969, 14).

Further adding to his horror at the atrocities of World War II, Vonnegut's work at General Electric in the late forties also led him to contemplate the role of scientists in the development of war machinery and the atomic bomb, and to denounce their former naivety with regard to how the technology would be used (Vonnegut 1974, 266-267). Vonnegut's distrust of technological advancement thus inspired the dystopian novel *Player Piano*, where the author presents a world in which "Technological revolution has subverted the human need for purpose" (Klinkowitz 2009, 25). Writing of his earlier faith in scientific progress, the author describes believing as a young man that by the time he was twenty-one "scientists were going to find out exactly how everything worked, and then make it work better. . . .

Scientific truth was going to make us so happy and comfortable. What actually happened when I was twenty-one was that we dropped scientific truth on Hiroshima" (Vonnegut 1974, 166). Indeed, he was so disturbed by the technological contributions to warfare in the 20th Century that he felt the need to specifically instruct his children "not to work for companies which make massacre machinery, and to express contempt for people who think we need machinery like that" (Vonnegut 1969, 17).

Though Vonnegut launched his career as a novelist in the early fifties, intending from the beginning to write his "Dresden book," it would take more than two decades after returning from the war for Vonnegut to really grapple with his experiences in Germany and his survival of the Dresden fire-bombing. *Slaughterhouse-Five* finally came out in 1969, and even then the author introduced the work by noting: "It is short and jumbled and jangled . . . because there is nothing intelligent to say about a massacre" (Vonnegut 1969, 19). Yet, thanks to the timing of the publication, "*Slaughterhouse-Five* erupted on the literary landscape at the same time that swelling numbers of Americans were seriously questioning the War in Vietnam" (Macfarlane 2007, 143). With its strong indictment of war and absurdist sense of humor, the novel quickly became an iconic text of the U.S. counterculture, though the author was nearing fifty at the time.

The move by publishers Dell and Avon to reprint Vonnegut's earlier novels in 1966 and 1967, following the publication of *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965), had rekindled attention to the author in the years prior to *Slaughterhouse-Five*, since "For the first time readers could examine all his books—take them home for less than five dollars, read them in perhaps as many hours, and consider the full extent of Vonnegut's vision" (Klinkowitz 1973, 11). That is exactly what C.D.B. Bryan had done for a 1966 review in the *New Republic* that considered Vonnegut's work collectively, finding the author to be "the most readable and amusing of the new humorists," and also lamenting his limited acceptance among the general

reading public (Bryan 1966, 21). This and other markedly positive reviews along with the reprints helped to establish Vonnegut's reputation, "treating him as a novelist worth paying attention to" (Klinkowitz 1973, 12).

It was amidst this developing recognition that Vonnegut finally came out with his long-awaited war novel, *Slaughterhouse-Five or The Children's Crusade*, a work which "brought [him] before the public in a totally respectable, and ultimately understandable way."¹ Certainly, the author's antiwar message in *Slaughterhouse-Five* would find—at the peak of dissent against the Vietnam War—"a most receptive audience" (Allen 1991, 92). In addition to numerous favorable reviews in widely-circulated periodicals such as the *New York Times* and *Life* magazine, the work also "rode the best-seller lists month after month" (Shields 2011, 263) and was nominated for a National Book Award for Fiction in 1970.² Reflecting on this increasing popularity, C.D.B. Bryan, writing for the *New York Times Book Review* in 1969, notes that as Vonnegut's novels were beginning to be taught at universities and with "the under 30's . . . beginning to grant him a cultish attention, . . . an increasing number of general readers are finding in Vonnegut's quiet, humorous, well-mannered and rational protests against man's inhumanity to man an articulate bridge across the generation chasm" (Bryan 1969, BR2). Emphasizing Vonnegut's humor in a 1969 issue of *Saturday Review*, literary critic Granville Hicks likewise highlights the author's capacity for identifying the essential problems of the time, finding him to be "a moralist and a humanist and a man of imagination" (1969, 25).

While, indeed, critics and scholars point to Vonnegut's humanism and morality, more conservative factions would paint the author as highly immoral, unpatriotic and unchristian, especially with his combination of strong antimilitarism and blatant irreligiosity.

¹ Vonnegut uses this longer title to make an important point about the age of the soldiers who were sent to fight. Herein, the work will be referenced with the abbreviated title only, *Slaughterhouse-Five*.

² However, it was *Them*, by Joyce Carol Oates, that won the 1970 award in the area of Fiction.

Unsurprisingly, those aspects that most appealed to counterculture youth and antiwar activists would render him unacceptable in more conservative households and communities across the country, where the author was indeed "too modern" (Burrell 1989, 331). And the fact that many high school teachers and college professors were beginning to incorporate novels such as *Cat's Cradle* (1963), *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965) and *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) in English curriculums across the country meant that these works also drew the attention of concerned parents and community members, ultimately causing them to become targets of book banning. It is thus interesting to note that Vonnegut's works were judged simultaneously 'moral' and 'immoral,' depending on the reader—a contradiction that was visible in the reactions of the Spanish censors as well, as will be seen in the descriptive study.

Vonnegut scholar Peter A. Scholl, for instance, makes a case for the deeply Christian values underpinning the author's work, arguing that he "cannot stand the theology of Christianity, but would have its ethics" (1972, 5). Still, Vonnegut himself was never reluctant to tout his own atheism. As with his pacifist impulses, the novelist does not claim to be any sort of rebel, but rather insists that he had learned to be an atheist "at [his] mother's knee" (1974, 240). In this regard, the author points to his family heritage of German freethinkers who had settled in Indiana in the mid-eighteenth century after being "ushered" out of Germany among thousands of political dissidents who supported the failed uprising of 1848 (Shields 2011, 417). In Vonnegut's words, "They came here absolutely crazy about the United States Constitution and about the possibility of prosperity and brotherhood of man here. They were willing to work very hard and they were atheists" (1974, 240). Reflecting these same values, Vonnegut's narratives uphold kindness and care for fellow humans above almost all else, independent of any religious creed. And at the same time, the novelist demonstrates an undeniable penchant for mocking Christian institutions and playing with common notions of God. An example of this duality can be seen in his discussion of the

"lies" used to teach morality: "'Thou shalt not kill.' That's a good lie. Whether God said it or not, it's still a perfectly good lie" (1974, 240). His playful take on religion is also clear in novels such as *The Sirens of Titan* (1959) where he describes the "Church of God the Utterly Indifferent," boasting the motto: "Take care of the People, and God Almighty Will Take Care of Himself" (1959, 180), and in *Slaughterhouse-Five*, where he tells of a new Gospel—*The Gospel from Outer Space*—conceived to address "the flaw in the Christ stories" (1969, 109). Indeed, in the words of the reviewer C.D.B. Bryan, "two messages recur through all of Vonnegut's writing. The first is Be Kind; the second is God doesn't care whether you are or not" (1969, BR25).

Thus, although Vonnegut can be seen as transmitting this message of human kindness, what stood out to his detractors in the U.S. were the frequent and direct attacks on religious and military institutions. According to a Michigan judge responsible for upholding a ban on *Slaughterhouse-Five* in a public school in 1972, Vonnegut's work is "depraved, immoral, psychotic, vulgar and anti-Christian"—a surprising characterization, in the author's view, for a work whose gentle and bumbling protagonist, Billy Pilgrim, is indeed "a Christian" (Vonnegut 1988, 61). Still, the crude language used by the soldiers in the novel and the inventive blasphemies that abound in Vonnegut's narrative made the work "provocative, even maddening to some, because of its irreverence" (Reed 1985, 111). Over the years, *Slaughterhouse-Five* has been flagged for a combination of these social, political and religious blasphemies, with complaints ranging from the work's "obscenity" to its "ungodliness," "degradation of the person of Christ," "immoral subject matter" and, finally, its "unpatriotic portrayal of war" (Karolides 2006, 448). The work was burned at a high school in North Dakota in 1973, after being declared "a tool of the devil" at a board meeting (Ibid.). In Lee Bures's study of book banning in the U.S. from 1965 to 1985, *Slaughterhouse-Five* is identified as the 15th most censored during this period, and the

American Library Association (ALA) also includes the novel in its list "The 100 Most Frequently Challenged Books of 1900-2000" (Karolides 2006, 448). While *Slaughterhouse* has not been the only Vonnegut work to face scrutiny in U.S. schools and libraries, it has clearly been pegged as the most dangerous. This is not surprising, considering its popularity. Undoubtedly, the novel's appeal among counterculture youth can be seen as stemming from the same irreverence and antimilitarism that made it threatening to conservative community members.

The topic of censorship itself was also near and dear to Vonnegut's heart. He was proud to be of the generation of writers who "were allowed say anything without fear of punishment" (1981, 3), and this formed a basis for his lively use of obscenity in dialogue.³ Still, in contrast to a work such as Mailer's *Why Are We in Vietnam?*—published two years prior—Vonnegut's novel does not reveal a particularly heavy use of profanity. What the author defends, above all, is his right to depict soldiers using the crude speech and manner that he had witnessed during the war, a depiction that many found to be especially "unpatriotic" (Karolides 2006, 448). Even Vonnegut's protagonist, Billy Pilgrim, is bewildered by what transpires in the company of enlisted men. He is shocked to be insulted with vulgar language he has never heard before, to be shown a photograph of a woman having sex with a pony, and to hear the graphic threats of torture and death by a fellow soldier. Here, Vonnegut's use of obscenities allows him to portray this jarring environment from the eyes of a young Chaplin unprepared for the "the terribleness of war" (Edwards 1998, 63). Dabbling in the vulgarity and aggression he had personally witnessed, the novelist offers an intimate portrait of soldiers at war, never glorifying their position. To the contrary, he holds true to his promise to show just how young and inexperienced they were— "foolish

³ Authors such as William S. Burroughs and Allen Ginsberg had successfully fought obscenity cases in the late fifties and early sixties meaning that the legal right to publish and distribute works with obscene content had largely been won by the time Vonnegut was working on *Slaughterhouse-Five* in the late sixties.

virgins . . . right at the end of childhood," not to be played in the movies by "Frank Sinatra and John Wayne or some of those other glamorous, war-loving, dirty old men" (Vonnegut 1969, 19).

In other cases, obscenity is used in unexpected juxtapositions that play into Vonnegut's absurdist humor, as in the following passage from *Slaughterhouse-Five*, describing a writer's convention:

The master of ceremonies asked people to say what they thought the function of the novel might be in modern society, and one critic said, "To provide touches of color in rooms with all-white walls." Another one said, "To describe blow-jobs artistically." (1969, 178)

Yet, sex itself is generally pronounced in non-erotic and even bizarre terms, such as one description of how the protagonist "emptied his seminal vesicles into Valencia" (1969, 102). Indeed, in the author's own words "Nothing in the book urges people to take any sexual action at all" (UPI 1973, 4). Truly, Vonnegut's vulgarities can be classified as they were by a federal judge in 1970, as "less ribald than those found in many of Shakespeare's plays" (Sova 2006a, 289). In this sense, the backlash that Vonnegut faced in U.S. schools must be seen as more directly linked with the polemical socio-political ideas that some hoped to limit access to—especially among students. As was the case with a number of works found to be controversial in school districts since this period, "the existence of hidden motives behind the charge of obscenity seems well established" (Burruss 1989, 44).

Published in 1969, the same year that saw the first government lottery conscripting soldiers to fight in Vietnam, *Slaughterhouse-Five* connected to "an audience of young people questioning one war and receptive to hearing a compatible and freshly disturbing take on a war that was almost always treated as good and justly heroic" (Macfarlane 2007, 156). More broadly, the work interrogated "some of the myths about the American way," such as the inherent nobility, bravery and goodness of its enlisted men, and the idea that "any war waged by Americans is a morally righteous crusade" (Veix 1975, 30).

Just fifteen years after President Eisenhower had added the protection of 'God' to the *Pledge of Allegiance* with the words "One nation, under God . . . ," in the hope of distancing the U.S. citizenry from the secularism of the Communists (Rosenbaum 2002, A14), Vonnegut's star novel would call into question the notion that some humans might enjoy God's protection and others not, with the author aiming his attack at the very messages transmitted in the Bible:

Before you kill somebody, make absolutely sure he isn't well connected. . . .
The flaw in the Christ stories . . . was that Christ, who didn't look like much, was actually the Son of the Most Powerful Being in the Universe. Readers understood that, so, when they came to the crucifixion they naturally thought . . . :

Oh boy—they sure picked the wrong guy to lynch that time!

And thought had a brother: "*There are right people to lynch.*" Who? People not well connected. So it goes. (Vonnegut 1969, 94)

Thus, *Slaughterhouse-Five* not only questioned the inherent nobility and righteousness of the U.S. military, it also took aim at the "Christian" identity of the nation—an identity that had been carefully reinforced during the buildup of the Cold War. What is ultimately clear is that Vonnegut's work pushed the limits not of what was legally acceptable, as the works of Miller, Burroughs or Ginsberg had done in the previous decade, but of what would be open for discussion in U.S. classrooms and available on library bookshelves, a terrain that continues to be a battleground in the 21st Century.⁴

The first of Kurt Vonnegut's works that was submitted for Spanish translation under the Franco regime was *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965). At that time it was submitted, in the fall of 1965, Vonnegut was completely unknown to Spanish readers, and the direction of his writing career in the U.S. was still uncertain. As Klinkowitz (1977) describes, "When he arrived in Iowa City for the fall semester of 1965, Vonnegut's career could not have been in worse shape. Except for *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater*, his novels were out of print, and

⁴ These battles have been particularly visible in the country's ongoing "textbook wars," as examined by Foerstel (2013), Ravitch (2007) and Moreau (2003), among others.

Rosewater was fast on its way to the remainder bins" (1977, 24).⁵ In this context, *Dios le bendiga*, *Mr. Rosewater* was quietly approved by the Spanish censors and published by Grijalbo within one year of the original.⁶ It would be the only Vonnegut work that circulated in Spain before 1975.

In the critical years to follow, Vonnegut's literary fame began to take off in the U.S., with reprints of his novels in 1966 and 1967, followed by the enormous success of *Slaughterhouse-Five* in 1969, its film adaptation in 1972, and the publication of *Breakfast of Champions* in 1973. By the time of Franco's death in November 1975, Kurt Vonnegut had become a counterculture icon in the U.S., a celebrated personality on college campuses and an established name in the publishing world. In addition to the countless articles, essays and stories he had written for popular magazines and newspapers, he had published seven novels, two short story collections and one book of essays.

Punctuated by the publication of *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), this transformation in Vonnegut's career was also matched with intensified scrutiny from the censors in Spain. Despite the ease with which Grijalbo had published a Spanish translation of *Rosewater* in early 1966, the attempts to publish translations of *Slaughterhouse-Five* in 1969 and of *Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon* in 1974 were met with a long list of censorship demands and months of publication delays. *Matadero cinco*, though printed in 1970, could not legally circulate in Spain until December 1975, and the essay collection *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes* was authorized in 1975 but not published until two years later. In fact, 1977 was the first year that Vonnegut had a real presence on the Spanish literary market. In addition to publishing *Guampeteros* that year, Grijalbo also published *La pianola* (1977), a translation of *Player Piano* (1952); Bruguera came out with new paperback editions of *Dios le bendiga*, *Mr. Rosewater* and *Matadero cinco*, and also published *Madre noche* (1977), a translation of

⁵ In Iowa City Vonnegut taught at the Iowa's Writer's Workshop, considered the top writing program in the U.S.

⁶ The novel was approved on March 2, 1966, just prior to the new Press and Print Law (discussed in Section 4).

Mother Night (1961). Thus, while only one translation of Vonnegut's work was made available to Spanish readers during the dictatorship, there were five by 1977. This difference is depicted in table 1.

Table 1. Kurt Vonnegut Publications in the U.S. from 1952 to 1975; Comparison to Publications in Spain: 1952-1975 and 1975-1977

Publication in the U.S. 1952-1975	Year	Publication in Spain 1952-1975	Publication in Spain 1975-1977	Publisher
<i>Player Piano</i>	1952		<i>La pianola</i> (1977)	Grijalbo
<i>The Sirens of Titan</i>	1959			
<i>Canary in a Cat House</i>	1961			
<i>Mother Night</i>	1961		<i>Madre noche</i> (1977)	Bruguera
<i>Cat's Cradle</i>	1963			
<i>God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater</i>	1965	<i>Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1966)	<i>Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1977)	Grijalbo, Bruguera
<i>Welcome to the Monkey House</i>	1968			
<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i>	1969		<i>Matadero cinco</i> (1975)* <i>Matadero cinco</i> (1977)	Grijalbo, Bruguera
<i>Happy Birthday, Wanda June</i>	1971			
<i>Breakfast of Champions</i>	1973			
<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i>	1974		<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)	Grijalbo

*Prior to December 1975, *Matadero cinco* was authorized for export only.

Notwithstanding this visible lag in the Vonnegut translations available in Spain, Ediciones Grijalbo demonstrated continued interest in the author in the latter years of the regime. This is apparent in the publisher's lengthy negotiations with the censorship board regarding the translation of *Slaughterhouse-Five* in 1969 and 1970, and the prompt submission of *Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon* following publication of the source text in 1974. Before securing authorization to circulate *Matadero cinco* within the country, the

publishing house printed editions bound for export in 1970 and 1972. Grijalbo also published reprints of *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* in 1972 and 1973.⁷ The censorship submissions, shown in table 2, demonstrate Grijalbo's interest in Vonnegut during this period, and offer a timeline of the censorship verdicts affecting the publication of *Matadero cinco* and *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes*.

Table 2. Submissions of Kurt Vonnegut Texts to Censorship by Grijalbo: 1966-1977

Source Text / Target Text	Submission to Censorship	Censorship File
<i>God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater</i> / <i>Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater</i>	1965: Authorized 1966: <i>Depósito</i> Accepted	File no. 6533-65
<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> / <i>Matadero cinco</i>	1969: Translation Requested 1970: Authorized with Suppressions 1970: Authorized for Export 1975: <i>Depósito</i> Accepted	File no. 12964-69 File no. 13607-75
<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> / <i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i>	1974: Translation Requested 1975: Authorized 1977: <i>Depósito</i> Accepted	File no. 9587-74 File no. 4103-77
<i>Player Piano</i> / <i>La pianola</i>	1977: <i>Depósito</i> Accepted	File no. 4101-77

Taking these negotiations into account, the descriptive-comparative analysis regarding the translations of Kurt Vonnegut works in Franco's Spain will examine the source texts and target texts for the three works submitted to censorship during the dictatorship:⁸ *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965) / *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* (1966) in 5.1.1; *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) / *Matadero cinco* (1970) in 5.1.2; and *Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon* (1974) / *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes* (1977) in 5.1.3.

⁷ It is worth noting that no censorship files were located for the 1972 and 1973 reprints of *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater*, nor for the 1972 edition of *Matadero cinco*.

⁸ As mentioned previously, the censorship board continued to operate well after 1975, though its repressive function was phased out following the establishment of the Constitution in 1978.

5.1.1 Descriptive-Comparative Study of *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965) / *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* (1966)

The first Vonnegut work to come to Franco's Spain was the novel titled *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965), rendered in Spanish as *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater*, and translated by Amparo García Burgos.⁹ The novel tells the story of Eliot Rosewater, heir to a large fortune, who is responsible for distributing money among charitable and cultural causes. Eliot leaves behind his high-society life in New York and ends up in the town where his family began, a town left impoverished and in ruin by the exploitation of the family's industries. Eliot begins to help marginalized people in the town, giving them personal attention as well as small sums of money. His charity is considered 'insanity' by the wealthy residents and an ambitious lawyer plots to have the fortune transferred to other hands by proving Eliot's insanity. The protagonist's final act of 'insane' generosity is the adoption of sixty children in the town and the decision to divide the rest of his inheritance among them. Vonnegut's use of street-level dialogue and humorous descriptions of the townspeople are essential to the underlying tone of the novel, which is both comic and highly irreverent.

A copy of the original novel was submitted to the censorship board in September 1965 and given preliminary authorization a few weeks later (File no. 6533-65). At the time, Vonnegut was still building his career in the U.S. and was completely unknown in Spain. The novel itself was given only a brief report:

Novela. De humor. En Indiana (USA) un señor sostiene una institución para ayudar a cualquier hora del día y de noche a todo el que lo necesite en todos los órdenes. Todos los teléfonos de Indiana tienen una cinta grabada que repite al descolgar: «No se suicide, llama a la Fundación Rosewater». A este señor se le llama y él procura ayudar. Estas buenas intenciones le meten en muchos líos, sobre los que se extiende la novela. Hasta le llegan a considerar un loco. Es algo así como D. Quijote al estilo USA. Procede su autorización. (File no. 6533-65)

⁹ The catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de España (catalogo.bne.es) reveals translations by García Burgos as early as 1956. She got her start translating tales of adventure for Mateu's *Colección Juvenil Cadete*, including works by Walter Scott and Jules Verne, among others. Starting in the mid-sixties she also produced translations for publishers such as Grijalbo and Martínez Roca, including multiple novels by Taylor Caldwell and Irving Wallace, among a long list of works in contemporary fiction and nonfiction.

Since the censors found no reason to object, Grijalbo went ahead with the translation and submitted copies of *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* in early March. The Spanish text was approved with no further commentary on March 2, 1966, just a couple of weeks before the new Press and Print Law would go into effect. Second and third editions of the translation were printed without objection in 1972 and 1973. Given that no corrections were indicated by the censorship board at any point, evidence of censurable content being suppressed or altered in the target text will be considered self-censorship during the translation and editing process.

Indeed, analysis of the target text reveals two main strategies of self-censorship by which obscene language was softened in the translation of Vonnegut's novel. In certain cases the target text employs swearwords that are simply milder than their English counterparts (see table 3), while in most cases the translation avoids swearwords completely, adopting neutralized expressions instead (see table 4).

Table 3. Partial Neutralization of Obscenities in the Target Text¹⁰

	<i>God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1965)	<i>Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1966)
3.1	" <u>F</u> uck <u>'em</u> all boys, right?" (150)	" <u>A</u> <u>la</u> <u>m</u> ierda con ellos, ¿eh, chicos?" (143)
3.2	" <u>M</u> other <u>f</u> ucker won't break" (190)	"¡ <u>E</u> l <u>h</u> ijo <u>d</u> e <u>p</u> erra no se rompe!" (184)

The examples in table 3 demonstrate a strategy of partial neutralization, where the expressions "a la mierda" and "hijo de perra" still have the capacity to offend, yet do not pack the same punch as "fuck" and "motherfucker."

Table 4. Neutralization of Sexual and Bodily Expressions in the Target Text

	<i>God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1965)	<i>Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1966)
4.1	He had an enormous <u>a</u> ss, which was luminous when bare. (17)	Tenía un <u>t</u> rasero enorme, que parecía luminoso cuando estaba desnudo. (11)

¹⁰ For emphasis, the censurable terms and corresponding translations have been underlined with a dotted line.

4.2	Every Avondale woman left the mansion stiffly, as though, as Eliot observed gleefully, she had a <u>pickle up her ass</u> . (52)	Las mujeres de Avondale salieron muy tiesas, como si—según dijo alegremente Eliot—alguien les hubiera dado <u>una palmadita en el trasero</u> . (46)
4.3	Eliot Rosewater is a saint. He'll give you love and money. If you'd rather have the best <u>piece of tail</u> in southern Indiana, call Melissa. (90)	Eliot Rosewater es un santo. Le dará amor y dinero. Si prefiere el mejor <u>trasero</u> de Indiana del Sur, llame a Melissa. (84)
4.4	I've got the clap, and the <u>blueballs</u> , too. / The clap don't hurt, but the <u>blueballs</u> do. (170)	Tengo gonorrea y <u>almorranas</u> también; / la gonorrea no duele, pero las <u>almorranas</u> sí. (164)
4.5	Sheila Taylor is a <u>cock-teaser</u> . (45)	Sheila Taylor es una <u>imbécil</u> . (38)
4.6	What you doing reading a <u>jerk-off</u> paper like that? (126)	¿Qué haces leyendo un periódico tan <u>asqueroso</u> como ese? (119)
4.7	Stop talking about <u>fucking</u> . (142)	A ver si dejáis de hablar de <u>porquerías</u> . (135)
4.8	Drop your <u>cocks</u> and grab your socks. (147)	¡Eh, arriba y al trabajo! (141)

The process of neutralization proves more extensive in regard to sexual and bodily expressions. In example 4.1 the translation employs the milder *trasero*, leaving the bodily reference intact while shedding the offensive term. In example 4.2 this same solution is used in the target text in conjunction with the toned-down thoughts of the protagonist, who in translation only imagines the townswomen being "patted on the behind." In example 4.3 the source text presents a clear reference to sex that is not so evident in the target text. While the individual words are neutral in English, the expression "piece of tail" is explicit. More than referring to her actual "behind," this refers to sex with the woman in question.¹¹ The translation avoids the reference to sex, though it may still exist implicitly. Such neutralization is likewise apparent in example 4.4, where the explicit sexual malady "blueballs" is translated

¹¹ From the *OED Online*, "piece of ass *n.* (also piece of tail, piece of skirt, piece of stuff) (chiefly slang *N. Amer.*) a woman, esp. one regarded as an object of sexual gratification; (hence in extended use) sexual relations, esp. of a casual nature." Accessed March 4, 2016, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/143547>.

as hemorrhoids.¹² While this still affects a sensitive area of the body, and although the Spanish term offers a colloquial touch to the translation, the malady has no direct relationship to sex and the utterance is not obscene. Coupled with the standard term *gonorrea*, the phrase also loses some of the comic and playful tone. Rather than the vulgar and comically explicit verse found in the source text, the resulting translation sounds like a casual description of ailments. In addition, the translation avoids references to sexual provocation in example 4.5, to masturbation in example 4.6 and to sex in example 4.7. The last example is perhaps the most striking instance of full neutralization, as it avoids both the reference to male genitalia and the offensive term. The target text once again loses the playful and crude tone found in the source text, also eliminating the profane speech common to soldiers and sailors.¹³

It is important to point out that the translation avoids certain possible solutions for obscene and offensive expressions.¹⁴ For example, "bastard" is often translated as *bastardo*, and both "motherfucker" and "son of a bitch" are translated as *hijo de perra*, while terms that might pose greater offense, such as *hijo de puta* and *cabrón*, are never used in the translation. Similarly, "whore" and "bitch" are both translated as *prostituta*, and never as *puta* or *zorra*. When Vonnegut uses the word "ass," it is normally replaced with *trasero* in the target text, with *culo* appearing only once. Lastly, common solutions for the verb "fuck," such as *joder* and *follar*, are never used in the target text.¹⁵

In addition to the neutralization of obscenities relating to sex and the body, the target text also includes the partial neutralization of sexual behavior described in the novel. The

¹² From the *OED Online*, "blue balls (*N. Amer. Slang*) testicular discomfort attributed to prolonged sexual arousal without ejaculation." Accessed March 4, 2016, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/20577>.

¹³ From *The Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English*, "drop your cocks and grab your socks! used for awakening a sleeping man or men *US 1956*. A variation of hands off cocks—feet in socks! Originally used by drill instructors to military recruits" (Dalzell 2009, 322).

¹⁴ For further discussion of the notion of "solutions" in the target text corresponding to "problems" in the source text, see Toury (1995, 77).

¹⁵ There is also evidence that some of this language was revisited in later editions of the novel, and a few additional uses of profanity incorporated into the target text. For example, the 1987 edition published by Anagrama includes the use of the term *hijoputa* and an additional use of *culo*.

examples in table 5 show behavior that is modified in the translation, even as the overall sexual references are left largely intact.

Table 5. Modification of Sexual Behavior in the Target Text

	<i>God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1965)	<i>Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1966)
5.1	A young man . . . about eighteen years old . . . often carries <u>birth-control devices</u> in his pocket, which many people find alarming and disgusting. The same people find it alarming and disgusting that the boy's father did <i>not</i> use birth-control devices. (46)	Un joven . . . de unos dieciocho años . . . a veces llevaba en el bolsillo <u>folletos sobre el control de natalidad</u> que muchas personas juzgaban alarmantes y de mal gusto, pero esas mismas personas encuentran alarmante y de mal gusto que el padre del muchacho no utilizara el control de natalidad. (39-40)
5.2	"I twisted her arm until she opened her legs, and she gave a little scream, half joy, half pain . . . as I <u>rammed</u> the old avenger home." Eliot found himself possessed of an erection. (83-84)	"Le retorcí el brazo hasta que abrió las piernas, y ella soltó un grito, mitad de gozo, mitad de dolor . . . mientras yo <u>metía</u> en su sitio el viejo verdugo." Eliot se sintió dominado por una erección. (77)

The character's behavior in example 5.1 is manipulated with a single element—the translation of "devices" as *folletos*. While in the source text the young man actually carries contraceptives, suggesting that he could use them at any moment, in the target text he only carries information about contraceptives. The idea of an eighteen-year-old having sex is still present in the translation, yet the contraceptives are not on hand. The following example, 5.2, presents perhaps the most erotic moment of the novel, and though all but one of the elements remain uncensored in the target text, the original passage has distinctly stronger and more violent implications. While the Spanish verb *metía* does not necessarily imply a great deal of force, the verb *rammed* in English suggests extreme physical force (as in, forced penetration). Combined with the struggle in the first sentence, the passage reads as a rape scene—a scene that arouses the protagonist. By using a less charged and forceful verb, the translation minimizes both the intensity of the actions and the implications of the protagonist's response.

In the source text there is abundant use of exclamations and interjections that contain religious references, including: *God, by God, my God, for the love of God, God knows, Oh God, Oh Christ, Jesus Christ* and *Christ no*. These elements play into the ironic and irreverent tone of the novel, especially regarding Christian themes. Although the translation does make use of religious interjections, mainly *Por Dios* and *Dios mío*, there are also a number of cases in which the religious reference, or the interjection as a whole, is eliminated. Out of 30 total instances of religiously-themed interjections, six of them (20%) are simply omitted in the target text. In one other case only the religious element itself is replaced, and "By God" (1965, 190) is translated as "Ya ves" (1966, 203). With these religious interjections placed fewer and farther between in the translation, the Spanish text comes with less of a religious charge, also undermining Vonnegut's irreverent tone.

Further modification of the novel's (ir)religious tone is evident in the comparisons between the common townspeople and important Christian figures. The seemingly minor textual changes, shown in table 6, have serious implications from a religious perspective. The target text employs lower-case letters and indefinite articles for these references, avoiding the direct invocation of biblical figures.

Table 6. Neutralized Comparisons to Christian Figures in the Target Text

	<i>God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1965)	<i>Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater</i> (1966)
6.1	Harry was middle-aged and bandy-legged, but he had a head and shoulders Michelangelo might have given to <u>Mo</u> ses or <u>Go</u> d. (126)	Harry era de mediana edad y patizambo, pero tenía cabeza y unos hombros que Miguel Ángel hubiera dado a <u>un Moisés</u> o a <u>un dios</u> . (120)
6.2	And don't play <u>Go</u> d to people, or they will slobber all over you . . . / Oh hell—they love you, they hate you . . . They run around like chickens with their heads cut off, just as though you really were <u>Go</u> d, and one day walked out. (213)	Y no querer actuar como <u>un dios</u> , pues entonces la gente se aprovecha de uno. . . . ¡Oh, diablos! Te quieren y te odian . . . Van corriendo alocados, como gallinas con la garganta rebanada, como si tú fueras realmente <u>un dios</u> y los hubieras abandonado. (206)

6.3 "It's so much like life. Harry Pena is so much like <u>God</u> ." "Like <u>God</u> ?" Bunny was amused. "You don't see what I mean?". . . "I <i>am</i> director of a bank. . . . if that's <u>God</u> out there, I hate to tell you, but <u>God</u> is bankrupt. (130)	–Se parece tanto a la vida... Harry Pena es como <u>un dios</u> . –¿ <u>Un dios</u> ? –A Bunny le dio risa. –¿No entiende lo que quiero decir? . . . –Yo soy director de Banco. . . . si ese que está ahí es <u>un dios</u> , puedo decirles que <u>ese dios</u> está en bancarrota. (144)
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In example 6.1 the source text names Moses and God, whereas the translation describes "a Moses" and "a god"—emphasizing the idea of non-specific representations. A similar shift occurs in the example 6.2, where the comparison between the protagonist and God in the source text becomes a comparison to "a god" in the target text. The original comparison allows for a potentially negative characterization of the Christian deity—suggesting that God could be used by the people, or hated, or might even leave humanity behind. The modification seen in the target text avoids these possibilities. By again using the idea of "a god" (non-specific), the implications of this description are mitigated in the translation. In example 6.3 the implications of the comparison are even greater, and the use of *ese dios* in the translation completely defuses the final punch line: "I hate to tell you, but God is bankrupt."

Given this twofold neutralization aimed at obscenities on one hand and evocations of God on the other, a noticeable shift occurs in relation to the characters' speech patterns. In this regard, some portion of the vulgarity, irreverence and humor transmitted in the source text is simply not present in the target text. The comical characterization of the townspeople suffers as a result. Such manipulation also sabotages the generally playful and irreverent mood of the narrative. Yet, *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* stands as a subversive text. This is because the translation does not attempt to neutralize the author's bigger ideas—especially where such ideas do not depend on vulgar or irreligious expressions.

Thus, while the translation effectively mitigates crude and obscene language, and carries out a subtle neutralization of religious references, it does not suppress subversive concepts as a whole. To the contrary, the target text succeeds in presenting a number of ideas that confront the dominant ideology of Francoist Spain. This is particularly visible in the treatment of sex and religion, yet also in the protagonist's appeals to Marxism, the frequent discussions of banned and erotic literature, and scattered references to birth control and suicide. In this regard, there are a number of censurable passages rendered in the translation, a few of which are shown in table 7.

Table 7. Uncensored Content in the Target Text¹⁶

Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater (1966)

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 7.1 | El cliente era una ninfa de catorce años, embarazada por su padrastro, el cual estaba ahora en la cárcel. (1966, 189) |
| 7.2 | Allí, escuchando el golpeteo del agua y el crujido de los maderos, se apoyaba una mano en los genitales y, sintiéndose en paz con Dios, se dormía. (1966, 147) |
| 7.3 | [la fotografía] mostraba a dos prostitutas gordas, afectadas y desnudas, una de las cuales intentaba forzar una imposible relación sexual con un poney Shetland muy digno, decente y nada divertido. (1966, 155) |
| 7.4 | Por aquellos días el pequeño Norman Mushari sólo tenía doce años, coleccionaba modelos de aviones de plástico, se masturbaba, y llenaba la habitación con fotografías del senador Joe McCarthy y Roy Cohn. (1966, 27) |
| 7.5 | Las obras de caridad de Eliot abarcaron todo el cuadro posible de limosnas, desde una clínica para el control de natalidad en Detroit, a un Greco para Tampa, Florida. (1966, 20) |

Example 7.1 broaches the subject of an adult having sex with a minor, his stepdaughter, who at fourteen is having his baby. Example 7.2 is notable for the juxtaposition of "genitals" and "God" in the same sentence. Example 7.3 presents an image of bestiality. Example 7.4 offers a direct reference to masturbation juxtaposed with two of the protagonists of the anti-

¹⁶ Since little self-censorship is apparent in these examples, the Spanish passages are shown by themselves to demonstrate the presence of censurable content in the target text.

communist hunt in the U.S.: Joseph McCarthy and Roy Cohn.¹⁷ This type of juxtaposition is common in Vonnegut's work, and serves here to mock the men in question. Next to the image of an adolescent masturbating, the figures lose some degree of seriousness. The last example, though less offensive, offers another curious juxtaposition. The discussion of birth control clinics, immoral in the eyes of the Catholic Church, is placed alongside a reference to El Greco, thus mixing something contentious with something well-admired in Spanish culture—both things supported by the protagonist's charity.

Another striking juxtaposition can be seen in the following passage:

Todas las enfermedades graves estaban conquistadas. La muerte era, por tanto, voluntaria, y el gobierno, para animar a los voluntarios, construía un Salón del Suicidio Ético (...) Sus Salones de Suicidio estaban siempre llenos, porque había demasiadas personas sin interés por vivir. (1966, 24)

The fragment is notable not only as a reference to the recurring theme of suicide, but also in how it is framed as "ethical suicide," or moral suicide, a notion that was completely antagonistic to Catholic doctrine. The disregard for human life (in the futuristic society of the story) is further emphasized by the fact that many people find themselves "sin interés por vivir."¹⁸ Not only was the topic of suicide cited in the censorship reports for several novels from this period, but scholars such as Laprade (2005, 55) and Sinova (2006, 281) have

¹⁷ The inclusion of Roy Cohn in this image is doubly provocative given the "widely assumed" detail that Cohn was gay (Bruner 2013, 323). Following a "well-publicized trip through Europe checking for pro-Communist in U.S. Information Agency libraries" with "his young millionaire friend, David Schine," Cohn had sought preferential treatment for Schine in his military assignments, an incident which later exposed McCarthy's hearings to a counterattack from the Army (accused by the committee of harboring communists), and thus "set in motion the events that resulted in McCarthy's downfall" (323). Long after his role in the infamous hearings and the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Cohn's name would continue to instill fear and controversy. At the time Vonnegut made reference to him, in 1965, he was again rising to prominence as "New York's most feared lawyer," and by the mid-seventies he was mentor and attorney to a young Donald Trump (Mahler and Flegenheimer 2016). "The lawyer who had infamously whispered in McCarthy's ear whispered in Mr. Trump's, "teaching him, among other things, "the importance of keeping one's name in the newspapers" (Ibid.). Cohn's death to AIDS in 1986 was another highly-publicized event, coming just a year after the death of Rock Hudson and in the early stages of the nation-wide epidemic. Launching him once again into the spotlight, Tony Kushner made Cohn the antagonist of his play *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes* (1993).

¹⁸ In fact, the story described is the title piece of Vonnegut's collection *Welcome to the Monkey House* (1968). It should be noted that in the story Vonnegut is actually critical of the idea of suicide.

highlighted the fact that the Spanish press could not report on suicide at all.¹⁹

Later, the novel presents a negative characterization of Heaven:

¿Por qué tantas almas vuelven voluntariamente a la tierra después de fracasar y morir, fracasar y morir, fracasar y morir allí? Porque el Más allá es pura nonada. Sobre sus Puertas Doradas debían escribirse estas palabras:

Un poco de nada, ¡oh Dios mío!, es algo muy largo.

Pero las únicas palabras escritas sobre sus Puertas Infinitas son simples huellas vandálicas: "Bienvenidos a la Feria Mundial Búlgara", dice un letrero a lápiz sobre un frontón de mármol. "Más vale comunistas que muertos", opina otro.

"No eres un hombre hasta que has comido carne de negro", sugiere aquel; corregido después: "No eres un hombre hasta que has *sido* carne de negro." . . .

Mi propia contribución:

"Los que escriben en las paredes del Más Allá / Debían hacer bolitas de mierda.
Y los que leen estas líneas tan ingeniosas / Debían comerse las citadas bolitas."
(1966, 88-89)

In these verses, Heaven is depicted as terribly boring, a "nonada," patterned by the disorienting messages written by different people. Most striking are the words added by the narrator describing "bolitas de mierda." Thus, the image of Heaven is rather uninviting.

In addition to this antagonism toward the Christian ideology, the novel also mocks the idea of censorship, pointing to the kind of curiosity it can arouse regarding prohibited material. For example, Eliot Rosewater eagerly searches for the provocative passages in the controversial book he is reading:

Lo leía a saltos, aquí y allá, confiando en encontrar por casualidad las palabras que harían crujir los dientes de los fariseos. Leyó un capítulo en el que condenaban a un juez porque jamás había dado un orgasmo a su esposa, y otro en el que el encargado de la publicidad de una marca de jabón se emborrachaba, cerraba la puerta de su apartamento y se ponía el traje de boda de su madre. Eliot frunció las cejas, intentó comprender que esa literatura fuera un buen cebo para los fariseos y no lo consiguió. (1966, 83)

What is remarkable is not the content that Eliot finds, but the depiction of his anxious search and ultimate disappointment at not finding something more exciting. The underlying implication is that censorship increases (not decreases) the reader's interest in the censored

¹⁹ This was one of the first concepts flagged in Norman Mailer's work *An American Dream* (1965), though the censors found numerous other problems with the text, which will be discussed in 5.3.2.

books. This idea is repeated elsewhere in the novel, for instance when a young lawyer searches for a book by Kilgore Trout, convinced of its erotic character:²⁰

Mushari siguió buscando con todo ahínco una copia del libro . . . buscó por su cuenta en el cuchitril de un comerciante de obscenidades. Allí, entre la más feroz pornografía, encontró ejemplares muy manoseados de todos los libros que escribiera Trout . . . le costó cinco dólares, el mismo precio que le pidieron por *El Kama Sutra de Vatsyayana*.

Mushari ojeó el *Kama Sutra*, manual oriental del arte y técnicas del amor, prohibido desde hacía mucho tiempo y se encontró con este párrafo:

«Si un hombre hace una especie de crema . . . y aplica la mezcla al yoni de una mujer con la que está a punto de tener relación sexual, inmediatamente dejará de amarla».

No vio nada divertido en esto

Fue lo bastante obtuso como para imaginar que los libros de Trout debían ser sucios . . . No comprendió que lo que Trout tenía en común con la pornografía no era el sexo, sino las fantasías de un mundo absurdamente hospitalario.

De modo que se sintió defraudado al leer aquellas obras, pues buscaba sexo y sólo encontraba automatismo. (1966, 23)

Once again the search is fruitless, and what stands out is the character's disappointment when the books do not excite him as much as he had anticipated. Later, another character is tempted by the suggestive title of one of Trout's books:

Fred, pensando que Lila no se fijaba en él, dejó la revista *Casas y Jardines* y cogió lo que parecía la más endemoniada novela sexual, *Venus en la concha*, de Kilgore Trout. En la cubierta posterior había un extracto de una escena escabrosa del interior. Decía así:

La Reina Margaret . . . dejó caer su bata al suelo . . . sus descubiertos senos, altos y firmes, eran orgullosos, de tono rosado . . . susurró, con voz llena de deseo. . .

—La respuesta está en mis brazos. (1966, 126-127)

The first few lines are promising, yet once again the work is not as erotic as the reader anticipates. Any possibility of a sex scene is rapidly extinguished when the Space Wanderer rejects Queen Margaret: "lo que me ofreces es una maravillosa respuesta. Pero es que da la casualidad de que no es la que yo estaba buscando" (1966, 127). Still, the search for erotic material is not always unsuccessful in Vonnegut's novel. One of the characters—an adolescent girl—has a gift for finding risqué titles:

²⁰ Kilgore Trout is a fictional author invented by Vonnegut and a recurrent figure in his novels. Many have considered Trout as an alter-ego of Vonnegut himself.

Lila . . . leía *Trópico de Cáncer*, de Henry Miller, que con *La Comida Desnuda*, de William Burroughs, había sacado del estante de libros de Lazy Susan. . . . A los trece años era la principal comerciante de obscenidades en Pisquontuit. . . .

La cuestión era que Lila sabía elegir muy bien los títulos. . . . Y compraba los más escabrosos tan pronto como los recibía Lazy Susan

La relación entre Lila y el puesto de periódicos era maravillosamente simbiótica, ya que, colgado en la ventanilla del mostrador había un gran medallón dorado concedido por *Las madres de Rhode Island para salvar a los niños de la corrupción*. Representantes de ese grupo inspeccionaban con regularidad la selección de novelitas del puesto de revistas. El medallón representaba su aceptación de que nunca habían encontrado nada sucio.

Pensaban que sus hijos estaban seguros, pero la verdad era que Lila había acaparado el mercado. (1966, 124-125)

This is an interesting passage for a number of reasons. First of all, two works are referenced which were not published in Spain until 1977 and 1979 on account of explicit descriptions of sex.²¹ The fact that they are chosen by a thirteen-year-old precisely for their sexual content only makes them more enticing. Lila not only eludes the act of censorship by getting to the books first, but also makes a mockery of the process. The "Rhode Island Mothers to Save Children from Filth" are made to look foolish for their satisfaction at the store's lack of erotic literature.²²

Lastly, it is important to highlight political elements in the work that would have been problematic in Franco's Spain. Among the elements not censored, for example, are Vonnegut's appeals to communism. Indeed, the protagonist defends a communist ideology in relation to poverty: "Bueno, he tenido lo que probablemente muchas personas llamarían ideas comunistas—confesó Eliot sin disimulo alguno—. Pero, por amor de Dios, papá, nadie puede trabajar con los pobres y no inclinarse hacia Karl Marx de vez en cuando... o hacia la Biblia" (1966, 97). Here, the reference to the Bible is striking, as Eliot connects Marxist and Christian values. This was a particularly interesting connection in Spain considering the

²¹ *Trópico de Cáncer*, a translation of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, was published by Planeta in 1977, and a translation of *Naked Lunch*, by William Burroughs, was published by Júcar in 1979, under the title *El almuerzo desnudo*. Both novels are known for graphic sex scenes and were each tried for obscenity in the U.S. courts.

²² Considering numerous accounts of access to banned books through the 'trastiendas' of bookstores in Madrid and Barcelona, the idea of pulling one over on the perpetrators of censorship may have hit close to home.

budding movement of worker priests, or *curas obreros*, and the formation of the *Comisiones Obreras* in the early sixties. According to the sociologist Holm-Detlev Köhler, the regime's heightened repression of these workers movements began to be felt in 1967 (1995, 85). As such, the notion of shared values between Christianity and Marxism would have been especially significant at the time *Rosewater* was published, in 1966.

Literary scholar Thomas F. Marvin establishes an even broader Marxist reading of *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater*, stating that "The obvious place to start is with the novel's depiction of how ideology is forced on the working class. . . . the novel reveals how capitalist ideology blames the victims of the system as a way of shifting responsibility away from the rich" (2002, 111). Marvin demonstrates how Selena, a maid, serves to "strike a major blow against capitalist ideology" (Ibid.). Raised as an orphan, Selena recounts the oath that she was made to swear each week:

Juro solemnemente que respetaré la sagrada propiedad privada de los demás, y que me sentiré feliz con cualquier situación que el Todopoderoso me asigne en la vida. Sentiré gratitud hacia los que me empleen, y jamás me quejaré por el salario o las horas de trabajo sino que, por el contrario, me diré a mí mismo: ¿Qué más puedo hacer por mi dueño, mi república y mi Dios? (Vonnegut, 1966, 144)²³

As Marvin explains, the oath criticizes the capitalist system at the same time highlighting how Christianity can be used to reinforce the social order:

The orphans are told to be content with their role in life because it has been assigned to them by God. They must respect the rich because God has placed them on a higher level. If they serve the rich faithfully and well, they will be rewarded in heaven. If not, they will roast in hell. As Marx pointed out, capitalism allies itself with Christianity in order to convince workers that an unjust system is actually God's will. (2002, 111)

Moreover, Selena criticizes the rich for their "creencia de que todo lo bonito del mundo es un regalo que hacen a los pobres" (Vonnegut 1966, 152)—a criticism that Marvin also situates within Marxist thought:

²³ Selena recites a text originally written by a man, which might explain the use of "mi mismo" in translation.

Capitalist ideology typically describes the wealthy as benefactors of the poor. Marx pointed out that all wealth comes from the labor of the working class and what the rich give back is nothing compared to what they have taken. Vonnegut makes the same point in a much more amusing way by having Mrs. Buntline expect that Selena will thank her for the sunset. (2002, 111)

Considering that Grijalbo was also known for its publication of Marxist texts, this kind of reading of *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* does not come as a surprise. Whether or not the publisher was aware of the specific references that Marvin highlights, the novel would have lined up with Grijalbo's underlying ideology.

In sum, given the straightforward approval of *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* in 1966, and the absence of prior instructions from the censorship board, the neutralization detected in the target text offers a clear example of self-censorship on the part of the translator and/or editors. Vonnegut's use of colloquial and crude language and numerous references to sex and the body are mitigated in the translation process. While in some cases the translation employs swearwords that are simply milder than those of the source text, in other cases the crude or offensive expressions are completely absent in the target text. In a few instances, the target text succeeds in transmitting the same content with softened language, yet in most cases the neutralization of offensive language also coincides with the neutralization of offensive content. In this way, many of the sexual references uttered in colloquial speech are partially or fully neutralized in the target text. Since such examples are especially prominent in the dialogue between different townspeople, this neutralization affects the characters' dialogue disproportionately.

On the other hand, where censurable content is already expressed with milder language in the source text, there is little evidence of self-censorship in the target text. As such, many instances of censurable thoughts and behavior are described in the novel without being affected by self-censorship. This is especially true for content expressed through the voice of the narrator, who rarely uses explicit language.

Analysis of the target text also reveals partial neutralization in comparisons involving religious figures, as well as a reduction in the number of religious exclamations. Where characters are compared to "God" in the source text, they are compared to "a god" in translation, thus allowing the target text to avoid certain blasphemous implications. With a significantly reduced number of religious exclamations, such as "Jesus Christ!", Vonnegut's ironic tone in regard to religion is also partially softened. As such, the accumulated manipulation at the microtextual level affect the work's tone at the macrotextual level, instilling the target text with a greater degree of reverence in its treatment of religious matters.²⁴ This effect is especially noticeable in combination with the toned-down language of the different characters. Together, these modifications make for a slightly more 'respectful' narrative in Spanish. At the same time, the neutralization remains limited to specific expressions. Subversive ideas which are not tied to these expressions are largely left intact. Overall, the target text still represents an irreverent perspective on Christian institutions, and maintains an antagonistic depiction of God and Heaven. While the subversive quality of the source text lies in its combination of inappropriate language and irreverent ideas, the subversive quality of the translation comes much more from the ideas than from the language.

The author's irreverent ideas, along with his depiction of socially and sexually subversive behaviors, including the protagonist's Marxist leanings and the repeated incitement to read banned literature, firmly situate the novel as a subversive text in Franco's Spain. At the time the translation was published, Vonnegut was almost completely unknown among Spanish readers and Grijalbo had little reason to believe that *Dios le bendiga, Mr.*

²⁴ Hermans (1999, 58-71) explores methods for studying the connection between "micro-level shifts" and the "macro-structure" of the text. "Micro-level shifts" refer to changes at the linguistic level, within the sentences, whereas the "macro-structure" refers to elements such as the action, the plot, the development of the characters and the relationship between them, the attitude of the narrator, the perspective, etc.; the study of the "macro-level" also includes formal questions regarding the divisions in the text (chapters, sections, paragraphs, etc.) and typographical conventions.

Rosewater would be a money-maker; this was prior to the author's resurgence in the U.S. and three years before the publication of *Slaughterhouse-Five*. In this sense, Grijalbo's interest in the novel can only be explained by a general affinity for the author's writing and message. In other words, the publisher may have picked up Vonnegut's work precisely because of his counterculture ethos.

5.1.2 Descriptive-Comparative Study of *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) / *Matadero cinco* (1970)

Ediciones Grijalbo submitted *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) to Voluntary Consultation on December 26, 1969 (File no. 12964-69). The following year, the publisher secured authorization to print *Matadero cinco*, the Spanish translation by Margarita García de Miró,²⁵ yet this 1970 edition was authorized exclusively for export (File no. 12964-69).²⁶ It was not until December 1975, in the wake of Franco's death, that *Matadero cinco* was resubmitted and allowed to circulate freely in Spain (File no. 13607-75). As such, a thorough examination of the censor's reports and correspondence with the editors will offer valuable insights into the translation and censorship process.

In this iconic sixties-era novel, Vonnegut reflects on his experiences as a young man in World War II and testifies to the U.S. firebombing of Dresden, which he witnessed firsthand as a prisoner of war. Yet the novel is not a straightforward autobiography. The protagonist, Billy Pilgrim, travels in time (and space) between wartime episodes, his life as a middle-aged adult, and surreal encounters with an alien race—the Tralfamadorians. In this respect, the work also borders on science fiction.²⁷ The novel has especially been regarded as an indictment of war. Published at the height of popular activism against the war in Vietnam, *Slaughterhouse-Five* captured the antimilitary sentiments of the younger generation, many of

²⁵ Working exclusively for Grijalbo, García de Miró translated just five novels from 1966 to 1972, the first two in Catalan and the last three in Spanish: Dashiell Hammett's *The Maltese Falcon* (1929) / *El falcó maltés* (1966); Michael Crichton's *The Secret of Santa Vittoria* (1969) / *El secret de Santa Vittoria* (1969) and *A Case of Need* (1968) / *Un caso de urgencia* (1972); Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) / *Matadero cinco* (1970); and Richard O'Connor's *The Lost Revolutionary: A Biography of John Reed* (1967) / *El revolucionario frustrado: Una biografía de John Reed* (1972), about the notable communist activist (and author of *Ten Days That Shook the World* on the Bolshevik Revolution).

²⁶ The reports and correspondence from the 1969 submission (File no. 12964-69) are shown in Appendix A1.1.

²⁷ Noting this overlap, Latham (2015) highlights that "figures such as Kurt Vonnegut and Thomas Pynchon enjoyed mainstream success with novels that, while not published as science fiction, drew heavily on the resources of the genre. These novels had significant readership among SF writers and fans, with Vonnegut's *Cat's Cradle* (1963) and *Slaughterhouse-5* (1969) being nominated for Hugo Awards and Pynchon's *Gravity's Rainbow* (1973) for a Nebula Award" (100). Latham likewise describes the general shift in the genre during this period, whereby "a new generation of writers and editors, chafing at the constraints of the magazine tradition, embraced the experimental novels of William S. Burroughs as forerunners of a more aesthetically challenging and socially conscious science fiction" (Ibid.).

whom were subject to the U.S. military draft from 1964 to 1973.²⁸ Similar to *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater*, the colloquial dialogues are central to the narrative of *Slaughterhouse-Five*, granting the novel an irreverent, irreligious and frequently obscene tone. Crude and offensive language is an especially important feature in the portrayal of military personnel, and this, in particular, made Vonnegut a frequent target of censorship in the U.S. Defending this aspect of his work, the author affirmed "I'm glad of the freedom to make soldiers talk the way they do talk" (UPI 1973, 4). It was also this aspect of the novel that presented difficulties for Spanish censorship.

Upon inspection of the source text in December 1969, censor Álvarez Villar found the work to be "de un gran valor literario," yet at the same time marked a number of passages which he judged to be disrespectful: "Hay que tener cuidado en la traducción de ciertas expresiones que hemos señalado con tinta roja y que pecan de cierta crudeza e, incluso, falta de respeto" (File no. 12964-69). These included the insults and exclamations uttered by soldiers such as "fuck," "motherfucker" and "cocksucker." Such utterances were marked on a dozen pages, ranging from a single word to several lines. On January 3, 1970 the board requested the translated text, and three weeks later Grijalbo submitted the galley proofs for *Matadero cinco*. Indeed, the flagged expressions were largely neutralized in the translation and with only a few exceptions the censors did not flag the same passages again when they inspected the target text. The textual analysis will begin by examining these neutralized expressions.

²⁸ During this period, 1,857,304 young men (from the ages of 18 to 26) were conscripted or "drafted" for military service, according to the Selective Service System "Induction Statistics," accessed March 11, 2016, <https://www.sss.gov/About/History-And-Records/Induction-Statistics>. While induction for military service in Vietnam ended in February, 1973 (due to the U.S. withdrawal from the conflict), the draft continued through 1975, as did the war between the North and South Vietnamese. For this reason, many scholars refer to the "Vietnam era" inductions, meaning the inductions from 1964 to 1975, which totaled 2,215,000. A passage from the *Oxford Companion to American Military History* helps to put these numbers into perspective: "Of the 27 million men eligible for conscription during the Vietnam era, 8,720,000 enlisted, often to beat the draft; 2,215,000 were drafted; and almost 16 million never served. Of that 16 million, 15,410,000 were deferred, exempted, or disqualified, and an estimated 570,000 were draft offenders. Of that number, over 209,517 were accused of draft violations, 8,750 were convicted, and 3,250 were imprisoned. The number of violators swamped the judiciary system" (Small 1999, 765).

However, even with this initial manipulation, the board recommended another series of modifications to the translated text, pointing to "párrafos irreverentes" in the Spanish proofs. Passages that were considered irreverent and others containing sexual references were marked on seventeen pages of the translation. Authorization was granted on the condition that these marked passages be suppressed. The February 1970 report signed by Gómez Nisa affirmed that "Salvo lo señalado puede autorizarse su publicación" (File no. 12964-69). It is important to note, however, that these passages were not ultimately suppressed or modified in the target text, although they did present an important obstacle to publication. At the end of March, Ricardo Mariscal Soler responded on behalf of Grijalbo:²⁹

. . . se aconsejó la supresión de varias líneas y aquí viene el problema: El autor no acepta estas supresiones y Grijalbo ha adquirido los derechos para hacer la tirada en España. Súplica:

Autorizar toda la impresión para su venta en el extranjero de toda la edición. . . Me indica el Sr. Grijalbo le transmita esta súplica, ya que de no acceder a ella, se la causa un gran trastorno económico, pues pierde todo. (File no. 12964-69)³⁰

Following this plea the work was sent for *Asesoría religiosa* and was evaluated by Santos Beguiristain, who reluctantly supported the request:

El "Matadero Cinco" contiene,
frases de mal gusto,
expresiones obscenas,
algunas auténticas blasfemias;

pero anda por el mundo –desgraciadamente– tal broza de literatura semejante, que no creo que escandalice demasiado una edición para otros países más laxos. . .

Mi juicio, pues, es desfavorable al libro íntegro;
y no ve por otra parte, que se pueda rechazar en redondo la petición del editor.
(File no. 12964-69)

Grijalbo was thus granted authorization to print the novel without further modifications on the condition that it be sold abroad, not in Spain. A second edition was printed in 1972, also for export. In this way, two editions of *Matadero cinco* were printed in Barcelona during the

²⁹ Ricardo Mariscal Soler acted as a representative for publishers such as Grijalbo, Géminis and Plaza y Janés.

³⁰ See full copies of this correspondence in Appendix A1.1.

dictatorship, though neither was authorized for circulation within the country's borders. That authorization would not come until the end of 1975, a few weeks after Franco's death.

On December 15, 1975, Grijalbo submitted *Matadero cinco* directly to *Depósito*, requesting authorization to circulate 3,000 copies of the work in Spain in anticipation of screenings of the film by the same title.³¹ Representing Grijalbo, José M^a Vives writes:

Como sea que la película que lleva el mismo título será exhibida próximamente en las salas de arte y ensayo españolas, creo que ésta es una buena oportunidad para rogarles nos concedan permiso para la libre circulación del libro en España.

Me permito adjuntar una copia de publicidad concerniendo dicho film, que ganó en 1972 el premio del jurado de Cannes, lo que garantiza, por cierto, la calidad del film. (File no. 13607-75)

In response, the censor's report offers the following evaluation:

Ante el hecho consumado del depósito, se observa que en general el libro podría circular libremente. El único obstáculo se encuentra en irreverencias y posible blasfemia en págs. 43, 123, 124, y 221.

A pesar de lo anterior, y desde un punto de vista estrictamente jurídico, quizás no prosperase una denuncia judicial. (File no. 13607-75)

It is worth noting that these five passages had also been flagged in the 1970 report. In contrast to the earlier assessment, however, the 1975 report found only the religiously-sensitive passages to be problematic. The sexual references and obscenities that had previously been marked were not targeted here. Finally, a hand written note on the bottom of the document reveals that the work was sent to the superiors and returned "sin ninguna instrucción concreta sobre una posible impugnación legal," leading the board to conclude that it should be processed without impediment: "se tramita el depósito" (File no. 13607-75). Authorization was granted that day, December 19, 1975, allowing *Matadero cinco* to circulate in Spain nearly six years after Grijalbo's original submission and one month after Franco's death.³²

³¹ Directed by George Roy Hill in 1972, the film was advertised in Spain under the original title with the Spanish translation in parenthesis: *Slaughterhouse Five (Matadero 5)*.

³² Inspection of the 1975 text reveals an identical translation (and nearly identical printing) to the 1970 text, with different information given in the copyright page. In fact, one of the censors remarked that the requested print run matched the number of copies that had been approved for export in 1970: "Tirada oficialmente declarada de

Despite Grijalbo's initial compliance in neutralizing Vonnegut's use of obscenities, the publishing house resisted a second round of modifications to the target text, and sacrificed as a result a much earlier publication date. Here, the author's strong stance on censorship seems to be a key factor. The negotiations that ensued between Grijalbo and the censorship board also delineate important limitations for the Ministry's actions. The objections to the text were not so strong that the Ministry would altogether impede its printing, and the knowledge that the U.S. author was alert to the situation may have served as an extra incentive to approve the work for export.³³ Indeed, Grijalbo's success in printing *Matadero cinco* without further textual modifications could have given Vonnegut and his agents the false impression that the novel had not been censored. This would have also benefitted the regime at a time when its public image in the U.S. and Western Europe was so critical. In a sense, the reputation of both the publisher and the Ministry were on the line, and this arrangement ensured that both were able to save face. The fact that Grijalbo later secured the rights to the essay collection *Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon* (1974) suggests that the publisher's actions were well-received by Vonnegut and his agents, despite the actual ban on *Matadero cinco* in Spain from 1970 to 1975.

Considering these various stages of the official censorship process, the textual analysis for *Slaughterhouse-Five* and *Matadero cinco* will examine three main categories of censurable material: first, obscenities and sexual references that were flagged by the censors in the source text and subsequently neutralized in the translation, and similar passages that were self-censored at the same time; second, obscenities and sexual references that were not sufficiently neutralized in translation and consequently flagged (again) in the target text; and

3000 ejemplares, igual a la autorizada para la exportación" (File no. 13607-75). It should also be noted that in most catalogues this edition of *Matadero cinco* is dated 1976, though it was printed in December 1975.

³³ This is even more demonstrable in the case of Norman Mailer's *Un sueño americano*, for which the export was initially denied, but authorized upon the editor's appeal, where he stated "dada la categoría del autor, en el caso de que no me concedan ustedes la autorización para la edición del libro, en lo sucesivo el autor y su representante estiman que no me deben conceder ningún derecho más de varias de las obras que estoy tratando de conseguir" (Antonio Roca 1973, in File no. 2743-72). This work will be discussed in section 5.3.

third, sexually explicit descriptions and irreligious passages that were not initially detected in the source text, yet later marked for suppression in the target text. Regarding the second and third categories, it is important to note that the board's recommendations were not actually carried out following the submission of the target text, as Grijalbo moved instead to export the work "whole." Yet, this non-neutralization represented an important obstacle to circulation, keeping *Matadero cinco* off Spanish shelves during the dictatorship. As such, examination of such passages will offer valuable insight into the censors' actions. Lastly, the presence of censurable material that was altogether overlooked by the censors will also be discussed in the textual analysis.

Upon initial inspection of *Slaughterhouse-Five*, the censorship board granted conditional approval but warned that certain expressions would require care in the Spanish translation. When the Spanish manuscript was submitted a few months later, a large number of these expressions had indeed been neutralized by the translator and/or editors. Table 8 shows the English words marked by the censor alongside the translation.³⁴

Table 8. Neutralization of Obscenities Marked by the Censors in the Source Text

	<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> (1969)	<i>Matadero cinco</i> (1970)
8.1	"Get out of the road you dumb <u>motherfucker</u> ." The last word was still a novelty. . . . It was fresh and astonishing to Billy who had never <u>fucked</u> anybody. (29)	"¡Sal de la carretera, <u>cabrón imbecil!</u> " La penúltima palabra constituía una verdadera novedad. . . . Para Billy que no había <u>montado</u> nunca a nadie, aquella era una expresión fresca y sorprendente. (42)
8.2	He died on account of this silly <u>cocksucker</u> here. So I promised him I'd have this silly <u>cocksucker</u> shot after the war. (122)	Murió a causa de ese necio <u>cabrón</u> que está ahí. De manera que le prometí hacer matar a ese necio <u>cabrón</u> después de la guerra. (154)

³⁴ The censor's marks are indicated with underlining, and the corresponding translations are shown with a dotted line, for emphasis.

8.3	"It's the sweetest thing there is," said Lazzaro. "People fuck with me," he said, "and Jesus Christ are they ever fucking sorry" . . . If the President of the United States fucked around with me, I'd fix him good." (120)	-Es la cosa más dulce que existe -explicó Lazzaro-. La gente se burla de mí, y por Jesucristo que lo van a pagar. . . . Aunque sea el presidente de Estados Unidos. A quien quiera tomarme el pelo, le ajustaré las cuentas. (152)
8.4	Lazzaro was talking about . . . women he was going to make <u>fuck him</u> , whether they wanted to or not. (125)	Lazzaro, por su parte, repasaba . . . el número de mujeres que metería en su cama (o donde fuera) por las buenas o por las malas. (157)
8.5	Just make <u>fucking</u> sure you don't get on [the list]. (122)	Tú asegúrate de no estar en la lista. (154)
8.6	Close the <u>fucking</u> door. (125)	Cierra esa maldita puerta. (158)
8.7	Goodness me, the clock has struck— / Alackaday and <u>fuck my luck</u> . (85)	¡Cielos! El reloj ha sonado.../ Maldición, y mi suerte ha truncado. (112)

In example 8.1, the insult hurled at the young soldier in Spanish, *cabrón*, is somewhat less "astonishing" than that of the source text, "motherfucker," and the reference to sex is also softened with the participle *montado*. The term *cabrón* is used again in example 8.2., thus mitigating the harsh expression "cocksucker" and avoiding the reference to the sex act implicit in this term. In example 8.3 another three uses of the word *fuck* are neutralized with the following expressions: "la gente se burla de mí"; "lo van a pagar"; "a quien quiera tomarme el pelo." Restructuring the last part of Lazzaro's threat, the translated text also avoids making the President the object of the soldier's vengeance. In example 8.4 the translation neutralizes the offensive expression and also eliminates the implied force, as the character talks about the women he will take to bed. With the neutralization of Lazzaro's aggressive and colloquial language, the resulting passages in the translated text are not only less offensive, but also less threatening. Even with the remark that he would get the women into bed "por las buenas o por las malas," Lazzaro's declaration in the target text does not begin with the assumption of forced sex. In this sense, the overall character of the soldier is altered through the translation of his speech. Lazzaro's aggressive language is again

neutralized in example 8.5, as the target text omits the intensifier. Finally, the translation shows partial neutralization of the expletives used in examples 8.6 and 8.7, employing the softer expressions *maldita* and *maldición*. In example 8.7, the term *maldición* actually represents a stronger beginning to the verse than "Alackaday," but does not compensate for the use of "fuck" at the end of the jingle.

These neutralization strategies are applied broadly to the translated text, including in many examples that were not marked by the censors. That is, the demands of the censorship board also influenced the strategies of self-censorship adopted by the translator and/or editor. For example, the translation frequently applies milder intensifiers such as *maldito/a*, or no swearword at all, as shown in table 9.

Table 9. Neutralization of Obscenities Not Marked by the Censors

	<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> (1969)	<i>Matadero cinco</i> (1970)
9.1	the <u>fucking</u> Sunday edition (143)	la <u>maldita</u> edición dominical (181)
9.2	Martha's <u>fucking</u> Vineyard (143)	la <u>maldita</u> Martha's Vineyard (182)
9.3	All this responsibility at such an early age made her a <u>bitchy flibbertigibbet</u> . (25)	En fin, que todas esas responsabilidades a tan temprana edad, la habían vuelto <u>un poco impertinente</u> . (37)

Examples 9.1 and 9.2 reveal a strategy consistent with the earlier neutralization of the term "fucking" which had been flagged by the censors. This suggests that the translator and/or editor extended the censor's directive to "tener cuidado en la traducción de ciertas expresiones que hemos señalado" to other similar cases in the novel. In a few instances, swearwords are avoided entirely. In example 9.3, for example, the protagonist's harsh insult of his daughter is reduced to calling her 'a little impertinent' in the Spanish translation. In addition to the missing profanity, the disdain inherent in the term "flibbertigibbet" is also softened.³⁵

³⁵ From the *OED Online*, "flibbertigibbet *n.* A chattering or gossiping person; a flighty or frivolous woman." Accessed March 4, 2016, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/71553>.

In a similar pattern, the strategies used for neutralizing direct references to sex and the body are applied uniformly to passages marked by the censor and to those not marked. The first example of table 10 shows a passage that was marked in voluntary consultation, while the remaining examples represent passages that were initially overlooked by the censors.

Table 10. Neutralization of Sexual and Bodily References in the Target Text

	<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> (1969)	<i>Matadero cinco</i> (1970)
10.1	<u>Their penises were shriveled and their balls were retracted.</u> (73)	Tenían los sexos encogidos. (98)
10.2	You put honey all over his balls and pecker. (32)	Se le unta el escroto con miel. (45)
10.3	They didn't have hard-ons. (148)	Ellos no buscaban diversión alguna. (220)
10.4	. . . fucking and buggery and murder. (173)	. . . aquella porquería (218)
10.5	. . . which was published for lonesome men to jerk-off to. (177)	. . . que estaba editaba totalmente por hombres. (222)
10.6	To describe blow-jobs artistically. (178)	∅ (224)

In example 10.1, the explicit reference to male genitals becomes generalized in the target text, failing to evoke an image of the distinct body parts. Indeed, this kind of generalization is also used for the subsequent examples which the censors did not initially detect in the source text. In example 10.2, the reference to male genitalia is again generalized, referring only to the "scrotum" in the target text. The reference to erections in example 10.3 is completely eliminated, describing instead that the characters "weren't looking for any fun." In example 10.4, "fucking and buggery and murder" are reduced to a single vague activity—*aquella porquería*. In example 10.5, the reference to masturbation is eliminated, leaving only the lightly-suggestive description in the target text that the publication was 'edited completely by men.' Lastly, in example 10.6, a sentence referring to oral sex is omitted in the translation.

Even in cases where the sexual references do not include explicit language or bodily descriptions in the source text, there is evidence of neutralization through the removal of sexual elements. This is the case for the examples in table 11.

Table 11. Neutralization of Non-obscene References to Sex in the Target Text

	<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> (1969)	<i>Matadero cinco</i> (1970)
11.1	Everybody on the planet wanted to see the Earthlings mate. (114)	Todos los habitantes del planeta querían ver a la pareja terrícola. (146)
11.2	I've been opening the window and making love to the World. (145)	He abierto de par en par, mis puertas al mundo. (185)

In example 11.1, the translation excludes the final verb, giving only the faintest hint—with the word *pareja*—that this might refer to procreation. In doing so, the translation also avoids the voyeuristic curiosity of an entire planet. Instead of wanting to see the earthlings have sex, the aliens in the target text simply want to see 'the earthling couple.' The strategy in 11.2 is similarly evasive, as the sexual metaphor is removed in translation. The character still transmits that he has been open and unreserved, yet his words lose the exuberant humor of the original statement.

One reference to gay men is also omitted in the target text, though it was not flagged by the censors. When the narrator explains what happened to the enemies of the Nazis, the category of "fairies" (a slang term for gay men) is excluded from the list in the target text.

	<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> (1969)	<i>Matadero cinco</i> (1970)
	Only the candles and the soap were of German origin. . . . The British had no way of knowing it, but the candles and the soap were made from the fat of rendered Jews and Gypsies and <u>fairies</u> and communists, and other enemies of the State. (96)	Solamente las velas y el jabón eran de origen alemán. . . . Los ingleses no lo sabían, pero ambas cosas estaban hechas con grasa extraída de judíos, gitanos, comunistas y otros enemigos del Estado. (121)

In fact, this was an especially important passage because Vonnegut's statement represented one of the earliest literary references to the persecution of gay men in Nazi Germany.³⁶ In this sense, the exclusion of "fairies" from the list in Spanish not only avoids the reference to gay men, but also conceals the historical fact that gay men were targeted by the Nazis. Moreover, this omission also bypasses a potential reminder of the persecution of gay men and women in Francoist Spain.³⁷

In practical terms, the neutralization employed for obscenities and sexual references proved to be on the right track with regard to the consultation process. When the censors inspected the translated text in 1970, they marked some of the sexually suggestive passages that remained in the work, yet none of the previous examples. The same is true regarding swearwords. Although the censors did detect additional censurable expressions in the translated text, they did not mark the passages seen in tables 8, 9, 10 and 11. In this sense, the range of neutralization strategies employed in the translation formed part of a negotiation process between the publisher and the censorship board. The swearwords that were used frequently (*maldito/a*, *mierda* and *hijo de perra*) were within the acceptable limits for the censors, who raised no issue with them upon inspection of the translated text. On the other hand, certain solutions for offensive expressions were used infrequently or never. The expressions *hijo de puta* and *follar* are each used once, while the verb *joder* is used twice. Similarly, "whore" is translated as *prostituta* and never as the more colloquial *puta*. Notably,

³⁶ In Germany, same-sex lifestyles continued to be criminalized until 1969, with many of the first-hand accounts and memoirs describing such persecution under the Nazis unpublished until after decriminalization. Early German-language studies included the 1967 article "Der Massenmord an Homosexuellen im Dritten Reich" by W. Harthausen; and the 1969 work *Das Schicksal der Verfeimten: Die Verfolgung der Homosexuellen im "Dritten Reich" und ihre Stellung in der heutigen Gesellschaft* by Harry Wilde (Jensen 2005, 324). In this sense, Kurt Vonnegut's 1969 reference was indeed timely. The following decade would see significantly more attention to this aspect of Nazi Germany among Civil Rights advocates, as the Holocaust "emerged as a central theme in lesbian/gay rhetoric in the early 1970s" (Stein 1998, 523). It was at that time that "the contemporary gay liberation movement in the US and Europe adopted the pink triangle, the symbol worn by homosexual concentration camp prisoners during WWII, as a symbolic marker" (523).

