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# One Peninsula, Many Spains: An Inquiry on Memory, Historiography, and the Legacy of The Spanish Civil War from 1930 to the Present

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# ONE PENINSULA, MANY SPAINS: AN INQUIRY ON MEMORY, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND THE LEGACY OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR FROM 1930 TO THE PRESENT

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HNR 499

Abstract: In this essay, I analyze the events of the Spanish Civil War and their ramifications through the lens of cultural memory and historiography. I argue that ideas of memory are crucial to how societies and individuals understand history and that the Spanish Civil War had a tremendous impact on the Spanish people and significantly affected the memory not only of witnesses of the conflict, but to their descendants. This essay utilizes primary and secondary sources to understand the function of memory and varied responses to the Spanish Civil War. The essay begins with a brief historical overview of the conflict and then analyzes various memoirs created by participants and witnesses to the Spanish Civil War. Afterwards, an examination of a variety of cultural productions that reflect on the conflict both during and after the war are scrutinized through the lens of cultural memory and historiography. Finally, a conclusion on how the tensions between memory occur in contemporary Spain and some ideas are presented on how to improve Spanish Civil War historiography and how to address the controversies that arise out of a plurality of understandings of the Spanish Civil War are discussed.

As a key event in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the Spanish Civil War can be viewed as the dark prologue leading to the Second World War and the rise of totalitarianism and the proliferation of mass killings across the globe. Due to the events that took place in the Spanish Civil War, there has been not only substantial documentation of the conflict, but also a large amount of commentary. This commentary on the conflict began during the conflict, but also occurred during the Francoist era, as well as the transition to democracy and to the contemporary period. This paper attempts to examine how the documents and their interpretation have affected how the war has been presented and described over time. It also seeks to examine how individuals in Spain, and Spanish society wrestle with and negotiate their relationship to the past events of the Spanish Civil War.

There are a variety of questions that must be brought forward in order to properly inquire on the Spanish Civil War. This includes not only examining the events leading to and the outcome of the war, but also how the war was presented after it ended up to the present day. Furthermore, there are certain ramifications of the Spanish Civil War that remain unaddressed to this day and that must undergo scrutinized. How did the way the conflict unfold effect the types of documents

that were made to chronicle the war, and how have these been presented? In what ways has the Spanish Civil War been presented over time, and how do some of these narratives remain in public or historical discourse today? What are the competing memories of the Spanish Civil War that have emerged since the end of Francisco Franco's regime (1936-1975)? What are some of the tensions between dominant political memories of the war and subjective memories of individual Spanish citizens? How has memory of the Spanish Civil War shaped contemporary Spanish society and politics? What role did international involvement in the Spanish Civil War what was the involvement of the United States, Mexico, the United Kingdom, Portugal, France, Italy, Germany, and others? Are there conflicting narratives between individual memory of the war and collective memory of the war in each nation? How important is ideology in the Spanish Civil War, was this conflict a clash of ideologies, or was it primarily a domestic conflict with separate conceptions of what a future Spain should look like?

The purpose of this essay is to examine how the Spanish Civil War has been presented by historians to the Spanish public and to the world. This essay also seeks to understand how documentation and commentary from the conflict and shortly after have been used and how they affect memory today. Furthermore, it considers the memory of individuals involved in the war and their descendants, as well as Spanish society and how responses to the Spanish Civil War are still wrestled with to the present day and remain unresolved. This is to be done in the context of both historiography and cultural memory studies, which combined with the analysis of various primary source documents and accounts of the conflict after the war, makes for a unique contribution to scholarship in the Spanish Civil War.

I contend that the notion of memory is central to how societies and individuals understand history and that the Spanish Civil War had a tremendous impact on the Spanish

people and significantly affected the memory not only of witnesses to the historical events of the conflict, but to their descendants. The way that the Spanish Civil War has been presented has altered over time based on the desires of those who were compiling and writing about the conflict. Further, the Spanish Civil War, though it ended in 1939 still significantly affects individuals involved in the war, politics, and cultural productions. The events still have an impact on individuals in Spain as well as the nation, and is still widely debated and the meaning of the war is grappled with even today. This is because accounts and interpretations of the events of the Spanish Civil War differ considerably.<sup>1</sup> The understanding of the events through contemporary discourse and popular culture are still discussed to this day with no clear resolution or consensus. Further, the survivors of the conflict are still alive and present conflicting accounts of their memories, experiences, and motivations before, during, and after the Spanish Civil War. It is for these reasons that an exploration of cultural memory of the Spanish Civil War is needed in order to understand its ramifications on the development of Spain from the outbreak of the war to the contemporary period.

### **Iberica divided and on edge**

In order to understand how the Spanish Civil War had such a profound impact on Spanish society, we must first understand the complex origins of the conflict as it is a complex phenomenon with a variety of underlying causes. Prior to the rise of the Second Spanish Republic, there were significant divides in Spain. There were vast separations between Spaniards along lines of social class, ethnic identity, religious identity, and political orientation. These

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<sup>1</sup> Ruth Sanz-Sabido. "Local Memories: Conflict and Lived Experience in the Spanish Civil War," *Catalan Journal of Communication & Cultural Studies* 8, no. 1 (2016): 11-30.

divisions would widen the deep rifts that already existed in order to put Spain on the cusp of civil war. In order to have a proper understanding of the conflict, an examination of the ideological differences as well as their history is necessary.<sup>2</sup>

It is not uncommon in the historiography of the Spanish Civil War to claim that the war was fueled mainly by ideological differences in Spain. While it is accurate to say that ideology played a crucial role in the outbreak of war, domestic causes must be considered as well. During the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, there were a variety of problems within the Iberian Peninsula itself. Firstly, Spain had largely failed to modernize in comparison to other European nations such as the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. The Second Spanish Republic formed in 1931 after the death of Miguel Primo de Rivera and had similar goals to the First Republic. However, the Second Republic faced similar issues, and some unique to the Second Republic.

The only major industrial centers were in places such as Catalonia and other provinces in the east, such as Asturias and Basque Country, because of this Spain was still an agrarian society. The Second Spanish Republic passed the Agrarian Reform Law that would distribute some land to the peasants and end the land practices that were a remnant of feudalism. The land reform ultimately failed due to opposition from the wealthy aristocrats in the South and the inability to acquire land in the north. The Second Republic, despite having substantial reserves of Gold, was also affected by the Global Economic Depression.

Further, Spain was beginning to transition from a large empire to a European country of little influence. This is due in large part to the independence movements that occurred

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<sup>2</sup> Antony Beevor, *The Spanish Civil War*, (London: Orbis Publishing), 1982.

throughout its Latin American colonies over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Spain had to grant its former colonies in the Americas their independence and cede other territories to the United States and Germany, sometimes known as *El Desastre*. There was already a large cultural divide between military and civilian life, the military tended to have right-wing tendencies, and it sponsored a variety of military coups known as *pronunciamentos*. The military also saw itself as a defender of tradition and the Catholic Church, which caused both the wealthy landowners and the Clergy to be loyal to the military during the war. Further, the overwhelming majority of the military would join the cause of Francisco Franco when in the crusade against Bolshevism in defense of the homeland and to join in the next *pronunciamento* for the future of Spain. Thus, the division between military and civilian life was to become play a key role in the Spanish Civil War as the motivations of the military were influenced by the decline of the Spanish Empire and a desire to see a return to tradition in Spain as the experiment of liberal democracy was in its infancy.<sup>3</sup>

There were also great regional differences in Basque Country, Catalonia, and Asturias as these regions had a desire to become more autonomous. Individuals in these regions strongly identified with their region linguistically and ethnically, contending that they were not really a part of Spain. Both Castilian Spanish and Spanish identity were imposed on the Basques, Catalans, and Asturians in order to oppress them. This is what would lead nationalists in all three of the regions to side with the Republicans in order to oppose the Spanish Nationalism that was upheld by the Nationalist Front. However, there dissenters in these regions that believed that secession was undesirable and that Spain should remain one nation. Finally, there were divisions

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<sup>3</sup> Sandie Holguín, "Navigating the Historical Labyrinth of the Spanish Civil War," in *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Noël Valis. (New York, NY: The Modern Language Association of America, 2007), 24.

among Spaniards as to whether Spain should continue to have a monarchy as it always has, or if it should shift to a liberal democracy, such as those in North America and other parts of Europe. Traditionalists stressed the need for respect for the Roman Catholic Church and its authority on moral matters and its role in both political and social life; they also emphasized the legitimacy of monarchy and the rights of landowners to their property. Those loyal to the Second Spanish Republic and Socialists of varying tendencies believed that the Church, the king, and the landowners all had too much power. There was also a general theme within those loyal to the Republic of embracing values of the Enlightenment, secularism (and to some extent anti-clericalism), and respect for individual regional autonomy. This manifested in secularization of schools, laws allowing for divorce, and deep distrust for clergy (which in the Civil War would even be expressed by targeted killing of clergy).<sup>45</sup>

It was a combination of all of these complex factors that ultimately led to the formation of deep ideological rifts within Spain.<sup>6</sup> While some commentators of the Spanish Civil War often see it as a war of ideology. But as has been demonstrated earlier, there were crucial elements that were domestic in nature and that the various ideologies that were promulgated cannot be divorced from the domestic causes. The Second Republic was originally made up of a liberal, centrist, and socialist coalition, this coalition was known as the Popular Front. Those who were loyal to the Republic (Republicans) were made up of Liberals, Republican Loyalists (such as the Radical Party), and Socialists of multiple tendencies. These tendencies included: Anarchism (via

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<sup>4</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers), 1961.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge*, (London, UK: Harper Perennial), 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Gabriel Jackson, *A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War*. 1<sup>st</sup> American ed. (New York, NY: John Day Co. 1974), 18-22.



the CNT/FAI), Communism (PCE), and Libertarian Marxists (UGT and the POUM).<sup>7</sup> Within this Republican Coalition there was internal strife about whether reform or revolution was the best means to the end of a more prosperous world as well as other ideological differences.

In contrast to the Republicans, the Nationalist Coalition formed as a reaction to the perceived failings of the Republic to uphold the traditional values of Spain and to launch a crusade against Bolshevism, Liberalism, and godlessness. The Spanish military, the aristocracy, and the Catholic Church played a crucial role in endorsing and carrying out the counterrevolution. The Nationalist coalition included the following groups, the Traditionalist conservatives who were loyal to the aristocracy and the Catholic Church, the Carlists, and Monarchists each believing in the primacy of one lineage of royalty to rule over a unified Spain, and CEDA, which later became the Falange.<sup>8</sup> The Falange was a form of Spanish Fascism that articulated 26 distinct points within its manifesto.<sup>9</sup> It was the Nationalist coalition who began a counterrevolution in order to ensure traditional morality and unify Spain under an autocrat in order to protect the fatherland. It was Franco who would uphold and unite the Nationalist cause and their first major testing ground was in Asturias during the miners' strike of 1934, with the war beginning in 1936 and ending in April of 1939.<sup>10</sup>

In meditations on the Spanish Civil War, a common question is why the Nationalist victory occurred? There are a variety of factors that have been proposed in order to explain the defeat of the Republican coalition. Firstly, as a military the Nationalists had greater training and

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<sup>7</sup> Andy Durgan, *The Spanish Civil War*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY; Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 25-26.

<sup>8</sup> Andy Durgan, *The Spanish Civil War*, 27-28.

<sup>9</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *Falange: a history of Spanish fascism, Volume 22*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962).

<sup>10</sup> Sheelagh M. Ellwood, *Franco*, (New York, NY: Longman), 2000.

munitions than the Republican side. Second, there was an overall lack of support from the democratic powers of the UK, the US, and France that would not back the Republican side and the support from Mexico was not enough, while the support from the USSR was often unreliable. Finally, the Republican side was far too fragmented by both military equipment and by ideology. In contrast, the Nationalists were able to unify and had a well-trained military and were backed by nations that invested heavily in their armed forces.<sup>11</sup> It was for these reasons why the Republican side ultimately failed to win the Spanish Civil War.<sup>12</sup>

Upon the fall of the Second Republic and the beginning of the Franco regime, refugees began to flee in large numbers into France, Mexico, and other countries. Greeted by refugee camps, some of the places they were interned would be utilized by the Vichy regime during the Holocaust.<sup>13</sup> Since the events before, during, and after the Spanish Civil War effected so many different individuals and entire nations. It is only fitting to give an analysis of selected memories of both individuals and groups. Thus, an introduction to Cultural Memory and historiography ought to be examined.

## **An Introduction to Cultural Memory Studies**

Cultural Memory Studies is a relatively new field within the field of history and is typically described as an interdisciplinary field that is concerned with the role of memory in how

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<sup>11</sup> British Pathé. *Madrid-Militia Ready For the Front-Spanish Civil War*. Stock. Directed by British Pathé. London, UK. 59 sec, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://www.britishpathe.com/video/madrid-militia-ready-for-the-front-spanish-civil>

<sup>12</sup> Michael Seidman, *The Victorious Counterrevolution: The Nationalist Effort in the Spanish Civil War*, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press), 2011.

