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COMUNICACIÓN Y SOCIEDAD
Vol. XXIV • Núm. 2 • 2011 • 149-197

La Guerra Civil en Televisión Española durante el franquismo (1956-1975)

The Spanish Civil War on Televisión Española during the Franco era (1956-1975)

Recibido: 4 de marzo de 2011
Aceptado: 14 de abril de 2011

RESUMEN: Se analiza la evolución del discurso sobre la Guerra Civil que ofreció Televisión Española, desde sus inicios a la muerte de Franco. El trabajo se ha realizado desde el visionado de todos los fondos audiovisuales que conserva el archivo de RTVE sobre este tema. Los autores han empleado materiales de carácter documental y, en menor medida informativos. Algunos específicamente elaborados para este fin; otros lo abordaron solo tangencialmente. No se conservan producciones de ficción –aunque se emitieron– sobre la Guerra Civil. Se da cuenta del motivo de los cambios en el modo de presentar el conflicto civil español.

Palabras clave: Guerra civil, documentales, Televisión española, conmemoraciones.

ABSTRACT: *The evolution of the discourse offered by Spanish public television broadcaster TVE on the Civil War will be analysed from the station's beginnings until Franco's death. The study was carried out by viewing all the relevant audiovisual materials that are available from the RTVE archive. The authors have studied documentaries and, to a lesser extent, news programmes. Some of the materials solely focused on the conflict, others dealt with it only tangentially. No fiction productions about the Civil War were kept in the archive, even though a number were broadcast. This paper sheds some light on the reasons for the change in the way the Spanish Civil War was presented.*

Key words: *Spanish Civil War; Documentaries; Televisión Española, commemorations.*

1. *Discourse on the Civil War and Televisión Española*¹

Without Franco's military victory in the Civil War, his regime would not have existed. Right from their first legislative attempts at constitutional law, which were more or less imposed by the circumstances, the victors worked from this premise. For example, "Declaring a national holiday on July 18th, the beginning of the Glorious Uprising will be considered, furthermore, as the Day of Exaltation of Work" (Labour law of March 9, 1938²); also in the announcement of the Principles of the National Movement (May 19, 1958), which reads: "I, Francisco Franco [...] promulgate as principles of the national movement, understood as the communion of Spaniards in the ideals which gave life to the Crusade, the following...". Even as late as January 1, 1967, (promulgation of the Organic Law of the State³) we hear: "in the course of these six lustrums⁴, the state born on July 18, 1936 has carried out..."⁵. The war is present in more of the regime's legislative texts, for example: "On several occasions the need has been proven for a conscientious and constant intervention by the state with regard to the political and moral education of Spaniards, **the demand for which arises from our war** and from the National Revolution" (author's emphasis)⁶.

For the purposes of this study, however, the most important point is not that a reality is being expressed -that Francoism's origins can be found in the Civil War-, but that this is recognised by the Francoist authorities. This point gives the official discourse on the Civil War a key importance, because it touches on something that the regime itself recognised as fundamental. A further element is that with the passage of time this discourse lost practical legitimacy and was replaced by others. Thus, our analysis of the official dis-

¹ This article gathers some results of the research project *Historia del Entretenimiento en España durante el Franquismo: Cultura, Consumo y Contenidos Audiovisuales* (Cine, Radio y Televisión). HAR2008-06076/ARTE and research supported by the Convocatoria de Financiación de Creación y Consolidación de Grupos de Investigación BSCH-UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID Gr58/08. (Grupo complutense: Historia y Estructura de la Comunicación y el Entretenimiento, nº 940439).

² Fuero del Trabajo.

³ Ley Orgánica del Estado.

⁴ Three decades.

⁵ MONTERO, Julio (ed.), *Constituciones y códigos políticos españoles, 1808-1978*, Ariel, Barcelona, 1998, p. 190.

⁶ Preamble from the law of July 15, 1939, which creates the Censorship Section of the *Ministerio de Gobernación*, equivalent to the Home Office or Ministry of the Interior.

course will show to what extent it remained the same, or very similar, and whether within that discourse variations were directed to the general public which were more visible through television than any other medium.

To the extent to which censorship sought to eliminate dissonance, we have to assume that the variations in the political and cultural explanations of the Civil War are of interest in answering three groups of questions. The first group refers to the adaptation of these messages to the various media and consequently to the audiences they sought to influence (NODO, state television, printed press, books, etc). The second has to do with the changes that occurred, if any, over time: it seems logical to think that the emphasis at the height of the euphoria of victory in the 1940s would be different from that which prevailed in 1975 when Franco was ill and close to death. Lastly, it is worth assessing the difference in these messages according to the political families that generate them and get them across to the public through the media which they control, or over which they have a decisive influence.

Here we have chosen to focus on a medium which had growing importance for the regime from the early 1960s: Televisión Española. The state-owned nature of this medium allows us to link it hierarchically with the governments on which it depended, as yet another instrument in the regime's ever more sophisticated propagandistic orchestration⁷.