³⁷ As was the case in Germany, official recognition of gay victims of the regime took decades. Only in 2009 did a small percentage of gay and transsexual prisoners begin to receive compensation for their prison sentences under the Franco regime. For an in depth look at this topic, see Ramírez (2016).

the passages that include *joder* and *follar* in the translation were marked by the censor in the target text. This response seems to reinforce the translator's and/or editor's decision to otherwise exclude the terms from the text.

The following section will examine the handful of obscenities and sexual references that were flagged by the censors in the source text but escaped neutralization in the translation and editing process. These un-neutralized (or not sufficiently neutralized) expressions were marked again upon inspection of the target text in 1970. Examples of un-neutralized obscenities are shown in table 12, with underlining to represent the censors' marks in the source text and target text.

Table 12. Un-neutralized Obscenities Marked Again in the Target Text

	<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> (1969)	<i>Matadero cinco</i> (1970)
12.1	Why don't you go <u>fuck</u> yourself? (120)	–¿ <u>Por qué no te jodes?</u> (151)
12.2	"Go take a flying <u>fuck</u> at a rolling donut," murmured Paul Lazzaro in his azure nest. "Go take a flying <u>fuck</u> at the moon" (127)	–¡Vamos, porque no te largas volando en un buñuelo! ¡Anda, vete <u>a joder</u> a otro a la luna! (161)
12.3	<u>In my prison cell I sit, / With my britches full of shit, / And my balls are bouncing gently on the floor. / And I see the bloody snag / when she bit me in the bag. / Oh, I'll never fuck a Polack any more.</u> (134)	<u>Estoy sentado en mi celda de la cárcel, / Con los calzoncillos llenos de mierda. / Y mis pelotas rebotan contra el suelo, / Pues en mi bolsa tengo un agujero. Después de tan sangriento mordisco, ¡Oh!, jamás vuelvo a follar una polaca.</u> (170)

Here, the translation reveals two solutions for "fuck" which were otherwise avoided. In examples 12.1 and 12.2 the target text employs the slang term *joder*, and in example 12.3 it includes the term *follar*, although the censors clearly took issue with these terms upon inspection of the text. Example 12.2 reveals a small degree of neutralization since the obscenity is uttered once rather than twice in the target text, yet this was not enough to avoid the censor's red pencil. Further non-censorship is apparent in example 12.3 as the translated

verse describes *pelotas*, a term that was avoided elsewhere in the target text.³⁸ In fact, this may represent divergent strategies implemented by the translator and editor. The fact that obscenities are used here suggests that the translator was indeed willing to use such terms in the text, and the absence of obscenities elsewhere may represent the editor's and not the translator's actions.³⁹ In either case, the terms were not considered acceptable when they reached the censor, who crossed out the entire verse in the target text.

In addition to these obscenities, a few of the sexual references were rendered in the target text despite the censor's recommendation that they be mitigated. Such references, shown in table 13, were again flagged by the censors upon inspection of the target text.

Table 13. Un-neutralized Sexual References Marked Again in the Target Text

	<i>Slaughterhouse-Five</i> (1969)	<i>Matadero cinco</i> (1970)
13.1	<u>Billy was on top of Valencia</u> , making love to her. (102)	Billy, <u>montado encima de su esposa</u> , le hacía el amor. (133)
13.2	<u>He had just emptied his seminal vesicles into Valencia</u> . (102)	<u>Acababa de vaciar su vesícula seminal en Valencia</u> . (133)
13.3	Billy <u>took his pecker out</u> , there in the prison night, and peed and peed on the ground. (107)	Billy <u>extrajo su instrumento</u> y, en la noche de la prisión, meó y meó sobre el suelo. (138)
13.4	<u>Some of them were eating lollipops or bananas. They would still be eating those. And the peckers of the young men would still be semi-erect, and their muscles would be bulging like cannonballs</u> . (173)	Algunas comían caramelos o plátanos, y siempre los estarían comiendo. <u>Y los sexos de los muchachos continuarían por siempre semierectos; y sus músculos abultarían como balas de cañón</u> . (218)

In the first example, the censor did not mark the general reference to the sex act ("le hacía el amor"), though he did cross out the protagonist's physical position ("montado encima

³⁸ It is unclear whether the use of 'bloody' in this verse was intended as an obscenity, since the context would suggest that there is actual blood. It is true, however, that the original verse at least suggests the word play.

³⁹ It stands to reason that internalized censorship on the part of the translator would more likely manifest itself uniformly, especially regarding the use or non-use of words such as *joder* and *follar*, whereas the editor's changes could conceivably miss a passage here or there. This was the case for *Reuelta en el 2100* (discussed in 5.2.1) and *Los ejércitos de la noche* (discussed in 5.3.1), where the editors imposed systematic modifications but where sporadic passages were missed in the process.

de su esposa"). It is worth noting that the target text had already added emphasis to the fact that the couple was married by including the descriptor "su esposa" rather than the character's name. The censor also objected to the reference to ejaculation in example 13.2, despite wording which is far from erotic: "vaciar su vesícula seminal." The censor likewise marked the colloquial reference to a penis in example 13.3. Finally, in example 13.4 Billy contemplates an erotic photograph at the back of a shop. Though the protagonist himself is not aroused by the picture, he is struck by the fact that the people in the image seem to be distilled in time—and imagines that in twenty years they "would still" be doing the same thing. Two elements stand out in this description: first, the image of the women eating phallic objects (bananas and lollipops), and second, the reference to the men's semi-erect "peckers." In short, the scene points to the men's arousal in relation to the women's erotic gestures. While "caramelos" in the target text are less phallic, and "sexos" more generalized, the translation clearly depicts the men's physical state: "semierectos." Such partial neutralization was not sufficient for the censor of the target text, who deemed the passage unacceptable.

The 1970 censor's report also flagged a number of sexual references which had gone undetected in the source text. Many of these are shown in table 14.

Table 14. Sexual References Detected Upon Inspection of the Target Text

Matadero cinco (1970)

- | | |
|------|---|
| 14.1 | Además, tenía . . . una <u>sucia fotografía de una mujer intentando consumir el acto sexual con un potrillo de Shetland</u> La mujer y el potrillo. . . . La mujer y el potrillo. . . . (49) |
| 14.2 | El cabo encontró . . . la sucia fotografía de la mujer y el caballo. <u>—Vaya caballito más afortunado, ¿eh? —dijo— Vaya, vaya... ¿No desearías ser ese caballito?</u> (66) |
| 14.3 | . . . fotografía con una mujer y un potrillo de Shetland. <u>Intentaban realizar el acto sexual entre dos columnas dóricas, frente a una cortina de terciopelo llena de globitos colgantes.</u> (223) |
| 14.4 | . . . se encontró con Montana Wildhack, sola en una gran cama, <u>pelando un plátano</u> . Billy <u>no deseaba ver la continuación por lo que</u> aprovechó la invitación de un dependiente. (223) |
| 14.5 | Montana iba desnuda, al igual que Billy, claro, que se quedó contemplándola. <u>De repente sintió un fuerte tirón. Uno nunca sabe cuándo le da por enderezarse.</u> (146) |

14.6 Se había mojado soñando en Montana Wildhack. (148)

14.7 Pero la parte trasera del Cadillac parecía el aparato reproductor masculino después de una noche ajetreada. (200)

14.8 libros sobre la historia de los contactos oral-genitales desde el antiguo Egipto hasta nuestros días etcétera. (222)

The first three examples refer to a photograph similar to the one described in *God Bless you, Mr. Rosewater* which depicts an act of bestiality between a woman and a pony. While the actual language employed is not particularly vulgar or crude, the idea of this type of sexual act was found strictly unacceptable. The censor marked every reference to this image in the target text, and every subsequent mention of "el potrillo." The next three examples involve encounters between Billy and Montana, the attractive model that the aliens have chosen as a mate for the protagonist. Example 14.4 includes another reference to a banana as an erotic object. In this case, Montana is peeling a banana as she waits in bed. The censor suggested suppressing both the erotic gesture and Billy's skittish reaction to it. In example 14.5 the two characters are naked and Billy presumably becomes aroused: "se sintió un fuerte tirón." It is worth noting that in the source text the narrator was actually discussing the size of Billy's penis, not his arousal: "He had a tremendous wang, incidentally. You never know who'll get one" (Vonnegut 1969, 115). While the target text has neutralized this direct reference to the penis, attention to the male organ is nonetheless implied. Even though the wording in Spanish is somewhat ambiguous, the censor marked the passage for suppression. Later, Billy has a "wet dream" about Montana (14.6), which is translated rather literally as "se había mojado soñando en Montana."⁴⁰ This reference to an erotic dream was likewise marked by the censor.

⁴⁰ From the *OED Online*, "wet dream *n.* an erotic dream which causes a man or boy to have an involuntary sexual orgasm during sleep." Accessed March 4, 2016, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/227970>.

Later, the term "wet dream" is used as metaphor indicating an extremely desirable situation, i.e., a fantasy: "the rear-end of the Cadillac was a body-and-fender man's wet dream" (157), with the corresponding translation in example 14.7. In this example the target text actually introduces the image of a penis, "la parte trasera del Cadillac parecía el aparato reproductor masculino" as part of a different kind of sexual metaphor: "después de una noche ajetreada." Once again, the sexual innuendo evoked in these expressions caused the censor to recommend their suppression. Finally, example 14.8 reveals the censor's objection to a specific category of sexual activity, "contacto oral-genital" described in reference to certain history books. All in all, the censors' scrutiny of the target text reveals little tolerance of sexual references in the novel, including where the language itself is not vulgar or obscene. While Vonnegut's manner of describing sex acts and sex organs is often more humorous than erotic, the censors appeared unwilling to accept this kind of bodily humor.⁴¹

Despite the board's extensive objections to obscenities and sexual references in *Matadero cinco*, it is worth noting that one reference to gay men and women was completely uncensored (officially or otherwise). This may be due to the alien context in which such homosexuality is discussed:

Los tralfamadorianos intentaron dar a Billy una clave para que pudiera imaginar sexo en la dimensión invisible. Le dijeron que no sería posible la existencia de bebés terrícolas si no hubiera homosexuales varones, pero que sí lo sería sin la existencia de homosexuales hembras; que no existirían los bebés sin mujeres de más de sesenta y cinco años, pero sí aunque no hubiera hombres de más de sesenta y cinco años; que no podría haber bebés si otros no hubieran sobrevivido a su nacimiento de una hora. Etcétera. Nada de todo esto tenía sentido para Billy. (1970, 129)⁴²

The existence of gay men and women is presented without judgement, yet no sex act is described, nor is the context particularly evocative. In fact, the explanation of Tralfamordian

⁴¹ The author himself described a lack of sexual impulse in the work, stating: "The only effect of *Slaughterhouse* is to make the reader a pacifist. Nothing in the book urges people to take any sexual action at all" (UPI 1973, 4).

⁴² Where little self-censorship is apparent, the Spanish passages will be shown by themselves to demonstrate the presence of censurable content in the target text.

sexuality is meant to be so odd that even the protagonist is left confused. As such, the passage was likely seen as harmless.

While the first stage of censorship was focused almost exclusively on obscenity and sex, the censors did mark one sentence in the source text which presented an irreverent reference to God. Indeed, this initial reference marked in the source text was something of a forewarning, as it was followed by significant objections to religious content detected in the target text. Since this first reference was not neutralized in translation, it was marked again when the censors inspected the translated text in 1970—and marked a third time when the text was inspected in 1975. Both the original passage and the translation are shown below, with underlining to represent the marks of the censors.

Slaughterhouse-Five (1969)

Matadero cinco (1970)

The gun made a ripping sound like the opening of the zipper on the fly of God Almighty. (30)

El cañón hizo un ruido desgarrado, como si se hubiera abierto la cremallera de la bragueta de Dios Todopoderoso. (43)

At the very least this metaphor juxtaposes the violence of war and an image of God in modern street clothes, unzipping his pants. While used to describe an incredibly loud sound, the metaphor itself opens up a can of worms—since pants are normally unzipped when someone goes to the bathroom or when they get undressed. As such, the possibilities conjured as the logical continuation of the metaphor are more irreverent still.

Upon inspection of the translated text, the Spanish censors spotted another round of irreverent passages, particularly those that describe the books of a fictitious author, Kilgore Trout, who presents a critical view of Christianity. Several of these passages were flagged by the censors in 1970 and again before circulation was approved in 1975. For example, several lines were marked in the description of a book titled *El Evangelio del Espacio*, in which the protagonist:

había hecho un profundo estudio del Cristianismo para comprender, en lo posible, por qué los cristianos encontraban más fácil la crueldad. . . . Él suponía que la intención del Evangelio era enseñar a la gente, entre otras cosas, a ser compasiva, incluso con las personas más bajas y ruines.

Pero lo que el Evangelio enseñaba en realidad era esto:

Antes de matar a alguien, asegúrate de que no esté bien relacionado. (1970, 123)

Trout goes on to expound on "el defecto de las historias de Cristo" (124), presenting an alternate ending to the Gospel which caused the censors to suggest extensive cuts to two more pages of the target text.

Another of the Kilgore Trout books tells of a time traveler who

. . . retrocedía hasta los tiempos bíblicos para averiguar una cosa en concreto: si Jesús había muerto en realidad sobre la cruz o bien lo habían bajado todavía vivo y se había recuperado. El héroe se llevaba consigo un estetoscopio. . . . Se mezclaba con la multitud que bajaba a Jesús de la cruz. El viajero del tiempo era el primero en subir la escalerilla, vestido con un traje de la época. Y al llegar arriba se pegaba a Jesús para que la gente no le viera usar el aparato, y le auscultaba. En el interior de la macilenta cavidad de aquel pecho no se oía nada. El Hijo de Dios estaba tan muerto como un picaporte. . . . Aprovechaba para medir el cuerpo de Jesús. Medía un metro sesenta centímetros. El peso no pudo averiguarlo. (1970, 221)

The full passage was marked in the translated text, thus adding another page of text to the recommended suppressions.

Lastly, although the term *mierda* is generally used without objection in the target text, the censors did mark one verse that included this term as part of the translation of "holy shit":

¡Santa mierda, que bien nos lo pasamos!
Una vez a la semana nos dan nuestro salario
¡Santa mierda, y al otro día no trabajamos! (1970, 170)

This expression was already quite commonplace in English, yet stands out in the Spanish text as an unusual pairing. The word-for-word rendering calls attention to the juxtaposition of the divine—"holy"—and the vile—"shit." Given that *mierda* is accepted elsewhere, it was likely the combination (and not the swearword) that caught the censor's eye. Indeed, this combination may have been seen as another one of Vonnegut's irreverent juxtapositions.

On the other hand, the novel's criticism of the Crusades in the Introduction went unmarked at all three stages of Voluntary Consultation. The passage was used to explain the second part of the novel's title, *The Children's Crusade*, and was perhaps not considered a direct attack on the Catholic Church or Christianity:

La historia nos informa en sus solemnes páginas, de que los cruzados no fueron otra cosa que hombres ignorantes y salvajes, movidos únicamente por un fanatismo inmoderado, y de que su camino era el de la sangre y el llanto. Sin embargo, los romanos han caracterizado siempre su piedad y su heroísmo, retratando con sus más ardientes y vehementes matices su magnanimidad y sus virtudes, y el imperecedero honor que conquistaron para sí, y el gran servicio que prestaron a la Cristiandad. (1970, 22-23)⁴³

Nevertheless, the passage presents a negative image of a historical campaign waged by the Catholic Church and intimately linked to Catholicism in Europe. It is one of the few religious references that was overlooked in the target text.

Finally, although the censors expressed repeated concerns regarding the immoral and irreverent content of *Matadero cinco*, only the initial neutralization of obscenities and sexual references became part of the target text. Such neutralization, spurred by the censors' marks in the source text, had a particularly noticeable effect in the translation of profane expressions such as *fuck*, *motherfucker* and *cocksucker* sprinkled throughout the soldiers' dialogue, as well as numerous references to male genitalia. As with *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater*, certain expressions (such as *joder*, *follar* and *puta*) are generally avoided in the translation. This also affects the discourse at the macrotextual level since the soldiers in the target text are less prone to use profane, obscene or threatening expressions. As such, the characterization of military personnel is gentler and more respectful in the target text, in particular the figure of Lazzaro. Considering that the portrayal of soldiers forms part of Vonnegut's overall

⁴³ In the 1970 edition, "Romances" was translated as "los romanos." This is changed in 1977 to "los relatos" (1977c). The first translation may have been an error caused by the confusion with the word *romance*, which has a similar sound as Romans, and is also used to describe language derived from Latin (the language of the Romans). As a noun "Romance" may refer to medieval stories of chivalry (*libros de caballerías*), or according to the *OED Online* "An extravagant fabrication; a wild falsehood, a fantasy." Accessed March 4, 2016, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/167065>.

perspective on the military, Vonnegut's antimilitarism is also tempered with this neutralization.

While the publishers resisted further modifications to the religious and sexual content of the work, the fact that the novel could not circulate in Spain until December 1975 is significant. The years from 1969 to 1975 were critical for consolidating the author's popularity in the U.S. and abroad, and the delayed publication in Spain would have meant missing a moment of increased general interest in the author. However, many of the author's works were published in the fifteen years after the dictatorship and saw numerous reprints in the following decades. *Matadero cinco* was picked up by Bruguera in 1977, and by Anagrama in 1987, which has since been responsible for numerous printings of its "Compactos" edition, first published in 1991.

It is also worth noting that the translation has undergone certain revisions to the offensive language in the later editions. The most notable of these changes comes in the Anagrama edition of 1987. The following scene reveals intensified use of obscenities in the later Spanish edition and a more direct reference to the sex act, including the term *puta*. Expressions are underlined with a dotted line for emphasis.

Slaughterhouse-Five: "Get out of the road you dumb motherfucker." The last word was still a novelty. . . . It was fresh and astonishing to Billy who had never fucked anybody." (1969, 29)

***Matadero cinco* (1970)**: «¡Sal de la carretera, cabrón imbécil!» . . . Para Billy, que no había montado nunca a nadie, aquella era una expresión fresca y sorprendente. (1970, 42)

***Matadero cinco* (1987)**: «¡Sal de la carretera, chulo de putas!» . . . Para Billy, que no había estado nunca con una puta, aquella era una expresión fresca y sorprendente. (1987b, 37)

It is clear that the base translation is the same, and, indeed, Margarita García de Miró is still credited as the translator. Yet, the publishers' re-examination of the dialogue reveals an awareness of the initial modifications under the pressures of censorship. At the same time,

many examples of self-censorship were not revisited. Gay men ("fairies") continue to be excluded from the list of holocaust victims, the protagonist's daughter is still characterized as "un poco impertinente," and references such as "blow jobs" and "jerk-off" remain untranslated. In other words, there has not been a systematic revision of the neutralized text.

Still, Grijalbo's early efforts to publish *Matadero cinco* during the dictatorship represent a certain stance between cooperation and resistance. The publisher proved willing to soften some of the soldiers' crude language in order to get the work passed, but unwilling to cut other sexual or irreverent descriptions in the target text. Part of this resistance was also motivated by Vonnegut's own stance against censorship, and the publisher's ability to negotiate a different outcome (i.e. exporting the text "whole" rather than manipulating it for Spanish readers) kept them on good terms with the author. As a result, Grijalbo could go on to publish *Guampeteros* and *La pianola* in 1977.

5.1.3 Descriptive-Comparative Study of *Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon* (1974) / *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes* (1977)

In September 1974, Ediciones Grijalbo submitted a third Vonnegut work to Voluntary Consultation. It was the collection titled *Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon* (1974), which had been published in the U.S. earlier that year. The essays, speeches and interviews collected in the work explored diverse topics ranging from U.S. foreign policy, the military and the war in Vietnam to contemporary literature, religious movements, drug-use, technology and modern life. The title of the work is explained in the author's preface:

The title of this book is composed of three words from my novel *Cat's Cradle*.⁴⁴ A *wampeter* is an object around which the lives of many otherwise unrelated people may revolve. . . . *Foma* are harmless untruths, intended to comfort simple souls. . . . A *granfalloon* is a proud and meaningless association of human beings. Taken together, the words form as good an umbrella as any for this collection of some of the reviews and essays I've written, a few of the speeches I made. (1974, xv)

A censor's report from September 23 pointed to problematic passages which had been marked on fifteen pages of the source text (as indicated in Appendix A1.2):

unos por tendenciosos, otros por alusiones inconvenientes a nuestro país [España] o por ofensivos para el ex-Presidente Nixon, por antimilitaristas o irreverentes. Se estima que deben suprimirse los citados pasajes sobre la traducción al castellano que convendría conocer previamente. (File no. 9587-74)

Another evaluation was added by Martos, *el jefe de grupo*, a few days later. He affirmed in a hand-written note that "Ninguno de los pasajes señalados es demasiado grave. Se estima debe pedirse la traducción para hacer sobre ella alguna ligera corrección" (File no. 9587-74).

On March 24, 1975 the publishers presented the Spanish manuscript translated by Marcelo Covián. Despite the extensive cuts that had been suggested in the source text, the censors found the target text to be publishable in its entirety. Part of the reason for this is explained in the March 26 report, once again signed by Martos: "La traducción ahora presentada, está tan mal hecha que casi todos los párrafos señalados en el original, que ya

⁴⁴ A Spanish edition of Vonnegut's satirical novel *Cat's Cradle* (1963) was published by Anagrama in 1988, under the title *Cuna del gato*, with the translation by Ángel Luis Hernández.

tenían poco de grave, han perdido hasta ese poco en la traducción. Es decir que la traducción presentada nos parece AUTORIZABLE" (File no. 9587-74). He suggested that the subversive elements had disappeared not by intentional modification, but through a generally poor translation.⁴⁵

Curiously, Grijalbo waited another two years to print the translated text and submit it to *Depósito*, which it did on April 14, 1977. The reason for this is unclear; however, the wait meant that *Guampeteros* was published after the end of the dictatorship, joining the wave of counterculture translations published in 1976, 1977 and 1978. The descriptive-comparative analysis will look at the passages marked by the censors in 1974 and the corresponding passages in the target text, also highlighting any evidence of self-censorship in the translation. This analysis will determine the extent to which the censurable content was indeed neutralized (or not), and also point to subversive elements that persisted in *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes* in order to consider the work's status as a subversive text.

In this regard, a few notes on the translator will also offer some important insight into the target text. Coming of age in Buenos Aires in the late sixties, Marcelo Covián began publishing his own works of poetry as well as selected translations of Beat poets such as Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti and Gregory Corso.⁴⁶ Yet, by the early seventies the political situation in Argentina had become untenable. In Covián's words:

Buenos Aires no fue nuestro San Francisco ni la Argentina resultó campo propicio para este tipo de disidencia y rebeldías. La realidad se transformó a punta de bayonetas, de guerrillas y de aparatos represivos que entonaron réquiems continuos e inmisericordes. Y hoy, en 1974, el drama parece estar lejos de su fin.

⁴⁵ This comment affirms the plural character of the norms and limitations that influence the translator's behavior. As Vidal Claramonte explains "Las traducciones nunca siguen una sola norma, y puesto que las normas en conflicto pueden coexistir, el observar una norma puede significar infringir otra" (1998, 47). In this case, the censor suggests that the "bad" translation is what makes the text "acceptable" for the censors. In other words, the translator's behavior is judged "correct" from the censorship perspective, yet "incorrect" from a literary perspective.

⁴⁶ Ediciones Alkol published two volumes of Covián's poetry: *Poema del amor rengo* (1967) and *Como si nada hubiera pasado* (1969); and Ediciones del Mediodía published three anthologies of Beat poetry translated by Covián: *Allen Ginsberg Antología* (1969), *Lawrence Ferlinghetti Antología* (1969) and *Gregory Corso Antología* (1969).

Pero con altibajos, los demás grupos de casi todo el mundo sobrevivieron primero, se fortalecieron y extendieron después. Hoy conforman esa nueva Internacional que se ha dado en llamar *underground* o contracultura. (Quoted in Zamora and Zamora 2013, 738)

Covián emigrated from Buenos Aires to Barcelona and worked as a translator for publishers such as Grijalbo, Lumen and Tusquets, continuing on a trajectory of cultural dissidence throughout the seventies. During this time he translated several sixties-era novels such as *Our Gang* (1971) / *La pandilla* (1973) by Philip Roth, and *Visions of Cody* (1972) / *Visiones de Cody* (1975), by Jack Kerouac, in addition to Vonnegut's earlier novel *Player Piano* (1952) / *La pianola* (1977) and *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes* (1977), discussed here.⁴⁷ Amid works of broader cultural and literary interest, Covián also translated a series of politically dissident texts for Tusquets, including *El arte en la teoría marxista y en la práctica soviética* (1973), *El movimiento anarquista en China* (1975) and *La anarquía según Bakunin* (1976).⁴⁸ In 1974, he co-edited a collection on Rock n' Roll (with Robert Rosenstine), titled *Los cantos de la conmoción: veinte años de rock*, and later translated *The Beatles: una guía ilustrada* (1977).⁴⁹ Moreover, he was among the intellectuals to sign the 1974 declaration denouncing the attacks on leftist presses, "Agresiones a la cultura," which was published in *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* that year.⁵⁰ Given Covián's general trajectory, and considering the fact that *Guampeteros* was actually translated in 1975, it is worth considering the extent to which the target text may have also represented an attempt to reclaim cultural and intellectual freedoms repressed during the years of the regime.

⁴⁷ *Visiones de Cody* and *La pandilla* are each discussed in section 4.3. on Counterculture Publications.

⁴⁸ *From Social Radicalism and the Arts* (1967) by Donald Drew Egbert; *The Chinese Anarchist Movement* (1951) by Robert Scalapino and George T. Yu; and *Bakunin on Anarchy* (1972) by Sam Dolgoff and Paul Avrich.

⁴⁹ *The Beatles: An Illustrated Record* (1975) by Roy Carr and Tony Tyler.

⁵⁰ Following the arson at Distribuciones de Enlace which destroyed hundreds of publications and assets in July, this declaration was published in the August 1974 issue of *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* (Issue no. 131, p. 19), and included the notable philosopher José Luis L. Aranguren as the first signatory. The full text of the declaration can be read on *Filosofia.org*, "Agresiones a la cultura," accessed March 13, 2016, <http://www.filosofia.org/hem/dep/cpd/7408p19.htm>.

Regarding the source text, the censor pointed to numerous passages that presented generally censurable concepts, yet rarely highlighted specific uses of language. This meant that the suggested suppressions tended to effect whole chunks of text and not individual words or expressions. Generally speaking, these passages encompassed six basic topics: religion, the military, Richard Nixon, drugs, sex and Spaniards. In fact, the first passage flagged by the censor broaches four of these areas:

At a minimum, those damaged children, at the exact center of the Universe, will be more honorable than Richard M. Nixon and more observant than God. Mr. Nixon himself is a minor character in this book. He is the first President to hate the American people and all they stand for. He believes so vibrantly in his own purity, although he has committed crimes which are hideous, that I am bound to conclude that someone told him when he was very young man that all serious crime was sexual, that no one could be a criminal who did not commit adultery or masturbate. (1974, xiii)

Vonnegut exposes the horrors of Nigeria's military conflict with Biafra, while also insulting Nixon and God. He mocks the conservative notion that masturbation and adultery could be considered criminal behavior, and condemns the President for failing to acknowledge his own "hideous" crimes.

Despite the claim that the work's censurable content had been defused by the "poor" translation, the criticisms found in this passage persist in the Spanish text:

Como mínimo, esos niños dañados, en el centro exacto del universo, serán más honorables que Richard M. Nixon y más vigilantes que Dios. El mismo señor Nixon es un personaje menor en este libro. Es el primer presidente que odia al pueblo americano y todo lo que el mismo representa. Cree de forma tan vibrante en su propia pureza, aunque ha cometido crímenes que son espantosos, que estoy tentado a concluir que alguien le dijo cuando era muy jovencito que todos los crímenes serios eran sexuales, que nadie podía ser criminal y no cometer adulterio o masturbarse. (1977a, 17-18)

It is worth noting, however, that the source text was inspected only a month after Nixon's resignation, whereas the target text was inspected the following year. In this sense, the passage may have seemed more sensitive upon initial inspection than it did a few months

later.⁵¹ Yet, this does not explain the censor's perception that the whole text had been neutralized in translation.

It is true that some of the passages in question were partially mitigated by the ("bad") translation, whether intentionally or otherwise. One example is found in Vonnegut's comparison of the war in Vietnam to the prohibition of alcohol in the U.S. during the 1920s in the essay "Thinking Unthinkable, Speaking Unspeakable":

<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
<u>The prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages in this country was called "The Noble Experiment," among other things. It did a lot to destroy our respect for policemen, who were expected to enforce laws which were stupid and unpopular. The war in Vietnam might aptly be called "Noble Experiment II," since it is a similarly narrow-minded adventure in virtue.</u> (207-209)	La prohibición de venta de bebidas alcohólicas en este país fue llamado «El noble experimento», entre otras cosas. Hizo mucho por destruir nuestro respeto por los policías de quienes se esperaba que hicieran cumplir leyes que eran estúpidas e impopulares. La guerra en Vietnam podría denominarse apropiadamente el «Noble experimento II», ya que es una aventura estúpida y similar por su virtud. (231-233)

Here, the author criticizes the government's attempt to impose U.S. interests in Vietnam and casts U.S. involvement as a "narrow-minded adventure in virtue" which seems to ignore the interests and desires of a great many people, relying instead on the heavy use of force or violence. The term "virtue" is thus applied ironically to both Prohibition and the war. Yet, this irony is defused in translation and Vonnegut's criticism muddled. In the original text, the two projects are framed as similar in both 'narrowmindedness' and as "adventure[s] in virtue," with the word "adventure" further implying a degree of experimentation and recklessness. However, this qualification is broken apart in translation, as the war is deemed "una aventura estúpida," on one hand, and yet "similar por su virtud," on the other. Given this breakdown of the sentence, 'virtue' might be understood as an inherent quality of both projects, to be

⁵¹ After Richard Nixon's visit to Spain in 1970, and with the increasingly friendlier relations between the two countries, the Spanish censors began to highlight attacks against the U.S. president, since they now considered the U.S. a "nación amiga y aliada" (File no. 1348-72). In addition to Vonnegut's criticisms of Nixon in *Guampeteros*, the censors also highlighted this aspect in the satirical novel *Our Gang* (1971) by Philip Roth (File no. 1348-72), and in *St. George and the Godfather* (1972) by Norman Mailer (File no. 15192-72).

weighed against their 'stupidity,' rather than adding to the list of flaws. And although the adjective "estúpida" does supply a certain criticism of the war (perhaps as reckless), it does not carry the same weight as "narrow-minded," which suggests ignorance of others and disregard for their perspective. Ultimately, while such modifications may not constitute conscious acts of self-censorship, they do represent a softening of Vonnegut's critique.

The description of the space launch in Vonnegut's interview with *Playboy* also loses a bit of its edge. While Vonnegut starts by describing the launch as "a tremendous space-fuck" the translation settles for "un tremendo coito espacial." The basic idea of sex is expressed unambiguously, yet the translation neutralizes the force of the slang term. Though it was likely the term "fuck" that initially caught the censor's attention, the entire passage was flagged in the source text. The translation is shown below:

Es un tremendo coito espacial y existe una especie de conspiración para ocultar ese hecho. Por eso todas las historias sobre los lanzamientos han sido tan poco brillantes. Nunca dan una pista de lo visceral que resulta la experiencia de contemplar un lanzamiento. ¿Cómo se sentirían los contribuyentes si se enteraran que estaban pagando orgasmos por unos pocos miles de fenómenos dentro de un radio de una milla alrededor de la plataforma? Y es un orgasmo extremadamente *satisfactorio*. Quiero decir que uno tiembla y abandona sus sentidos. Y hay algo en el sonido que viene estremeciéndose a ras del agua. Comprendo que existen ciertas frecuencias con las cuales se puede hacer cagar a una persona de forma involuntaria con el sonido. Y entonces le pega a uno en las entrañas. (1977a, 295)

Even with the neutralization of the slang term, the target text maintains the sexualized description of the launch throughout the passage. If the description was found to be less scandalous in translation, it may have been due largely to the use of the more clinical *coito*.

Yet, the passages marked by the censors show little evidence of neutralization overall. The author's subversive ideas are conveyed clearly in the target text, including irreverent notions of God and religion, a negative characterization of Spanish colonizers, repeated antimilitarism and open-minded interest in drugs. These categories will be discussed in the following pages.

The censor flagged a number of passages with irreverent or unorthodox ideas on Christianity. Despite being marked in the source text, such content persisted in the target text, where it was then overlooked. One example of this arises in Vonnegut's discussion of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the founder of the increasingly popular practice of Transcendental Meditation, who held an unorthodox view of the teachings of Jesus Christ:⁵²

<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
<p><u>[Maharishi] suggested that Jesus might have been onto something like Transcendental Meditation. . . . he said that Jesus and the early Christian saints had mistakenly allowed their minds to wander. . . . The wandering minds of Jesus and the saints had led to what Maharishi called "An absurdity," an emphasis on faith.</u></p> <p><u>"Faith . . . can let a man live and die in hope. The churches are driving people away because that is all they have to offer." . . . churches were offering sugar pills . . . (39)</u></p>	<p>Sugirió que Jesús podría haber estado en algo parecido a la Meditación Trascendental. . . . dijo que Jesús y los primeros santos cristianos de forma equivocada habían dejado que sus mentes viajaran. . . . Las mentes viajeras de Jesús y los santos habían llevado a lo que Maharishi denominaba «un absurdo», un énfasis en la fe.</p> <p>–La fe . . . puede permitir que un hombre viva y muera con la esperanza. Las iglesias están ahuyentando a la gente porque no pueden ofrecer otra cosa. . . . las iglesias ofrecían píldoras de azúcar. . . (61-62)</p>

Though also critical of Maharishi's practices and beliefs, the passage nonetheless gives voice to a non-traditional interpretation of the life of Jesus Christ, presenting the idea that he might have practiced meditation. Moreover, Maharishi's idea was that Jesus and his followers actually got it wrong with their strong emphasis on faith. Vonnegut posits that when compared to what Maharishi claimed to offer, Christian Churches appeared to be offering "sugar pills." In his attempt to understand Maharishi's popularity in the U.S., the author went on to say:

⁵² According to Polk (2012), "Transcendental Meditation was introduced to the United States in 1959 when its founder, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, came to Hawaii and California. Maharishi was an Indian ascetic who began touring the world in 1958, teaching what he professed to be ancient meditative techniques . . . TM reached the peak of its popularity in the mid 1970s, but it burst onto the American cultural scene in the late 1960s when the Beatles became public adherents of the practice" (656).

<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
<u>I can see where influential people would like Maharishi better than Jesus. My God, if The Beatles and Mia Farrow went to Jesus, He'd tell 'em to give all their money away.</u> (41)	–Ya comprendo por qué a la gente de influencia le puede gustar más Maharishi que Jesús. Dios santo, si los Beatles y Mia Farrow fueran a Jesús, Él les diría que dejasen su dinero. (64)

In truth, the author was criticizing wealth and materialism—not Christianity, yet the passage was still marked by the censors. As was seen with the censorship of a counterculture work on Zen Buddhism, the board was especially alert to the discussion of other religions when it involved a comparison to Christianity.⁵³ Vonnegut's section on Maharishi certainly had this air of comparison, even if the author was ultimately critical of the guru's following and more sympathetic to the teachings of Christ.

In other cases, irreverent notions did come directly from Vonnegut. In his interview with *Playboy*, for example, he discusses the "good lies" found in religion, and expresses pride in his atheist heritage, both of which were marked by the censors in the source text.

Table 15. Irreligious Notions Marked in the Source Text

<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
15.1 <u>"Thou shalt not kill." That's a good lie. Whether God said it or not, it's still a perfectly good lie. And if it gives it more force to say that God said it, well, fine.</u> (240)	«No matarás». Esa es una buena mentira. La haya dicho o no Dios, es todavía una perfecta mentira. Y si le da más fuerzas decir que Dios la dijo, pues, mejor. (264)

⁵³ The year before Vonnegut's passages on Maharishi were marked by the censors, Tusquets had been denied authorization for a nonfiction work by Alan Watts, titled *Beat Zen, Square Zen y Zen*, with the censor stating: "establece constantemente la comparación con la religión cristiana, dejando a esta en mal lugar, al considerarla alienante para el hombre . . . / Se está llenando el mercado de este tipo de literatura sobre religiones orientales. Nada censurable en principio, mientras ello no suponga que, al amparo de esta literatura, se empiece a deslizar un ataque a la religión, a la cultura o a la moral" (File no. 702-73).

15.2 <u>Lots of comforting lies are told in church—not enough, but some. I wish preachers would lie more convincingly about how honest and brotherly we should be. I've never heard a sermon on the subject of gentleness or restraint. . . . No preacher ever speaks out against cheating in business.</u> (240)	Muchas mentiras reconfortantes se dicen en la iglesia... no las suficientes, pero algunas. Ojalá los predicadores mintieran de modo más convincente sobre lo honestos y fraternos que deberíamos ser. Jamás he oído un sermón sobre el tema de la bondad y la contención. . . . Ningún predicador habla nunca contra la estafa en los negocios. (264)
<hr/>	
15.3 <u>I'm not rebelling against organized religion. I never had any. . . . [My ancestors] came here absolutely crazy about the United States Constitution and about the possibility of prosperity and brotherhood of man here. They were willing to work very hard and they were atheists.</u> (240) ⁵⁴	No me estoy rebelando contra las religiones organizadas. Nunca tuve una. . . . llegaron aquí absolutamente enloquecidos con la Constitución de los Estados Unidos y con la posibilidad de prosperidad y de fraternidad para el hombre en este país. Estaban dispuestos a trabajar duro, y eran ateos. (264)

Examples 15.1 and 15.2 reveal the author's particular notions of Christian morals. He asserts that religion can and should teach moral behavior, but that in his view these teachings will necessarily involve "lies." In fact, he argues that preachers should lie more convincingly to instill moral behavior. He suggests that religious leaders currently use these lies as they please and fail to condemn the behavior they ought to, such as dishonest business practices. Lastly, Vonnegut posits that atheism can be just as honorable as any organized religion. In example 15.3, he points to the tradition of atheism in his family, and emphasizes their hard work and the value they placed on the "brotherhood of man."

Also marked was Vonnegut's framing of Alcoholics Anonymous as a religion:

<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
<hr/>	
PLAYBOY: <u>Is there any religion you consider superior to any other?</u>	PLAYBOY: ¿Existe alguna religión que usted considere superior a las otras?
VONNEGUT: Alcoholics Anonymous. (240)	VONNEGUT: Alcohólicos Anónimos. (265)

⁵⁴ Vonnegut's "eight great-grandparents were part of the vast migration of Germans to the Midwest in the half century from 1820 to 1870. . . . [They] were better educated and of higher social rank than the mine-run of immigrants" (Vonnegut 1981, 22-23). Klinkowitz describes that "Vonnegut's ancestors on both sides of his family were emigrants from the failed German revolution of 1848 to America. Like the "free thinkers" who flocked to Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and other budding midwestern metropolises to build the ideal of a social democracy on the foundation of business, science, education, and the arts, Kurt's people came to Indianapolis and helped establish the city's cultural integrity—not so much civilizing a wilderness as constructing a social world on humane ideals" (2012, 6).

Though on the surface this sounds like another irreverent or humorous commentary—declaring a recovery program for alcoholics superior to major religions—it is true that the program was founded on Christian principals, and draws on the notion of a "higher power."⁵⁵ In this sense, Vonnegut's seemingly irreverent remark is not altogether insincere. He is highlighting the positive results of a program that offers "brotherhood" and "companionship" and where people can discuss "real troubles, which aren't spoken about in church" (240). Here, Vonnegut's description of the benefits of the program was not marked by the censor; yet the lead-in by the interviewer from *Playboy* was seen as problematic. It was the initial framing of Alcoholics Anonymous as a religion that caught the censor's attention. Still, this idea was expressed without manipulation in the target text, and Vonnegut's answer stands. Even if the program was relatively unknown to Spanish readers at the time, the name itself, given as a religion, would still be surprising.⁵⁶

The censors also highlighted Vonnegut's negative characterization of Spaniards at two different points in the collection, neither of which was neutralized in the target text. These are shown in table 16.

Table 16. Negative Characterizations of Spaniards Marked in the Source Text

	<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
16.1	<u>I think of Spaniards' mastery of the New World, with several million other Earthlings already here, with at least two other Earthling civilizations already here. I think of their masterful torture of Indians—to make the Indians tell where they had hidden gold.</u> (79)	Pienso en la conquista española del Nuevo Mundo, con varios millones de terrestres ya habitando esos lares, con por lo menos dos civilizaciones terrestres ya existentes en el lugar. Pienso en la magistral tortura impuesta a los indios: para hacerles confesar dónde tenían el oro. (79)

⁵⁵ In some cases, U.S. courts have ruled it unconstitutional for the government to require compulsory participation in Alcoholics Anonymous, due to "substantial religious components," which would violate the Establishment Clause, commonly known as the 'Separation of Church and State.' See, for example, the 2007 ruling of the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, available online: <http://cdn.ca9.uscourts.gov/datastore/opinions/2007/09/07/0615474.pdf#page=11>

⁵⁶ According to the official website of Alcoholics Anonymous in Spain, the group had loose associations in the country beginning in the late fifties and had centers established by 1970, with a much larger presence by the end of the decade. http://www.alcoholicos-anonimos.org/v_portal/apartados/apartado.asp?te=187

16.2	<u>I am reminded of the Spanish armada, whose ships had torture chambers in their holds. Protestant Englishmen were going to be forced to blubber.</u> (170)	Me acuerdo ahora de la Armada española cuyos barcos tenían cámaras de tortura en las bodegas. Los ingleses protestantes iban a ser obligados a llorar a gritos. (196)
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Between the two passages, the Spanish are characterized by their brutal conquest in the Americas and their use of torture. Indeed, similar references had been removed from the nonfiction work of Dee Brown in 1973.⁵⁷ In this case, however, the characterization was left intact in the target text.

Similarly, Vonnegut's antimilitarism was transmitted in the target text, in spite of the board's initial reservations. Examples are shown in table 17.

Table 17. Negative Characterizations of the Military Marked in the Source Text

	<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
17.1	<u>We were empty-headed children in that war, as all ground soldiers are.</u> (213)	Éramos chicos con las cabezas vacías en esa guerra, como son todos los soldados de infantería. (237)
17.2	[The war in Vietnam] <u>has left us with a secret and unjust contempt for our soldiers, especially our airmen.</u> . . . [a woman] <u>thought that the fliers who were shot down while bombing civilians from the stratosphere shouldn't have been doing what they were doing.</u> <u>"I wouldn't want to wear a bracelet with one of their names on it, and pray for his early return to his family and all that. . ."</u> . . . <u>she was no longer able to believe in a romance which in the past has made us so energetic when defending our soldiers—the romance of their being innocent soldier boys.</u>	[La guerra en Vietnam] nos ha dejado con un desprecio secreto e injusto por nuestros soldados, en especial los aviadores. . . . [una mujer] pensaba que los aviadores que habían sido derribados mientras bombardeaban civiles desde la estratosfera no tendrían que haber hecho lo que hicieron. –No quisiera usar un brazalete con su nombre y rezar por su pronto retorno a su familia y todo eso. ella ya no podía creer en una aventura que en el pasado nos había hecho tan enérgicos cuando defendíamos a nuestros soldados: la ficción de que eran soldados

⁵⁷ In the introduction to *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970), Dee Brown drew a connection between the Spanish destruction of indigenous communities and the continent-wide destruction of communities at the hands of all Europeans. The censors, however, considered that the work made reference "innecesariamente, a atrocidades cometidas por los españoles" (File no. 11388-72), and oversaw the removal of the following passage: "Los españoles saqueaban e incendiaban sus pueblos; apresaron centenares de hombres, mujeres y niños, que fueron enviados a Europa para ser vendidos como esclavos... La resistencia de los arahuacos puso en liza mosquetes y sables, y fueron muchas las tribus destruidas en su totalidad y centenares de miles los muertos en el curso de menos de diez años desde que Colón arribara por primera vez a las playas de San Salvador, el 12 de octubre de 1492" (File no. 11388-72).

	niños e inocentes.
<u>We have made our soldiers ghastly by giving them ghastly things to do.</u> (207-208)	Hemos vuelto téticos a nuestros soldados al darles a hacer cosas téticas. (231-232)

In example 17.1 the author characterizes the infantry as unthinking, "empty-headed," and then, in example 17.2 he discusses the public perception of soldiers after the atrocities of Vietnam. In particular, he suggests that with the public knowledge that civilians were being bombed there it was much harder to feel compassion for the U.S. airmen. The author contrasts this with previous wars and the "romance" of innocent soldiers. Though this general notion is present in the target text, the translation of "romance" defuses to a small degree the situation described by the author. With the term "romance" Vonnegut implies that the soldiers' innocence was in fact always a myth—a story—which was easier to believe in the past (perhaps before television), while in the target text "aventura" takes on the sense of cause, or action, thus bypassing this notion of a false narrative.

Following this page-long discussion of wartime atrocities, Vonnegut's warning against guns was also marked in the source text. Though the statements do not directly attack the military, the passage may have been considered an extension of the antimilitary discussion, and therefore subject to modification. In spite of the censor's marks, Vonnegut's message is transmitted without neutralization in the target text:

<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
<u>Too many of us treat guns with genial familiarity. Guns should give us the heebie-jeebies. They are killing machines. That is all they are. We should dread them the way we dread cancer and cyanide and electric chairs.</u> (214)	Demasiados de nosotros manejamos armas con complaciente familiaridad. Los revólveres nos tendrían que producir escalofríos. Son maquinas de matar. Eso es todo lo que son. Las tendríamos que temer como tememos al cáncer, el cianuro o la silla eléctrica. (238)

Finally, the censors flagged multiple references to drug-use in the collection. Vonnegut describes drugs as a way to meet friends and become part of a community. He is

open to the idea of drugs as a means of changing our mentalities, and suggests that this may be an essential resource in an overpopulated future. Examples are shown in table 18.

Table 18. References to Drug-Use Marked in the Source Text

	<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
18.1	<u>It's like the drug thing among young people. The fact that they use drugs gives them a community . . . Built around the marijuana thing was a community, and the same is true about the long-hair thing: You're able to greet and trust strangers because they look like you, because they use marijuana, and so forth.</u> (250)	Es como las drogas entre los jóvenes. El hecho de usar drogas les proporciona una comunidad . . . Alrededor de la marihuana había una comunidad, como también la había en torno al pelo largo: uno puede conocer desconocidos y confiar en ellos porque se parecen a uno, porque fuman marihuana etcétera. (274)
18.2	<u>You can change your mind. You can change your insides. The drug thing was a perfectly marvelous, resourceful, brave experiment . . . Loading everybody in block C up with amphetamines. In block D, giving them all heroin. Keeping everybody in block E high on marijuana—and just seeing what happened to them . . . this experiment was and continues to be performed by volunteers, and so we know an awful lot now about how we can change internally. It may be that the population will become so dense that . . . the only possible solution—will be to change our insides.</u> (251)	[Ud.] puede cambiar su mente. Puede cambiar sus entrañas. Lo de la droga fue un experimento maravilloso, valiente, ingenioso . . . Darle a todos los del Pabellón C amfetaminas. En el pabellón D, heroína a todo el mundo. Mantener en vuelo a los del Pabellón E con marihuana. Y simplemente ver que les pasaba . . . este experimento fue realizado y continua realizándose por voluntarios y, por lo tanto, ahora sabemos muchísimo sobre como podemos cambiar internamente. Es posible que alcancemos tal densidad de población que . . . la única solución posible—sea que cambiemos nuestro interior. (275-276)

This overwhelmingly positive attitude toward drug-use is transmitted in the target text. Nevertheless, a small degree of neutralization is visible in the translation of the colloquial expression "high." Similar to the case of other counterculture texts, this translation does not employ common street language for drug-use. The expression "en vuelo" borrows the language of aeronautics to describe the idea of being "high," yet did not necessarily connect to an existing drug culture. As was the case with Norman Mailer, such translation decisions may have risked the author's credibility as a counterculture figure, and may also point to the translator's own distance from drugs (as discussed in 5.3.1 and 5.3.2). However, Vonnegut himself often used neutral language referring to the actual substances, such as "marijuana"

and "heroin," only occasionally employing slang terms such as "grass." More important than specific expressions were the author's ideas about the uses and benefits of drug-use. In this regard, the descriptions of drugs are rendered with little evidence of neutralization.

Even though the target text clearly renders the large part of the "censurable" content that was flagged by the censors, there is nevertheless evidence of self-censorship in a small number of examples. In these cases the content of the source text was not flagged by the censors yet underwent neutralization in the translation and editing process. For example, when Vonnegut describes the novel *Going All the Way* (1970) by his contemporary Dan Wakefield, a reference to erotic entertainment is omitted in the target text:

<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
His sex-addled fools tool their parents' automobiles through a vast pinball machine whose bumpers and kickers are strip joints and taverns . . . They seek whorehouses, which it turns out, have been closed for years. (119)	Los tontos sexuales manejan los automóviles de sus padres a través de una inmensa maquina pinball cuyos topes y costados son bares del camino . . . Ellos buscan casas de putas, según resulta, hace años que están cerradas. (143)

Interestingly, the reference to whorehouses in the following sentence is rendered clearly. As such, the missing reference to "strip joints" may be the result of the term's difficulty, and not a clear case of self-censorship. The general category of *bares del camino* might feasibly be seen as including environments such as those of "strip joints and taverns." Yet, the specific idea of the young men watching strip shows is still bypassed in the target text, creating a partially neutralized scene.

In an even more striking example, Vonnegut's characterization of the war in Vietnam as a "fuck up" is omitted in the target text:

And I muss digress at this point to coin an acronym that can serve me now, which is "JACFU." A similar acronym, "JANFU," was coined during the Second World War, along with "SNAFU." It meant "Joint Army-Navy Fuck Up." I would like "JACFU" to mean "Joint American-Communist Fuck Up"

Ø

And the children . . . are surely victims of JACFU. . . . our undeserving poor are not . . . victims of JACFU. (204)

Los niños . . . son sin duda victimas del Lío Conjunto Americano-Comunista. . . . nuestros pobres que no merecen esa situación, no son . . . victimas de ese esfuerzo conjunto. (228)

The author repeats the expression "fuck up" and the associated acronyms JACFU, JANFU and SNAFU to express his criticisms of military operations in Vietnam.⁵⁸ In doing so, he evokes an already existing criticism of the havoc wreaked by the military, dating back to World War II. Whereas this expression originated as "Joint Army-Navy Fuck Up," implicating two arms of the U.S. Armed Forces, Vonnegut suggests that in Vietnam it was a "Joint American-Communist Fuck Up." The translation omits the entire paragraph where the acronym is explained, also bypassing Vonnegut's suggestion that U.S. involvement in Vietnam was a complete failure. A reference in the following paragraph is translated as "el Lío Conjunto Americano-Comunista," offering only a hint of the chaos and destruction that Vonnegut is referring to. A final reference is translated as "ese esfuerzo conjunto," eliminating even the idea of something gone awry. This combination of strategies significantly neutralizes Vonnegut's characterization of the war, while also avoiding the strong language.

Still, the examples of non-neutralization are far more common. In addition to the censurable content marked by the censor of the source text, many other passages were potentially problematic. Such examples touch on the same themes highlighted by the censors in the initial report: drugs, antimilitarism, Nixon, Spanish torture, religion and sex, as well as

⁵⁸ The Acronym SNAFU stands for 'Situation Normal: All Fucked Up.'

the subject of communism.⁵⁹

For example, when Vonnegut makes reference to drugs elsewhere in the text, the author's open attitude is rendered in the target text. Examples are shown in Table 19.

Table 19. Uncensored Descriptions of Drug-Use in the Target Text

Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes (1977)

-
- | | |
|-------|---|
| 19.1 | dos bolsas de <u>hierba</u> , setenta y cinco píldoras de <u>mescalina</u> , cinco <u>hojas del ácido</u> de alto poder, un salero a medio llenar de <u>cocaína</u> , y toda una galaxia de excitantes, tranquilizantes, productores de risas, de gritos multicolores... (56) |
| <hr/> | |
| 19.2 | una pizca de <u>láudano</u> (tintura de opio) o un poco de <u>cocaína</u> de cuando en cuando para alejar las tristezas (135) |
-

Not only are the descriptions rendered without ambiguity, but example 19.1 offers the colloquial expression *hierba*, which had often been avoided in other counterculture translations. Moreover, this passage refers to cocaine as well as psychedelic drugs such as mescaline and acid, commonly used in counterculture circles. Example 19.2 also refers to the use of cocaine, as well as laudanum, as a way to cheer up. While it is true that Vonnegut is generally receptive to the idea of drug-use, his discussion of the subject presented a relatively minor threat compared to the standpoint of an author such as William S. Burroughs, who was repeatedly characterized as a drug-addict and drug-apologist by the Spanish censors.⁶⁰

Beyond this, further criticisms of Nixon and the U.S. military are shown in table 20.

⁵⁹ Since no self-censorship was apparent in these examples, the Spanish passages are shown by themselves to demonstrate the presence of censurable content in the target text.

⁶⁰ This characterization of Burroughs is reflected in the censorship reports for three works that were denied authorization from 1970 to 1975: *Apomorfine* (File no. 12499-70), *El trabajo* (File no. 1280-72), and *Junkie* (File no. 11278-75). See Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

Table 20. Uncensored Criticisms of the U.S. Military and President Nixon in the Target Text

Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes (1977)

-
- 20.1 Los militares quieren que encontremos a los villanos y les metamos balas en los sesos. (183)
-
- 20.2 Un profesor de física radioactiva . . . aseguraba que si alguna vez se llegaba a utilizar el Sistema de Seguridad Antimisiles, de Mr. Laird y Mr. Nixon, todos los niños nacidos después (en todas partes) se morirían de defectos natales antes de poder crecer y reproducirse.
- Entonces me maravillé una vez más de la alegría de nuestros líderes, tipos de mi edad. Pedían nada menos que la construcción de una maquina apocalíptica, pero seguían sonriendo. Todo estaba bien. (128)
-
- 20.3 . . . los Terrestres ponen tanto énfasis en la verdad a fin de que se les crea cuando mienten. Por ejemplo, el Presidente Nixon se sintió libre de mentir durante su discurso de aceptación . . . , debido a su famoso amor a la verdad. (229)
-
- 20.4 [Nixon] nos ha enseñado a despreciar a los pobres. (297)
-

In example 20.1 the author characterizes military personnel as simple-minded brutes, only capable of killing, which also suggests a deeper criticism of the military as lacking in diplomacy. In example 20.2 he criticizes Nixon's policies and vision, depicting the President as completely indifferent to long-term public safety and health. Elsewhere he states that Nixon "debe creer que está sirviendo a Dios haga lo que haga" (1977a, 218), and tackles the assumption that Nixon is operating with God's blessing, which he apprehensively deems "El Derecho Divino de los presidentes" (1977a, 216). In example 20.3 the author characterizes Nixon as fundamentally dishonest, intentionally airing his "love of the truth" so as to lie with impunity. Lastly, Vonnegut highlights the "vile" messages that the President has transmitted to the populace, especially contempt for the poor. Overall, he characterizes both the military and the President as unthinking and uncaring.

These anti-authoritarian sentiments are likewise present in Vonnegut's continued discussion of God, in many cases overlooked by the censors. A few examples of his irreverent commentaries are shown in table 21.

Table 21. Uncensored Statements of Irreverence and Irreligiosity in the Target Text

Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes (1977)

-
- 21.1 Por esa cantidad de dinero, lo menos que pueden hacer es descubrir a Dios. (107)
-
- 21.2 . . . [yo] tenía todas las esperanzas de que algún científico . . . le sacaría una foto en color al mismo Creador. (185)
-
- 21.3 No quiero averiguar lo que quiere Dios para entonces servirle con más eficacia. No quiero descubrir cómo es el paraíso para poder estar mejor preparado. Pensar en esas cosas me hace reír al rato. Disfruto riéndome y entonces pienso en esas cosas y me río. (300)
-
- 21.4 Aprendí de [mis padres] que la religión organizada es anticristiana. (279)
-

In examples 21.1 and 21.2 the author plays ironically with the idea of "discovering" God, as if more money or greater technology would bring humankind face to face with the creator. In this way, Vonnegut is also mocking the notion of positivism, the idea that science and development would solve all mysteries and all problems. These examples are humorous in their treatment of the divine as simply another achievement: "lo menos que pueden hacer es descubrir a Dios." The idea that new technology, "the color photograph," could in one step reveal the image of God, is humorously underplayed, putting the deity at the level of the familiar and everyday. For the author, such musings about God are simply a form of entertainment, not a matter of serious contemplation, which he makes clear in example 21.3. Finally, in example 21.4 Vonnegut reiterates his criticisms of organized religion, going so far as to say it is "unchristian."

The author likewise references the Spanish Inquisition, once again conjuring violent episodes from Spain's past:

Cuando la inquisición estaba a punto de quemar vivo a alguien, afeitaba a esa persona de pies a cabeza. Torturaba a la persona hasta el punto de convertirla en un idiota balbuceante, lo metía dentro de una bata para estúpidos y un capote de papel. Le pintaban y enmascaraban el rostro. ¡Eh, presto! ¡Un payaso! (1977a, 222)

Whereas the editors of Heinlein's *Revolución en el 2100* felt pressure to redact references to the historical religious institution in the 1968 work of science fiction, here it is described freely.⁶¹

In addition to the areas flagged by the censor, Vonnegut's collection touches on other sensitive political topics which are not neutralized in the target text. For example, the author embraces a range of socialist and Marxist ideas, as shown in the examples of table 22.

Table 22. Uncensored References to Marxist and Socialist Ideas in the Target Text

Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes (1977)

-
- | | |
|-------|---|
| 22.1 | En consecuencia dividamos las riquezas de forma más equitativa de lo que hemos hecho hasta el momento. Asegurémonos que todos tienen suficiente para comer, y un lugar decente donde vivir y asistencia médica cuando la necesiten. (192) |
| <hr/> | |
| 22.2 | Yo mismo ansío una distribución más justa de trabajos y riquezas. 'A cada uno según su capacidad. A cada uno según sus necesidades.' (241) |
-

Not only does the author discuss an equal distribution of wealth and resources, and express the idea that everyone ought to have access to food, shelter and healthcare in example 22.1, but he also repeats a phrase popularized by Karl Marx in 22.2: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."⁶² These ideas are rendered clearly in the target text.

As in previous works, Vonnegut also makes a point of confronting the act of censorship. He points to the cruel means by which it is sometimes enforced, while also insisting on the ridiculousness of trying to control works of fiction:

Sé que en varios países impera la sensación de que la ficción puede herir mucho al orden social. Escritores . . . han sido encarcelados, metidos en asilos de lunáticos, exiliados, hasta muertos a veces: por poner ciertas palabras en un cierto orden. Los políticos que hacen cosas semejantes deben aprender . . . que no están siendo simplemente crueles. Están siendo ridículos también. La ficción es inofensiva. La ficción es pura espuma. (1977a, 250)

⁶¹ See the discussion of Heinlein's collection in Section 5.2.1.

⁶² Often attributed to Marx, the phrase dates to the earlier writings of Louis Blanc (Caron 2008, 185).

In addition, he praises the work of a Russian translator who worked to elude the censorship of her country (ibid.). While the subject of censorship may not have been considered "censurable," neither would Vonnegut's ridicule have made him any friends among the Spanish censors.

Finally, it is worth noting that in a few instances the target text actually intensifies the language used to describe sex. Two examples of this are shown in table 23.

Table 23. Intensified References to Sex in the Target Text

	<i>Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon</i> (1974)	<i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i> (1977)
23.1	There's one community I admire here in New York . . . It's based in everybody's <u>screwing</u> everybody else. This is intelligent, because it makes a sort of blood tie. It's actually a jism tie. (244)	Hay una comunidad aquí en Nueva York que yo acepto . . . Está basada en que todo el mundo <u>se folla</u> a todo el mundo. Esto es inteligente porque crea una especie de relación de sangre. En realidad es un vínculo de semen. (279)
23.2	They were <u>scrogging</u> the universe. (270)	Se estaban <u>follando</u> al universo. (295)

Example 23.1 reveals seemingly contradictory choices for the target text. On one hand, the author describes how he "accepts" (rather than "admires") the group in New York, which gives the author a little more distance in the target text. Yet, the verb used for sex in the target text, *se folla*, is more direct and likely more shocking. Likewise, in example 23.2 the source text uses a euphemism, "scrogging," whereas the target text opts for the direct term *follando*. In this sense, the translator seems eager to employ the verb *follar*, which only a few years before might have been problematic.⁶³

In sum, contrary to the 1975 report which claimed that censurable content had been largely neutralized in Marcelo Covián's translation, the textual analysis reveals only isolated instances of neutralization in the target text. Of the nearly fifteen pages marked as

⁶³ Despite numerous possible occasions for the term in *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater*, the verb *follar* does not appear once. The one use of the term in *Matadero cinco* was flagged by the censor. See sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2.

problematic in the source text, only a handful of expressions were found to be neutralized in translation. Rather, in most instances the target text reveals similarly subversive ideas relating to the military, religion, sex, drugs, President Nixon and Spaniards in history.

Nevertheless, an entire passage is omitted which contains a strong indictment of U.S. military action in Vietnam and includes repetition of the expression "fuck up." Another negative characterization of soldiers and war is subtly softened with the word *aventura* in the target text. Thus, Vonnegut's antimilitarism can be seen as the area most effected by the translation choices for *Guampeteros*. Yet, in many passages throughout the text the author's antimilitarism is expressed unambiguously. In regard to sexual content, one reference to erotic entertainment is glossed over in the target text, yet many other sexual references remain. For a few expressions relating to sex the translator's choice of register has a noticeable effect, yet the effect is not always neutralizing. In fact, the textual analysis revealed two cases where the target text employed stronger language than the source text. In terms of drug-use, the target text transmits a certain distance with the phrase "en vuelo," to express being "high," yet in another case the use of the colloquial "hierba" creates the kind of familiarity with drugs often expressed by Vonnegut. Overall, the examples of neutralization are few and far between, and the translated collection stands as a subversive text.

It is also worth noting that the censors were not particularly focused on "obscene" expressions in *Wampeters*. They initially marked the word "fuck" as part of a larger passage, but overlooked uses of *follar* and *puta* in the target text. This suggests that by mid-seventies obscenities did not necessarily present grounds for suppression. The initial censor expressed concern for the blasphemies in the text, but these too were overlooked upon inspection of the target text. When the work was finally published and submitted to *Depósito* in 1977, the censor defended Vonnegut's commentaries on Christianity, stating that "no ofenderán a ningún cristiano de buen seso," and positing that in general "el tono irónico con que discurre

el libro da a sus afirmaciones presumiblemente ofensivas, un tono de innegable levedad." In fact, the 1977 report found Vonnegut's position to be decisively positive: "la intención del autor es positiva y plausible por lo muchísimo que tiene de voluntad de mejora para la civilización actual" (File no. 4103-77).

The trajectory of *Guampeteros* also reinforces what many scholars have highlighted in regard to the arbitrary nature of the Voluntary Consultation process. Despite the first censor's recommendation that numerous passages be suppressed, a second censor found that only "light corrections" to the translation would be necessary. Six months later, the generally un-neutralized target text was approved without any modifications at all. Indeed, the censor who suggested light corrections in 1974 was the same censor who approved the translation in 1975. Since this shift in perception is not fully explained by the actual content of the target text, it is likely that the time between the submission of the source text and the submission of the target text also worked to Grijalbo's advantage. Aspects of the work which had been cause for concern in 1974 were deemed fully passable in 1975. Furthermore, as publishers began to submit a larger number of works directly to *Depósito*, the censors had to watch how strict they were in Voluntary Consultation, so as to prevent publishers from abandoning the consultation process altogether.

Finally, on account of the delayed publication of *Matadero cinco*, Vonnegut was still relatively unread in Spain when *Guampeteros* was being assessed by the censors. Even in 1977 one censor remarked that he had not read Vonnegut before, though the novelist was an "autor cotizado." The collection itself was seen as somewhat limited in its reach and "eminente americano," having many references that would 'escape' the Spanish readers (File no. 4103-77). Moreover, as a nonfiction collection of over 300 pages, *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes* was likely less of a concern than the counterculture novels or smaller "pamphlets" submitted in the same period. It is also true that the publishers requested

authorization for only 2,000 copies of the work. In this regard, *Guampeteros* did not appear to be a publication for the masses. Still, the collection was printed as part of Grijalbo's *best-sellers* series and was popular enough to merit a reprint later the same year. After 1977, however, *Guampeteros* was never reprinted, in contrast to many of the author's novels, which saw a number of new editions and re-prints in the following decades. As such, the translated text has never been revisited.

5.2 Translation and Censorship of Robert A. Heinlein in Franco's Spain

Robert A. Heinlein is considered one of the best and most influential science fiction authors of the mid-twentieth century up to his death in 1988. Fellow science fiction writer Isaac Asimov would say of Heinlein that "From the moment his first story appeared [in 1939], an awed science fiction world accepted him as the best science fiction writer in existence, and he held that post throughout his life. Certainly, I was impressed" (Asimov 2009, 76). Over this period Heinlein and Asimov, along with Arthur C. Clarke, came to be known as "The Big Three" of science fiction, especially as the genre was being consolidated in the 1950's and in the decades to follow. Author Stephen King goes even farther when he affirms that "Following World War II, Robert A. Heinlein emerged as not only the premier writer of speculative fiction, but the greatest writer of such fiction in the world. He remains today a sort of trademark for all that is finest in American imaginative fiction" (Quoted in Beahm 1998, 111).⁶⁴

Particularly notable are the ideological and stylistic turns of Heinlein's nearly fifty-year career. Asimov, who began working with Heinlein in the 1940s, observes that "although a flaming liberal during the war, Heinlein became a rock-ribbed far-right conservative immediately afterward" (Asimov 2009, 77). Of course, the novelist's view of himself is more nuanced. Once a political organizer for Upton Sinclair's socialist platform in California, and a supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" social programs of the 1930s,⁶⁵ Heinlein

⁶⁴ In his 1947 piece "On Writing Speculative Fiction," Heinlein promoted the term as an alternative to "science fiction." And in the sixties, writers such as Judith Merrill, Samuel R. Delany and others, who "sought to blur the distinction between 'science fiction' and fantasy, . . . coin[ed] the term "sf" to include not only science fiction but also its associated 'speculative fiction,' 'science fantasy,' 'speculative futures,' and 'speculative fabulation.'" (Cheng 2012, 329). Atwood (2011), for example, distinguishes "speculative fiction" as works about "things that really could happen but just hadn't completely happened when the authors wrote the books" (6). Indeed, Heinlein has been credited with anticipating a number of technological advances or events, including "waterbeds, moving sidewalks, moon landings and the coming space race," among others (Reitman 2011, 9).

⁶⁵ A long-time socialist, Sinclair joined the Democratic Party in 1933 and launched a platform to End Poverty in California (EPIC) through his bid for the governorship, which he had previously aspired to on the socialist ticket (Patterson 2010, 173). Heinlein became a key political organizer of the EPIC campaign in the face intense

writes three decades later that "the problems of the 'thirties are *not* the problems the 'sixties. The central problem of today is no longer individual exploitation but national survival . . ." (Patterson 2010, 206). This might help to explain his focus on the military in the 1959 work *Starship Troopers*, a "dark, disturbing novel devoted to glorification of the fighting man" (Olander and Greenberg 1978, 30). In the words of Booker and Thomas,

Starship Troopers is essentially a call to arms, a reminder that some enemies can be defeated only by force and that any society that hopes to remain free must be prepared to exercise such force. Indeed, the book presents a pseudo-Darwinian vision of life as a struggle for survival of the strongest, thereby urging Americans to seek greater military strength so that they can survive. (2009, 215)

The "dark" and "disturbing" aspects of *Starship Troopers* also signaled a turning point in Heinlein's narrative style. From 1939 to 1959, Heinlein's writing consisted mostly of short fiction for science fiction magazines and serialized novels targeting younger readers. Indeed, the author's first thirteen novels—beginning with *Rocket Ship Galileo* in 1947—were marketed as "juveniles." However, *Starship Troopers* (1959), as the last of this kind, "fits especially uneasily in that category and was in fact produced by a different publisher after it was rejected by Scribner's, the publisher of all 12 of the others" (Booker 2014, 347). Certainly, *Starship Troopers* is seen as a point of inflection, ushering in what scholars have called Heinlein's 'Middle Period,' particularly visible beginning with the experimental novel *Stranger in a Strange Land*, published in 1961.

Not only was *Stranger* not intended for young readers, it was so risqué that the editors at G.P. Putnam's Sons "asked him to cut the size of the novel by one-fourth and to remove sexual scenes that they considered offensive to public tastes of the time. The novel was published with these changes and remained in print in that form for 28 years" (Sova 2006a,

opposition from the Republican Party (178). Though Sinclair narrowly lost the governorship to Republican candidate Frank Merriam, a number of EPIC affiliates won seats in California's legislature and in local administrations as a result of the movement's mass appeal and efforts to register 330,000 Democrats in the state, which brought the Democratic Party "into parity with Republicans for the first time in California history." (175) Also a well-established journalist, Sinclair was known especially for his novel *The Jungle* (1906), depicting the harsh conditions seen in the meat-packing industry of the early 20th century.

269).⁶⁶ Notwithstanding these cuts in the editing process, *Stranger in a Strange Land* was a markedly provocative work, launching "frontal assaults on 'the two biggest, fattest sacred cows' of Western society, 'monotheism and monogamy,'" as Kurt Vonnegut declares (1990, 13). It is true that the original novel saw no reprints for seven years after the initial publication. Yet, "in 1966 and '67, dog-eared copies of the first printing were being passed among the youthful participants of the burgeoning counterculture who used the story as a blueprint of sorts to experiment with communal relationships and religious practices" (Macfarlane 2007, 92). This brought on a second printing in 1968, as

The elements of the fictional religion that Mike [the protagonist] founds on Earth—communal living, casual nudity, free love, and water sharing as a sacrament—resonated with the hippie lifestyle, as did Mike's gentle, childlike approach to the world. "Grok," a verb coined by Heinlein to describe the Martians' concept of total understanding, became part of the counter-culture's vocabulary. (Bowdoin Van Riper 2012, 637)

In some ways, this popularity among counterculture youth also reflected the authors' willingness to experiment with new styles, as highlighted by Asimov, who notes that Heinlein "tried to keep up with the times, so that his later novels were 'with it' as far as post-1960s literary fashions were concerned" (Asimov 2009, 77).⁶⁷

Though *Stranger* was "never meant as a religious directive," but rather as religious parody, the fact that it "challenged the conventional Christian model of the time" while exploring aspects of communalism and free love, made the novel a natural model for the "unconventional religious and sexual exploration" that emerged among counterculture youth (Macfarlane 2007, 95-97). Among the "communal and quasi-religious groups . . . [which] began proliferating in the late 1960's in the U.S.," were those whose direct inspiration came from Heinlein's novel, such as The Church of All Worlds, named after the church created by Heinlein's protagonist in *Stranger* (96). Indeed, the work had "managed to fascinate the first

⁶⁶ An uncut version of Heinlein's novel was finally published in 1991.

⁶⁷ However, Asimov also posits that Heinlein actually "failed" in this endeavor (Ibid.).

wave of hippies who took the satire more literally than the author ever envisioned possible" (103). While Heinlein may have been dismissive of the attempts to use his work as a religious model, he nonetheless demonstrates keen interest in the role of religious and sexual practices in society, and consistently questions U.S. conservatism in these two areas. Heinlein, "through the veil of Science Fiction . . . offer[s] Americans . . . an intriguing cultural look at themselves at their most hypersensitive, namely, on the subjects of religion and sex" (Macfarlane 2007, 96). Thus, it is no surprise that the work caught on the way it did with sixties-era youth, in spite of Heinlein's visible shift to the right in the period following World War II (Asimov 2009, 77).

The novel's engagement with free love also represents the opening of a theme that would continue to spring up in Heinlein's later works. No longer writing for juveniles, Heinlein explored notions of sex from a variety of angles in sixties-era works such as *Farnham's Freehold* and *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress*, albeit within the limited scope of male-female relationships. And although the novels contain little in the way of truly graphic sex scenes or obscenity (at least after editorial cuts), what stands out is Heinlein's continued interrogation of monogamy and his theorizing on possible alternatives. The author himself is known to have at least one 'open' marriage in the thirties and forties (Patterson 2010, 162), demonstrating a long-term personal engagement with the question. Yet, Heinlein's literary experiments in this area coincide especially with the rise of the counterculture, and parallel the increasing interest in free love and communal living among sixties-era youth. This also came as he and other science fiction authors were being discovered by a wider readership. In a sense, both the writer and his characters can be seen exploring new terrain in the sixties. This shift, and more specifically, the widespread interest generated by *Stranger in a Strange Land* also marks a clear division in the practices of translation and censorship toward Heinlein works in Spain.