<sup>13</sup> Holocaust Encyclopedia, "Spanish Civil War", *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, Washington DC, 2018, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10008214>

individuals and societies interact with the past, present, and future.<sup>14</sup> However, this field of study is not without criticism. One main objection to cultural memory studies is that its central notion of memory is vague. Thus, I will respond to this objection by proposing a definition of memory. I contend that memory is: a psychological, social, and symbolic phenomenon which actively engages with the past, present, and future and is negotiated by individuals and entire cultural groups.<sup>15</sup> Memory and History are intimately intertwined as individuals and groups can only understand and produce history if they are considering the events of the past, present, and future.

The study of the writing of history, or historiography has been of a great concern due to its factual and ideological implications. There is an intimate relationship between historiography and cultural memory studies which can be connected with the hermeneutical thought of Hans-Georg Gadamer. I will also use the concepts of memory that are described by Joan Tumblety, and Jay Winter. Further, I will utilize an article from David K. Herzberger who has a specifically applies historiography to the Spanish Civil War.

### **Tensions between Individual and Collective Memory**

Jay Winter and Joan Tumblety are two key theorists in the field of Cultural Memory Studies. Both deal with the role of memory during the first half of the twentieth century. Jay Winter's text *Remembering War* begins by granting the primacy of memory as a part of history. According to Winter, history and memory cannot be divorced from one another. The project of cultural memory is to understand the experiences of the victims of war and the ways in which remembrance manifests itself. Memoirs, film, museums, photography, among other forms of

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<sup>14</sup> Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B. Young, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, (Berlin: De Gruyter Publishing), 2008.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Preston, *Revolution and War in Spain, 1931-1939*. (London; New York: Meuthen), 1984.

media are a means of remembrance that not only the witnesses and victims of war use, but also the descendants of these individuals.

Winter contends that memory itself is biased just as the creation of history is itself biased. The very collection and codification of history is an act of collective remembrance. Additionally, Winter places a primacy on the concept that memory and narrative play for the victims of war. During the twentieth century, total war developed and no longer were just the soldiers directly affected. Instead, soldiers, and civilians were all effected in some way by the events of war. It is for this reason that there are public memorials for both those who fought directly in war as well as for civilians who experienced war.

It is the struggle against forgetting, mediated in a host of social practices, in literature and the arts. It is not only that much of the violent history of the twentieth century is intrinsically worth remembering, but rather that those who died or who were injured can so easily be forgotten. A painting or a poem may defer oblivion a bit, but most of those whose works we survey were well aware of the quixotic nature of their enterprise. What photographs, or plays, or poems, or letters provide are traces of a world that has almost vanished from both memory and history. The memory boom, therefore, may be understood as an act of defiance, an attempt to keep alive at least the names and the images of the millions whose lives have been truncated or disfigured by war.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, not only does remembrance play a crucial role in the development of history, but also forgetting can not only stifle the production of history but can also destroy history for those who forget either intentionally or unintentionally. Media such as paintings, poems, photography, film, among others can either keep memory alive for the future generations, but only if they are produced in such a way as to preserve a nuanced account of history. So propaganda films, or films that romanticize a certain aspect of a war or other phenomena can distort memory for those who witnessed the history as well

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<sup>16</sup> Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 2006, 12.

as future generations. Further, the narrative serves a particular purpose for a particular audience and it can be utilized for ideological reasons. This is why the memory boom can be thought of as an act of rebellion towards the distorted memories of the past, or a way in which to retrieve a more nuanced and authentic account for the witnesses and future generations. One such thinker who argues that these narratives have been utilized by agents of power to create a single unified memory is Joan Tumblety.

### **Conflicting narratives and power in Cultural Memory**

In her work, *The Contested Memorial Cultures of Post-Liberation France Polemical Responses to the Legal Purge of Collaborators, 1944-c.1954*, Joan Tumblety contends that narratives are intertwined with power, and that quite often, an official narrative is perpetuated often at the expense of those that are marginalized by the dominant and official paradigm. Tumblety uses the example of Post-Liberation France and how the French Resistance is portrayed as heroic and the participants of the Resistance are given credit for the prosperity of Post-Liberation France. Excluded from this account are the Jews who were a persecuted minority during the Vichy Regime. The role of the Communists and other Socialists in the French Resistance are downplayed as if they were not important in the fight for liberation. The Vichy collaborators went back to civilian life, and still produced material that was sympathetic to the Vichy Regime. These groups of individuals were crucial to understanding the Vichy Regime and the return of to democracy. However, it is only specific groups of the French Resistance that are remembered.

The elusiveness of the term is one reason why sociologist Jeffrey Olick has taken the concept of 'collected memory' so seriously: it conjures up a prosopography of known individual remembrances of lived experience rather than a meta-entity (an intangible 'metaphysics of group mind') in which individual mentality and motives are not only submerged but unknowable...It was precisely the battle to

ensure which version of that past predominated in French public life in the years after the end of the war that engaged the aggrieved protagonists discussed in this chapter. It was a battle in which they were categorically defeated, their views remaining minority opinions throughout, but their efforts help to illuminate the mechanisms by which individual memories are harnessed throughout, but their efforts help to illuminate the mechanisms by which individual memories are harnessed throughout social acts of commemoration in a quest to craft an alternative historical knowledge that serves to justify distinct political needs in the present.<sup>17</sup>

This is official narrative that is perpetuated by the state is made manifest in a variety of memorials. The dominant press stated that the purge of Vichy collaborators was justified. Military parades and groups of veterans combined with films about the French Resistance helped to ingrain the paradigm of the heroism of the Resistance and the betrayal by the Vichy collaborators within the collective memory of Post-Liberation France. The notion of state sponsored memory and utilizing collective memory for political ends has occurred within the Francoist regime in Spain. Francoist historians had privileged access not only to archives, but to the production of history. Memorial parades such as on the anniversary of Franco's 'liberation' of Spain and parades during holy days further solidified the ideology of the state and affirmed its presence not only in everyday life, but in the memory of the Spanish People.

Memory is not the only way to understand the writing and interpretation of history. The role of history and its interpretation in the present can also be comprehended by utilizing the field of enquiry known as hermeneutics. Hermeneutics is an approach to understanding history by the analysis and interpretation of text. One key theorist on the subject of hermeneutics is the philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer.

### **The Role of Hermeneutics in Historiography**

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<sup>17</sup> Joan Tumblety. "The Contested Memorial Cultures of Post-Liberation France: Polemical Responses to the Legal Purge of Collaborators," in *Memory and History: Understanding Memory as Source and Subject*. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 62-63.

As a thinker, Gadamer believes that as people living in a specific society, we inherit a set of specific traditions and ways of looking at the world. Our “prejudices” color the way we view the world and interpret texts as well as history, these prejudices cannot be transcended and must be negotiated with in order to gain a grasp of a text as well as history. Gadamer contends that we are in continuous dialogue with the past when we interpret a text. The text itself forms a kind of hermeneutic dialogue with the interpreter. This dialogue is a form of agreement that can lead to an articulation of the text. Both language and history function as conditions of both our individual and collective knowledge (like memory) which we are unable to completely identify and completely transcend. In essence, we have a strong dependence on tradition and linguistic interpretation that is often unacknowledged. Gadamer gives a strong illustration of this in his *magnum opus, Truth and Method*.

The legal historian, of course, will also have to evaluate ‘historically’ a law correctly understood in this way, and this always means that he must assess its historical importance; since he will always be guided by his own historical fore-understanding and prejudices, he may do this ‘wrongly’. That means again there is mediation between the past and the present: that is application. The course of history, to which the history of research belongs, generally teaches us this. But it obviously does not mean that the historian has done something which he should not have done, and which he should or could have been prevented from doing by some hermeneutical canon.<sup>18</sup>

For Gadamer, all truth-claims are deeply intertwined within their historical context, as they are framed within a particular tradition and subject to the specific prejudices of their time. Specific traditions prioritize different historical questions and set different boundaries for who is included in the community of inquiry.<sup>19</sup> This is quite similar to how Francoist historians operated during the *Posguerra*. The Francoist

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<sup>18</sup> Hans-Georg Gadamer, “Truth and Method,” in *The Hermeneutic Tradition: From Ast to Ricoeur*. Gayle L. Ormiston, et al. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 206

<sup>19</sup> Brice Wachterhauser, “Getting it Right: Relativism, Realism, and Truth,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Gadamer*. Robert J. Dostal, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 58.

historians would continuously frame the history of the Spanish Civil War as a restoration of the true Spain. *El Caudillo* and his allies fought against godlessness and Bolshevism in order to save the homeland.

After the process of democratization, the understanding of Spanish Civil War historiography became more nuanced. It understood the violence that occurred and sought to focus more on a narrative that was centered on victims of the conflict as opposed to an account for the heroes of the war. It is precisely Gadamer's approach to hermeneutics that embraces the contemporary historiography as it is open to a plurality of interpretations with the texts of the past. Furthermore, current historiography takes into account human intentionality and understands that people are essentially tossed into a history that they neither started nor can finish.

People must continue to act in some way in order to respond to history.<sup>20</sup> Individuals find themselves in the middle of a narrative and through dialogue with the past, they can come to an understanding of who they are as individuals. This can be utilized to negotiate the controversies of the past and apply these interpretations to the controversies of the present in order to unravel possible futures for the individual memories and the collective memories of those effected. The interpretation over time of Spanish historiography has evolved and continues to do so due to a variety of causes. David Herzberger offers a history of the development of histories of the Spanish Civil War and describes how and why they have changed over time and what motivations existed for that change to occur.

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<sup>20</sup> Robert J. Dostal, et al., *The Cambridge Companion to Gadamer*.



## Interpretations of the Spanish Civil War in Historiography

According to David Herzberger, the earliest compiled histories of the Spanish Civil War was created by the Francoist historians and stressed both the violence and the immorality of the Republican faction. This was used to create legitimacy for the new Francoist state and to perpetuate propaganda in order to keep the populace controlled and to crush dissent. Those who supported the Republic were silenced while the narrative that was extolled by the Nationalists was given primacy up until the period of democratization as is explained by Herzberger:

The exclusion of Republican sympathizers is not surprising, since the Nationalist regime set out not only to control all forms of publishing, including textbooks and scholarly writing, but also to exert authority over the teaching of history throughout the country and to oversee faculty appointments in university history departments. Such controls were critical for implementing the larger Francoist agenda related to history, which as Paul Preston has noted, was the “continuation of the war by other means” (*Politics*, 30). For the regime and its historians, all that took place in the war, as well as the political instability that had overwhelmed earlier Republican attempts to govern the nation, confirmed the need for the military uprising in 1936, justified the bloodshed of the conflict, and legitimized the repression carried out by the Franco government. In other words, students need to understand from the beginning that, although all historiography conveys a certain perspective, during Francoist rule this perspective was single-voiced and narrowly focused to give historical substance to the regime.<sup>21</sup>

Narratives can hold a significant amount of power not only on explaining the past, but also giving moral prescriptions that are rooted in history. Due to the instability that arose during the Spanish Civil War and the great social, economic, and religious divide between Spaniards; order was needed in order to properly restore Spain. The order was restored to Spain by Franco and he kept the peace for at least 30 years. This narrative not only was useful in serving to discard and discredit the claims of Republican historians; it

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<sup>21</sup> David Herzberger, “Representations of the Civil War in Historiography,” in *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Noël Valis. (New York, NY: The Modern Language Association of America, 2007), 45-46.

also was able to make moral and political prescriptions that justified the existence of the Franco Regime. It was this basis in history, that Francoism was able to successfully perpetuate itself for three decades.

There was specific media in both film and books that argued that the military rebellion by the Nationalists was morally justified in order to protect the homeland and to resurrect Spain from its impending decay. One of the first books to appear was *La Guerra de Reconquista española y el criminal comunismo: El glorioso ejército nacional. Mártires y héroes* (“The War of Spanish Reconquest and Criminal Communism: The Glorious National Army: Martyrs and Heroes”). Another book and also a film adapted shortly after the war was *Raza* this film was a semi-autobiographical film that displayed the greatness of Francisco Franco, created under the pseudonym of Jaime de Andrade.

The first law passed that dealt explicitly with the Spanish Civil War was the *Causa General*. This was a state sponsored that was an investigation that focused on leftist crimes, these reports were usually exaggerated in order to support the ideology of the state. The emphasis of the Francoist historiography was on the violence committed by the Republican faction, there was a particular focus on anti-clerical violence. Furthermore, the Francoist historiography stressed the importance of the rebellion as the only way to bring a long term peace to Spain.

Specific media such as film, newspapers, and textbooks were used in order to depict the Francoist cause as a noble fight against ‘Godless Communism’ which was perceived to be the ultimate threat to the Spanish People. The Spanish idea of the *Reconquista* was revived in this historiography. Communism and the values of the enlightenment were seen as a beast equivalent to the Moors in 15<sup>th</sup> Century Spain, both of

which needed to be ousted in order for there to be a lasting peace in the region. Franco is referred to as The Reconqueror and portrayed as a modern Santiago Matamoros (the former Patron Saint of Spain who drove out the Moors). Francoist historiography also tended to ignore some of the economic causes of the Spanish Civil War, it also tended to be concerned primarily with supporting the ideology of the state. While some copies of books such as Hugh Thomas's *The Spanish Civil War* was brought into Spain in the early 1960s and later the book titled "The Myth of Franco's Crusade" were also introduced in the early 1960s; the status quo of Francoist historiography continued to dominate in Spain.<sup>22</sup>

After the death of Franco and subsequent democratization did the Republican sympathizers gained a voice in historiography. Even though the methods of historical inquiry were driven by documentation in Post-Francoist Spain there was also attention paid to the victims of violence rather than valorizing the 'heroes' of the war. Thus, the priorities of the war were changed as a result of the democratization not just of Spain, but of Spanish Civil War historiography. Many of those sympathetic to the Republican cause as well as the recollections of the war were preserved in memoirs. Other forms of media were used to recall memories of the Spanish Civil War, this included: journalism, photography, poetry, film, and art among others as ways of preserving the memories of those who were witnesses of the war. It is the chief task of the next section of this essay to examine the way in which memoirs of those involved in the Spanish Civil War as well as other forms of media help to inform cultural memory and understanding today.

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<sup>22</sup> David Herzberger, *Representations of the Civil War in Historiography*, 50-52.

## The Republican faction as represented in Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*

Of the entirety of memoirs that comment on the Spanish Civil War, none is more well-known than George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*. This text is considered a classic in any understanding of the war both as an international conflict and as a deeply human conflict.<sup>23</sup> Some of the recurring themes in the *Homage* are the absurdity of war, the disillusionment with left-wing sectarianism, and a meditation on the human condition. Orwell has been considered a key writer on the conflict due to his vivid descriptions of violence and his honesty about his emotions in relation to the war. This autobiography is a key example of a work that describes the Spanish Civil War through foreign eyes. The *Homage* begins with Orwell meeting with an Italian anti-fascist and feeling at once a sense of camaraderie. For Orwell, upon arriving in Barcelona he notes the spirit and enthusiasm for revolution in Barcelona. The revolution has changed not only the way people think about economic relations and exchange, but even the way individuals interact.

For instance, the revolutionaries in Catalonia use of *Tú* instead of *Su, Usted, Señor* or *Don* also the revolutionaries would say *Salud* instead of *Buenos Días*. These linguistic changes were prompted by an emphasis on opposition to hierarchy, even if it was present in language. After taking in the enthusiasm of the revolution, Orwell headed to the front where he was to encounter the reality of the Spanish Civil War. Orwell observed that he had a burning desire to kill at least one Fascist during his time in Spain. He noticed that his comrades had not

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<sup>23</sup> Adam Hochschild, *Spain in our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*, (New York; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt), 2016.

only violent methods of dealing with the Nationalist Front but would also had unorthodox ways of dealing with them mainly through utilizing propaganda.

At Monte Trazo the lines were closer and one fired oftener, but I am reasonably certain that I never hit anyone. As a matter of fact, on this front and at this period of the war the real weapon was not the rifle but the megaphone. Being unable to kill your enemy you shouted at him instead. This method of warfare is so extraordinary that it needs explaining. Wherever the lines were within hailing distance of one another there was always a good deal of shouting from trench to trench. From ourselves: '*Fascistas-maricones*' From the Fascists: '*Viva España! Viva Franco!*... Generally, they shouted a set-piece, full of revolutionary sentiments which explained to the Fascist soldiers that they were merely the hirelings of international capitalism, that they were fighting against their own class, etc. etc. and urged them to come over to our side.<sup>24</sup>

It should be noted that the commentary represents the Republican side in a very sympathetic light. Despite his urge to kill the fascists and to attempt to win the war for the cause of war, Orwell remains deeply empathetic towards others in the book. For example, as he goes to throw a bomb in order to kill members of the Nationalist front, Orwell understands the pain that the enemy goes through.

By one of those strokes of luck that happen about once in a year I had managed to drop the bomb almost exactly where the rifle had flashed. There was the roar of the explosion and then, instantly, a diabolical outcry of screams and groans. We had got one of them, anyway; I don't know whether he was killed, but certainly he was badly hurt. Poor wretch, poor wretch! I felt a vague sorrow as I heard him screaming.<sup>25</sup>

Here, Orwell acknowledges the humanity of his fellow human being, while still remaining steadfast to his ideals. It is from this reading that some have interpreted Orwell's *Homage* as an anti-war text. This can be understood further in that over the course of the *Homage*, Orwell begins to be disillusioned with the cause of the revolution, mainly due to tactics used by the Left such as the destruction of churches, while also

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<sup>24</sup> George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*. (London: Penguin, 1986, o.p. 1938), 44.

<sup>25</sup> George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, 78.

remaining critical of the vast sectarianism within the left. This is described later as one of the socialist parties engages in street warfare against the Spanish Communist Party.

Orwell left Spain disillusioned knowing that the revolution that promised prosperity consumed the very people that tried to create a better world. The increasing power of the Spanish Communist Party (assisted by the Comintern) helped to deepen his anti-Stalinist sentiment. This should be properly understood as a left anti-Communism. It is through this anti-Communism that the international left in the 20<sup>th</sup> century considered the *Homage* a vivid description of how power-hungry the Communist Party was along with the Republican cause that failed yet was a noble cause nonetheless. In contrast, the right in the English-speaking world took the *Homage* as well as his later works as a description of the authoritarian tendencies of Communism and that any ideas that resembled Communism ought to be opposed. Thus, the *Homage* had a profound influence not only as a description of the Spanish Civil War and Revolutionary Catalonia; it also further impressed the idea that the Spanish Civil War was driven primarily by ideology and that it was the ultimate clash of ideologies. This opinion will be explored further as it is manifest in memoirs of Francoist Volunteers.

### **The Nationalist faction and Franco's Volunteers**

Most of the historical literature today tends to discuss the direct memories of International writers loyal to the Republic. This may be largely due to the historiography during the Francoist era being compiled by those loyal to Franco. Today, historians have attempted to recover the memories of the Republicans due to their marginalization. This has, however, come at the price of ignoring the stories of the Nationalists. One story of interest is the memoir of Peter Kemp, or the Carlist from Cambridge. Kemp was one of

the international volunteers for Franco. While there is an expansive literature on international volunteers for the Republican side, there is substantially less literature on the international volunteers for the Nationalist faction. Presented here are explanations for where the international volunteers for Franco came from, and why individuals such as Kemp believed that Franco's cause was worth fighting for.

Peter Kemp was a young graduate from Cambridge University and shortly upon graduation, was on his way to studying law. It was in his first few years studying for the Bar that the Spanish Civil War began. Kemp dreamed of a life of adventure and believed that the cause of Rebel Spain was his own. He sought to defend Christendom and tradition from Communism and the battleground which the fight against Christendom and Communism was in Spain. Kemp felt strongly about his beliefs and how they related to the rebel cause, in his words: "I felt, naively perhaps but strongly if I had been prepared to proclaim my opinions in the safety of the Cambridge Union, I should also be ready to defend them on the battlefield".<sup>26</sup> Not only does Kemp argue that his beliefs have strong intellectual backing, but that his beliefs can and must be defended through combat. Kemp believed that ideology was the primary cause behind the Spanish Civil War. He also was aware that the war in Spain was a prologue to World War II. "Although not gifted with exceptional foresight, even I could see the Second World War was looming over the horizon, and I felt it was high time I began to prepare myself for it. Besides, I thought, if I was going to fight this war I might as well do it properly".<sup>27</sup> This signals Kemp's loyalty not only to the cause of Franco, but to the cause of the International far-right as a whole.

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<sup>26</sup> Christopher Othen, *Franco's International Brigades: Adventurers, Fascists, and Christian Crusaders in the Spanish Civil War*. (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2013), 75.

<sup>27</sup> Christopher Othen, *Franco's International Brigades*, 218.

Kemp continued to fight in a variety of different battles throughout the war. He was later injured and spent a few weeks recovering in a hospital. Later he had the distinction of having a private meeting with Franco, who congratulated him due to his status as one of the few British volunteers. As Kemp leaves Spain, he reflects on his experience serving with the Nationalists. “Despite the horror and the heartbreak, and the wounds that trouble me still, I count as a privilege to have fought beside some of the best and bravest friends anyone could ever hope to meet-and against some of the bravest enemies”.<sup>28</sup> The reflections of Peter Kemp and his experiences as are presented in his memoir, *The Thorns of Memory* show the thoughts of those who fought with Franco and why they chose to do so.<sup>29</sup> Some of the recurring reasons for joining the nationalists included defending the nation from Communism, atheism, and the ideas of the Enlightenment. These are some of the reasons cited by foreign volunteers from Britain, Ireland, Portugal, and even among the Spanish fighters themselves. The Germans, Italians, and Moors were conscripted into fighting with the Nationalists, so while some sympathized with the cause and ideology of Franco, others participated because joining the armed forces was seen as a way of attaining social mobility. Further, there was also some sectarianism within the Nationalist faction; the Francoists, Falangists, Carlists, Monarchists, and Traditionalists had some ideological differences that occasionally made them fight amongst themselves. However, this sectarianism was not as strong as the divisions within the Republican faction.

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<sup>28</sup> Christopher Othen, *Franco's International Brigades*, 264.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Kemp, *The Thorns of Memory*. (London, UK: Sinclair-Stevenson), 1990.



Kemp's account of the war provides us with an insight onto the experience of those who fought for the Nationalists. In Francoist historiography, those sympathetic to the Nationalists were represented, while the experiences of the Republican fighters were suppressed. This has changed and now we notice a shortage of Nationalist memoirs in studies of the Spanish Civil War. While *The Thorns of Memory* details the worldview and participation of Francoist combatants; it still perpetuates the idea that the Spanish Civil War was primarily fueled by ideology. This is erroneous because it ignores the significant domestic factors that caused the war. The next section of this essay deals with two Spanish women who were on different sides of the Spanish Civil War and who fulfilled similar roles, while having an understanding of the domestic causes of the conflict.

### **Two women of both sides of the Spanish Civil War**

During the course of the Spanish Civil War, women played a key role, but women were expected to fulfill certain duties depending on which zone they were in. Women in the Nationalist zone were expected to be mothers and homemakers, and defend traditional gender roles and the values of the Catholic Church. Women that allied themselves with the Republican cause defended the gains that occurred for women during the Republican government. This included women's suffrage, maternity benefits, and the legalization of divorce. Some Republican women even fought briefly during the war (as the *mujeres libres*).<sup>30</sup> While these women fought very briefly in the war and were

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<sup>30</sup> Lisa Margaret Lines, *Milicianas: Women in Combat in the Spanish Civil War*, (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books), 2012.

dismissed as being incompetent fighters, they were still used by the Republican side for propaganda purposes during the war.

Most of the women during the Spanish Civil War sided with the Nationalist front, but this was sometimes dependent on which zone one was located in and when the war ended and Franco came into power, most women began to conform to the Nationalist conception of womanhood. The stories of two different women will be explored in this section. One from the Nationalist side and the other from the Republican side. Both were key figures for each faction and even became rivals with other prominent women during the war. Both women played key roles in the running of welfare organizations for their respective factions and for these reasons, this is what makes them unique to study.

Mercedes Sanz-Sabido was a woman from the city of Valladolid, born to a rural family who were landowners; it was only natural that she eventually sided with the rebels during the Spanish Civil War. She was a deeply religious woman and saw the importance of Catholicism to the national culture of Spain. It was at one Sunday mass that she was approached by her future husband, Onésimo Redondo Ortega. Onésimo completed training in law before meeting Mercedes and was active in the local Falangist movement. Mercedes quickly took an interest in her husband's political activities and participated with him up until he was killed by Republican militiamen. After weeks of mourning and taking care of her children alone, she decided that she ought to engage again in political life. However, being one of the few women to enter politics in the Nationalist zone put her into a rivalry with Pilar Primo de Rivera, as Mercedes claimed:

They called me territorial chief but they might just as well have appointed me Bishop of Madrid or of Valladolid. I hadn't the faintest idea what was going on. I didn't know Pilar Primo de Rivera and I'd never even seen her in my life. I had

met José Antonio Primo de Rivera through Onésimo but I had never met Pilar and I had nothing to do with the Sección Femenina.<sup>31</sup>

Sección Femenina acted as an organization that mobilized women in order to support the cause of the Nationalist cause. However, Mercedes witnessed the vast number of abandoned children and decided to found a welfare organization which would become known as Auxilio de Invierno. Auxilio de Invierno grew significantly and established various cafeterias and orphanages across the Nationalist Zone. This soon gained the attention and derision of Pilar Primo de Rivera who used her connections in the Falange to get others to acquire the Auxilio de Invierno. However, Mercedes remained one of the most influential women in the Nationalist Zone and even held several audiences with Francisco Franco.<sup>32</sup> In the course of history, her accomplishments were diminished and the origin of the Auxilio de Invierno was claimed by Pilar and her allies. Thus, the story of Mercedes has been largely ignored until now. Her commitment to the welfare of children and others as well as a rivalry with another powerful woman in the same faction is similar to the story of a Republican woman.