In examining the translation and censorship practices applied to Robert A. Heinlein works in Franco's Spain, it is important to distinguish between two stages of Heinlein's writing: first, the body of fifties-era short fiction and juvenile novels that were translated in Spain from 1955-1967, and then, the more controversial body of sixties-era works translated beginning in 1968. The contrast between these two periods was defined, most notably, by the blighted publication of *Forastero en tierra extraña* (1968), a translation of Heinlein's counterculture phenomenon, *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961). Whereas the earlier Heinlein texts were characterized by the Spanish censors as harmless works of science fiction, the publications following *Forastero* were more readily perceived as dangerous. Thus, responding to negative verdicts from the censorship board and increasing financial distress, the publishing house responsible for the 1968 translations, Ediciones Géminis, progressively adopted practices of overt self-censorship in order to secure approval for texts such as *Revolt in 2100* (1953) and *Farnham's Freehold* (1964). Nearing the end of the dictatorship, a 1974 edition of *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress* (1966)—confronting many of the same taboos as *Stranger* and *Farnham's*—exhibits similar patterns of self-censorship at the hands of the translator and/or editors.

This section will first offer a brief overview of the earlier Heinlein translations, published from 1955 to 1967, followed by an in-depth look at the case of Ediciones Géminis and the 1968 translations. The characteristics of censorship and self-censorship in two of these works will be examined with the descriptive-comparative study of *Revolt in 2100* (1953) / *Revolta en el 2100* (1968) and *Farnham's Freehold* (1964) / *Los dominios de Farnham* (1968). The third part of the study will look at *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress* (1966) / *La Luna es una cruel amante* (1974).

The first Heinlein translations were introduced to Spanish readers by EDHASA (Editora y Distribuidora Hispano Americana, S.A.), in 1955.⁶⁸ EDHASA published six translations that year and by 1967 had distributed fifteen translations of the increasingly popular science-fiction writer, with numerous reprints and new editions of the translated titles. Smaller publishers such as Cénit and Vértice also took an interest in Heinlein starting in 1963. Counting all of these editions and reprints, the period from 1955 to 1967 saw 33 Heinlein translations in Spain, as shown in table 1.

Table 1. Robert A. Heinlein Works Published in Spain from 1955 to 1967⁶⁹

Source Text	Year	Target Text	Publisher	1stEd	2ndEd
<i>The Man Who Sold the Moon</i>	1950	<i>El hombre que vendió la Luna</i>	Edhasa	1955	1962
<i>The Green Hills of Earth</i>	1951	<i>Los negros fosos de la luna</i>	Edhasa	1955	1961
<i>Puppet Masters</i>	1951	<i>Titán invade la tierra</i>	Edhasa	1955	1961
<i>Assignment in Eternity</i>	1953	<i>Cita en la eternidad</i>	Edhasa	1955	-----
<i>Starman Jones</i>	1953	<i>Jones, el hombre estelar</i>	Edhasa	1955	1962
<i>The Star Beast</i>	1954	<i>La bestia estelar</i>	Edhasa	1955	1962
<i>Tunnel in the Sky</i>	1956	<i>Túnel en el espacio</i>	Edhasa	1956	1962
<i>Double Star</i>	1956	<i>Intriga estelar</i> <i>Estrella doble</i>	Edhasa Cénit	1957 1963	1963
<i>Time for the Stars</i>	1957	<i>La hora de las estrellas</i>	Edhasa	1957 1965*	1963 1966*
<i>Citizen of the Galaxy</i>	1957	<i>Ciudadano de la galaxia</i>	Edhasa	1958 1964*	1963
<i>The Door into Summer</i>	1957	<i>Puerta al verano</i>	Edhasa	1958 1966*	1963
<i>Beyond This Horizon</i>	1948	<i>Más allá del horizonte</i> <i>Horizontes futuros</i>	Vértice Edhasa	1963 1965	-----
"By his Bootstraps" "Destination Moon"	1941 1950	<i>La puerta del tiempo</i>	Vértice	1964	-----
<i>Waldo and Magic</i>	1950	<i>Waldo y Magic, Inc.</i>	Edhasa	1964	-----
<i>Sixth Column</i>	1949	<i>El día de pasado mañana</i>	Vértice	1965	-----

⁶⁸ Established in 1946 as a distributor for the publishing house Sudamericana, Edhasa would become one of the main publishers responsible for the "eruption" of science fiction in Spain, especially through its Nebulae collection (Lago and Gómez 2006, 201).

⁶⁹ Asterisks * are used to indicate works that were reprinted for the "Selección de nebulae" series by Edhasa.

<i>Methuselah's Children</i>	1958	<i>Los hijos de Matusalén</i>	Edhasa	1965	-----
<i>Orphans of the Sky</i>	1963	<i>Huérfanos del espacio</i>	Edhasa	1967	-----

It is important to point out that the translations from this early period consisted almost entirely of Heinlein's short stories and juvenile novels, and passed virtually unnoticed and unimpeded by the Spanish censors. Of nineteen target texts, seventeen were authorized without modification and two were authorized pending a handful of sex-related suppressions. Among these were the suppressions of a female character arguing for the benefits of sex without the responsibilities of marriage in *Titán invade la tierra* (1955) (File no. 5995-54), and a description of the protagonist watching a dancer who is "down toward her last string of beads" and inviting a waitress into his private booth, in *Cita en la eternidad* (1955) (File no. 3756-55). These glimpses of Heinlein's views on marriage and sexuality were promptly corrected by Edhasa and left no lasting impression on the Spanish censorship board. In fact, for the next twelve years, from 1956 to 1967, the censors authorized Heinlein works without a single objection, making it clear that the early suppressions did not taint their view of the science fiction writer. Generally, they characterized Heinlein's short stories and juvenile novels as tales of futuristic adventures and interplanetary expeditions, and judged them, on the whole, to contain 'nothing fundamentally objectionable.' In contrast, the printing of *Forastero en tierra extraña* in February 1968, and the destruction of the book one month later, marked a completely new status for Heinlein's writings in Franco's Spain.

As science fiction enthusiasts, the founders of Ediciones Géminis had reason to believe that their Spanish edition of *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961) would be a great success.⁷⁰ Not only had the work received the 1962 Hugo Award for a science fiction novel,

⁷⁰ The translator of *Forastero en tierra extraña*, Manuel Bartolomé López, described the editors of Géminis as "cuatro muchachos entusiastas de la ciencia ficción, pletóricos de ilusión pero con muy poca experiencia en el negocio." The description was included in his written correspondence with this researcher in February 2014 (See Appendix A2.1).

and been rising in popularity among college-aged readers (Sova 2006a, 269), but translations of earlier Heinlein works had been sold in Spain for over a decade. Yet, Ediciones Géminis was a new publishing house, holding little to no standing with the censorship board, and *Stranger in a Strange Land* was a different kind of Heinlein novel—the first to attract attention as a counterculture text.⁷¹ The 1968 translation by Manuel Bartolomé López, titled *Forastero en tierra extraña*, was the first of several Heinlein works that Géminis set out to publish in Spain, and only the seventh publication that they had ever submitted to the censorship board.⁷² The essentially uncensored translation of the novel was not only denied approval by the board, but also turned over to the authorities, who carried out the destruction—by guillotine—of 889 printed copies (File no. 1181-68).⁷³

This outcome likely came as a surprise to the editors at Géminis, who had started their press in Barcelona on the heels of the 1966 Press and Print Law, which purported to end the tight restrictions placed on writers and publishers in Spain. In fact, the editors had been so confident in the novel's approval that they chose to bypass Voluntary Consultation with the censorship board and register already-printed copies of the novel. This option, known as *Depósito*, had been imagined as a more streamlined procedure for publications, as it would keep publishers from having to wait for censorship approval to print unproblematic texts. However, an already printed text that was submitted for *Depósito* and then flagged as

⁷¹ Sova describes the controversy the book generated in the U.S., where "the unrestrained sexual activities of the Church of All Worlds, as well as the emphasis upon commune life, were at first responsible for its exclusion from most school reading lists" (2006a, 269).

⁷² Bartolomé Lopez was an extremely prolific translator, working for a variety of publishers and across a wide spectrum of genres. Indeed, Rioja Barrocal (2010, 182) lists Bartolomé López as producing the fifth highest number of translations—114—of English language narratives for the period from 1962 to 1969. The same year he translated *Stranger*, for instance, he worked on texts as varied as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), by Harriet Beecher Stowe, and works of horror and mystery by writers such as Robert Bloch and Erle Stanley Gardner.

⁷³ The censor does not conclude his report with de-authorization, but states that "la superioridad decidirá," and though the censorship documentation found in File no. 1181-68 does not include the board's final verdict, it does contain reports from an inspector and from a delegate, both confirming that orders were carried out for the destruction of 889 copies of the novel. Logically, this points to the superiors' condemnation and legal denunciation of the novel. Full copies of this report will be included in the Appendix.

dangerous had little room for remedy. For a work like *Stranger in a Strange Land*, known to be controversial, opting to bypass Voluntary Consultation was a great risk.

Regarding this decision, both the translator of *Forastero en tierra extraña* and the censors themselves expressed that the editors at Géminis were over-confident and naive in regard to the censorship system. Further confirming the optimism of the editors concerning the book's content, the results of the descriptive-comparative study carried out for *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961) and *Forastero en tierra extraña* (1968) revealed very little evidence of self-censorship in the target text. The translator, Manuel Bartolomé López, affirms that despite his repeated warnings about risky passages in *Forastero*, the editors did not believe that the text needed to be censored. Responding to written questions about these interactions, Bartolomé López describes the editors' refusal to censor the passages: "Se los indiqué, se los señalé e insistí hasta quedarme ronco en que aquello no iba a pasar. Pero no me hicieron maldito caso. ¡Con lo fácil y cómodo que hubiera sido suprimir las situaciones y diálogos comprometedores!"⁷⁴

The translator's account not only exposes the publisher's determination not to censor the text, but also points to the established and expected practice of self-censorship, which for him, an experienced translator at the time, would have been easy and comfortable. In this regard, the study of self-censorship practices has been an important facet of the research on Francoist censorship, and helps us to understand the ways in which the mechanisms of state censorship shifted the responsibility of control to editors, writers and translators—especially after 1966.⁷⁵ The censors of *Forastero* also attest to this common practice in their report, placing the responsibility squarely on the translator:

⁷⁴ From this researcher's written correspondence with Manuel Bartolomé López.

⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion of the increased pressure on writers, translators and editors to self-censor, see Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla (2002), and the doctoral dissertation of Gómez Castro (2009), among others.

. . . novela recusable en su totalidad y que debe impedirse—su circulación, preferiblemente de acuerdo con los Editores, que quizá han pecado de ingenuidad o de buena fe en este caso. Es bien cierto que si el traductor hubiera querido evitar tanto pasaje inaceptable, lo habría conseguido en buena parte. (File no. 1181-68)

Nevertheless, with this kind of self-censorship absent in *Forastero en tierra extraña*, the censors were quick to object to the religious themes of the novel, which they saw as an even greater threat than its promotion of 'free love'. While the sexual content did indeed draw attention, the censor's report pointed out that the erotic scenes were neither vulgar nor pornographic, and expressed far greater concern with the religious themes that 'plague' the second half of the book. On this point, the censor noted that "Todo parece un zaherir continuamente las ideas religiosas, el sentido de la moralidad cristiana, la ética social, etc. Se llega incluso a la blasfemia horrenda . . . y aunque en ocasiones se invocan pasajes bíblicos o evangélicos, por lo general es para desvirtuar su alcance e intención" (File no. 1181-68). In this sense, the novel's treatment of religion and religiosity was seen as particularly dangerous.

The novel tells the story of Mike, a human raised on Mars who comes back to Earth as a young man and embarks on series of adventures and explorations with the aid of the advanced abilities he developed in his time with the Martians. As Kurt Vonnegut recounts in the *New York Times*, Heinlein had written his agent in 1952 about the idea, which would use Mike's "picaresque adventures . . . to probe human prejudices and foibles" (Vonnegut 1990, 13). In the author's own words "Absolutely everything about Earth is strange to him . . . its orientations, motives, pleasures, evaluations. On the other hand, he himself has received the education of a wise and subtle and very advanced—but completely nonhuman—race" (Ibid.). While starting off as a kind of adventure tale, the second part of the novel focuses on Mike's exploration of human religion and the creation of his own—*The Church of All Worlds*—complete with nudism, "transcendent and telepathic spirituality and sexual oneness" (Macfarlane 2007, 97).

On this point, Cisquella, Erviti, and Sorolla highlight that texts which sought to 'reconcile Christianity and progressivism' were routinely suppressed under the Franco regime (2002, 100). Certainly, *Forastero's* exploration of religious ritual takes the reader through scenes and concepts that are not only progressive, but also truly strange, especially given the protagonist's 'Martian' powers. In this regard, the novel was clearly antagonistic to the doctrines of National-Catholicism. Moreover, these concepts are presented amid a broader critique of religious institutions and faith, and also juxtaposed with a critical interpretation of the Bible. The examples in Table 2 illustrate a few of these 'blasphemies', and also make clear the decision by Géminis not to censor religious themes in the target text.

Table 2. Blasphemies in the Source Text and Target Text

	<i>Stranger in a Strange Land</i> (1961)	<i>Forastero en tierra extraña</i> (1968)
2.1	But being religious is often a form of conceit. (227)	Pero observar una religión es a menudo una especie de chifladura, una forma de vanagloria. (306)
2.2	Though I've never understood how God could expect his creatures to pick the one true religion by faith—it strikes me as a sloppy way to run a universe. (120-121)	Aunque nunca he entendido cómo puede esperar Dios que sus criaturas elijan mediante la fe la única religión verdadera... se me antoja un sistema algo cenagoso para regir el universo. (162)
2.3	Faith strikes me as intellectual laziness. (179)	Mi criterio consiste en que la fe no es más que pereza intelectual. (260)
2.4	Faith! What a dirty monosyllable—Jill, why didn't you mention that one when you were teaching me the short words that mustn't be used in polite company? (292)	¡Fe! Qué sucio monosílabo. Jill, ¿por qué no lo mencionaste cuando me enseñabas la relación de palabras breves que no deben ser usadas en compañía de personas educadas? (396)
2.5	[I]t is conceivable . . . that God is in truth the sort of paranoid Who rends to bits forty-two children for sassing His priest. (245)	[R]esulta concebible que . . . Dios... sea en verdad la clase de paranoide que convierte en trocitos a cuarenta y dos mozalbetes por haber tenido la osadía de soltar impertinencias a Su sacerdote. (306-307)
2.6	I think you speak rightly. Thou art God and I am God—and I need you. I offer you water. Will you let me share and grow closer? (380)	Creo que hablas como es debido. Tú eres, Dios, yo soy Dios... y te necesito. Te ofrezco agua. ¿Quieres que la compartamos y provoquemos el acercamiento? (519)

In these examples, Jubal Harshaw repeatedly denounces the folly of religious faith, which he deems: "a form of conceit" (example 2.1), "a sloppy way to run the Universe" (example 2.2) and "intellectual laziness" (example 2.3). Jubal is portrayed in the text as the wise and worldly patriarch, and his declarations are taken seriously by the other characters. The protagonist, Mike, later reiterates the same idea, exclaiming at one point: "Faith! What a dirty monosyllable" (example 2.4). In another scene, after telling the story of Elisha, Jubal suggests that if the stories from the Bible are actually true, then God is "the sort of paranoid Who rends to bits forty-two children for sassing His priest" (example 2.5). As seen in the examples, the target text expresses the same criticisms of religious faith and also the negative characterization of the biblical God.

Meanwhile, Mike the Martian leads the other characters in a new religion based on the sharing of water, and the sharing of their own bodies, as "water brothers." Through his exploration of human religion, Mike comes to the conclusion that in carrying out these rituals they take part in something that he translates to be 'God' in English. This leads him to the expression "We grok God" and other derivations such as "Thou art God and I am God" (example 2.6). These rituals become so commonplace by the end of the novel that the characters begin to greet each other with the phrase "Thou art God," translated as "Tú eres Dios." This was indeed unsettling to the Spanish censor, who criticized the "panteismo exagerado" of the book, and specifically noted this type of greeting. It is also important to remember that because this greeting is closely associated with the rituals of 'sharing water', it often represents the initiation of sexual activities.

The censor thus concluded his report by stating that the work might be saved if it weren't for the "nuevo concepto moral" underpinning the second half. Yet, he also argued that "privar a la novela de todos estos pasajes es desvirtuarla casi por completo." (File no. 1181-68). What is clear is that such an overhaul of the translated text would only have been

feasible prior to printing. Since it was too late in the process to 'save' the novel with modifications to the translation, the censorship board ultimately judged that the printed copies of *Forastero en tierra extraña* had to be destroyed. Paradoxically, while the censor's report lamented the idea of completely distorting the text, the destruction of 889 copies following the report essentially punished the publisher and the translator for not having distorted the text in this way. As a result, Géminis took a huge financial loss from the printing of *Forastero*, and, not surprisingly, the editors chose to submit subsequent Heinlein novels to Voluntary Consultation. It was through this process that the censorship board forced the hand of the editors, leading them to carry out their own censorship of Heinlein texts in the desperate attempt to have the remaining works published in Spain.

Without a doubt, this early setback marked the beginning of the press's overall difficult relationship with the censorship board, and indeed it never recovered financially. While Géminis was able to publish an extensive catalogue of science fiction works in its first two years of operation, and had the twelfth highest number of narrative texts translated from English for the period from 1962 to 1969, the press was also found to be the fourth most affected by censorship among publishers of English-language translations during this period (Rioja Barrocal 2010, 181-191).⁷⁶ In spite of its enthusiastic start, Ediciones Géminis was unable to continue publishing after 1969, falling into "la más negra de las bancarrotas."⁷⁷

The trajectory of Ediciones Géminis illustrates two important mechanisms of the 1966 law, which were identified by Cisquella, Erviti, and Sorolla (2002) in their broad-reaching study of censorship practices during the Franco regime. First, the Ministry proved that it did not have to force closure or impose sanctions to put small, independent presses out of business. Rather, if a few of a press's publications were kept from circulating, the economic

⁷⁶ Géminis was founded in 1966, with the first publications appearing in late 1967.

⁷⁷ As described by Manuel Bartolomé López in written correspondence.

setbacks alone would do the trick. Despite the apparent freedom provided by Article 3 of the 1966 Press and Print Law, stating that "La Administración no podrá aplicar la censura previa ni exigir la consulta obligatoria, salvo en los estados de excepción y de guerra expresamente previstos en las leyes" (LPI 14/1966), many publishers found that when they tried to bypass consultation and take advantage of the newly available system of *Depósito* their publications were de-authorized and seized. In this sense, the pattern that emerged after 1966 was one of "liberalización bajo amenaza de castigo" (Cisquella, Erviti, and Sorolla 2002, 73). By targeting already printed works—"un producto materializado, con un coste de fabricación"—censorship decisions could inflict calculable damage to a publisher's finances (63). Like Géminis, many publishers began to feel the looming threat of financial ruin after having one or more publication unexpectedly de-authorized. Without having to state the policy explicitly, the Ministry was able to impose "la ley no escrita que obligaba a los editores a volver a la 'consulta voluntaria'" (72).

Following the destruction of *Forastero en tierra extraña*, Géminis was compelled to submit subsequent works to Voluntary Consultation, thus conforming to the 'unwritten rule' that was already tangible to other publishers. A Spanish translation of *Starship Troopers* (1959) was soon submitted and approved in this way. In a brief report, the censor emphasizes Heinlein's attention to "life in the barracks" and his considerations of the morality of war (File no. 7378-68). Indeed, *Starship Troopers* is among the most openly militaristic of Heinlein's works. While this aspect was criticized by many readers in the U.S., it appealed to the sensibilities of the Spanish censors. As Heinlein's last novel meant for younger audiences, *Starship Troopers* was also free of the author's later fixation on sex. The translation was approved shortly after it was submitted, and *Tropas del espacio* (1968), rendered by Jesús de la Torre Roldán, became the first Heinlein text that Géminis was able to circulate. Yet, *Tropas* would prove to be an exception in terms of censorship. Following its publication,

Géminis submitted *Revolta en el 2100* for Voluntary Consultation in June 1968, likewise rendered by de la Torre Roldán, but the work was deemed "not advisable" (File no. 5061-68).⁷⁸ Having another Heinlein text rejected by the board marked a clear turning point in the publishers' censorship practices. By the time *Los dominios de Farnham* was submitted in July of the same year (File no. 6527-68) and *Revolta en el 2100* was being revised, Géminis had adopted a clear policy of self-censorship in regard to the Heinlein texts. Illustrating this point, the timeline of negotiations between Ediciones Géminis and the censors, shown in Figure 1, plots the editors' progression from the practice of non-censorship to the practice of self-censorship, as compelled by the official decisions.

⁷⁸ Known especially for his work within the genre of science fiction, de la Torre Roldán was also behind the translations for the Géminis collection titled *Universum 68* [*The World's Best Science Fiction: 1968*] and *Plan Vital* (1968), compiled from short pieces published in the *Galaxy Science Fiction* magazine. Of his work for the publishing house, the translator affirmed in written correspondence that "jamás me sentí presionado en ningún sentido por la editorial Géminis. Tratándose del género de ciencia ficción, no me encontré nunca con problemas de censura política." He went on to note that "la presión de la censura oficial, en realidad, apenas alteraba mi trabajo como traductor. Más bien correspondía a la editorial restringir o cambiar algún concepto que chocara con el régimen político de entonces." Considering this response, it seems clear that the translator was unaware of the modifications carried out in *Revolta en el 2100*, which will be discussed in detail in Section 5.2.1.

Figure 1. 1968 Timeline of Negotiations between Géminis and the Censors Regarding Heinlein Texts

Forastero en tierra extraña (1968), File no. 1181-68

February 9: Géminis submits copies of *Forastero* for Depósito
February 15: Censors report that circulation must be stopped
March 4-22: Inspector oversees the destruction of 889 copies

Tropas del espacio (1968), File no. 3325-68

April 19: Géminis submits *Tropas* for Voluntary Consultation
May 11: Censors authorize *Tropas del espacio*

Reuelta en el 2100 (1968), File no. 5061-68

June 8: Géminis submits *Reuelta* for Voluntary Consultation
July 3: Censors notify Géminis that *Reuelta* is not advisable

Los dominios de Farnham (1968), File no. 6527-68

July 30: Géminis submits *Dominios* for Voluntary Consultation
—with added passages about Christian faith—
August 10: Censors authorize *Los dominios de Farnham*

Revision

Sept 19: Géminis submits revised manuscript of *Reuelta*
—with terms for religious institutions removed—
October 4: Censors authorize *Reuelta en el 2100*

5.2.1 Descriptive-Comparative Study of *Revolt in 2100* (1953) / *Revuelta en el 2100* (1968)

Published in 1953, *Revolt in 2100* was a short collection of three of Heinlein's earlier works: "If This Goes On," "Coventry" and "Misfit." All three were included in the Spanish translation submitted to the censorship board in June 1968 (File no 5061-68), yet the final publication titled *Revuelta en el 2100* includes only the translation of "If This Goes On." Though submitted and eventually authorized as part of the same manuscript, "Coventry" was made into a separate publication, maintaining the English title, and "Misfit" was ultimately left out.⁷⁹ As the longest and the most provocative of the three stories, "If This Goes On" was the primary target of the censorship board in Spain, and will be the central concern of the descriptive study, having also taken the brunt of extensive modifications carried out by Géminis before the translation was approved.⁸⁰

"If This Goes On" tells the story of John Lyle, a young military guard assigned with protecting the Prophet, who is the leader of a theocracy that governs a future society in North America. This theocracy is called the Church. John begins to question the structure of the Church when he falls in love with Sister Judith, who has been newly assigned to serve the Prophet in his private chambers. Though at first he does not understand why Judith is afraid of her duties with the Prophet, his roommate Zeb explains this and other darker aspects of the Church to the naive protagonist. Once he realizes that Judith is being targeted for refusing to

⁷⁹ The 1968 publication of *Coventry* also includes the translation of a short work by science fiction writer Poul Anderson, titled "Rebeldes del Espacio."

⁸⁰ The second story in this collection, "Coventry," is a shorter text that depicts the society formed after the revolution that takes place at the end of "If This Goes On." In the story, 'the Church' has been reduced to a colony existing outside the United States in ungoverned territory called 'The Coventry'. While 'The Prophet' and his followers are referenced briefly in this second text, the religious institution is not an important part of the plot. Rather, the tension lies between the government of the United States and outsider groups living in The Coventry. Moreover, the protagonist decides to prevent rather than to participate in a plot to attack the government. In this sense, "Coventry" did not in itself pose a threat to the Spanish regime or to the religious authorities in Spain. Indeed, the descriptive study reveals that censorship of the Spanish text was carried out only for those elements that were vestiges of the theocracy in *Revuelta en el 2100*, since the two texts were originally submitted together. As such, and for the sake of efficiency, the results presented on the translation of *Revolt in 2100* will focus on the translation of the primary text, "If This Goes On."

serve the Prophet sexually, John sets out to protect her from harm. This mission leads him to the underground rebel forces and he then undergoes process of re-education. During this time he learns even more about the secret and violent activities of the Church and ultimately decides to become an operative in the rebellion. At the end of the story he is a part of the rebel fleet that attacks New Jerusalem, which is the government headquarters and main religious site.

Not only does the theocracy portrayed in the story evoke a comparison to National Catholicism under Franco, but the entire plot also rests on John Lyle's confrontation with the morality and functioning of such a system. The story reveals a step-by-step process by which a devout individual begins to question and then turns against the Church authorities. When John Lyle joins the rebel forces, he learns about the mechanisms used by the Church to control thought and action, including forms of institutionalized violence, such as torture. Because of the moral convictions that John was taught as part of the Church doctrines, and the moral authority he believed to be serving, his discovery that the system is instead horribly violent and corrupt triggers an intense process of disillusionment for the protagonist.

Hand-in-hand with his disillusionment and re-education regarding the Church, John Lyle also goes through organized rebel training, and becomes part of the underground movement that leads the revolution. Considering the potential comparison to the Church's involvement in Franco's Spain and constant reminders of the historical system of Inquisition—in addition to the "gold and crimson" of the regime's flag—the Spanish censors were especially aware of and sensitive to the basic story of *Revolta en el 2100*: that of revolution against a powerful theocracy. Not surprisingly, the translated text was rejected by the censorship board. The possible connections to Catholicism in Spain were too great and the message of the Church "under attack" was too dangerous.

Facing the inability to distribute yet another Heinlein text, Ediciones Géminis decided to revise the translation and two months later, following the authorization of *Los dominios de Farnham*, they resubmitted a version of *Revolta en el 2100* in which the theocracy had all but disappeared. Although the revised translation still narrated the story of a revolution against the State, gone was the constellation of religiously-affiliated titles and terms, and with it the important moral contradictions of the corrupted Church institutions. With these modifications, the new story of *Revolta en el 2100* was considered sufficiently secularized for the censors, who authorized its publication in October 1968.

It is important to remember that just a few months earlier the editors at Géminis had shown themselves firmly opposed to censoring the translation of *Forastero en tierra extraña*, in addition to believing it unnecessary. They had learned, however, that participating in Voluntary Consultation was the only sure way to avoid the devastation of a negative verdict. It was then during the consultation process that they received the more fundamental message: they themselves would be responsible for censoring the texts, or else face the cost—in both time and money—of repeated rejections.

Before examining in detail the modifications carried out in the target text, it is important to look at the censors' reactions to the first rendering of *Revolta en el 2100* by Jesús de la Torre Roldán, which was submitted to the censorship board for Voluntary Consultation on June 8, 1968.⁸¹ In the month following its submission, the translated text was reviewed by three censors, all of whom highlighted the depiction of religion in the text and the need for varying degrees of censorship. The first censor's report emphasized the "complicados mecanismos político-religiosos" present in *Revolta en el 2100*, concluding that the text was publishable pending the suppression of two descriptions evocative of the

⁸¹ Not only does Abellán describe 1968 as an exceptionally rigorous year in terms of censorship (1980, 225), but this submission came at the beginning of June, just after the events of May '68 in France. In this sense, the censors may have been particularly alert to texts such as *Revolt in 2100* that described popular uprisings.

Spanish regime. First was the description of the flag's colors, translated as *rojigualda*, and then a passage condemning 'bishops' alongside 'State Ministers' as accomplices in the tyranny of the Prophet (File no. 5061-68).

A second report from June 21, signed by Pedro Borges, argued that while the text did appear to criticize the church, and while the religious state described in *Revuelta en el 2100* was 'at times' reminiscent of the Spanish regime, such a critique was not the true intention of the story:

Hasta la mitad aproximadamente produce la impresión de que el autor intenta criticar a la iglesia o a un Estado asociado con ella. Este hecho hace también pensar más de una vez en el actual Régimen español, aunque avanzado en la lectura se descubre que en realidad no hay tal intención. (File no. 5061-68)

Yet, because readers might have the impression that the church was under attack, Borges suggests that "convendría sustituir los términos de Iglesia por el de asociación, logia o secta siempre que aparece . . . así como los de sacerdote, obispo, misiones y parroquia. . . por otros de menos sabor católico" (File no. 5061-68). The report thus concluded that the publication could be approved pending these changes and the previously recommended suppressions.

A third report from July 2, 1968 emphasized the more general critique of religion in *Revuelta en el 2100*:

Se trata de una novela de ciencia-ficción y de religión-ficción. Por lo que se refiere a religión-ficción, da la impresión de que toda religión es una ficción y un engaño: El Profeta-Encarnado, que tiene todo un harén de vírgenes que entran por turno: se alude lo mismo a Cristo que a Salomón que a otro cualquiera. . . . La finalidad de la "Revuelta del año 2.100" parece ser la de llegar a una libertad absoluta sin engaños religiosos ni tabús y con toda la perfección técnica de la ciencia. – Mi opinión es que NO PUEDE PUBLICARSE. (File no. 5061-68)

Here, the censor's line of argument is particularly striking as it suggests that Heinlein's notion of a world free from religious deception and taboo is what makes the work so unpublishable. The inverse logic of this conclusion thus amounts to the thinly-veiled admission that the regime itself is associated with such forms of control and 'deception.' That is, the indictment of Heinlein's work hangs on the idea that the author's vision of freedom is inherently

undesirable. With such ideas at stake, the board informed the publishing house on July 3, 1968 that the publication was "not advisable" (File no. 5061-68).

While the censorship board did not officially suggest that Géminis revise the text, they did make it clear in their reports that the depiction of the church was the main obstacle to authorization. It is also important to note that the strategy recommended in the second censor's report, of replacing the religious titles and terms, was in fact adopted by the publishing house in a complete revision of the target text. The fact that Géminis followed almost exactly what was recommended in these reports, which were actually internal documents, suggests that the editors had received extra-official instructions about how to make the book passable.⁸² Whether or not this was the case, Géminis soon realized that manipulation of the religious elements in the text was a strategy that would work well for attaining approval.

In September 1968, two months after the approval of a rather 'Christian' translation of *Farnham's Freehold*, Géminis submitted a revised translation of *Revolta en el 2100*, asking the censors for a new examination of the text.⁸³ The editors affirmed having changed many of the terms, thus transforming the text "from religious fiction to political action fiction" (File no. 5061-68). Satisfied with these changes, the censorship board authorized the revised text, and it was published by the end of the year. In the September 28 report, signed only with the letter M., the censor of the revised translation confirms the all-but-complete removal of religious elements, at the same time emphasizing the futuristic and imaginary nature of the uprising:

⁸² Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla (2002) point out that to avoid using "the red pencil" after the 1966 law, the censors sometimes called editors directly to impose the modifications that they believed necessary: "el celo de algunos censores en el desarrollo de su tarea llegaba al extremo de dejar el lápiz rojo en el cajón—como quería Fraga—para coger el teléfono y llamar al editor pidiéndole que retire alguna parte de un libro" (60).

⁸³ *Farnham's Freehold* will be discussed at length in the following section.

Esta novela de ciencia ficción, plantea el tema de una imaginaria subversión contra la Tiranía reinante, en un futuro muy lejano (en el año 2.100). ¿Qué clase de tiranía se describe? El lenguaje es sumamente enigmático, y el lector no llega a comprender si se trata del Estado o de la Iglesia o de un compuesto de ambos, algo así como una teocracia despótica e inhumana. Por el mismo tono enigmático de la obra, entiendo que ésta es absolutamente inofensiva.

Según la terminología de la redacción anterior, la crítica iba dirigida contra la Iglesia, o, al menos, daba esa impresión. Pero, en la nueva redacción, la terminología ha cambiado fundamentalmente. Algunas veces subsisten nombres de sabor eclesiástico, por ejemplo, en las pp. 104 y 121, pero no son suficientes para que pueda interpretarse como una crítica a la Iglesia. (File no. 5061-68)

Most noticeably, Géminis had replaced the frequent religious titles and terms with others of a non-religious nature. The most common of these terms are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Replacement of Common Religious Titles and Terms in *Revolta en el 2100*

<i>Revolt in 2100</i> (1953) Robert A. Heinlein	<i>Revolta en el 2100</i> (manuscript) by Jesús de la Torre Roldán	<i>Revolta en el 2100</i> (1968) revised by Ediciones Géminis
the Prophet	el Profeta	el Rector
the Church	la Iglesia	el Estado
the Holy One	el Santo Varón	el Eximio Varón
the Temple	el Templo	el Ágora
the Angels of the Lord	los Ángeles del Señor	los Custodios
New Jerusalem	Nueva Jerusalén	Nuevo Mundo
Voice of God	Voz de Dios	Voz de la Nación
priests	sacerdotes	jefes
priesthood	sacerdocio	jefatura
deacons	diáconos	subalternos
sisters	hermanas	subalternas, sirvientas
virgins	vírgenes	subalternas, sirvientas
holy deaconess	santa diaconesa	primera subalterna, palaciega
Inquisition / Inquisitor	inquisición / inquisidor	investigación / investigador

In the story, the leader of the Church is called "the Prophet." This title is used more than seventy times in the source text and written in every instance as *Rector* in the target text. Accordingly, he becomes the leader of 'the State'—not 'the Church.' The men who guard him, "the Angels of the Lord," are called *los Custodios* in the target text. The Church's main

religious site and center of government operations is New Jerusalem, named twenty-five times in the source text, and rewritten in the target text as *Nuevo Mundo*. Likewise, the official radio station, called "Voice of God," becomes *Voz de la Nación* in the target text, and the Temple becomes *el Ágora*.

The women who are assigned to tend to the Prophet—understood to be his personal sex servants—have the rank of "Virgin", and are frequently addressed with the title "Sister." The term "virgin" is neutralized in thirteen cases as *servienta* and in one case as *palaciega*. There remains only one use of *virgen* in the target text, used not as a rank but to describe a character believed in fact to have never had sex. "Sister" is used thirty-eight times in the source text and written as *hermana* only nine times in the target text. It is neutralized in the remaining twenty-nine cases through translations such as *servienta*, *subalterna*, *mujer* and *compañera*. When used as a title for the two main female characters, "Sister Judith" and "Sister Magdalene," the title is frequently omitted in the target text and the two women are addressed simply as Judith or Margarita. The most highly-positioned women within the Church are considered to have the rank of "holy deaconess," neutralized in the target text as *primera subalterna* or *palaciega*.

With a growing underground movement against the Church hierarchy, suspected rebels are sent to the "Inquisition" for interrogation by an "Inquisitor" or "Grand Inquisitor" who employ torture, hypnosis and threats to extract the information they want. This institution is referenced twenty-nine times in the source text, including violent scenes of the protagonist being tortured. While the scenes of torture are still present in the target text, the references to "Inquisition" are neutralized with the terms *investigación*, *investigador* and *gran investigador*, which sever any direct association with the historical Inquisition or the Catholic Church.

Furthermore, while many of the generalized religious references and common expressions such as "God go with you," "Dear Lord" or "The good Lord knows" are also translated with reference to *Dios* in the target text—as in phrases such as *Que Dios te acompañe*, *Dios mío*, and *el buen Dios sabe*—those passages that use "God" or "the Lord" in connection to corrupted Church institutions tend to be neutralized or omitted. For instance, when the Prophet is called "God's representative on earth" (1953, 81), the translation deems him "el representante del Estado" (1968c, 137).

A striking example of this also occurs when the protagonist is submitted to interrogation, and the Inquisitor insists on evoking "the Lord" during the prolonged process of psychological and physical torture. He suggests that he is in fact carrying out "the Lord's work," and repeatedly associates the deity with the purposes of the Church, no matter how violent or cruel. In contrast, this association all but disappears in the target text, as seen in the passage below, in which the key terms have been underlined for emphasis.

Revolt in 2100 (1953)

Revolta en el 2100 (1968)

. . . What you sinners never realize is that the Lord always prevails. . . .

. . . Vosotros, los pecadores, no os dais nunca cuenta de que la verdad siempre prevalece. . . .

First we ask the sinner to surrender himself to the Lord and answer from the goodness that remains in his heart. . . .

Primero rogamos al culpable que se someta y responda en nombre de la bondad que puede quedar en su corazón. . . .

Now, my son, I have just returned from a walk through your mind. I found . . . in murky darkness, a wall that had been erected by some other sinner, and what I want—what the Church needs—is behind that wall.

Ahora bien; hijo mío, acabo de realizar una incursión por las interioridades de tu mente . . . he visto una lóbrega y oscura muralla levantada por otro delincuente; y lo que yo quiero, lo que la patria necesita, se encuentra detrás de esa pared.

. . . No wall of Satan can stop the Lord. . . . you are a good boy at heart, John Lyle, and you do not belong with the sinners.

. . . Ninguna pared del diablo puede detener a la verdad. . . . tu corazón es bueno, John Lyle, y tú no perteneces a los delincuentes.

. . . We can . . . make a straightforward assault on the conscious mind, with the Lord's banners leading us. . . .

. . . Podemos . . . hacer un asalto frontal contra la conciencia misma, guiados por las banderas del Deber. . . .

. . . By the way, . . . my assistants through less experience in the Lord's work than my humble self sometimes mistake zeal for skill and transport the sinner unexpectedly to his

. . . A propósito . . . mis ayudantes, con menos experiencia en el trabajo que este humilde servidor, a veces confunden el fervor con la habilidad y dan al delincuente

reward. . . .	inopinadamente su merecido. . . .
Don't thank me, thank <u>the Lord I serve</u>	No me des las gracias a mí, sino a <u>quien sirvo</u>
Light . . . sound . . . pain . . . heat . . . convulsions . . . cold . . . falling . . . light and pain . . . cold and falling . . . nausea and sound. " <u>Do you love the Lord?</u> " (1953, 46)	Luz... ruido... dolor... calor... convulsiones... frío... luz y dolor... frío y precipitación... náuseas y ruido. — <u>¿Amas al Rector?</u> (1968c, 82-83)

As evocations of The Lord and The Church are suppressed in this scene, the target text avoids the implication that such violence would be ordained by religious leaders—or worse, by the deity. To begin with, the translator's rendering of *el Señor* and *la Iglesia* in the original manuscript were replaced with terms such as *la bondad*, *la verdad*, *el deber* and *la patria*. The Inquisitor himself became the 'investigator,' thereby avoiding any reference to the Spanish Inquisition. In addition, although "sinners" initially appears as *pecadores*, this shifts to *culpable* in the next paragraph, and later *delincuentes*. Indeed, the translator had originally used *pecador(es)* throughout the passage, but this was modified along with the other religious terminology (File no. 5061-68). Thus, with almost no trace of religiously-charged terms in the target text, the reader is left with the notion that the enemy is merely an agent of the State. When John Lyle is asked the question "Do you love the Lord?," just before passing out from pain, the neutralized phrase in the target text also silences an important conflict that he must face—that is, the increasingly apparent contradiction between his faith in the Church and the real, physical harm inflicted upon himself and others by the moral authorities of the same institution.

Similarly, discussion of Church leaders benefitting from this violent and repressive system was also suppressed in the target text. Indeed, one such passage had been specifically marked out by the censors upon inspection of de la Torre's translation, as shown in figure 2.

Figure 2. Segment Marked for Suppression in De La Torre's Translation of *Revolta en el 2100*

-¿Lo ves? Pero él no es más que uno de tantos en toda esta sociedad. El hombre que come carne no puede menospreciar al carnicero; y cada obispo, cada ministro de Estado, cada hombre que se aprovecha de esta tiranía, hasta llegar al mismo Profeta, es cómplice de hecho en cada uno de los asesinatos cometidos por la Inquisición. El hombre que perdona un pecado porque disfruta de las consecuencias de ese pecado, es igualmente culpable de él. ¿Lo comprendes?

Upon revision, the role of the religious hierarchy and the moral implications of their corruption disappear from this passage in the published edition of *Revolta en el 2100* (1968):

¿Lo ves? Pero él no es más que uno de tantos en toda esta sociedad. El hombre que come carne no puede menospreciar el carnicero; y cada jefecillo, cada ministro de Estado, cada hombre que se aprovecha de esta tiranía, hasta llegar al mismo Rector, es cómplice de hecho en cada uno de los asesinatos cometidos por la Investigación. El hombre que perdona un delito porque disfruta de las consecuencias de ese delito, es igualmente culpable de él ¿Lo comprendes? (96)

The revised passage still points to a corrupted state, but avoids the terms *obispo*, *Profeta*, *Inquisición* and *pecado*, once again stripping the target text of its religious associations. Thus, in the following moment when John Lyle recognizes that the statement is "orthodox doctrine" yet "chokes" at the thought of the Church leaders themselves being "equally guilty of the sin" (1953, 51), the shift to a secular context in the translation also moves the discussion away from morality or sin. The ministers described may be guilty of crimes, but the target text does not transmit the notion of the entire structure of the protagonist's moral compass being dismantled.

Another example of neutralization in the target text regarding the abusive behavior of the Church leaders can be seen when Zeb explains why the Prophet is justified in his relations with the Virgins:

Why, even the Angels carry on with the Virgins at times, after the Prophet is through with them. Not to mention the priests and the deacons. . . .

Hasta los Custodios se relacionan con las sirvientas cuando el Rector ha terminado con ellas. Y no digamos de los subalternos. . . .

See here, I'll give you a rough briefing. God wastes not. Right?

Pero escucha; voy a darte una explicación a vista de pájaro. ¿Entendido?

That's sound doctrine.

Ø

God requires nothing of man beyond his strength. Right?

Ø

Yes, but—

—Sí, pero. . .

Shut up. God commands man to be fruitful. The Prophet Incarnate, being especially holy, is required to be especially fruitful. . . .

—No me interrumpas. El Rector al ser especialmente apto tiene que ser especialmente fecundo. . . .

(Heinlein 1953, 18)

(Heinlein 1968c, 20)

Here, the source text explains how God's will for man to be fruitful is carried out by the Prophet through his sexual activities with the Virgins, and also describes how other Church leaders "carry on" with them as well. Since the religiously-affiliated titles were uniformly replaced in *Revolta en el 2100*, the target text avoids the implication that Church leaders would participate in these kinds of sexual activities. In addition, by omitting the three references to God, the target text removes any idea that this behavior would be attributed to the will of the Christian deity. Like in the previous examples, this removes an important opportunity for the protagonist to confront the Church doctrines and his own beliefs. Whereas in the source text he is told that God and the Church leaders are behind something that he feels to be morally wrong, the target text mentions neither God nor Church doctrines.

The use of religiously-charged discourse is also important near the end of the text, when the rebel forces are able to fake a broadcast to begin a call-to-arms from within the Church. An impersonator of the First Prophet (the Church founder) gives a passionate sermon against the Prophet Incarnate (the current leader), which marks the beginning of the

government overthrow. In the target text, this critical speech is stripped of its religious content as well, as seen in the following passage:

Revolt in 2100 (1953)

Revolta en el 2100 (1968)

I come to tell you of a truly hellish thing and to bid you to gird on your armor and fight. Armageddon is upon you! Rise up, mine hosts, and fight you the Battle of the Lord! For Satan is upon you! He is here! Here among you! Here tonight in the flesh! With the guile of the serpent he has come among you, taking on the form of the Vicar of the Lord! Yea! He has disguised himself falsely, taken on the shape of the Prophet Incarnate! Smite him!

Smite his hirelings! In the Name of God destroy them all! (Heinlein 1953, 113)

He venido a ponerlos al corriente de una cosa verdaderamente infernal y a pedirlos que os ciñáis vuestra armadura y la combatáis. ¡Levantaos! ¡Está aquí mismo, esta noche, en carne y hueso! ¡Es cierto! ¡Se ha disfrazado con falsía y se hace llamar el Rector Encarnado! ¡Destruídlo! ¡Destruir a sus mercenarios! ¡En nombre de la Patria, destruidlos a todos! (Heinlein 1968c, 218)

Except for the word *infernal* in the target text, the religious terms are neutralized and several sentences are omitted. As evocations of Armageddon, Satan and The Lord disappear, the speech in the target text is not only significantly subdued, but also forty-two words shorter. Here, the holy imperative to rise up is converted to a question of patriotism. Just as the target text would not have God associated with acts of torture or sexual abuse, it would also not have God's name used to support the rebellion.⁸⁴ Like in the earlier passages, the opportunity to reflect on the moral contradictions of this powerful theocracy is simply avoided. Here, when the population of believers is urged to take a stand against known corruption in the Church, indeed against evil, the neutralized call-to-arms in the target text gives no sense of this moral justification.

Lastly, it is important to note that the editors of *Géminis* applied this neutralization of religious language in an extremely consistent manner throughout the target text, meaning that hundreds of passages underwent revision, even those that included no direct mention of

⁸⁴ It is worth reiterating that the movement of worker-priests and formation of the Comisiones Obreras in Spain during the sixties certainly would have heightened the potential threat posed by the idea of Christian rebels.

Church leaders or the Inquisition. The following segment provides an example of how this manipulation also affects the most seemingly insignificant interactions in the target text.

<i>Revolt in 2100</i> (1953)	<i>Revolta en el 2100</i> (1968)
Felicitations, <u>Elder Sister</u> . <u>May God make his face to shine on your holy service.</u>	Te felicito, <u>hermana</u> . Ø
Yes, yes, thanks, . . . I must be at the robing room <u>for indoctrination and prayer</u> almost at once. . . .	Sí, sí, gracias. . . . Debo irme en el acto al guardarropa <u>para recibir instrucciones</u> "
Her eyes were shining <u>with what I took to be holy joy</u> ; . . . (Heinlein 1953, 14)	. . . sus ojos brillaban . . . (Heinlein 1968c, 15)

The passage in the source text does not directly attack the Church, yet it does help to set the scene of a society that is structured by religion. The type of language used is part of the fabric of Heinlein's narrative. Until John Lyle is able to break away from the Church, all of the interactions are based on this type of religious discourse. In fact, part of the protagonist's journey involves his realization that such discourse is used to control the masses. With the modifications incorporated in the target text, this realization cannot happen. Once again, *Revolta en el 2100* precludes the fundamental clash between the moral and social code that John Lyle was taught and the reality that he comes to see.

Although many of the individual revisions are unremarkable, at least compared to some of the previous examples, what is significant is the overall effect of such a great number of modifications. As the editors were well aware when they re-submitted *Revolta en el 2100* to the censorship board, the nature and implications of the story had changed. The basic context of a society controlled through religion had been completely rooted out of the target text. In this sense, the protagonist's turn against the authorities is not nearly so dramatic, as it does not require him to abandon the belief that these leaders define and uphold a moral code established by God. Though his journey still culminates in a rebellion against a dictatorial state, it is certainly not a theocracy, and any comparison to Franco's Spain is greatly subdued.

5.2.2 Descriptive-Comparative Study of *Farnham's Freehold* (1964) / *Los dominios de Farnham* (1968)

With *Forastero en tierra extraña* banned after printing, and *Revolta en el 2100* initially rejected during the consultation process, the editors of Géminis received a clear message that Heinlein's take on Christian institutions was not acceptable in the eyes of the censors and would not be published. It was also clear that participating in Voluntary Consultation—while necessary—was not enough to achieve authorization for the texts. Facing these constraints, and increasingly desperate to make a return on the Heinlein translations, Géminis implemented a strategy of preemptive censorship and manipulation for its publication of *Los dominios de Farnham*, translated to Spanish by P. Castillo.⁸⁵ The numerous modifications and long added passages departed so much from the source text, *Farnham's Freehold* (1964), that the censor assigned to *Los dominios de Farnham* concluded his report by exalting the "Christianly" lifestyle of the protagonists, granting immediate approval of the translation. This is a rather striking conclusion considering that the source text presents religious creed as an open-ended question, to which Christianity is not specifically the answer. Indeed, *Farnham's Freehold* contains only minor considerations of Christian beliefs and practices.

A tale of one family's misadventures through nuclear fallout and a futuristic society of white slavery, Heinlein's novel is focused primarily on the wit and ability of his protagonist—a model for the rugged individual. Besides the fact that the values of the original story had little to do with the censor's characterization of the work as Christianly, the numerous sexual references in the source text would have been impossible to ignore. *Farnham's Freehold*

⁸⁵According to the BNE database, the name P. Castillo was one of several pseudonyms used by the author and translator Fernando Manuel Sesén. Other pseudonyms included Lloyd Baxter and Clarence Greyson. In addition to Sesén's numerous translations for Toray's "Best-Sellers del Oeste" series in the early sixties, his work in the late sixties and early seventies (before his death in 1974) was dedicated especially to science fiction publications and comics for publishers such as Géminis and Vértice.

explores various scenarios in which sexuality and social taboos are examined and questioned at length—first as the Farnham household fights to survive in the post-apocalyptic wilderness, and then when they are taken captive in the future slave society. In this series of unusual scenarios, the reader encounters the following situations: 1) Hugh Farnham, the protagonist, makes love to a young woman in a bomb shelter during a nuclear attack, just after his wife and children have taken sleeping pills; 2) In the post-attack wilderness, Hugh's daughter, Karen, admits to her father that she is sexually attracted to him, and would want to be his wife; 3) Karen reveals that she is pregnant from a short-lived romance before the attack; 4) Barbara, the young woman who slept with Hugh the night of the attack, reveals that she is pregnant with Hugh's baby, and writes in her journal that she would gladly be in a polygamous marriage with him; 5) When the group is taken captive, they are classified as sex-slaves in the categories of "studs" and "sluts," with some of them proceeding to fulfill the prescribed duties; 6) While Barbara and Hugh are separated, she writes to tell him that she would understand it if he slept with another slave, Kitten, who is a fourteen year-old-girl.

Despite this long list of would-be immorality, the descriptive study reveals that there is good reason for the censor's more "Christian" reading of the target text. Not only are many of these behaviors mitigated in the Spanish translation, but numerous passages are also added to the text to re-orient the moral values expressed by the Farnham clan. New circumstances and details in the translation eliminate some instances of unchristian behavior—most strikingly, Karen describes meeting and getting married to a soldier before announcing that she is pregnant. In addition, Hugh Farnham declares himself a Christian in the translation, rather than an Existentialist. As a believer, he leads the family in Catholic rituals and prayers, such as the Apostle's Creed, rather than the 'non-sectarian' services described in the source text. Finally, the target text incorporates lengthy declarations of Christian faith in the letters between Hugh and Barbara, implying a singularly Christian imperative behind their quest for

freedom. On the very last page of *Los dominios de Farnham*, it is revealed that Hugh and Barbara require visitors to their Freehold to read passages from the Bible. It is no wonder, then, that the Spanish censor found them to lead a "Christianly" life. All together, these modifications and additions demonstrate the clear strategy of self-censorship adopted by Géminis following the board's rejection of two other Heinlein texts.⁸⁶ Alas, it was this strategy of intense manipulation that allowed the press to finally distribute their Heinlein translations.

In this regard, comparative analysis of the source text, *Farnham's Freehold* (1964) and the target text, *Los dominios de Farnham* (1968), exposes two main strategies by which Christian morals are inserted into the target text: 1) the neutralization and omission of the characters' sexual behavior, and 2) the framing of the protagonists' mission and values within added passages on Christian faith.

Early on in *Los dominios de Farnham*, the characters' sexual behavior is neutralized through the omission of sexually explicit dialogue and the addition of narratives that justify their participation in sexual relationships. Such modifications can be seen in the following passage, in which Hugh and Barbara have sex in the bomb shelter where the rest of his family lies asleep. Barbara is a friend of Hugh's college-age daughter and has met the family only a few hours before. The target text neutralizes the scene by omitting the explicit dialogue between the two—describing instead the metaphysical conditions that unite them, as shown in the following segment.

⁸⁶ While it remains a possibility that the translator himself had carried out this manipulation during the translation process it appears much more likely, considering the publisher's role in manipulating religious elements in *Revolución en el 2100*, that the self-censorship of *Los dominios de Farnham* may be attributed primarily to Ediciones Géminis.

<p>"You're a little girl. Put the cup aside. Tilt your face up." "Mmmm- Again. Please, again." "A greedy little girl." "Yes. Very greedy. Thank you, Hugh." "Such pretty ones." "They're my best feature. My face isn't much. But Karen's are prettier." "A matter of opinion. Your opinion." "Well- I won't argue. Scrunch over a little, dear. Dear Hugh-" "All right?" "Room enough. Wonderfully all right. And kiss me, too. Please?" "Barbara, Barbara!" "Hugh darling! I love you. Oh!" "I love you, Barbara." "Yes. Yes! Oh, please! Now!" "Right now!" (1964, 44)</p>	<p>Se miraron. En sus espíritus había un idéntico temor invencible: el de la muerte próxima e inevitable. Sus corazones estaban embargados por la desesperanza. Pero la vida aún quería cobrar su tributo. Rápidamente se olvidaron de todos sus problemas y peligros.</p> <p>Sus labios se unieron.</p> <p>Fueron hombre y mujer. (1968b, 44)</p>
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The dialogue of the source text includes physical commands, such as "Tilt your face up," "Scrunch over a little" and "kiss me," as well as references to breasts, "such pretty ones," and other verbal cues—"Yes! Yes! Oh, please! Now!" In contrast, the target text omits this dialogue and describes a metaphysical union which might justify a physical one: "En sus espíritus había un idéntico temor invencible: el de la muerte próxima e inevitable." Even though the scene still concludes with the reference to sex, the union is endowed with a rather biblical weight as they become "hombre y mujer." The passage is thus neutralized both through the omission of physical details and verbal cues, and through a narrative of the protagonists' spiritual condition, inserted to justify their liaison.

When justification does not seem possible, the target text simply omits the most problematic behavior. This is the case for the uncomfortable conversation initiated by Hugh's daughter during the period after the nuclear attack when they fear being the only humans left on earth. In the conversation, Karen reveals a desire to marry and engage in a sexual

relationship with her father, and key elements of this conversation are omitted in the target text, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Modification of Problematic Sexual Behavior in the Target Text

<i>Farnham's Freehold (1964)</i>	<i>Los dominios de Farnham (1968)</i>
"I may marry Joe. But I wanted you to know that if I had my choice, out of you three I would pick you."	"Podría casarme con Joe. Pero quería que supieses que si se me permitiese elegir, de los tres elegiría a ti."
"Thank you."	"Gracias."
"Thank me, hell! I'm a woman and you are the man I would most like to. And a fat lot of good it will do me—and you know why. . . ."	"¡Y un infierno! Pero no hablemos más de eso."
"I didn't come here to ask you to marry me. Nor even to seduce you though I might as well say, having said so much, that you can have me if you want me. I think you've known that for years. I didn't come here to say that, either. I simply had to get things out of the way before I told you something else." (Heinlein 1964, 118)	"No vine aquí para hablar de matrimonio, sino para decirte algo mucho más delicado." (Heinlein 1968b, 122)

While the beginning of the conversation could still be interpreted as innocent affection, "I would pick you," the source text makes it clear that this is not simply an expression of daughterly admiration: "Thank me, hell! I'm a woman and you are the man I would most like to." In case it is not already evident, she goes on to say explicitly that she is sexually available to him ". . . I might as well say, having said so much, that you can have me if you want me." The target text still has Karen expressing that she would choose her father as a match, yet omits the sentences that refer to a potentially sexual relationship.

Immediately following this exchange, Karen tells her father that she is pregnant by someone she dated at college, now presumed dead, along with the rest of the population. In the source text, Karen had expected her father to "raise hell" because his daughter is "ruined," but Hugh is actually overjoyed because he feels it will increase their chances of survival: "Under other circumstances, I might feel that you had been careless. . . . Under these

circumstances I am delighted" (118). The target text, however, tells a different story, eliminating the young woman's admission to premarital sex.

. . . Quiero decir, papá, que me casé. Así, de improviso, sin decírselo a nadie. Él... ¡qué Dios le tenga en su gloria, porque supongo que ha muerto!... era militar. Iba a incorporarse a filas. No teníamos tiempo... apenas un par de días. ¿Recuerdas que estuve fuera tres noches? Pues... no lo pude evitar. Me enamoré de él y a toda prisa, utilizando las facilidades de aquellos tiempos, contrajimos matrimonio. Luego... Hugh sacudió la cabeza.

—Lo que me duele es que no te confiaras a mí antes. De todas maneras, es inútil que te diga que siento la muerte... posible... de tu esposo. Y lo siento más porque no tuve ocasión de conocerlo. Con toda seguridad habría sido un buen hombre, digno de ti.

—Gracias, papá. Pero quiero decirte otra cosa. Estoy embarazada. (1968b, 123)

Notably, Karen's confession in the target text begins with marriage. Only after explaining the elopement to a soldier does she break the news of her pregnancy. The fact that this impromptu husband is also said to be in the military would further serve to normalize Karen's situation from the perspective of Francoist values. With this narrative as the justification for Karen's pregnancy, there is no ruinous behavior to speak of, and Hugh's celebration of his daughter's news does not seem to contradict a more Christian reading of the target text.

In addition to these larger-scale omissions and inserted narratives, the target text also neutralizes numerous references to the body which in the source text serve to sexualize certain characters, particularly the women. Heinlein has something of an obsession with describing the young women running around naked or topless—because of the unbearable heat, of course. Yet, these same women, in translation, remove only their pajama tops or blouses (rather than their "panties and bra"). Thus, as the extent and frequency of female nudity is reduced, the sexualization of these characters is also partially neutralized in the target text. In combination, these modifications reduce the hyper-sexualized condition of Heinlein's characters, further paving the way for the introduction of Christian values.

Regarding religious belief, it is important to note that the target text directly overturns the declarations made by Hugh Farnham in *Farnham's Freehold*. When Heinlein's

protagonist is asked to explain his position on "matters of Faith," he responds with "You could call me an existentialist." Further pressed to say whether or not he is a Christian, he deliberates: "I shan't define it; it would only add to the confusion. You are wondering why I hold church since I refuse to assert a creed?" Then he goes on to explain the practical benefits of religious services: "Services should be available to those who need them. If there is no good and no God, this ritual is harmless. If God is, it is appropriate—and still harmless" (1964, 110). In this sense, Hugh makes it clear that his interest in religion is pragmatic, not spiritual. He specifically avoids saying that he is Christian, or that he has any particular kind of faith. Yet, the target text takes a different road, resolving this same question with: "Puedes llamarme cristiano" (1968b).

In fact, this translation decision sets the tone for the rest of the novel. In sharp contrast to the source text—in which this is the first and last conversation about the protagonist's religious beliefs—the target text includes Christian ideology as an important part of Hugh's character, and ultimately an important part of his bond with Barbara. This transformation occurs mainly through a series of passages in which Hugh and Barbara reflect on the importance of Christian faith, with this faith becoming closely associated with their quest for freedom. These added passages are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Passages of Christian Faith Added to *Los dominios de Farnham* (1968)

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- 5.1 Quiero decir que esa pobre muchacha ha sido educada dentro de una moral tan absurda e "inmoral" que para ella no existen lo que nosotros siempre consideramos valores espirituales. . . . en este mundo al que nos han forzado a incorporarnos, es obligación para quienes conservamos la Fe, la verdadera Fe cristiana, vocear nuestra disconformidad ante un estado de cosas que abjura de todo sentimiento humanitario, en especial de la Caridad, ocultando esta perversidad de espíritu bajo la cepa de un orden social archicivilizado, supercientífico. (205-206) [Letter from Barbara to Hugh]
-

5.2 Comenzó a pensar. Sus ideas vagaron en un estudio general de aquel sistema social ultramoderno. Habían corrompido la fe, la única fe verdadera, la fe Cristiana. . . . Ahora, los que antaño fueron clases dominadas, serían elegidos a su vez en dominadores y bajo su férula se había logrado aniquilar toda sensación de iniciativa, toda capacidad de pensamiento, toda fe en los valores sacrosantos innatos en el hombre.

. . . Era preciso que alguien restaurase las ideas cristianas, que renaciese aquel mundo absurdo de sus propias cenizas, sin ninguna destrucción, pero de manera tal que la Humanidad surgiera enérgica, estable y, más que ninguna otra cosa, dominada por el sentimiento más excelso de cuanto Dios otorgara al hombre: el de la Caridad, el del amor al prójimo, el del respeto de los derechos ajenos.

Poco a poco sus pensamientos divagaron hasta los fugitivos, los que habitaban las Montañas Rocosas. Seguro que en ellos ardería la llama inmarcesible de la Fe . . . (243) [Hugh's reflections after reading a letter from Barbara]

5.3 Y que me aspen sino hago una intentona. Me refiero para cambiar el mundo aquel que conocimos, para devolver la Fe a un futuro hipotético, para que la Humanidad de este holocausto salga más fortalecida y piadosa que nunca, de manera que se esclarezca el verdadero gobierno interior de cada hombre: el de la Caridad. (334) [Hugh's declarations to save the future of humanity]

5.4 Pero las relaciones comerciales de Hugh con sus clientes son muy singulares. Sobre el mostrador hay una Biblia; no se permite ninguna transacción sin antes el propietario leer algunos pasajes. Son los que tratan del Nuevo Testamento, precisamente los que hablan del amor al prójimo, de la Caridad. Poco a poco los clientes van discutiendo y aceptando aquellas verdades eternas. Hay apenas robos, apenas disgustos, apenas disturbios. Por eso los Farnham insisten en leer cuanto a menos un versículo de la Biblia. (335) [Final description of Hugh and Barbara's store]

The first example comes as Barbara writes to Hugh saying that if he were tempted to sleep with Kitten—a 14-year-old forced to live as a sex servant— she would readily forgive him. Here, an additional passage is added in the target text in which Barbara further contemplates the position of Kitten and discusses the evils of this "superscientific society." As ones who uphold "the true Christian faith," she declares that it is their duty to be voices of dissent against the social order. Just as Hugh and Barbara are strengthening their bond and planning their next moves, such a turn in the language adds a distinctly religious dimension to their mission. In example 5.2, after reading another letter from Barbara, Hugh reflects on their situation and again the target text inserts a religious imperative to "restore Christian ideas," and have "the world reborn from its own ashes," with humanity "dominated by the most supreme feeling that God had granted to mankind: Charity, brotherly love and respect for the

rights of others." Later, after Hugh and Barbara have actually achieved their freedom and returned to the 20th century, Hugh declares his intention to make it so that the society they were enslaved in never comes into existence. Here again, the passage in example 5.3 endows Hugh with a Christian mission "to restore the Faith to a hypothetical future" so that "the true internal government of each man becomes clear: that of Charity."

The Christian message of *Los dominios de Farnham* reaches its full force in example 5.4, from the last page of the target text. Hugh, Barbara and their two sons manage to escape the nuclear attack for the second time, and go on to establish 'Farnham's Freehold.' This is Heinlein's homage to free enterprise and private property, with a long list of products and services for cash or trade, where visitors may enter but only with their "hands up," and at their own risk (1964, 320). However, just before the final description of the "starry flag" flying, the target text includes a whole new passage. Juxtaposed with Heinlein's anti-state, yet jingoistic, finale, is another show of Christian faith. The Farnhams of the target text also keep a Bible ready for visitors to read from at all times—passages from "the New Testament, particularly ones that talk about brotherly love, about Charity." Ultimately, this transforms everyone around them, as "there is hardly any theft, dispute, or unrest." With such an end to *Los dominios de Farnham*, there is no questioning the Christian message of the text.

These prominently placed passages made the target text an easy sell for the Spanish censors, who could cite the "Christianly" ways of the protagonists, while overlooking the characters' sexual behavior, which was partially neutralized and omitted in the translation. This preemptive manipulation on the part of Ediciones Géminis offers a clear example of how the publishing house progressively adopted a strategy of self-censorship following the early objections to religious themes in Heinlein works. When analyzed alongside the modifications carried out in the translation of *Revolt in 2100*, a clear strategy of manipulation

emerges with regard to the religious content of Heinlein's texts—a strategy that seems to have been adopted as a direct result of the earlier censorship verdicts.

Where the editors at Géminis replace and remove the critical religious elements from *Revolta en el 2100*, they add manifestations of Christian values and faith in *Los dominios de Farnham*, in both cases priming the works for a more favorable censorship outcome. Reflecting on such actions, Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla highlight the general impetus towards editorial intervention during the Francoist period, describing the all-too-common process by which editors began to collaborate in the censorship process: "Poco a poco iba rebajando sus planteamientos hasta conseguir aquel nivel en el que estaba casi seguro de que sus inversiones editoriales no iban a ser fracaso tras otro. Y el que no lo hacía corría el riesgo de afrontar una serie de secuestros en cadena" (2002, 168). In an already desperate situation, and before going bankrupt in 1969, Géminis was indeed responsible for heavy-handed manipulation that allowed it to obtain approval for *Revolta en el 2100* and *Los dominios de Farnham*. The descriptive studies for these two texts reveal extensive interventions which helped to shape target texts which were less obviously antagonistic to National-Catholicism. Yet, for any fans of the science-fiction writer, this manipulation risked rendering the style of the texts almost unrecognizable, as Heinlein was known for his critical exploration of morality and religion as mechanisms of societal control.

Thus, despite longstanding acceptance of Heinlein texts in Spain up to 1967, two important factors led to the prohibition and heavy manipulation of Heinlein works in 1968: 1) Heinlein's own writing took a striking counterculture turn with the publication of *Stranger in a Strange Land*, causing the Spanish censors to look critically at the novelist's viewpoints on religion and sexuality, and 2) Ediciones Géminis, a new and independent publishing house, quite mistakenly took the 1966 Press and Print Law at face value, and dared to publish an uncensored translation of *Stranger*, which was promptly de-authorized and destroyed by the

authorities. The editors at Géminis then tried to recover from the destruction of their hoped-for bestseller by participating in the Voluntary Consultation process for the subsequent translations, only to find that the texts would continue to be rejected where seen as antagonistic to the religious institutions and values upheld by the regime.

Ultimately, the dramatic trajectory of Ediciones Géminis serves to confirm that the practices and mechanisms of state censorship after 1966 operated to shift the responsibility of manipulation to the hands of the editors, translators and writers, who would indeed feel the material loss caused by non-collaboration. It is evident that smaller presses with less financial stability were also disproportionately affected by the consequences of negative verdicts from the Spanish censorship board. In this sense, the most uninitiated and noninstitutionalized publishers—and the most likely to offer new modes of expression and thought—were in fact the most vulnerable to the 1966 law, and it's much-advertised 'freedoms.'

5.2.3 *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress* (1966) / *La Luna es una cruel amante* (1975)

In February 1975, Ediciones Acervo submitted *La Luna es una cruel amante* to *Depósito*, a translation of Heinlein's *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress* (1966). The novel had won Heinlein his fourth Hugo award and the Spanish translation rendered by José María Aroca was approved by the censorship board within two days of the submission. The censor's report offers only a brief summary based on the first part of the novel:

En el año 2.000 los penados en la tierra son enviados a la Luna, donde sus descendientes llevan una vida relativamente plácida. El protagonista, que tiene siete brazos y es hijo de un penado, hace amistad con una especie de robot lleno de sentido del humor y descubre una especie de conjura. El libro no tiene nada que objetar. (File no. 2245-75)

Curiously, the report glosses over the most fundamental aspect of the story, namely that the action is concerned almost exclusively with how the protagonists organize and carry out a revolution on the moon with the help of a powerful computer. Much more than the casual discovery of a "conjura" as described by the censor (which occurs in the first few pages), the protagonists' process of building the revolution is what structures the entire plot. In addition, the social arrangements formed by the moon's native "Loonies" present various alternatives to monogamous marriages (polyandries, clans, groups and lines) which are each discussed at length in the text. This aspect was likewise ignored in the censor's report. The futuristic and far-removed setting of the story may have rendered the work harmless in the eyes of the censors, though the cursory report would also suggest an overall lack of interest and attention, meaning that the most politically and socially subversive elements could have simply gone undetected. What is certain is that the subversive nature of *La Luna es una cruel amante* was overlooked, in stark contrast to the translations submitted by Géminis in the late sixties, such as *Forastero en tierra extraña* and *Revolta en el 2100*.

Not only did the later publication date likely ease the board's scrutiny of this translation, but the trajectory of the publishing house itself may have also inspired a milder

treatment. José Antonio Llorens, the founder of Ediciones Acervo, had fought with the División Azul in support of the German army and remained a dedicated Falangist in the later years of the dictatorship (Rodríguez Jiménez 1994, 116). Like Géminis, Acervo was among the most frequent publishers of English-language works in translation during this period. Yet, as far as translations were concerned, the publisher was not among those significantly affected by censorship (Rioja Barrocal 2010, 191).⁸⁷ Lastly, *La Luna es una cruel amante* did not exhibit the strong critique of religious institutions that had been detected in *Forastero en tierra extraña* and *Revuelta en el 2100*.

Although the censors found *La Luna es una cruel amante* to be of little consequence or concern, the analysis of the source text and target text reveals that a considerable amount of content had already been neutralized in the translation process. Whether or not a less neutralized version would have roused the board's attention, it is clear that the strategies of the translator and/or editor helped to minimize that risk. Lengthy passages describing the technical details of revolutionary tactics and others describing unusual marriage arrangements are abbreviated and/or omitted in the translated text. Numerous references to casual sex, sex workers and the sexualized female body are also neutralized. Finally, in one of the only discussions of religion, a respected character's admission of non-belief is omitted in the translated text. Certainly, the mitigation of these passages may have contributed to the board's ready approval. As such, the strategies employed will be considered self-censorship.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ However, Acervo did run into trouble with its publication of *Testimonio de Manuel Hedilla* (1972), on the Falangist dissident and political prisoner. Llorens himself had written the prologue to the work, which was blatantly critical of the regime and the Caudillo from the perspective of the Falangist purists (Rojas Claros 2013, 263-264).

⁸⁸ It is unclear if this strategy of neutralization was carried out by the translator, the publishers, or some combination of the two. However, there is evidence to suggest that the editors of Acervo had a heavy hand in publishing outcomes. Domingo Santos, who directed Acervo's collection "Ciencia ficción" up to 1982, described having strong disagreements with Ana María Perales—Llorens's wife—who had imposed her personal criteria for works of science fiction (*Nueva Dimension* 146, 155). Indeed, heavy-handed editorial censorship may explain what appears to be the wholesale exclusion of certain passages in *La Luna es una cruel amante*. Such cuts or exclusions would more logically be made at the hands of the editors, though this cannot be stated for certain.

Heinlein's tale of a revolution on the Moon allowed the author to develop a fictional society of "Loonies" (*lunáticos*) with their own customs and unique attitudes toward family, marriage and sexuality, shaped largely by the fact that a disproportionate amount of men lived on the colony compared to women. Established by the earthlings as a penal colony, "Luna" presents a rugged survivalist environment where traditional "Terran" practices are called into question. In the process of setting the scene, Heinlein introduces a number of unique concepts relating to social structures and sexual mores, also lending new meaning to words like "opt," "bundle" and "slot-machine." The narrator and protagonist, Mannie, is a computer technician who speaks an odd brand of English that is often abbreviated, foregoing pronouns, articles, connectors or verbs, depending on the sentence. Mannie utters phrases like "Makes difference" (*It makes a difference*) or "Not sure question means anything" (*I'm not sure the question means anything*), usually omitting words that are unnecessary for comprehension.⁸⁹ Rather than familiar colloquialisms, the characters interact with a repertoire of imported slang, such as "choom," "cobber" and "tovarishch," leaving it to the reader to infer their usage from the context.⁹⁰ *Choom*, for example, is normally insulting or antagonistic ("*What in hell do you want, choom?*") while *cobber* is generally friendly ("*Hi, cobber! How do you feel?*"). That is, the usage of each term becomes clear as the story advances.⁹¹ It is worth noting that beyond questions of censorship the translation tends to neutralize these idiosyncratic aspects of the novel, generally relying on a more standard grammar and vocabulary. In many cases, linguistic standardization in the target text also

⁸⁹ This style of speech is phased in over the course of the book, becoming more and more frequent as the narrative advances and the characters are more familiar.

⁹⁰ The first two terms appear to be imported from Australian slang, used in the early 20th century like "mate" or "pal," according to the Australian National University, "Glossary of Slang and Peculiar Terms in Use in the A.I.F." accessed May 3, 2016, <http://andc.anu.edu.au/australian-words/aif-slang/annotated-glossary>; while "tovarishch" is Russian for comrade, friend or colleague. Also imported from Russian are terms such as "nyet" [no] and "Godspodin" [Mister]. For an analysis of the novel's multilingualism, see Lennon (2010, 108-113).