Margarita Nelken was a native of Madrid and was an art historian and critic. She was of Jewish descent and her parents taught her several languages and she was deeply engaged in the cultural life of her city. She had children with two different men, Julio Antonio and her later lover, Martín de Paúl y de Martín de Barbadillo. While raising her children, she continued to write and advocate for the rights of women and the peasantry. The book that brought her to fame was *La condición social de la mujer*, which was

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<sup>31</sup> Mercedes Sanz-Sabido, in Paul Preston, *Doves of War: Four Women of Spain*. (London: HarperCollins, 2002), 233-234.

<sup>32</sup> , Mercedes Sanz-Sabido, *Doves of War: Four Women of Spain*, 280-284.

greeted with hostility by the Catholic Church and the Spanish Right.<sup>33</sup> In it, she makes the case of motherhood and feminism being compatible while remaining committed to the cause of the Republicans.

Now that social progress has taken the Spanish woman out of her secular culture, it is time to start considering the cultivation of her brain and the development of her physical energies. Out with the child-woman incapable of looking after herself capable only of being either the courtesan or the servant of the man. But also out with the pallid, anaemic, narrow-shouldered girl, whose poetry glimpsed through the windows of a country-house is not enough to compensate for the sickliness that she will transmit to her children. Mothers who want their children to be robust and healthy men and women must be strong and they must know how to win respect for their own strength.<sup>34</sup>

This portion of the text not only outlines how Margarita has lived her life, but that other women in Spain ought to follow her example if they are to be liberated. Nationalists often characterized her as “sexually promiscuous”, a “Jewish Amazon”, and a “degenerate woman” (as with most left-wing women).<sup>35</sup> Upon writing *La condición social de la mujer*, she quickly took a further interest in political life. She ran for deputy for the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE). Margarita engaged in efforts of agrarian reform in order to better the conditions of the *braceros* and other peasants. However, she was unpopular with some in the ranks of the PSOE, including La Pasionaria (Dolores Ibárruri).

Though both Margarita and La Pasionaria were excellent orators and both admired the Soviet Union, this did not stop them from engaging in a bitter rivalry. Margarita was eventually ousted from the PSOE and upon the capture of Barcelona, eventually went into exile in Mexico. Even with the death of two of her children,

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<sup>33</sup> Margarita Nelken, *Doves of War: Four Women of Spain*, 308

<sup>34</sup> Margarita Nelken, *Doves of War: Four Women of Spain*, 310.

<sup>35</sup> Margarita Nelken, *Doves of War: Four Women of Spain*, 313-317.

Margarita remained active in political and artistic life. Nevertheless, she still longed to return to Spain and for it to become peaceful again. Margarita's story was largely forgotten in contrast to *La Pasionaria*.<sup>36</sup> Her life as a refugee of the Spanish Civil War is an experience that is similar to thousands of others who were forced to leave Spain during the conflict.

### **A Basque Exile of the Spanish Civil War**

The story of refugees and exiles of the Spanish Civil War is crucial to understanding both the domestic and international effects of the conflict. There appears to be scant memoirs concerning the direct experiences of the refugees of the Spanish Civil War. One recent memoir by Arantza Cazlis Shuey, tells her story as a young Basque girl who is must quickly flee the country and who is sent into exile in several different nations. Cazlis Shuey begins her story by recalling living her everyday life with her parents, brothers, and extended family. She then states how her world was turned upside down at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War:

The War was still going on, and then one evening we were going to bed there was a knock at the door. We were ordered to get into trucks, grabbing first all the soap and putting on as much of our clothes as we could. We were leaving for France. The Fascists were coming. Toward morning we stopped to cross the border and they gave us condensed milk and water to drink. This was our breakfast. When we arrived in France, for a night or two we slept in barns and then they took us to a nice place in the city of Sète. Sète is an important city in Southern France on the Mediterranean.<sup>37</sup>

It was after this that Cazlis Shuey realized that her life would never be the same. She was torn away from her family members and she was constantly on the move. She witnessed

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<sup>36</sup> Margarita Nelken, *Doves of War: Four Women of Spain*, 429-433.

<sup>37</sup> Arantza Cazalis Shuey, *Growing up in a time of war: Memoirs of a young Basque girl's thirteen-year odyssey as a refugee of the Spanish Civil War*. (Self-Published), 2011, 24.

bombings in her town and the deaths of those in her village. Cazlis Shuey was later transported to a refugee camp in France along with other Spanish Civil War refugees. While in the camps she recalls the difficulty of daily life, while at the same time, taking solidarity and solace with those who were also in the camps with her:

I remember that in spite of the misery the adults were suffering, we children found things to do to have fun. This was an enclosed camp. The enclosure was probably only some kind of barbwire. There were guards so that nobody, particularly the children, could escape. The guards were black Senegalese. I learned one of my first words in French: “allez, allez” (“out of here”, “go”), but they were not mean. My aunt asked for permission a couple of times to go to the town. She needed sewing items. The rest of us never went out of the camp. In spite of these circumstances some talented people started to organize little events. They did songs or danced on a stage.<sup>38</sup>

Upon witnessing several bombings and the death of her parents and brother, Cazlis Shuey began to feel pain over the loss of her family. However, she still found reasons to take pleasure in life. This attests to the human condition in the face of adversity. This story is not unique to Cazlis Shuey as this is reflective of the stories of thousands of refugees of the Spanish Civil War. Many of them fleeing to Mexico, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom.

Since she was exiled from Basque Country from an early age, Cazlis Shuey lost her language and contact with her neighbors. Only within the past few years has she regained knowledge of the Basque language. The loss of language is analogous to the process of forgetting as with the loss of her language, Cazlis Shuey had to look towards other ways in which to express her experiences and memory of the war. In order to have a thorough understanding of the experience of refugees in the Spanish Civil War, we must examine a plethora of different memoirs in order to properly understand the facets of

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<sup>38</sup> Arantza Cazalis Shuey, *Growing up in a time of war*, 30.

memory that were experienced by refugees of the conflict. Other than the short accounts produced by Cazlis Shuey, there are other accounts of the refugee camps that are not only written but include visual images. These images were taken by one of the most famous photographers of Spain, Agustí Centelles used the camera to document his life and the life of others during the Spanish Civil War.

### **Agustí Centelles: Photographer of the Spanish Civil War**

Agustí Centelles remains today one of the most famous photographers in Spain. Of all the photographers in Spain. As the founder of Spanish Photojournalism, Centelles was able to take a variety of different photos that displayed and preserved scenes of battle and the lives of refugees of the Spanish Civil War. His Leica camera allowed him the ability to document immediately an event the moment that it occurred. No longer was the photojournalist limited to taking limited amounts of photos via a tripod-based camera. Further, photographs were more widely circulated during this time period.

Centelles produced a significant number of negatives during the course of the Spanish Civil War and due to their wide circulation, photography was seen as a socially committed art. When Centelles was more than just engaging in photojournalism, he also saw himself as resisting fascism. This resistance of Francoism eventually forced him to flee into Bram, France, which boasted a large Spanish Civil War refugee camp. It was here that Centelles began to document the events that occurred here at the camp, including daily life. In a passage from his now published diary, Centelles reflects on the German invasion of Poland and its parallels to Spain's fall to Francoism:

Effectively, the rumors that Germany had attacked Poland was confirmed today by the media. The war has begun. Numerous cities in Poland have been bombed. France and England, they went to Hitler to find a friendly way to solve the conflict. They asked for volunteers in the concentration camps. Apart from the exiles that went from the concentration camps here to the hospital in Castelnaudary, they arrived with all that they had in Montolieu. Since we were in our barracks, now we are 88. Everything is screaming, noise is everywhere. We will have to go back to sleep in pairs. The most diverse cabals are elaborated on the occasion of the hoaxes and the news of the war. Many are nervous and tense; other sad; most are indifferent. The spirits forged in our three years of war face the present moment with aplomb, serenity, and courage. The mail is delayed or does not arrive. You have to make a list of volunteers for the French Army.

Here there are demonstrations, some reasonable, others idiotic.<sup>39</sup>.

Centelles believes that the struggle against Fascism in Poland is analogous to the resistance to Fascism in Spain and France. Centelles offers us a glimpse of what those within the camp experience, from anxiety to the desire to fight against those who oppress them. Further, Centelles utilizes his craft of photography in order to preserve the memories and document the lives of those in the Bram concentration camp. One such photo that seeks to document life in Bram and demonstrate the harsh life at the concentration camp is seen below.

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<sup>39</sup> Agustí Centelles, *Diario de un fotógrafo: Bram, 1939*. (Barcelona: Ediciones Península), 2009, 175.





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This photo shows an officer guiding the refugees through the camp. The refugees are carrying sacks which contain all of their remaining belongings. The act of viewing the photograph is meant to evoke a sympathy with the spectator, who attempts to understand the gravity of the situation the Spanish Civil War refugees were in. Other photos within the album that Centelles released include scenes that display those within the camp enjoying a game of chess or a mock bullfight, thus attesting to the resiliency of the human spirit. It is for this reason that Centelles' photographs have now been used for the cause of memory due to their recent public release.

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<sup>40</sup> Agustí Centelles, *La maleta del fotógrafo*. (Barcelona: Ediciones Península), 2009, 37.

When Centelles was in France in 1939 when he gave a family in France his most important negatives. These negatives (which numbered in the hundreds) were kept with the same family up until 2009, this is when the negatives were sold to the Salamanca Archives. The appearance of the photographs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century began to spark debate. Centelles' sons used the photos to preserve the memory of their father and allowed the negatives to tour across Spain. In recent years, touring public exhibitions that reflect upon the war and Centelles' photographs have been used to emphasize a Catalan identity and the importance of Catalonia in the conflict. The photographs can be seen as not only a document that preserves the memory of those who lived during the conflict and lived in the concentration camps. It can be used to argue that the events of the war and the stories of the Catalonians have been marginalized and hidden from the Spanish population. Thus, photographs can be seen not only as documents of memory, but also as tools that can be used as propaganda.<sup>41</sup>

### **Photography, Posters, and Remembering in the Spanish Civil War**

The power of photographs and other visual media to present a narrative and to influence others can help to give understand a crucial aspect of cultural production and distribution of ideas during the Spanish Civil War. Photography was gaining in popularity and new technology allowed for images to be taken quickly on-site and distributed shortly after in large quantities. Two famous photographers of the Spanish Civil War, Agustí Centelles and Robert Capa both produced images for the Republican side.

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<sup>41</sup> Katherine O. Stafford, *Narrating War in Peace: The Spanish Civil War in the Transition and Today*. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan), 2015, 38-51



This image shows four Republican partisans with firearms drawn taking cover behind two dead horses. ‘This same image appeared on a 1936 cover of *Newsweek*, and became a widely circulated image. As was noted earlier, Centelles believed that he was acting as an activist against Fascism by producing photographs. Not only is the distribution of iconic photographs to the democracies itself a political act, but the four partisans in the photo are themselves in an act of resistance. Firearms are drawn and a makeshift barricade of dead horses is constructed and used in combat against the nationalists. Thus, the photo evokes a sense of despair that the four guards are facing and allows for the audience to sympathize with them. By showing only the Republican partisans and not any Nationalist soldiers, it depicts an invisible enemy that must be destroyed at all costs. The Republicans themselves are shown to be fighting for the just cause and the viewer is supposed to identify with the struggle of the Republicans. While Centelles may have been

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<sup>42</sup> Agustí Centelles, *Soldiers firing from behind a barricade of dead horses*, (*Un grupo de guardias de as alto apostados tras unos caballos muertos como barricada*). Barcelona, 1936. In “El Comienzo de la Guerra Civil en Barcelona, por Centelles”, *El País*, Jul. 18, 2016, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, [https://elpais.com/elpais/2016/07/17/album/1468760788\\_161499.html#foto\\_gal\\_3](https://elpais.com/elpais/2016/07/17/album/1468760788_161499.html#foto_gal_3)

the most well-known photographer in Spain, another famous international photographer was also present on the front lines armed with a camera. This photographer also sympathetic to the Republic was Robert Capa, who helped to produce some of the most iconic photos of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, one of them depicting a specific event of the Spanish Civil War.



Robert Capa is considered by many to be one of the most famous photographers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. His impressive portfolio includes photojournalism images of the Spanish Civil War, the French Resistance, the Battle of Normandy, Israeli settlements in 1948-1950, and the Indochina Wars. Capa accompanied other photojournalists in the Spanish Civil War (including Ernest Hemingway).<sup>44</sup> He documented various battles such as the

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<sup>43</sup> Robert Capa, *Death of a loyalist militiaman*. Córdoba front, Spain. Early September, 1936, International Center for Photography, Magnum Photos.

<sup>44</sup> Ernest Hemingway. *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. (First Scribner paperback fiction ed. New York, NY: Scribner Paperback Fiction), (1995, o.p. 1940).

Battle of Brunete and the Córdoba Front and one photo, *The Falling Soldier* became a photograph that came to symbolize the conflict itself.

The photo depicts a Republican militiaman falling down after being wounded on the Córdoba front line. *The Falling Soldier* symbolizes the death of not just one soldier, but of all the deceased Republican soldiers. A single man is shot down by an enemy that cannot be seen, but that the viewer acknowledges to be a destructive force. Like the single individual shot down the Republic itself is seen to be defeated by an invisible enemy that cannot be taken down. The photograph itself was widely circulated and was used to rally support for the Republican cause.

The photograph became one of the most well-known that Capa ever produced, however, an authenticity debate arose beginning in 1975. This authenticity dispute was initially raised by Phillip Knightley, a British historian and journalist. Those contemporaries of Capa who disputed the authenticity of *The Falling Soldier* were almost always other journalists. Are there any professional or political motivations that these journalists had against Capa and his photographic work? As personal memory of the event itself fades can the fragility of memory itself contribute to the disputation of the authenticity of *The Falling Soldier*? Only by turning to forensic science can we have any definitive answer for this question. Based on the forensic evidence and that provided by

*La maleta Mexicana* (The Mexican Suitcase) a collection of negatives, that *The Falling Soldier* is indeed an authentic photograph.<sup>45</sup>



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The poster, *For Spain. One Great and Free* (*Por la Espana. Una Grande y Libre*), serves as a way of presenting the ideal man of Nationalist Spain. It depicts a masculine soldier

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<sup>45</sup> Richard Whealan, "Proving that Robert Capa's "Falling Soldier" is Genuine: A Detective Story," Robert Capa in Love and War: *American Masters*, 2006, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/americanmasters/robert-capa-in-love-and-war/47/>

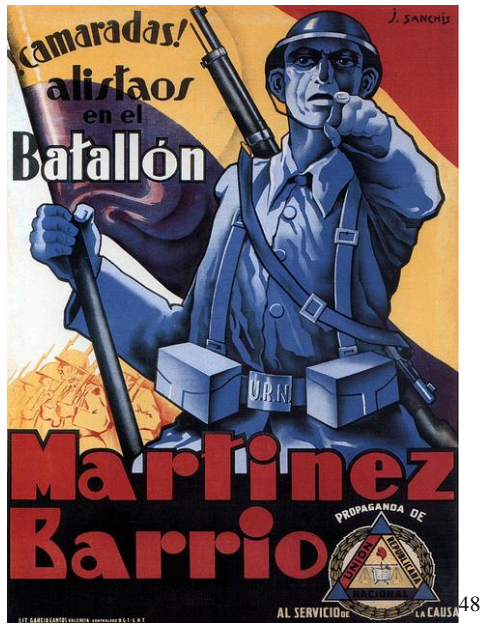
<sup>46</sup> For Spain. One, Great, and Free, (*Por la España. Una Grande y Libre*). (Nationalist Poster, ca. 1937), Lithograph.

in a blue shirt with the Red symbol of the Falange proudly holding a banner of the Falange. The ideal man of Nationalist Spain is shown to love the fatherland, the church, and tradition. The man depicted displays masculine features such as a robust jaw and broad shoulders, to be used against the Communists in defense of Spain. It is this man who defends the fatherland from the enemies of Spain who is to be glorified by the Nationalist front and who is worthy to have fought and be given power upon gaining victory against the enemies of Spain.

This lithograph was created in 1937 as the war was just unfolding. Nationalist posters drew heavily from the color lithographs that were already used by Nazi Germany. Nationalist posters did not have the same ability as the Nazis to have state power to distribute the posters, and thus circulation was limited. The emphasis of nationalist posters is on the struggle of battle and the usage of Nationalist symbols that promote unity and national pride in order to combat the threat of Communism. Thus, union and integration of the Nationalist front through military force was taken to be the proper way to gain political power.<sup>47</sup> Propaganda posters were not as widely circulated as those utilized by the Republican faction, this can be understood not just because the Republican faction held state power; but also due to the greater need for unity amongst the various sects of the Republican front.

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<sup>47</sup> Kathleen M. Vernon, "Iconography of the Nationalist Cause," In *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Noël Valis. (New York, NY: The Modern Language Association of America, 2007), 292-299.



This poster, *Enlist!* was made by a single man I. Sanchis. This poster depicts a single man pointing to and requesting the viewer to enlist in the Republican Battalion. The soldier is carrying a Spanish Republican banner with a simple rifle and helmet. The flag of the Spanish Republic serves to illustrate that the Left ought to come together and unite against the Nationalists. The Communists, Anarchists, and others should put aside their differences and come together to fight against a common enemy. Thus, there is a message that the poster poses that signifies a commitment to the unification of the Left.

The propaganda posters of the Republican faction was heavily influenced by the propaganda of the Soviet Union. Like the USSR propaganda, the goal of the posters was to establish unity among a divided left wing coalition. The Republicans had a greater circulation of propaganda posters due to the funding from the state. This poster, unlike the Nationalist poster does less to demonstrate the ideal of masculinity, as this was a

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<sup>48</sup> I. Sanchis. *Enlist! (¡Camaradas! Alistaos en el Batallón)*. (Republican Union, 1937), Lithograph.



value that was far more important to the Nationalists compared to the Republic. As can be gleaned from the Spanish title, there is an emphasis on camaraderie between the various sects of the left in order to fight against Fascism collectively and to sustain the Republic.

Images such as photographs and propaganda posters, among other visual media have been demonstrated to be used in order to persuade and serve some political ends. Other forms of art such as poetry and literature can also be used towards political ends. Various poets from around the world, such as Pablo Neruda responded to the Spanish Civil War in the form of poetry. These poems were created explicitly to show solidarity with either the Republican or Nationalist factions. The next section examines two poems written by two different Spanish authors, one Nationalist and one Republican. Each of which utilize poetry to serve an explicit narrative and can be interpreted through historical and contemporary memory.

### **Poetry and the Spanish Civil War, the Intellectuals remember the war**

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War caused the world to acknowledge the events occurring in Spain. A response was thus demanded from the intellectuals to either condemn the actions of the Republicans or the Nationalists as the conflict continued. Many of the responses of the intellectuals of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is preserved in poetry, literature, or explicit statements. A questionnaire was released in Europe that asked the leading authors of the era which faction of the Spanish Civil War they supported. Most intellectuals responded with overwhelming support for the Republicans. However, some chose to remain neutral or sided explicitly with Franco. Those who sympathized with the Republican side included: Ernest Hemingway, George Orwell, Pablo Neruda, Miguel de

Unamuno, Martha Gelhorn, Pablo Picasso, and Langton Hughes.<sup>49</sup> Those who supported the Nationalists included Gertrude Stein, J.R.R. Tolkien, and Salvador Dalí. It should be made clear that Stein, Tolkien, and Dalí are not sympathetic to Fascism, but that they supported the Nationalists due being repulsed by the anti-clerical violence that was committed by some on the Republican faction. Those who chose to remain neutral during the war included Jacques Maritain, Aldous Huxley, T.S. Eliot, and Ezra Pound.<sup>50</sup> Maritain remained neutral since he believed that natural law theory entails an account for human rights and that these human rights must be respected by all involved. Huxley maintained neutrality due to his commitment to pacifism and humanism. Ezra Pound, during the Spanish Civil War was already deeply involved with the Italian Fascist Party and was the only author that did not cite a respect for human rights as a reason for neutrality.<sup>51</sup>

One way in understanding the responses of intellectuals during the Spanish Civil War is to examine poetry that concerns itself with the conflict. Particularly from the Spanish point of view as most of the literature on the Spanish Civil War tends to focus on the international perspectives of the conflict. Two different poems will be analyzed respectively by a Nationalist author and a Republican author. Through their poetry, they seek to evoke not only specific feelings within the reader, but also to impose a narrative that the reader ought to sympathize with.

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<sup>49</sup> Murray A. Sperber, *And I Remember Spain*. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc.), 1974.

<sup>50</sup> *Authors take sides on the Spanish War [Answers to a questionnaire issued by L. Aragon and others.] for the Left Review*, (London: Left Review, 1937), accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/authors-take-sides-on-the-spanish-war>

<sup>51</sup> J.J. Wilhelm, *Ezra Pound: The Tragic Years: 1925-1972*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1994. 122-123.

### **Poema of the Beast and the Angel**

I curse you [Lenin] in the name of every twilight  
And every rose; I  
Curse you in the name of Venice and its gondolas  
Of Vienna and its violins,  
Of Seville and its sun!  
I curse you in your failure, because  
You are the anti-Spirit and the Spirit is God!  
You are dried up, in the snow, there in Red Square...  
But in Granada the Nightingale goes on singing!  
-José María Pemán.<sup>52</sup>

In this poem, Pemán illustrates that Lenin holds responsibility for the violence that has arisen in Europe. The rise of Communism has led to an outright hatred not only for tradition, but also hatred of the Church and God. Pemán believes that the Church and God are fundamental axis which Europe stands upon. Thus, the defense of the Church and God are needed as a proper response to the scourge of Communism. It was for this reason that Pemán believed in the cause of the Falange and Franco. His allegiance to the cause of Franco would later allow him to become a member of the Real Academia.

Works by those such as Pemán were works of memory that were preserved during the Francoist era as they assisted in justifying the regime and the cause of the *Reconquista*. Another poem an author sympathetic to the Republican cause can be seen below. It is dedicated to the Children of Madrid who suffered in the face of the conflict.

### **Ode to the Children of Madrid Killed by Machine-Guns**

You can see poor women running in the streets

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<sup>52</sup> José María Pemán, "Poema de la bestia y ángel (o.p.1938)", in *The Spanish Civil War: A Cultural and Historical Reader*, ed. Alun Kenwood. (Providence, RI: Berg Publishers, Inc. 1993), 117-118.

Like formless shadows or fright in the mist.  
Things are shrunken,  
Houses broken, splattered with blood,  
Rooms where a scream was caught trembling,  
Where nothingness exploded suddenly,  
Livid dust between floating walls  
Raise aloft their deathly phantom.  
They are the dark houses where children died.  
Look at them.

...

The machine-gun searches them out,  
The machine-gun, the lightning serpent,  
Death bursting forth for their martyrdom.  
Rivers of dead children go looking for  
A final destiny, a world above.  
In the moonlight one sees  
The foul-smelling birds of death:  
Aeroplanes, motors, dark vultures whose plumage encloses  
The destruction of still-living flesh,  
The horrible death of pieces that throb  
And that voice of the victims,  
Broken in the throat, that irrupts into the city like a groan.  
We all hear it [...]

-Vicente Aleixandre<sup>53</sup>

Aleixandre depicts a war-torn Madrid that is filled with suffering. Blood, screams, and fear are all that can be seen amongst the suffering men, women, and children in the city. The bombers and fighter planes of the Nationalist faction are compared to a bird of

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<sup>53</sup> Vicente Aleixandre, "Ahora, diario de la juventud" (o.p. 1938)", in *The Spanish Civil War: A Cultural and Historical Reader*, ed Alun Kenwood. (Providence, RI: Berg Publishers, Inc. 1993), 134.

death (such as a vulture). The vultures that feast upon the flesh of the innocent is meant to demonstrate the inhumanity of the actions of the Nationalists. Aleixandre, as a member of the Generation of '27 was deeply influenced by avant-garde art such as Surrealism and earlier Spanish thinkers such as José Ortega y Gasset. Despite being an author who was critical of the actions of the Franco regime, Aleixandre was able to keep remain isolated in Spain during the Francoist period up until his death in 1984.

The title of the poem itself is a dedication to the victims of the attacks in Madrid. It serves to preserve the memories of the innocent victims of the conflict. It makes no mention of the Republican soldiers and does not necessarily seek to glorify the cause of the Republic but focuses on condemning the actions of the Nationalists. While this poem was not widely discussed during the Francoist era, upon the transition to democracy it has served as a way to remember the destruction of Madrid at the hands of the Nationalists. It also serves as a way of asserting an explicit anti-Francoist narrative and can be seen as subversive even today. A narrative that serves the interest of either the Republican or Nationalist factions is not limited to the realm of poetry but can also be utilized on the silver screen. A variety of different films exist that display the conflict from an overtly political perspective.

### **The portrayal of the Spanish Civil War from *The Spanish Earth* to *Pan's Labyrinth***

Just as visual media such as photography and posters can provide different representations of memory in the Spanish Civil War. Different narratives are presented within cinema about the Spanish Civil War. Four different films, *The Spanish Earth*,

*Raza*, *La vieja memoria*, and *Pan's Labyrinth* will be examined in how they construct a specific narrative and understanding of the Spanish Civil War.