⁹¹ It is important to remember that Heinlein is writing for a mass readership, not an elite one, and that the usage of these nonstandard expressions is always illuminated by the specific contexts in which they are used.

coincides with the neutralization of censurable content. This has a particularly noticeable effect on the sexual behavior portrayed in the novel, where Heinlein uses nonstandard language to develop his notions of common Loonie practices.

In this sense, the textual analysis reveals three main strategies by which Heinlein's emphasis on sexuality is minimized in the target text. First, descriptions that draw attention to the female body are omitted in translation; second, references to casual sex, or "bundling," are translated as not specifically, or not clearly, sexual; and third, references to prostitution, which usually include the term "slot-machine," are omitted or neutralized in the target text. With far fewer references to sex and the body, the target text paints a rather different picture of Lunar society. This is especially true from the perspective of Wyoming, or Wyoh, Mannie's female counterpart, who is often the focus of sexual attention. Table 6 demonstrates how attention to her body, and other female bodies, is neutralized in translation.

Table 6. Neutralized References to the Female Body in the Target Text

	<i>The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress</i> (1966)	<i>La Luna es una cruel amante</i> (1975)
6.1	I answered, fixed basic martinis, vodka over ice, handed hers in, got out and sat down, out of sight—nor had I seen sights; she was shoulder deep in happy suds. (42)	Recogí el vodka y el hielo, preparé dos vasos y le entregué a Wyoming el suyo, sin asomarme. Luego me senté. (43-44)
6.2	"Come in skin for all of me" "For two dimes I would, you much-married man." (43)	Tú estás guapa de todos modos —dije. Ø (45)
6.3	"These—" She glanced down at her lovelies. (45)	Ø (47)
6.4	An explosive bullet hit between her lovely, little-girl breasts. (335)	Una bala explosiva la hirió en el pecho, destrozando su busto juvenil, casi de niña. (401)

In example 6.1 Mannie makes it clear that he did not get to see Wyoming naked when he handed her a drink, but suggests that he would have, had she not been concealed by the suds,

or bubbles, of her bath. Describing the suds as "happy" Mannie further implies that proximity to Wyoming's body is desirable. In the translation, however, Mannie does not even look, and skips the description of Wyoming's bath. In another exchange (6.2), Mannie jokes with Wyoming that she need not get dressed, but should just walk into the room naked—"in skin." She, in turn, jokes that he should pay her, also making a jab about his marital status, "much-married" because he is part of a "line marriage" with many wives. In the translation, Mannie simply states that Wyoming would be pretty regardless, and no mention is made of nudity, money, or marriage. In example 6.3 Wyoming is in the midst of explaining why her work as a surrogate mother has not changed her figure. In that moment she looks down at her breasts and explains that they have not changed because she is not responsible for breastfeeding. In translation, however, this glance at her breasts is simply omitted. In example 6.4, Heinlein describes the "lovely little-girl breasts" of the youngest wife in the family, a fifteen-year-old, who was just killed. He emphasizes her status as a "little girl" while simultaneously sexualizing her body. In translation this becomes "su busto juvenil, casi de niña," which places her somewhere between girlhood and womanhood and does not make any reference to the attractiveness of her features. This neutralization marks a striking difference between the two texts. In the source text Heinlein makes it abundantly clear that every female body is there to be admired (or ogled), including the recently deceased adolescent described in this example, whereas the target text minimizes the presence of the male gaze.

In another striking example, the translation omits Mannie's reaction to Wyoming when she changes into a new disguise. This is the reader's first encounter with the Luna custom of men applauding and whistling in the presence of an attractive woman, a behavior that is described repeatedly throughout the work:

Wyoming came out—and I didn't recognize her. Then did and stopped to give full applause. Just had to—whistles and finger snaps and moans and a scan like mapping radar. (39)

Wyoming salió... y no la reconocí. (40)

Where the source text has Mannie "applaud", "whistle", "snap", "moan" and stare at Wyoming's new appearance, he shows no reaction at all in the target text. As the scene continues, it is not just Mannie but also two little boys who are ogling Wyoh in this way:

She waited, big smile on face and body undulating, while I applauded. Before I was done, two little boys flanked me and added shrill endorsements, along with clog steps. So I tipped them and told them to be missing; Wyoming flowed to me and took my arm.

Se paró, con una ancha sonrisa en el rostro y el cuerpo ondulante, mientras yo me reponía de la sorpresa. Luego se acercó a mí y me cogió del brazo.

"Is it okay? Will I pass?"

¿Qué tal? —inquirió—. ¿He quedado bien?

"Wyoh, you look like slot-machine sheila waiting for action."

—¡Guapísima! Y completamente cambiada: no te hubiera reconocido.

"Why, you drecklich choom! Do I look like slot-machine prices? Tourist!"

—De eso se trataba, ¿no? Bien, vamos a ese hotel de que me has hablado. (41)

"Don't jump salty, beautiful. Name a gift. Then speak my name. If it's bread-and-honey, I own a hive."

"Uh—" She fisted me solidly in ribs, grinned. "I was flying, cobber. If I ever bundle with you—not likely—we won't speak to the bee. Let's find that hotel." (39)

Continuing the exchange, Mannie adds that she looks like a sex worker—"a slot-machine sheila." In his view, this is clearly positive, though Wyoming takes it to mean that she is cheap. She jokes along, not taking offense to the idea of prostitution, but questioning the amount of money at stake: "Do I look like slot-machine prices?" The flirtation continues with Mannie suggesting that he would pay any price: "Name a gift. . . . If it's bread-and-honey, I own a hive." Wyoming uses the same metaphor to suggest that if they were to have sex, she

would not take his money: "If I ever bundle with you—not likely—we won't speak to the bee." In the source text the two protagonists demonstrate a casual and open attitude about sex, while in the target text it is simply not discussed. The omission of the large part of this exchange in translation thus avoids several references to sex and prostitution, as well as the exuberant cheering at Wyoming's appearance. Thus, as Heinlein uses the scene to establish three behaviors common to Luna: 1) the cheering of attractive women; 2) a view of prostitution as a normalized activity, and 3) open discussion of casual sex, the target text eliminates these behaviors almost entirely.

When this conversation is referenced again in the following scene, the target text likewise bypasses mentions of "the bee" (terms of payment) and "bundling" (sex). Wyoming wants to split the cost of the hotel room where they are hiding out, but Mannie insists on paying, which he justifies by alluding to her previous statement, "We won't speak to the bee":

<i>The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress</i> (1966)	<i>La Luna es una cruel amante</i> (1975)
I reached over, closed her pouch. "Was to be no mention of bees."	Me acerqué a ella y cerré su bolso. —Ya está todo arreglado—dije.
"What? Oh, merde, that was about bundling. You got this doss for me." (40)	—¿Cómo? ¡Oh, no! Has alquilado esta habitación por mí. (41)

It is worth noting that the French *merde* is also neutralized in this passage. The fact that this particular exclamation has an obvious match in Spanish that was not employed (or that even the French word would have been understood by many Spanish readers) suggests a deliberate avoidance of swearwords on the part of the translator and/or editor. Note, for example, that calques and loanwords are used elsewhere in the text but not here.

Further references to "bundling" and "slot-machine" activities are neutralized elsewhere in the novel. The various translations of "bundling" are shown in table 7.

Table 7. Neutralized References to Casual Sex ("Bundling") in the Target Text

<i>The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress</i> (1966)	<i>La Luna es una cruel amante</i> (1975)
7.1 Wyoh could have gone bundling without fretting about her disguise. (144)	Wyoh podría haberse presentado en cualquier parte sin el menor temor a ser reconocida. (159)
7.2 "You stand out like Terra at full. Ought to duck into a hotel. One off next side corridor—nothing much, bundling booths mostly. . ." "I'm in no mood to bundle." (38)	Llamas demasiado la atención. Deberíamos ocultarnos en un hotel. Hay uno en el pasillo lateral contiguo. No es gran cosa, casi todo son habitaciones para pasar el rato. . . —No estoy de humor para pasar el rato. (39)
7.3 I think she expected a booth but I would not put her in such. (40)	Wye esperaba encontrar un cuchitril, pero yo no la hubiese llevado a un lugar de ínfima categoría. (41)
7.4 From your voice, your breathing, your heartbeat, and the fact that you are alone in a bundling room with a mature male I extrapolate that you are female human . . . (62)	Por tu voz, tu respiración, tus latidos cordiales y por el hecho de que estás sola en una habitación de hotel con un macho maduro, extrapolo que eres una hembra humana . . . (66)
7.5 Had taken room with two beds so she would not feel I was trying to talk her into bundling—not that I was against it . . . (49)	Había tomado una habitación con dos camas, para que ella no pensara que trataba de aprovecharme de las circunstancias. No es que me desagradara la idea . . . (52)
7.6 If you think I will accept expensive clothing from a man I'm not even bundling with! (71)	Si crees que voy a aceptar un vestido caro de un hombre con el que ni siquiera he cohabitado... (77)
7.7 "Have you taken a bundling companion, Manuel, without telling me? We have freedom in our family, dear, but you know that I prefer to be told. . ." "Mum, Bog strike me dead, I have not taken a bundling companion." (51)	¿Te has buscado una compañera de cama sin decírmelo, Manuel? En nuestra familia tenemos libertad, querido, pero ya sabes que prefiero que me digan las cosas. . . —Mum, Bog me fulmine si miento, no me he buscado una compañera de cama. (54)
7.8 Wyoh wanted to know was he bundling with secretary? (135)	Wyoh quiso saber si tenía un lío con la secretaria. (150)
7.9 A silly little tart. If you had flashed as much money as I saw in your pouch, she might have taken into head that a bundle with tourist was just what she needed and suggested it herself. (167)	Es una pequeña lagarta. Si exhibió usted ante ella el dinero que yo he visto en su bolsillo, es posible que se le metiera en la cabeza la idea de que lo que necesitaba en aquel momento era acostarse con un turista. (187)

The translations of "bundling" in 7.1 and 7.2 indicate nonspecific activities with no clear reference to sex: 'presentarse en cualquier parte' and 'pasar el rato.' The description of a "booth" in 7.3 refers to the "bundling booths" mentioned previously, and again the translation avoids the specifically sexual nature of the activity. The description of a "cuchitril" of "ínfima categoría" could suggest something like a room meant for the sole purpose of sex, yet this is not explicit. In example 7.4, "bundling room" is generalized as "habitación de hotel," which again bypasses the specific connotations. Likewise, in example 7.5, Mannie wants to make it clear that he would not try "to talk her into bundling," which is translated euphemistically as "aprovecharme de las circunstancias." The translation in example 7.6 replaces the idea of sex with that of cohabitation, a more serious and committed kind of arrangement. The translations in 7.7, 7.8 and 7.9 do point more directly to sex—finally exposing this aspect of the Loonie mentality. In example 7.7, for instance, Mannie's eldest wife expresses her openness to the idea that he might have a "compañera de cama" outside of the marriage (which is already polygamous), only requesting that he be forthright about it. In example 7.8, the translation alludes to a sexual relationship but also reveals an important difference: "bundling" appears to occur without shame or emotional complication, while the colloquial "tener un lío" might imply some combination of these elements. Finally, the translation offered in 7.9 is the most straightforward. While still a euphemism (like "bundling"), "acostarse" refers unambiguously to sex, without implying any other kind of relationship.

With these few exceptions (examples 7.7, 7.8 and 7.9), the overall translation strategy for the term "bundling" is undoubtedly neutralizing. The frequency in which the main characters discuss this kind of casual sex and their openness toward it as an activity are both greatly limited in the target text. Moreover, the fact that the term is translated differently in every instance obscures Heinlein's notion of sex as a natural topic of conversation.

Considering that there is no single term used for sexual activity in the target text, sex is not such an identifiable theme.

A similar pattern emerges with translations of the phrase "slot-machine" used to describe prostitution, as shown in table 8.

Table 8. Neutralized References to Prostitution in the Target Text

	<i>The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress</i> (1966)	<i>La Luna es una cruel amante</i> (1975)
8.1	But how about yourself, Wyoh? You marked plusses on some that would make a slot-machine girl blush. (55)	Has marcado con «más» algunas historietas que harían enrojecer a un soldado. (58)
8.2	Or perhaps it started as a commercial transaction as cold-blooded as any in a crib behind a slot-machine lock. . . . Six Dragoons were in it. Not satisfied with raping her (if rape it was) they abused her other ways and killed her. (180)	O tal vez la cosa empezó como una transacción comercial a sangre fría en la que nada tenían que ver los sentimientos. . . . Había seis Dragones involucrados. No satisfechos con violarla (si es que hubo violación), la maltrataron y la asesinaron. (205)
8.3	Some of our fems were extremely beautiful and some started loitering around stations, dressed in less than usual—which could approach zero. . . . They did not speak to yellow jackets nor look at them; they simply crossed their line of sight, undulating as only a Loonie gal can . . . Such of course produces a male gallery, from men down to lads not yet pubescent—happy whistles and cheers for her beauty, nasty laughs at yellow boy. First girls to take this duty were slot-machine types but volunteers sprang up so fast that Prof decided we need not spend money. (121)	Algunas de nuestras mujeres eran extraordinariamente hermosas, y algunas de ellas empezaron a rondar por las estaciones, con menos ropa que de costumbre—lo cual podía aproximarse a cero. . . . No hablaban con los chaquetas amarillas y ni siquiera les miraban; se limitaban a ponerse al alcance de su vista, contoneándose como sólo puede contonearse una lunática . . . Un sistema muy eficaz para minar la moral de los soldados, desde luego. Al principio, las muchachas encargadas de aquella tarea eran asalariadas, pero el número de voluntarias aumentó con tanta rapidez que el profesor decidió que no necesitábamos gastar dinero. (135)
8.4	She was a vapid little thing, vacantly pretty, curvy, perhaps fourteen. Slot-machine type, and how she might wind up. (160)	Era una muchacha más bien menuda, insípidamente bonita, precozmente desarrollada. No podía tener más de catorce años. (179)

In example 8.1, Mannie comments on Wyoming's taste for dirty jokes, which has become apparent as they try to explain humor to Mike the computer. In the source text Mannie

declares that some of the jokes Wyoh marked as funny, with a plus sign (+), would embarrass even a sex worker. In the target text, however, this term is replaced with *soldado*. While discussing a brutal attack, in example 8.2, Mannie hypothesizes that the episode could have begun as a commercial sex transaction "as cold-blooded as any . . . behind a slot-machine lock." This was the context in which soldiers from Earth abused and killed a Loonie woman. The reference to a location designated specifically for sexual transactions is omitted in the target text. Given the context, "transacción comercial" might still be understood as prostitution, but the clues are more oblique: "en la que nada tenían que ver los sentimientos."⁹² In example 8.3, the protagonist describes how Loonie women would taunt the soldiers, or "yellow jackets," assigned to guard the transport stations. The source text describes how the first women to do this were "slot-machine types," translated as "asalariadas," to be distinguished from the later volunteers. Although the translation does describe women being paid for activities related loosely to sex, there is no indication that their performance in the station is secondary to their regular activity as sex workers. That is, the source text describes sex workers who are temporarily being paid to taunt the soldiers, whereas the target text simply describes women (not necessarily sex workers) who are paid for that task.

Finally, the presence of these women produces a "male gallery" of onlookers, who, in the Loonie way, "whistle" and "cheer" at their beauty, while laughing at the soldiers. Once again the practice of cheering at women is omitted in the target text. The translation only summarizes the effects of this activity: "Un sistema muy eficaz para minar la moral de los soldados, desde luego." Lastly, in example 8.4, a fourteen year-old is described as a "slot-machine type," a characterization that the target text avoids. Furthermore, the description of her body as "curvy" is rendered "precozmente desarrollada" in translation. That is, the

⁹² In contrast, the reference to rape is translated without neutralization.

translation deems a fourteen-year-old to be too young for a curvy body. The implication is that someone developed at that age must have developed prematurely. In fact, Heinlein would make no such distinction—his characters of fourteen and fifteen years old are happily getting married and becoming pregnant.

Indeed, the unusual marriage arrangements in the novel were also targeted in the translation process. Although the frequent references to "polyandries," "line marriages" and "clan marriages" are generally translated without censorship (*poliandrias*, *matrimonios lineares* and *clanes*), a few of the particular scenarios that come about through such marriages are left out of the target text. For example, in Mannie's line marriage, his eldest wife Mum is depicted as promoting sex outside of the marriage, whether openly or in secret. When Wyoming stays the night as the family's guest, Mum arranges for her to sleep in a room that Mannie can easily access during the night, a gesture that Mannie interprets as an invitation to sleep with Wyoh:

<i>The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress</i> (1966)	<i>La Luna es una cruel amante</i> (1975)
My workshop, where I slept when slept alone, was just one bend from Wyoh's door. Mum was telling me, plain as print: "Go ahead, dear. Don't tell me if you wish to be mean about it. Sneak behind my back." (115)	Mi taller en el que dormía cuando dormía solo se encontraba muy cerca del cuarto de Wyoh. Ø (128)

In the Spanish text, Mannie hints at the possibility of sex by mentioning the proximity of the rooms yet gives no explanation of who set up the sleeping arrangements or why. He certainly does not declare that his wife was purposely facilitating a clandestine sexual encounter.

In another example, when Mannie describes some of the particulars of his line marriage, the translation leaves out a detail about how the family stops counting their children once they are married off. Since the line marriage includes spouses who are elderly, and others as young as fourteen, the line could technically have children who are much older than the youngest spouses, which the protagonist explains in the following passage:

Is nice. Our marriage nearly a hundred years old. Dates back to Johnson City and first transportees—twenty-one links, nine alive today, never a divorce. Oh, it's a madhouse when our descendants and inlaws and kinfolk get together for birthday or wedding—more kids than seventeen, of course; we don't count 'em after they marry or I'd have 'children' old enough to be my grandfather. Happy way to live, never much pressure. Take me. Nobody woofs if I stay away a week and don't phone. Welcome when I show up. Line marriages rarely have divorces. (42)

—Es muy agradable. Nuestro matrimonio tiene casi cien años de antigüedad. Se remonta a Jackson City y a los primeros transportados: veintiún enlaces, nueve de los cuales perduran, y ni un solo divorcio. ¡Oh! Es una casa de locos cuando se reúne toda la parentela para celebrar un cumpleaños o una boda... En los matrimonios lineares rara vez se producen divorcios, ya que en ellos no existe ningún tipo de presión. Mírame a mí: nadie me llama al orden si paso una semana fuera de casa y no telefono. Y a mi regreso me reciben cordialmente. (44)

The translation, however, avoids mentioning this oddity (underlined above for emphasis). Furthermore, the description of the arrangement as a "happy way to live" is replaced in the target text with the affirmation that "rara vez producen divorcios," taken from the end of the original passage. As such, Heinlein's insistence that these marriages are emotionally fulfilling—in addition to well-functioning and practical—is partially severed in translation.

An even more striking cut comes when Mannie tells the story of Ludmilla, the youngest spouse. Wyoming is curious about the line's "alternation," inquiring whether they usually alternate between men and women. In other words, if a man joins the marriage at a given point, would the next person to join be a woman? Mannie explains that they had always alternated up until they married Ludmilla, who presented a special case:

"Is it an alternation? And what's the spacing?"

¿Hay algún plazo para las opciones?

"Spacing has no rule, just what suits us. Been alternation up to latest link, last year. We married a girl when alternation called for boy. But was special."

—Ninguno. Optamos a alguien cuando nos parece oportuno. (44)

"Special how?"

"My youngest wife is a granddaughter of

eldest husband and wife. At least she's granddaughter of Mum—senior is 'Mum' or sometimes Mimi to her husbands—and she may be of Grandpaw—but not related to other spouses. So no reason not to marry back in, not even consanguinity okay in other types of marriage. None, nit, zero. And Ludmilla grew up in our family because her mother had her solo, then moved to Novylen and left her with us.

"Milla didn't want to talk about marrying out when old enough for us to think about it. She cried and asked us please to make an exception. So we did. Grandpaw doesn't figure in genetic angle—these days his interest in women is more gallant than practical. As senior husband he spent our wedding night with her—but consummation was only formal. Number-two husband, Greg, took care of it later and everybody pretended. And everybody happy. Ludmilla is a sweet little thing, just fifteen and pregnant first time."

"Your baby?"

"Greg's, I think. Oh, mine too, but in fact was in Novy Leningrad. Probably Greg's, unless Milla got outside help. But didn't, she's a home girl. And a wonderful cook."
(43)

The omission of this passage in the translated text thus avoids several tricky subjects. Ludmilla is the granddaughter of the senior wife, and (likely) of the senior husband, yet is allowed to marry in; the justification being that she would not actually have sex with "Grandpaw" because he is no longer sexually active—"doesn't figure in the genetic angle." Still, according to their customs she spends her wedding night with him (presumably not having sex), before the real consummation with Greg, one of the other husbands. Mannie goes on to describe that she is now pregnant, at fifteen. He has a guess at who the father is, yet implies that it really does not matter. All told, in bypassing this description the translation avoids the idea of an adolescent voluntarily joining a marriage in which she will have multiple husbands of varying ages—one of whom may be her Grandfather—as well as the

discussion of a fifteen-year-old girl becoming pregnant and the notion that establishing paternity is not important.

A number of other details regarding these alternative marriage arrangements are likewise neutralized or omitted in the target text, particularly where such details revolve around age. A few examples are given in table 9.

Table 9. Neutralized References to Non-traditional Marriages in the Target Text

	<i>The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress</i> (1966)	<i>La Luna es una cruel amante</i> (1975)
9.1	No trouble. When you hear a woman about forty address a fifteen-year-old as 'Mama Milla,' you'll know which is wife and which is daughter— <u>not even that complex as we don't have daughters home past husband-high; they get opted. But might be visiting.</u> (112)	No es ningún problema. Cuando oigas a una mujer de unos cuarenta años llamar a una chica de quince «Mamá Milla», sabrás cuál es la esposa y cuál la hija. (124)
9.2	Take my youngest wife, sixteen. Likely be in her eighties before is senior wife. (264)	Mi esposa más joven lleva ahora dieciséis años de matrimonio. Probablemente habrá cumplido los ochenta antes de convertirse en esposa decana. (314)
9.3	Greg was Mum's "boy husband," opted when she was very young. (111)	Pero Greg era el «marido favorito» de Mum, optado cuando ella era muy joven. (122)
9.4	I was opted at fourteen and my new family sent me to school, as I had had only three years, plus spotty tutoring. My eldest wife was a firm woman and made me go to school. (34)	Fui optado a los catorce años y mi nueva familia me envió a la escuela. (34)

In example 9.1, Mannie explains how to keep "wives" and "daughters" straight in a family where some of the wives are very young. He adds that because daughters of a certain age ("husband high") will be married ("opted") to a different line, they are not usually around the house. That is, a fifteen-year-old at home is more likely to be a "wife" than a "daughter." The last part of this explanation is excluded from the translation, though it appears no more problematic than the first part. It may represent an attempt on the part of the translator or editors to simplify a confusing scenario. In example 9.2, Mannie refers once again to his

youngest wife, Ludmilla, who is sixteen years old by the end of the novel—fifteen in the earlier descriptions. Her age, however, is turned into her years married in translation: "dieciséis años de matrimonio." In fact, this description in the target text does not match any identifiable character in the novel. In combination with the previous omissions, Ludmilla's age when she was "opted" and her position in the marriage are less apparent in the target text.

In example 9.3, the term "boy husband" is neutralized as "marido favorito." While this manages to transmit Mum's fondness for Greg (the reason why she later adopts his religion), it also obscures the fact that he himself was a boy, not a man, when he joined the marriage. Finally, in example 9.4, Mannie explains that when he was fourteen his eldest wife made him go to school. The term wife is not used in the translation. In this way the target text avoids describing the difference, in both age and authority, between wife and husband—a difference which might otherwise match that of mother and son. Considering where the target text stops short, Mannie's being "opted at fourteen" sounds more like an adoption than a marriage.⁹³

In another scene, Mannie alludes to the "extreme" arrangement set up by his mother, though he offers no clues as to what it looked like:

The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress (1966)

La Luna es una cruel amante (1975)

Found self explaining polyandries, clans, groups, lines, and less common patterns considered vulgar by conservative people such as my own family—deal my mother set up, say, after she ticked off my old man, though didn't describe that one; Mother was always too extreme. (264)

Empecé a hablar de poliandrias, clanes, grupos, líneas y tipos menos corrientes considerados como vulgares por la gente conservadora... mi propia familia, sin ir más lejos. (312)

With the understanding that the "polyandries, clans, groups, lines" are already quite unusual for the Earthlings that Mannie is addressing here, he refrains from describing this more

⁹³ While the Real Academia Española does offer a definition for the transitive use of *optar*: "escoger algo entre varias cosas," it also affirms that the intransitive sense is much more common. *Diccionario de la lengua española*, "optar," accessed October 2, 2016, <http://dle.rae.es/?id=R7PQd7N>.

"vulgar" arrangement established by his mother. His point, though, is that even for Loonies there are less accepted arrangements. While their accepted arrangements might seem strange on Earth, there are other, even stranger possibilities. As this reference is abbreviated in translation, "mi propia familia, sin ir más lejos," and mention of Mannie's mother is omitted, the target text forwards a certain ambiguity, indicating perhaps that Mannie classifies his own marriage as one of the "vulgar" ones. In other words, the source text frames Mannie's line marriage as common and accepted, comparing this option to other more "extreme" possibilities, whereas the abbreviated passage in the target text muddles this comparison.

Overall, the source text transmits a deliberate openness toward alternative marriage arrangements, which is simply not apparent in the target text.⁹⁴ The source text includes significantly more detail about Mannie's line marriage, and while some of the specifics are unusual and even uncomfortable—the case of Ludmilla, in particular—Mannie gets the opportunity to explain how "happy" they are. The translation, in contrast, avoids many of the odder details, along with some of the positive qualifiers. The end result is that the target text offers a narrower window on the marriages described. There is significantly less discussion of very young spouses of fourteen, fifteen or sixteen, and the age differences within the line. Also excluded is the idea that multiple men would simultaneously (and gladly) claim paternity of the same child. Finally, the target text completely bypasses the idea that a young woman could or would marry into a line in which her grandfather was one of the spouses.

The examples of Mannie's marriage serve to depict an arrangement based on individual considerations and internal functioning rather than social mores. The narrative implies that any disapproval of Ludmilla joining the line ought to be assuaged by the fact that, in practical terms, there is no risk of her being impregnated by "Grandpaw." In this

⁹⁴ Homosexual relationships, however, simply do not figure into these arrangements. The one mention of men having sex with men is depicted as inauthentic: "One thing is what always happens in prisons: men turn to other men. That helps not much; problem still is because most men want women and won't settle for substitute while chance of getting true gelt" (Heinlein 1966, 166).

sense, the exclusion of this part of the story in the target text also defuses Heinlein's broader point regarding social mores. In combination with the neutralized references to casual and extramarital sex, prostitution and the female body, the target text offers a severely limited vision of the Loonie perspective on sex, family and society.

Another area that suffered from extensive omissions in the target text is that of political organizing, particularly in regard to the nuts and bolts of the Loonie resistance. When Mannie describes the cell system by which they would reduce the risk of infiltration, much of the specific detail is skipped over in the target text:

The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress (1966)

La Luna es una cruel amante (1975)

Presently I said, "Look at base sketch. Each vertex of each triangle shares self with zero, one, or two other triangles. Where shares one, that's its link, one direction or both - but one is enough for a multiple-redundant communication net. On corners, where sharing is zero, it jumps to right to next corner. Where sharing is double, choice is again right-handed.

Cuando terminé el dibujo, con las flechas señalando la dirección de las comunicaciones en los distintos niveles—cada uno de los cuales estaba señalado con una letra del alfabeto: A=primer nivel, B=segundo nivel, etc.—, el Profesor lo examinó con tanta atención y durante tanto tiempo, que por un instante llegué a creer que estaba mirando «sin ver», abstraído en otros pensamientos. (87-88)

"Now work it with people. Take fourth level, D-for-dog. This vertex is comrade Dan. Now, let's go down one to show three levels of communication knocked out - level E-for-easy and pick Comrade Egbert.

"Egbert works under Donald, has cellmates Edward and Elmer, and has three under him, Frank, Fred, and Fatso... but knows how to send message to Ezra on his own level but not in his cell. He doesn't know Ezra's name, face, address, or anything - but has a way, phone number probably, to reach Ezra in emergency.

"Now watch it work. Casimir, level three, finks out and betrays Charlie and Cox in his cell, Baker above him, and Donald, Dan, and Dick in subcell - which isolates Egbert, Edward, and Elmer and everybody under them.

"All three report it - redundancy, necessary to any communication system - but follow Egbert's yell for help. He calls Ezra. But Ezra is under Charlie and is isolated, too. No

matter, Ezra relays both messages through his safety link, Edmund. By bad luck Edmund is under Cox, so he also passes it laterally, through Enwright... and that gets it past burned-out part and it goes up through Dover, Chambers, and Beeswax, to Adam, front office... who replies down other side of pyramid, with lateral pass on E-for-easy level from Esther to Egbert and on to Ezra and Edmund. These two messages, up and down, not only get through at once but in way they get through, they define to home office exactly how much damage has been done and where. Organization not only keeps functioning but starts repairing self at once."
. . . Prof was staring with blank expression.
(81)

Though admittedly complex to follow, the use of cell structures is a known method of limiting infiltration in clandestine resistance movements, and Heinlein's attention to this type of organizational detail suggests the seriousness with which he approaches the subject of revolution.⁹⁵ In fact, the novel has at times been cited as a model for revolutionary strategy.⁹⁶ Yet, the absence of such detail in the translation would result in a target text which—in an age prior to the internet—could not serve as a model in the same way.

In addition to the passage above, the translation omits the moment when Mannie asks his eldest wife to join the resistance movement and makes her the leader of her own cell:

The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress (1966)

La Luna es una cruel amante (1975)

But telling Mum - taking her into my subcell, should say, to become leader of own cell in turn—taking Mum into conspiracy was not case of husband who can't keep from blurting everything to his wife. At most was hasty—but was best time if she was to be told. (115)

⁹⁵ Not only was this a known strategy of the Communist Party, but the Falange had also taken up this system as a means of organizing clandestinely just prior to the Spanish Civil War (Payne 1999, 191).

⁹⁶ Most notably, Moti Nissani, Professor of Biology and Interdisciplinary Studies at Wayne State University, lists *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress* as a source for "revolutionary insights," on the site "A Revolutionary's Toolkit," accessed May 3, 2016, <http://drnissani.net/mnissani/revolutionarystoolkit/RevolutionarysToolkit.htm>.

"Mum" is thus transformed from the matriarch into a key figure of the budding resistance. This is the first step in Mannie's home and family becoming a major hub for the movement. In the target text, however, this show of confidence never occurs. As a result, Mum's role in the resistance appears less important.

A later description of resistance tactics is also shortened in the target text, with references to several specific activities omitted:

<i>The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress</i> (1966)	<i>La Luna es una cruel amante</i> (1975)
<p>Beauty parlor was also place to start rumors. Party had grown slowly at first, then rapidly as powers-of-three began to be felt and also because Peace Dragoons were nastier than older bodyguard. As numbers increased we shifted to high speed on agitprop, black-propaganda rumors, open subversion, provocateur activities, and sabotage. Finn Nielsen handled agitprop when it was simpler as well as dangerous job of continuing to front for and put cover-up activity into older, spyridden underground. But now a large chunk of agitprop and related work was given to Sidris. Much involved distributing handbills and such. No subversive literature was ever in her shop, nor our home, nor that hotel room; distribution was done by kids, too young to read. (146)</p>	<p>El salón era también un lugar excelente para poner en circulación toda clase de bulos y rumores, y Sidris se convirtió en una especie de auxiliar de Finn Nielsen, a cuyo cargo corría la agit-prop. (161)</p>

After the initial sentence regarding the salon as a base for initiating rumors, the target text bypasses the mention of a number of tactical and strategic elements, including the growth of the resistance as a function of the cell system—described as "powers of three"; the notion that military actions by the "Peace Dragoons" would pit even more people against the authorities; the idea that a growing resistance would call for intensified use of known tactics such as "agitprop, black-propaganda rumors, open subversion, provocateur activities, and sabotage"; and, finally, the use of handbills to distribute propaganda. The passage refers to a number of specific political activities which are left out of the translation. Of this mix of operations only

the broader concept of agitprop appears in the target text, where it is rendered as a loanword, *agit-prop*.⁹⁷

Lastly, the target text omits parts of a passage describing the religious affiliation of Mannie's eldest wife, Mum.

The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress (1966)

La Luna es una cruel amante (1975)

Despite Loonie mixture of Muslims, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, and ninety-nine other flavors, I suppose Sunday is commonest day for church. But Greg belongs to sect which had calculated that sundown Tuesday to sundown Wednesday, local time Garden of Eden (zone minus-two, Terra) was the Sabbath. So we ate early in Terran north-hemisphere summer months.

Mum always went to hear Greg preach . . .

But Mum always went—ritual not religion, for she admitted to me one night in pillow talk that she had no religion with a brand on it, then cautioned me not to tell Greg. I exacted same caution from her. I don't know Who is cranking; I'm pleased He doesn't stop. (111)

A pesar de la mezcla de musulmanes, judíos, cristianos, budistas y noventa y nueve etcéteras existentes en Luna, supongo que el domingo es el día más indicado para ir a la iglesia. Pero Greg pertenece a una secta para la cual el Día del Señor se extiende desde la puesta del sol del martes hasta la puesta del sol del miércoles.

Mum no se pierde ninguno de los sermones de Greg, . . .

Ø (122)

First of all, the sect's whole reasoning for going to church on Wednesday is altered in the target text. In the source text Mannie describes Sunday as "the commonest day" for going to church, but reveals that Greg's sect has "calculated" the real day of the Sabbath according to the specific time zone for the Garden of Eden. The target text, however, implies that Sunday is the correct day to go to church—"el día más indicado"—and that Greg's sect has simply chosen to observe a different day, for no stated reason. There is no mention of calculations or time zones in translation, making it seem an arbitrary decision rather than one based on new scientific knowledge. Following this, Mannie explains that Mum goes to

⁹⁷ With its origins in Soviet Russia, the term "agit-prop" does not appear in the CORDE or CREA databases of the Real Academia Española prior to the year 1986, suggesting that it would have been an unfamiliar term for all but the most politically-aware readers in Franco's Spain. In this sense, the choice to use the loanword may have further contained the revolutionary models described.

church as a ritual and not as a matter of religious faith, for she has "no religion with a brand on it." Since Mannie feels the same way, they both promise not to tell Greg. Mannie ends by stating: "I don't know Who is cranking; I'm pleased he doesn't stop." Though he seems to believe in some kind of Supreme Being, Mannie makes it clear that he does not have faith in any particular deity, and specifically avoids the term "God." This whole exchange is omitted in the target text. As a result, the religious agnosticism of two important characters is completely avoided.

While indeed these thoughts are only mentioned in passing in the source text, they represent a recurring theme in Heinlein's works, and one that was consistently manipulated in the Spanish translations discussed in this chapter. Similar to Hugh in *Farnham's Freehold*, Mum values the "ritual" of religious practice, and not any specific set of religious beliefs. The freedom of thought exhibited by both Mannie and Mum further establishes a concept that is no doubt essential to the Luna society: 'to each his own.' As with his discussion of sexual and marital arrangements, the protagonist exemplifies the notion of personal choice based on individual and pragmatic factors (rather than moralistic prescriptions). In this sense, the target text not only excludes the reference to non-faith, but also curtails a further demonstration of non-moralistic reasoning.

Overall, the translation strategies contain the Loonies' behavior in several key ways, producing a target text that, while still broadly narrating a revolution, does less to present unconventional societal arrangements and modes of thought. Open discussions of casual sex ("bundling") and sex workers ("slot-machine girls") are limited in translation by the consistent neutralization of Heinlein's concepts. Attention to the female body is also significantly reduced, as the Loonie practice of ogling and catcalling attractive women is eliminated from several scenes. Heinlein's obsession with adolescents as spouses and sex partners is likewise tempered in the translation, to the extent that one key figure, Ludmilla,

has a noticeably reduced presence in the target text. In particular, the descriptions of polygamous marriage arrangements involving spouses of vastly different ages suffered extensive cuts and manipulation in the translation. In this process, many of the practical details are lost in regard to why and how different marriage arrangements are put into place. Since Heinlein uses such moments to forward a notion of ever-adaptable pragmatism as an alternative to prescribed societal norms, the neutralization of such passages also detracts from the author's broader message. The presentation of religious belief as an unresolved question is eliminated to the same effect.

While the main plotline regarding the path to revolution is left largely intact, some of the more technical aspects that pertain to building the resistance are absent in the target text, most notably a page-long description of how cells can be used to rapidly detect infiltrators in the organization and a later list of activities including tactics like "black propaganda." Although the description of a complex cell system is not truly presented for the reader's comprehension (in the story only the computer technician and the computer itself are supposed to get it), the fact that it is not presented at all in translation essentially removes the possibility of inspiring the more technically-minded among the Spanish readers. A similar argument could be made for the excluded list of covert political activities. In fact, none of the terms are actually explained in the original novel. Still, for the interested reader these mentions could be a starting point for further inquiry. The underlying impulse for removing such elements may have had to do with simplifying the narrative as much as anything else, yet the effect is undeniably censoring. As a result, the Spanish readers of Heinlein's work, in an increasingly complex and uncertain political moment, would be deprived of this little bit of exposure to certain types of political activities.

Beyond these examples of manipulation, there appears to be a general tendency to simplify and contain Heinlein's narrative in *La Luna es una cruel amante*. Parallel to the

neutralization of unorthodox behaviors relating to sex and marriage and the elimination of complicated details in these and other censurable areas, much of the highly idiosyncratic speech is also standardized in the translation. In the broadest sense, the translation tends to simplify, standardize and limit the complex and unruly dimensions opened up by the author—dimensions which, in the source text, often operate just beyond the grasp and comfort of the reader. Taken as a whole, this tendency undermines one of Heinlein's central messages in the novel: the necessity of interrogating socially-prescribed barriers in order to truly assess the situation at hand and proceed with practical and functional solutions. Given the strategies of neutralization at work in the translation, Spanish readers would be presented with fewer of these barriers to interrogate.

5.3 Translation and Censorship of Norman Mailer in Franco's Spain

Norman Mailer was launched into literary renown with the publication of the novel *The Naked and the Dead* in 1948.⁹⁸ Having served on active duty in the Philippines through 1945, he published his World War II novel just a few short years after the war had ended—in contrast to Kurt Vonnegut who completed *Slaughterhouse-Five* more than twenty years later. What the two novelists share is their unseemly depiction of soldiers and war. Of Mailer's style in *The Naked and the Dead*, one reviewer for the *New York Times* affirms that "[it] will offend many readers although in no sense is it exaggerated: Mr. Mailer's soldiers are real persons, speaking the vernacular of human bitterness and agony" (Dempsey 1948, BR6). It is notable that Mailer had chosen to write "fug" instead of "fuck" throughout the vulgarity-filled first novel, though the euphemism did not free the work from multiple instances of banning, as noted by the American Library Association (ALA).⁹⁹ Moreover, by the time the author had finished his third novel *The Deer Park* (1955), he was so willing to push the limits of what would be accepted by publishers that he faced failed negotiations with seven different publishing houses before finding one that would print the novel without censorship—which turned out to be G.P. Putnam (Mailer 1959, 231).¹⁰⁰ Putnam, in turn, "capitalized on the notoriety" of the novel "with an advertisement that listed all of the negative comments made by reviewers: 'Unfair,' 'Undiscriminating,' 'Embarrassing,' 'Unsavory,' 'Junk,' 'Moronic Mindlessness,' 'Nasty,' 'Disgusting.' The book sold 50,000 copies . . ." (Sova 2006b, 56).

In 1955, Mailer also became one of the founders of the newspaper *The Village Voice* out of Greenwich Village. A few months later the author began contributing with his own

⁹⁸ The work quickly rose to the best-sellers list and topped it that summer "for eleven of twelve weeks," as "Mailer stepped into the klieg lights of public attention" (Lennon 1988, ix).

⁹⁹ The ALA reports that Mailer's novel had been banned in both Canada and Australia in 1949. *Ala.org*, s.v. "Banned and/or Challenged Books from the Radcliffe Publishing Course Top 100 Novels of the 20th Century," <http://www.ala.org/bbooks/frequentlychallengedbooks/classics/reasons>. Mailer's use of the term "fug," also became the inspiration for Ed Sanders' band, "The Fugs" (Miles 2005, 165).

¹⁰⁰ Three years after taking a chance on *The Deer Park*, Walter Milton at Putnam also published the first U.S. edition of Nabokov's *Lolita* (1958) (Mailer 1959, 231).

column, envisioning himself a kind of provocateur amid "a seed-ground for the opinions of America, a crossroads between the small town and the mass-media . . ." (1959, 277):

At heart, I wanted a war, and the Village was already glimpsed as the field for battle. . . . I wanted [the newspaper] to be outrageous. . . . I had the feeling of an underground revolution on its way and I do not know that I was wrong. . . . I still wonder if the kind of newspaper I wanted might not have managed to give a little speed to that moral and sexual revolution which is yet to come upon us. . . . the column began as the declaration of my private war on American journalism . . . the mind of the Village was a tight sphincter, ringed with snobbery, failure, hatred and spleen. The way to charge attention was to dare that hatred. (1959, 277-278)

In 1957, Mailer also set out to test the freedom of the press by seeing if any large newspaper would pick up a short piece "about what [he] thought of integration in schools" which he published in *The Independent*. By the author's own admission, the piece he wrote was "unilluminating" and no news service was interested in picking up the story (1959, 334). Yet, Mailer's frustrated attempt then motivated him to write "The White Negro" (1957), first published in *Dissent* magazine.¹⁰¹ It was this essay "that established Mailer's reputation as a philosopher of hip" (Lennon 2013, 189). The essay was reprinted as a standalone publication by City Lights Books,¹⁰² and it was later included in Mailer's 1959 collection, *Advertisements for Myself*, in which the author himself declared that "'The White Negro' is one of the best things I have ever done" (Mailer 1959, 335). This work will be discussed in Section 5.3.2.

During the 1960s, Mailer's coverage of the Democratic and Republican National Conventions further solidified his reputation as a rabble rouser. His polemical 1960 essay on John F. Kennedy, "Superman Comes to The Supermarket," is said to have "transcend[ed] the genre of convention coverage to become a cultural statement and a rallying cry." (Dearborn 1999, 152). Of the young presidential contender, Mailer had written, "Yes, this candidate for

¹⁰¹ Created by the notable socialist activists Irving Howe, Stanley Plastrik, and Manny Geltman in 1954, *Dissent* sought to provide an option between conventional liberal journals and the more doctrinaire, and outdated, organs of the old intellectual Left. . . . [The magazine] combined a steadfast anti-communist foreign policy with a commitment to domestic social and economic justice (Geddes 2007, 469).

¹⁰² Founded by Beat poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti in San Francisco in 1953, City Lights Books "was a pioneering institution in the development of Beat literature and culture during the 1950s . . . and went on to support alternative and radical writers in subsequent decades" (Susko 2015a, 153-154).

all his record; his good, sound, conventional liberal record has a patina of that other life, the second American life, the long electric night with the fires of neon leading down the highway to the murmur of jazz" (Mailer 1960, 120). An early example of New Journalism, the piece had a major impact on younger journalists such as Pete Hamill, at the *New York Post*, who describes the impact of Mailer's piece among his colleagues: "All the young guys were going, 'Holy Shit, what the hell is this?' He just took the form and exploded it, and showed writers that there were other possibilities" (Weingarten 2006, 76).¹⁰³

Over this period, Mailer's literary trajectory was invariably tied up with his fervent social and political energies. Following the 1955 publication of *The Deer Park*, the author spent "almost ten years carrying through a programme of political re-education," during which time "he produced no novel,"

concentrating his writing instead on much more ratiocinative and intellectually discursive forms: essays, cultural criticism, reviews, political journalism and lengthy interviews or self-interviews. . . . Collected together in *Advertisements for Myself* (1959) and *The Presidential Papers* (1963) this large body of work charts in detail the thoroughgoing reworking of Mailer's philosophical, political and epistemological position. . . (Leigh 1990, 84)

Cannibals and Christians followed in 1966, not only proving to critics that the author "still [knew] the important things" about the U.S. of the 1960s, but that he would continue to defy all literary categories, as one *New York Times* reviewer argued:

It might also be wise to revise or suspend the cliché that Mailer's value now lies in the straight reporting essay. If hallucinogenic experience writes few straight novels, it also writes few nonfiction novels. Mailer's direction seems to lie elsewhere now—with the new more-or-less chemicalized sensibility . . . (Sheed 1966, 1)

Notable among critical reviews of the author during this period is a looming emphasis on the divide between Mailer's novelistic career and the political energies he expressed in other modes of writing and "performances," as Alfred Kazin highlights in a *New York Times*

¹⁰³ The article was also included in Tom Wolfe's 1973 collection *The New Journalism*, along with excerpts from *The Armies of the Night*.

review of *The Armies of The Night* (1968), where he posits that "[Mailer] was so sensitive to politics, power and society in America, so engrossed in the search for solutions and revelations that the moralist and the "celebrity" left little time to the novelist" (Kazin 1968, BR1). Similarly, Harold Bloom has argued that "He may be remembered more as a prose prophet than as a novelist . . . Mailer, now celebrated, doubtless will vanish into neglect, and yet always will return, as a historian of the moral consciousness of his era, and as the representative writer of his generation" (Bloom 2003, 6). While indeed his fiction from the 1950s and 1960s was received with mixed reviews, the nonfiction novel *The Armies of the Night* was met with overwhelming acclaim in 1968, winning both a Pulitzer in the area of General Nonfiction and the National Book Award in the area of Arts and Letters (Lennon 2013, 397). The work—which will be examined in 5.3.1—managed to join precisely those elements that had been considered at odds in Mailer's development, at once playing on the author's celebrity and public persona as well as incorporating his politics and antiwar activism, in addition to foregrounding his preoccupations with literary innovation and style. It is indeed such hybridity that garnered the attention of critics:

The book cracks open the hard nut of American authority at the center, the uncertainty of our power—and, above all, the bad conscience that now afflicts so many Americans. "The Armies of the Night" is a peculiarly appropriate and timely contribution to this moment of the national dramas, and among other things, it shows Mailer relieved of his vexing dualities, able to bring all his interests, concerns and actually quite traditional loyalties to equal focus. The form of this diary-essay-tract-sermon grew out of the many simultaneous happenings in Washington that weekend, out of the self-confidence which for writers is style, out of his fascination with power in American and his fear of it, out of his American self-dramatizing and his honest fear for his country. (Kazin 1968, BR1)

Informing this examination of authority and power, Mailer's work offered a strong indictment of the violent role of the U.S. military in Vietnam and of the actions of military and police forces used to control the protesters. The author also scrutinizes and parodies the leftist factions converging to protest the war, and, perhaps more intensely, critically examines his own actions—though his active role in the march and his dedication to the cause are clear.

By the time the marchers reached the Pentagon, Mailer had managed to provoke the military police and land himself behind bars for the night. Even today, *The Armies of the Night* persists as an important example of "movement reporting" (Linebaugh 2008, back cover), or "advocacy journalism," in addition to the other forms it takes on. In the words of Macfarlane:

The Armies of the Night: History as a Novel, the Novel as History is a fine example of the New Journalism, "advocacy" journalism, traditional narrative . . . , old-school journalism and insta-history . . . , postmodern meta-narrative, and creative nonfiction. [Mailer's] take on the hippies, and the begrudging, reluctant hope he places on their concern and involvement in the future of the Republic, is also an integral part of the larger hippie narrative. (2007, 142)

Yet, it is also in *Armies* that Mailer positions himself as a "Left Conservative" (1968, 128) willing to subscribe only to certain pieces of developing activist movements (208). By his own admission—in the third person—Mailer,

while a dilettante in Left Wing politics, was nonetheless free with his surgery; left to him, he would cut out all middle-class protest movements like SANE and Women Strike for Peace because they derived, not genealogically he was certain, but spiritually, from the worst aspects of the American Communist Party . . . It is one thing to call a factory hand a worker—that is good for his sense of reality—he is married to his machine more than to anything else, the name helps to remind him. But for a middle-class married woman to think of herself politically as a Mother, or worse, a Woman, could only indulge a sense of self-pity. (1968, 70)

This skepticism of women's activist groups was an insistent theme in Mailer's work from this period. Indeed, he would make headlines in the early seventies for his antagonism to prominent feminists, especially through the publication of *The Prisoner of Sex* (1971) "conceived as a reply to Kate Millett's blistering attack on [him]," and through his outspoken participation in public debates on Women's Liberation (Broyard 1971, 37).¹⁰⁴ On this point, Mailer's slew of scandal-ridden marriages—which numbered four by the late sixties—and news of the nonfatal stabbing of his second wife Adele, did not improve his reputation for misogyny (Brower 1965, 100). Nor did the portrayal of women in his novels, which would

¹⁰⁴ Most famously, Mailer pitted himself against notable feminists such as Germaine Greer, Jill Johnston, Diana Trilling and Betty Friedan at the "Town Bloody Hall" event in 1971 (Lennon 2013, 441), which was made into a documentary in 1979.

draw the following critique from fellow novelist Joyce Carol Oates:

It is appropriate that Norman Mailer has become the central target of the fiercest and cruelest of Women's Liberation attacks, not because Mailer is prejudiced against women . . . but because he is so dangerous a visionary, a poet, a mystic . . . He is shameless in his passion for women, and one is led to believe anything he says because he says it so well. He is so puritanical, so easily and deeply shocked, like any hero, that his arguments, which approach the fluidity and senselessness of music, have the effect of making the dehumanized aspects of womanhood appear attractive. (Oates 1971, 42)

More damningly, Mailer had wholly dismissed the lot of women writers in *Advertisements of Myself* (1959), stating that he had "nothing to say" about his female contemporaries:

Indeed I doubt if there will be a really exciting woman writer until the first whore becomes a call girl and tells her tale. . . . I can only say that the sniffs I get from the ink of the women are always fey, old-hat, Quaintsy Goosy, tiny, too dykily psychotic, crippled, creepish, fashionable, frigid, outer-Baroque, *maquillé* in mannequin's whimsy, or else bright and stillborn. Since I've never been able to read Virginia Woolf, and am sometimes willing to believe that it can conceivably be my fault, this verdict may be taken fairly as the twisted tongue of a soured taste . . . that a good novelist can do without everything but the remnant of his balls. (1959, 238)

Also of note is the author's move to distance himself from Communism. Though publicly debating conservative intellectual William Buckley on the "greatness" of Cuban revolutionary Fidel Castro, Mailer clarifies his position as a non-Communist in *Armies* and highlights the weaknesses of Communist institutions worldwide and the specific failures of the American Communist Party, celebrating the fact that "the American Left was finally free of its unendurable overweight punch-drunk pug of a Mother-in-Law" (1968, 104). Yet, Mailer's political and ideological stances had already garnered the attention of U.S. authorities, who—years before his participation in the March on the Pentagon—had begun keeping tabs on the author.¹⁰⁵ Regarding a 171-page FBI file on the novelist, *The Washington Post* reports that Mailer had initially been flagged as a "concealed Communist" a claim which, though refuted by subsequent informants, "was repeated in FBI files year after year,

¹⁰⁵ A year after his death, in 2007, reporters at the Washington Post uncovered an FBI file on the author which included intelligence that had been collected on Mailer from 1962 to 1977 and filed under "SUBV. CONTROL, apparently referring to a program to watch suspected subversives" (Stephens 2008, C8)

apparently serving as the grounds for investigating Mailer as a suspected subversive" (Stephens 2008, C8). Regardless of the specific label applied, it is evident that the FBI's scrutiny of the author stemmed from his vocal support of leftist political movements and unabashed criticism of the U.S. government.¹⁰⁶

In addition to his celebrity participation in the 1967 March on the Pentagon, Mailer would prove these allegiances yet again during the 1969 trial of the Chicago Seven, a group of prominent antiwar protestors who had been arrested at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago (See Section 4.3.3). The author was called to testify in defense of the activists alongside other notable counterculture figures such as singer Pete Seeger, Beat poet Allen Ginsberg and "LSD guru Timothy Leary" (Shantz 2015, 108). Mailer had previously appeared in court alongside Allen Ginsberg to defend novelist William S. Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* against an obscenity charge in Boston in 1966.¹⁰⁷ Years later, he would write admiringly of the poet and counterculture icon, placing Ginsberg among "bravest" men in the country (Lennon 2013, 600).¹⁰⁸

Whether through his publications, his public appearances, or his boisterous politics, Mailer had achieved celebrity status by the late sixties, when he was playfully introduced on

¹⁰⁶ Through COINTELPRO, "a domestic counterintelligence program" authorized by J. Edgar Hoover in 1956 to "disrupt Communist Party and other 'New Left' organizations within the United States . . . [,] the FBI was involved in a series of organized actions directed toward the repression of various movements fighting for civil rights and emerging in the political arena. This activity was concealed from the public and from Congress . . . Publication of the *Pentagon Papers* [in 1971] showed that the FBI had supported political parties and politicians through various means. They fought antiwar, socialist, anticolonialist, antiracist movements" which included, among other targets, prominent figures such as Martin Luther King (Gata 2012, 210-211).

¹⁰⁷ Attorney Edward De Grazia, who defended *Naked Lunch*, would also defend Mailer after his arrest during the march on the Pentagon (Mailer 1968, 205).

¹⁰⁸ It should be noted, however, that Mailer's prejudice against gay men was for many years an obstacle to such friendships. In the 1955 essay "The Homosexual Villain" he admits to being "as guilty as any contemporary novelist in attributing unpleasant, ridiculous, or sinister connotations to the homosexual (or more accurately, bisexual) characters in my novels. At the time I wrote those novels, I was consciously sincere. I did believe . . . that there was an intrinsic relation between homosexuality and "evil," and it seemed perfectly natural to me . . . The irony is that I did not know a single homosexual during all those years . . . in the human sense of knowing, which is to look at your friend's feelings through his eyes and not your own. . . . It was enough for me to recognize someone as homosexual, and I would cease to consider him seriously as a person" (Mailer 1959, 222). Inspired by his reading of *The Homosexual in America* (1951), by Donald Webster Cory, Mailer's essay seems to mark a turning point in his ability to relate to gay men and the abatement of insecurities regarding his own sexuality. "Once he had admitted, and corrected, his bias, and begun to enjoy friendships with men like [Toby] Schneebaum, he found he was no longer worried about latent homosexuality" (Lennon 2013, 175).

the Merv Griffin Show as "one of the leading spectator sports in America," (Griffin, quoted in Lennon 2013, 400). He had become the object of enduring media attention in spite of his often dubious literary career. Indeed, as one critic noted, in the twenty years following *The Naked and the Dead*—and before *The Armies of the Night*—"the negative judgements among critics substantially outnumbered the positive as book after book appeared: novels, a play, collections of stories and poems, and gatherings of essays and other fugitive pieces" (Foster 1968, 17).

This wavering literary success is exemplified by the immediate precursor to *Armies*, Mailer's 1967 novel *Why Are We in Vietnam*, which was met with conflicting reviews. What critics did agree on was the sheer amount of obscenity in the novel. In this sense, biographer Peter Manso affirms that *Why Are We in Vietnam?* may have been "the most obscene book ever written in American fiction" (Manso, quoted in Fay 2006, 530). As a reviewer for *The New York Times* describes, the work is "messy, insulting . . . and deliberately relentless in its use of revolting imagery" (Fremont-Smith 1967, BR37). Thus, although many of these same critics offered a positive vision of the work overall, finding the work "also painfully lyrical and moving," "one of the most original, courageous and provocative books of the year. . ." (Ibid.).—the attention to its vulgarity would keep the work off library shelves in places like Wilmington, North Carolina and Prince George's County, Maryland (Fay 2006, 529).

Indeed, what had remained essential to Mailer's work in the twenty years since the publication of *The Naked and the Dead* was the continued fight to write without censorship—"For what are obscenities finally but our poor debased gutturals for the magical parts of the human body . . . basic communication, for they awake, no matter how uneasily, many of the questions, riddles, aches, and pleasures which surround the enigma of life" (Mailer 1956, 5).

Despite repeated attempts to publish Norman Mailer's novels under the Franco regime, few of the submissions to the censorship board were approved for publication. From

the first submission of *The Deer Park* (1955), in 1957, to the last submission of *An American Dream* (1965), in 1976, Mailer's novels were denied authorization in Spain no less than a dozen times. Moreover, of six novelistic works published by the author during this period, only the nonfiction novel *The Armies of the Night* (1968), authorized in 1969, was published in Spanish translation during the dictatorship. Table 1 provides an overview of these censorship verdicts, demonstrating the board's overwhelming opposition to Mailer's novels.

Table 1. Norman Mailer Novels Submitted to Spanish Censorship 1957-1976

Source Text	Year	Submission to Censorship	File no.	Publisher	Target Text
<i>The Naked and the Dead</i>	1948	1964: Authorized with Suppressions	5695-64	Edicions 62 (Catalan)	<i>Els nus i els morts</i> (1965)
<i>Barbary Shore</i>	1951	1970: Translation Requested	7406-70	Lumen	
<i>The Deer Park</i>	1955	1957: Import Denied	3685-57	Latino Americana	
		1957: Import Denied	5348-57	Latino Americana	
		1969: Authorization Denied	1483-69	Anagrama	
		1970: Authorization Denied	6295-70	Lumen	
<i>An American Dream</i>	1965	1965: Authorization Denied	2973-65	Caralt	
		1967: Authorization Denied	813-67	Caralt	
		1967: Authorization Denied	9055-67	Seix Barral	
		1972: Authorization Denied	2743-72	Rodas	
		1972: Authorized for Export Pending Suppressions	2743-72	Rodas	
<i>Why Are We in Vietnam?</i>	1967	1969: Authorization Denied	4257-69	Anagrama	
		1970: Authorization Denied	7408-70	Lumen	
<i>The Armies of the Night</i>	1968	1969: Authorized with Suppressions	3247-69	Grijalbo	<i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i> (1969)
		1969: Translation Requested	7470-69	Anagrama (Catalan)	

It is worth noting that Mailer's highly acclaimed first novel *The Naked and the Dead* was authorized in Catalan in 1965 (File no. 5695-64), though it was not published in Spanish

translation until 1981. Meanwhile, *The Deer Park, An American Dream* and *Why Are We in Vietnam* were submitted repeatedly—by multiple publishers—and repeatedly denied.

In contrast, Mailer's collections of essays, poetry and short fiction and later works of nonfiction were more readily accepted, with ten volumes published in Spain between 1964 and 1976, eight in Spanish and two in Catalan. Table 2 shows that while many of these works were authorized with suppressions or received a final verdict of *Silencio*, none were ultimately denied. Indeed, the largely favorable censorship verdicts regarding the author's collections and works of nonfiction—as compared to the heavy restrictions on his novels—meant that Mailer's trajectory in Franco's Spain would be defined almost exclusively by these other types of publications.

Table 2. Mailer Collections and Nonfiction Submitted to Spanish Censorship 1964-1976

Source Text	Year	Submission to Censorship	File no.	Publisher	Target Text
<i>Advertisements for Myself</i>	1959	1969: Authorization Denied 1973: <i>Silencio</i>	10454-70	Tusquets	<i>El negro blanco</i> (1973)
<i>The Presidential Papers</i>	1963	1964: Authorized	2896-64	Caralt	<i>Crónicas presidenciales</i> (1964)
<i>Cannibals and Christians</i>	1966	1971: Authorized with Suppressions	2964-71	Edicions 62 (Catalan)	<i>Fets de cultura</i> (1971)
		1971: Authorized	4361-71	Edicions 62 (Catalan)	<i>La farsa política nordamericana</i> (1972)
		1969: Authorized	6808-69	Edicions 62 / Península	<i>Caníbales y cristianos</i> (1975)
		1976: Authorized	3559-76	Edicions 62 / Península	<i>Días de gracia y arena</i> (1976)
<i>The Short Fiction of Norman Mailer</i>	1967	1970: Import Authorized with Suppressions	10543-70	Edhasa	
<i>Of a Fire on the Moon</i>	1970	1972: Authorized	12660-71	Plaza Janés	<i>Un fuego en la luna</i> (1972)
<i>King of the Hill</i>	1971	1972: Authorized	10580-72	Lumen	<i>Rey del ring</i> (1972)
<i>Existential Errands</i>	1972	1973: Authorized with Suppressions	2679-73	Alianza	
<i>St. George and the Godfather</i>	1972	1972: Authorized	15192-72	Doposa	<i>San Jorge y el padrino</i> (1972)
<i>Maidstone</i>	1970	1973: <i>Silencio</i>	5806-73	Fundamentos	<i>Maidstone</i> (1973)
<i>Marilyn: A Biography</i>	1973	1974: <i>Silencio</i>	11641-74	Lumen	<i>Marilyn</i> (1974)

While it is true that the authorization rates were much higher for Mailer's collections and works of nonfiction, these translations were nonetheless vulnerable to the restrictions of censorship. Indeed, examination of the censorship files and translated texts reveals that many of the author's works suffered manipulation in the translation process, regardless of text type or genre. In this sense, a full account of the numerous submissions of Mailer's works and the ensuing negotiations will demonstrate the keen interest that Spanish and Catalan publishers had in the sixties-era author, at the same time revealing the censorship board's systematic repression of the novelist.

Though Mailer's first novel *The Naked and the Dead* (1948) was never submitted for publication in Spanish during the regime, the censorship process for the Catalan edition is revealing. In this critically-acclaimed novel, which follows the developments of a platoon stationed in the Pacific during World War II, Mailer offers a strong indictment of militarism and war, transmitting his own "fantastic hatred of the Army" (Mailer 1988, 5). The work is notable for its use of obscenity, and the nearly four-hundred instances of the expression "fug" (in place of 'fuck'), coined by the author (117). When Edicions 62 submitted the work in 1964 the censors remarked that "debe cuidarse con exceso la traducción," and that "el léxico obliga a recomendar un especial cuidado" (File no. 5695-64). Consequently, the Catalan translation titled *Els nus i els morts*¹⁰⁹ was printed the following year with much of the crude and erotic content softened or omitted, as Lara Estany (2016, 29-30) has documented in her research at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Though ideological aspects such as Mailer's antimilitarism and Marxist sympathies were likewise mentioned by the censors, the crude language was their primary concern. Indeed, it was this aspect of Mailer's writing that would prove a constant obstacle to publication in Spain. In this case, the censors enforced the suppression of numerous obscenities and sexual references, while turning a blind eye to

¹⁰⁹ Translated by the Catalan author Ramon Folch i Camarasa, best known for his works of children's literature.

ideological content. At the same time, it was clear that the Catalan translation would be relatively limited in circulation and impact.¹¹⁰ That is, a Spanish translation of the novel might have been met with greater demands, if not de-authorization. Indeed, it is telling that no publisher made the attempt until 1981. Considering the wide popularity of the novel, which had "topped the *New York Times* best-seller list for eleven of the twelve weeks following publication in 1948" (Esquire 1988, 18), and the clear interest in translating Mailer's other works in Spain, it may be assumed that a Spanish translation of *The Naked and the Dead* was intentionally withheld in the hopes of more favorable conditions.

As translations of Mailer's novels came few and far between to Francoist Spain, a number of Spanish-language editions were published in Mexico or Argentina in the meantime.¹¹¹ Small shipments of the books were sometimes permitted by the censorship board, though rarely were these foreign translations approved for distribution in Spanish territory. In 1957 the group Latino Americana tried to import a translation of Mailer's third novel *The Deer Park* (1955), which had been published in Buenos Aires that year. The request to bring in 300 copies of *El parque de los ciervos* was denied in September (File no. 3685-57) and again in November (File no. 5348-57), with a report from August 28 cited in both files:

Es una novela de un crudo realismo que trata de la vida de las estrellas y de los productores de Hollywood. Un héroe de la guerra de Corea viene a vivir en medio de este ambiente y lo describe con todas sus crudezas. Todo es desengaño y suciedad. Los personajes son invertidos, rufianes, criminales, hombres que no conocen los límites de la moral. Los personajes digamos simpáticos, son anarquistas o comunistas. Alguno que otro ha luchado en España de la parte de los rojos. (File no. 3685-57)

¹¹⁰ This was the argument used in the approval of a Catalan edition of *The Armies of the Night*, proposed by Anagrama but never published. The censor recommended authorization and concluded his report by stating that "creo que esta obra no producirá gran impacto en España, donde las manifestaciones de masas contra un régimen no se preparan con pollo y champán, y menos al ser editada en catalán" (File no. 7470-69).

¹¹¹ This may explain why a later report on Mailer's work cites the success of *Los desnudos y los muertos* in Spain, despite the fact that the work had not yet been published or distributed there. A Spanish-language version of the novel had been published in Buenos Aires in 1955, and may have circulated illegally.

In addition to the complaints regarding "crude" and "dirty" descriptions in the novel, it is important to note the censor's attention to communist and anarchist references in the work. However, in the later attempts to translate the novel in Spain no mention was made of these subversive ideologies. When Anagrama submitted *The Deer Park* to Voluntary Consultation in 1969, the censor focused exclusively on the type of sexual relations and the level of eroticism in the novel, which he found unpublishable:

Toda la novela consiste en describir las relaciones amorosas entre unos y otros, sin compromisos morales, con la vista puesta únicamente en la satisfacción de los propios deseos sexuales. Abundan también las escenas de insinuante carácter erótico, aun cuando muchas veces no se llegue a descripciones propiamente pornográficas. (File no. 1483-69)

When Lumen submitted the novel in 1970, the censor suggested that some of the passages would require refinement in the translated text, but deemed *The Deer Park* to be "publishable," stating that "la presente novela carece de pornografía y de frases obscenas, a pesar de su innegable fondo erótico e inmoralidad del ambiente que presenta" (File no. 6295-70). The superiors, however, did not agree with the assessment. A hand-written note on the typed report (indicating a superior's decision) included the crossed-out words: "~~texto traducido~~," followed by the final verdict: "denegado" (File no. 6295-70). Rather than requesting the translation which would require "alguna supresión," the board chose to deny authorization outright. After four failed attempts to circulate the work during the regime, *El parque de los ciervos* would not be published in Spain until 1982.

The case of *The Deer Park* also serves to illuminate the broader trend regarding the censors' reception of Mailer's novels, as their concerns for the author's leftist politics were quickly overshadowed by the "obscene" and "immoral" content of the narratives. Certainly, the author's interest in Marxist and anarchist ideologies waned in the later novels, yet his attention to sex and criminality proved constant. This was especially true for the 1965 novel *An American Dream*. First submitted to the censors that same year, the Spanish translation of

the novel was denied authorization six times over the next ten years. The last denial came in 1976, nearly one year after the death of the dictator. Attempts were made by Caralt in 1965 and 1967 (File nos. 2973-65 and 813-67); by Seix Barral in 1967 (File no. 9055-67); and by Rodas in March and December 1972 (File no. 2743-72), and again in 1976 (File no. 2608-76). While it is clear that the sexual content of the work was the primary reason for the repeated rejections, this was not the only aspect that the censors judged to be unacceptable. The novel's irreverent descriptions and criticisms of the Catholic Church were also cited in the reports, along with the frequent use of obscenities and references to topics such as suicide, abortion, drug-use and homosexuality. All of these were included in a long list of "immoral" behaviors cited by the censor's report from February 1967:

Un hombre mata a su mujer . . . y escapa a la justicia haciendo creer que su mujer se ha suicidado.

En las 24 horas que siguen al crimen el asesino tiene relaciones íntimas con la doncella de su mujer y con una cantante de music hall, amante de un negro. Ambas mujeres han tenido, o tienen relaciones sexuales con el suegro del protagonista. Las conversaciones entre estas cuatro personas constituyen la pintura crudísima de una sociedad en plena descomposición.

Hay referencias obscenas en: 43-44-59-74-115-130-134-170-189-207-240-25 / amorales: 16-41-43-44-60-63-238-332-348, / de claro significado sexual: 59-60-63-71-187-189-295 / homosexuales: 6-8-11-128-189 / Dos amigos se pasan la amante de uno a otro: 238 / Dos hermanas tienen el mismo amante: 169 / Incesto entre hermanos: 232 / Incesto padre-hija: 202-204-358 / Relaciones equivocadas madre-hija: 349 / Madre e hija tienen el mismo amante: 350 / Uso de drogas: 261 / Referencias a abortos: 246, 258, 268 / a prostitución: 233 / Expresiones irónicas sobre la religión: 2-193-196-198-277 / Pacto diabólico: 344 / Sadismo: 347 / Descripciones de un naturalismo fisiológico excesivamente grosero y de mal gusto: 16-18-36-39-67-89-100-135-136-164-231 . . . (File no. 813-67)

When Seix y Barral attempted publication later that same year, authorization was quickly denied, with the censor citing the earlier report (File no. 9055-67).

Ediciones Rodas later purchased the rights to the Spanish edition and submitted the work for Voluntary Consultation in March 1972, likewise failing to secure authorization from the censors, who upheld the earlier verdicts:

UN SUEÑO AMERICANO es una novela, cuyo personaje principal es un sicópata, obsesionado con el sexo, pero en sus manifestaciones más anormales:

impulsado por su erotismo aberrante, estrangula a su esposa, reviviendo este deleite criminal cuantas veces posee a otra mujer. . . . Hay escenas descriptivas de estas aberraciones, lenguaje soez, prácticas incestuosas y homosexuales y alusiones a la moral y prácticas religiosas católicas en un contexto que resulta ridículo. Se confirma plenamente el dictamen del año 67, por lo que se considera NO AUTORIZABLE. (File no. 2743-72)

In response, the editor Antonio Roso Morales wrote to the board in November, pleading with them to reconsider the work and grant authorization for sale abroad, especially considering the resources invested: "Se han hecho una serie de desembolsos como la composición y fotomecánica," and offering his assurance that "no se vendería ningún libro en España" (File no. 2743-72).¹¹²

A censor's report from early January 1973 approached the work with ambivalence, first suggesting complete de-authorization on account of the novel's content: "Novela de un crudo naturalismo, en la que el sexo es principal protagonista, con abundancia de descripciones y expresiones groseras. . . . Entiendo por ello que debe mantenerse el criterio de su NO AUTORIZACIÓN" (File no. 2743-72); and then stating that because it would be sold outside of Spain, the novel could be authorized with suppressions. The board's decision reflected this same ambivalence, as the Jefe de Negociado initially approved the work for export on January 11, yet immediately reversed the decision on January 15.¹¹³

However, Roso Morales repeated his request the following week, adding that failure to publish the novel would jeopardize the publisher's arrangements with the novelist:

Además de los argumentos que le exponía en mi carta anterior, dada la categoría del autor, en el caso de que no me concedan ustedes la autorización para la edición del libro, en lo sucesivo el autor y su representante estiman que no me deben conceder ningún derecho más de varias de las obras que estoy tratando de conseguir. (File no. 2743-72)

A new censor's report, signed by Martos, emphasized the author's reputation, "Norman Mailer es un gran escritor," while highlighting the absence of politics in the work, and

¹¹² See full copies of this correspondence in the Appendix.

¹¹³ See full copies of this correspondence in the Appendix.

arguing that in terms of sexual content and crude descriptions, the novel was not so different from works like *Lolita* (which had been authorized pending suppressions in 1969).¹¹⁴ Finally, Martos stated that, given the request to print the work exclusively for export, "pensamos PUDIERA AUTORIZARSE la edición controlando perfectamente que se exporta en su totalidad" (File no. 2743-72). In March 1973, *Un sueño americano* was authorized pending suppressions on ten pages, and only for export.

This 'corrected' edition was never printed. Though the reasons for this are unclear, it is worth noting that the publishing house Zig-Zag had already printed a Spanish translation in Chile in 1969, and would print another translation in Colombia in 1973.¹¹⁵ With these Spanish-language editions circulating in South America, there may not have been a true demand for the export, especially considering that any censorship of the text would be more evident alongside the other versions. Furthermore, the publishers at Rodas waited until 1976 to re-submit the work, at which point they presented the censors with the Zig-Zag editions rather than a translation that would meet the 1973 demands. In a gesture that completely ignored all of the board's conditions for the previous approval, José Manuel Zañartu requested that the work be reconsidered for distribution and sale in Spain. These actions suggest that the publishers were determined to circulate an uncensored version of the novel, and had sacrificed a more immediate publication of the novel in order to do so.

Still, the March 1976 submission of *Un sueño americano* was met with unexpected resistance from the censorship board. Zañartu submitted the novel on March 3, and repeated the request on March 31, with a letter to clarify his position in regards to the earlier verdict:

¹¹⁴ Another frequently banned book, Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* (1955) was initially published in France and not in the U.S., on account of its sexual content, and was also delayed for publication in Spain. While Ediciones Grijalbo published a Spanish edition of the work in 1970, it was not approved for distribution in Spanish territory until 1975 (File no. 9979-69).

¹¹⁵ In fact, there may have been coordination between the two publishing houses—especially considering that José Manuel Zañartu, who began at Rodas in 1973, also had ties to Zig-Zag, to which he returned in 1979 (Castro and Zañartu 2011, 22). Moreover, many of Zig-Zag's titles from the sixties were printed by Ediciones Rodas in the seventies.