*The Spanish Earth* was directed by Joris Ivens and narrated Ernest Hemingway in 1937.<sup>54</sup> The film is a collection of reels taken by while in Spain that includes images of battles themselves as well as Spanish daily life. This film was created for the explicit purpose to create greater international support for the Republican cause (emphasizing the support from the democracies). The film was even first screened at the White House for the President Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt, both of whom supported the Republicans but believed that the nation as a whole would not support the Republican cause. The story follows Julián, a young Republican militiaman from the village of Fuentedueña. The villagers are constructing an irrigation project which will be used to make the dry earth better for farming. This juxtaposition of the conflict with the irrigation project is meant to draw an analogy between the land and the people. The Spanish Earth is dry and must be watered in order to continue their way of life. Similarly, Spain is in crisis, and the villagers are engaged in a struggle to fight against Fascism.

The film seems to portray a united Republican cause, which ignores the fragmentation of the Spanish Left in favor of a narrative which demonstrates complete unity and solidarity against Fascism. We are not told how the villagers were prevented from engaging in their irrigation project prior to the film. Instead, the audience must attempt to inform themselves about the cause of the poor condition of the land. Thus, the film reduces the causes of the Spanish Civil War to relating solely to land reform and the

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<sup>54</sup> *The Spanish Earth*, directed by Joris Ivens, (1937, USA: Contemporary Historians Inc.), Film.

evils of Fascism. Further, the film never really displays any images of the Nationalists outside of combat situations. It does so in an attempt to dehumanize the Nationalists and paint them as an evil monolith. It is for these reasons that *The Spanish Earth* serves as an effective propaganda film as it creates a simple narrative for the complex phenomena of the Spanish Civil War.<sup>55</sup> It does this primarily to gain support from the international community to fight against Fascism. *The Spanish Earth* is not the only propaganda film that was created to promote a specific narrative of the Spanish Civil War by non-Spaniards. One specific propaganda film was commissioned by Francisco Franco shortly after the Nationalists gained power after the end of the war.

*Raza* (“Race”; 1941) serves as the quintessential Nationalist propaganda film, directed by José Luis Sáenz de Heredia written by Jaime de Andrade, which was a pseudonym for Francisco Franco. The film follows the story of the Churrucas family, a Galician family that is modeled after Franco’s family. The film opens with images with the era of the *Reconquista* and the beginning of the Spanish Empire. This serves to stress that when the Spanish Empire was at its height, Spain was a glorious nation. The film reflects upon this when the protagonists’ father, a sailor in the Spanish Navy dies in the Spanish-American War. When Spain was forced to cede Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines to the United States, this was the beginning of the end of Spain’s glory.<sup>56</sup>

*Raza* also includes themes that stress the importance of Catholicism to Spanish identity. The Churrucas family wear crosses and attend mass, the brother of the

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<sup>55</sup> Adrian Shubert, “Between Documentary and Propaganda: Teaching *The Spanish Earth*,” in *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Noël Valis. (New York, NY: The Modern Language Association of America, 2007), 99-107.

<sup>56</sup> *Raza*, directed by José Luis Sáenz de Heredia, (1941, Spain: Cancilleria del Consejo de la Hispanidad), Film.

protagonist later becomes a priest. The priests are attacked by a group of Republican militiamen at a Church with orphans and all are forced to flee the Church. After the Republicans destroy the statues and icons in the Church, a firing squad is assembled and the priests are killed. The film connects patriotism with devotion to the Catholic Church. It notes the importance of family, sacrifice, and devotion to God and Spain.<sup>57</sup> This is in stark contrast with the Republicans who plot against Spain, the Catholic Church, and wish to allow Spain to fall to Communism. This culminates in the victory march at the end of the film in the Plaza de España, like those that occurred in Madrid after the end of the Spanish Civil War. The Spanish Nationals are present as well as the Moors, yet there is no mention of the aid from the Germans and the Italians.

After the end of the Franco regime and the transition to democracy, an interest in cinema as a way of understanding the Spanish Civil War re-emerged. Two different species of films came out of the post-transition period. One type attempted to examine multiple perspectives as way in which to understand the complexity of the conflict and the various rationales given for the actions committed by various individuals. The other species involves a staunch condemnation of Francoism and Fascism, and attempts to depict it as an evil that arose, but did not fully explain the origin of this evil. Two films that exemplify these different species include *La vieja memoria* (1976) and *Pan's Labyrinth* (2006).

*La vieja memoria* was created during the time of transition to democracy in Spain<sup>58</sup>. It is a documentary film in which several different key individuals and

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<sup>57</sup> Thomas Deveny. "The Spanish Civil War in Films from the Franco Period," In *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Noël Valis. (New York, NY: The Modern Language Association of America, 2007), 270-272.

<sup>58</sup> *La vieja memoria*, directed by Jaime Camino, (1978, Spain: Profilmes). Film.



participants of the Spanish Civil War are interviewed. These individuals include: José Maria Gil Robles, a Falangist who was a friend of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Dolores Ibárruri (La Pasionaria), José Luis de Villalonga (a Catalan aristocrat who later became a Nationalist soldier), and many others. The cast of the documentary consists of a diversity of individuals across the political spectrum. *La vieja memoria* allows for a plurality of viewpoints to exist with each other, yet the conflicting viewpoints remains unresolved. This is done intentionally in order to display the complexity of the Spanish Civil War as a conflict and the complexity of human nature and how people responded to the outbreak of the conflict. The setting of the film begins in 1931, the year the Second Spanish Republic is founded. The majority of those interviewed express skepticism of the Second Spanish Republic, claiming that its goals were not revolutionary enough or that the goals of the Spanish Republic led to revolt against Spanish tradition.

The documentary is framed in a way which attempts to create a discussion between the various viewpoints of those who participated in the war. *La vieja memoria* desires to examine the motives of those who participated in the war and who committed atrocious acts of violence, yet does not present any explicit judgement. *La vieja memoria* presents no true consensus, and stresses that there is unresolved tension that will continue to exist in Spanish society. It is this open reflexivity and openness to the ambiguity of that earned it praise upon its release. Yet the film leaves questions unanswered and does not present any endorsement of any viewpoint, which while providing a much needed meditation on the conflict, only begins to open a dialogue on memory during the

transition. Yet other films created after the transition do pronounce an explicit verdict on the Spanish Civil War.<sup>59</sup>

*Pan's Labyrinth* explains the Spanish Civil War through a mixture of realistic and fantasy elements. As of the time of this writing it remains on IMBD's Top 100 films of all time so it is a film which those who may not be familiar with the Spanish Civil War are first exposed to the conflict<sup>60</sup>. The story follows Ofelia, a young girl who with her mother, meets with her new stepfather, Capitan Vidal in 1944. Vidal is a Falangist who hunts the remaining Republicans who have been in hiding since the end of the war. Vidal is depicted as a vicious killer who destroys anyone he suspects of being a Republican sympathizer. Throughout the film, Ofelia enters and explores the fantasy realm where she is the princess. In one scene she has to retrieve a dagger from the Lair of the Pale Man. She fails to do this and the Pale Man comes to life, the Pale Man is an evil creature that feasts on the blood of innocent children. Guillermo del Toro uses the Pale Man as the fantasy realm equivalent of Capitan Vidal, who also kills the innocent and takes pleasure in it. Later in the film, Vidal kills the young Ofelia and shortly after Vidal is killed by a Republican soldier.

The fantasy realm can be seen as a way in which a child of the Spanish Civil War navigates the trauma that Ofelia has been exposed to. The fantasy realm allows for Ofelia to have some amount of control over her fate in a world which subordinates all who fail to obey the state. Further, the depiction of Vidal and the comparison with the Pale Man is

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<sup>59</sup> Katherine O. Stafford, *Narrating War in Peace: The Spanish Civil War in the Transition and Today*. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan), 2015, 72-93.

<sup>60</sup> *Pan's Labyrinth (El Laberinto del fauno)*, directed by Guillermo del Toro, (2006, Spain, Mexico, USA, Estudios Picasso), Film.

supposed to show the audience that Fascism is an ideology which consumes the blood of innocents. The audience is not shown any nuance about Nationalist front, instead the audience is given a demonstration that Vidal and the Nationalists by extension are the earthly embodiment of evil. Thus, del Toro has given a judgment that the Republican side is the just cause and that the Nationalist side is *ipso facto* evil and presents little to no nuance.

We can conclude that cinema has the power to provide a narrative that can persuade individuals to either provide overt support to a specific faction of the Spanish Civil War, or present a specific narrative that is to be understood as true. Alternatively, films such as *La vieja memoria* can present a plurality of narratives and refuse to provide a judgement for or against any specific faction. This effect is done in order to demonstrate that there is still unresolved tension between those who participated and have been effected by the Spanish Civil War. Different narratives are provided in order to serve particular worldviews. One major event of the Spanish Civil War that deserves an analysis of event itself and the various direct responses to the event is the Bombing of Guernica.

### **Remembering the Press Reports on the Bombing of Guernica**

The Bombing of Guernica remains one of the most well-known destructive acts of the Spanish Civil War. The event itself was documented and disseminated almost immediately and received a strong condemnation from throughout the international community while the Nationalists and their allies presented a counter-narrative of the events of Guernica. The story of the Bombing of Guernica later became immortalized in Picasso's iconic masterpiece: *Guernica*, thus solidifying the event not just into Spanish

memory, but global memory. In order to properly understand how Guernica has been interpreted as a historical event through physical representations and through memory, it is worth investigating the initial reports that appeared describing the details of the Bombing of Guernica.

The date of the Bombing of Guernica occurred on was April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1937. George Steer, a British journalist working for *The Times* was stationed in Bilbao and was among the first foreign correspondents to report the bombing. Eyewitness accounts from survivors and observations of the site of Guernica are what allowed Steer and other journalists to formulate their stories in such detail. The following passage is the original press release from Steer that was sent to *The Times*, which was one of the first press releases to be acknowledge by people around the world:

#### TRAGEDY OF GUERNICA

#### TOWN DESTROYED IN AIR ATTACK

#### EYE-WITNESSES'S ACCOUNT

From our Special Correspondent. Bilbao, April 27

Guernica, the most ancient town of the Basques and the center of their cultural tradition, was completely destroyed yesterday afternoon by insurgent air raiders. The bombardment of this open town far behind the lines occupied precisely three hours and a quarter, during which a powerful fleet of airplanes consisting of three German types, Junkers and Heinkel bombers and Heinkel fighters, did not cease unloading on the town bombs weighing from 1,000 lbs. downwards and, it is calculated, more than 3,000 two-pounder aluminum incendiary projectiles. The fighters, meanwhile, plunged low from above the center of the town to machine-gun those of the civilian population who had taken refuge in the fields...In the form of its execution and the scale of the destruction it wrought, no less than in the selection of its objective, the raid on Guernica is unparalleled in military history. Guernica was not a military objective. A factory producing war material lay outside the town and was untouched. So were two barracks some distance from the town. The town lay far behind the lines. The object of the bombardment was seemingly the demoralization of the civil population and the destruction of the cradle of the Basque

race. Every fact bears out this appreciation, beginning with the day when the deed was done.<sup>61</sup>

The chronology that is presented by Steer is consistent with other accounts that were presented by British and American newspapers. The British and American press published similar accounts of Guernica independent of the political orientation of the paper and rarely presented alternative accounts of Guernica. However, the French newspapers received news of Guernica at least two days later than other nations. France had very few press correspondents, located in Bilbao to break the story of the bombing, with the exception of the Communist paper, *Ce Soir*. *Le Temps* also produced a similar account of the bombing of Guernica that the British and American newspapers did. In stark contrast, reactionary newspapers such as *Le Figaro*, *La Croix*, and *L'Action Française* produced an alternative account of the bombing of Guernica. These right-wing newspapers presented two reasons of how the destruction of Guernica occurred, which was in line with official Nationalist reports. These two prominent responses on Guernica are as follows:

1. Guernica was a false flag attack and that town was actually destroyed by the Republicans in the town itself. The towns of Irún and Eibar according to the Nationalists recently burned.
2. The Nationalists could not have bombed Guernica as the weather conditions would not allow planes to fly and thus could not be responsible for the destruction of Guernica.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> George Steer, *Times*, TRAGEDY OF GUERNICA TOWN DESTROYED IN AIR ATTACK EYE-WITNESSES'S ACCOUNT, 28 April 1937, p.17, in *Guernica! Guernica! A Study of Journalism, Diplomacy, Propaganda, and History*. Herbert Rutledge Southworth, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA; London: University of California Press), 1977.

<sup>62</sup> Herbert Rutledge Southworth, *Guernica! Guernica!*, 33.

These two claims were reproduced in official statements produced by the Nationalists, including Franco himself. Not only is there a disagreement on the facts of the event according to different media outlets, but the primary reason for disagreement is politically motivated. The foreign correspondents and Basques sympathetic to the Republic stressed the total destruction of the city and emphasized the deaths of the inhabitants of Guernica. In contrast, most of the Nationalist reports emphasized the damage done to the city, rarely mentioning the loss of lives of citizens of Guernica.<sup>63</sup> The consensus today is that there is overwhelming evidence that suggests that the Condor Legion indeed utilized Heinkel and Messerschmitt and other planes to destroy both the city of Guernica itself and to wipe out the residents of the town. This was done in order to lower morale of the Basque people who were largely loyal to the Republic. The evidence that corroborates the Bombing of Guernica by the Condor Legion includes: eyewitness reports, analysis of the destruction of the city via photography, reports recovered from the Condor Legion, etc.