Por la presente le informamos que el libro "UN SUEÑO AMERICANO" de Norman Mailer, que hemos presentado a Censura para su distribución y venta en España, fue presentado anteriormente . . . siendo concedida la correspondiente autorización solo para su exportación.

Dado el tiempo transcurrido desde su primera presentación, rogamos que considere la anterior postura, permitiéndonos la distribución y venta en España de dicha obra.

Confiamos que todo lo expuesto merezca su aprobación, quedamos a la espera de sus gratas noticias. (File no. 2743-72)

Yet, it was September before the novel was reviewed, and even then the censor felt that the sexual content would be enough to count as a criminal offense under Spain's legislation, concluding that: "En consecuencia parece conveniente que la Administración se reafirme en su postura de desaconsejar el presente impreso" (File no. 2743-72). This was exactly what the board chose to do, informing Rodas on October 1, 1976 that the work was not advisable. This was the last attempt made by Rodas, and, in the end, *Un sueño americano* was not printed in Spain for another ten years. Thus, while editions were available in Latin America as early as 1969, the Spanish edition did not appear until 1986, finally published by Planeta.

The Spanish translation of *Why Are We in Vietnam?* (1967) was also denied authorization in 1969 and 1970 on account of the abundant obscenities. The two reports following Anagrama's submission of the novel in April 1969 considered the work to be little more than pornography. The first censor's report described: "abundantes escenas de una pornografía tan soez que se consideran rechazables" (File no. 4257-69), while the second report insisted that, in addition to obscene, the work was also void of any literary value:

Novela cuyo título no corresponde al contenido, escrita con un estilo nada convencional y con un empleo inusitado del neologismo y del slang. Narración insustancial, carente de valores literarios, con constantes digresiones que llegan a la falta de ilación y de sentido, se halla repleta de expresiones y pasajes de una salacidad, obscenidad y pornografía extremadas, llegando también, en ocasiones, a la irreverencia y la blasfemia. (File no. 4257-69)

When Lumen submitted the same text in 1970, the censors upheld the earlier verdict, stating, "Como no han variado las circunstancias procede aplicar el mismo criterio que a la anterior Editorial" (File no. 7408-70).

Considering the repeated rejection of Mailer's works on these grounds, it is worth highlighting that scholars such as Nigel Leigh (1990) have understood Mailer's extended use of obscenity in *Why Are We in Vietnam?* to be at the heart of his radical vision, and not merely a linguistic feature of the novel. In Leigh's view, the obscene language of the narrator, D.J. (as a kind of Disk Jockey), has the ability to connect with readers on the "lower frequencies":

The practice of obscenity is restorative of old circuits. . . . These elements are 'in the veins and the roots of the local history of every state and county in America.' . . . The crucial political task of Mailer's style . . . is to create a medium that will oppose other media. . . . In *Why Are We in Vietnam?* the cutting edge of style is turned against not just the mass media but all generic systems for transmitting within 'technology land'. D.J. is a medium whose identity is divided from itself yet connected to everything. . . . D.J. connects with the reader's chthonic consciousness; and on the 'lower frequencies' he is, in Mailer's view, a spokesperson for all our archeological selves. (Leigh 1990, 129)

With little tolerance for the abundant obscenities, and no interest in their narrative function, the censors stopped this novel too from circulating in Spain.

In fact, as of late 1969 none of the author's novels had been authorized in Spanish translation, despite the repeated attempts by publishing houses such as Anagrama, Lumen, Caralt, and Seix Barral. And, although Edicions 62 published a Catalan translation of *The Naked and The Dead* in 1966, the work was still restricted by the censors' suppressions and by an inevitably limited readership.¹¹⁶ Even counting works of non-fiction, this period saw only one of Mailer's works published in Spanish translation: the essay collection *Crónicas presidenciales*, translated by Francisco Elías and Luis Buelta,¹¹⁷ which Caralt submitted to

¹¹⁶ In addition to a smaller readership for Catalan texts, the translation totaled 644 pages, making it more costly.

¹¹⁷ Francisco Elías also translated the counterculture novel *Catch-22*, by Joseph Heller, and Luis Buelta translated works by the novelist Philip Roth. Both Elías and Buelta are listed among the most frequent English-language translators from 1962-1969, according to the research of Marta Rioja (2010) in the TRACEni database.

the censorship board in 1964, prior to its attempts at *Un sueño americano*. The collection contained "epic essays on the 1960 Democratic convention and the first Patterson-Liston fight; some poems; a couple of interviews, one real, one imaginary; a chapter from a novel in progress; some columns done for *Esquire* and *Commentary*; a speech delivered in debate with William Buckley; and a few assorted sundries" (Decter 1964, 84).¹¹⁸ Aimed especially at U.S. society, the work was quickly approved in Spain with its very "American" concerns (File no. 2896-64), and showing little of the obscenity, eroticism or antimilitarism that could be found in Mailer's works of fiction.

The nonfiction novel *The Armies of the Night* (1968) presented a different predicament.¹¹⁹ With little of the sexual content that was pervasive in the works of fiction, the censors could not dismiss the work on the usual counts of pornography, obscenity or general immorality. Yet, the book was marketed as a novel, and would attract a mass readership, expressing a sharp critique of the military and police. In March 1969, Grijalbo submitted *The Armies of the Night* to Voluntary Consultation, with the first two censors judging the work to be unpublishable on account of its antimilitarism (File no. 3247-69). However, two subsequent reports argued that the antimilitarism was limited to the U.S. context, and suggested that the work could be published on the condition that it undergo a few "corrections" in translation (File no. 3247-69).¹²⁰ As a result, the translation submitted by Grijalbo in May already included many of the modifications indicated by the censors,

¹¹⁸ Offering an in-depth look at Mailer's interactions with William S. Buckley, Schultz (2015) examines the impact of Mailer's relationship and public debates with the famed conservative intellectual and talk show host.

¹¹⁹ Chronicling the events of the 1967 March on the Pentagon, and with its full title, *The Armies of the Night: History as a Novel, The Novel as History*, the work is considered representative of the genre of New Journalism, discussed in section 4.4. Such works, "of the so-called New Journalism or Literary Journalism, typically go beyond the scope of traditional reporting by giving the story an arc and narrative" (Sartain 2015, 323).

¹²⁰ Anagrama's submission of the Catalan text four months later was met with similar considerations, though it was not ultimately printed: "Historia de los preparativos y ejecución de una manifestación frente al Pentágono con objeto de protestar contra la guerra del Vietnam. . . . muy útil para conocer los trapos sucios de la política y la sociedad norteamericanas que aquí se sacan a relucir. Naturalmente, hay en todo él un tono condenatorio, vagamente marxista, sin perjuicio del chauvinismo nacionalista, y una serie de digresiones y datos sobre la vida intelectual yanqui. Tampoco anda mal el volumen de expresiones fuertes, que se pueden respetar en atención a la categoría literaria del autor. . . . convendría suprimir lo señalado en las págs. 64 y 115" (File no. 7470-69).

especially regarding the depiction of military personnel. Following two new reports in June, the board requested the suppression of a passage attacking the professional soldier. The publisher removed this passage and submitted *Los ejércitos de la noche* to *Depósito* in October 1969. It is striking that the final report included a hand-written verdict of *Denegación*, which was scribbled out and replaced with the standard stamp of approval for deposited publications: *Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito previo a la difusión, exigido por el artículo 12 de la vigente ley de Prensa e Imprenta*. This last-minute change suggests that the board was still uncomfortable with the work, even as they accepted its publication.

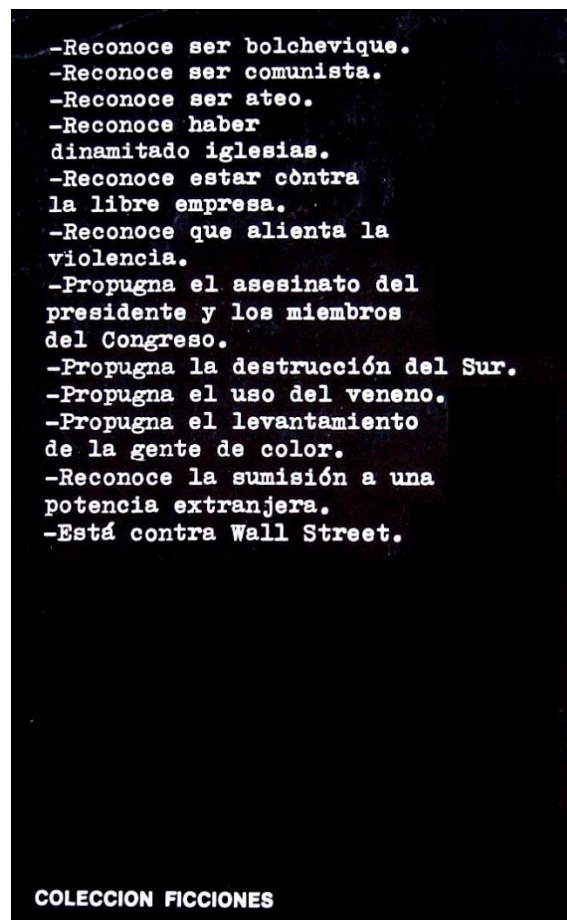
An analysis of this work in section 5.3.1. will examine the effects of the board's demands on *Los ejércitos de la noche* and look at any further instances of self-censorship or manipulation that may have neutralized the subversive position of the target text. Not only does the novel represent an important work of counterculture narrative, and serve as a prime example of the budding genre of New Journalism, but was also the first and only novel by the author that was published in Spanish translation under the regime.

In 1970, Lumen submitted *The Barbary Shore* (1951) for Voluntary Consultation, and the censor, Gregorio Solera,¹²¹ judged it to be acceptable, praising the author's ability to 'walk the line' with his descriptions of sexual encounters: "Celos y tenebrosidades amorosas no podían faltar pero el autor sabe andar sobre el filo, pero sin extralimitarse" (File no. 7406-70). The board requested the Spanish translation, but it was never submitted. In the meantime, Lumen had been denied authorization for *The Deer Park* and *Why Are We in Vietnam?*, and the editors perhaps thought better than to invest in a translation of *The Barbary Shore*. Given the "openly political" nature of the work (Leigh 1990, 30), the translated text would have certainly provoked further scrutiny from the censors. Indeed, the back cover of a translation

¹²¹ Gregorio Solera was also one of four censors charged with censoring music for the radio in the early seventies, especially songs in English, Italian and French. Xavier Valiño García examines this type of censorship in his book titled *Veneno en dosis camufladas: la censura en los discos de pop-rock durante el franquismo*, published by Milenio in 2012.

published in Buenos Aires in 1971 (figure 3) throws into stark relief the aspects of *Costa bárbara* that were blatantly antagonistic to the pillars of the Franco regime.

Figure 3. Back Cover of *Costa bárbara*, Editorial Tiempo Contemporáneo, 1971.



Having been denied authorization for *The Deer Park* and *Why Are We in Vietnam?* in July 1970—and suspecting, perhaps, that *Barbary Shore* would still be a fight—Lumen set all three projects aside. None of these works would be published in Spain until the 1980s.

Later that year, Edhasa attempted the import of a collection of Mailer's short fiction which had been translated in Argentina. *Cuentos de Norman Mailer* was authorized pending suppressions on thirty-eight pages, including the omission of an entire piece, "El tiempo de su tiempo," on account of its sexual content (File no. 10543-70).¹²² As the censors must have

¹²² This piece was also considered too obscene for publication in the U.K. (Mailer 2014, 777).

realized, these changes would not be easily carried out in an imported work that had already been printed. Not surprisingly, Edhasa never re-submitted the collection.

Nevertheless, the seventies did see an increase of Mailer's works in Spain, especially his works of non-fiction. Two of the author's notable collections from the late fifties and sixties were finally published in Spanish translation. Edicions 62 was behind four paperback volumes from the essay and poetry collection *Cannibals and Christians* (1966), including two volumes in Catalan: *Fets de cultura* (1971) and *La farsa política nord-americana* (1972), and two in Spanish: *Caníbales y cristianos* (1975) and *Días de gracia y arena* (1976).¹²³ Likewise, Ediciones Grijalbo published *El negro blanco* in 1973, a selection of pieces from the work *Advertisements for Myself* (1959). These two cases are particularly striking because the translations include only parts of the original works, a strategy which most certainly eased negotiations with the censorship board. At the same time, the smaller volumes meant that the works could be published in pocket-sized paperback editions and easily distributed.

While the first of these translations, *Fets de cultura*, suffered direct suppressions at the hands of the censors (File no. 2964-71), the other volumes were authorized without modification. Yet, with large parts of *Cannibals* and *Advertisements* missing from the respective translations, much of the censurable content was preemptively omitted. The analysis of *El negro blanco*, in section 5.3.2, and *Caníbales y cristianos / Días de gracia y arena*, in section 5.3.3., will examine the extent to which these partial translations had a censoring effect on Mailer's work, while documenting any further instances of self-censorship in the translated pieces and discussing the overall effects of these strategies.

The author's later works of nonfiction were also translated in the early seventies, including: *Of a Fire on the Moon* (1970), *King of the Hill* (1971), *St. George and the Godfather* (1972), and *Marilyn* (1973). Plaza y Janés was granted authorization for *Un fuego*

¹²³ *Caníbales* and *Días* were published under the Spanish arm of Edicions 62—Península. However, it should be noted that for the Ministry's purposes the publisher was entered as Edicions 62.

en la luna on the Apollo 11 moon landing, having submitted the original work to Voluntary Consultation in December 1971, and the translation in February 1972 (File no. 12660-71). After two failed attempts at publishing Mailer's novels in 1970, Lumen tried again in 1972, this time with his work of sports journalism, *King of the Hill* (1971), on the boxing match called 'the fight of the century,' between Muhammed Ali and Joe Frazier.¹²⁴ The publisher submitted *Rey del ring* directly to *Depósito* on September 20, 1972, and it was authorized the next day, with little objection (File no. 10580-72). Later that year, Dopesa submitted *San Jorge y el padrino* directly to *Depósito*, which was approved "pese a sus ataques a la administración de Nixon" (File no. 15192-72). Two years later, Lumen submitted Mailer's best-selling biography of Marilyn Monroe, which presented somewhat more of a risk. *Marilyn* came complete with a nude color photograph and a few of Mailer's "exabruptos chocantes" (File no. 11641-74). Though the publishing house chose not to submit the work for Voluntary Consultation, it is worth noting that the editor of Lumen, Esther Tusquets, wrote to the Minister of Information and Tourism, Ricardo de la Cierva, asking him to look at the proofs before it was printed.¹²⁵

In her letter from September 30, 1974, Tusquets explained that because the edition would be so expensive to print she wanted to get the Minister's opinion in advance, especially in regards to the nude photograph. The editor affirmed that the harsh language had already been mitigated in the translation, but insisted that the nude of Marilyn was absolutely essential to the publication. With the English, U.S. and Italian editions on the market, she argued that the absence of this photograph would put her edition at a great disadvantage. She further argued that due to the constraints of the layout, removing this one image would require the removal of at least five other pages. To these reasons she added that the photo was

¹²⁴ The fight took place in Mailer's home turf, New York City, in 1971.

¹²⁵ The broader role of Esther Tusquets during this period is discussed in section 4.4, while that of Ricardo de la Cierva is discussed in 4.1.

not "pornographic," that this type of image was no longer a cause for scandal in Spain, and that the edition would be "sophisticated" and expensive—that is, only accessible to a select few (File no. 11641-74). The Minister Ricardo de la Cierva responded with a short letter on October 14: "Me complace comunicarle que el libro puede ser presentado directamente a depósito sin que, por parte de este Ministerio, existan impedimentos para su circulación" (File no. 11641-74).¹²⁶ However, following the publisher's submission of copies for *Depósito*, on November 11, the board decided to withhold explicit approval, opting instead for *Silencio*. Since this did not actually impede circulation of the book, de la Cierva had not gone back on his word.

Mailer's script for the movie *Maidstone* (1970) was submitted by Fundamentos for *Depósito* in 1973, and met a similar fate.¹²⁷ The censor's report recommended approval, yet listed eight pages with censurable content. In the end, the board opted for *Silencio* (File no. 5806-73). That same year, Alianza was granted authorization to publish a translation of *Existential Errands* (1972), pending the suppression of nearly 350 words of the translated text, submitted under the title *Mensajes de vida*. The censor mainly targeted profanity from one section of the text—a fragment taken from the novel *Why Are We in Vietnam?* which had previously been denied authorization by the censorship board. The general nature of these suppressions can be seen in the examples below, which show the expressions that were crossed-out in the censor's proofs of *Mensajes de vida* (File no. 2679-73):

. . . no podría ~~meter su falo~~ en todas las puertas. (111)

. . . no te me acerques ~~si no sabes manejar tu falo como un látigo~~. (113)

¿~~Y todas la vaginas húmedas que habrá en los~~ ¿Estados Unidos? (113)

¹²⁶ See full copies of this correspondence in the Appendix.

¹²⁷ In the film, Mailer "cast himself as Norman T. Kingsley, a leonine auteur . . . [whose] ambition was to run for president—not unlike Mailer himself, who would campaign to be the mayor of New York the following summer . . . [The] vérité drama . . . plays all at once like a social satire, a monomaniacal home movie and a documentary about a famous writer making a film that goes haywire with a shocking immediacy" (Dollar 2012).

However, one of the suppressed passages also touched on Mailer's antimilitarism:

~~Militares, por supuesto, y los MacArthur solían besarles el trasero.~~ (112)

This theme in Mailer's work had been repeatedly flagged in the reports on *Els Nus y els morts* [*The Naked and the Dead*], and heavily manipulated in *Los ejércitos de la noche*, as will be examined in section 5.3.1. Unwilling to carry out these extensive cuts, Alianza gave up on the translation of *Existential Errands*. A Spanish-language edition, titled *Temas Actuales*, was published by Emecé in Argentina the following year.

Overall, the trajectories of Mailer's works in Spain reveal heavy censorship directed at the novels as well as the collections. While the novels were generally denied authorization, the collections were generally approved, albeit with suppressions and other forms of textual manipulation. For problematic collections such as *Advertisements for Myself* (1959) and *Cannibals and Christians* (1966), the publishers split the Spanish text into smaller volumes, securing authorization for only parts of each work. Due to the careful selection (or de-selection) of different pieces, the resulting translations avoided a large part of the obscenities and sexual references that were found unpublishable in other works previously submitted to the censors. Indeed, many of the novels were denied authorization on precisely these grounds. Yet, in *The Armies of the Night*, where such obscenity was far less prominent, the censors demanded modifications on political grounds. That is, between the author's abundant obscenities and his subversive ideology, nearly every attempted publication was effected by censorship of one form or another. Works that were not ultimately banned were frequently delayed, if not also manipulated. Only through repeated submissions and persistent negotiations were publishing houses such as Edicions 62, Lumen and Grijalbo able to build a (small) body of Mailer works in translation during this period.

Ultimately, the heavy repression of the author in the final years of the regime gave way to a wave of translations from 1979-1986, with first editions published of *Los desnudos y los muertos* (1981, Edhasa), *¿Por qué fuimos a Vietnam?* (1981, Plaza y Janés), *Prisionero del sexo* (1981, Plaza y Janés),¹²⁸ *El parque de los ciervos* (1982, Planeta), and *Un sueño americano* (1986, Planeta), in addition to the translation of multiple titles originally written after 1975.

¹²⁸ No attempt was made to publish or circulate a Spanish translation of *The Prisoner of Sex* (1971) under the Franco regime. However, the import of 1,000 copies of the original work was denied as late as 1974 (File no. 773-74), suggesting that any attempt at the translated text would have been difficult.

5.3.1. Descriptive-Comparative Study of *The Armies of the Night* (1968) / *Los ejércitos de la noche* (1969)

The nonfiction novel *The Armies of the Night* details the 1967 march on the Pentagon to protest U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam. The account includes Mailer's own experiences as a participant in the march and related events, along with a range of testimonies from different participants and coverage of the action as reported in national newspapers. As an act of civil disobedience, the march unfolds with a constant tension between the authorities and the protesters, and the novel incorporates episodes and descriptions that reflect negatively on police and military personnel, especially as those in charge of containing the protesters become violent. When the book was proposed for translation in Spain in 1969, it was indeed these descriptions that made the Spanish censorship board uneasy—so much so that the first two censors recommended that the board deny authorization (File no. 3247-69).

Grijalbo submitted the source text to Voluntary Consultation in early March, and the censorship board began their review the following month—just days after the State of Exception was ended. The first censor's report, from April 9, 1969, positioned Mailer among the 'advanced' factions of the left, though it also highlighted the fact that the book did not support communism.¹²⁹ In this sense, *The Armies of the Night* may have been seen as an improvement over previous works in which Mailer had been criticized for his Marxist sympathies and for having anarchists and communists as the only sympathetic characters.¹³⁰ However, the novelist's antimilitarism, which had been a noted concern in previous works, was now the main object of the censors' objections:

Si bien el libro no defiende la ideología comunista, en el aspecto político se muestra claro partidario de un ala izquierda bastante avanzada. El principal defecto de la obra es su decidido antimilitarismo, cargando sobre los militares toda la culpa de la guerra del Vietnam. (File no. 3247-69)

¹²⁹ It is worth noting that the novel was submitted on March 7, 1969, while the State of Exception was still in effect, yet reviewed by the censors in April, after the State of Exception had officially ended.

¹³⁰ See discussion of *The Deer Park*, and *The Naked and the Dead* on the previous pages of this chapter.

The censor concluded that the work did not merit authorization, adding however that if it *were* to be authorized, then the translation ought to be inspected.

A second censor began his report by describing the author as a Christian pacifist, a seemingly favorable (if not entirely accurate) characterization. Yet the report also emphasized Mailer's position 'against' President Johnson in the campaign to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam, evoking a sense of anti-authoritarianism. Finally, the censor highlighted Mailer's antimilitarism and his promotion of civil disobedience—also pointing to the use of crude language—and concluded, like his colleague, that the work ought not to be authorized:

Aparte de expresiones groseras y la defensa de su uso, el libro tiene graves inconvenientes de condenar sistemáticamente al Pentágono como un monstruo y representante del militarismo y propugnar la desobediencia civil. En circunstancias condena al soldado profesional. Considero por todo esto que NO PUEDE AUTORIZARSE. (File no. 3247-69)

Still, a third report offered a more favorable view, recounting the unique structure of the book, with its subtitle *History as a Novel / The Novel as History*, and repeatedly underscoring the specifically U.S. context:

Se cuenta con gran lujo y lentitud de detalles el proyecto y realización de una manifestación que pretendía llevar una queja pública, en América del Norte, contra la guerra del Vietnam.

. . . Paralelamente el nervio principal se destaca: la denuncia y acusación de las fuerzas armadas norteamericanas y su participación en la guerra del Vietnam y en muchas otras partes del mundo. Así como la crítica a los grupos económicos que fuerzan a esa guerra exterior con un fin lucrativo particular. Y de rechazo una crítica –tal vez exagerada– del militar profesional norteamericano.

Todo el ambiente y crítica se refiere, exclusivamente, al mundo USA. Creo que puede autorizarse. Aunque sobre texto traducido convendría hacer algunas oportunas correcciones. (File no. 3247-69)

Because of this 'exclusively' American context, he argued that the work could be published with corrections in the translation. This was the position ultimately adopted by the superiors, following a final report.

A lengthy fourth report addressed the previous arguments one by one, with the censor concluding that in spite of the problematic aspects of the text, there was not a legal basis for

de-authorization.¹³¹ While the censor mentions the number of crude expressions, he does not recommend that any particular word or phrase be removed. Rather, his focus is on the political aspects of Mailer's work, especially the antimilitarism present throughout the text. As suggested in the previous assessment, he agreed that the strictly U.S. context would make the work potentially acceptable:

Todos los hechos y las consideraciones sobre los mismos se desarrollan en un ambiente norteamericano, sin deducirse generalizaciones aplicables a otros países. La "bestia negra" es el Pentágono, el Ejército americano, no los Ejércitos en general ni el militar profesional. Los "héroes" son los representantes de la nueva izquierda americana. (File no. 3247-69)

Making sure to express his complete disagreement with Mailer's opinions, the censor continued his analysis with the following points. First, he reaffirmed the limited nature of the military critique, "La obra no ataca a la institución militar en general, solamente al Ejército americano, estando autorizada su difusión en Estados Unidos" (File no. 3247-69), implying that if a critique targeting the U.S. military had already been circulated in the allied country, then there would be no reason to ban it in Spain.¹³² Next, he emphasized Mailer's position as an 'American leftist' and not a supporter of communism. As evidence, he cited multiple pages from the source text (85, 104, 105, 186 and 187) in which the author clarifies his politics and ultimately criticizes the Communist system. Following these explanations, comes the most striking part of the report, where the censor laid out direct instructions for how the translation ought to be rendered:

Es fundamental no sacar la obra de su contexto y ambiente norteamericano. Cuidado con la traducción: más vale dejar la palabra inglesa que buscarle un

¹³¹ See the full copy of this report in the Appendix.

¹³² A similar argument was used in discussing a translation of *Our Gang* (1971) by Philip Roth. The censor Alfonso Álvarez Villar initially pointed out that "El libro ha sido publicado en los Estados Unidos, y podríamos pensar que si los norteamericanos lo han autorizado a pesar de ser una crítica feroz a su Jefe del Estado, nosotros no tendríamos que tener inconveniente en hacerlo en castellano" (File no. 1348-72). Though the text was at first de-authorized, Jaime Delgado, the *Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos*, sought out the opinion of Fernando R. Porrero y de Chávarri, the Minister of the Exterior, who responded as follows: "Tratándose de una Editorial privada, y exclusivamente desde el punto de vista de la política exterior, yo no veo inconveniente en que se autorice la publicación de un libro que ha circulado ya abundantemente en los propios Estados Unidos" (Porrero y de Chávarri 1972 in File no. 1348-72).

equivalente muy directo de nuestro país ("Marshal" por ejemplo). Es mejor hablar de cartillas de movilización (las que son quemadas) que de cartillas militares, etc. No debe cambiarse el título por otro más generalizado, etc. (File no. 3247-69).

In this way, the board hoped to ensure that the book would not evoke antimilitary sentiments relating to Spain's own armed forces. This strategy would insist that the antagonists—often perpetrators of violence—were foreign-sounding officials and institutions, thus confining the act of civil disobedience to its foreign context, and obscuring possible connections to dissident movements in Spain. Finally, in his concluding remarks, the censor made it clear that while there did not appear to be a legal basis for de-authorization, the work would only be authorized if the translation stayed within these guidelines.

The board requested the translated text on May 12, and it was submitted by Grijalbo on May 14. Given the almost immediate submission, it may be assumed that the publisher was already in possession of the translation when the board gave its instructions. Since analysis of the target text demonstrates that these instructions were indeed followed, it stands to reason that—in this two-day period—the editors at Grijalbo revised the text in order to comply with the board's demands.¹³³ As such, analysis of the source text and target text will include the translations imposed for military titles and draft cards, examining this type of censorship in relation to the potentially subversive role of the work.

A report on the translated text was completed on May 21, and according to the censor's remarks the translation proved satisfactory:

La traducción de la obra se ha realizado con una gran dignidad. En ella, las expresiones de mal tono, u ofensivo, han sido devaluadas o reducidas a la 1ª letra de la palabra y puntos suspensivos, con lo que no se produce un choque estético o de mal gusto en el lector.

Se insiste, una vez más, que la obra se refiere unica y exclusivamente a los USA y la manifestación pacífica que tuvo lugar, por parte de la población civil, para pedir el fin de la guerra del Vietnam. (File no. 3247-69)

¹³³ It is unclear whether the translator would have been involved at such a late stage, though translator testimonies regarding other counterculture works suggest that the translators were not usually involved in editorial changes decided after a manuscript was handed in.

The censor praised the neutralization of offensive expressions, not realizing that this strategy, to print only part of certain offensive words, was actually employed in the source text. With a couple of exceptions—which will be discussed below—words written with an ellipsis in place of missing letters in the target text (such as *m...*) correspond to words written with asterisks in the source text (such as *sh*t*). Here, the censor also reiterated the argument that the work stays within the U.S. context—which is especially true given the translation guidelines—while noting that the march itself was a peaceful event. Indeed, this observation fits with a general tendency to approve of activist works that championed non-violence and pacifism, while repressing activist works that endorsed armed struggle.¹³⁴

Contrary to the censors' arguments, however, Mailer did draw a connection between the U.S. Marshals and Military Police he encountered during the march, the U.S. forces that "burned and bombed large numbers of women and children" and professional soldiers throughout history (Mailer 1968, 185). He makes a point of defining the common characteristics of soldiers and police, even as he humanizes particular individuals. Toward the end of Book One, the author describes the way one U.S. Marshal trembles as he makes his arrest, a description which is expanded to include all policemen.

. . . this trembling a characteristic physical reaction of the police whenever they lay hands on an arrest . . . whether from a terror before God that they judged other men sufficiently to make arrest, or whether simply they were cowards, or if to the contrary they trembled from the effort it cost them to keep from assaulting the prisoner . . . no matter, the fact, incontrovertible, was that policemen quivered uncontrollably as they laid his hands on him. (Mailer 1968, 137)

In the next scene, Mailer quotes from one of his earlier works to describe 'the average cop':

Supposed to be law-enforcers, they tend to conceive of themselves as the law. . . . They are attached umbilically to the concept of honesty, they are profoundly corrupt . . . they serve the truth, they are psychopathic liars. . . their work is authoritarian, they are cynical; and finally if something in their heart is deeply

¹³⁴ Collections such as *Counter-Culture* (1969), edited by Joseph Berke, *The Black Panthers Speak* (1970), edited by Philip S. Foner, and *If They Come in the Morning: Voices of Resistance* (1971), edited by Angela Davis, were repeatedly denied authorization with specific reference to their support of violent and subversive tactics, while works by pacifists like Martin Luther King and Joan Baez were praised for their non-violent activism. For more on this subject, see section 4.3 on the Publication of Counterculture Texts in Franco's Spain.

idealistic, they are also bloated with greed. There is no human creation so contradictory, so finally enigmatic, as the average cop. . . . (Mailer 1968, 148)

Then, in Book Two, the author connects the violence of the Marshals and soldiers at the Pentagon to the violence of the professional soldier:

The logic here speaks of the old misery of the professional soldier, centuries old. He is, at his most brutal, a man who managed to stay alive until the age of seven because there were men, at least his father, or his brothers, to keep him alive—his mother drowned him in no oceans of love; his fear is therefore of the cruelty of women, he may never have another opportunity like this—to beat a woman without having to make love to her. So the Marshals went to work; so did those special soldiers saved for the hour when everyone but themselves and the Marshals was gone from the Pentagon. Now they could begin their beatings. (Mailer 1968, 276)

Believed by the protesters to be veterans of Vietnam, these 'special soldiers' were brought in after dark and once representatives of the media had left. It was at this point that the military actions became more violent and aggressive. In relaying this detail, the author implicitly draws the connection between the soldiers used to burn villages in Vietnam and the troops brought in to squash civil resistance.

In fact, these descriptions of the soldiers' brutality were brought to the attention of the board by the censor who reported on the translated text. In his report, the censor highlighted a series of pages that described the violence of the military police and ended with this characterization of professional soldiers. Though he did not recommend any specific action for such passages, he did flag references to Marxism and Cuban politics which he felt should be removed:

El autor se define como demócrata de izquierdas, pero no se detiene a alabar los sistemas político y militar de su país, sino que los critica poniendo como ejemplo aquella misma manifestación. Los métodos, violentísimos, de la policía militar son verdaderamente dramáticos (pp. 173-176). No se recata en hacer diversos juegos literarios acerca de los santos en el marxismo (p. 119), y opina sobre política cubana (55-56): que podrían ser suprimidos. (File no. 3247-69)

Upon inspection of these passages, the superiors overlooked the political references, but found Mailer's characterization of professional soldiers to be unacceptable in the translation,

pointing out that "al repetir lo del soldado profesional parece generalizar" (File no. 3247-69). Certainly, if this passage were left in the text it would directly contradict the argument that Mailer's antimilitarism only targeted U.S. institutions. As such, the board authorized the translation pending the removal of the passage, notifying the publisher on June 3, 1969. The editors at Grijalbo removed the passage as requested and submitted copies of the target text to *Depósito* on October 24, with the work being authorized a few days later.

In this manner, *Los ejércitos de la noche* was published more than six months after the initial consultation process began, undergoing two sets of modifications regarding military subjects, both aimed at limiting antimilitary sentiments to the context of U.S. institutions. Although Mailer's left-wing politics and his frequent use of obscenities were also mentioned in multiple reports, the censors did not ultimately request changes to the political references (including the author's positive allusions to Marxism), nor did they explicitly require the suppression of obscenities, though some of these may have been neutralized in the translation and editing process. Considering the importance of antimilitary themes during the process of official censorship, the textual analysis in the following pages will offer a close examination of military-related terms in the translation, in addition to analyzing the translation strategies regarding obscenities and political references.

In terms of military references, it is clear that the censors' instructions had a major impact on the translation strategy. Preliminary authorization was granted on the condition that the translation avoid 'equivalent' military terms from the Spanish context, a restriction that had a visible effect on several commonly used terms in the target text. Regarding the draft cards used for the conscription of men into the military for deployment in Vietnam, the publishers were told not to use the term "cartillas militares," which would have been a relatable equivalent insofar as it represented compulsory military service in Spain. Instead, the translation uses the term "tarjetas de alistamiento," which not only removes any

association to conscription in Spain, but also fails to convey the compulsory nature of the process. Furthermore, specific titles, like Marshal, were to be left in English. The editors at Grijalbo followed these instructions closely for the following terms, using calques and loan words from the English text:¹³⁵

U.S. Marshal	<i>marshal</i>
MP	policía militar
Sheriff	<i>sheriff</i>

In this way, a large part of the military and police presence in the work is expressed through these more limited terms, consistently evoking U.S. and not Spanish forces. The effect of this is especially important when it comes to police and military aggression and violence, as illustrated in the following examples:

De vez en cuando, se hacía un arresto, que nunca parecía tener mucho sentido. Un manifestante sentado podía tocar a algún soldado, el *marshal* agarraba el manifestante, le arrancaba de allí, un segundo *marshal* venía en ayuda del primero, había una breve lucha, y el traslado al vagón. . . . Una y otra vez, las referencias de testigos de vista, una tras otra, daban noticias impresionantes de la ferocidad con que los *marshals* y soldados trataban a las mujeres. (Mailer 1969, 317-318)

La línea de soldados avanzó hasta alcanzar a los manifestantes sentados, luego empujaron hacia arriba con la punta de los pies, hasta que los manifestantes estuvieron sentados encima de éstos. . . . Entonces los *marshals* se metieron entre ellos y arrancaron de sus filas a los manifestantes, que en ese momento fueron golpeados. (Mailer 1969, 322)

Although these descriptions also include the participation of common 'soldiers' in both English and Spanish, the presence of the culturally-specific *marshals* in the translated text ensures that the action remains anchored in the U.S. setting.

Nevertheless, there are scattered passages that remind the reader of a more generalized kind of military and police violence, in which terms such as *soldado*, *paracaidista*, *polizonte* and *tropa* carry the action—paralleling the use of *soldier*,

¹³⁵ Interestingly, this strategy resonates with Bob Marley's account of writing the song "I Shot the Sheriff" in Jamaica, where out of fear of the government's reaction he chose the word *sheriff* rather than *police*: "I wanted to say 'I shot the police' but the government would have made a fuss so I said 'I shot the sheriff' instead" (Sheridan 1999: 43).

paratrooper, cop and *troop* in the source text.¹³⁶

Cuando aparecieron los paracaidistas, con sus rifles M-14, sus bayonetas, sus porras, y sus caras de piedra, los manifestantes pidieron refuerzos de los que descansaban abajo. . . . Los paracaidistas comenzaron a moverse en la oscuridad.

Cuando golpeaban a la persona escogida para ello, generalmente una chica, en la primera fila, y la sacaban de allí a la fuerza. . . . La persona de la segunda fila que estaba detrás del hueco abierto en la primera, avanzaba para rellenarlo, quedaba a su vez sometida a golpes y patadas, era sacada de allí a rastras, y la tropa se enfrentaba con la tercera fila. (1969, 318-319)¹³⁷

Los polizontes empezaron a ser verdaderamente brutales. Avanzaban en un grupo en forma de cuña y machaban cabezas con sus cachiporras. (321-322)¹³⁸

Un soldado derramó el agua de su cantimplora para hacer más incómoda la situación de la manifestante que tenía a sus pies. Ella le maldijo— comprensiblemente, según creo—y apartó el cuerpo. Perdió el equilibrio y tocó el rifle que el soldado llevaba al costado. Este entonces lo levantó, y, con su culata, machacó fuertemente la pantorrilla de la chica. La muchacha trató de apartarse, pero no fue lo bastante rápida para escapar a la cachiporra de un soldado de la segunda fila. Dicho soldado la golpeó al menos cuatro veces con toda su fuerza, y luego, cuando ella estaba tumbada protegiéndose la cabeza con los brazos, le clavó la porra, como si fuera espada, en la cara, entre las manos. (323)¹³⁹

It was just after this violent scene that Mailer launched into a scathing characterization of professional soldiers, quoted previously in the chapter. Here, a passage of nearly 200 words was completely omitted from the 1969 text because of its insistence that the brutality of the Marshals and MPs was not in fact specific to the U.S., or even to the moment, but rather an inherent trait of all trained soldiers.

Still, the modifications did not fully eradicate the presence of more generalized military figures. It must be noted that the first two references to Marshals were treated generically in Spanish, suggesting that the translator, Juan Carlos García Borrón, had adopted a different strategy for these terms. When they first appear in the target text, the Marshals are only distinguished from other soldiers by their uniforms. These passages are shown in table 3.

¹³⁶ In later editions published by Anagrama, the translation refers to *los polis*.

¹³⁷ From the account of Margie Stramberg published by the Washington Free Press, quoted in Mailer's narrative.

¹³⁸ From the account of Thorne Dreyer published by the Washington Free Press, quoted in Mailer's narrative.

¹³⁹ From the account of Harvey Mayes, quoted in Mailer's narrative.

Table 3. Generalized Translation of Police and Military Titles in the Target Text

<i>The Armies of the Night</i> (1968)	<i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i> (1969)
3.1 . . . a cluster appeared, every fifty yards or so, of two or three U.S. <u>Marshals</u> in white helmets and dark blue suits . . . (129)	. . . había, de cincuenta en cincuenta yardas, grupos de dos o tres <u>soldados</u> con cascos blancos y uniformes azul oscuro . . . (156)
3.2 And then he saw the Pentagon to his right across the field, not a hundred yards away, and a little to his left, the <u>marshals</u> , and he ran on a jog toward them, and came up, and they glared at him and shouted "Go back." (131)	Y entonces vio el Pentágono a su derecha, a través del campo, a no más de cien yardas, y un poco a su izquierda a <u>los retenes</u> de la última línea de defensa, y corrió hacia éstos en un trote corto, y llegó, y <u>los guardias</u> le miraron y gritaron «¡Atrás!» (157)

While the references to the Pentagon and distances measured in yards both remind the reader of the U.S. context, it is interesting that in these first descriptions the translator did not try to maintain the foreignness of the title *marshal*, but rather chose to generalize with the terms *soldados*, *retenes* and *guardias*. The later use of the term *marshal* was only introduced as a result of the censorship process, as the censors required terms that would emphasize the foreignness of armed (and violent) forces. As such, the examples above provide evidence of an alternative translation strategy that could have created a more generalized target for the antimilitarism expressed in the book—had such a strategy been permitted throughout the work, especially in the later chapters.

Given the translator's trajectory, it is clear that the socio-cultural impact of the text would have been a central concern to his work. A philosopher himself, Garcia Borrón was a friend and colleague of the Marxist philosopher Manuel Sacristán, with whom he had worked on the journals *Qvadrante* and *Laye*, along with Josep M. Castellet and other peers (Pinilla de las Heras 1989, 24).¹⁴⁰ In the late sixties and early seventies he translated a number of texts on philosophy, sociology and religion for dissident publishers such as Grijalbo and Ariel. And, around the time he was working on *Los ejércitos de la noche*, García Borrón was also responsible for translations such as *Existencialismo y alienación en la literatura americana*

¹⁴⁰ See section 4.4 for discussion of Castellet's role in promoting counterculture texts.

(1969), by Sidney Walter Finkelstein, and *Reexamen de Hegel* (1969), by J.N. Findlay, for Grijalbo, as well as Bertrand Russell's *Teoría y practica del bolchevismo* (1969) for Ariel. In this sense, his translation of Mailer's work cannot be seen as a commercial or even literary production, but rather a work of philosophical and cultural engagement—sold as a novel.

Yet, the combined effect of the censors' instructions for the translated text and the subsequent removal of a passage that negatively characterized the professional soldier resulted in a target text that was intentionally limited in its reach. These measures counteracted Mailer's own attempts to connect the actions of the U.S. police and military to a broader problem arising from police and military institutions in general. Such limitations also proved counter to the initial choices made by the translator, who, left to his own devices, may have conveyed a more universal representation of the U.S. forces by generalizing specific titles that would be unfamiliar to Spanish readers. Although traces of this strategy remained in the target text in the first references to U.S. Marshals, the dominant strategy was the one imposed by the censors—of leaving these titles in English.

In spite of this manipulation, the target text did include a great deal of anti-police and antimilitary expression, and offered a detailed account of a mass political action that was organized by artists and activists on the left. Furthermore, the hostilities and tensions that arose during the weekend were punctuated by Mailer's frequent use of obscenities, many of which survived the censorship process in Spain. A few striking examples are seen with the protestor's signs, reading "PENTAGON SUCKS" and "FUCK WAR" (268), translated as "MAMÓN EL PENTÁGONO" and "QUE SE JODA LA GUERRA" (314), or in the name of Ed Sanders's independent magazine *FUCK YOU* (122) referenced in Chapter 5, translated as *JODERSE* (147). In these cases, the target text succeeds in channeling both literary and political subversion.

Other examples, however, reveal a degree of self-censorship in the translation process, suggesting divergent strategies for handling obscenities in the target text. The first of these strategies involves the use of ellipses, mirroring Mailer's use of asterisks, to partially obscure obscenities in the text. This can be seen in the following passage:

The Armies of the Night (1968)

Los ejércitos de la noche (1969)

"Fuck you," cried Mailer back with absolute delight. . . . But let us use asterisks for these obscenities to emphasize how happily he used the words, they went off like fireworks in his orator's heart, and asterisks look like rocket-bursts and the orbs from Roman candles ***. Fuck you he said to the heckler but with such gusto the vowel was doubled. Fu*-uck you! was more like it. . . .

[He] has been telling you about his imbroglio with the pu*ssarooney up on the top floor, and will all the reporters please note that I did not talk about defecation commonly known as sheeee-it . . . but to the contrary, speak of you-rye-nation! I pu*ssed on the floor. Hoo-ee! Hoo-ee! How's that for Black Power full of white pu*ss? You just know all those reporters are going to say it was shu*t tomorrow. Fu*uck them. Fu*uck all of them. (50)

«¡Ju...ute!», gritó Mailer, en respuesta, con absoluta delicia. . . . Pero utilicemos los puntos suspensivos en la expresión de las obscenidades, para subrayar con cuanta dicha empleaba las palabras, que salían como fuegos artificiales de su corazón de orador, y los puntos son como las colas silbantes de los cohetes. «Ju...ute», dijo al que le había interrumpido, pero con tal gusto que las vocales sonaban más prolongadas. «¡Ju...ute!», sería una manera más parecida de expresarlo. . . .

«[Él] ha estado hablando de su embrollo con el meadero del piso de arriba, y que todos los periodistas hagan el favor de tomar nota de que he hablado de defecación comúnmente conocida por ¡mieeeer-da! . . . Pero, por el contrario, hablad a la nación de que he m... en el suelo. ¡Ju-í! ¡Ju-í! Ya sabéis que todos esos periodistas van a decir mañana que yo me ca... ¡Que se j...! ¡Que se j... todos ellos! (64)

Interestingly, Mailer begins this passage with the unobscured obscenity, "Fuck you," yet decides in the numerous repetitions to replace the vowel with asterisks, explaining that this technique is "to emphasize how happily he used the words." In this way, the author mocks the idea of censorship, revealing and then hiding the fully written word. He makes a game out of placing the asterisks, insisting that they intensify—rather than moderate—his language: "they went off like fireworks in his orator's heart, and asterisks look like rocket-bursts and the orbs from Roman candles." The author also insists on his right to use these words at will, and makes it clear, in going back and forth, that the use of asterisks is a choice.

In later passages, he will return to using the uncensored expressions, including *ass*, *shit*, *cunt* and *motherfucker*, among others.

The translation, on the other hand, begins with the obscenity partially obscured, as the protagonist yells «¡J... te!» with three letters missing. Without the uncensored word to begin the paragraph, the target text gives the impression that the words are in fact too unspeakable to be written out (although they appear later in the book).¹⁴¹ It is notable that such passages—full of ellipses—led the censors to believe that obscenities had been systematically neutralized in the translation (File no. 3247-69), even though the textual analysis proves that this is not the case. While it is true that this and other passages do reveal some evidence of neutralization, it is far from systematic. In fact, most of the passages in which ellipses are used to 'neutralize' obscenities simply mimic the form of the source text, as seen in table 4.

Table 4. Obscured Obscenities in the Source Text and Target Text.

	<i>The Armies of the Night</i> (1968)	<i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i> (1969)
4.1	<i>The New Yorker</i> did not have strictures against the use of sh*t for nothing; nor did Dwight Macdonald love <i>The New Yorker</i> for nothing, he also had strictures against sh*t's metaphorical associations. (38)	No en balde tenía el <i>New Yorker</i> serias objeciones contra el uso de «m...»; y no en balde amaba al <i>New Yorker</i> Dwight Macdonald, que también censuraba a las asociaciones metafóricas de «m...». (51)
4.2	Yeah, these reporters will kiss Lyndon Johnson's *ss and Dean Rusk's *ss and Man Mountain McNamara's *ss, they will rush to kiss it, but will they stand up in Public? No!" (51)	Sí, esos periodistas están dispuestos a besar el c... de Lyndon Johnson, y el c... de Dean Rusk, y el c... del Hombre Montaña McNamara, irán corriendo a besárselos, pero ¿se levantarán en público? ¡No! (64)

At other points in the text obscenities are written in full, and the translation follows suit, as seen in table 5.

¹⁴¹ It is also worth noting that *meadero* is fully written out, though p*ssarooney had been written with an asterisk.

Table 5. Unobscured Obscenities in the Source Text and Target Text

<i>The Armies of the Night</i> (1968)	<i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i> (1969)
5.1 [Lillian Ross] asked him why he did not do a piece for <i>The New Yorker</i> . "Because they would not let me use the word 'shit,'" he had written back. Miss Ross suggested that all liberty was his if only he understood where liberty resided. True liberty, Mailer had responded, consisted of his right to say <u>shit</u> in <i>The New Yorker</i> . (26)	[Lillian Ross] le preguntó por qué no escribía algo para el <i>New Yorker</i> . A la respuesta de Mailer de que no escribía para ellos porque no le dejarían utilizar la palabra « <u>mierda</u> », Miss Ross sugirió que podía disponer de entera libertad con tal de que supiera entender dónde reside la libertad. La verdadera libertad, contestó Mailer, consistía en que él pudiera escribir en el <i>New Yorker</i> la palabra « <u>mierda</u> ». (36)
5.2 . . . for the first time in my life I don't know whether I have the <u>pijs</u> or the <u>shit</u> scared out of me the most. (38)	. . . por primera vez en mi vida no sé qué he echado más fuera de mí, si el <u>pijs</u> o la <u>mierda</u> . (50)
5.3 . . . he'll beat the <u>shit</u> out of me. (40)	. . . me hará salir la <u>mierda</u> . (52)
5.4 . . . my bureaucrat's heart . . . it's so full of <u>shit</u> . (47)	. . . mi corazón burocrático . . . ya demasiado lleno de <u>mierda</u> . (60)
5.5 . . . they were ready to overthrow society and replace it with a communion of pacifistic men free of all laws, but they were not ready to print <u>cunt</u> Today a Left Wing editor who would not print **** or **** was in danger of being beaten to death at Berkeley with stones on which was painted: <u>Fuck!</u> (103)	. . . estaban dispuestos a derrocar la sociedad y reemplazarla por una comunión de hombres pacifistas liberados de todas las leyes, pero no estaban dispuestos a escribir <u>coño</u> en letras de imprenta. . . . Hoy, un editor de la Izquierda que no imprimiese <u>C...</u> o <u>M...</u> estaba en peligro de ser golpeado hasta la muerte en Berkeley, con piedras en las que apareciese pintada la inscripción: ¡Jódete! (125)

As these examples demonstrate, many of Mailer's obscenities were not neutralized in the target text. On the contrary, sometimes they were included to the detriment of the text's coherence. This is true of examples 5.2 and 5.3, which both include the word *mierda* where the source text had employed *shit*, though the translation does not convey the basic sense of the phrasal verbs: "to have the shit scared out of" (*estar espantado*) or "to beat the shit out of" (*dar una paliza*). In the last example 5.5, Mailer again uses asterisks to draw attention to censorship in the media, while ridiculing this practice by unabashedly writing *cunt* and *fuck* before and after the asterisks. This time, the translation allows for a similar effect, with *coño*

written in full, as well as *¡Jódete!* Ending the passage with this rarely printed explicative, the translated text succeeds in conveying the author's hostility toward media censorship.

In addition, Mailer's often derogatory expressions applied to women and feminized characters are translated with little neutralization. The author freely uses the terms *whore* and *bitch*, which are translated as *puta* and *perra*, respectively, as shown in table 6.

Table 6. Uncensored Obscenities Applied to Women and Feminized Characters

	<i>The Armies of the Night</i> (1968)	<i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i> (1969)
6.1	Next to strong wild men, you're nothing but a <u>bitch</u> . (146)	Tú no alcanzas la categoría de los hombres fuertes y fieros. Tú eres solamente una <u>perra</u> . (174)
6.2	The girls conducted their war . . . some were gentle and sweet . . . others were bold and with the well-seasoned and high spiced <u>bitch</u> air of fifty Harlem pickup lovers in a year. . .they unbuttoned their blouses, gave a real hint of cleavage, smiled in the soldier's eye, gave a devil laugh, then a <u>bitch belly laugh</u> at the impotence of the man's position in a uniform, helpless to reach out a take her. (271)	Las chicas hacían su guerra. . . . Algunas eran gentiles y dulces . . . otras eran descaradas y tenían el aire maduro y sazonado <u>de las perras</u> de Harlem, de cincuenta amantes intermitentes al año. . . se desabrochaban las blusas, se insinuaban de un modo muy real, sonreían ante la mirada del soldado, se reían malignamente ante la impotencia del hombre de uniforme, en posición de soldado de servicio, incapaz de responder al reto sexual. (317)
6.3	. . . he had . . . the sort of conniving pimp's face which Midwestern bellboys used to develop by the habit of taking an extra dollar from the hotel <u>whore</u> ." (109)	. . . [él] tenía . . . la clase de cara de alcahuete habituado a hacer la vista gorda que suelen desarrollar los botones del medio oeste, por la costumbre de sacar algún dólar extra a la <u>puta</u> del Hotel. (132)

With the exception of the phrase "bitch belly laugh," which certainly would have been challenging in Spanish translation, the rest of the terms are translated without neutralization. Moreover, the descriptions of promiscuity and prostitution are transmitted clearly in the target text. This is also true for Mailer's discussion of sexuality in other parts of the book. Indeed, references to sex and sexuality—including homosexuality and masturbation—went generally unnoticed in *Los ejércitos de la noche*, in stark contrast to novels such as *The Deer Park*, *Why Are We in Vietnam?* and *An American Dream*.

Still, a handful of obscenities are neutralized in the target text, including *motherfucker*, *bastard* and *fag*, shown in table 7.

Table 7: Neutralization of Obscenities in the Target Text

	<i>The Armies of the Night</i> (1968)	<i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i> (1969)
7.1	. . . the pleas, the tears, and the impotent curses of "Motherfucker!" and "Bastards!" from those who could not leave yet could not resist. (273)	. . . las súplicas, las lágrimas, y las maldiciones impotentes y los insultos de los que no podían abandonar y tampoco podían resistir. (320)
7.2	. . . who gives his girl away—would be their question. And the answer—a fag!" (270)	Ellos se preguntarían: ¿quién está dispuesto a ceder su propia chica? y su respuesta sería: ¡un cabrón!" (316)

In the first example, *motherfucker* and *bastards*, curses yelled at the soldiers, become simply "insults" in the target text. Not only does this substitution avoid a translation for one of the strongest obscenities in English, but also avoids having these expressions directed at soldiers during the most sensitive part of the book—amidst extensive descriptions of violence at the hands of the police and the military. Elsewhere in the book *bastard* was simply translated as *bastardo*, making the neutralization here even more conspicuous. In the second example, the translation employs the offensive expression *cabrón*, yet avoids the derogatory term for gay men, completely altering the logic of the sentence. Mailer is imagining the soldier's reaction to the idea of free love: if a man is willing to share a woman, then he must be gay. The translation suggests a different argument altogether, though it still contains an implicit criticism of free love: if a man is willing to share a woman, then he is a cuckold.

In other instances the effect of the obscenities is reduced by seeming mistranslation. For example, when someone from the crowd yells: "We're going to try to stick it up the government's ass . . . right into the sphincter of the Pentagon" (Mailer 1968, 39). This is translated as "Vamos a tratar de meter el asno del gobierno . . . por el esfínter del Pentágono" (Mailer 1969, 50). Whereas Mailer basically states the same idea twice, with the figurative

threat 'up the ass,' the translation mistakes this for a different kind of 'ass,' assembling the bizarre image of sticking a 'donkey' into the Pentagon's sphincter. Or, where Mailer argues for the important function of obscenities, he describes how a platoon might restore their sanity by calling the Lieutenant "chickenshit" (Mailer 1968, 46). This is translated in the target text as "una cagada de pollo" (Mailer 1969, 60). While clearly unflattering, the calque does not amount to an obscenity in Spanish, and fails to convey any sense of the Lieutenant being cowardly. Moreover, the translation stymies Mailer's argument for the use of obscenities, as none is to be found in this passage. Though both cases were likely errors, these translations nonetheless defused direct expressions of anti-authoritarian sentiment.

Also defused in translation are many of the racial slurs that Mailer employs to highlight deep racial tensions in U.S. society. This is especially true of the derogatory term *nigger*, which the author uses for the rallying cry displayed on a black protester's sign, and in an imagined conversation between black protesters and a black soldier, shown in table 8.

Table 8: Neutralization of Racial Slurs in the Target Text

	<i>The Armies of the Night</i> (1968)	<i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i> (1969)
8.1	"NO VIETNAMESE EVER CALLED ME A NIGGER" (115)	«NINGÚN VIETNAMITA ME HA LLAMADO NEGRO» (139)
8.2	Hey, <u>nigger</u> , how long you going to <u>kiss Mr. Charlie's who-who</u> who? . . . take your fat black hand off that <u>honkie asshole</u> rifle and give us some skin. (269)	Eh, <u>negro</u> , ¿cuánto tiempo vas a <u>estar haciendo el primo?</u> . . . quita tu manaza negra de ese rifle de <u>lameculos</u> . (314)

Both examples in table 8 examine the deeply fraught situation of black men who are asked to put their bodies on the line for a country which continues to mistreat and devalue its black citizens—a country built on systemic racism. In this sense, the Spanish term *negro* fails to transmit the weight or implication of the insult, especially since the same term is used to refer to black individuals elsewhere in the translation. In the source text, however, the distinct use

of the degrading term in specific instances creates a tension that cannot be ignored.¹⁴² Example 8.1 serves to illustrate this difference. The target text evokes some amount of racial discrimination, yet it does not necessarily imply—as the source text does—that this man's country has made him part of an underclass. Example 8.2 further shows how the translation of this and other racial terms undermines the important question of race in relation to U.S. institutions. In the source text, Mailer describes how the protesters might rebuke the soldier for subjugating himself to white men—*Mr. Charlie*—and implore him to renounce the violence imposed by white—*honkie*—assholes. The author makes a point of connecting the racial violence and discrimination in the U.S. to the war waged against the Vietnamese. Yet, this point is obscured in the translation, where both terms for white men are also neutralized. The colloquial charge of kissing "Mr. Charlie's who-who," which evokes both racial and sexual submission, becomes a more innocent insult about letting oneself be tricked, and the use of the rifle is completely disassociated from the term "honkie" with no reference to whiteness found in the translation. In this way, the target text also avoids the idea that it is white men at the core of police and military violence.

Whether or not this represents an act of conscious self-censorship, the neutralization of these passages is striking, as it effectively conceals the tension that Mailer hopes to accentuate with the use of highly derogatory terms. This translation decision also highlights the difficult task of transmitting a consciousness that is foreign to one's own experience and perspective. Even Mailer, who prided himself on his understanding of black and marginalized Americans, often fell short in this task.¹⁴³ Yet, he understood that the violence faced by black

¹⁴² Indeed, no other word "carries as much purposeful cruelty," as is explained by the African American Registry, in their history of the term's usage, "Nigger (The Word) A Brief History," accessed December 15, 2015, http://www.aaregistry.org/historic_events/view/nigger-word-brief-history.

¹⁴³ In his essay "The Black Boy Looks at the White Boy," James Baldwin (1961) is critical of Mailer's piece "The White Negro," describing the author's failure to understand the world he depicts: ". . . I was black and knew more about that periphery he so helplessly maligns in *The White Negro* than he could ever hope to know," (104) and questioning Mailer's irresponsible borrowing of Negro modes of expression: "But why should it be necessary to borrow the Depression language of the deprived Negroes, which eventually evolved into jive and

communities in the United States had something in common with the bombing of villages in Vietnam, and he worked in his writing to make this connection visible. This intersection of the struggle for Civil Rights in the U.S. and anti-imperialism in the world was indeed a point of connection for a great many sixties-era activists, including Black Panthers leader Huey Newton, who stated in a 1968 prison interview:

We advocate and we aid any people who are struggling to determine their destiny. This is regardless of color. The Vietnamese say Vietnam should be able to determine its own destiny. Power of the Vietnamese People. We also chant power of the Vietnamese people. The Latins are talking about Latin America for the Latin Americans. Cuba Si and Yanqui, Non. It's not that they don't want the Yankees to have any power they just don't want them to have power over them. They can have power over themselves. We in the black colony in America want to be able to have power over our destiny and that's black power. (Quoted in Baylor 2004, 728-729)

Lastly, the target text reveals partial neutralization of references to drug-use, in particular references to smoking *pot*, a colloquial term commonly used for marijuana. Although the word *marijuana* is translated directly as *marihuana*—including for a reference to soldiers smoking marijuana in Vietnam—translations of the term *pot* are simply eluded in the target text, as demonstrated by the examples in table 9.

Table 9: Neutralization of Drug References in the Target Text

	<i>The Armies of the Night</i> (1968)	<i>Los ejércitos de la Noche</i> (1969)
9.1	. . . a few were sports and looked to have eight hobbies, custom cars, <u>pot</u> , draft cards, skiing, guitar, surfboard, chicks, and scuba. (75)	. . . unos cuantos eran deportivos y parecían tener ocho hobbies: coches de modelo especial, <u>alcohol</u> , tarjetas de alistamiento, esquís, guitarra, lanchas a motor, chavalas y equipo submarino. (92-93) ¹⁴⁴
9.2	The campfires were lit, <u>the pot</u> —as already described—was passed. (268)	Se encendieron los fuegos de campamento, y, como ya se ha descrito, se pasaron entre ellos <u>la pipa de la paz y las bebidas alcohólicas</u> . (313)

bop talk, in order to justify such a grim system of delusions? Why malign the sorely menaced sexuality of Negroes in order to justify the white man's own sexual panic?" (104-105).

¹⁴⁴ The translation of surfboard as *lanchas a motor*, likely an error on the part of the translator, also detracts from the type of protestors depicted, since surfboard would evoke a specific connection to the California scene.

9.3	Sex, fear, the lift of first courage, the lightness of freedom, the oncoming suffocations of dread, the wild swinging ache or the somnolent drift of <u>the pot</u> , . . . We have everything. Look. We are free. <u>We have pot</u> , we have food we share, we have girls. (270)	Sexo, miedo, la exaltación del valor que por primera vez se afirma, la alegría de la libertad, las inminentes sofocaciones del pavor, el salvaje dolor oscilante del somnoliento sentirse llevados a la deriva por <u>el alcohol o las drogas</u> , . . . Nosotros lo tenemos todo. Mirad. Somos libres. Tenemos <u>bebida</u> , tenemos comida que compartimos, tenemos chicas. (316)
<hr/>		
9.4	And <u>the pot</u> had deprived them of force. (278)	Y <u>las bebidas alcohólicas, o las drogas</u> , les habían privado de fuerza. (324)

In the first example, the term is translated as *alcohol*, making it a rather different substance, and a more generalized one at that. In example 9.2 the translation includes a peace pipe (which had been described in the previous section) in addition to alcoholic beverages, still avoiding any specific term referencing marijuana. Certainly, this substitution would have rendered the activities more acceptable from the perspective of the Spanish censors. The translations in examples 9.3 and 9.4 remain generalized though they expand to include both 'alcohol' and 'drugs'. An additional reference in 9.3, "we have pot" is translated as "tenemos bebida," with another generalized reference to alcohol. It is interesting that these translations, or possible mistranslations, actually add the element of alcohol when it is not present in the source text.¹⁴⁵ In fact, one might imagine a different—more belligerent—scene if the protesters were actively consuming alcohol. This also results in a target text that never mentions marijuana casually or colloquially. Moreover, the generic references to 'alcohol' and 'drugs' serve to distance the narrator from the scene and from the young activists, suggesting that he does not know and does not care exactly what they were doing. This runs counter to the source text, where Mailer is trying to demonstrate the opposite by including as much specific detail as possible.

¹⁴⁵ It is possible that the translator chose to generalize without knowing what the colloquial term represented.

In spite of these examples of neutralization, it is important to point out that many of the subversive elements of *The Armies of the Night* were transmitted clearly in the target text, including Mailer's discussion of the merits of Marx and Lenin. The following passage serves as an example:

. . . la vieja y la joven guardia de la élite en el poder no podía comprender que comunistas que leían a Marx pudiesen llegar a razonar apartándose de los particulares monolitos de marxismo en los que habían encendido la primera chispa de su fe. No parecía ocurrírseles nunca a los más poderosos anticomunistas que había que contar con buenos comunistas y malos comunistas, lo mismo que se espera, como cosa natural, encontrar cristianos buenos y malos. En efecto, lo mismo que el cristianismo parecía crear, a partir de sus profundas contradicciones, los más inesperados santos, artistas, genios, y grandes guerreros, así el comunismo parecía crear grandes heréticos, e innovadores, y conversos (citemos, como ejemplo, a Sartre y Picasso) a partir de la irreductible majestad de la mente de Carlos Marx (tal vez el más grande instrumento individual para la cerebración jamás producido por el hombre occidental). (Mailer 1969, 220)

This is a remarkable passage considering the fact that several Marxist titles had just been removed from circulation during the 1969 State of Exception (Rojas Claros 2013, 174), and that a number of minor references to Communism, Marxism and Leninism were also cut from other counterculture works under Voluntary Consultation from 1967 to 1970.¹⁴⁶

It is likewise notable that compared to other counterculture translations, *Los ejércitos de la noche* contains a relatively high incidence of obscenities, with words like *joder*, *coño*, *mamón* and *puta* appearing throughout the text, and provoking little reaction from the censorship board. Judging the book to be a descriptive "report" or work of "history," the censors appeared to be more lenient with this translation than with other counterculture novels, such as *Matadero cinco* (1970), in which these obscenities were not tolerated. However, with a few of these expressions actually self-censored or otherwise neutralized in

¹⁴⁶ In addition to texts by U.S. activists that were denied authorization in part because of professed ties to Marxism or Leninism, minor references were simply suppressed in other non-Marxist works. For example, *Contra la interpretación* (1969) by Susan Sontag, and *Malcolm X, el hombre y sus ideas* (1968) by George Breitman each had a single reference to Lenin removed (File nos. 6012-67 and 3672-68); and in the play *El metro* by Leroi Jones [Amiri Baraka] from the work *Al encuentro del hombre negro* the mention of a character's mother being a Communist was cut (File no. 12240-70). In another case, in order to publish a second edition of *Textos sobre el poder negro* in 1969 Ediciones Halcón had to remove a list of titles from the end of the book which included titles by "K Marx," "Raúl Castro," "Che Guevera" and "J Peirats" (File no. 11494-68).

Los ejércitos de la noche, the translation fails to mock the idea of censorship to the degree that Mailer does. The unwitting neutralization of racial slurs and drug references likewise reduces the intensity and specificity of the narrative in these areas. Still, obscenities are woven into the target text, and themes of sex and sexuality, including free love, masturbation and homosexuality, are rendered with little evidence of censorship—despite being repeatedly targeted in Mailer's earlier novels.

Rather, the evidence suggests that the censors were focused almost exclusively on the work's antimilitarism, choosing to ignore other subversive elements as long as the publishers agreed to follow the board's guidelines in this one area. In order to prevent any association with Spain's military, the translation had to use the English words for titles such as *Marshal* or *Sheriff*, and specifically avoid the term *cartillas militares* that might remind Spanish readers of their own compulsory military service. To prevent generalization in the descriptions of police and military brutality, the publishers had to remove a paragraph describing professional soldiers. With this manipulation to ensure that the antimilitarism would seem a particularly American concern, the publication was authorized in the fall of 1969.

5.3.2 Descriptive-Comparative Study of *Advertisements for Myself* (1959) / *El negro blanco* (1973)

Mailer's famed counterculture essay "The White Negro" was first published in a 1957 issue of *Dissent* magazine, and was afterwards included in the collection entitled *Advertisements for Myself* (1959). In the late sixties, a young Spanish translator named Isabel Vericat was exposed to Mailer's work while living on a commune in Birmingham (UK), and suggested publishing a Spanish version of "The White Negro" when she returned to Barcelona in 1969.¹⁴⁷ On this suggestion, Beatriz de Moura, at Tusquets, submitted a portion of *Advertisements for Myself* to Voluntary Consultation in October 1970.

The proposal was to translate a small selection from *Advertisements*, including "Sixth Advertisement for Myself," "The White Negro," "Reflections on Hip," "Hipster and Beatnik" "Hip, Hell and the Navigator," "Advertisement for 'Notes Toward a Psychology of the Orgy,'" and "The Hip and the Square" (up to the subsection 'Catholic and Protestant'). This amounted to only about 80 pages of the collection, of 532 total. First submitted to the censorship board as *Hipsters. Sixth Advertisement for Myself*, the target text would not be published until 1973 under the title of the central essay, *El negro blanco*. Given this final title, it is important to note that the Spanish text is not exclusively a translation of the essay "The White Negro," but rather a grouping of this and similarly-themed pieces that were collected in *Advertisements*.

This selection is remarkable for a number of reasons, and is important to discuss as one stage in the process of translation and censorship, especially within the cultural context of Franco's Spain. Notably, the particular selection made by the translator and editors at Tusquets centers around Mailer's discussion of Hip and his notion of the Hipster.¹⁴⁸ Not only

¹⁴⁷ Isabel Vericat, e-mail message to author, February 10, 2014.

¹⁴⁸ To define either of these terms is beyond the scope of this PhD Dissertation, but it is worth considering a few notes on their early usage, as elucidated by W.J. Rorabaugh (2015) "What is certain is that *hippie* is related to *hip* and *hep*. Both terms appear in the jazz musician Cab Calloway's *Cat-ologue: A Hepster's Dictionary*, a pamphlet on Harlem jive talk first published in the late 1930s. Calloway defined *hip* as 'wise, sophisticated' and 'hep cat' as 'a guy who knows all the answers, understands jive.' According to the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, jazz musicians, especially bebop artists, called themselves 'hipsters' during the 1940s, either because they swung

does this reflect the ideological interests of the translator, who had recently translated *The Hippies: An American Moment* (1968) by Stuart Hall, but it also demonstrates a deliberate editorial choice to concentrate on Mailer's radicalism (where other thematic or chronological selections were also possible), and to make these notions available in a more accessible format—the 18 cm x 11 cm paperback.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, a more ideologically-focused and smaller selection of writings allowed Tusquets to include the work in its pocket-sized series "Cuadernos Marginales," with its potential for wide distribution.¹⁵⁰

This selection also reveals careful attention to the intellectual arguments of the author, who described "The White Negro" and the follow-up pieces as the "intellectual core" of *Advertisements*, in spite of the great number of other writings that appear in the miscellany of the large volume. In the section called "Advertisement for Notes toward a Psychology of the Orgy," Mailer explained that he had originally planned on making *The Hip and the Square* the title of the book, yet failed to write a satisfactory piece that could encompass the subject:

I began with a list . . . There were one hundred and thirty items on my list, sixty-five to each column. But in 1,500 words I managed to discuss only four items. It became obvious that the only way to satisfy the title was to write a book. So I gave up the project.

But I was left with the list, and the fragment of an essay. Later a few other short essays grew from the list. After a while I realized that these were no more than expanded notes for another book which I will doubtless never write (a most ambitious *Das Kapital* of the psychic economy) . . . these cryptic pages . . . were written to go with "The White Negro," and in context with that essay, they form the intellectual core of this book, a primitive foray into the more formal aspects of Hip. . . . For that reason I go so far as to call them "Notes toward the Psychology of the Orgy," the last five words being the name of that large work I will probably never dare. (Mailer 1959, 423)

their hips to the music, or because they kept drug stashes on the hip under the belt. In the Forties *hipster*, *hip*, and *hep* all circulated among whites in New York, originally applied to black jazz performers and then later to jazz artists and fans of all races. African American musicians used *hippie* as a putdown for young white followers who startled performers by unexpectedly attending all-black clubs and copying jive talk." (2015, 4-5)

¹⁴⁹ The figure of Stuart Hall is discussed in section 4.3.

¹⁵⁰ The collection was conceived by the Beatriz de Moura, whose work in promoting counterculture texts as the editor of Tusquets will be discussed more extensively in section 4.4.

The author ultimately decided to broaden the scope of the collection and used it to publish scattered "pieces and parts. . . advertisements, short stories, articles, short novels, fragments of novels, poems and part of a play" (23). For the translation, however, the editors at Tusquets chose to return to the original concept: 'The Hip and the Square.'¹⁵¹ This is made clear by the cover of *El negro blanco* (Figure 4) designed by Lluís Clotet and Oscar Tusquets, where a section of Mailer's list (Hip | Square) is reproduced.

Figure 4. Front Cover of *El negro blanco*, Tusquets, 1973.



¹⁵¹ Emerging alongside *hip* from the jazz scene of the 1930s and 1940s, *square* was its opposite. "Designating one who is out of touch with the ideas and conventions of a particular popular contemporary movement" according to the *OED online*, accessed October 6, 2016, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/188194>.

In this sense, the editorial decisions regarding the target text demonstrated specific cultural interests, and may also be understood as part of a broader trajectory of cultural dissidence. Still, it is important to remember that this particular selection happened to bypass some of the more sexually-provocative pieces found in *Advertisements for Myself*, and much of the profanity. While the inclusion of some, but not all, of the collected pieces appears largely motivated by the translator's and editor's particular interest in a text on Hipster culture which could be sold in the popular pocket-sized format, the impact of this selection on the censorship process is nonetheless significant. That is, the decision to include only the more radical pieces from *Advertisements* in the Spanish translation provoked a certain attention from the censors in regard to its socio-political content, while at the same time skirting any censorship aimed at sexually explicit descriptions and profanity.

Among the examples of sexually explicit content in the untranslated pages of *Advertisements* is part of a previously unpublished novella called "A Time of Her Time." This piece, characterized by its descriptions of antagonistic sexual acts between an older man and a girl of nineteen, had been heavily censored in a 1961 edition published in the U.K. (Mailer 2014, 777). The descriptions of sex in this piece range from vague and metaphorical: "She hammered her rhythm at me" (Mailer 1959, 489), "I worked on her like a riveter" (501); to others that are more explicit: "Her muscular body writhed all about me" (490), "I turned her over suddenly on her belly" (501); or more profane: "I threw her a fuck the equivalent of a fifteen-round fight" (501); as well as violent: "my hand came up and clipped her mean and openhanded across the face" (490), "she thrashed beneath me like a trapped little animal" (501). Though Mailer did convince his U.S. editor to keep the piece in, he failed to convince the U.K. publisher André Deutsch, who cut twenty pages of the story for fear of legal action (Mailer 2014, 777). Certainly, if the piece had been included in Tusquets's selection, it would not have been approved without cuts.

Also of note are the excerpts from *The Deer Park* (1955), a work that had already been denied authorization in Spain on four separate occasions, along with a history of publisher's complaints regarding the obscenities in the novel, which were not included in the selection for Tusquets. Nor were Mailer's discussions of pornography, marijuana or homosexuality included in the target text. This is not to suggest that the exclusion of such pieces was motivated exclusively by concerns of censorship, but rather that, regardless of the motivation, the censorship process was shaped by the selection. That is, the process of official censorship would have been remarkably different were the entire collection, or simply a different subset of *Advertisements*, submitted to the censorship board. As such, it is important to identify the particular characteristics of Tusquets's selection for *El negro blanco* that made it in certain ways more threatening to the regime, yet in other ways less censurable.