Upon the publication and distribution of press releases, people around the world were shocked when discovering the details of the Bombing of Guernica. Steer and other reporters showed the world the plight of the Basque people and the distress that those loyal to the Republic felt during the bombing. The events seeped deep into global memory as a demonstration of the destructive force of the Nationalists and the horror evoked upon learning that civilians were intentionally targeted for extermination. It was this outrage and acknowledgement of suffering that inspired Pablo Picasso to create his masterpiece, *Guernica*. In order to properly understand the significance of Guernica to

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<sup>63</sup> Herbert Rutledge Southworth, *Guernica Guernica!*, 42-43.

Spanish memory and global memory, we must understand, how Picasso learned of the Bombing and his motivations for creating the work. Further, an analysis of the meaning of the painting itself and its message and story of repatriation must also be established.

### **Guernica: An analysis of the masterpiece**

The World's Fair was hosted in Paris in 1937, and Picasso was staying in France at the time. He was present to display works for the Spanish Pavilion at the Fair and required different works of art to be shown. Shortly after hearing the news of the Bombing of Guernica, Picasso was inspired to create a commemorative work in solidarity with the people of Guernica, the Basque people, and the Republican cause. The painting itself can be viewed as a tool of propaganda to rally support in France for the Republicans. It was not until the 1940s that Picasso joined the French Communist Party and Picasso did not typically engage in political art, the only earlier example being *The Dream and Lie of Franco (1937)*, an anti-Francoist print mocking Franco's desire to defend traditional Spanish values through war. *The Dream and Lie of Franco* was also presented at the Spanish Pavilion in 1937. For a greater understanding of the meaning of the *Guernica* in both Spanish cultural memory, and global memory, a brief analysis of the painting itself is needed.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Katherine O. Stafford, *Narrating War in Peace*, 95-97.



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When one first gazes upon the canvas which *Guernica* is illustrated upon one is struck by two distinct phenomena. The first, being the great size of the painting (11 feet tall and 25 feet wide). The second, the chaos and distorted figures that appear to be unstable on the canvas. A nightmarish scene lays before the viewer, and the eye of the viewer does not travel towards any one place on the painting. A bull and horse are present towards the left of the painting. What appears to be woman holding a dead figure in her arms, and other figures screaming in pain, with distorted or severed limbs are also present.<sup>66</sup> The painting itself is monochromatic, similar to a newsreel or newspaper that the Bombing of Guernica was captured on, thus it is supposed to be a representation of the bombing as it occurred. The painting as a whole is supposed to evoke sympathy with those suffering on the canvas. A living nightmare filled with endless suffering and death

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<sup>65</sup> Pablo Picasso, *Guernica*, 1937, oil on canvas, 349cm x 776 cm, (Museo Reina Sofia, Madrid).

<sup>66</sup> Lynn Robinson, "Picasso, Guernica", *Khan Academy*, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/art-1010/early-abstract/cubism/a/picasso-guernica>



of people and animals are displayed, destroyed and exterminated by a monstrous and invisible enemy.

### ***Guernica's* Repatriation to Spain, Spanish & Global Memory**

When *Guernica* was displayed at the World's Fair, it represented the suffering of the citizens of Guernica and expressed the outrage of the international community in one single work. Even though it displayed an event that occurred in Spain, the painting itself never went to Spain until 1981, six years after the death of Franco. The repatriation of *Guernica* was intimately connected to the Spanish transition to Democracy and the event of bringing *Guernica* to Spain was called *vuelta a España* (return to Spain). Despite never being in Spain, Spaniards viewed *Guernica* as an authentic Spanish work and depiction of a Spanish event. Since it was transported from the Museum of Modern Art to Museo Reina Sofia in Madrid, it was interpreted as an icon that signified closure of the Spanish Civil War. There was even fierce debate as to whether the painting should be housed in Guernica or in Madrid.

*Guernica* was taken to symbolize all of the victims of the Spanish Civil War and symbolized reconciliation with the past and moving forward towards the future. This was the dominant attitude for many during the period of the transition. *Guernica* is taken to be symbolic not just of the suffering of the victims of the Bombing of Guernica, but a reflection on human fragility as a whole. It is because of these connections to the transition to democracy and a symbol for human suffering that *Guernica* has integrated itself into Spanish cultural memory and global memory. The piece itself as a piece of art displayed at a museum brings people together of different economic, political, and generational backgrounds. *Guernica* serves as a way in which people display a concern

for ethics, justice and the victims of war that are characteristic of Postwar Spain. It serves as a way to remember the past through serious contemplation and is symbolic of the transition to democracy itself.<sup>67</sup>

However, the transition to democracy historically and even in contemporary times is not without controversy. Although the transition to democracy was successful in part by cooperation between pluralities of individuals across the political spectrum, the transition itself was orchestrated by those who were loyal to Franco or collaborated with him. Affiliation with an authoritarian ruler itself presents a conflict of interest with the values of democracy. Furthermore, it required forgetting the past in order to facilitate the transition, which forgetting is not only distressing for some, it presents negative consequences for a country for the future, which is what seems to now be occurring in Spain. To shed light on the problems of forgetting and the importance of remembering, a brief overview of the Francoist and Post-Francoist era must be examined. This will make contemporary controversies such as the *Valle de los Caídos* and exhumation of graves more clear and the importance of confronting these controversies.

### **Memory at the site of Valle de los Caídos**

After the Nationalists emerged victorious from the Spanish Civil War, Franco became *el Caudillo* and reigned as the Spanish head of state until his death in 1975. In Francoist Spain political repression was prevalent and many who were loyal to the Republic or opposed to Franco had to remain in silence.<sup>68</sup> Daily life and relationships had

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<sup>67</sup> Katherine O. Stafford, *Narrating War in Peace*, 110-128.

<sup>68</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975*, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press), 1987.

to be negotiated so that the ideology of the state went unchallenged.<sup>69</sup> Under Franco, protectionist and isolationist policies were in place in the first decade of Franco's rule. Later, the Catholic organization, Opus Dei began utilizing technocrats to gradually shift the Spanish economy towards economic liberalization. An economic boom occurred from 1959-1974 in what is known as *El milagro económico español* (The Spanish Miracle). Quality of life in the economic sphere improved for some, yet many people still lived in fear and silence.<sup>70</sup>

Upon the death of *El Caudillo* in 1975, there was an uneasy tension in Spain, the heir apparent to Franco was King Juan Carlos I. King Juan Carlos I was expected to be an extension of Francoist rule, but from a monarch. However, Juan Carlos favored a democratic Spain and began to engage in governmental reform, including forming a delegation to create a constitution. There was later an attempted coup called 23-F against Juan Carlos in 1981 by Guardia Civil that was dissolved by the King and government officials loyal to him.<sup>71</sup> It was this attempted coup and the recently formed constitution that demonstrated the fragility and uneasiness of Spanish democracy.<sup>72</sup>

As the transition began to unfold, Juan Carlos attended the state funeral of Francisco Franco and traveled to the site of his burial, *Valle de los Caídos* (Valley of the Fallen). *Valle de los Caídos* is a large monument and basilica located in the Sierra de

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<sup>69</sup> Carmen Martín Gaité, *Courtship Customs in Postwar Spain (Usos amorosos de la postguerra Española)*, Translated by Margaret E.W. Jones, (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp., in agreement with Editorial Anagrama S.A., Barcelona, Spain), 2004, 36-52.

<sup>70</sup> Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975*, (West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing), 2010, 17-56.

<sup>71</sup> Paul Preston, *Juan Carlos: A People's King*, (London: HarperCollins), 2004.

<sup>72</sup> Jean Grugel and Tim Rees, *Franco's Spain*, (London; New York: Arnold), 1997, 181-192.

Guadarrama. A 500 foot cross stands above the rock outcropping and below it sits a large basilica dedicated to all the dead of the Civil War. In this basilica masses are still held regularly and those who have nostalgia for Franco or Neo-Falangist's attend these masses.<sup>73</sup> Franco himself stated that it was to commemorate the fallen of the Spanish Civil War and to make sure that such a tragedy never occurs again. Today, some Spaniards refuse to visit the site, let alone talk about it. This silence seems to indicate that the monument appeared *ex nihilo* with no set purpose. This is a prominent example of amnesia as a constructed understanding of the site is intimately linked with ritual and some perform rituals there and those who refuse to visit do not. The commissioning of *Valle de los Caídos* was done shortly after the war and it was purposively chosen to be close to Madrid and to be constructed as a basilica with a monumental cross. This specific construction served to reflect the ideology of the state, namely National Catholicism and the fundamental role it plays in the unity of Spain.<sup>74</sup> It is for these reasons that Franco, José Antonio along with loyal nationalist are granted a spectacular final resting place. Juxtapose this with the lack of burials present for those loyal to the Republic. Further, the visitor center at *Valle de los Caídos* itself does not present the fact that many Republican prisoners of war helped to build the site (some of whom died while laboring).

So does the *Valle de los Caídos* truly serve as a monument of reconciliation to all the dead of the Spanish Civil War? Is it a monument dedicated to Spanish Fascism?

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<sup>73</sup> Giles Tremlett, *Ghosts of Spain: Travels Through Spain and Its Silent Past*, (New York, NY: Walker & Company), 2006, 43-55.

<sup>74</sup> Noël Valis, "Civil War Ghosts Entombed: lessons of the Valley of the Fallen," in *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Noël Valis. (New York, NY: The Modern Language Association of America, 2007), 425-431.

Should the monument remain as it is, or should it be transformed into a memorial center that displays the Republican perspective? The fact that it is itself a basilica and has a monumental cross indicates that it serves to glorify not only National Catholicism and the Francoist state, but also those who were loyal to Franco in his crusade against Godless Communism.<sup>75</sup> The presence of Republican bodies or memories seems to indicate that this monument was truly dedicated to the Nationalists and not the memory of all the fallen. So where are the graves of the fallen Republicans? As *Ghosts of Spain* by Giles Tremlett demonstrates, they are found all across Spain. Some of the graves have not been exhumed and some likely never will be. It is the realization that mass graves have been found and the socio-political implications that their exhumation brings that is another subject of controversy in Spain.

### **Forgetting and Remembering: Exhumation of Mass Graves in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

As a result of the Francoist victory, the Nationalists who were killed in the Spanish Civil War were given proper burials and even burials at places such as *Valle de los Caídos*. The same cannot be said for the burials of the numerous dead who were loyal to the Republic or even innocent victims of White Terror (*la Represión franquista*) claimed hundreds of thousands of lives. The White Terror was perpetrated by the Nationalists and those loyal to Franco, the Red Terror (*Terror Rojo*) was perpetrated by the Republicans and was an extension of anti-clerical violence killing tens of thousands

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<sup>75</sup> Patricia Keller, "The Valley, the Monument, and the Tomb: Notes on the Place of Historical Memory", in *Memory and Its Discontents: Spanish Culture in the Early Twenty-First Century*, *Hispanic Issues On Line* 11, (2012), 64-86, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/184379>

of clergy.<sup>76</sup> As a result of their ‘betrayal to Spain’ those loyal to the Republic were given little if any proper burials and it was not uncommon for them to be buried in mass graves. In *Ghosts of Spain*, Giles Tremlett discusses provides the case of a village called Poyales del Hoyo, a small village.

In 1936, a group of Nationalists lead by *Quinientos Uno* (Five-hundred and one, signifying the amount of Reds he has killed), brutally killed a group of people in his village that he personally knew who were all loyal to the Republic. The victims of the Nationalists were left in the open and a local peasant covered them with nearby dirt. It was not until All Saint’s Day in 2002 that the same man who buried the victims, Mariano was able to exhume the remains. Upon the exhumation of the graves, the reburials brought an end to the decade’s long silence, but with this came the revival of village rivalries. Further, this is not a phenomena limited to Poyales de Hoyo, but all over Spain.<sup>77</sup> There was debate as to whether the exhumation of the graves was necessary and that the exhumation broke the pact of silence that was necessary in order for Spain to move forward as a nation.<sup>78</sup> This case demonstrates that reconciliation between the victims of families and the families of those who perpetrated the crimes have been entirely absent. With the pact of silence, any attempt at closure or dialogue was discarded in exchange to continue moving towards a democratic and prosperous Spain. This

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<sup>76</sup> Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, (1<sup>st</sup> American ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co), 2012, 131-178.

<sup>77</sup> *Battlefield Mysteries Ep 4-Search for Graves of the Spanish Civil War*, YouTube video, 46:11, posted by “Battlefield documentaries”, September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2015, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=flBwqenwdRA>

<sup>78</sup> Giles Tremlett, *Ghosts of Spain*, 17-25.

unwritten pact of silence can be intimately traced to the legal document that is known as the Pact of Forgetting, written during the transition to democracy.