First of all, the selection of pieces for *El negro blanco* was generally void of sexually explicit content. Rather, ideas about society and sex are developed in these pieces without describing the details of specific acts. The references are largely generalized, as in the following examples from "The White Negro":

But to be with it is to have grace, to be closer to the secrets of that inner unconscious life which will nourish you if you can hear it, for you are then nearer to that God which every hipster believes is located in the senses of his body, that trapped, mutilated and nonetheless megalomaniacal God who is It, who is energy, life, sex, force . . . not the God of the churches but the unachievable whisper of mystery within the sex, the paradise of limitless energy and perception just beyond the next wave of the next orgasm. (Mailer 1959, 351)

Even in the section provocatively titled "Notes Toward a Psychology of the Orgy," Mailer's language remains similarly intellectual:

If the orgy has taken on a new if nightmarish attraction to the deadened multimillions of our civilization, its appeal may not be irrational, for the orgy is capable of creating a dramatic parallel to those infantile situations in which the energies of the senses were first jailed in the psychic machines of uncreative social habit. (Mailer 1959, 427)

Accordingly, the censors' remarks on sexuality in Mailer's work are also expressed in generalized terms. The censorship reports from 1970 and 1971 mention sexuality in the proposed selection, yet do not flag any specific expressions: "De absoluta libertad en el campo sexual" (File no. 10454-70, October 1970); "Dan una importancia excepcional al sexo del que hacen usos contrarios a la naturaleza" (File no. 10454-70, March 1971). Moreover, the later reports do not even discuss this aspect of Mailer's work.

Not only is there little mention of specific sexual acts in the selected pieces, but the author also foregoes his usual expressions of profanity in these essays. Generally, Mailer is not shy with words like *fuck*, *fucked*, and *mother-fucking*, and while there are six occurrences in *Advertisements*, there are none in the pieces selected for translation. The same is true of *bitch* and *whore*, which occur more than twenty times in the larger work, but not in Tusquets's selection.¹⁵² On the contrary, the essay "The White Negro" allows Mailer to abandon "the special obscenity of the soldier" and take on a different mode of expression: the artful slang of the jazz musician. To illustrate his point, the author inserts a couple of the words that might be used by soldiers, yet these are given as examples completely out of the spoken context: "in its emphasis upon 'ass' as the soul and 'shit' as circumstance, [the soldier's obscenity] was able to express the existential states of the enlisted man" (Mailer 1959, 348). In other words, Mailer's language in these pieces is at its most refined, and, whether or not this was taken into account for Tusquets's selection, it is clear that the censors were left unable to pinpoint specific instances of profane or obscene language during the consultation process.

On the other hand, the shorter length of the Spanish edition no doubt attracted extra scrutiny for the pieces that were selected. At a cost of 50 pesetas (roughly € 0,30), the book

¹⁵² A single reference to a 'whorehouse' appears in the "Sexto aviso," translated as *casa de prostitución* (Mailer 1973, 6).

could be marketed and sold to a mass readership, and easily transported or shared.¹⁵³ Using terms such as *librito* and *folleto* the censors emphasized the small format of the work in their reports. These were not casual descriptions, but rather an important aspect of the work that the board would consider in determining its acceptability. Rojas Claros (2013) explains that

. . . la política cultural de "apertura" de Fraga podía significar que hubiera cierta tolerancia a la publicación de ciertas obras de temática hasta entonces prohibida, pero en ningún caso se permitía la posible popularización de las mismas. Es un elemento a tomar muy en cuenta. Que el libro político tuviera un precio elevado fue uno de los principales elementos buscados por el Ministerio, y será una constante de los editores de vanguardia lograr la popularización, la "democratización" del mismo. (70)

Tusquets's decision to print a more radical work in a smaller format must be considered in this light. It is no coincidence that the work was first submitted to Voluntary Consultation in October 1970, days after the announcement that eight publishing houses, including Tusquets, had formed Distribuciones de Enlace to promote the production of pocket-sized paperback books in Spain.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, this period marked a turning point for dissident publishers, who made a concerted effort to push ahead in the circulation of pocket-sized publications. As Rojas Claros also suggests, the editorial efforts that challenged the cultural repression of the regime were not simply directed at printing more censurable content but rather sought to make dissident voices available to a wider readership (2013, 309).

Finally, regarding the pieces that were selected for the translation, the smaller format meant that those ideas which were considered dangerous or unacceptable were in fact unmissable in the target text. Whereas the full range of pieces collected in *Advertisements*

¹⁵³ According to Rojas Claros, the introduction of pocket-sized paperbacks meant "por una parte, ir un paso más allá en la popularización de la lectura, al permitir reducir costes sin renunciar por entero a la calidad del libro como objeto, como vehículo y soporte material de transmisión del conocimiento; y por otra parte, el libro de bolsillo contribuiría a modificar en cierto grado las prácticas y hábitos de lectura, al ser fácilmente transportable y permitir su lectura en casi cualquier ámbito y lugar" (2006, 66).

¹⁵⁴ The announcement was made in *Triunfo* on October 17 that Península, Barral Editores, Estela, Anagrama, Lumen, Tusquets Editores, Fontanella (and Edhasa, with limited participation) had come together to form Distribuciones de Enlace, in order to collectively create a base for cultural production: "El esfuerzo coaligador de estas editoriales puede estabilizar la economía de las siete que participan totalmente en la operación Distribuciones de Enlace y crear una importantísima biblioteca de bolsillo, propiciada por las ocho ya referidas. Se trata pues de un esfuerzo básico sobre el que construir un edificio cultural" (Vázquez Montalbán 1970, 39).

could not be characterized as strictly subversive,¹⁵⁵ Tusquets's reduced selection meant that Mailer's notions of Marxism, his philosophy of sex and his critical views of organized religion were all concentrated in a text of just 100 pages. It is not surprising, then, that these aspects of the work were the first to be flagged by the censors.

Following Tusquets's submission of the selected pieces to Voluntary Consultation in October 1970, a report signed by Gregorio Solera expressed complete condemnation of Mailer's work, proposing that the board deny authorization:

Se expone la vida o modo de ser de los Hipsters, de los que el autor dice ser uno. Se trata de una de tantas degeneraciones surgidas en la pasada década. Sin moral, mejor dicho, con una moral perversa, en que la droga juega un gran papel. Con una religión y un Dios inventados a su gusto. De absoluta libertad en el campo sexual. Rebeldes socialmente, de tendencia marxista. Con opiniones ofensivas para la Iglesia y los cristianos, que el autor expresa con el mayor descaro. NO AUTORIZABLE. (File No. 10454-70)

In November Tusquets was notified that the publication was not advisable, but the publishers did not give up on the work. Beatriz de Moura submitted the selected pieces for reconsideration on February 16, 1971, under the title *Hipsters*. A new censor's report from that month suggested that the work could be authorized, pending a few suppressions:

Norman Mailer expone aquí, directa o indirectamente, las líneas filosóficas de los hipsters. Hay elucubraciones teosóficas y místicas que naturalmente podrían ser clasificadas de heterodoxas, pero que van incluidas en un contexto tan difuso y nebuloso que no creo ejerza ningún efecto sobre el lector preparado que es el único que puede acceder a esta obra. Sin embargo, creemos que se deben suprimir algunos de los párrafos que ya habían sido subrayados por el anterior Lector. (File no. 10454-70)

While Mailer's discussion of Marxism was no longer seen as important, his treatment of religion continued to pose a threat in the eyes of the censors. In fact, another censor's report from March 18 found the work to be completely unpublishable for this reason:

¹⁵⁵ As Harry T. Moore puts it the *New York Times Book Review*: "The essays in this new volume are vigorous and often amusing attacks on the society the Squares have built, but these attacks are rarely hit at the center: Mr. Mailer wastes too much ammunition in discharging minor grievances" (1959, 4). While, Robert R. Kirsch, writing for the *L.A. Times*, argues that Mailer, with his egotism and intense desire for success, "emerges as the advocate-victim of the system which he keeps telling us he hates," (Kirsch 1959, B5). In other words, the format of *Advertisements for Myself* may actually work against the more radical pieces in the book.

DOCTRINA DE LOS HIP. Mailer es un novelista metido a Hip y que se ha convertido en su teólogo. Los Hip son una de esas organizaciones nacidas en los ambientes bajos de Estados Unidos y con actitudes contrarias a la sociedad en que viven. . . . expone la concepción de un Dios -concepción blasfema para un cristiano- condena toda clase de religión organizada y considera al Cristianismo como el mayor mal de la sociedad. (File no. 10454-70)

However, a final report from March 25 considered the text in a different light:

Este folleto hay que considerarlo bajo el aspecto especial de un "Documento" histórico de lo que "han sido ya" los Hippies en un momento de la Historia Actual: la aberración y el absurdo de lo Humano y de lo Divino encerrados ambos en la mente y en la praxis del hombre-finito. . . . Digo "lo que han sido ya", porque de hecho el Hippismo ya pasó de moda (fue una mera derivación del existencialismo general). No se trata, pues, de una propaganda en este folleto, sino que es una mera foto de la Historia Humana. (File no. 10454-70)

Painted as a historical document describing the 'already-past' phenomenon of the hippies, the work was considered acceptable enough merit to inspection of the translated text, which the board requested on March 29, 1971. The translation by Isabel Vericat was submitted two years later, in July 1973. However, the translation appears to have been completed much earlier—by the end of 1970— according to the translator's own account. This would suggest that de Moura chose to wait on re-submission, perhaps hoping that the extra time would soften the censors' verdict. Whether for this or other reasons, the 1973 submission was met with the censor's approval.

In a report from July 20, 1973 J. Morán judged *El negro blanco* to be inoffensive in its 'purely descriptive' nature. Here again, Mailer's work was characterized as a kind of sociological study rather than a counterculture text in its own right:

El autor, novelista, introducido y comprometido vitalmente en una época de su vida en el mundo Hippy, intenta dar en este breve ensayo una definición de la psicología de este movimiento. . . . La naturaleza puramente descriptiva del trabajo y su vacilaciones a la hora de proclamar como optimas la mentalidad y la ética hippy hacen que la obra sea aceptable, por más que en sus alusiones a la religión y a Dios el autor expone unas teorías totalmente inaceptables. . . . Considero, en resumen, que no es un alegato a favor de una vida amoral, sino una pura descripción de una mentalidad que tanto impacto tiene en nuestros días. (File no. 10454-70)

A second report, from August, also recommended authorization, suggesting that the work served as an overall criticism of the Hipster movement, and pointing out that the language employed would only be comprehensible to a small number of readers.

En conjunto se trata de un intento de definir a un nivel bastante depurado y profundo, nada frívolo, lo que puede ser la esencia del movimiento hippy como fenómeno cultural de nuestra época. Las ideas vertidas por los diversos interlocutores, particularmente por Mailer, son bastante peregrinas y desde luego discutibles en sus referencias descabelladas a Dios y ciertos aspectos religiosos. Pero ya que se trata nada más que de desvelar un movimiento cultural en actitud global muy crítica y en un lenguaje solo apto para minorías, considero que la obra es íntegramente AUTORIZABLE. (File no. 10454-70)

The censor also dismissed the problematic religious references, claiming that they were not a central part of the author's overall thesis.

Both 1973 reports situate the subject matter within the counterculture context, yet avoid characterizing *El negro blanco* as a counterculture work. Instead they portray Mailer as an outside observer and reporter, in spite of his insistence that he too is a hipster. Indeed, this was an important distinction. As the broader survey of counterculture works demonstrates, the Spanish censors were more likely to accept texts that they could characterize as sociological studies of the counterculture, and less likely to accept texts that let counterculture figures speak for themselves.¹⁵⁶ In this sense, Mailer's voice in *El negro blanco* appeared to be right on the line between the two positions. Despite his repeated attempts to situate himself as a hipster, the censors ultimately cast him as a square.

Following these two censor's reports the translation was set to be authorized pending the suppression of passages marked in the subsection "Hip, infierno y el navegante" which included Richard Stern's interview with the novelist. On August 18, 1973 the board sent a notice to Tusquets with instructions to remove parts of the following passages:

Pero institucionalmente yo creo que las religiones organizadas están moralmente muertas, ~~que su efecto en neto es deletéreo, cuando no espantoso y horrible. La~~

¹⁵⁶ See the discussion of this trend in section 4.3 on the publication of counterculture texts in Franco's Spain.

~~religión organizada se está convirtiendo probablemente en uno de los grandes enemigos de nuestra época... (reflexivamente).~~

Hace [el hipster] algunas cosas que son muy valientes a su manera; apuesta por una cosa con su alma: apuesta a que puede ser terrible, trágicamente equivocado, y por lo tanto condenado. ¿sabe usted?, condenado al Infierno. ~~Cosa que la gente de iglesia no hace en absoluto. No piensan nada más que en sus propias asquerosas almitas a las que están manteniendo para una cuidadosa preservación después.~~ (File no. 10454-70)

However, when Beatriz de Moura deposited copies of the published text in October, these changes had not been made. The censors remained wary of the ideas expressed in the unmodified pages, yet they chose to overlook the fact that the publisher had ignored their instructions. By this time, legal intervention to ban an already printed book would come with significant political costs and in this case the censorship board opted to declare *Silencio* rather than report Mailer's work to the authorities.

Rojas Claros suggests that the reluctance to report subversive publications in the final years of the dictatorship, even ones that wittingly defied the demands of the Ministry, came out of an important weakness in the 1966 legislation, Article 72, which stipulated that any administrative or judicial sanction of the press was to be reported by the same entity that suffered the sanction:

Era una medida con la que el Ministerio de Información y Turismo terminaría perjudicándose a sí mismo. . . . La cuestión principal será la siguiente: lo que hasta entonces había sido una "guerra silenciosa" la nueva normativa de prensa va a permitir—gracias a que se permite la publicación de la noticia objetiva—que el conflicto con la disidencia se haga con "luz y taquígrafos." (Rojas Claros 2013, 63)

With the Ministry in a delicate position regarding its public image and its continued use of repressive controls, dissident publishers were able to gain ground by submitting works to *Depósito* that might still have been censored in Voluntary Consultation (231). De Moura had established Tusquets in the midst of the 1969 State of Exception and its restrictions on leftist publishers, and her strategy found some middle ground between these two options. On one hand, she 'collaborated' by submitting works to Voluntary Consultation and often negotiated

in person with the Ministry before carrying out textual modifications (Moret 2002a, 321-322); yet, on the other hand, she at times chose to publish censurable works in defiance of the censors' instructions.

Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla document a few such cases in their inventory of censored works compiled from the records of several publishing houses (2002, 180-217). In 1970, Tusquets published a Spanish edition of *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821) by Thomas De Quincey, translated from Baudelaire's adaptation of the work, which had twice been denied authorization in Voluntary Consultation. When the de-authorized publication was submitted to *Depósito*, however, the board chose not to intervene, opting for *Silencio*. In another instance, a collection of Samuel Beckett's stories, translated as *Relatos* (1970), was approved on the condition that two passages be suppressed, yet published without these suppressions. When the published work was submitted to *Depósito* the board chose not to impede circulation, adopting *Silencio*. As a result, these discrepancies in the board's decisions made Voluntary Consultation appear increasingly disadvantageous, as publishers were beginning to see that those who did not submit to the consultation process were often able to publish more freely than those who did (Rojas Claros 2013, 236). Indeed, the seventies saw reinvigorated efforts among dissident publishers that were willing to test their luck with the use of *Depósito*, thus forcing the Ministry "al empleo del secuestro, y sacando así a la luz la política represiva del mismo" (Rojas Claros 2013, 231).¹⁵⁷

Given that Tusquets did not carry out the suggested suppressions, leaving the translated text intact, and that the translator, Isabel Vericat, affirms her own strategy of non-censorship in the translation of Mailer's work,¹⁵⁸ the final stage of this study will look at the

¹⁵⁷ Rojas Claros (2013) explains this new strategy as a consequence of the State of Exception: "Este cambio de actitud de los editores parece explicable a raíz del estado de excepción de 1969: cierto es que la represión generada a partir del mismo había tenido un tremendo coste para el ámbito de la disidencia editorial, pero el régimen también había pagado un alto precio, en términos de descrédito nacional e internacional" (231).

¹⁵⁸ Isabel Vericat, e-mail message to author, February 10, 2014.

pieces included in the target text in order to identify and characterize the translation of censurable elements.

In terms of the socio-cultural context surrounding the translation, a few biographical notes on the translator will offer valuable insights into the creation of *El negro blanco*. As mentioned above, Isabel Vericat was introduced to Mailer's work while living amidst counterculture circles in the United Kingdom. In her words: "Viví en Londres y Birmingham el 68, de manera privilegiada y esto encauzó mi vida por otros derroteros."¹⁵⁹ The experience had such an impact that Vericat would later work to circulate the same ideas in Spanish: "Fui yo la que sugerí traducir a Laing y a Mailer (los había leído en la comuna del 68 en Birmingham) y también el libro de Stuart Hall, quien formaba parte de nuestros círculos de estudios en la comuna."¹⁶⁰ Upon returning to Barcelona in 1969, Vericat had begun working at Seix Barral, where she made connections with Beatriz de Moura and Jorge Herralde just as they were each starting their own publishing houses: Tusquets and Anagrama. Her first translations were for these two publishers, with the shared themes of socio-cultural movements and thinkers of the left, and a shared format—the pocket-sized paperback:

Los hippies: una contra-cultura (1970, Anagrama) by Stuart Hall.

En tiempos difíciles: Poesía cubana de la revolución (1970, Tusquets) by J.M. Cohen.

Esquizofrenia y presión social (1972, Tusquets), by Ronald D. Laing.

El negro blanco (1973, Tusquets), by Norman Mailer.

It is also worth noting that in 1970 Vericat moved back to London, and then left for Mexico in 1973. This meant that when her translations were published she was already living outside of Franco's Spain. When asked about the constraints of book censorship, the translator explained: "fueron sólo las editoriales las que supieron de la censura, yo ni me enteré, aunque formaba parte del ambiente."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. While distanced from the realities of book censorship, Vericat described receiving correspondence from comrades in prison with "tachones en negro de frases enteras." This may be an important avenue of study for future research in the cultural and political repression of Franco's Spain.

With the knowledge that the translator did not consciously attempt self-censorship in the translation, and, moreover, that she was fully dedicated to the circulation of counterculture ideas, this analysis will look at the translation strategies employed for the transmission of censurable content—and the impact of these strategies on the text as a whole, especially in regard to its status as a counterculture text.

The first major strategy relates to Vericat's translation of slang in Mailer's text. While most of the expressions are not in fact profane or obscene—some of them are, and this more general strategy has clear consequences for the position of profanity in the text. For the most part, the translator chooses to employ the original English slang, italicized, and uses footnotes to explain the meaning in Spanish. This is true for expressions such as "*Squares*," "*with it*," "*swing*," "*kicks*," "*Crazy Man!*" and "*Dig*," as well as full sentences, such as: "*Well, now, Man, like I'm looking for a cat to turn me on*," or "*That cat will never come off his groove, dad*." Terms central to the text, such as *hipster* and *Hip*, are defined through Mailer's own argument and examples. Other terms are defined by the translator, in a word or two, as part of the main narrative: "Hasta un *creep*, un *rastrero*, se mueve. . ." (Mailer 1973, 36) / "así se está dispuesto a marchar, *go*, se está dispuesto a apostar" (37). Finally, a few of the English words go un-italicized and undefined, such as "snob," possibly because they were already familiar terms for Spanish speakers.

Regarding the translator's notes for these expressions, it is worth mentioning that in some instances she highlights different usage depending on the national idiom:

* *Squares*: las personas convencionales, «peras». En México, «fresas». Literalmente significa cuadros, cuadrados. (N. del T.) (Mailer 1973, 19)

And, in offering multiple translations, she also addresses the flexible uses of these terms:

** *Swing*, está traducido de dos maneras según el contexto en el que aparece: mecerse y/o alivianarse. (N. del T.) (Mailer 1973, 22)

** *Dig* significa: excavar, ahondar, buscar y extraer mediante el trabajo. La expresión *I dig* tiene todos estos significados, como el autor explica en el texto, junto con los de captar, entender y gustar. (N. del T.) (Mailer 1973, 40)

Attempting to capture the essence of an entire phrase in slang, however, the translator's description is more limited to a specific dialect, likely influenced by her ties to Mexico. For the expression *Well, now, Man, like I'm looking for a cat to turn me on*, she notes:

* «Aquí nomás, maestro, esperando que algún chavo me pase buena onda. . .»
(N. del T.) (Mailer 1973, 35)

In this sense, Vericat's approach opens up the work for a transnational readership—reflecting her own status as a transnational citizen—and at the same time allows for something of the socio-linguistic specificity that Mailer wanted to capture. Like Mailer, she chooses to transcribe the language of the hipster rather than 'translate' it, yet her notes offer a means of deciphering the code.

Transnational as it was, this strategy may have also limited the number of Spanish readers who could engage with *El negro blanco*. As the censors describe it, the language of the target text is "sólo apto para minorías" (File no. 10454-70). Admittedly, the title essay was already at risk of a limited audience in the source language. James Baldwin, for example, called the essay "downright impenetrable," stating that he "could not, with the best will in the world, make any sense out of *The White Negro*" (Baldwin 1961, 103). Shifting between the slang of the hipster, the rhetorical turns of the author, layers of literary references, and the numerous cultural expressions in French, Mailer's text was not written for the common reader. Yet, Mailer's narrative, with its insistent repetition, leads even the uninitiated reader to an understanding of the usage and sense of the slang expressions. See, for example, his repetitions of "making it" in the following paragraph:

So to swing is to be able to learn, and by learning take a step toward making it, toward creating. What is to be created is not nearly so important as the hipster's belief that when he really makes it, he will be able to turn his hand to anything . . . What he must do before that is find his courage at the moment of violence, or equally make it in the act of love, find a little more of himself, create a little more

between his woman and himself, or indeed between his mate and himself (since many hipsters are bisexual), but paramount, imperative, is the necessity to make it because in making it, one is making the new habit, unearthing the new talent which the old frustration denied. (Mailer 1959, 351)

A definition comes with the narrative. Yet, the author is able to play on the common usage of "making it" in American English—a crude way of describing sex. Here, the term becomes unexpectedly eloquent: "make it in the act of love." Underlying this, however, is the reader's familiarity with the vulgar expression. Mailer's philosophizing does not work without this base usage. His attempt at decoding the figure of the hipster is a step towards his "psychology of the orgy." That is, Mailer's insistence on using Hip language is a means to an end, and not the end itself. In this case, the translator's use of the English expression ultimately masks the vulgar usage of "making it," even as the extensive narrative conveys the author's sense of the expression. In the translation, there is no opportunity for contrasting Mailer's turns of phrase with the common usage:

Por lo tanto alivianarse, *swing*, es ser capaz de aprender y, al aprender, dar un paso hacia el *making it*, hacia la creación. Lo que se vaya a crear no es ni mucho menos tan importante como la creencia que tiene el hipster en que cuando lo logra, *makes it*, puede demostrar lo que sea, incluso autodisciplinarse. Antes de esto lo que tiene que hacer es encontrar coraje en el momento de violencia, o triunfar igualmente en el acto de amor, encontrar algo más entre su mujer y él, o entre su compañero y él (ya que muchos hipsters son bisexuales), pero la necesidad del *make it* es eminente, imperativa, porque *making it* uno está creando el hábito nuevo, desenterrando el talento nuevo que la antigua frustración negaba. (Mailer 1973, 39)

Precisely when the narrative comes closest to the act of sex, the translation relies on the verb *triunfar*. In this way, the translator's decision to preserve the linguistic variety, while weaving alternate translations into the narrative, inadvertently undermines the vulgarity of the expression—its obscenity as well as its commonness. Indeed, this basic understanding of "making it" in common speech is the seed of Mailer's argument. From there he can go on to say that in making it "you are then nearer to that God which every hipster believes is located in the senses of his body. . ." (Mailer 1959, 351). The use of the English expression in the

translation, however, distances the reader from the sexual act. In italics, *making it* appears as a chic cultural term, rather than an ordinary obscenity. Vericat preserves the structure of the Hipster's speech, yet misses the opportunity to connect to the common, and vulgar, speech of Spanish readers.

Similarly, the use of the English *call girls* in the translation maintains the same distance: "si recordásemos . . . que la psicopatía está presente en un sinnúmero de personas, incluyendo a muchos políticos, soldados profesionales, columnistas de periódicos, cómicos, artistas, músicos de jazz, *call girls*, homosexuales promiscuos, y la mitad de los ejecutivos de Hollywood. . ." (Mailer 1973, 30). With no footnote, Mailer's inclusion of prostitutes in this list could be easily glossed over. The specific term is preserved, but might only be comprehensible to a small number of readers.¹⁶²

It may be argued that the translator's inclusion of many slang expressions in English masks to some degree the references to sexuality implicit in Mailer's text. However, the author himself shifts away from this use of slang in the later part of "The White Negro" and in the following pieces. Many more of his references to sex are written in completely standard terms, and here, the non-censorship of the target text is clear. Terms like *orgía* and *orgasmo* are employed in the translation without reserve, as in the following passage:

Advertisements for Myself (1959)

El negro blanco (1973)

At bottom, the drama of the psychopath is that he seeks love. Not love as the search for a mate, but love as the search for an orgasm more apocalyptic than the one which preceded it. Orgasm is his therapy—he knows at the seed of his being that good orgasm opens his possibilities and bad orgasm imprisons him. (347)

En el fondo, el drama del psicópata es que busca el amor. No el amor como la búsqueda de una pareja sino el amor como la búsqueda de un orgasmo más apocalíptico que el anterior. El orgasmo es su terapia: sabe en el embrión de su ser que el buen orgasmo le abre sus posibilidades y el mal orgasmo se las aprisiona. (33)

¹⁶² A search in the CORDE database (Corpus Diacrónico del Español) of the Real Academia Española, <http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html>, shows one source with the term *call-girl*, from the work *El libro de la vida sexual* (1968) by the famed sex expert Juan José López Ibor: "Especial importancia, en esta constelación de síntomas, tiene el de la prostitución clandestina. Este tipo de prostitución está formado por las llamadas "call-girls", que cuentan con una clientela masculina fija, a la que atienden por un sistema de citas telefónicas" (144).

Mailer's unusual ideas on religion are likewise treated without censorship or neutralization in *El negro blanco*. In addition to those passages flagged by the censor (shown previously in this section), there are a number of irreverent remarks in the later part of the Spanish text, particularly where Mailer describes his notion of God. For example, at the beginning of his interview with Richard Stern, the author explains: "Creo que el Dios singular que nosotros podemos concebir es un dios cuya relación con el universo no podemos adivinar. . . Pero, casi con seguridad, no es todopoderoso. . ." Or, when discussing Hip in relation to the novel, he posits:

. . . hasta ahora cuando un novelista se ocupaba, por ejemplo, de un drogadicto, el estilo Square era tratar al adicto como a un pobre tullido. . . . En el Hip, que después de todo, en cierta medida, ha nacido de las drogas . . . la actitud sería más bien ésta: si las drogas proporcionan sensaciones extraordinarias, entonces el que toma drogas está probablemente recibiendo algo de Dios. (Mailer 1973: 87)

Lastly, the author's ideas on Marxism are transmitted without interference. In the last two pages of the title essay it becomes patently clear that Mailer's admiration of Karl Marx continues to be a foundation for his developing ideas on society, psychology and sex:

Por si llegara de nuevo una época revolucionaria, habría una diferencia crucial si alguien hubiera delineado ya un cálculo neo-marxista . . . capaz de trasladar las relaciones económicas del hombre a sus relaciones psicológicas y viceversa, de tal modo que sus relaciones de producción abarcasen también sus relaciones sexuales, hasta que las crisis del capitalismo . . . se entendiesen como las adaptaciones inconscientes de una sociedad para solucionar su desequilibrio económico a costas de un nuevo desequilibrio psicológico masivo. . . . Queda casi fuera del alcance de la imaginación concebir de un trabajo en el que quede comprendido el drama de la energía humana y una teoría . . . en la que el bloque del pensamiento marxista y especialmente la grandeza épica de *El capital* . . . encontraría su lugar en una noción aun mas divina de la justicia e injusticia humanas, en una visión aun más atroz de aquellos proceso íntimos e institucionales que conducen a nuestras creaciones y desastres, a nuestro crecimiento, nuestro apaciguamiento y nuestra rebelión. (Mailer 1973, 49)

In Sum, given the particular trajectory of *El negro blanco*, it can be argued that the text was marked by censorship in two important ways. First, publication was delayed by months, if not years, due to the censors' initial rejection of the text in 1970. While Isabel Vericat has described finishing her translation of the work that same year, the translated text

was not submitted to the censorship board until July 1973, and not published until October 1973. At least six months of this delay was the direct result of the Voluntary Consultation process, and another two years of delay were likely the indirect result of censorship, as the publishers hoped to avoid another negative verdict.

Second, the translation of a small selection of pieces from a much larger source text avoided nearly all of the sexual content from *Advertisements of Myself*, thereby easing the official censorship process. This also enabled Tusquets to publish the work in a pocket-sized edition with a central theme—Hipsters—which included a higher concentration of Mailer's radical ideas. Though this format may have triggered the censors' scrutiny of the ideological and religious content of the work, the reduced number of obscenities and sexual references meant that the language alone would not provide a motive for blocking the publication. Moreover, the strategy of leaving much of the hipster slang in English limited the effect of the few remaining vulgar expressions and anchored the narrative in its U.S. context. At the same time, the use of footnotes for these expressions allowed the translator to decode Mailer's philosophy and re-create it in more universal terms. Having bypassed the crude language of the source text in these two ways, *El negro blanco* was subversive but not obscene.

By October 1973 when Tusquets submitted the target text to *Depósito*, the Ministry was in a delicate position. Despite the objections raised in the Voluntary Consultation process, pursuing legal action against the published work would have risked some amount of bad press. As such, *El negro blanco* was allowed to circulate through the passive verdict of *Silencio*. Considering the number of Mailer's other works that were blocked during the regime on the grounds of obscenity, the selection strategy for this collection may have been the key to publishing Mailer's text. Combined with a significant publication delay, and the translator's treatment of slang, this strategy all but ensured the censors inability to block the counterculture text once published.

5.3.3 Descriptive-Comparative Study of *Cannibals and Christians* (1966) / *Caníbales y cristianos* (1975) and *Días de gracia y arena* (1976)

The Catalan publishing house Edicions 62 submitted Mailer's collection *Cannibals and Christians* (1966) to Voluntary Consultation on June 30, 1969, for potential publication in both Spanish and Catalan. The assortment of short fiction, poetry, essays, and interviews was approved by the censorship board the next month, pending inspection of the translated text (File no. 6808-69). Nearly two years later, in March and April 1971, Edicions 62 submitted Catalan translations of the work in two parts: the first titled *Fets de cultura*, translated by the Catalan writer Manuel de Pedrolo; and the second, *La farsa política nord-americana*, translated by Marta Martín.¹⁶³ The former was approved with suppressions on six pages and published in May 1971 (File no. 2964-71), and the latter—reviewed as an independent work—was approved without modification and published in 1972 (File no. 4361-71). Both Catalan volumes were printed in the popular pocket-sized paperback format. This is the same model that publisher later used for the Spanish translation by Carles Reig, which likewise came out in two paperback volumes: the first, titled *Caníbales y cristianos*, was published in 1975 (File no. 6808-69); and the second, titled *Días de gracia y arena*, in 1976 (File no. 3559-76).¹⁶⁴ These two works were published under the Spanish-language arm of Edicions 62—Península.

Although the censors initially expressed concerns regarding the sexual content in the work and pursued suppressions in the first Catalan translation, such content was not detected in the later Spanish translations. In particular, the 1969 reports expressed concern regarding

¹⁶³When proofs were submitted for *Fets de cultura*, initially under the *Caníbales* file, the censors asked the publishers to clarify whether or not they intended to print more of the book, to which Ramón Bastardes Porcel responded that they would print the second part later, in another collection and under a different title, "lo que le comunicaremos a su debido tiempo" (File no. 6808-69). *Fets* was then placed in a new file, with the censor reporting internally that the publisher might publish more of the work in the future "bajo condiciones distintas" (File no. 2964-71). Curiously, when *La farsa política nord-americana* was submitted to Voluntary Consultation the following year, no mention was made of the previous communications, and the censors appear to have treated *La farsa* as a completely unrelated work (File no. 4361-71).

¹⁶⁴*Caníbales y cristianos* is a translation of parts one and two, "Lambs" and "Lions," with a total of 231 pages; and *Días de gracia y arena* is a translation of parts three and four, "Respites" and "Arena," with 207 pages.

the section "Petty Notes on Some Sex in America" warning that "puede ser violento el lenguaje si no se cuida la traducción" (File no. 6808-69). Upon inspection of *Fets de cultura*, which began with precisely this section, the censors called for suppressions of terms such as *coitus*, and modifications to passages referencing erotic literature such as *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and *Tropic of Cancer* (File no. 2964-71).¹⁶⁵ The first part of the Spanish translation, *Caníbales y cristianos*, stopped short of this section, so the censors did not encounter any such content in the 1975 publication, which was approved without suppressions. At first, one censor suggested the suppression of a line of poetry: *Él hace el amor / como una pequeña / cola de cerda*, though this was overruled by his supervisor, who did not find in the text "gravedad suficiente como para acceder a tal eliminación. . ." (File no. 6808-69). With the green light from the board, Edicions 62 printed the work and submitted *Caníbales y cristianos* to *Depósito* in July.

The second part, *Días de gracia y arena*, was printed in March 1976 and submitted directly to *Depósito*, where it was quickly approved (File no. 3559-76). It is notable, however, that the censor of this second volume drew attention to the unusual form of the text:

Recopilación de ensayos, algo que tiene un remoto parecido con poesía y entrevistas, que tienen como resultado un ejemplo de lo que ha sido calificado como literatura del absurdo. El diálogo superficial y trivial empleado para el tratamiento de temas metafísicos sobre la naturaleza moral, que quedan sólo esbozados, se corta bruscamente al dejar caer toda la disquisición filosófica en una premeditada "boutade." (File no. 3559-76)

It is also worth highlighting that no mention was made of sexual content, despite the fact that this part of the work was by far the more provocative. What the censor did call attention to was the translator's deliberate use the term "grises" in reference to police:

. . . hay unos pseudopoemas que contienen conceptos injuriosos contra "los grises". Debe de ser una genialidad del traductor ya que este termino despectivo para las fuerzas de Orden Público españolas no parece lógica que sea el utilizado

¹⁶⁵ *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), by D.H. Lawrence, and *Tropic of Cancer* (1934), by Henry Miller. The two works had also been notable targets of censorship in the U.S. and around the world. For an in-depth look at the censorship history of each, see Sova (2006b).

en la versión original. De todas formas no parece probable que esos solos versos justificasen una denuncia con posibilidades de prosperar.

Verses such as "los grises son como señoras / con mala leche" were also marked in the text, yet no further action was taken. The *Depósito* was approved on March 29, 1976.

While the Catalan editions do not fall within the scope of the present study, it is worth noting that the two translated volumes represent only a small percentage of the pieces from the source text. *La farsa política nord-americana* corresponds to the first part of the source text: "Lambs," though most of the poems from this part are excluded in the translation. And *Fets de cultura* corresponds to the third part of the source text: "Respites," with many of the poems likewise excluded.¹⁶⁶ As such, the second and fourth parts, "Lions" and "Arena," went untranslated in Catalan, along with a large part of the poetry from throughout the collection. Indeed, this strategy of partial translation was also used for the Spanish texts, and the analysis in the following pages will serve to illuminate the implications of such a strategy.

Although the Spanish volumes were published one year apart, they seem to form a more coherent text. Both *Caníbales y cristianos* and *Días de gracia y arena* were rendered by the same translator, Carles Reig, and published as part of the same series: "Ediciones de Bolsillo."¹⁶⁷ Unlike the Catalan texts, the two Spanish texts represent all four parts of *Cannibals and Christians*, published in their original order: parts one and two are rendered in *Caníbales y cristianos*, while parts three and four are rendered in *Días de gracia y arena*. Despite the appearance of a more complete translation, however, the editors at Península

¹⁶⁶ It is also worth mentioning that Edicions 62 published *Fets de cultura* in 1971 as part of the "Llibres a l'abast" collection, and *La farsa política nord-americana* in 1972 as part of the "L'escorpí" collection, which points to the publisher's decision to publish the volumes independently from each other, and even in a different order.

¹⁶⁷ Like the translator of *El negro blanco*, Isabel Vericat, Reig was living outside of Spain in the mid-seventies when the translations of *Cannibals* were published, an experience which he references in a 1977 interview for the magazine *Serra d'Or* (Albanell 1977, 27-29). Expressing a view that "all literature is politics" ["Tota literatura és política"], and that, moreover, literature should function to "expose" politics ["La literatura hauria de desemascarar la política"], Reig condemns the state of affairs in Spain, where instead politics "infects" literature, leaving "donuts" for books ["bunyols que són llibres"] (29). In the early seventies the Catalan playwright had translated other markedly political titles for Península such as *La revolución cultural china* (1972) and *Los fenómenos revolucionarios* (1974).

implemented significant modifications at the macrotextual level. Most notably, seventeen of Mailer's poems are absent in the Spanish volumes, including a whole section of poetry missing from *Días de gracia y arena* (which also had to be removed from the Table of Contents). In this sense, it is important to examine the untranslated poems in order to detect any evidence of self-censorship. Because Mailer tends to use highly colloquial and obscene language in his poems—much more than in the short essays and interviews in the collection—this content is especially critical from the perspective of censorship. While some of the poems appear to be omitted for other reasons, the textual analysis reveals that a large number of the omitted poems did contain censurable elements, suggesting a strategy of self-censorship in the translation and/or editing process.

At first, the omission of an inoffensive poem following the Introduction of *Cannibals and Christians* would suggest an editorial strategy based on aesthetics and formatting, where the target text might simply skip the poetry and get right to Mailer's narrative. The decision to print the work as a pocket-sized paperback would have provided a certain impetus for keeping the work short and focused—and the poetry might have been viewed as a distraction or interruption from the rest of the text. Indeed, the next three poems, which appeared at the end of the essay "My Hope for America," were also omitted. In terms of content, the first two lines of this series sound vaguely irreligious, "God's got the liver / in him / . . .", yet not clearly censurable—especially when compared to the unorthodox discussion of God elsewhere in the text. The poem at the end of the next essay, "A Vote for Bobby K.," was also cut despite having little censurable content.

While the reasons for these initial cuts remain unknown, what is clear is that they have a major impact on the form of the target text, which has fewer of the 'interruptions' that Mailer very intentionally places in his narrative. The author begins to expound on this style in his description of the art of the absurd:

At very least the interruptions, the style, the quality of these interruptions seemed to have more meaning than the matter they interrupted. Where an art work had been measured once by the skill and daring, or consummate grace, or extraordinary insight with which a theme was developed and made lucid, now its measure was in the taste and tone of its interruptions. (Mailer 1966, 245)

And in describing the arts after World War II he declares:

But now art is a heart pill—nitroglycerine—it binds shattered nerves together by shattering them all over again with style, with wit, each explosion a guide to building a new nervous system. Animals subjected to constant interruption go mad, but not humans, not yet. . . .

What does each interruption signify, but shock, shock to expectancy, shock to nerve, shock to rhythm; at last—apathy. . . . yet if it is mood. . . which suffers the impact of the shock of interruption, if something mysterious as mood is made flat or deadened by the break in any deepening of concentration. . . so, too, is it broken mood which stirs a new wave. (Mailer 1966, 247-248)

In this way, the author posits that interruption in art—when done well—is generative of new possibilities. His poems, in this sense, do not represent frivolous distractions from the main narrative, but rather necessary components of an art that hopes to create "new waves" through "the quality of its interruptions." At the very least, Mailer viewed the poems as essential to the collection. Therefore, the editorial decision to remove whole poems from the Spanish text not only establishes a pattern that will enable the removal of censurable content, but also strips away the compositional style developed by the author. Compared to the source text, which has at least one poem every fifty pages, and often more than that, *Canibales y cristianos* has its first poem on page 192, with nine others omitted up to that point.

As previously stated, the first few poems are inoffensive, yet starting with the poem "Licenses," at the end of Chapter three, there are glimpses of the sexual themes that will predominate in the later poems of the collection. "Licenses" begins with the following lines:

We live in a world filled with all the wonderful things
which did not happen
all the passion which was never born
because the sperm sailed into the sheet
and left a quiver of empty arrows
(Mailer 1966, 65)

Although the censurable content is slight, it is nonetheless relevant that the poem is omitted and this description of sperm absent in the target text. Another section begins with the following untitled poem—omitted along with the two others.

I wonder which is worse
the solitary East
or the West
chewing on
Momma's
lover's
lesbian
breast

(Mailer 1966, 91)

While two subsequent poems do not contain this kind of sexual content, the phrase *chewing on / Momma's / lover's / lesbian / breast*, each word standing out on the page, could have pushed the translator or publisher to skip the whole group. If anything, the omission of one but not all of the poems in a given section would make the act of censorship more visible, while the exclusion of a whole group would avoid the appearance of censorship by selection. In this sense, the consistent removal of poems from the first part of the book, regardless of their content, serves to mask any mechanism of self-censorship happening at the same time. Yet, even where censorship does not seem to be the primary reason for omission, the fact remains that a certain amount of censurable content was avoided in this way.

Still, a more definitive mechanism of self-censorship emerges in *Días de gracia y arena*, as the poems in part three and part four become progressively more censurable, especially in their use of obscenities.¹⁶⁸ Unlike in the first volume, loose poems are generally translated in *Días de gracia y arena*, and yet there is a whole section of poetry missing.¹⁶⁹ The section titled "Petty poems on some sex in America" was wholly excluded. It is worth noting that this was the part of the book that had initially been flagged by the censors for its

¹⁶⁸ This is a common pattern in Mailer's writing, where the most sexualized or obscene content often comes in the final pages. Certainly, this is true of *Advertisements for Myself*, with its final piece "The Time of Her Time."

¹⁶⁹ Considering that the two volumes were rendered by the same translator, such a different strategy at the macrotextual level is most likely accounted for by editorial decisions.

obscene content. And, as the title suggests, the seven poems in this section explore mostly sexual themes, including expressions referring to oral sex, male and female genitalia, homosexuality and crude insults such as *motherfucker* and *cocksucker*. Table 10 shows the many obscenities and sexual references that appear in this section.

Table 10. Obscenities in "Petty Poems on Some Sex in America," Not Translated

10.1	. . . / You are Hamlet / you will / suck / my dick / O Shakespeare said Baroness Orczy / you go in and out of beauty / like the night (Mailer 1966, 202)
10.2	. . . / cried the / maiden / determined / never to / let a / bugger / prosper. (203)
10.3	. . . / what is / a weapon / worse / ten times / worse / than the / Hydrogen / Bomb? Why a cunt / which is / ten times / larger / than the largest / cock / . . . Dégoutante, / said Sandy/ kissing nuns / to hedge the bet. (204)
10.4	. . . / what is / a good / lay? . . . / a good lay / is a miracle / of the night / . . . (206)
10.5	Your idea / of sucking cock / quoth Romeo to Juliet / is / mistletoe / Mother fucker! Mother fucker? / Why, when I feel / violence, Christmas dear, / I go down / to look / at / ashes / said / cocksucker (207)

The first poem, shown in example 10.1, sets the tone with its crude and blatant declaration "you will suck my dick," invoking Shakespeare's Hamlet for the act of oral sex. This is followed by a play on the Lord Byron line "She walks in beauty, like the night," where Mailer's version, "you go in / and out / of beauty / like the night," also resonates as a sexual act. Example 10.2 includes the slang term *bugger* to refer to a gay man, and example 10.3 includes slang terms for genitalia, *cunt* and *cock*, along with a reference to "kissing nuns," which, given the context, is not easily interpreted as an innocent gesture. Example 10.4 repeats the colloquial expression *a good lay*, referring to sex, and the last poem in the section (copied in full) includes the expressions *sucking cock* and *cocksucker*, as well as *mother fucker* again in relation to Shakespeare's characters, this time invoking Romeo and Juliet. With this number of obscenities in just seven pages, the translator and/or publisher was able to avoid this language by omitting the entire section from *Días de gracia y arena*. Since these

poems also serve as an interlude between an interview for *Playboy* and another for the *Paris Review*, the target text again foregoes the narrative interruption, placing one interview right after the other.

Another poem, titled "Fiddler's Fluck," is omitted from part four of the translated text. If nothing else, the poem demonstrates Mailer's ability to use a high concentration of obscenities in a short verse, the more obvious examples being *bitch*, *whore*, *ass*, *pussy*, *hotshit*, *snatch* (slang for vagina), *fuck*, *tit* and *dong* (slang for penis).

Fiddler's Fluck
FOR A SQUARE DANCE

On the meat of the rich
And the urge of the poor
The purge of the ore
And the grease of the bitch
A lady was burning
A whore was a-scorch
Gorge was the cheese
And ass the itch
Of Pussy and Pick-nose
And swish out the twitch
Deep hurted the liver
Raw buried the sauce
Hotshit the hurricane
Herded the gourd
Howligan, hooligan
Hurry up all
Tonight is the night
Of the Hip Hole Ball

Perfume and fart
Snatch squinch and squeeze
Ear-wax and dingle
Fuck tit and dong
Fling a hole on your point
And sweeten the joint
Tonight is the night
of the Hip Howl Ball.
(Mailer 1966, 305)

The title itself is a play on the crude expression "a fiddler's fuck" normally used to express indifference, as in '*I don't give a fiddler's fuck.*' Mailer plays with the softer sound of "fluck"

yet still evokes the double meaning of *fuck*, since the poem itself is about sex. Not only does he spell this out with the obscenities noted above—most explicitly in the line "*Fuck tit and dong*"— but also through innuendo such as "*Fling a hole on your point / And sweeten the joint*." Finally, Mailer uses the last line of each stanza to transition from *the Hip Hole Ball*— which, beyond the ordinary meaning of *hip hole*,¹⁷⁰ also suggests penetration—to *the Hip Howl Ball*, where *howl* evokes both an animal's wild call and the sound of sexual climax.¹⁷¹ The omission of this poem is particularly striking, not only because of the abundant obscenities that the target text was able to avoid as a result, but also because the translation actually includes the rest of the poems from this section, meaning that "Fiddler's Fluck" was singled out. Unlike in the first volume where the omitted poems were often neutral, the poems excluded from *Días de gracia y arena* are overwhelmingly obscene.

Ultimately, the fact that the poems alone were the target of extensive cuts to the translated volumes meant that, regardless of the reasons behind it, such cuts were more likely to have a censoring effect, as Mailer used more vulgar expressions in the poems than elsewhere in the collection. Furthermore, the outcome of this manipulation is clear—the most obscene lines in the collection simply do not appear in the translated volumes.

Beyond these omissions, a handful of obscene and colloquial terms are neutralized or softened through the translation choices, as in the following examples:

Table 11. Neutralization of Colloquial Expressions in the Target Text

	<i>Cannibals and Christians</i> (1966)	<i>Días de gracia y arena</i> (1976)
11.1	I was as mad as a <u>lazybitch</u> boxer. (177)	Estaba yo tan loco como un boxeador bailarín. (12)

¹⁷⁰ From the OED online, "hip-hole n. a hollow dug in the ground to accommodate the hip (for greater comfort when sleeping on hard ground)," accessed December 9 2015, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/87113>

¹⁷¹ This may also be a literary reference to Allen Ginsberg's iconic work of poetry, *Howl*, which was tried for obscenity in San Francisco in 1957.

11.2	She's a princess, you <u>ass</u> . (246)	Ella es una princesa, no seas <u>imbécil</u> . (74)
11.3	bull's <u>balls</u> (291)	<u>turmas</u> de toro (111)

In the first example, the insulting category of "lazybitch boxer" is translated as the significantly neutralized "boxeador bailarín" with no hint of obscenity nor much of an insult. In the second example, the underlying insult is transmitted but the obscenity is neutralized. In the third example, the translation "turmas de toro" accurately names the food in question, yet steers away from Mailer's colloquial language, which is repeated over and over in the piece "The Metaphysics of the Belly." He ponders for example, "Why don't all men eat bull's balls? . . . A feminine man would enjoy bull's balls? . . . in partaking of the bull's balls each of them wishes to gain virility" (291-293). As Mailer plays up this notion of virility, implicitly connecting the "bull's balls" to a brave man's figurative "balls," the language of the translation suggests a more technical and sophisticated register—"¿Por qué no comen turmas de toro todos los hombres?"—obscuring the connection to this common meaning. (Indeed, one can hardly imagine an utterance such as *¡Olé tus turmas!*)

In two of the poems from *Días de gracia y arena* the translator explains obscene references with a note, partially displacing the Spanish obscenity in the target text. For example, in the following translation of "Epitaph of a Rail," on pages 15-16 of the target text:

Epitafio de ferroviario

*Acostumbraba a beber
hasta las seis
de la madrugada
de modo que podía ligarme
algunas tías
y ahora bebo
hasta las seis
de la madrugada
mirando como otros
individuos
se ligan a las tías.*

Eheu Fugaces.
Que significa:
Fuck aces! (¡Jode lo mejor!)
antes de que los fugaces
*años se vayan.**

...
*«¡Ah, Póstumo, cómo vuelan los años. . .!» Es el comienzo de una de las «Odas» de Horacio: *Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume / Labuntur anni; nec pietas moram / Rugis et instanti senectae / Afferet, indimitaque morti.* (N. del T.) (Mailer 1976)

In this case, the strategy of placing the Spanish obscenity in parenthesis allows the translated text to preserve the clever wordplay of *Fugaces* and *Fuck Aces*, also making it clear that the Spanish "¡Jode lo mejor!" is a translation of the English expression and not the preceding Latin, with a translator's note regarding Horace's verse. Yet, this format foregoes the immediacy of the Spanish obscenity, which is presented as an additional explanation rather than a direct utterance. The parenthesis also pads the shocking juxtaposition of the classic verse and the crude paraphrase. With the footnote the translator offers direct access to the Latin verse, further circumventing Mailer's humorous and jarring interpretation.

In another poem from the same section, the translator leaves the name "Dick" while transmitting its possible double meaning in the footnote:

Cuando
disfrutas
fruición
te
viene
frustración
dijo
el retirado
*Dick**

...
*Hagamos notar que Dick, además de Dick Nixon, después de retirarse al perder frente a Kennedy, es también *slang* para carajo. El pelo corto adquiere otra dimensión (N. del T.). (17)

Noting the bodily dimension of the section's subtitle, "Poems and Short Hairs,"— short hairs being a euphemism for pubic hairs—the translator describes two possible meanings of "Dick"

in the poem: a reference to Richard Nixon, or a slang term for penis.¹⁷² Here again, the translator's note illuminates the pun yet displaces the effect of the obscenity. That is, the Spanish reader does not encounter the colloquial term while actually reading the poem.

Another type of neutralization is carried out in the translation of drug references, as colloquial expressions are traded for more technical or neutral ones. In *Caníbales y cristianos*, the standard term "marijuana" and the colloquial term "pot" are both translated as *marijuana*, removing any variation of register. Mailer, on the other hand, uses different terms to distinguish the theoretical references to drug use, such as the imagined position of Lyndon Johnson: "I propose Congress draw up a law requiring marijuana to be marketed solely in suppositories," from descriptions of drug use as a common and familiar counterculture activity: "Zen, Yoga, pot, the New Wave, Pop art. . ." (88). Moreover, in *Días de gracia y arena*, "pot" and "dope" (slang for heroine) are both translated as "la droga." Not only are colloquial terms avoided in the translation, much like in the earlier examples, but the generic description of "drugs" also voids any specificity in referring to the substances. It is thus harder to imagine the particular consequences when Mailer speaks of writers being ruined by "booze" and "pot," translated as "La bebida, la droga," or when he talks of "dope addicts" in urban areas—"adictos a la droga." The scenario would certainly be different if "la droga" referred to marijuana as opposed to heroin.

This type of generalization also distances the narrator's voice from the subversive act. Whereas Mailer was never shy about his own use of marijuana, mescaline and barbiturates in different cycles of writing, and the specific effects of each substance,¹⁷³ the translation in

¹⁷² Having run for President against Kennedy in 1960, and lost, Nixon would run again in 1968, becoming one of the key subjects of Mailer's work *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* (1968). *Cannibals and Christians* was published two years before the election, yet by the time of the Spanish translation, Nixon had already served a term of five years as the U.S. President, and resigned from office in 1974, after the Watergate scandal. In this sense, "Dick" Nixon may have been a larger figure at the time of the translation than he was in 1966.

¹⁷³ In *Advertisements for Myself* the author describes his use of pot, which offered "a sense of something new about the time" (232), of Seconal (a barbiturate), "Like an old man, I would come up out of a seconal stupor with four or five times the normal dose in my veins, and drop into a chair to sit for hours" (244), and of

Días de gracia y arena gives the impression that the author does not distinguish between different types of drugs. Such a modification could potentially impact Mailer's status as a writer of the counterculture where his intimate knowledge of these distinctions would give him more credibility and the lack of knowledge would have the opposite effect. With such generalization also occurring in other translations,¹⁷⁴ the author may have indeed seemed more of a 'square' to Spanish readers.

Nevertheless, both *Caníbales y cristianos* and *Días de gracia y arena* transmit a considerable amount of subversive content, including politically sensitive references and blasphemous or irreverent commentary, in addition to sexualized or obscene descriptions. From the very beginning of *Caníbales y cristianos*, the author makes it clear that his perspectives on religion and morality are highly unusual—offering, for example, the following definition of Christians:

Todos nosotros somos cristianos: judíos, liberales, bolcheviques, anarquistas, socialistas, comunistas, keynesianos, demócratas, defensores de los derechos civiles, beatniks, pastores, republicanos moderados, pacifistas, teach-inners¹⁷⁵ doctores, científicos, profesores, latinoamericanos, nuevos pueblos africanos, mercadocomuneros, hasta Mao Tse-tung. Sin duda. Desde Lyndon Johnson hasta Mao Tse-tung, todos somos cristianos. Creemos que la persona es buena si se le da oportunidad para serlo, creemos que la persona está abierta a la discusión, creemos que la ciencia es la salvación de lo doliente, creemos que la muerte es el final de la discusión..., por lo tanto: creemos que no hay nada tan valioso como la vida humana. (Mailer 1975, 19)

He also repeats his previous criticisms of all organized religion, which he believes "recibe abyectamente culto de parte de todos los que menos la conocen" (103).¹⁷⁶

Moreover, a number of passages from *Días de gracia y arena* reveal Mailer's notions

mescaline, "Maybe one dies a little with the poison of mescaline in the blood. At the end of a long and private trip which no quick remark should try to describe, the book of *The Deer Park* floated into mind, and I sat up, reached through a pleasure garden of velvety light to find the tree of a pencil and the bed of a notebook" (245).

¹⁷⁴ See the analysis in section 5.3.1. on *The Armies of the Night / Los ejércitos de la noche*.

¹⁷⁵ The concept originates with the 1965 "teach-in" at the University of Michigan, "modeled after earlier civil rights seminars, that sought to educate large segments of the student population about both the moral and political foundations of U.S. involvement [in Southeast Asia] . . . The teach-in format spread to campuses around the country and brought faculty members into active antiwar participation." (Barringer 2012, 36)

¹⁷⁶ See the analysis in section 5.3.2. on *Advertisements for Myself / El negro blanco*.

of a fallible God. In his interview for *The Paris Review*, he states: "tengo algo de obsesión con respecto a la manera en que Dios existe. ¿Es él un dios esencial o uno existencial; es él omnipotente o también una acuciada criatura existencial que puede tener éxito o fracasar con su visión?" (38). In a later piece, the author adds, "A veces pienso que Dios puede que haya perdido Su camino" (165). After this, he offers a more scatological description of the deity:

Voy a ofrecerle un esquema. . . . Visión es la mente de Dios; alma, Su cuerpo; y Espíritu es lo que ha dejado atrás. Literalmente. Es Su excremento. . . . Todo lo rico, horrible, pobre, altanero, repugnante y maravilloso va en este excremento, pero se trata del excremento de Dios..., eso es lo que es. De modo que tome el Espíritu y póngalo sobre la Visión del futuro..., entre estos dos leviatanes, exactamente en su conjunción, allí se encuentra la naturaleza moral. Desde luego que esta naturaleza moral, esta conjunción, está siendo corrompida por la plaga. (Mailer 1976, 167)

Finally, a short story on the Rabbi Zusya suggests that God himself could fear a loss against the Devil: "¡Vaya miedo este que hay en Dios de que Él pueda perder eventualmente enfrente al Diablo!" (178).

In addition to these theological discussions of God's fallibility or mortal existence, a couple of the poems translated in *Caníbales y cristianos* also posit irreverent notions, as in the following characterization of saints: "Los santos no son lúgubres / sino sádicos" (212), or an imagined decree from the Lord that certain people ought to live in sin: "Hijos / que nacen / de / un matrimonio / en la miseria habitual / dan / en vidas / que son muy bien vividas / en el pecado / dijo el Señor" (205). Another poem in *Días de gracia y arena* introduces the subject of abortion: "Soy así de mierda / cuando ella me pidió / para el aborto / le di / hasta mil / sin decirnos / ni pío. . . (16). In a later essay, the pill—"la píldora"—is also mentioned in passing, as a popular subject for *Playboy* magazine (76).¹⁷⁷

Though the author is critical of the hyper-sexualized aspects of U.S. pop culture and mass advertising, he also perpetuates a certain degree of sexual objectification in his

¹⁷⁷ While Mailer is often characterized as a writer who represents a generation, his work lacks serious engagement with many of the key questions that women were confronting during this period. Here, the brief mention of the pill appears almost as a catch phrase, glossing over any notions of women's health or reproductive rights.

narrative, which goes uncensored in the translation. For example, in *Días de gracia y arena*, the women presented in *Playboy* are described as "Playgirls con tetas de rosa y canela, con culos de merengue, culos de mantequilla. . ." While the description is meant to ridicule the idea of women presented as candy—something to be consumed alongside pop-art, advertisements and world-class literature—the words are nonetheless evocative of the sexualized female body. In the translated text this passage represents one of the more graphic descriptions of women, with its inclusion of the terms "teta" and "culo."

Moreover, the translated volumes include frequent references to casual sex, including sex with multiple partners and sex between men. For example, a poem from the end of *Canibales* illuminates the author's theory about the sexual command of different groups:

Un vals

*El papel cubre la roca
la roca rompe la tijera
la tijera corta el papel*

*Una mujer siempre puede
tomar a un hombre*

*Un puto siempre puede
tomar a una mujer*

*Un hombre siempre puede
tomar a un puto*

Los círculos me aburren.

*Obedecen
a demasiadas leyes (Mailer 1975, 220)*

In the first part of *Días de gracia y arena*, Mailer describes the unusual sexual habits of the boxer Harry Greb:

Siempre hizo las cosas que como boxeador le fueron necesarias. . . . O sea, antes de un combate se iba a un burdel y allí iba a tomar dos prostitutas, no una, metiendo a las dos en la misma cama. Lo que aparentemente le dejaba sintiéndose como un animal salvaje. . . . Tal vez era que escogía a las dos pendangas más acanalladas del antro y así su sistema absorbía todas las pequeñas y asquerosas maldades concentradas que ellas habían acumulado de camionadas de hombres. (Mailer 1976, 41)

Even more striking is the reference to a sexual encounter between two male prisoners in the story "El asesino":

Tres veces le dimos con mi compañero de celda a parte de una botella. La primera me puse enfermo. La segunda vez tuvimos una pelea. . . La tercera vez jodimos. Democráticamente. Nos lo hicimos uno al otro y a la inversa. (Mailer 1976, 47)

These examples not only demonstrate the strong presence of sexual themes in the translation, but the translator's and publisher's willingness to include colloquial and obscene expressions, such as "puto," "pendanga" and "jodimos."

Indeed, Mailer's fondness for profanity was made apparent in the translated volumes, which contained a large number of vulgar expressions despite the omission of the more obscene poems. A few examples of these uncensored expressions are shown in table 12:

Table 12. Uncensored Profanity in the Target Text

	<i>Cannibals and Christians</i> (1966)	<i>Caníbales y cristianos / Días de gracia y arena</i>
12.1	. . . we are one great big <u>bloody</u> nursery attached to a doctor's waiting room, and we are sick, we're very sick,. . . (8)	. . . somos un gran, grande, <u>jodido</u> cuarto para los niños al lado de la sala de espera de un médico, y estamos enfermos, estamos muy enfermos, . . . (Mailer 1975, 24)
12.2	And mass man is equal to the Plague. Nihilistic he is addicted to modern communications. Shakespeare, comic books, motors, electronics, jazz, plastic, <u>fucking</u> , frozen food are all equal grit. . . (88)	Un hombre-masa es igual a la plaga. Siendo nihilista, es un adicto a las comunicaciones modernas. Shakespeare, tebeos, motores, electrónica, jazz, plástico, <u>joder</u> , comida congelada, todo es lo mismo. . . (Mailer 1975, 133)
12.3	For the sweet <u>bloody</u> truth is not so neat. (89)	Porque la dulce y <u>jodida</u> verdad no es tan de bonita. (Mailer 1975, 134)
12.4	Go fix the flowers <u>fuck-face</u> / was the King's reply (155)	<i>Vete a formar ramilletes <u>caracoño</u> / fue la replica del Rey</i> (Mailer 1975, 215)
12.5	That's what / it means / to be / in love / you can't tell / a dame / to go / <u>fuck</u> / herself. (181)	Esto es / lo que significa / estar enamorado / no puedes decirle / a una dama / que / se / <u>joda</u> . (Mailer 1976, 15)

As the examples in the table demonstrate, variations of the word fuck were translated with similarly offensive language in Spanish, including expressions such as *joder* and *coño*, which

had been generally avoided in earlier counterculture translations, if not directly censored.

In Mailer's more misogynistic vein, the collection also includes frequent use of the term "bitch," alternately translated as *puta* and *perra*. The term is used in one of Mailer's central metaphors in the collection—"The novel is like the Great Bitch in one's life"—a metaphor that extends throughout the twenty-five pages of the piece "Some Children of the Goddess" / "Algunos hijos de la diosa," in which Mailer discusses a number of contemporary novelists:

La novela es como la Gran Puta de la vida de uno. Creemos que nos hemos librado de ella, . . . y entonces giramos una esquina en una calle y allí está la Puta sonriéndonos, y ya estamos atrapados. Todavía lo estamos. Sabemos que la Puta todavía nos tiene cogidos. (Mailer 1975, 154)

Y cada año, o cada dos, o cada tres, te vas de juerga durante un mes y te tragas las novelas de tus contemporáneos y te das cuenta de cómo se las apañaron en la noche que pasaron con la Puta. (156)

Cada uno de los novelistas que ha dormido con la Puta (sólo los poetas y los escritores de cuentos tienen una Musa) sale luego fanfarroneando como un chusquero dando volteretas después de una juerga en un burdel.... «macho, la he hecho quejarse»... reza el grito del escritor joven. Pero luego la Puta se ríe desde la cama vacía. «Era tan majo al principio— declara ella—, pero al final ya ni podía hacer “pío, pío, pío”.» (157)

In the sections of poetry, "bitch" is more often translated as *perra*, as in the following verses from *Caníbales y cristianos*: "Y pocas eran las mujeres / con que montar no pudiese... / perras, aterrizáis en mi cama. . ." (213), "culebra y la mas inmunda perra / cerda de cien pies," (203), "se ha puesto / muy / gordo / anhelando / la buena / cocina / dijo la Perra" (204). In addition to these examples, the term *puta* also appears as a translation of "whore," and *perra* of "slut": "*Carmen la puta regia / Carmen la perra marrana*" (213). In two other instances "whore" is translated as *pendanga* and *prostituta*, respectively. In spite of this chance shift in register, it is clear that the terms *puta* and *perra* are fully accepted by the translator and editors, and, in fact, are rampant in the translated volumes. This proves a stark

contrast to previous counterculture works in which *prostituta* was the more common solution and *puta* the exception.

In spite of prior attention to the author's Marxist sympathies, these were not considered problematic by the time *Cannibals* was translated to Spanish. In fact, Mailer had already begun to criticize Communist expansion in this collection. Yet, he was extremely wary of the way U.S. politicians were using the fears of communism to manipulate citizens and justify military policy. For instance, in describing the 1964 Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater, he states: "Uno nunca podía votar por él, uno nunca podía votar por un hombre que había hecho carrera gritando comunista..., esto era demasiado fácil: la mitad de los cerdos, matones y cobardes del siglo veinte habían hecho su fortuna gracias a este miedo" (Mailer 1975, 78). Adding to this, he posits that anti-communist propaganda is out of proportion, "No es probable que un burócrata comunista pueda hacer más daño o destruir más espíritus que el gallito de una actividad cualquiera, un sargento de sección o un ejecutivo corporativo en ultramar" (131). Moreover, he suggests that the basis for the U.S. military campaign in Vietnam is completely dishonest: "Hasta Barry Goldwater sabe que no podemos derrotar a los comunistas militarmente . . ." (132). He also notes the resiliance of the guerilla fighters in Vietnam: "Algunos dirán que nuestros infantes de marina son los mejores soldados del mundo. El contraargumento es que las guerrillas nativas pueden derrotar a cualquier fuerza de mayor poder luchando de hombre a hombre" (123). Despite this vision, the novelist's position was no longer thought to promote Marxist sympathies, as the censors had already declared in their assessment of *The Armies of the Night*. His hodge-podge of socio-political commentary presented little threat to the Franco regime in 1975.

Still, the censors did pick up on the fact that the translator had deliberately chosen to use the term "grises" in a negative passage about cops, remarking that "Debe de ser una genialidad del traductor ya que este término despectivo para las fuerzas de Orden Público

españolas no parece lógica que sea el utilizado en la versión original" (File no. 3559-76). Indeed, the use of these expressions was particularly incendiary in Mailer's poems, which describe that ". . . generalmente los quinquis hacen / ir de culo a los / grises / porque estos no creen / que tal es así porque / ponen guarniciones / a los quinquis / de los que están particularmente enamorados. / En el fondo, / los grises son como señoras. / En el fondo del fondo / los grises son como / señoras / con mala leche" (17). While Mailer's attitude toward police was no longer the sensitive question that it was in 1969, when *The Armies of the Night* was translated under the strict directive to avoid any familiar terms for Spanish police or military—including official ones—it is still remarkable that these lines were passed without impediment, if not without notice.

Police are further characterized as sexually frustrated perpetrators of violence in Mailer's story "El asesino," especially in the following passage:

El sexo es un punto flaco, una perra. Con la policía. No pueden mantenerse con las manos apartadas. Lo hacen, pero entonces esto es algo que provoca tensión. Para algunos es algo serio. Pueden llegar a estar a punto para matar. . . . Es obvio que no puede hacerlo. . . . Pero la adrenalina le corre por el cuerpo. No es bueno tener un sofoco de adrenalina por nada. Todas estas ganas de matar y ningún sitio adonde ir. Por ejemplo, . . . No proyectes tu ingle hacia delante ni saques hacia atrás tus caderas. Vale más que tus pantalones no te estén muy ceñidos . . . Si vas sacando el pecho y tal, aunque lo hagas con buen gusto y sutilmente, van a empezar a sentirse calientes en donde está prohibido y entonces vas a gustarles, van a ponerse algo encarnados hasta que se den cuenta de que esto no va a ninguna parte y, hala, el sexo se pone patas arriba. Les deja dispuestos a matarte. (Mailer 1976, 51-52)

Finally, police are described as unthinking animals, incapable of judging a man on an individual basis: "Los policía . . . son simios, son toros. Los toros piensan a base de categorías" (Mailer 1976, 51).

Ultimately, although these translations maintained the appearance of completely uncensored works, with all the bells and whistles of crude language and biting social critique, it is important to emphasize that even as late as 1975 and 1976, the translator and publishers felt some imperative to trim undesirable elements from the translated text. Though the line of

acceptability had clearly shifted, it was not absent. In the case of *Caníbales y cristianos* and *Días de gracia y arena*, this censorship was carried out in the vulgar poetry. At the same time, such macrotextual manipulation allowed the publishers to print the works in the pocket-sized paperback format, making possible a wider distribution. In this regard, it could be argued that censorship was not the only motive for the removal of poetry from Mailer's collection. Nevertheless, it is clear that the exclusion of the most vulgar poems did help to avoid possible complications and risks in the official censorship process.

6. Conclusions

Responding to the first hypothesis of this PhD Dissertation, it is safe to say that U.S. counterculture works were extraordinarily hazardous from the perspective of Francoist censorship. To begin with, the general survey of counterculture works submitted to the censorship board between 1960 and 1975 reveals that a greater number of the proposed translations were denied authorization in Spanish territory than were approved, in spite of numerous submissions and resubmissions on the part of the publishers. While it is true that following the 1966 legislation some publishers began to submit already-printed counterculture translations directly to *Depósito*, where they were rarely denied authorization (and thus were usually free to circulate), official authorization was often withheld through the board's determination of *Silencio*—a verdict which served to reaffirm the censors' distrust and disdain for counterculture themes even where tacitly accepted. Still, a handful of the counterculture works published in this way did have circulation stopped by the authorities. Others were denied authorization and risked the intervention of the authorities but were ultimately authorized for distribution abroad as a concession to the publisher. Lastly, it is worth emphasizing that among those texts readily authorized for circulation in Spain, the majority were works of non-fiction perceived to analyze rather than promote counterculture movements. In contrast, sixties-era novels and works of fiction were heavily restricted—as were political manifestos and 'apologies' by notable counterculture figures.

In terms of the censors' general reactions to the counterculture, section 4.2 demonstrates how they often referred to counterculture publications pejoratively—as works on hipsters and hippies, by and about addicts and criminals, or by and about violent radicals. Regarding the different sixties-era themes contemplated in this study, the censors appeared to show the greatest sympathy for the struggle of African Americans to secure Civil Rights, although the politics and strategies of resistance or civil disobedience promoted by many

black activists were often considered too violent or too radical for Spanish readers. Similarly, a number of texts relating to the anti-war movement were either blocked or had to be revised on account of the tactics described or the depiction of the police and military. Other counterculture publications were blocked on account of sex and drug-related references, and still others for casting religion or Christianity in a negative light. At the same time, it was not uncommon for counterculture publications to touch on many of these themes at once, leading the censors to judge them 'wholly' unsalvageable, as they did in the cases of William S. Burroughs's *The Soft Machine* (1961), Joseph Berke's *Counter-Culture* (1969), Emmet Grogan's *Ringolevio* (1972) and Jack Kerouac's *Visions of Cody* (1972), to name a few.

A significant part of the counterculture publications that were approved had to undergo suppressions or modifications, which, in addition to neutralizing subversive content, also led to publication delays. It is worth adding that a handful of the works that were approved with suppressions were then never resubmitted to the censorship board—perhaps representing a certain reluctance on the part of the publishers to 'collaborate' with the board's manipulation. More boldly, a handful of works were authorized with suppressions and later resubmitted without the indicated changes, as was the case of Norman Mailer's *El negro blanco*, ultimately permitted by a verdict of *Silencio*. Indeed, some publishers were able to secure completely different verdicts by resubmitting the same translations after a few months or years, although such delay naturally meant that publication would come at a later date. Regardless of the publishers' range of strategies, the fact that so many counterculture publications were found to be censurable—even when marginally so—meant that the overall rates of publication were slowed both directly and indirectly by censorship demands.

It is equally important to reiterate that a few of the most iconic sixties-era novels were not attempted until the end, or near end, of the regime. Especially striking in this regard are the late submissions of Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957) and Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over*

the Cuckoo's Nest (1962), submitted in 1975 and 1976, in addition to William S. Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* (1959) and Tom Wolfe's *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), both submitted in 1979. The sheer celebrity of these novels and the fact that many publishers did show an interest in U.S. counterculture works—with extremely mixed results—points to a perhaps conscious decision to withhold these likely bestsellers until the conditions were more favorable. Considering the 1968 and 1969 submissions of Robert A. Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961), Norman Mailer's *The Armies of the Night* (1968) and Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), it is reasonable to assume that the equally high-profile works by Kerouac, Kesey, Burroughs and Wolfe would have been introduced as much as a decade sooner were it not for the constraints of Francoist censorship.

From this overarching repression of the counterculture observed in the larger survey of counterculture-themed publications attempted (often unsuccessfully) in Franco's Spain, the following pages will look at the more concrete impact of censorship mechanisms as they were carried out—or resisted and circumvented—in the target texts of Vonnegut, Heinlein and Mailer. Through this selection of authors, of whom multiple works were translated during the years of the regime, the descriptive-comparative study in section 5 was able to trace a wide range of (self-)censorship practices affecting counterculture themes, at the same time revealing editorial strategies and maneuvers that developed in direct relation to the authors in question.

Responding to the second major question presented by this PhD Dissertation, the descriptive-comparative analysis of Vonnegut, Heinlein and Mailer reveals heavy manipulation in the translation and editing of works by these authors as well as hard-fought editorial negotiations with the censors to secure authorization. Of the three works submitted for Kurt Vonnegut, for example, only the first was authorized with no censorship conditions or delays, also making it the only Vonnegut work to legally circulate under the regime. Yet,

while *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* seemed to be effortlessly accepted in 1966, the textual analysis has revealed extensive self-censorship of obscenities and sexual references in the target text, as well as partial neutralization of blasphemous religious references. However, fragments that were politically and philosophically subversive, including passages that praised communism, were transmitted without neutralization in the translated work, also revealing a degree of permissiveness on the part of the censors.

In contrast, Vonnegut's counterculture novel *Slaughterhouse-Five* was met with far greater demands in the censorship process. Not only did the censors require the suppression of obscenities and sexual references in *Matadero cinco* (1970), but they further required the suppression of passages discussing God and Christianity. Yet, arguing that the author himself would not accept these more extensive cuts, Ediciones Grijalbo instead requested authorization to distribute the target text abroad. In this way, the publisher demonstrated a certain willingness to comply with the censors' demands in toning down the author's use of crude language, but proved resistant to the manipulation of irreverent and irreligious content. At the same time, this resistance meant that Vonnegut's best-selling work would not be available to Spanish readers until December 1975—a month after Franco's death. And given Grijalbo's initial compliance in neutralizing crude language, the target text was nonetheless published with visible manipulation, which had a noticeable impact on Vonnegut's characterization of soldiers, making them appear gentler and more respectable in translation.

Still, the publisher's willingness to draw the line at what would or would not be cut from *Matadero cinco* also meant that Grijalbo was able to secure the rights to another Vonnegut work in 1974. Regarding *Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloon*s, the censors insisted that the translation would require extensive manipulation in its discussion of the U.S. president, military institutions, religious institutions, sexuality and drug-use, but by the time the proofs were submitted in 1975, the largely un-neutralized *Guampeteros, fomas y*

granfalunes was deemed acceptable. In this case, the difference of a year between submissions meant significantly greater tolerance for counterculture themes in Vonnegut's work and allowed Grijalbo to circumvent nearly all of the recommended suppressions. As would also be seen with some of the works by Heinlein and Mailer, this type of persistence speaks the crucial role of dissident publishers in seeking alternatives to the censors' demands.

The position of Ediciones Géminis with respect to Robert A. Heinlein works likewise draws attention to the role of publishers, but the case of Géminis also accentuates the enormous pressures that could be brought to bear by the censorship board. Up to 1967, Heinlein had been received with longstanding acceptance in Franco's Spain, yet only the author's juvenile works from the fifties had ever been attempted in translation. In 1968, Ediciones Géminis became the first publisher to dare to submit his counterculture novel *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961). Not only did the newly-founded publishing house choose to bypass Voluntary Consultation for *Forastero en tierra extraña* (1968), but the editors also insisted on non-censorship during the translation process, against the better judgement of the translator. Having taken the 1966 Press and Print Law (quite mistakenly) at face value, the editors seemed convinced that the uncensored translation of the work would be accepted in *Depósito*, making it the first in a series of publications that reflected Heinlein's counterculture interests during the 1960s. What Géminis did not expect was the censors' strong reaction to the religious and sexual concepts of the work, which led the board to deny authorization immediately and order the printed copies destroyed. In the ensuing attempt to recover from the destruction of their hoped-for best-seller, the editors at Géminis were compelled to participate in the Voluntary Consultation process for subsequent translations of Heinlein. Yet, the de-authorization of *Revolución en el 2100* just a few months later demonstrated that these Heinlein texts would continue to face rejection where seen as antagonistic to the religious institutions and values upheld by the regime.

Thus, in an already desperate situation, and before going bankrupt in 1969, the publisher adopted a strategy of heavy-handed manipulation that allowed it to obtain approval for *Revuelta en el 2100* (1968) and *Los dominios de Farnham* (1968). Analysis of these two texts reveal that Géminis went to great lengths to remove religious elements from the former, and add religious elements to the latter, in both cases shaping target texts that would be less obviously antagonistic to National-Catholicism. Indeed, this manipulation would render the message of Heinlein's texts nearly unrecognizable, as the author had consistently pushed for the interrogation of religious and social mores as mechanisms of societal control.

The dramatic trajectory of Ediciones Géminis therefore serves to confirm the arguments of Cisquella, Sorolla and Erviti (2002) that the practices and mechanisms of state censorship after the 1966 legislation operated to shift the responsibility of manipulation to the hands of the editors, translators and writers, who would indeed feel the material loss caused by non-collaboration. Furthermore, it is evident that smaller presses with less financial stability were also disproportionately affected by the consequences of negative verdicts from the Spanish censorship board. In this sense, the most uninitiated and noninstitutionalized publishers—and the most likely to offer new modes of expression and thought—were in fact the most vulnerable to the 1966 law and its much-advertised 'freedoms.'

Inversely, the case of Heinlein's *La Luna es una cruel amante*, submitted in the final year of the regime, exemplifies how more established and 'collaborative' editors had become used to reducing censurable content of their own accord, thus preempting the kinds of verdicts that Géminis had encountered. As with *Stranger in a Strange Land* and *Farnham's Freehold*, Heinlein used *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress* to challenge dominant social mores, especially with regard to sex, family and marriage. It also recounted the building of an anarchist revolution. Yet, this was not what the censors perceived upon inspection of the target text, where a number of Heinlein's more difficult descriptions had simply been omitted

and where unambiguous references to casual sex and prostitution had been consistently defused in translation. References to the protagonist's agnosticism—a topic that was repeatedly censored in Heinlein's work—were also bypassed in translation, as were detailed descriptions of covert political organizing. Thus, through a combination of the editor's and translator's self-censorship, the target text had been rendered significantly less challenging by the time the censors saw it in February 1975, receiving immediate authorization to circulate.

The trajectory of Norman Mailer works in Franco's Spain reveals a comparable pattern of self-censorship motivated by the realities of official censorship, a combination that limited the representation of the author's more controversial aspects in the country. Most striking in this regard is the fact that none of Mailer's fiction novels circulated in Spanish translation before 1980, despite more than a dozen submissions to the censorship board between 1957 and 1976. Indeed, Mailer's novels were considered far too obscene and subversive for Spanish readers, and were systematically denied authorization in the years of the regime, as well as in 1976. Of his novelistic works, only the nonfiction novel *The Armies of the Night* was ultimately accepted in Spanish translation during the Francoist period. Given its claim of objective reporting—with the subtitle *The Novel as History*—the text contained little of the crude dialogue or erotic scenes that were elsewhere used as justification for denial of the author's fiction. Still, this was one of Mailer's most widely-read and critically-acclaimed works, and the censors took its message of antimilitarism quite seriously, ultimately enforcing modifications to *Los ejércitos de la noche* that would contain its antimilitary sentiments within a specifically U.S. context. Thus, the censors' textual manipulation posed something of a tradeoff which the publisher chose to accept. In consenting to these changes, however, Grijalbo was able to publish Mailer's popular text on antimilitary and antipolice activism at a crucial moment for a budding antimilitary movement in Spain.

In contrast, Tusquets and Edicions 62/Península each present a strategy aimed at circumventing the censors' direct intervention in the translations of two of Mailer's collections—though the publishers sacrifice the timeliness and relative 'wholeness' of the resulting publications. Tusquets's selection for *El negro blanco* (1973), reflecting the cultural interests of the translator, included some of the most politically and socially subversive content from *Advertisements for Myself*, but strategically left out a large percentage of the original collection, including many pieces containing profanity or explicit descriptions of sex. Though this would protect the work from being targeted for its most obscene content, as novels such as *An American Dream* had been, the publication still faced de-authorization. Indeed, the reduced selection of pieces invited close scrutiny of Mailer's radical ideas in the resulting "librito"—judged unacceptable by the board in 1970. The censors then reversed this decision upon reconsideration in 1971, re-labelling the text as a kind of socio-cultural study of the hippie phenomenon, and not "un alegato a favor de una vida inmoral," a determination they would have been unlikely to arrive at without Tusquets's careful selection. Still, the conditional authorization required the suppression of two lines attacking organized religion. Rather than suppress these ideas, however, the publisher waited until 1973 to resubmit the work as a *Depósito*, eliciting a final verdict of *Silencio*. Given the censors' continued discomfort with *El negro blanco* and reluctance to grant full authorization, even in 1973, Tusquets's decision to wait proved an astute move that would see its selection circulate in tact, albeit three years after the initial submission. Indeed, the publisher's approach to *El negro blanco* reveals a strategic understanding of Mailer's work and a careful balancing act aimed at publishing his more radical pieces without intervention.

Edicions 62 and Península adopted a similar strategy for Catalan and Spanish translations of Mailer's *Cannibals and Christians*, presenting two partial translations of the collection in each language. As was the case with *Advertisements*, the untranslated pieces

(particularly of poetry) contained a considerable amount of profanity and sex. While these partial translations expose intricate modes of editorial maneuvering, the selection of a limited number of pieces also allowed for publications that transmitted Mailer's subversive views on politics, society and sexuality, as well as unorthodox ideas about God and religion, at a time when most of the author's works had been blocked in Spain on account of obscenity and eroticism. Moreover, this meant that the works could be published in the pocket-sized paperback format, which in itself represented a subversive media, with its potential for circulating ideas among a mass readership. Still, Península waited more than five years after securing tentative authorization to submit the Spanish translations, with the second volume, and riskier of the two, not being printed until 1976. Indeed, such precautions also speak to the persistence of the publisher in dodging the censors' direct interventions.

Ultimately, while this combination of tactics may have freed a few of Mailer's works from the censors' red pencils, or from judicial action, it did not preclude the necessity of textual manipulation on the part of the editors. In this sense, the strategy of partial translation adopted by Edicions 62, Península and Tusquets exemplifies the way in which publishers were forced to take up the role of the censors after the 1966 legislation and make calculated decisions regarding certain types of material. What this strategy meant, however, was that publishers could carry out textual manipulation on their own terms—in this case the sacrificing the timeliness of the translated works for greater editorial control and privileging the socially and politically subversive content of *Cannibals* and *Advertisements* over Mailer's extensive use of obscenities.

Furthermore, this maneuvering demonstrates that even dissident publishers, who appeared quite willing to test the limits of what Francoist censors would accept, often controlled for the most likely content to be flagged—namely, obscenities and sex. Indeed, these were the areas that suffered the most consistent self-censorship across all three

authors—very often preemptively. In this sense, the present study reinforces the findings of Gómez Castro (2009), who affirms that a certain amount of self-censorship in obscene and erotic content remained the norm for translated texts into the early seventies (334). For other categories of subversive content, however, such as that relating to politics or religion, publishers promoting counterculture works proved generally more resistant to carrying out the censors' demands—though economic pressures did sometimes lead them to manipulate in these areas too.

Considering that key counterculture works by Vonnegut, Heinlein and Mailer were flagged not merely for obscenity and sex but for deeply-rooted political and social ideas which led to extensive censorship demands, numerous resubmissions and long delays, or non-publication (and in the case of *Stranger in a Strange Land*, destruction), this study has shown that the path to publication for U.S. counterculture works was fraught with obstacles. Indeed, these works tended to draw a myriad of objections from the censors, as hypothesized. While Rioja Barrocal (2008) has found that for works translated from 1962 to 1969 the preemptive softening of crude language, sexual references and 'immoral' behavior was usually enough to secure the censors' approval—"salvando ocasiones en las que consideran insuficiente [la] labor manipuladora" (626)—the inverse appears to be true for U.S. counterculture works, which were 'on occasion' accepted thanks to this common form of self-censorship but more often required additional modifications and cuts before publication, or else were simply denied authorization.

While it might be argued in the case of *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* (1966) that the common translation practice of softening obscenities and sexual references was sufficient to preclude the censors' scrutiny of the work, this could not generally be said of the other publications by Vonnegut, Mailer or Heinlein. Heinlein's *Los dominios de Farnham* and *La Luna es una cruel amante* had also dodged the censors' scrutiny, yet the self-censorship

detected in both sixties-era works included glaring modifications that greatly impacted depictions of religious practices, social mores and family structures in Heinlein's narratives, in addition to the more common neutralization of explicit sexual content. And although the Mailer pieces translated for *El negro blanco* and *Caníbales y cristianos* as well as *Días de gracia y arena* were all ultimately authorized without the board's direct intervention, it cannot be ignored that these translations included only partial selections of much larger works, where many of the untranslated pieces would have certainly provoked further censorship demands. In all three cases, submission of the translated text was also delayed for several years after tentative approval, suggesting that the publishers may have harbored concerns about how the censors would react to the contents of these sixties-era works in Spanish.

Vonnegut's *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes* was ultimately published without the slew of cuts recommended by the censors, yet it had initially been flagged for a wide variety of political and social subversion, and was only judged acceptable upon inspection of the translated text a year later, in 1975. The fact that Grijalbo then waited until 1977 to publish the problematic collection suggests that the publisher was still wary of possible consequences during the Franco regime. What seems clear is that the minimal neutralization detected in the target text would not have satisfied the censors when the work was first submitted in 1974. Thus, while the publisher was able to wait out the drastic cuts, the target text was still published three years after originally proposed. Similarly, Grijalbo's publication of *Matadero cinco* was able to bypass a great deal of the manipulation recommended by the censors—but only with the cost of several years delay in Spanish territory. In contrast, Grijalbo's tact with *Los ejércitos de la noche* was to privilege the timeliness of the publication in Spain by complying with censorship demands. In particular, this resulted in the manipulation of the work's antimilitary message so that it would remain limited to the U.S. context and not be extended to a more universal antimilitarism (as Mailer intended).

The less-experienced publishers at Géminis, with a more limited range of resources and strategies, so urgently wanted to publish *Revolta en el 2100* after it was de-authorized in 1968, following the destruction of *Forastero en tierra extraña*, that they replaced thousands of religious terms in the target text with other non-religious terms, effectively turning the corrupt and oppressive theocracy from Heinlein's narrative into a secular state. In the resulting translation, the protagonist's disillusionment and his decision to join the rebel forces fail to reflect the full moral hypocrisy of the leader's violent and abusive actions. Alas, this conversion can be seen as a direct response to the objections of the censors, who had denied authorization on account of the work's negative characterization of religious institutions. Moreover, the difficulties encountered with the religious elements of both *Forastero en tierra extraña* and *Revolta en el 2100* appear to have prompted Géminis to oversee the manipulation of religious content in a third Heinlein work, *Los dominios de Farnham*. In translation, the protagonist is transformed from an agnostic existentialist to a faith-professing Christian who by the end of the story insists on sharing Bible passages with every visitor to his homestead. Indeed, the transformation is so glaring that the censors' main comment on the translation was in regard to the 'Christianly' ways of the protagonists. The fact that the same publishers who allowed for such manipulation had, in an earlier moment, stood firmly against manipulating *Forastero en tierra extraña* undoubtedly speaks to the tremendous economic pressures brought to bear Francoist censorship.

In all of these cases, exploration of the publishers' trajectories presented an important avenue of inquiry in this PhD Dissertation and proved fruitful in understanding the publishing strategies developed for counterculture authors and works. Indeed, the intense manipulation carried out in Géminis's editions of *Revolta en el 2100* and *Los dominios de Farnham* is best understood in the context of the publishers' failed publication of *Forastero en tierra extraña* in early 1968, which, in turn, can be best understood in the political moment of overestimated

apertura following the 1966 legislation. Yet, the fact that Géminis gravitated towards Heinlein's sixties-era work, despite all the difficulties that it was certain to encounter, still attests to a growing demand for literary models that would break the mold of easily-digestible novels seeking only to entertain. In this aspect, the translator's testimony regarding the publication is revealing. The editors' insistence that Bartolomé López not self-censor *Forastero* in the translation process, despite his repeated appeals, suggests that the editors specifically set out to introduce a text that would confront Spain's sexual and religious mores.

In this same vein, Ediciones Grijalbo demonstrated consistent interest in publishing sixties-era authors who would push the limits of what the censors would tolerate. When such works were not permitted, or were said to require extensive cuts and modifications, as in the cases of *Matadero cinco* and *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes*, noted above, the publisher proved particularly persistent in negotiating alternate outcomes—often circumventing the censors' suggested interventions by delaying publications or distributing them abroad. Yet, in the case of *Los ejércitos de la noche* Grijalbo promptly conceded the suppression of an entire passage critical of professional soldiers, having already consented to using military terms which would specifically avoid any overlap with the ranks of Spain's military. Still, this compliance allowed for the publication of a work of strong antimilitarism and generally leftist politics, though centered mainly on the U.S. context. In this sense, the decision to comply with the censors' demands cannot be taken as a mere act of retreat or collaboration, but must be understood within a spectrum of calculated strategies. Were it not for such maneuvering on the part of the publishers, the number of counterculture publications in Franco's Spain would have been even more limited than it already was.

Regarding the role of translators in shaping the introduction of counterculture texts in Spain, Isabel Vericat stands out in this investigation for having personally proposed the translation of Mailer's *Advertisements for Myself* in 1970, as well as works by R.D. Laing and

Stuart Hall, based on her own exposure to counterculture circles in the U.K.¹ Yet, it is interesting to note that despite her role in selecting these texts, the translator was not privy to the negotiations with censorship. Like the other two translators contacted for this PhD Dissertation, Vericat was excluded from the editorial decisions made after the initial translation process. Still, it was her personal interest in the counterculture that brought her to Mailer's philosophizing on hipsters and undoubtedly shaped the selection of pieces for *El negro blanco*. This particular interest also afforded her a strategy for translating slang in the target text, which was generally left in English and supplemented with a translator's note. While providing a direct window on 'hipster' speech, this approach also reduced the linguistic charge of potentially vulgar expressions such as "make it," which would likely have provoked extra scrutiny from the censors had they been rendered in colloquial Spanish. Indeed, the censors had flagged the 'sexual freedom' perceived in the original work, but refrained from mentioning this aspect upon inspection of the translation.² What is remarkable is that beyond the initial selection of pieces and particular strategy for rendering slang, Vericat's translation was successfully defended against external cuts, with the editor, Beatriz de Moura, preferring to delay publication by more than two years rather than compromise the work's ideology.

Overall, the body of Mailer works exemplifies the fact that some of the most well-known counterculture authors could only be published piecemeal in Franco's Spain, if at all. This was also manifest in the later Vonnegut works, which faced either extensive cuts or much later publication dates, and with Heinlein's iconic novel *Stranger in a Strange Land*, which was blocked after the editors chose not self-censor the translation. Also indicative of

¹ Another example of this kind of exposure is that of María José Ragué Arias, whose time spent in California led her to translate pieces for the collections *California Trip* (1971) and *Hablan las Women's Lib* (1972).

² In a sense, Vericat's use of the English slang exposes the possibility of translation decisions that defy the dichotomy of adequacy vs. acceptability developed by Toury (1995) and others. While the English loanwords would visibly render the Spanish text more "adequate" (closely adhering to the norms of the source culture), the fact that this strategy bypassed colloquial evocations of sex in Spanish also made the text more "acceptable" in Spain from the point of view of Francoist censorship. Indeed, a similar argument could be made with regard to the translation strategies introduced in *Los ejércitos de la noche*, for which the censors had actually recommended the use of English terms such as "Marshal," to avoid evoking Spanish military personnel.

the significant obstacles for counterculture texts is the fact that certain authors, such as Heinlein, had seen a number of translations in Franco's Spain but not of their most well-known sixties-era titles. It is striking, for instance, that multiple translations were authorized for Tom Wolfe while no attempts were made to publish his notorious counterculture work *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968). Nor were any attempts made to publish Ken Kesey's bestselling novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1964) though a translation was quick to appear on the market in 1976. By the same token, the censorship requirements for the work of Thomas Pynchon led two publishers to choose non-publication during this period. Finally, the restrictions of censorship were especially intense for writers such as William S. Burroughs, whose literary fame invited repeated attempts at Spanish translations, yet whose reputation as a deviant drug-addict inspired a special hostility from the Spanish censors, leading them to block his novel *Junkie* as late as November 21, 1975, the day after Franco's death.

Taking into account the censors' pinpointed reactions to the counterculture themes of different sixties-era works, and considering the strategies of translation and editing that seemed to develop in direct relation to the themes and authors in question, the tailored approach to analyzing U.S. counterculture authors has proven highly productive in this study. Preliminary analysis of the censorship files combined with the biographical/bibliographical review of Vonnegut, Heinlein and Mailer offered important insights into the pitfalls of the translation and editing process for each publication attempted under the regime. Moreover, the coordinated analysis of multiple works by these same authors was especially productive as each publication could be evaluated in relation to the censors' cumulative reception of the author and prior (or future) complications in Franco's Spain resulting from the particular styles and themes that they developed. Informed by this preliminary research, the thorough reading of the nine works in question did indeed reveal a considerable amount of censored and censurable content unlikely to have been detected through a more automated approach.

A few striking examples of this are found in Heinlein's use of sexually-provocative neologisms such as "bundling" and "slot-machine types" in *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress*, systematically neutralized in translation, and Mailer's playful use of partially censored words in *The Armies of the Night*, such as "f*ck" and "sh*t," translated, in parallel, as *j...* and *m...*, leading the censors to mistakenly conclude that all swearwords had been neutralized in the target text. This method of careful analysis also revealed significant self-censorship in the translation of Vonnegut's idiosyncratic sexual and bodily references, including examples such as "blue balls" (switched to *almorranas*), "piece of tail" (softened to *traseo*) or, "rammed" in an act of penetration (reduced to *metía*). While a digitalized keyword search undoubtedly could have turned up a large part of the obscenities and the more obvious sexual references, it would be almost inconceivable to detect these more playful expressions through such an automated search, not to mention the neologisms and the wide variety of slang used across all three authors, including imported slang such as *merde*. This is to say nothing of the bigger ideas that were developed over the course of different works and not easily contained within isolated passages, as for example both Vonnegut's and Mailer's interest in Marxism, Vonnegut's constant parody of Christianity or Heinlein's fascination with popular uprisings.

Preliminary research in the censorship files likewise proved revealing in the analysis of works such as *Los ejércitos de la noche*, where close attention to police and military references in the target text exposed conflicting strategies for terms like "marshal," at first translated as *soldado* or *guardia*, though the dominant strategy was that of conforming to the censors' instruction to leave the terms in English. For *Revolta en el 2100*, the censors' objections to religious elements in the translated text were found to have motivated sweeping manipulation of a vast constellation of religious titles and terms, broadly transforming the institution of the 'Church' to that of a secular state. And regarding *Los dominios de Farnham*, an investigation based on the censor's hint at Christian elements in the translation turned up

glaring cuts and additions to the target text. By the same token, the categorically positive verdicts for works such as *Dios le bendiga*, *Mr. Rosewater* and *La Luna es una cruel amante* proved to be reliable indicators of self-censorship in the target text—and inversely, the censors' strong reaction to *Forastero en tierra extraña* could be directly linked to the publishers decision not to self-censor. To reiterate the determination of the censor who reviewed that work, "Es bien cierto que si el traductor hubiera querido evitar tanto pasaje inaceptable, lo habría conseguido en buena parte" (File no. 1181-68).

What is true of all in these cases is that even though the censorship files provide clues as to what themes had been targeted by censorship, the linguistic variety of the texts in question would have made it nearly impossible to discover all of the problematic content without a thorough reading of each work. In this sense, the methodology proposed was well-adapted to the analysis of sixties-era works, uncovering extensive manipulation that went beyond what was apparent from the censorship files or what might be detected by keywords. Moreover, the results uncovered in this process confirm the hypothesis that the strategies of censorship and self-censorship employed in Franco's Spain varied significantly according to the particular themes of each work, as well as in relation to the trajectory of each author.

Clear examples of this variation can be seen in the comparison of censorship requirements documented for works such as *Los ejércitos de la noche* and *Revolución en el 2100*, as well as the self-censorship apparent in works such as *Dios le bendiga*, *Mr. Rosewater* and *La Luna es una cruel amante*. For instance, while *Los ejércitos de la noche* was specifically targeted for its discussion of the military and police, other antagonistic political ideas and a number of obscenities were allowed to persist, though they were flagged in other works submitted in the same period. *Revolución en el 2100* was targeted for its underlying criticism of religious institutions and underwent extensive manipulation in this area, yet its basic tale of uprising and revolution remained intact. Contrasting two works that

underwent extensive self-censorship, *Dios le bendiga*, *Mr. Rosewater* had a number of obscenities and irreverent religious references neutralized in translation, but saw little manipulation of problematic scenarios—such as a fourteen-year-old being impregnated by her step-father; meanwhile, *La Luna es una cruel amante* had alternative social arrangements as a major theme and, though it contained few obscenities and little eroticism, the text saw significant cuts to its discussion of non-monogamous marriages, including the omission of passages about very young spouses and sexual partners.

Indeed, in each of these cases the heaviest manipulation was revealed in areas that represented major or dominant themes in the works in question. Certainly, antimilitarism was the single most important theme in *The Armies of the Night*, and the corrupt theocracy represented a dominant feature of *Revolt in 2100*. Similarly, the unorthodox marriage arrangements and attitudes toward casual sex constituted one of the major social arguments of Heinlein's *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress*. Even the playful use of obscenity in *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* and *Slaughterhouse-Five* represented a defining feature of Vonnegut's narrative style, while also playing into his enduring mockery of censorship and censors. Through the extensive neutralization of these elements, much of the author's characteristic humor was stripped from the target texts. Moreover, Vonnegut's irreverent take on "the Gospel" in *Slaughterhouse-Five* represents another major thread that was thwarted by the censors, who would not allow the novel to circulate without further cuts in this area.

Similarly, Mailer's decision to set his obscenity-filled short fiction and poetry on equal footing with his socio-political and philosophical essays in both *Advertisements for Myself* and *Cannibals and Christians* was greatly undermined by the de-selection of the more obscene pieces in the Spanish editions, though this undoubtedly eased official censorship of the works. Indeed, the author had elsewhere insisted that "True liberty. . . consisted of his right to say shit in *The New Yorker*" (Mailer 1968, 26), and scholars have likewise pointed to

Mailer's use of obscenities as a fundamental aspect of his work, yet this aspect was almost completely whitewashed in Franco's Spain.

In this respect, the censorship board proved to be largely effective—through direct and indirect pressure—at neutralizing the most prominently subversive elements presented by different sixties-era works. Moreover, the censors appeared to be particularly attuned to the potential impact of well-known novels such as *Slaughterhouse-Five*, *Stranger in a Strange Land* and *The Armies of the Night*, introducing some of their most exhaustive demands and outright prohibitions on these iconic texts. Thus, while many scholars of Francoist censorship have pointed to the "arbitrary" actions of the censors, it must also be reiterated that their effectiveness in containing the vastly different literary and intellectual worlds presented by counterculture authors actually demonstrates a powerful and targeted form of repression.

Still, it is interesting to see that the censors' focus on specific themes in each work allowed for some flexibility in broadly subversive areas. For example, while neither Vonnegut nor Mailer argued explicitly in favor of communism in these works, a degree of Marxist sympathy was allowed to persist in the publications. In contrast, the communist affiliation of black activists including Angela Davis and members of the Black Panther Party was considered a critical reason to deny authorization of their political texts. In a similar way, most of Mailer's novels were strictly prohibited on account of abundant obscenities and sexual content, yet in a work where this was not a dominant feature—*Los ejércitos de la noche*—expressions such as *joder* and *coño* and *mamón* did not have to be suppressed. In this regard, the censors, too, can be seen making calculated decisions about where the true subversion of each work resided. Thus, although many of the counterculture texts published during this period maintained some of their subversive character in one area or another, rarely were the translations authorized with their most prominently subversive elements intact. When they were, it was almost always with significant delay, as in the case of *Matadero*

cinco, finally published in December 1975. Indeed, a broad look at the works of Vonnegut, Heinlein and Mailer confirms that the overall body of sixties-era publications by these authors was severely limited under the regime as a direct result of the censorship process.

This fact also invites a final consideration of the impact of Francoist censorship in its ability to deflect, defuse and sever possible connections between dissident movements in the U.S. and Spain. Indeed, this objective was made clear in the censors' own reports, where they emphasized the acceptability of works judged to speak exclusively to the U.S. context—and the unacceptability of others that they felt struck too close to home, evoking criticisms of Spanish institutions—or whose appeals were too universal, presenting possible models of resistance for Spanish dissidents. In addition to the numerous works that were denied authorization on account of the modes of dissidence exhibited, others were made to fit a mold that would be more contained within a foreign context. This was particularly manifest in *Los ejércitos de la noche* and *Revolta en el 2100*, for which the censors had urged textual modifications that effectively undermined or eliminated elements that may have evoked criticisms of the Spanish military (in *Los ejércitos*) or could be construed as attacks on National Catholicism (in *Revolta*).

A similar argument can be made regarding the way the ideological arguments of U.S. authors, activists and intellectuals were sometimes severed from Marxist, communist or anarchist sympathies. Certainly, the removal of a number of references to these international political currents meant that the U.S. works in question would appear more limited to purely domestic political concerns than they were and, consequently, less universal. Add to this the removal of passages that criticized the violence and oppression carried out in Spain's past and present, and on this level, too, works by U.S. authors were made to seem less internationally-oriented than they were. The fact that discussing certain topics remained taboo, including Spain's connection to atrocities committed in the Americas during colonization and the

country's reputation as a fascist regime, meant that the links drawn between different international struggles in counterculture texts sometimes fell by the wayside. A telling example of this is the fact that in order to secure authorization of *Textos sobre el poder negro* in 1968, Ediciones Halcón had to remove a list of other titles which included names such as "K Marx," "Raúl Castro," "Che Guevara" and "J Peirats" (File no. 11494-68). Whereas a number of dissident publishers attempted to connect interrelated movements of resistance, the censorship board repeatedly demonstrated that for texts on resistance to be deemed acceptable, they had to be seen as isolated within the specific context of a foreign nation.

A parallel effect, though perhaps more inadvertent, can be seen in the fissures created between connected literatures. For instance, where Mailer and Vonnegut both allude to highly controversial predecessors such as William S. Burroughs, Henry Miller or D.H. Lawrence, the most well-known works by these authors were yet to be permitted in Spain, making the intertextual references appear somewhat cut off. Undoubtedly, there are many such disconnections to discover, though it has not been a primary objective of this investigation. What is notable, however, is the general partiality manifested in the introduction of counterculture translations in Spain, especially taking into account the considerable interest demonstrated by Spanish publishers and the number of thwarted sixties-era publications. Fitting here is the indictment offered by the Catalan translator Carles Reig, who asserts that "Literature ought to expose politics, yet now, still, it is politics that infects literature, and what comes out are donuts for books" (Albanell 1977, 29).³

Furthermore, the interest in sixties-era texts shown by Spanish publishing houses makes clear the censors' tendency to silence counterculture voices. If such texts had never been attempted in translation, it would now be close to impossible to determine if the lack of publications was due to the indirect pressures of censorship or merely reflected the demands

³ From Albanell's 1977 interview with Reig, in Catalan: "La literatura hauria de desemmascarar la política, però ara com ara, encara, la política infecta la literatura, i el que en surt, bunyols que són llibres."

of the market. Yet, the fact that many counterculture publications were attempted and denied, and that many others were published with heavy manipulation or significant delay, makes it possible to confirm the direct repression of counterculture authors in Franco's Spain. This repression resulted in more than a few 'donuts' for books, and, indeed, a collective body of sixties-era literature with noticeable gaps and holes. This is further evidenced by the publication of many iconic sixties-era works in the late seventies and early eighties, suggesting an impulse to fill in these gaps once the conditions in Spain were more favorable.

Still, scholars such as Jordi Cornella (2015) and Gómez Castro (2006) have highlighted that the eventual disappearance of the censorship board was by no means the end to censored publications in Spain. Truly, "a día de hoy, todavía se puede comprobar cómo determinadas obras que fueron importadas y traducidas entonces siguen estando a la venta con idéntica traducción y, en su caso, los mismos cortes y supresiones de la censura franquista" (Gómez Castro 2006, 46). This is no less true of counterculture publications, which have only seen new translations in certain cases. Even as publishers in the late seventies were quick to come out with translations of iconic works which had not been published during the regime, they appeared much less willing to pay for new translations of works that had been censored and self-censored during the Francoist period. For instance, new editions of Vonnegut's novels *Matadero cinco* and *Dios le bendiga, Mr. Rosewater* continue to be printed with the same translations—which do include pinpointed modifications in the use of slang, yet lack an overall revision of the Spanish text, meaning that many instances of neutralization persist.

For other works, the translations were simply never reprinted after the first edition, as is the case of Mailer's collections *Caníbales y cristianos*, *Días de gracia y arena* and *El negro blanco* or Heinlein's *Revolta en el 2100* and *Los dominios de Farnham*. Vonnegut's collection *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes* was reprinted once in 1977, but saw no changes

to the translation. In contrast, Mailer's *Los ejércitos de la noche* was completely re-translated in 1989, as was Heinlein's *La Luna es una cruel amante* in 2009.⁴ Yet, it is important to note that even when new editions have appeared the market, the censored translations continue to be circulated among library patrons and in second-hand book shops. Indeed, a number of these translations have been discovered in universities and public libraries in the U.S., further accentuating the notion that "la acción de la censura 'se prolongar[á] en el tiempo, mientras se mant[engan] en el mercado—y en las librerías—aquellas obras que habían sufrido su efecto'" (Vila-Sanjuán, cited in Gómez Castro 2009, 46).

In this aspect, however, it is important to acknowledge that revisiting the censorship of U.S. counterculture publications forms only a small drop in the work of re-telling Spain's 20th century history from the perspective of those who were once silenced. Indeed, the translation of sixties-era authors emerges as but one possible battleground for dissident publishers hoping to push the barriers of what could be expressed under the constraints of the regime. The recent research of Rojas Claros (2013), for example, demonstrates that dissident publishing efforts spanned a wide spectrum of publications, including, but certainly not limited to, translations coming out of the political moment of the U.S. sixties. In some cases, these translations can even be seen as paving the way for new domestic publications, as evidenced by Spanish works such as *California Trip* (1971), by María José Ragué Arias, and *Las comunas: alternativa a la familia* (1972), by José María Carandell, published alongside works of the U.S. counterculture in the collections of Kairós and Tusquets. What is clear is that the difficult subjects posed by U.S. counterculture translations formed a fundamental part of their appeal, allowing publishers to test the waters with foreign texts while proceeding to incorporate Spanish voices. In this sense, the attempt to publish counterculture translations

⁴ *Forastero en tierra extraña* also presents an interesting case because a new "uncut" edition of *Stranger* was printed in 1991 (with 200 pages of material which had been cut by Heinlein's publishers in the 1961 text), leading Ediciones Destino to come out with a new Spanish edition, replacing the translation of Manuel Bartolomé López, which was sold in Spain from 1981 to 1986, following the total ban on the work during the dictatorship.

can be seen as one swell of a broader current, breaking, in waves, against the barriers erected by the Franco regime. Ultimately, these efforts make visible the active role of publishers and editors (as well as writers and translators) in mounting a counter-force to push back against the demands of the censorship board, even as they also faced intense scrutiny and restrictions.

Finally, the results of this PhD Dissertation have revealed several promising lines of inquiry for future research in Francoist censorship. The first of these emerges in the area of black activists, intellectuals and writers, who presented, on one hand, socio-political contexts that appeared very foreign to Franco's Spain, and on the other hand, some of the most resolute and radical political notions seen in sixties-era works in translation— notions which have already been shown to put the Spanish censors on the defensive. In a similar vein, publications stemming out of the U.S. antiwar movement were at once anchored to the context of U.S. involvement in Vietnam and, at the same time, advocated for resistance tactics that were considered unacceptable for the Spanish public of the period.

With regard to fiction, the most intriguing area to be explored is that of sixties-era science fiction works. Indeed, if the works of Vonnegut and Heinlein have shown anything, it is that this sometimes underestimated genre presented a special terrain where dominant social ideologies could be aggressively interrogated within the frame of a distant or future world. Combined with the emerging socio-political questions of the 1960s, and the general freedoms enjoyed by U.S. writers in the period, a broader investigation of the genre in Franco's Spain would certainly merit attention.

The case of Ediciones Géminis, in particular, illuminates the nebulous frontiers traversed by Spanish publishers during the Francoist period and the complex activity of pushing to open new spaces within a tightly-controlled literary culture. While the small and short-lived publishing house has not been included among studies of dissident publishers, it was nonetheless found to be one of the most heavily censored in the late sixties. Indeed, the

project itself of navigating uncharted literary models—as exemplified by Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land*—exposed Géminis to much greater risk than the editors had foreseen. Yet, as the group of science-fiction enthusiasts ventured (perhaps naively) into this terrain, they also demonstrated the potential power and threat of the genre.

Just as many counterculture texts offered a window on the foreign and exotic lifestyles of hipsters and hippies, such sixties-era works of science fiction also promised to open up the possibilities found in alternate realities and distant futures. Indeed, to borrow a passage from Vonnegut, what these authors "had in common with pornography wasn't sex but fantasies of an impossibly hospitable world" (1965, 21). In this sense, what is perhaps most striking across the spectrum of counterculture works attempted in Francoist Spain is not the specific provocations of censorship exposed for each work, but what these attempts reveal about the underlying hopes and dreams of the publishers (and translators) who sought to negotiate their introduction in the country.

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<http://catalogo.rebiun.org/rebiun/>

WorldCat Catalogue: <https://www.worldcat.org/>

Online Dictionaries and Linguistic Corpora:

Oxford English Dictionary Online: <http://www.oed.com/>

Dictionary of the Real Academia Española: <http://dle.rae.es>

CORDE Spanish Corpus, up to 1974 (Corpus Diacrónico del Español):
<http://www.rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/corde>

CREA Spanish Corpus, 1975 to 2014 (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual):
<http://www.rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/crea>

8. Appendix

A.1. Documents from AGA Censorship Files

A1.1 Documents from Censorship File no. 12964-69 for <i>Matadero cinco</i>	428
A1.2 Documents from Censorship File no. 9587-74 for <i>Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes</i>	438
A1.3 Documents from Censorship File no. 1181-68 for <i>Forastero en tierra extraña</i> ...	447
A1.4 Documents from Censorship File no. 5061-68 for <i>Revuelta en el 2100</i>	453
A1.5 Documents from Censorship File no. 3247-69 for <i>Los ejércitos de la noche</i>	468
A1.6 Documents from Censorship File no. 2743-72 for <i>Un sueño americano</i>	481
A1.7 Documents from Censorship File no. 10454-70 for <i>Hipsters [El negro blanco]</i> ...	493
A1.8 Correspondence from Censorship File no. 11651-74 for <i>Marilyn</i>	512


A.2. Selection of Translator's Responses

A2.1 Translator Interview: Manuel Bartolomé López, <i>Forastero en tierra extraña</i> (1968).....	514
A2.2 Translator Interview: Jesús de la Torre Roldán, <i>Revuelta en el 2100</i> (1968) <i>Tropas del espacio</i> (1968)	516
A2.3 Translator Interview: Isabel Vericat, <i>El negro blanco</i> (1973).....	517

Appendix 1. Selected Documentation from Censorship Files¹

A1.1 Documents from Censorship File no. 12964-69 for *Matadero cinco*

12964



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación Editorial

Exp. núm. 1

Un solo ejemplar

Ilmo. Sr.: Ricardo Mariscal

El que suscribe, Ricardo Mariscal, con domicilio en Madrid, calle Juan de Mesa número 14, en representación de la Editorial Grijalbo S.A., solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de Marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19), para la obra:

Título: "Matadero -5"

Nombre Kurt pseudónimo

AUTOR: Apellidos Vounequet

Editor Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. inscrito con el número en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 186

Formato 15 X 21

Tirada proyectada 4.000 ej.

Precio de venta 180.- Ptas.

Colección en que se incluye

Madrid. Hora Fecha 26 de Diciembre de 1969.

EL SOLICITANTE,

[Signature]

[Signature]

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.

Text borrado

3-1-70.

[Signature]

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Mod. 712




Figure A1.1.1 Application for Voluntary Consultation of *Matadero-5* [Later: *Matadero cinco*] filed by Ricardo Mariscal on behalf of Grijalbo, on December 26, 1969. The indicated length is 186 pages, and the price 180 pesetas. The projected print run is 4,000 copies.

¹ This section will not reproduce the documentation from the entire collection of the censorship files examined for this PhD Dissertation, but is aimed at demonstrating the extent of censorship negotiations in a few notable cases, especially those cases that included personal correspondence between censors and editors or revealed multiple stages of intervention.



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

(2)

EXPEDIENTE N.º 12964-69

Presentada con fecha **26 D.I.C. 1969**
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra **MATADERO 5**
de la que es autor **VONNEGUT, Kurt Jr.**

editada por **Grijalbe**
con un volumen de **186** páginas
y una tirada de **4.000** ejemplares.

Madrid, de **27** de **D.I.C.** de 19
El Jefe del Registro,

[Handwritten signature]

ANTECEDENTES: **No**

[Handwritten signature]

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don **51**
Madrid, de **27** de **D.I.C.** 1969 de 19
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485 1 - 10850

Figure A1.1.2 Cover Page of Censor's Report for *Matadero 5*. The work is assigned to censor no. 51 for evaluation on December 27, 1969.

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? No Páginas
¿A la moral? No Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? No Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? No Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? No Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones: Se trata de una obra de un gran valor literario cuya tesis fundamental es la caducidad de la existencia humana, contemplada a la luz de un relato de la segunda guerra mundial y del delirio esquizofrénico del protagonista que ~~elude~~ de esa manera la realidad.

Se utiliza la técnica del "play back" con lo que se dan saltos en los recuerdos del protagonista, aunque él lo achaca a que posee una "máquina del tiempo".

Hay que tener cuidado en la traducción de ciertas expresiones que hemos señalado con tinta roja y que pecan de cierta rudeza e, incluso, falta de respeto. Pero por lo demás es una obra plenamente aceptable bajo todos los conceptos.

En conclusión: Autorizado, aunque conviene que se vea la traducción al español.

T. cal. br. ed.

Firmado: Alfonso Alvarez Villar

Madrid, de El lector, de 19

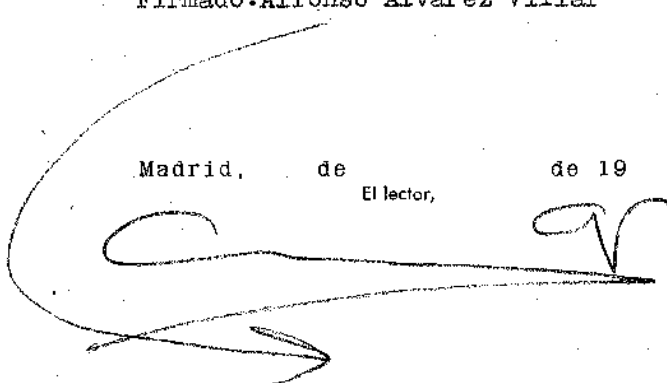
A large, stylized handwritten signature or scribble that spans across the signature line and extends upwards and to the left, partially overlapping the text 'Firmado: Alfonso Alvarez Villar'.

Figure A1.1.3 Undated Censor's Report [December 27, 1969-January 3, 1970] on *Matadero 5* recommending 'care' in the translation of certain expressions and proposing authorization of the work pending inspection of the translated text.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

MC

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

Núm. 12964-69

Sin ejemplar

En relación con su escrito de 26 de diciembre
de 1969, consultando acerca de la edición de la obra
titulada MATADERO 5,
de Kurt Jr. Vonnegut,
se aconseja la presentación del texto de traducción sobre el
que se harían, si fueren necesarias, las indicaciones oportunas.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 3 de enero de 1970.

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS,

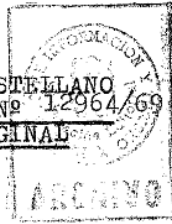
Sr. D. GRIJALBO.- Madrid.

Mod. 259 - 7389

(3)

Figure A1.1.4. Censorship Notice to Grijalbo dated January 3, 1970 requesting the submission of the translated text of *Matadero 5*.

TEXTO EN CASTELLANO
EXPEDIENTE Nº 12964/69
UN SOLO ORIGINAL



L. 26

(5)

Tachados por
20-23-31 61-66-
67-69-74-75-77-
78-82-86-101-
111-117-113-
5-7-70

EDICIONES GRIJALBO S.A., con domicilio en Barcelona,

calle Aragón, nº 386, a V.I. con el debido respeto

EXPONE: Que siendo editor de la obra titulada
"MATADERO- 5" expediente nº 12964/69

que por Oficio de fecha 3 de Enero de 1.970 solicita-
ron se presentara el texto de la misma traducido al cas-
tellano acompañe un original en castellano y

S U P L I C A a V.I. se sirva dar las ordenes oportunas a fin de que
si procede le sea autorizada la publicación de la obra
titulada "MATADERO- 5" expediente nº 12964/69
para lo cual acompaña un original del texto en castellano.

Es gracia que espera alcanzar de V.I.
cuya vida Dios guarde.

Madrid, 21 de Enero de 1.970

EDICIONES GRIJALBO, S.A.

Mej

GALERADA
N.º 63 EXP. 12964/69

Figure A1.1.5. Letter from Ediciones Grijalbo accompanying the submission of the translated text of *Matadero-5*, dated January 21, 1970.

6

" MATADERO 5". por VONNEGUT, KURT, Jr.

Gal. 63, exp. 1296/69.

Por medio de evocaciones retrospectivas, un joven óptico, apocado y envuelto en una triste existencia y a través de "una máquina del tiempo", va recordando su participación en la II Guerra Mundial, su existencia familiar y las relaciones que cree mantener con seres de otros planetas.

Efectivamente, existen algunos párrafos irreverentes que se han señalado. Acotaciones que corresponden a las efectuadas en rojo, en el original en inglés.

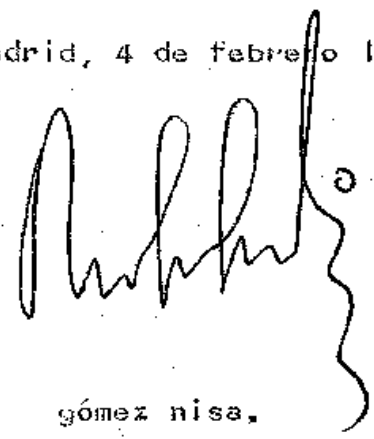
Págs de la traducción: 20, 22, 23, 61, 62, 66, 67, 69, 74, 77, 78, 82, 86, 101, 111, 112 y 113.

Salvo lo señalado puede AUTORIZARSE su publicación.

75-
31-

Madrid, 4 de febrero 1.970

Refine sig. es
Q



Gómez Nisa.

Figure A1.1.6. Censor's report on *Matadero 5*, signed by Gómez Nisa and dated February 4, 1970. The report recommends authorization of the work pending suppressions on seventeen pages. In a hand-written note, a superior indicates two other pages for additional cuts.

RICARDO MARISCAL SOLER

GESTOR ADMINISTRATIVO COLEGIADO

JUAN DE MENA, 14
TELEFONO 222 38 29

MADRID-14 31 de Marzo de 1.970

8

Sr.D. Faustino G.Sanchez Marín
Jefe de Ordenación Editorial
MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION
=====

Mi distinguido amigo:

"MATADERO CINCO"- Esta obra, de la cual es editor Grijalbo, fué presentada bajo expediente nº 12.964/69, en su idioma original, ordenando la presentación de texto en castellano, por lo cual se presentaron galeradas.

Posteriormente, examinadas estas galeradas, se aconsejó la supresión de varias líneas, y aquí viene el problema: El autor no acepta estas supresiones y Grijalbo ha adquirido los derechos para hacer la tirada en España. Súplica:

Autorizar toda la impresión para su venta en el extranjero de toda la edición.

Sr. Sánchez Marín: ¿Sería posible a usted autorizar esta edición para su venta en el extranjero?

Me indica el Sr. Grijalbo le transmita esta súplica, ya que de no acceder a ella, se le causa un gran trastorno económico, pues pierde todo.

Le ruego me indique, si le parece oportuno, a través de la Srta. Mari Luz, la solución.

Muy Agradecido, reciba un saludo afectuoso de su buen amigo

Si
CSB
16-4-70

Figure A1.1.7 Letter from Ricardo Mariscal Soler to Faustino G. Sanchez Marín, Jefe de Ordenación Editorial, requesting, on behalf of Grijalbo, authorization to export the work *Matadero cinco* without the previously recommended suppressions.



MINISTERIO
DE
EDUCACION Y TURISMO

Subsecretaría : ASESORIA RELIGIOSA
Dirección General:
Servicio :
División :
Sección :

Madrid, a 15 de abril de 1970/

(9)

El "Matadero Cinco" contiene,
frases de mal gusto,
expresiones obscenas,
algunas auténticas blasfemias;

pero anda por el mundo -desgraciadamente-
tal broza de literatura semejante, que no
creo que escandalice demasiado una edición
para otros países más laxos...

Mi juicio, pues, es desfavorable
al libro íntegro;

y no ve, por otra parte, que se
pueda rechazar en redondo la petición del
editor.

El artículo sobre "La libertad re-
ligiosa en España" está encargado al P. Ra-
fael García Ruiz, secretario de la Asesoría
Religiosa.

Afmo.

Santos Beguiristain

Ilmo. Sr. D. Alejandro Muñoz Alonso

Figure A1.1.8 Report from Ecclesiastical Censor Santos Beguiristain, dated April 15, 1970, which finds no reason to deny Grijalbo's request to Export *Matadero cinco*.

RESULTADO

Se propone la

~~AUTORIZACION~~ *exportación*

Madrid, *17* de *abril* de 19*70*
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

RESOLUCION

VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser

Madrid, de de 19
El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 19
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

Figure A1.1.9 Censorship Resolution dated April 17, 1970 authorizing the Export of *Matadero cinco*.


**MINISTERIO
 DE
 INFORMACION Y TURISMO**
 ah/fm.

COPIA
 DE RESPUESTA
 O TRAMITE (1)

De:

Fecha
 y
 ref.º

Subsecretaría	:	1	_____
Dirección General:	:	2	_____
	:	3	CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS
	:	4	_____
	:	5	_____
Servicio	:	6	_____
División	:	7	_____
Sección	:	8	Ordenación Editorial

Madrid, a 17 de abril de 1970 Exp.12.964-69

10

En contestación a su escrito de fecha 31 de marzo del año en curso, en relación con su petición de autorización para la venta en el extranjero de la edición correspondiente a la obra "MATADERO CINCO", de Kurt Vonnegut, expediente de referencia, pongo en su conocimiento que examinada dicha petición, queda autorizada la exportación íntegra de la edición del citado título.

Lo que le comunico para su conocimiento y efectos procedentes.

Dios guarde a V. muchos años.

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS,



A: EDICIONES GRIJALBO.-- B A R C E L O N A.--


(1) Válida para respuestas generales de «contestado», «toma de razón», «acuse de recibo» o similares.

(Véase dorso.)

Mod. 704

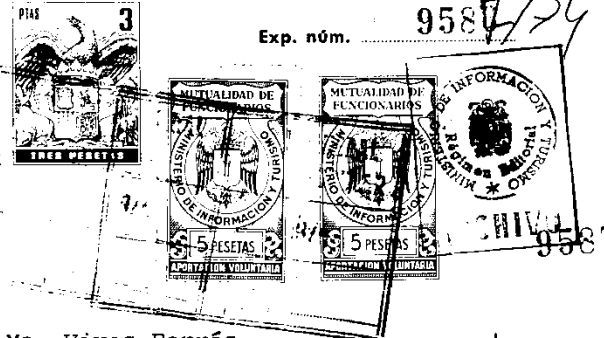
Figure A1.1.10 Notice to Grijalbo dated April 17, 1970, granting authorization to Export *Matadero cinco*.

A1.2 Documents from Censorship File no. 9587-74 for *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes*



Ordenación Editorial

Exp. núm. 9587/74



Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, José Ma. Vives Farrés, con domicilio en Barcelona, calle Deu y Mata, número 98, en representación de la Editorial Ediciones Grijalbo S.A., solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19), para la obra:


TITULO: BUENOS MISILES, BUENOS MODALES, BUENAS NOCHES
Wampeteros, fomas, granfalunes

Nombre Kurt J. V., pseudónimo

AUTOR:
 Apellidos Vannegut A.

EDITOR: Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. inscrito con el número 700 en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 250 aprox.
 Formato 15 x 20
 Tirada proyectada 7.000 aprox.
 Precio de venta 300 ptas. aprox.
 Colección en que se incluye Best Sellers
 Madrid. Hora _____ Fecha 17 de 9 de 1974

EL SOLICITANTE,

 José Ma. Vives Farrés

9

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Mod. 712

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular

Figure A1.2.1 Application for Voluntary Consultation regarding *Buenos misiles, buenos modales, buenas noches* [Later: *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes*] filed by José Ma Vives Farrés on behalf of Ediciones Grijalbo, dated September 17, 1974. The indicated length is 250 pages, and the price 300 pesetas. The projected print run is 7,000 copies.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 Dirección General de Cultura Popular
 SECCION DE REGIMEN EDITORIAL

db

EXPEDIENTE N.º 9587-74

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA



Presentada con fecha
 instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
 acerca de la obra **BUENOS MISILES, BUENOS MODALES, BUENAS NOCHES**
 de la que es autor **VONNEGUT, Kurt Jr.**

editada por **Ediciones Grijalbo**
 con un volumen de **250** páginas
 y una tirada de **7.000** ejemplares.
 Madrid, de de 197
 El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES: *NO*

[Handwritten signature]
 El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don *24*
 Madrid, de **18 SEP. 1974** de 197
 El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-1

Figure A1.2.2 Cover Page of Censor's Report on *Buenos misiles, buenos modales, buenas noches*. The work is assigned to censor no. 24 for evaluation on September 18, 1974.

I N F O R M E

L. G

- ¿Ataca al Dogma? páginas
¿A la moral? páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

C.-

Recoge esta obra una serie de trabajos, escritos, conferencias y artículos del autor en los que de una forma desenfadada y humorística realiza una crítica, en ocasiones despiadada, de diversos problemas de nuestro tiempo centrados especialmente en la actualidad norteamericana. Desde la política nacional e internacional de aquel país, hasta la ciencia ficción van desfilando vistos desde muy distintos ángulos, pero siempre buscado el aspecto negativo.

Se han señalado en las págs. con el ángulo superior doblado, los repaos observados, unos por tendenciosos, ~~xxx~~ otros por alusiones incóvenientes a nuestro país o por ofensivos para el ex-Presidente Nixon, por antimilitaristas o irreverentes. Se estima que deben suprimirse los citados pasajes sobre la traducción al castellano que convendría conocer previamente. El resto ES AUTORIZABLE a mi juicio.

Ninguno de los pasajes señalados es demasiado grave. Se estima debe pedirse la traducción para hacer sobre ella alguna ligera corrección.

Madrid, 23 de septiembre de 1974

El Lector,

27-9-74

El jefe de grupo

Munoz

6

Figure A1.2.3 Censor's Report on *Buenos misiles, buenos modales, buenas noches* suggesting that the work might be published with corrections to the translated text, dated September 23, 1974. A hand-written note from the superiors confirms the need to carry out "light" corrections in the translated text, dated September 27, 1974.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

em.

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

Núm. 9587-74



En relación con su escrito de 17-9-74
....., consultando acerca de la edición de la obra
titulada **BUENOS MISILES, BUENOS MODALES, BUENAS
NOCHES.** de **Kurt Jr. Vonnegut**
se aconseja la presentación del texto de traducción sobre el
que se harían, si fueren necesarias, las indicaciones oportunas.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 22 de Octubre de 1974

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

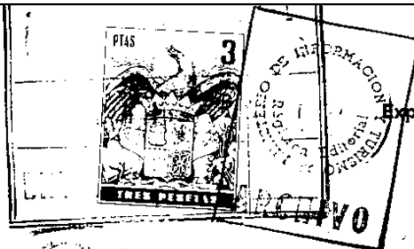
Mod. 239

Sr. D. GRIJALBO.-

Figure A1.2.4 Censorship Notice to Grijalbo requesting submission of the translated text of *Buenos misiles, buenos modales, buenas noches*, dated October 22, 1974.

EJEMPLAR EN BIBLIOTECA GENERAL
MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

Régimen Editorial



Exp. núm. 9587-74.....

9587/74

N 86

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, José Ma. Vives Farrés, con domicilio en Barcelona, calle Deu y Mata, número 98, en representación de la Editorial Ediciones Grijalbo S.A., solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» d.º 19), para la obra:

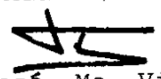
TITULO: BUENOS MISILES, BUENOS MODALES, BUENAS NOCHES

Nombre Kurt, seudónimo

AUTÓR:
 Apellidos: Vonnegut Jr.

EDITOR: Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. inscrito con el número 700 en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 300 aprox.
 Formato 12,5 x 20cm. aprox.
 Tirada proyectada 6.000 ej. aprox.
 Precio de venta 300 ptas. aprox.
 Colección en que se incluye Best Sellers
 Madrid. Hora Fecha 24 de Marzo de 1975

EL SOLICITANTE,

 José Ma. Vives Farrés

Mod. 712

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

José Ma. Vives Farrés

10-3-75

Q

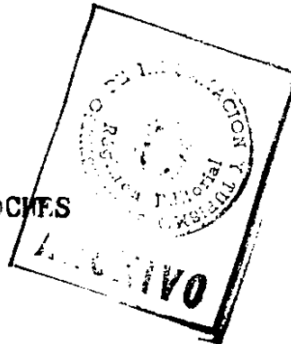
Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular.

Figure A1.2.5. Application for Voluntary Consultation regarding the galley proofs of the translated text, under the title *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes*, filed by Ediciones Grijalbo and dated March 24, 1975.

Expte 9587-74

BUENOS MISILES BUENOS MODALES BUENAS NOCHES

VONNEGUT, Kurt Jr.



La traducción ahora presentada, está tan mal hecha que casi todos los párrafos señalados en el original, que ya tenían poco de grave, han perdido hasta ese poco en la traducción. Es decir que la traducción presentada nos parece AUTORIZABLE

Madrid 26 Marzo 1975

el lector

Martos nº 6

Figure A1.2.6 Censor's Report on *Buenos misiles, buenos modales, buenas noches* suggesting that the work is authorizable, signed by censor no. 6, Martos, and dated March 26, 1975.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

MP

REGIMEN EDITORIAL

N.º 2587-74



En contestación a su consulta de fecha 24-3-75

acerca de la obra
"BUENOS MISILES, BUENOS MODALES, BUENAS NO-
CHES", - Kurt Jr. Vonnegut.

se le comunica que no se encuentra inconveniente para su edición, de la que deberá, en su día, constituir el depósito previo exigido por la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, de 30-3-75 de 197

P. El Director General de
Cultura Popular,

Sr. D. GRIJALBO.-

Mod. 750 UNE A-3

Figure A1.2.7 Censorship Notice to Grijalbo indicating that *Buenos misiles, buenos modales, buenas noches* could be printed and submitted as a *Depósito*, dated March 30, 1975.

RESULTADO	AUTORIZACION	31 MAR. 1975
Se propone la		
Madrid, de de 197 El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,		
<u>RESOLUCION</u>		
VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser		
Madrid, de de 197 El Jefe de la Sección,		
CONFORME con la Sección.		
Madrid, de de 197 EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,		

Figure A1.2.8 Censorship Resolution authorizing *Buenos misiles, buenos modales, buenas noches* [Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes] on March 31, 1975.

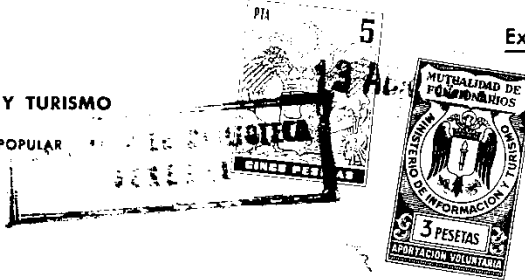


MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

REGIMEN EDITORIAL

Exp. núm. 9587-74



13. 4. 77
Al Rey

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe Francisco Alsinet Suriol....., con domicilio en Barcelona....., calle Deu y Mata....., núm. 98, teléfono 321.46.42 en representación de la Editorial Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. a efectos de su posible posterior difusión legal, de acuerdo con las previsiones de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta, de 18 de marzo de 1966 ("B. O. del Estado" del día 19), deposita seis ejemplares de la obra si / No presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria.

DEPOSITO

TITULO GUAMPETEROS, FOMAS & GRANFALUNES.....
sobre la que aporta los siguientes datos:
AUTOR: (Buenos noches, Buenos noches, Buenos noches) (falso autor)
Nombre Kurt....., seudónimo.....
Apellidos Vonnegut.....
EDITORIAL Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. inscrita con el número 700.....
en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales. 13 A
Volumen (páginas) 312.....
Formato 12 x 19,5 cm......
Tirada oficialmente declarada 2.000.....
Precio de venta 250 ptas......
Colección en que se incluye Edibolsillo.....

SOLICITA se tenga en cuenta dicho depósito al objeto de poder proceder a la difusión de la citada obra, de acuerdo con lo establecido en la normativa legal vigente.

Madrid. Hora 10⁰⁰ Fecha 13 de Abril, 1977 de 197.....

EL SOLICITANTE,


(Signature)
Francisco Alsinet Suriol

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular


Mod. 711

Figure A1.2.9 Application for *Depósito* filed by Francisco Alsinet Suriol on April 13, 1977 accompanying the submission of six printed copies of *Guampeteros, fomas y granfalunes*.

A1.3 Documents from Censorship File no. 1181-68 for *Forastero en tierra extraña*




MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DELEGACIÓN PROVINCIAL DE BARCELONA
ORIENTACIÓN BIBLIOGRÁFICA



Exp. núm. 1181/68

021450 FEB-68
REGISTRO GENERAL ENTRADA



8/521/68
Requis manifestación del E. de In. de curs. de dep. en efecto. El depósito es obligatorio.

Ilmo. Sr.:
El que suscribe, Fco Javier González Vilanova
micilio en Barcelona, calle Trav. de Sallt
número 127/8º, en representación de la Editorial EDICIONES GEMINIS SA,
deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de
18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19) de la obra ¹presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria.

TITULO FORASTERO EN TIERRA EXTRAÑA

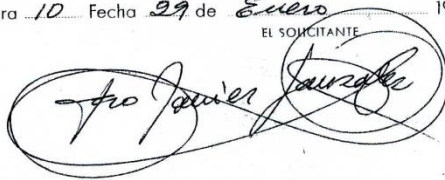
AUTOR: Nombre ROBERT A. pseudónimo
Apellidos F. HEINLEIN

EDITOR EDICIONES GEMINIS SA inscrito con el número 156664 en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 560 -
Formato 11'5 X 16'7
Tirada 3500
Precio venta 100 pts

Colección en que se incluye (1) GEMINIS DE CIENCIA FICCIÓN
Barcelona. Hora 10 Fecha 29 de Enero 1968
EL SOLICITANTE

DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION
-9 FEB. 1968
ENTRADA 97:



Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información.

(1) Si es obra infantil o juvenil, dígase expresamente.

Figure A1.3.1 Depósito Form filed by Javier González Vilanova on January 29, 1968 accompanying the submission of six printed copies of *Forastero en tierra extraña*. The indicated length is 560 pages and price 100 pesetas. The projected print run is 3500 copies.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Información

Servicio de Orientación Bibliográfica

DEPOSITO

D 13,30



EXPEDIENTE N.º 1181-68

9 FEB. 1968

Presentada con fecha instancia en solicitud de autorización para imprimir la obra FORASTERO EN TIERRA EXTRAÑA de la que es autor HEINLEIN, Robert A.

editada por Géminis

con un volumen de 560 páginas y una tirada de 3.500 ejemplares

Madrid, de 9 FEB 1968 de 196

El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

[Handwritten signature]

ANTECEDENTES.

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid, de de 196

El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

Mod. 485

Figure A1.3.2 Cover Page of Censor's Report on *Forastero en tierra extraña*, dated February 9, 1968. The censor is not indicated.

Exp. 1056: ROBERT A. HEINLIN: Forastero en tierra extraña.

Aunque esta novela ha ganado el "Premio Húgo" de ciencia-ficción, carece por completo de lo primero. La ficción es lo natural en cualquier novela, sin que aquí se observe nada notable en el particular.

El argumento es el siguiente: El hijo bastardo de dos astronautas terrícolas, que lo han concebido y dado a luz en Marte, se cría en ese planeta hasta que, a los 25 años de edad, vuelve a la tierra con otra expedición. Sus padres han muerto hace tiempo, y la criatura, de origen humano como se ve, es educada según las normas marcianas, que no se describen. Este es el "forastero en tierra extraña". Llegado a la Tierra es ocultado y vigilado por el Gobierno Mundial, ya que se le supone heredero y dueño o poco menos del planeta Marte. Tal riqueza obliga a cuidar de él. Pero, el marciano -se llama Mike- poco a poco se va adaptando a esta Tierra y, ayudado por un periodista y un abogado famoso, huye del encierro y se aloja en casa de este último. Allí comienza su verdadero aprendizaje de nuestras costumbres y nuestra cultura, difíciles de asimilar para una mentalidad totalmente ajena y extraña. Mike está dotado de facultados extraordinarios: puede descubrir en aire a personas y objetos, se adentra en las mentes humanas a medida que "absorbe" sus cualidades. (Absorber es uno de los muchos términos de sentido oscuro y aun equívoco usados por el autor). Una ceremonia consistente en beber juntos un vaso de agua convierte a los bebedores en su "hermano de agua" para siempre. Su cerebro es capaz de asimilar bibliotecas enteras a medida que aprende el inglés.

Llegado al fin de su aprendizaje, Mike decide obrar por su cuenta. Funda una especie de iglesia, basada en una comunidad feliz mediante la fornicación a mansalva e indiscriminada. El amor a la humanidad pasa a ser un amor libre en el que maridos, novios, amantes, etc., comparten sus amores con los demás, sin celos ni odios... Toda esta segunda mitad del libro está plagada de conversaciones sobre temas religiosos, planteados y desarrollados de manera inaceptable para nuestro concepto. Todo parece un zaherir continuamente las ideas religiosas, el sentido de la moralidad cristiana, la ética social, etc. Se llega incluso a la blasfemia horrenda ("... que Dios sea en verdad la clase de paranoide...", p. 332), y aunque en ocasiones se invocan pasajes bíblicos o evangélicos, por lo general es para desvirtuar su alcance e intención. Mike muere a manos de la multitud, martirizado y quemado vivo, pero sin soltar una queja y amando a sus asesinos, a los que considera, como a todos los seres humanos o no, Dios. Hay, pues, un panteísmo exagerado. Hasta el saludo se convierte en un "Tu eres Dios"...

Se señalan páginas en que se pueden observar los defectos antedichos: 332, 341, 369-70, 375, 376, 391, 392, 393, 394, 436, 437-448, 465-67, 468, 469, 471, 511-512, 513, 516, 519, 528 (aludiendo a los católicos), 533-34, 535, 536, 544-47 (la muerte y martirio de Mike con reminiscencias cristianas).

Desde luego, privar a la novela de todos estos pasajes es desvirtuarla casi por completo. No se trata solamente del vocabulario eufemístico ("acercamiento" por fornicación, etc.), que podría salvarse, ~~sino~~ ni por descripciones eróticas (no cae en la vulgaridad

Figure A1.3.3 Censor's Report on *Forastero en tierra extraña* recommending that circulation be impeded, dated February 16, 1968. [Page 1]

de la pornografía, aunque los hechos no dejan lugar a dudas, sino porque todo el fondo de esta parte de la novela se basa en un nuevo concepto moral (?) que se quiere introducir en la Tierra en una parodia religiosa que puede recordar la venida de Jesucristo para salvar al género humano. Este es, por lo menos, el propósito de Mike, salvarnos a su manera, mediante la libre fornicación ^{y el desnudismo} con finalidad de felicidad suprema. El género humano le responde como ya lo hizo con Jesucristo: asesinándolo.

El resto de la trama, resumido brevemente, es la ruptura de un amor entre el periodista citado y su novia, que se hace amante de Mike junto con otras muchas; el establecimiento de una primera "iglesia" de creyentes en ese amor y, finalmente, la sutil sugerencia de que, destruida aquélla, los creyentes van a actuar como los discípulos de Cristo: irán por el mundo a fundar nuevos centros de amor...

Creo, por tanto, que es novela recusable en su totalidad y que debe impedirse su circulación, preferiblemente de acuerdo con los Editores, que quizá han pecado de ingenuidad o de buena fe en este caso. Es bien cierto que si el traductor hubiera querido evitar tanto pasaje inaceptable, lo habría conseguido en buena parte. No obstante, la Superioridad decidirá.

Madrid, 16 de febrero de 1968.

Figure A1.3.3 Censor's Report on *Forastero en tierra extraña* recommending that circulation be impeded, dated February 16, 1968. [Page 2]



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DELEGACIÓN PROVINCIAL DE BARCELONA

Sección:

N.º

DE: INSPECTOR JOSE ESTIAN JODAR

A: DELEGADO ADJUNTO DE INFORMACION

ASUNTO: Destrucción ejemplares de la obra "Forastero en Tierra Extraña" de Ediciones Géminis.

Personado nuevamente el funcionario inspector que suscribe en los Talleres Industrias Gráficas Marpe, sitos en la calle Constitución nº 19, interior bloque 8 nº 49, donde se imprimió la obra "Forastero en Tierra Extraña" de Robert A. Heinlein, editada por Ediciones Géminis, se procedió en presencia del firmante a la destrucción mediante guillotina de QUINIENTOS TREINTA Y TRES (533) ejemplares de dicha obra que se encontraban depositados en los citados talleres gráficos.

Se advirtió al gerente de Ediciones Géminis, que pase aviso a la Delegación Provincial en cuanto tenga más ejemplares de la obra citada, para proceder a su destrucción.

Nuevamente se hace constar las máximas facilidades por parte de la gerencia para el mejor desempeño de la labor encomendada.

Barcelona 21 de Marzo de 1968.

EL INSPECTOR

Figure A1.3.4 Communication from Inspector José Estian Jodar regarding the destruction of 533 copies of *Forastero en tierra extraña*, dated March 21, 1968.

NOTA INFORMATIVA PARA EL ILMO. SR.
D. JOAQUIN BENITEZ LUMBRERAS, SUB-
DIRECTOR GENERAL DE INFORMACION, -

Como continuación a mi nota del pasado día 4 de marzo, te acompaño un segundo informe sobre la destrucción de 533 ejemplares más de la obra «FORASTERO EN TIERRA EXTRAÑA». Esto hace un total, hasta la fecha, de 889 ejemplares destruidos. De todas formas, seguiremos al tan to del asunto.

Barcelona, 22 de marzo de 1968

EL DELEGADO,

Manuel


11/21/68

1181-68

Figure A1.3.5 Note addressed to Joaquín Benítez Lumbreras, Subdirector General de Información, describing the destruction of a total of 889 copies of *Forastero en tierra extraña*, dated March 22, 1968.


A1.4 Documents from Censorship File no. 5061-68 for *Revuelta en el 2100*

5061



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION
ORIENTACION BIBLIOGRAFICA

Exp. núm.



Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, Ricardo Mariscal
 domicilio en Madrid, calle Juan de Mena
 número 14, en representación de la Editorial Ediciones Géminis S.A.
 solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de
 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19), para la obra:

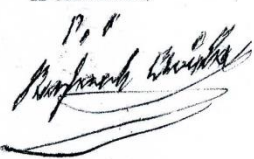
TITULO "REVUELTA EN EL 2.100"

AUTOR: Nombre Robert A. seudónimo
 Apellidos Heinlein

EDITOR Ediciones Géminis, S.A. inscrito con el número 156664
 el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 100 Páginas
 Formato 20 x 14
 Tirada 2.500 ejemplares
 Precio venta 100 Ptas.
 Colección en que se incluye (1)

Madrid, Hora Fecha 8 de Junio 1968.

EL SOLICITANTE,


Med. 712
 CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

ESTRELLA 71.º

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información.

(1) Si es obra infantil o infantil

Figure A1.4.1 Application for Voluntary Consultation regarding *Revuelta en el 2100* filed by Ricardo Mariscal on behalf of Ediciones Géminis on June 8, 1968. The indicated length is 100 pages and the price 100 pesetas. The projected print run is 2,500 copies.



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

EXPEDIENTE N.º 5061-68

Presentada con fecha **8 JUN. 1968**

instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra REVUELTA EN EL 2.100

de la que es autor HEINLEIN, Robert A.

editada por Geminis

con un volumen de 100 páginas
y una tirada de 2.500 ejemplares.

Madrid, de **8 JUN. 1968** de 196
El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES: *No B/L*

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don *7*

Madrid, de **10 JUN. 1968** de 196
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-1

Figure A1.4.2 Cover Page of Censor's Report on *Revuelta en el 2100*. The work is assigned to censor no. 7 on June 10, 1968.

I N F O R M E

N.º 21.

¿Ataca al Dógma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

C. -

Ciencia ficción

Complicada novela de ciencia-ficción en la que se relata la sublevación contra el poder constituido en los EEUU. en el año 2.100, con sus complicados mecanismos político-religiosos. Se añade un relato breve, también de ficción, sobre la acción de unos astronautas en una estación espacial.