The Pact of Forgetting (*El pacto del olvido*), was a specific agreement among both leftist and rightist politicians to not prosecute those who committed crimes and even to forget about the dark past of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist era. All of this was justified as a necessary procedure to become a flourishing democracy. The Pact of Forgetting was first considered in 1975 but was not put into a legal framework until the 1977, with the passing of the 1977 Spanish Amnesty Law.<sup>79</sup> Some believe that this was a successful move that the Spanish government made in order to gain legitimacy and promote stability for the fledgling democracy. Even if this is correct, long-term problems were raised because reconciliation was never sought and the past was forced to be forgotten and discarded. As mass graves began to be exhumed in the 1990s and 2000s, the Spanish people were now forced to deal with the past, whether they wanted to or not. This was made manifest through multiple exhumations and the creation of new organization and laws specifically made to address forgetting the past.<sup>80</sup>

As a direct result of several mass killings that occurred in the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as the various dirty wars in Latin America and the Yugoslav Wars, studies and exhumations of mass graves already began in other parts of the world. Some of the same archaeologists, and forensic anthropologists who worked at sites located in former

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<sup>79</sup> Estrella de Diego, "Pact of Silence: History, Memory, and Melancholic Oblivion in Spain (2001-2011)," in *Memory and Its Discontents: Spanish Culture in the Early Twenty-First Century*, *Hispanic Issues On Line* 11, (2012), 196-210., accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/184373>

<sup>80</sup> Lalya Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War*, (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press), 2011.

Yugoslavia now moved to exhuming mass graves in Spain. As news began to spread that several mass graves were being discovered throughout Spain; several of these archaeologists and forensic anthropologists, and families of the deceased took a keen interest in the exhumation of graves. This group of people who took an active part in the exhumation of mass graves formed the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARHM) in 2000.<sup>81</sup> The ARHM is dedicated to exhuming graves and interviewing locals in order to provide information on the victims of executions who have been largely forgotten. It was because of organizations like ARHM that have forced the Spanish public to confront the past and some desired to learn more about a past that has been forgotten. It was developments such as these that gave the impetus for the creation of the Historical Memory Law of 2007 (*Ley 57/2007*). The Historical Memory Law was proposed by the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) and later passed. The Law called for the demands such as: Banning political rallies at *Valle de los Caídos*, reparations for the victims of the Nationalists, a condemnation of the Francoist regime, removal of Francoist symbols, and even granting Spanish Citizenship to members of the International Brigades.<sup>82</sup> This law was met with similar opposition to the exhumation of mass graves, the conservative party believed that it went against the earlier Pact of Forgetting which was crucial to the formation of Spanish democracy, and that these proposals were largely unnecessary, while some left-wing parties believed that these proposals did not go far enough to secure justice for the victims of Francoism.

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<sup>81</sup> Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica, "¿Qué es la Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica (ARHM)?", 2015, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <http://memoriahistorica.org.es/que-es-la-asociacion-para-la-recuperacion-de-la-memoria-historica-armh-2000-2012/>

<sup>82</sup> Ministerio de Justicia de España, "Ley de la Memoria Histórica (Ley 52/2007 de 26 de Diciembre)", *Ministerio de Justicia de España*, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <http://ley memoria.mjusticia.gob.es/cs/Satellite/LeyMemoria/es/memoria-historica-522007>



With the presentation of these present day controversies: *Valle de los Caídos* and the exhumation of mass graves, the history of the Spanish Civil War continues to reappear no matter how often some Spaniards would rather remain silent on the past. In order to reach some semblance of closure and to continue further investigation on the Spanish Civil War should be a goal that the Spanish people should pursue. So as to properly outline the benefits and necessity of confronting the past, we must recall the importance of memory to the construction of historiography. A review of the literature presented throughout the paper and some recommendations for improving historiography will be presented. Finally, the importance of reconciliation and its importance for improving historical understanding and long-term benefits for the Spanish people will be introduced.

### **Conclusion, Recommendations for Historiography and Reconciliation of Memory**

Since the beginning of the Spanish Civil War to the present day, a variety of narratives, representations, and perspectives have been presented on the conflict itself and its ramifications on Spanish society. Despite the conflict ending in 1939, the repercussions of the conflict can still be felt in contemporary times.<sup>83</sup> This manifests itself in multiple ways, from the production of new cinema or books to the 2017 Catalan Independence Referendum.<sup>84</sup> The 2017 Catalan Independence Referendum sparked

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<sup>83</sup> Kathryn Crameri, "History Written by the Losers: History, Memory, Myth, and Independence in Twenty-First Century Catalonia," in *Memory and Its Discontents: Spanish Culture in the Early Twenty-First Century*, *Hispanic Issues On Line* 11, (2012), 35-51, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/184381>

<sup>84</sup> Adrian Croft, "From kitchen to soccer pitch, Catalonia crisis opens old Spanish wounds," *Reuters*, (October 10<sup>th</sup>, 2017), accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-spain-politics-catalonia-split-family/from-kitchen-to-soccer-pitch-catalonia-crisis-opens-old-spanish-wounds-idUSKBN1CF1YB>

controversy and varied responses throughout Spain and the international community. The old scars that were created during the Spanish Civil War have not disappeared. Many of the perpetrators and victims of the war are still alive, and many of these witnesses are now grandparents. This puts Spain in a unique situation as the motives, feelings, and memories of the witnesses to the war can still be documented for historical and personal reasons. I shall present a brief review of the topics discussed in this essay, some recommendations in order to improve historiography, and some suggestions as to how the people of Spain may strive to confront and remember the past in order to have a better future.

This essay has presented a broad historical overview of the Spanish Civil War and an analysis of some of the fundamental causes of the war. These causes include: deep social, religious, and economic divisions between people in Spain, efforts towards land reform. Additionally, the transition from a world power to a state of less global influence, and ideological rifts between Spaniards on how a Spanish state should be organized, should it be a monarchy, a republic, etc. It must be noted that the Spanish Civil War is a complex phenomenon, and that the conflict had many causes; and these causes were primarily Spanish causes. Memory plays an integral role not only in the formation of individuals recounting the events in their lives, but memory also forms beliefs about the past at the level of a community or nation. It is with the approach of cultural memory and historiography, that a variety of interpretations of the Spanish Civil War can be recovered. It is because history is written by people, and people recall history through their own memories and the memories of others around them.

Memoirs of the Spanish Civil War have served as key primary sources for understanding the Spanish Civil War. Memoirs written by Republicans, Nationalists, Women, Refugees, and Photojournalists have contributed to a first-person interpretation of the immediate events of the conflict. Of these selected memoirs, only the memoirs of two women of the civil war, a Basque refugee, and by Agustí Centelles were written by Spaniards. Orwell and Kemp were both Englishmen, and when engaging in research it was difficult to discover memoirs from the Republican or Nationalist faction that were written by Spaniards. If this is truly a Spanish war with Spanish causes, a further investigation must be conducted by historians of the Spanish Civil War in order to find relevant documentation of the experiences of Spanish soldiers and not just international soldiers. This is because the numerous amounts of biographies of international volunteers is so great, it frames the war as if Spain was a battleground between the two major ideologies: Socialism and Fascism. The great historians of the Spanish Civil War, such as Stanley G. Payne and Paul Preston have completed histories of the Spanish Civil War mostly in English. If we are to gain a more comprehensive view of the Spanish Civil War, historical research must hone in on the experiences of the Spanish soldiers and others who were direct witnesses to the war.

Additionally, the account provided on cultural memory and the Spanish Civil War has been informed by photojournalism, propaganda posters poetry, film, and press releases. These primary and secondary source documents not only serve to provide insight into initial reactions to the conflict through journalism and visual art. Journalism and visual art can recreate or provide a demonstration of an event as it actually occurred. Both journalism and visual art can also intentionally distort a message in order to serve as

propaganda for an ideological cause. The responses to the Spanish Civil War in the form of journalism and visual art were all created by Spanish nationals and international authors, which reiterates that although this was a war with Spanish causes, it had significant international involvement.

The Spanish and the International authors of these works felt the need to give immediate reports on the conflict because they believed that Spain, and even the world faced a considerable risk for destruction. New meditations on the past occur today such as the production of *Pan's Labyrinth* or the recovery and touring of Centelles' negatives. The sources of historical knowledge through journalism and visual art need to be constantly reinterpreted when presented to contemporary historians and we are thus in dialogue with the past. The importance of dialogue is not only present in the interpretation of history, but also necessary in order to come to terms with the dark history of the Spanish Civil War. In order to properly deal with the ghosts of the past, speaking must be welcomed and praised, and silence must be avoided.

Although it has established that the Spanish Civil War had a profound impact on Spanish cultural memory, there have been multiple attempts to try to bury the past like the graves of the dead. Attempting to bury the past not only should be cautioned against, but the past will eventually resurface whether one likes it or not. During the transition, it was claimed a consensus had to be agreed upon in order to properly become a democracy. The transition used this consensus to forget about the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist era and avoid more violence during the beginning of democracy. This was done in exchange for avoiding any discussion about past crimes, abuses, and differences. Was this a fair price to pay in exchange to secure a democracy? Unlike South Africa, no

Truth Commissions were established in order to discover past abuses or crimes or even to engage in dialogue or reconciliation between the ‘Two Spain’s’.<sup>85</sup>

Those loyal to Franco still held power and were able to impose this narrative that in order to move towards democracy, one must forget about past wrongs. This ignored the profound divisions that still existed in Spain and avoided any attempt at reconciliation. In order to reach some genuine reconciliation between the Two Spains, I suggest Personalism, a school of thought in philosophy that emphasizes the human person as central to thought and grants primacy to human dignity and the fragility of the human condition, to serve as a guiding praxis for dealing with reconciliation on the Spanish Civil War.<sup>86</sup> Unlike Germany, Spain does not seem to have a past that is truly ‘unmasterable’, Spain is a unique case in that many of the witnesses of the Spanish Civil War are still alive, though many are dying. It is now more urgent than ever to use oral history to gain access to these first-hand accounts as well as searching for *papeles cebollas* (onion papers), all before they are buried in the past. If this is not done, the ghosts of the past will continue to haunt the future and these future generations will have to learn this history and will have to find their own ways of dealing with the events of the Spanish Civil War. If Spain is to continue developing, surely more graves will be uncovered, and those future generations will be forced to look at the remnants of the Spanish Civil War.

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<sup>85</sup> Txetxu Aguado, “Memory and Reconciliation in Spanish Society,” *Dissidences: Hispanic Journal of Theory and Criticism*, Volume 4, Issue 8, Article 15: *Reconciliation and Its Discontents*.

<sup>86</sup> Thomas D. Williams and Jan Olaf Bengtsson, “Personalism”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/personalism/>

The process of reconciliation is a long one and is a constant struggle. There are no easy answers and nuance and ambiguity will be ever-present. A personalist view would be recommended as it avoids any us-them distinction between former enemies. It should be made clear that humans are fragile and become susceptible to violent behavior towards each other when encountered with feelings of anger, fear, and horror. This must be done because the Spanish people have no choice but to continue living with each other. If Spain is to truly be a democratic society, the Spanish people should engage in a dialogue that is guided towards reconciliation on the Spanish Civil War. Silence and avoiding the topic have been used before, and it is neither a helpful nor sustainable way to deal with issues from the dark past of the Spanish Civil War. If the Spanish people are to engage in the dialogic process of reconciliation, the Spanish people must proceed with a desire to seek the truth while maintaining respect and dignity for other persons. This will serve to assist and improve our understanding of Spanish History.

Memory can be used as an instrument and praxis in order to help us come to terms with the past. Through coming to terms with the past, historical inquiry can be achieved in a more authentic and nuanced process. Many of the questions asked at the beginning of the essay still remain unanswered, and may never fully come to a consensus.<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, if we take into account all of the sources of textual memory produced since the Spanish Civil War, we will find a plurality of perspectives and representations of the war. The history of the Spanish Civil War is the collection of all the memories that have been recorded on the events and their repercussions on Spanish society. If more information is gathered and the motivations, beliefs, and perspectives of new memories

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<sup>87</sup> Txetxu Aguado, *Memory and Reconciliation in Spanish Society*.

are incorporated into Spanish Civil War historiography, new historical knowledge will be added.<sup>88</sup> Additionally, the process of reconciliation and a more nuanced understanding of the tumultuous period of 20<sup>th</sup> century Spain may be gleaned, and a better understanding of the forgotten past of the Spanish Civil War and the recovered memories will be bequeathed to posterity.

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<sup>88</sup> Luis-Martín-Estudillo and Nicholas Spadaccini, "Introduction to Memory and Its Discontents: A Central Debate in Contemporary Spanish Culture," in *Memory and Its Discontents: Spanish Culture in the Early Twenty-First Century*, *Hispanic Issues On Line* 11, (2012), 1-11, accessed April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/184411>

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