Se aconseja la supresión de los pasajes señalados en las páginas 79 y 97;

PUBLICABLE.

Madrid, 14 de junio de 1968

El lector,

Figure A1.4.3 Censor's Report on *Revuelta en el 2100* indicating that the work might be published with suppressions, dated June 14, 1968.



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

EXPEDIENTE N.º 5061-68

Presentada con fecha **8 de junio de 1.968**
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra

REVUELTA EN EL 2.100

de la que es autor

HEINEIN, Robert A.

editada por **Geminis**

con un volumen de **100** páginas

y una tirada de **2.500** ejemplares.

Madrid, **8** de **junio** de 1968

El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don **21**

Madrid, **17** de **junio** de 1968

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-1

Figure A1.4.4 Cover Page of Censor's Report on *Revuelta en el 2100*. The work is assigned to censor no. 21 on June 17, 1968.

I N F O R M E

N. 2. 20

- ¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
- ¿A la moral? Páginas
- ¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
- ¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
- ¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
- Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?
- Informe y otras observaciones: (C)

Novela. De los Estados Unidos se llegó a apoderar el Profeta Encarnado, quien instauró una dictadura teocrática, la de la Nueva Jerusalén. Un secta rival, valiéndose de discontenidos con el Profeta Encarnado, intentan derribarlo. Con la revolución consiguieron debilitar a la Nueva Jerusalén, creando otros dos estados: El Estado Libre y la Nueva América, los tres dictatoriales. Suprimida la Nueva Jerusalén, el Estado Libre y la Nueva América firmaron un pacto, retrasando a Estados Unidos al Siglo de la Ignorancia.

La obra no ofrece nada que censurar, pero posee la característica de que su verdadero sentido sólo percibe una vez que la lectura esté ya muy avanzada. Hasta la mitad aproximadamente produce la impresión de que el autor intenta criticar a la Iglesia o a un Estado asociado con ella. Este hecho hace también pensar más de una vez en el actual Régimen español, aunque avanzando en la lectura se descubre que en realidad no hay tal intención.

Por la primera de las razones, convendría sustituir los términos de Iglesia por el de asociación, logia o secta siempre que aperece (págs. 37, 64, 67, 76, 85, 148 (dos) y 163); así como los de sacerdote, obispo, misiones y parroquia (págs. 460, 79, 80, 95, 98, 132 y 152) por otros de menos sabor católico. Las frases señaladas en las págs. 79 y 137 convendría también suprimirlas o suavizarlas.

Con estas advertencias, PUEDE AUTORIZARSE.

Madrid, 21 de junio de 1968

El lector,


Pedro Borges

Figure A1.4.5 Censor's Report on *Revuelta en el 2100* indicating that the work might be authorized with suppressions, signed by Pedro Borges and dated June 21, 1968.



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

EXPEDIENTE N.º 5061-68

Presentada con fecha 8 de junio de 1.968
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra REVUELTA EN EL 2.100

de la que es autor HEINLEIN, Robert A.

editada por Geminis

con un volumen de 100 páginas

y una tirada de 2.500 ejemplares.

Madrid, 8 de junio de 1968
El Jefe del Registro,

Mod. 485-1

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 20

Madrid, 1 de julio de 1968
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Figure A1.4.6 Cover Page of Censor's Report on *Revuelta en el 2100*. The work is assigned to censor no. 20 on July 1, 1968.

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?
Informe y otras observaciones:

C.

Se trata de una novela de ciencia-ficción y de religión-ficción. Por lo que se refiere a religión-ficción, da la impresión de que toda religión es una ficción y un engaño: El Profeta-Encarnado, que tiene todo un harem de vírgenes que entran por turno; se alude no mismo a Cristo que a Salomón que a otro cualquiera. Contra el Profeta-Encarnado lucha una especie de Masonería con el fin de acabar con toda religión, aunque esta Masonería viene a ser otro engaño. La finalidad de la "Revuelta del año 2.100" parece ser la de llegar a una libertad absoluta sin engaños religiosos ni tabús y con toda la perfección técnica de la ciencia. - Mi opinión es que

NO PUEDE PUBLICARSE

*Examinada la nueva versión de la obra,
no hay inconveniente alguno para que
se pueda publicar*

3 - X - 68



Madrid, 2 de VII de 1968
El lector,

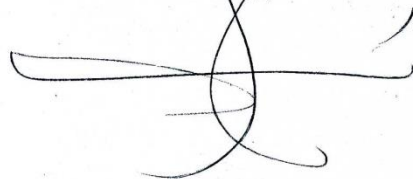


Figure A1.4.7 Censor's Report on *Revuelta en el 2100* indicating that the work is not publishable dated July 2, 1968. A hand-written note from October 3, 1968 indicates that a new revision of the work is publishable.

RESULTADO

Se propone la

Denegación
DENEGADO

Madrid, **3 JUL. 1968** de 196
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

R E S O L U C I O N

VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser

Madrid, de de 196
3 JUL. 1968 El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 196
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

Figure A1.4.8 Censorship Resolution denying authorization of *Revuelta en el 2100* dated July 3, 1968.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

MC

ORDENACION EDITORIAL

Núm. 5061-68

En contestación a su consulta de fecha
8 de junio de 1.968.. se le comunica que
no es aconsejable la edición de la obra titulada
REVUELTA EN EL 2.100.- Robert A.
Heinlein.-

Mod. 751

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 3 de julio de 1968

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL
DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS,

Sr. D. G E M I N I S.- Madrid

Figure A1.4.9 Censorship Notice to Ediciones Géminis informing the publisher that *Revuelta en el 2100* is not advisable, dated July 3, 1968.

Nueva lectura
Expte. nº 5.061/68



L. 31

Nueva lectura
ady 2 ej/s

8/2791/68

Ante
30.9.68



EDICIONES GEMINIS, S.A., con domicilio en Barcelona, calle de Nuestra Señora del Coll, nº 113-115, a V.I. con el debido respeto EXPONE:
QUE es editora de la obra titulada "REVUELTA EN EL 2.100" Expte. nº 5.061/68, de la cual, por oficio de esa Sección de Ordenación Editorial de fecha 3 de Julio del año en curso, se aconsejó que no debía publicarse.

Una vez estudiada nuevamente esta obra, por la que suscribe, ha introducido en ella una serie de cambios en muchos términos, hasta tal extremo que, de una obra de carácter de ficción-religiosa, ha pasado a ser una simple obra de carácter ficción-aventura política.

Con el fin de dar una mayor fuerza a lo que se indica en este escrito, acompaña a la nueva versión de la misma, por duplicado, una relación de cambios y rectificaciones efectuadas con el fin de que pueda facilitar al lector, una mejor comprensión de toda la variación que ha sufrido.

Por todo lo anteriormente indicado,

S U P L I C A a V.I. se sirva aceptar la nueva versión de la obra titulada "REVUELTA EN EL 2.100", con vistas a una nueva lectura de la misma.

Es gracia que espera merecer de V.I.

Madrid, 19 de Setiembre de 1.968

EDICIONES GEMINIS, S.A.

Figure A1.4.10 Letter from Ediciones Géminis requesting a new reading of *Revolta en el 2100* following a series of changes carried out by the editors, dated September 19, 1968.

JM



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

REVISION

EXPEDIENTE N.º 5061-68



Presentada con fecha 19 de Septiembre de 1968
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra **REVUELTA EN EL 2.100**
de la que es autor **Robert A. Heinlein**

editada por **Géminis**

con un volumen de **100** páginas
y una tirada de **2.500** ejemplares.

Madrid, 19 de Septiembre de 1968
El Jefe del Registro,

Mod. 485-1

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don **31**

Madrid, 20 de Septiembre de 1968
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,



Figure A1.4.11 Cover Page of Censor's Report on revised text of *Revuelta en el 2100*. The work is assigned to censor no. 31 on September 20, 1968.

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Ortuzar
Acob
14.10.68

Informe y otras observaciones:

Esta novela de ciencia ficción, plantea el tema ^{de} una imaginaria subversión contra la Tiranía reinante, en un futuro muy lejano (en el año 2.100). ~~Qué~~ ^{de} clase de tiranía se describe? El lenguaje es sumamente enigmático, y el lector no llega a comprender si se trata del Estado o de la Iglesia o de un compuesto de ambos, algo así como una teocracia despótica e inhumana.

Por el mismo tono enigmático de la obra, entiendo que ésta es absolutamente inofensiva. Según la terminología de la redacción anterior, la crítica iba dirigida contra la Iglesia, o, al menos, daba esa impresión. Pero, en la nueva redacción, la terminología ha cambiado fundamentalmente. Algunas veces subsisten nombres de sabor eclesiástico, por ejemplo, en la pp. 104 y 121, pero son suficientes para que pueda interpretarse como una crítica a la Iglesia.

Las escenas de amor son siempre delicadas y discretas, por ejemplo p. 159-160.

La obra me parece absolutamente inofensiva.

AUTORIZABLE

El cuento final, que se mantiene en la nueva redacción, es totalmente autorizable

La nueva redacción dada por el editor, Madrid, 28 de Septiembre de 1968, aun sigue modificar el original en ciertos detalles

Madrid, 28 de Septiembre de 1968
El lector,
M. G. G. G.

Figure A1.4.12 Censor's Report on revised text of *Revuelta en el 2100* indicating that the work is authorizable, dated September 28, 1968.

RESULTADO

Se propone la

AUTORIZACION

Madrid, **4 OCT. 1968** de 196
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito previo
a la difusión, estado por el artículo 12 de
la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.

Madrid, **21 DIC. 1968** 196

RESOLUCION

VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las dis-
posiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por
la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra
a que se refiere este expediente puede ser

AUTORIZADA

Madrid, **4 OCT. 1968** de 196
El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 196
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

Figure A1.4.13 Censorship Resolution granting authorization for *Revuelta en el 2100* on October 4, 1968. Authorization of *Depósito* dated December 21, 1968.

JM



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

ORDENACION EDITORIAL

Núm.5061-68

En contestación a su consulta de fecha19 de
Septiembre de 1968..... acerca de la obra
REVUELTA EN EL 2.000.- Robert A.
Heinlein.....
se le comunica que no se encuentra inconveniente para
su edición, de la que deberá, en su día, constituir el de-
pósito previo exigido por la vigente Ley de Prensa e Im-
prenta.

Mod. 750

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, ...4 de ...Octubre.... de 196...8

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL
DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS,

Sr. D.GEMINIS.- Barcelona.....

Figure A1.4.14 Censorship Notice to Géminis indicating that *Revuelta en el 2100* could be printed and submitted as a *Depósito*, dated October 4, 1968.

Exp. núm. 5061/68

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS
Ordenación editorial

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, Ricardo Mariscal, con domicilio en Madrid, calle Juan de Mesa, número 14, en representación de la Editorial Quince S.A., deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del día 19) de la obra si presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria.

TITULO: “Revuelta en el 2100”

AUTOR: Nombre Robert seudónimo

Apellidos A. Heineken

EDITOR: Ediciones Quince S.A. inscrito con el número en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 256

Formato 12 X 18

Tirada 2.500 ejemplares

Precio de venta 25.- Ptas

Colección en que se incluye (1) Ciencia Ficción

Madrid. Hora 11:15 Fecha 20 de Diciembre de 1968

EL SOLICITANTE,
[Signature]

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.

(1) Si es obra infantil o juvenil, dígame expresamente.

Mod. 711 - 7955

DEPOSITO

Exp. núm. 5061/68

3 Ptas


5 Ptas

5 Ptas

ENTRADA


Figure A1.4.15 Application for *Depósito* filed by Ricardo Mariscal on December 20, 1968 accompanying the submission of six printed copies of *Revuelta en el 2100*.

A1.5 Documents from Censorship File no. 3247-69 for *Los ejércitos de la noche*



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION
 ORIENTACION BIBLIOGRAFICA

Exp. núm. **3247**



Ilmo. Sr.:

UN SOLO EJEMPLAR El que suscribe, Ricardo Mariscal, con domicilio en Madrid, calle Juan de Mena, número 14, en representación de la Editorial Grijalbo S.A., solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19), para la obra:

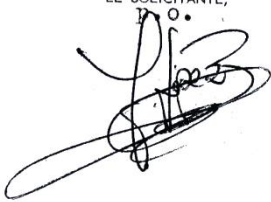
TITULO "EL EJERCITO DE LA NOCHE"


AUTOR: Nombre Norman seudónimo
 Apellidos Mailer

EDITOR Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. inscrito con el número en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 288
 Formato 15 x 22
 Tirada 3.000 ejes.
 Precio venta 200'- pts.
 Colección en que se incluye (1)

Madrid. Hora Fecha 7 de Marzo 1969.

EL SOLICITANTE,


Tests traducción
 5.5.69


CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Mod. 712

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información.

(1) Si es obra infantil o juvenil, dígase expresamente.

A1.5.1. Application for Voluntary Consultation regarding *El ejército de la noche* [Later: *Los ejércitos de la noche*], filed by Ricardo Mariscal on behalf of Ediciones Grijalbo on March 7, 1969. The indicated length is 288 pages, and the price 200 pesetas. The projected print run is 3,000 copies.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos
 Sección de Ordenación Editorial

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Cumplidas las requisitos del Depósito previsto en el artículo 12 de la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.

Madrid, 28 OCT. 1969

196

EXPEDIENTE N.º 3247-69

Presentada con fecha

7 MAR. 1969

instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria acerca de la obra EJERCITO DE LA NOCHE, EI

de la que es autor MAILER, Norman

editada por Grigálbo

con un volumen de 288 páginas
 y una tirada de 3.000 ejemplares

Madrid, de de 196

El Jefe del Registro

7 MAR. 1969

ANTECEDENTES *lv*

Atala

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros.

PASE AL LECTOR don *24*

Madrid,

10 MAR. 1969

de 196

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado.

Mod. 485-1

A1.5.2 Cover Page of Censor's Report on *El ejército de la noche*. The work is assigned to censor no. 24 for evaluation on March 10, 1969.

I N F O R M E

N.L. 19
✓

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

REPORTAJE .- C

El autor narra sus propias vicisitudes durante los cuatro días del mes de octubre de 1967 en que tuvieron lugar las manifestaciones de protesta contra la guerra de Vietnam, en Washington, que culminaron con una marcha hacia el Pentágono y fracasado intento de asalto al mismo.

Si bien el libro no defiende la ideología comunista, en el aspecto político se muestra claro partidario de un ala izquierda bastante avanzada. El principal defecto de la obra es su decidido antimilitarismo, cargando sobre los militares toda la culpa de la guerra del Vietnam, presentandola como poco menos que un entretenimiento para ellos y una justificación para su razon de existir. Lo señalado en las pgs. 56, 85, 87, 186, 259, 263, 273 y 276 es un ejemplo de los graves reparos de la obra.

Por las razones expuestas estimamos que NO ES AUTORIZABLE y que, en caso contrario, sería conveniente conocer la traducción.

Madrid, 9 de abril de 1969

El lector,

A1.5.3 Censor's Report on *El ejército de la noche* suggesting that the work is not authorizable, dated April 9, 1969.



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

U. G. Grijalbo

EXPEDIENTE N.º 3247-69

Presentada con fecha 7 de marzo de 1.969
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra **EJERCITO DE LA NOCHE, EL**

de la que es autor **MAILER. Norman**

editada por **Grijalbo**

con un volumen de páginas
y una tirada de ejemplares

Madrid, de de 196

El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don **19**

Madrid, **10** de **Abril** de 196 **9**

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

A1.5.4 Cover Page of a Censor's Report on *El ejército de la noche*. The work is assigned to censor no. 19 for evaluation on April 10, 1969.

Argentinis INFORME *Mh-L*

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
 ¿A la moral? Páginas
 ¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
 ¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
 ¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
 Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

(C)

POLITICO-DESCRIPTIVO.- El autor es un cristiano pacifista y uno de los líderes de la manifestación ante el Pentágono que describe en el libro. Tuvo por objeto la campaña pro-retirada del Vietnam, en contra de Johnson. Aparte de expresiones groseras y la defensa de su uso, el libro tiene los graves inconvenientes de condenar sistemáticamente a al Pentágono como un monstruo y representante del militarismo y propugnar la desobediencia civil. En circunstancias condena al soldado profesional. Considero por ~~tádo~~ esto que

NO PUEDE AUTORIZARSE

COMPROBADAS Y CONFORME
LAS TACHADURAS
 27 DE *Petuh* DE 1969
 EL JEFE DE LA SECCION DE
 LECTORADO

Madrid, 6 de mayo de 1969

El lector,
Amorós Albarrán

A1.5.5 Censor's Report on *El ejército de la noche* suggesting that the work is not authorizable, dated May 6, 1969.

3247-69

MAILET, Norman

El ejercito de la noche

Grijalvo

Historia y proceso de una manifestacion. Se cuenta con gran lujo y lentitud de detalles el proyecto y realizacion de una manifiestacion que pretendia llevar una queja pública, en America del Norte, contra la guerra del Vietnam.

El autor, que participó en dicha manifestacion, y cuenta el hecho en tercera persona en su obra, aprovecha la ocasion para

1ª. estudiar filologicamente el proceso del hecho historico y su influencia en la novela (~~la novela~~, comentando la Historia como novela (1ª parte: "los escalones del Pentagono") y la novela como Historia (2ª parte. "la batalla del Pentagono").

2ª.- Paralelamente el nervio principal se destaca: la denuncia y acusacion de las fuerzas armadas norteamericanas y su participacion en la guerra del Vietnam y en muchas otras partes del mundo. Asi como la crítica a los grupos economicos que fuerzan a esa guerra exterior ~~para~~ con un fin lucrativo particular. Y de rechazo una critica -tal vez exagerada- del militar profesional norteamericano.

El autor dedica su obra a Berkeley, como esperanza de la juventud de hoy para el mañana.

Todo el ambiente y critica se refiere, exclusivamente, al mundo USA. Creo que puede autorizarse. Aunque sobre textotraducido con- vendria hacer algunas oportunas correcciones.

8.V.69. 

A1.5.6 Censor's Report on *El ejército de la noche* suggesting that the work might be authorized with corrections, dated May 8, 1969.

1086

"LOS EJERCITOS DE LA NOCHE" Norman Mailer, Grijalbo

La obra gira en torno a una manifestación contra la guerra del Vietnam ante el Pentágono, en Octubre de 1967. El autor, participante en la manifestación, la describe en tercera persona y con abundancia de expresiones groseras.

Todos los hechos y las consideraciones sobre los mismos se desarrollan en un ambiente norteamericano, sin deducirse generalizaciones aplicables a otros países. La "bestia negra" es el Pentágono, el Ejército americano, no los Ejércitos en general ni el militar profesional. Los "héroes" son los representantes de la nueva izquierda americana.

Puede puntualizar el lector que no comparte en absoluto las opiniones del autor ni sus puntos de vista, pero:

- 1º - La obra no ataca a la institución militar en general, solamente al Ejército americano, estando autorizada su difusión en los EE.UU.
- 2º - No puede deducirse de la obra la calificación de comunista para el autor Norman Mailer (Véanse incluso los párrafos más discutibles: págs. 85 y 186). Sí es izquierda "americano" y defiende la nueva izquierda en la pág. 87. Aclara su no comunismo en las págs. 104/105.
- 3º - Como ejemplo de opiniones discutibles, véase su justificación para abandonar el Vietnam (pág. 187).
- 4º - Es fundamental no sacar la obra de su contexto y ambiente norteamericano. Cuidado con la traducción: más vale dejar la palabra inglesa que buscarle un equivalente - muy directo de nuestro país ("Marshall" por ejemplo). - Es mejor hablar de cartillas de movilización (las que son quemadas) que de cartillas militares, etc. No debe cambiarse el título por otro más generalizado, etc.
- 5º - De todo lo anterior resulta que, si bien la obra no puede despertar especiales simpatías en nuestro concepto, no parece pueda denegarse legalmente. Es por lo tanto **AUTORIZABLE** con las observaciones expuestas.

Madrid, 12 de Mayo de 1969

Vista la traducción española creo debe perfilarse la traducción de la pag 176 (marcada el párrafo en el texto) ya que, al repetir lo de soldado profesional parece generalizar

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

A1.5.7 Censor's Report on *El ejército de la noche* indicating that the work might be authorized if the translation adheres to certain conditions. A hand-written note from the superiors reaffirms that specific references should be "shaped" in the translation.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

Núm.**3247-69**...

Sin ejemplar

En relación con su escrito de**7 de marzo de**.....
...**1.969**....., consultando acerca de la edición de la obra
titulada ...**EL EJERCITO DE LA NOCHE**,.....
....., de **Norman Mailer**.....,
se aconseja la presentación del texto de traducción sobre el
que se harían, si fueren necesarias, las indicaciones oportunas.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, ..**12** de**mayo**..... de 19. **69**

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS,

Mod. 259 - 7389

Sr. D.**GRIJALBO, - Madrid**.....

A1.5.8 Censorship Notice to Grijalbo requesting submission of the translated text of *El ejército de la noche*, dated May 12, 1969.

TEXTO EN CASTELLANO
EXPEDIENTE N° 3247/69

GALEERAD
N.º 519 EXP. 3247/69



L.29

EDICIONES GRIJALBO, S.A., con domicilio en
Barcelona, calle Aragón, nº 386, a V.I. con el debido
respeto

EXPONE: Que siendo editora de la obra titulada "LOS
EJERCITOS DE LA NOCHE", expediente nº 3247/69, que
por Oficio de fecha 12 de Mayo de 1.969 solicitaron
se presentara el texto de la misma traducido al caste-
llano, acompaña dos originales en castellano y

S U P L I C A a V.I. se sirva dar las ordenes oportunas a fin de que
si procede le sea autorizada la publicación de la obra
titulada "LOS EJERCITOS DE LA NOCHE", expediente número
3247/69, para lo cual acompaña dos originales en caste-
llano.

Tal y como se indica en el
22.5.69
Q

Es gracia que espera alcanzar de V.I.
cuya vida Dios guarde.

Madrid, 14 de Mayo de 1.969

EDICIONES GRIJALBO, S.A.

MO.SR.DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS. - MADRID

A1.5.9 Application for Voluntary Consultation regarding the galley proofs of the translated text, under the title *Los ejércitos de la noche*, filed by Ediciones Grijalbo and dated May 14, 1969.

3247-69

MAILER, Norman

Los ejércitos de la noche

Grijalvo 288 pags. 3000 ejempl.

La traducción de la obra se ha realizado con una gran dignidad. En ella, las expresiones de mal tono, u ofensivo, han sido devaluadas o reducidas a la 1ª letra de la palabra y puntos suspensivos, con lo que no se produce un choque estético o de mal gusto en el lector.

Se insiste, una vez mas, que la obra se refiere unica y exclusivamente a los USA y la manifestación pacífica que tuvo lugar, por parte de la población civil, para pedir el fin de la guerra del Vietnam. El autor se define como democrata de izquierdas, pero no se detiene a alabar los sistemas político y militar de su país, sino que los critica poniendo como ejemplo aquella misma manifestación. Los métodos, violentísimos, de la policía militar son verdaderamente dramáticos (pp.173-176). No se recata en hacer diversos juegos literarios acerca de los santos en el marxismo (p.119), y opina sobre política cubana (55-56): que podrían ser suprimidos.

puede autorizarse con tachaduras

21.V.69

A1.5.10 Censor's Report on *Los ejércitos de la noche* indicating that the work could be printed with suppressions, dated May 21, 1969.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

mr

ORDENACION EDITORIAL

Núm. ...3247-69.....

GALERADA 519-69

En contestación a su consulta de fecha14-5-69
..... relativa a la obra
"LOS EJERCITOS DE LA NOCHE", - Norman
Maillet.....
se aconseja la supresión de los pasajes señalados en las
páginas176.....
.....
.....

Mod. 749

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, ...3 dejunio..... de 196...9

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL
DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS,

Sr. D.GRIJALBO.- Barcelona.....

A1.5.11 Censorship Notice to Grijalbo Tusquets recommending suppressions on one page of *Los ejércitos de la noche*, dated June 3, 1969.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación editorial



Exp. núm. 3247/69



Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, Ricardo Mariscal, con domicilio en Madrid, calle Juan de Mena número 14, en representación de la Editorial Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del día 19) de la obra SI presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria. NO

TITULO: "LOS EJERCITOS DE LA NOCHE"

Nombre Norman, seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos Mailer

EDITOR: Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. inscrito con el número en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 336

Formato 13 x 20

Tirada efectuada 4.200 ej.

Precio de venta 225.- Ptas.

Colección en que se incluye

Madrid. Hora 10¹⁰ Fecha 24 de Octubre de 19 69

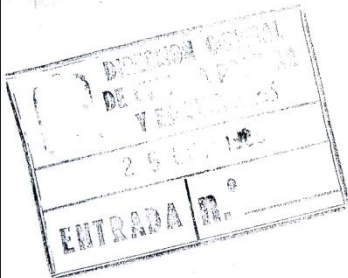
EL SOLICITANTE,

ppp.

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.

Mod. 711 - 10818

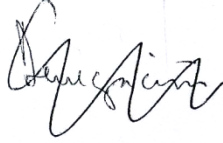
DEPOSITO



A1.5.12 Application for *Depósito* filed by Ricardo Mariscal on October 24, 1969 accompanying the submission of six printed copies of *Los ejércitos de la noche*.

RESULTADO

Se propone la



Madrid, de de 196

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

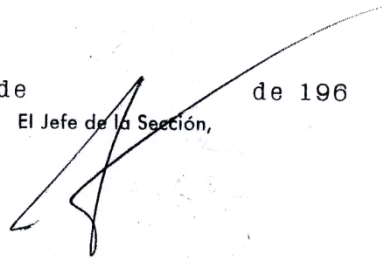
Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito previsto
a la dirección, el cargo por el artículo 12
la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.
Madrid, de
28 OCT. 1969

RESOLUCION

VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las dis-
posiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por
la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra
a que se refiere este expediente puede ser

Madrid, de de 196

El Jefe de la Sección,




CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 196

EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

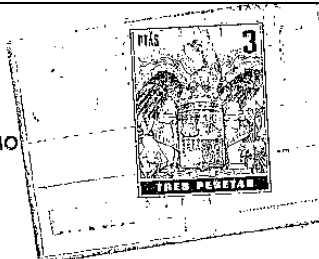

A1.5.13 Censorship Resolution granting authorization for *Los ejércitos de la noche* on October 28, 1969, with the earlier verdict of deauthorization scribbled out.

A1.6 Documents from Censorship File no. 2743-72 for *Un sueño americano*



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS
Ordenación editorial

Exp. núm.

2743

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, ...ANTONIO ROSO MORALES....., con domicilio en ..Madrid....., calle ..Velayos número 14....., en representación de la Editorial RODAS Ediciones, S. A. solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19), para la obra:

TITULO: ...UN SUEÑO AMERICANO.....

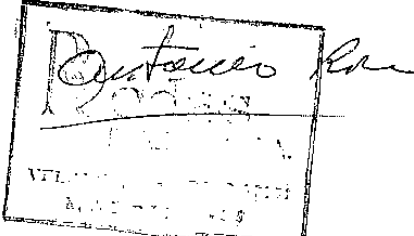
Nombre ..Norman....., seudónimo

AUTOR:
Apellidos ..Mailer.....

EDITOR: ..RODAS Ediciones..... inscrito con el número en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales. (En tramitación)

Volumen (páginas)240.....
Formato11 x 18.....
Tirada proyectada10.000 ejes.....
Precio de venta50,.- Pts.....
Colección en que se incluye ..Colección Bolsillo RODAS.....
Madrid. Hora 12:00 Fecha 2 de MARZO de 1972

EL SOLICITANTE,



Mod. 712 - 10819

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.

A1.6.1 Application for Voluntary Consultation regarding *Un sueño americano*, filed by Antonio Roso Morales on behalf of Ediciones Rodas on March 2, 1972. The indicated length is 240 pages, and the price 50 pesetas. The projected print run is 10,000 copies.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA



2

EXPEDIENTE N.º 2743-72

Presentada con fecha
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra SUEÑO AMERICANO, Un

de la que es autor MAILER, Norman

editada por Rodas

con un volumen de 240 páginas
y una tirada de 10.000 ejemplares
Madrid, de 2 de 197

El Jefe del Registro,

[Handwritten signature]

ANTECEDENTES: 9055/67

Deneg. a Seix Barral

el 15-11-67 *uc*

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

43

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid, de 30 de 197

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

[Handwritten signature]

Mod. 485-1

A1.6.2 Cover Page of Censor's Report on *Un sueño americano*. The work is assigned to censor no. 43 for evaluation on March 3, 1972. It is noted that Seix Barral was denied authorization for the work in 1967.

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones: (C)

UN SUEÑO AMERICANO es una novela, cuyo personaje principal es un sicópata, obsesionado con el sexo, pero en sus manifestaciones más anormales: impulsado por su erotismo aberrante, estrangula a su esposa, reviviendo este delito criminal cuantas veces posee a otra mujer. Descubierto por la policía, se libra de toda penalidad con sus mentiras y continúa su vida alegre con otras mujeres, encontrando su satisfacción en la aberración.

Hay escenas descriptivas de estas aberraciones, lenguaje soez, prácticas incestuosas y homosexuales y alusiones a la moral y prácticas religiosas católicas en un contexto que resulta ridículo.

Se confirma plenamente el dictamen del año 67, por lo que se considerará

NO AUTORIZABLE

Madrid, 15 de marzo de 1972

El lector,

46

A1.6.3 Censor's Report for *Un sueño americano*, dated March 15, 1972, reaffirming the 1967 decision to de-authorize the work.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

MC

ORDENACION EDITORIAL

Núm. 2743-72

3

En contestación a su consulta de fecha
2 de marzo de 1972... se le comunica que
no es aconsejable la edición de la obra titulada
"UN SUEÑO AMERICANO" de Norman Mailer
.....
.....

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 15 de marzo de 1972.

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL
DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS,

Sr. D. RODAS, Madrid.

Mod. 751 - 13.245

A1.6.4 Censorship Notice to Ediciones Rodas dated March 15, 1972 informing the publisher that the work is not advisable.

RESULTADO

Se propone la

Denegar

Madrid, 16 MAR. 1972 de 197
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

RESOLUCION

VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser

Madrid, de de 197
El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 197
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

A1.6.5 Censorship Resolution denying authorization of *Un sueño americano*, dated March 16, 1972.

Rodas/EDICIONES S.A. AVDA. GENERALISIMO, 74 - TELEF. 457 99 - MADRID - 16

Reunión con
L 4



Madrid, 29 de Noviembre de 1.972

Ilmo. Sr. Director General
de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos
MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
Avda. Generalísimo, 74
M A D R I D.-

11

e/4744/72
N. Urebechne



Ilmo. Sr.:

Con referencia a su oficio del 15 de Marzo de 1.972, número 2743-72 sobre la consulta voluntaria para la edición de la obra "UN SUEÑO - AMERICANO" de Norman Mailer, en el que no es aconsejable la edición de la citada obra, tengo a bien solicitar a V.I. se digne a reconsi-
derar nuevamente esta edición por los puntos que a continuación le
expongo:

- 1.) La Obra ya ha sido contratada y por tanto obligación de esta Editorial el satisfacer los correspondientes Derechos.
- 2.) Se han hecho una serie de desembolsos como son la composición y fotomecánica.
- 3.) La presente autorización para editar dicha Obra es única y ex-
clusivamente para el mercado extranjero y por lo tanto no se
vendería ningún libro en España.

Confiado que todo lo expuesto merezca su aprobación, quedamos a la
espera de sus gratas noticias, saludándole muy atentamente,

Antonio Roso Morales
con facultades
11-1-73

Delegado
15-1-73

Rodas
EDICIONES, S.A.
Antonio Roso

P.D. Se adjunta 1 ejemplar de la mencionada obra para su revisión
rogándoles nos sea devuelto.

AR/mcg

A1.6.6 Letter from Antonio Roso Morales to the Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos [Jaime Delgado] on November 29, 1972, requesting authorization to print *Un sueño americano* exclusively for Export.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Reconsideración

5

EXPEDIENTE N.º 2743-72

Presentada con fecha 14-12-72
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra *SUEÑO AMERICANO*, Un
de la que es autor MAILER, Norman

editada por Rodas.

con un volumen de páginas
y una tirada de ejemplares.
Madrid, 14 de 12 de 1972.
El Jefe del Registro,

Mod. 485-1

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 4

Madrid, 19 de 12 de 1972
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

A1.6.7 Cover Page of a Censor's Report for "Reconsideration" of *Un sueño americano*. The work is assigned to censor no. 4 for evaluation on December 19, 1972.

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

Novela de un crudo naturalismo, en la que el sexo es principal protagonista, con abundancia de descripciones y expresiones groseras y de mal gusto.- Entiendo por ello que debe de mantenerse el criterio de su NO AUTORIZACION sustentado en anteriores expedientes: 813/67; 9055/67 y 2743/72 y de acuerdo con los informes que en aquellas fechas se emitieron.-

teniendo en cuenta sin embargo el que la editorial condiciona la autorización a la exportación de la obra, podría autorizarsele suprimiendo los pasajes señalados en pags. 2-11-15-16-19-20-44-45-59-65-70 y 84.-

11-58-

Madrid, 3 de enero de 1973

El Lector,



A1.6.8 Censor's Report for *Un sueño americano*, dated January 3, 1972, suggesting that the work might be authorized for Export pending suppressions on twelve pages.



MINISTERIO
DE
INFORMACION Y TURISMO

COPIA
DE
ARCHIVO

Subsecretaría	:	1	_____
Dirección General	:	2	_____
	:	3	CULTURA POPULAR.
	:	4	_____
	:	5	_____
Sección	:	6	Ordenación Editorial
Magistrado	:	7	Lectorado.

Fecha
y
ref.º

Madrid a 16 de enero de 1972 Exp. 2743-72

(6)

Mod. 704

En contestación a su petición de fecha 29 de noviembre de 1972 sobre autorización para la impresión con destino a la exportación de los 10.000 - ejemplares oficialmente declarados de la obra "UN SUEÑO AMERICANO" de Norman Mailer, pongo en su conocimiento que no se accede a lo solicitado.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.
P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR.

RC DAS.- Madrid.

A1.6.9 Notice from the Director General to Ediciones Rodas dated January 16, 1972 informing the publisher that the request to print 10,000 copies of the work for Export was not approved.

Rodas/EDICIONES S.A. AVDA. GENERALISIMO, 74 - TELEF. 457 99 41 - MADRID - 16

E/465/73.

Madrid, 23 de Enero de 1.973

(7)

Ilmo. Sr. Director General
de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos
MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
Av. Generalísimo, 31
M A D R I D.-

Ilmo. Sr.:

Referente a su escrito de fecha 16 de Enero de 1.973, Exp. 2743-72 y al nuestro del 29 de Noviembre de 1.972, para la edición de la obra "UN SUEÑO AMERICANO" de Norman Mailer, me tomo la libertad de someterla nuevamente a su consideración.

Además de los argumentos que le exponía en mi carta anterior, dada la categoría del autor, en el caso de que no me concedan ustedes la autorización para la edición del libro, en lo sucesivo el autor y su representante estiman que no me deben conceder ningún derecho -- más de varias de las obras que estoy tratando de conseguir.

En la confianza de que lo expuesto merezca su aprobación, quedo pendiente de sus noticias saludándole muy atentamente,

Para Separar
Tach. 14-41-51-52-
54-55-56-181-202-246
78-2-73

Antonio Roso

(1)

P. D. Se adjunta 1 ejemplar de la mencionada obra para su nueva revisión, rogándose nos sea devuelto.

A1.6.10 Letter from Antonio Roso Morales to the Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos [Jaime Delgado] on January 23, 1973, asking for a new consideration of the work.

RECONSIDERACION

Expte 2743-72

(8)

UN SUEÑO AMERICANO

NORMAN MAILER

Norman Mailer es un gran escritor. Su novela "Los desnudos y los muertos" tuvo un éxito mundial, incluso en España.

En el libro que reconsideramos no hay política. Hay mucho sexo y descripciones muy crudas. Es difícil establecer el límite entre lo crudo y lo pornográfico. Por otra parte, esto es tónica general en la literatura actual. Incluso en España se han importado algunas como "La ciudad y los perros" "Lolita" etc con gran contenido sexual.

Por ello, y teniendo en cuenta que se trata de una edición destinada totalmente a la exportación, pensamos PODRÍA AUTORIZARSE la edición controlando perfectamente que se exporta en su totalidad.

27 Marzo 1973

El lector

Martos nº 6

Tachados por:

14.41-51-52-54-55-56-182

202-216.

A1.6.11 Censor's Report for "Reconsideration" of *Un sueño americano* dated March 27, 1973 and signed by censor no. 6, Martos. Martos states that the work might be authorized since the entire print run would be destined for Export. In a hand-written note, a superior recommends cuts on ten pages.



MINISTERIO
DE
INFORMACION Y TURISMO

COPIA
DE RESPUESTA
O TRÁMITE (1)

Subsecretaría	:	1
Dirección General	:	2
	:	3 CULTURA POPULAR
	:	4
	:	5
Servicio	:	6 ORDENACION EDITORIAL
División	:	7 Lectorado
Sección	:	8

De:

Fecha
y
ref.º

30 de marzo 1972 2743-72
Madrid, a de de / (9)

Mod. 704

En contestación a su petición de fecha 1 de febrero del año en curso, pongo en su conocimiento que se accede a lo solicitado autorizándose la impresión, con destino exclusivo a la exportación, de los 10.000 ejemplares oficialmente declarados de "UN SUEÑO AMERICANO" de Norman Mailer; si bien con las supresiones indicadas en las páginas 14 -41- 51-52 -54- 55- 56- 102 -202 y 216.

Al constituirse el preceptivo depósito de ejemplares, y previa la comprobación de las supresiones señaladas se extenderá la autorización definitiva.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años

P.D. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR


A:

(1) Válida para respuestas generales de contestación, como de razón, encusa de recibos o similares.

(Véase dorso.)

A1.6.12 Notice from the Director General to Ediciones Rodas dated March 30, 1972 granting conditional authorization to print the work pending the suppression of content on ten pages of the text.

A1.7 Documents from Censorship File no. 10454-70 for Hipsters [El negro blanco]




MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS
 Ordenación Editorial

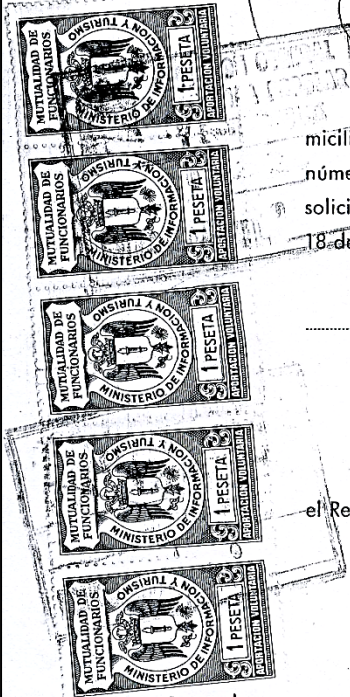
delegado
21-11-70

eliv

Exp. núm. _____

10454





Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, Beatriz de Moura
 domicilio en Barcelona, calle Avda. Hospital Militar
 número 52, en representación de la Editorial TUSQUETS EDITOR,
 solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de
 18 de Marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19); para la obra:

Título: HIPSTERS (Six Advertisement for Myself)
Hipsters. six advertisement for myself

Nombre Norman pseudónimo.

AUTOR:
 Apellidos Mailer

Editor: Tusquets Editor inscrito con el número 796 en
 el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 80
 Formato 10,5 x 18
 Tirada proyectada 3.000
 Precio de venta 50.--
 Colección en que se incluye _____
 Madrid. Hora _____ Fecha 20 de Octubre de 1970

EL SOLICITANTE
Beatriz de Moura

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.

A1.7.1 Application for Voluntary Consultation regarding *Hipsters* [Later: *El negro blanco*] filed by Beatriz de Moura on behalf of Tusquets Editor on October 20, 1970. The indicated length is 80 pages, and the price 50 pesetas. The projected print run is 3,000 copies.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA



EXPEDIENTE N.º 10454-70

Presentada con fecha **20 OCT. 1970**
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra **HIPSTERS**
Hipsters six advertisement for myself
de la que es autor **MAILER, Norman**

editada por **Tusquets**

con un volumen de **80** páginas
y una tirada de **3.000** ejemplares.

Madrid, de **20 OCT. 1970** de 197
El Jefe del Registro,

Mod. 485-1 - 12820

ANTECEDENTES: **No**

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don **27**

Madrid, de **21 OCT. 1970** de 197
El Jefe del Departamento de Lectorado,

A1.7.2 Cover Page of Censor's Report for *Hipsters*. The work is assigned to censor no. 27 for evaluation on October 21, 1970.

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

7
CS6
19.11.70

Informe y otras observaciones:

HIPSTERS . Sixth advertisement for Myself.

Este libre contiene un artículo publicado en 1957; las réplicas y contraréplicas que provocó y una entrevista con el autor.

Se expone la vida o modo de ser de los Hipsters, de los que el autor dice ser uno. Se trata de una de tantas degeneraciones surgidas en la pasada década. Sin moral, mejor dicho, con una moral perversa, en que la droga juega un gran papel. Con una religión y un Dios inventados a su gusto. De absoluta libertad en el campo sexual. Rebeldes socialmente, de tendencia marxista. Con opiniones ofensivas para la Iglesia y los cristianos, que el autor expresa con el mayor descaro.

Como muestra pueden verse las páginas 25, 44, 45, 46, 49.

Pero opino que en conjunto la obra es desaconsejable.

NO AUTORIZABLE.

Madrid, 20 de Noviembre de 1970
El lector,

Gregorio Salera

A1.7.3 Censor's Report for *Hipsters* suggesting de-authorization, dated November 20, 1970.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

mc

ORDENACION EDITORIAL

Sin ejemplar

Núm. 10454-70.

En contestación a su consulta de fecha
20 de octubre de 1970, se le comunica que
no es aconsejable la edición de la obra titulada
H I P S T E R S.- Norman Mailer.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 21 de noviembre de 1970.

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL
DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS,

Sr. D. TUSQUETS.- Barcelona.

Mod. 751 - 13.245

A1.7.4 Censorship Notice to Tusquets informing the publisher that the work is not advisable, dated November 21, 1970.

RESULTADO

Se propone la

DENEGADO

23 NOV. 1970

Madrid, de de 197
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

RESOLUCION

VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser

Madrid, de de 197
El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 197
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

A1.7.5 Censorship Resolution denying authorization of *Hipsters*, dated November 23, 1970.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación Editorial



Exp. núm. 10454-70

Renovación
2.51
N.L. 19

8/735/71
Nuestro lechura
sin ef. o/v lpe
lectin

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, Ma Beatriz de Moura, con domicilio en Barcelona, calle Avda. Hospital Militar número 52 3º 1ª, en representación de la Editorial TUSQUETS EDITOR, solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de Marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19), para la obra:

Título: HIPSTERS

Nombre Norman seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos MAILER

Editor: TUSQUETS EDITOR inscrito con el número 796 en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 80 pags. aprox.

Formato 10,5 X 18

Tirada proyectada 3 a 4.000 ejemplares

Precio de venta 50 Ptas.

Colección en que se incluye Cuadernos Marginales - Ensayo

Madrid. Hora Fecha de de 19

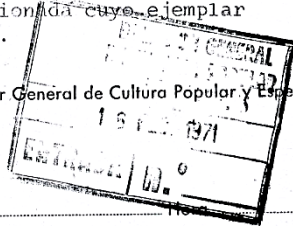
CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Mod. 712

Trato concedido
22-3-71

Solicitamos la reconsideración de la obra arriba mencionada cuyo ejemplar obra en su poder.

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.



EL SOLICITANTE,

Fecha 16 FEB 1971

Expediente número

Don Tusquets Editor, en representación de la Editorial Tusquets Editor, inscrita con el número 796 en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales, ha presentado una instancia acompañada de 3 a 4.000 ejemplares, solicitando la consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de 18-III-1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19).

EL JEFE DEL REGISTRO,

A1.7.6 Application for "Reconsideration" of *Hipsters* filed by Beatriz de Moura on behalf of Tusquets and dated February 16, 1971.



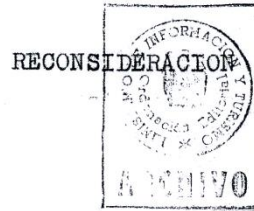
MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

EXPEDIENTE N.º 10454-7 0

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA



Presentada con fecha 16-2-71
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra HIPSTERS

C.T. "EL BLANCO NEGRO"
de la que es autor MAILLER, Norman

editada por Tusquets.

con un volumen de 80. páginas
y una tirada de 3.000 ejemplares

Madrid. 16 de febrero de 1971.
El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 51.

Madrid, 18 de febrero de 1971.
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-1

A1.7.7 Cover Page of Censor's Report for "Reconsideration" of *Hipsters*. The work is assigned to censor no. 51 for evaluation on February 18, 1971.

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? NO Páginas
¿A la moral? NO Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? **Sí** Páginas 49 y 50
¿Al régimen y a sus instituciones? NO Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? NO Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra? NO

Informe y otras observaciones:

Norman Mailere expone aquí, directa o indirectamente, las líneas filosóficas de los hipters. Hay elucubraciones teosóficas y místicas que naturalmente podrían ser clasificadas de heterodoxas, pero que van incluidas en un contexto tan difuso y nebuloso que no creo ejerza ningún efecto sobre el lector preparado que es el único que puede acceder a esta obra. Sin embargo, creemos que se deben suprimir algunos de los párrafos que ya habían sido subrayados por el anterior lector; por ejemplo, en la página 49, hay un párrafo que debe ser suprimido terminantemente, ya que se destaca. No en cambio el de la página 25, porque ha habido muchos autores anticomunistas que han puesto de relieve la importancia de el Capital de Marx. Ni tampoco otros que se refieren a las propiedades "teofágicas" de las drogas; en cambio se debe suprimir otro párrafo de la 49 a 50.

En conclusión: AUTORIZADO CON TACHADURAS

Alvarez
[Signature]

[Signature]

Madrid. 25 de Febrero de 1971

El lector,

ALFONSO ALVAREZ VILLAR

A1.7.8 Censor's Report for Hipsters recommending authorization with suppressions, dated February 25, 1971.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

RECONSIDERACIÓN



EXPEDIENTE N.º 10454-70

Presentada con fecha 16-2-71
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra **H I P S T E R S.**

de la que es autor **MAILER, Norman**

editada por **Tusquets.**

con un volumen de 80 páginas
y una tirada de 3.000 ejemplares

Madrid, 16 de febrero de 1971.

El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 19

Madrid, 2 de marzo de 1971.

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-1

A1.7.9 Cover Page of Censor's Report for "Reconsideration" of Hipsters. The work is assigned to censor no. 19 for evaluation on March 2, 1971.

I N F O R M E

M.L. 20

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

(C)

DOCTRINA DE LOS HIP.-Mailer es un novelista metido a Hip y que se ha convertido en su teólogo. Los Hip son una de esas organizaciones nacidas en los ambientes bajos de Estados Unidos y con actitudes contrarias a la sociedad en que viven. Dan una importancia excepcional al sexo del que hacen usos contrarios a la naturaleza pero que ellos tratan de justificar.

En este librito un periodista, que no acepta la conducta ni la doctrina de los Hip, entrevista a Mailer y éste expone y trata de justificar sus acciones y su doctrina. De rechazo, expone la concepción de un Dios -concepción blasfema para un cristiano- condena toda clase de religión organizada y considera al Cristianismo como el mayor mal de la sociedad.

Considero que, aunque el entrevistador es opuesto a estos grupos, NO PUEDE AUTORIZARSE

Madrid, 18 de marzo de 1971

El lector,

A1.7.10 Censor's Report for *Hipsters* indicating that the work should not be authorized, dated March 18, 1971.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

EXPEDIENTE N.º 10454-70.

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA



Presentada con fecha 16-2-71.
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra HIPSTERS.

de la que es autor MAILER, Norman

editada por Tusquets.

con un volumen de páginas
y una tirada de ejemplares

Madrid. de de 197

El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 20

Madrid, 23 de marzo de 1971.

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

A1.7.11 Cover Page of a Censor's Report for "Reconsideration" of *Hipsters*. The work is assigned to censor no. 20 for evaluation on March 23, 1971.

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten initials]
[Handwritten date: 28-3-71]

Informe y otras observaciones:

C.

Este folleto hay que considerarlo bajo el aspecto especial de un "Documento" histórico de lo que "han sido ya" los Hippies en un momento de la Historia Actual: la aberración y el absurdo de lo Humano y de lo Divino encerrados ambos en la mente y en la praxis del hombre-finito. Tal vez este folleto, vivido por el autor, es el que mejor ha expresado la existencia absurda de este hombre-finito. Digo lo que han sido ya, porque de hecho el Hippismo ya pasó de moda (fue una mera derivación del existencialismo general). - No se trata, pues, de una propaganda en este folleto, sino que es una mera foto de la Historia Humana. - Las tachaduras carecen de importancia en el contexto de la obra.

Puede publicarse íntegramente

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

Madrid. 25 de **III** de 1971
El lector,

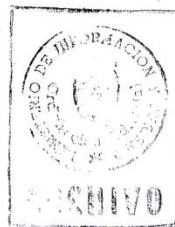
[Large handwritten signature]

A1.7.12 Censor's Report for *Hipsters* suggesting that the work to be publishable, dated March 25, 1971.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS



Sección de Ordenación Editorial

Núm.10454-70

~~reconsideración~~
~~sin ejemplar~~

En relación con su escrito de16-2-71.....
....., consultando acerca de la edición de la obra
titulada ...**HIPSTERS**.....
....., de ...**Norman Mailer**.....
se aconseja la presentación del texto de traducción sobre el
que se harían, si fueren necesarias, las indicaciones oportunas.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 29 de ...**marzo**..... de 19..71

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS,

Sr. D.**TUSQUETS**...- **Barcelona**.....

Mod. 259 - 7389

A1.7.13 Censorship Notice to Tusquets requesting submission of the translated text of *Hipsters*, dated March 29, 1971.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación editorial



Exp. núm. ...10454/70..

T-1-2

GALEER N.º 551 EXP



Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, BEATRIZ DE MOURA

menciona en ...Barcelona... calle ...Hospital Militar... número ...52... en representación de la Editorial ...Tusquets... solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19), para la obra:

TITULO: ...ED. NEGRO. BLANCO...

Nombre ..Norman... seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos ..Mailer...

EDITOR: Tusquets... inscrito con el número 796... en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) ...aproximadamente 100...

Formato ...10,5 x 18...

Tirada proyectada ...4.000...

Precio de venta ...75,--...

Colección en que se incluye Cuadernos Marginales...

Madrid. Hora Fecha ..6.. de ..julio... de 1973

EL SOLICITANTE,

Handwritten signature of Beatriz de Moura

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.

Mod. 712 - 10819

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Handwritten notes: "Tubos: 38 y 39" and "19-8-73"

A1.7.14 Application for Voluntary Consultation regarding the galley proofs of the translated text, under the title *El negro blanco*, filed by Beatriz de Moura on behalf of Tusquets and dated July 6, 1973.

TITULO: El negro blanco,
AUTOR: Norman Mailer
EDITORIAL: TUSQUETS EDOTOR



El autor, novelista, introducido y comprometido vitalmente en una época de su vida en el mundo Hippy, intenta dar en este breve ensayo una definición de la psicología de este movimiento mezcla de subproducto del existencialismo y de vivencia personaliza de todos los supuestos de la contracultura contemporánea.

La disquisición transcurre en forma de dialogo habido entre el autor y otros teorizantes, dialogo en forma de polemica. En esta polemica quizás el punto clave radica en la discrepancia que sus opositores muestran con el autor, respecto a la genesis de la mentalidad hippy en una especie de maridaje entre el negro oprimido, instintivo, sensual y marginado y el blanco harto de unos valores culturales caducos y ~~para~~ aprésivos de la personalidad.

La naturaleza puramente descriptiva del trabajo y sus vacilaciones a la hora de problamar como optimas la mentalidad y la ética hippy hacen que la obra sea aceptable, por más que en sus alusiones a la religión y a Dios el autor expone unas teorías totalmente inaceptables. Esto, por otra parte, es una alusión pasajera.

Resulta interesante la obra para una mejor comprensión de este fenomeno, tanto por lo que autor expone, como por lo que sus opositores alegan.

Considero, en resumen, que no es un alegato en favor de una vida amoral, sinó una pura descripción de una mentalidad que tanta impacto tiene en nuestros dias.

AUTORIZABLE.

Madrid, 20 de julio de 1973

J. Morán



A1.7.15 Censor's Report on *El negro blanco* signed by J. Morán and dated July 20, 1973. The work is considered authorizable.

Norman MAILLER: *El negro blanco*. Ed. Tusquets.

La obra, aparte del prólogo del autor, consta de tres partes. La primera y fundamental es un breve ensayo de Mailer -un novelista hippy- acerca de la esencia del movimiento "Hip"; la segunda está constituida por varias réplicas de otros autores y contraréplicas de Mailer en torno al tema del ensayo; la tercera es una entrevista o diálogo con Mailer sobre el fenómeno hip en un sentido más amplio.

El ensayo inicial considera al hipster como un movimiento que surge en la juventud blanca americana, y que busca una aproximación a la condición de los negros, precisamente porque los negros -según el autor- se muestran superiores a los blancos en su potencia sexual. El fenómeno hippy sería pues una afán de acumulación de energía para lograr a la postre el "orgasmo perfecto", todo esto en el sentido de la doctrina de W. Reich.

Las otras dos partes, de coloquio, son más bien un ataque o una revisión de crítica de esta y otras ideas del autor sobre los hipsters. En el curso de la polémica Mailer expone lo que considera el pensamiento hippy sobre Dios (34-36) y sobre la diferencia entre católico y protestante (42-44).

En conjunto se trata de un intento de definir, a un nivel bastante depurado y profundo, nada frívolo, lo que puede ser la esencia del movimiento hippy como fenómeno cultural de nuestra época. Las ideas vertidas por los diversos interlocutores, particularmente por Mailer, son bastante peregrinas y desde luego discutibles, ~~se prestan~~ ^{se prestan} en sus referencias a Dios y ciertos aspectos religiosos, ^{descabelladas}.

Pero ya que se trata nada más que de desvelar un movimiento cultural en actitud global muy crítica y en un lenguaje solo apto para minorías, considero que la obra es íntegramente AUTORIZABLE, ya que las frases referentes a Dios no son tampoco tesis, sino un intento de interpretar el pensamiento hippy.

Madrid, 2 de agosto de 1973



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

6P

ORDENACION EDITORIAL

N.º 10424-70

En contestación a su consulta de fecha.....

6-7-73

relativa a la obra

"EL NEGRO BLANCO", - Norman Mailer

se aconseja la supresión de los pasajes señalados en las
páginas 38- 39

Mod. 749

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 18 de agosto de 1973

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL
DE CULTURA POPULAR,

Sr. D. EDITORIAL TUSQUETS, -Barcelona

A1.7.17 Censorship Notice to Tusquets recommending suppressions on two pages of *El negro blanco*, dated August 8, 1973.



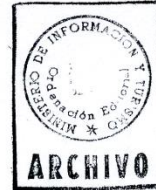
MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

Ordenación Editorial



Exp. núm. 10454-70



Ilmo. Sr.:

P. Lucía

El que suscribe, Beatriz de Moura, con domicilio en Barcelona, calle Hospital Militar, número 52, en representación de la Editorial Tusquets Editor, deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del día 19) de la obra SI ~~NO~~ presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria.

DEPOSITO CT.

TITULO: EL NEGRO BLANCO

Nombre Norman, seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos: Mailer

EDITOR: Tusquets Editor inscrito con el número 796 en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 102

Formato 10,5 x 18

Tirada efectuada 4.000

Precio de venta 75,-- ptas.

Colección en que se incluye Cuadernos Marginales nº 33

Madrid. Hora 10:35 Fecha 18 de Octubre de 1973

EL SOLICITANTE,

B. Moura

Mod. 711

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular

A1.7.18 Application for *Depósito* filed by Beatriz de Moura on October 18, 1973 accompanying the submission of six printed copies of *El negro blanco*.

RESULTADO

Se propone la

Silencio

Madrid, **25 OCT. 1973** de 197
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

R E S O L U C I O N

VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser

Madrid, de de 197
El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 197
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

A1.7.19 Censorship Resolution dated October 25, 1970, declaring *Silencio*.

A1.8 Correspondence from Censorship File no. 11651-74 for *Marilyn*

Sr. Don Ricardo de la Cierva
Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos
Ministerio de Información y Turismo
Madrid

30 de septiembre de 1974

Distinguido amigo:

Estoy preparando la edición española del libro "Marilyn Monroe" de Norman Mailer. Este libro se ha impreso en Italia para toda Europa, y Lumen ha recibido las láminas, teniendo que imprimir el texto y encuadernar en España. Como se trata de una edición cara y que supone un riesgo económico importante para una editorial de tipo medio como es Lumen, me ha parecido conveniente dirigirme directamente a usted y solicitar su opinión. El texto de Mailer no presenta problema, contiene, eso sí, algunos exabruptos chocantes, pero ha sido muy fácil atenuarlos en la traducción sin desvirtuar el libro. En cuanto a las fotos, yo creo que tampoco hay problema, ya que en estos momentos no sobresalen de lo que se puede encontrar en carteleras de cine, quioscos y librerías, pero preferiría, para mi tranquilidad, que usted confirmara esta creencia mía en lo relativo a la foto de la página 80. Se trata del famoso desnudo para calendario de Marilyn, y es vital para el libro, y para mí, que como he dicho arriesgo mucho en esta edición, que la foto no se elimine. Por las razones siguientes:

1ª No es una foto anecdótica más. Es una foto "histórica", muy importante en la carrera de la Monroe y a la que hay muchísimas referencias en el texto. Es pues una foto que el lector va a buscar y cuya ausencia resaltaría enormemente.

2ª Se ha vendido profusamente en las librerías españolas, y se vende, la edición inglesa, la americana y la italiana de este libro. Por tratarse de un libro a cierto nivel de sofisticación, abunda en el comprador potencial que conoce estos idiomas, y por tratarse de un libro-objeto, en que la imagen tiene mucha importancia, abunda el comprador al que no le importa en que idioma figure el texto. O sea que mi edición tendrá que competir con las extranjeras, y esta competencia, si se sabe que se trata de una edición mutilada, se me va a hacer muy difícil.

3ª El libro lo he recibido ya con láminas impresas. Esto y el hecho de que vaya cosido, me crearía un gravísimo problema caso de tener que suprimir la foto. Concretamente suprimir la página 80 supone suprimir la 79, y las dos que van juntas, que son la 65 y 66, y como la foto de la 66 sigue en la 67, también la 68 y la 77 y 78.

Estas son las razones por las que a mí me interesa muchísimo que la foto no se suprima. En cuanto a las razones por las que creo puede hacerse son: no se trata evidentemente de una foto pornográfica, aunque sea un desnudo; últimamente en España ha dejado de ser motivo de escándalo, o por lo menos ha dejado de ser una rareza, este tipo de imagen; se trata de un libro sofisticado y de una edición cara (sobrepasará las 1700 pesetas).

Como el libro se prepara para las próximas Navidades, y el texto está ya en curso de impresión, le agradecería mucho me diera una respuesta lo antes posible.

Agradeciendo de antemano su atención, le saluda muy cordialmente

Esther Tusquets
Directora

A1.8.1 Transcribed Letter from Esther Tusquets to Ricardo de la Cierva regarding *Marilyn*, File no. 11651-74.

Sra. D^a Esther Tusquets
Directora de Editorial Lumen
Avda. del Hospital Militar, 52
BARCELONA

Madrid, 14 de octubre de 1974

Mi distinguida amiga:

Se ha analizado detenidamente el libro sobre "Marilyn Monroe", de Norman Mailer, cuya edición española prepara esa Editorial.

Me complace comunicarle que el libro puede ser presentado directamente a depósito sin que, por parte de este Ministerio, existen impedimentos para su circulación.

Le saluda atentamente,

Ricardo de la Cierva

A2.1 Translator Interview: Manuel Bartolomé López, *Forastero en tierra extraña* (1968)

The following questions and responses were selected from email correspondence with Bartolomé López carried out in February 2014. The present selection is aimed at elucidating the translator's perception of the censorship process for *Forastero en tierra extraña* (discussed in Section 5.2.1) and for U.S. narratives, in general.

ART: Por lo que entiendo de su correo, la editorial que contrató *Forastero en tierra extraña* no creía que la obra pudiera ser problemática en cuanto a la censura, pero usted sí lo creía.

MBL: La editorial en cuestión la crearon cuatro muchachos entusiastas de la ciencia ficción, plétóricos de ilusión, pero con muy poca experiencia en el negocio. Eran dos dibujantes de tebeo, muy buenos, que vendían toda su producción a un sindicato yanqui; un traductor que presumía de ser el peor profesional del ramo, pero que contaba con una labia tal que, según él, le permitiría “colocar” diccionarios de la lengua al mismísimo presidente de la RAE; y un joven ingenuo que invirtió en la empresa lo que había ahorrado durante su época de camarero en Londres. Creo que ninguno de ellos sabía cómo se las gastaba la censura.

ART: ¿Indicó usted a la editorial qué aspectos podrían resultar problemáticos para la publicación?

MBL: Naturalmente. Se los indiqué, se los señalé e insistí hasta quedarme ronco en que aquello no iba a pasar. Pero no me hicieron maldito caso. ¡Con lo fácil y cómodo que hubiera sido suprimir las situaciones y diálogos comprometedores!

ART: ¿Qué motivos podía tener la editorial para mostrarse tan despreocupada?

MBL: El motivo principal se llama rentabilidad. Los editores eran entendidos en el género, sabían que Heinlein tenía su prestigio y vendía mucho. Constituía un valor seguro. O eso creían. Hasta es posible que pensarán que la audacia que representaban aquellos agravios al orden establecido, a la sociedad, al régimen, a la religión, etcétera incrementarían las ventas. Por otra parte, uno de los cuatro editores, el socio traductor, aseguraba tener una gran amistad personal con uno de los jefes del estamento censor y gracias a ese vínculo estaba seguro de que no habría ninguna pega a la hora de conseguir el permiso de publicación. Craso error. No sólo les negaron ese permiso, sino que creo que enviaron un observador para que estuviera presente en la destrucción de los ejemplares, no fuera que los editores hicieran caso omiso de la prohibición. (Los patronos de Géminis estaban tan convencidos de que iban a ver los ejemplares en las librerías que imprimieron y encuadernaron los libros antes de tenerlo todo atado y bien atado.)

ART: ¿Empleó usted técnicas o estrategias de traducción con el fin de reducir el riesgo de censura?

MBL: Me parece que no. Opino que el traductor ha de hacer su trabajo guardando la máxima fidelidad al autor del original. Siempre me esforcé en adivinar lo que dicho autor quería expresar y redactarlo en mi idioma como él mismo lo hubiera hecho de haberlo escrito en castellano. Y si el autor quería meterse con algo o con alguien, ¿quién era yo para enmendarle la plana o para alterar el texto?

ART: ¿Entraban consideraciones de la censura oficial en las primeras fases de la traducción?

MBL: Que yo sepa, no. Por regla general, cuando un editor contrataba un título ya tenía hecha su composición de lugar respecto a lo que podía esperar de la censura y de los ejemplares que esperaba vender. Aunque, en cuanto a la venta, luego se equivocase.

ART: ¿Existían expresiones o referencias tabú?

MBL: Claro que sí. No sólo en las publicaciones, hasta en los tranvías figuraban letreritos en los que se advertía que estaba prohibida la palabra soez. Así que no digamos las obscenidades. Y las referencias negativas a algún capitoste del régimen podía constarle caro al que la soltase. Llamar feo a un ministro era un pasaporte al Hotel Rejas.

ART: ¿Había técnicas para suavizar el texto y minimizar el riesgo de censura oficial?

MBL: Es de suponer que sí. El que más y el que menos –me refiero sobre todo a editores- se las arreglaba para instruir al traductor o al corrector de estilo a fin de que utilizara el sentido común y eliminase lo que pudiera poner vinagre en la bilis de cualquier censor al que antes se le hubiera pasado por alto una o varias transgresiones a la norma impuesta por la autoridad competente.

ART: ¿Tiene conocimiento de libros que fueron descartados (antes de traducir) por cuestiones de censura?

MBL: Claro que sí hubo casos. . . . [L]as editoriales que se toman la molestia de examinar el informe que previamente le hizo el lector-asesor, si éste deja constancia de que existe una alta probabilidad de que el censor tumbe el libro, el editor por regla general se abstiene de contratarlo. Cuando hay tanto material publicable no deja de ser una mentecatez correr riesgos.

ART: ¿Se notaba alguna diferencia en la censura de distintos géneros novelísticos? Es decir, ¿existía más (o menos) libertad en la traducción de novelas de ciencia ficción comparada con los otros géneros?

MBL: En mi opinión, la censura era igual de rígida e inexorable con todos los géneros. Lo que decía el texto en sí era lo que impulsaba al censor a eliminar por aquí, a tachar por allá y a negar el permiso de publicación por acullá. Tanto si se trataba de una novela de ficción científica como policíaca, romántica o de cualquier otro tema o género, estaban prohibidas las escenas de sexo, las descripciones de vestimentas y prendas que mostrasen o sugiriesen desnudo parcial o total, los comentarios despectivos o insultantes respecto a instituciones sagradas como el Ejército o la Curia.

ART: ¿Hubo indicaciones concretas por parte de la censura oficial en cuanto a la traducción de textos?

MBL: No me consta. Lo que sí me consta es que no hacía falta. El que más y el que menos ya tenía clara noción de lo que podía o no podía franquear la frontera establecida y, si tenía ganas de poner al censor como una moto, dispuesto a subirse por las paredes, con transgredir la regla había suficiente. No creo que la censura oficial necesitase indicaciones concretas. Con recurrir al lápiz rojo tenían bastante.

ART: ¿Había aspectos textuales o culturales particularmente sensibles en cuanto a la traducción de textos norteamericanos?

MBL: Claro que sí. Textuales, culturales, sociales, morales, políticos y un largo etcétera. De cualquier modo existían títulos y autores particularmente vedados. A ningún editor español de entonces se le ocurriría contratar, por ejemplo, *¿Por quién doblan las campanas?*, de

Hemingway, por mucho que la película la protagonizasen Gary Cooper e Ingrid Bergman,² o los Trópicos de Henry Miller, que ya había tenido sus rifirrafes con los censores de USA. En Estados Unidos tampoco estaban libres de censores, lo que representaba cierta garantía para el editor español. A pesar de todo, en España no dejaron de publicarse obras de Hemingway, Dos Passos, Steinbeck, Penn Warren, Leon Uris (pese a la ojeriza que Franco sentía por los israelíes), Chandler, Capote... Bueno, un montón. Además, el pueblo llano español admiraba el sistema de vida estadounidense, con sus cochazos, sus acogedoras casitas bien decoradas y llenas de electrodomésticos y frigoríficos rebosantes de alimentos, sus felices matrimonios, sus héroes y heroínas que no paraban de despedir simpatía... Todo eso inspiraba al españolito media una tremenda y sana envidia y le inducía a “consumir” gustosamente cine y literatura yanqui.

Volviendo a la censura, ésta sí que miraba con lupa los textos provenientes del país de Lincoln, pero a los editores hispanos les constaba asimismo que allí también existían tipos como el senador Joseph McCarthy y víctimas como el guionista Dalton Trumbo y novelistas como Dashiell Hammett. A ningún censor español se le ocurría entonces poner peros a Will Cook, Louis L'Amour, Beecher Stowe, Stanley Gardner, Rex Stout, Ross Macdonald, Lovecraft, Robert Bloch, James A. Michener, Edgar Rice Burrough, Erksine Caldwell, William Faulkner, William Saroyan... Y menos aún, cuando los políticos norteamericanos empezaron a tenérselas tiasas con los rusos, se dieron cuenta de que Franco era tan anticomunista como ellos y embaucaron al Generalísimo para que les permitiera montar unas cuantas bases en territorio español, aunque ello representara el que Eisenhower tuviese que visitar Madrid y, ya de paso, acercarse a El Pardo. La censura se suavizó lo suyo a partir de entonces. Y luego incluso se amplió un poco más la manga ancha.

2.2 Translator Interview: Jesús de la Torre Roldán, *Reuelta en el 2100* (1968) *Tropas del espacio* (1968)

The following questions and responses were selected from email correspondence with de la Torre Roldán carried out in July 2013. The present selection is aimed at elucidating the translator's perception of the censorship process under Franco, especially with regard to the science fiction works of Robert A. Heinlein

ART: ¿Usted se sintió presionado a censurar o suavizar los textos provenientes de EE.UU.? ¿Había aspectos textuales o culturales particularmente sensibles en cuanto a su traducción en España?

JTR: Puedo asegurarte que jamás me sentí presionado en ningún sentido por la editorial Géminis. Tratándose del género de ciencia ficción, no me encontré nunca con problemas de censura política.

ART: Con la traducción de las novelas de Heinlein, ¿se sintió presionado a censurar o suavizar aspectos de los textos?

JTR: Nunca vi en los originales de ciencia ficción de Robert Heinlein motivos de censura oficial.

² Planeta did successfully publish an edition of *¿Por quién doblan las campanas?* under the regime, though not until 1968 (Laprade 2011, 80), nearly 30 years after the original publication of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940).

ART: ¿Se notaba alguna diferencia en la censura de distintos géneros novelísticos?, es decir, ¿existía más (o menos) libertad en la traducción de novelas de ciencia ficción comparada con los otros géneros?

JTR: Lo que puedo responder ciertamente es que la presión de la censura oficial, en realidad, apenas alteraba mi trabajo como traductor. Más bien correspondía a la editorial restringir o cambiar algún concepto que chocara con el régimen político de entonces.

2.3 Translator Interview: Isabel Vericat, *El negro blanco* (1973)

The following questions and responses were selected from email correspondence with Vericat carried out in February 2014. The present selection is centered on the translator's personal connection to counterculture circles and her experiences leaving Spain.

ART: ¿Llegaste a sentir cualquier tipo de presión relativa a la censura franquista?

IV: La verdad es que la censura franquista fue más patente en la censura "rusa" de tachones en negro de frases enteras de las cartas que desde la cárcel de Burgos me escribía el que poco después fue el padre de mi hija, que en la de los libros. Porque tuvimos la fortuna de que el Fondo de Cultura Económica abriera librería en Madrid y Barcelona y allí pudimos leer desde los Manuscritos económico-filosóficos de Marx hasta Wright Mills y su *Imaginación sociológica*, aunque no se pudiera estudiar Sociología en la Universidad.

Yo finalmente me fui, a Inglaterra, a un país que no era el que me correspondía, Francia, como a cualquier española, y más siendo catalana. Viví en Londres y Birmingham el 68, de manera privilegiada y esto encauzó mi vida por otros derroteros.

Volví el 69 a Barcelona y trabajé -mi único año laboral en España, sin ser sólo estudiante o hija de familia- con Carlos Barral en Seix Barral, la editorial del boom latinoamericano entonces y también la del *nouveau roman* antes. Los libros que traduje fueron los primeros en mi formación de traductora y fueron con los amigos en Barral que iniciaron editoriales en el 69-70, Tusquets, Beatriz, y Herralde, Anagrama. . . .

Me fui a vivir a Londres en el 70 con un escritor mexicano que conocí en Barral, donde aquel año llevaba el registro de los escritores que se presentaban al premio Biblioteca Breve . . . Viví dos años más en Londres, tuve a mi hija allí y vinimos a México padre, madre e hija en el 72.

Como puedes ver, fueron sólo las editoriales las que supieron de la censura, yo ni me enteré, aunque formaba parte del ambiente. Fui yo la que sugerí traducir a Laing y a Mailer (los había leído en la comuna del 68 en Birmingham) y también el libro de Stuart Hall, quien formaba parte de nuestros círculos de estudios en la comuna y fundó los estudios culturales.

ART: ¿Te fuiste de España por motivos políticos/sociales/ideológicos?

IV: Salí de la España franquista para vivir, y veo con tristeza y compromiso el momento actual de la España que resurge *malheureusement*.

El padre de mi hija estuvo en la cárcel de Burgos no por motivos políticos. Simplemente, cuando recorría Castilla como turista, con pelo largo y bolsa al hombro, resultó sospechoso a la Brigada encargada de "la juventud" durante el franquismo. El "mexicano" acabó en la

cárcel dos meses. La policía nos siguió siguiendo, valga la redundancia, en todos nuestros desplazamientos. Cuando meses después me fui de España, la policía me negó el pasaporte - que no era un derecho bajo la dictadura de Franco- y se lo entregó a mi padre, quien, respetando con mucho dolor mi libertad, me lo entregó y dejó partir.

ART: ¿Crees que vivir fuera de España te dio más libertad para la traducción?

IV: Vivir fuera de España y en un país con la misma lengua pero diferente, México, me ha enriquecido mucho.

Me considero una emigrante, nómada, internacional, formalmente española-mexicana, con una tierra natal muy fuerte, el Delta del Ebro, la desembocadura, la catedral, el río, la judería y el barrio árabe, ahora magrebí, en mi ciudad natal, Tortosa.