Firstly, we wish to shed light on the treatment that the Civil War received in Televisión Española's broadcasts: to explain the existence of programming linked to this event and its prevalence –whether increasing or decreasing– with the passing of the years. Next, we will turn to the content of these programmes, in terms of line of argument, to establish how the war is defined and what assessment is made of it. Thirdly, the discourses about the Civil War which do not conform to a main line of argument, but offer interesting

⁷ See RODRIGO, Elisa, *La evolución silenciosa de las dictaduras. El régimen de Franco ante la prensa y el periodismo*. Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Ciencias Sociales, Madrid, 1977. See also Julio Montero's summary in *Historia y Comunicación Social*, 2, 1997, pp. 326-328. SINOVA, Justino, *La censura de Prensa durante el franquismo*, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1989, and the review by SÁNCHEZ ARANDA José Javier, *Reseña a Justino SINOVA, "La censura de Prensa durante el franquismo"*, *Comunicación y Sociedad. Revista de la Facultad de Comunicación*, vol. II, n° 1, 1989, pp. 149-152. Carlos Barrera has conducted very interesting research, especially on the press, for example: "Libertad de prensa y sistemas autoritarios: el caso del diario Madrid entre 1966 y 1971", *Comunicación y Sociedad*, vol. III, 1 y 2, 1990, pp. 227-245 y BARRERA, Carlos & RUIZ, Fernando J., "Estrategias periodísticas de apertura y resistencia en un espacio público autoritario: los casos de Madrid (España) y La Opinión (Argentina)", *Comunicación y Sociedad*, vol. XII, 2, 2000, pp. 253-286.

variations on it, will be analysed. In all cases these will be materials produced in-house by TVE.

Televisión Española's importance in putting the spotlight on the Caudillo's activities cannot be overstated. The state broadcasting media themselves did not hide this aspect of their activity and did not hesitate to classify it as highly important:

RNE⁸ first and TVE later have carried on proclaiming, in words and images, each and every one of the steps of Franco's leadership. In their informative mission and in their service to Spain, RNE and TVE have been faithful witnesses to, and heralds of, each and every one of the events in Spain that the Head of State has been involved in. For this reason [...] they feel part of this historic phase in their service and support of the glorious figure of Francisco Franco⁹.

This last paragraph indicates very clearly that Televisión Española played an active role in Francoism. We aim to shed light on some of this activity here: from the role mentioned above to the broadcast of the accounts of the Civil War it put forward.

Until now, analysis of audiovisual discourse on the Civil War from the Francoist period has focused on the cinematic world, the most outstanding examples involving NODO^{10,11}, both in terms of the bulletins, as well as the wide range of productions which were associated with them¹². Analysis of the documentaries produced by NODO has been undertaken recently¹³. Fiction cinema has not gone unexamined either¹⁴.

⁸ Spanish National Radio.

⁹ *Teleradio*, 1-10-1966.

¹⁰ NO DO refers to *Noticiarios y Documentales*; state produced cinema news reels.

¹¹ See RODRÍGUEZ-TRANCHE, Rafael & SÁNCHEZ-BIOSCA, Vicente, *NO-DO El tiempo y la memoria*, Cátedra/Filmoteca Española, Madrid, 2002 (5ª edición) and RODRÍGUEZ MATEOS, Araceli, *Un franquismo de cine. La imagen política del régimen en el noticiario NO-DO (1943-1959)*, Rialp, Madrid, 2008.

¹² RODRÍGUEZ TRANCHE, Rafael & SÁNCHEZ-BIOSCA, Vicente, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 y ss.

¹³ MATUD JURISTO, Álvaro, *El cine documental de NODO (1943-1981)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Complutense University of Madrid, Madrid, 2007.

¹⁴ The essential bibliography from a relatively abundant list is: DE PABLO, Santiago, *Tierra sin paz. Guerra Civil, cine y propaganda en el País Vasco*, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 2006. SÁNCHEZ BIOSCA, Vicente, *Cine y Guerra Civil: del mito a la Memoria*, Alianza, Madrid 2006. As a reference there is always the extensive: AMO, Alfonso del & IBÁÑEZ FERRADAS, María Luisa, *Catálogo General del cine de la Guerra Civil*, Cátedra/Filmoteca Española, Madrid, 1996.

The instruments of Francoist propaganda changed over the years. The absolute control established over the media in the law of 1938, and the very definition of communication which was made in that law, were modified substantially in 1965; but technology had already heralded other changes. The appearance of television and its establishment and spread across Europe constituted a demand on the regime. It was not possible for the State to ignore a technological advance of that calibre, which threatened to drive Spain's modernization. Even in the more restricted media –i.e. not mass media– such as book publishing, the practice gradually became more tolerant, including in the specific subject with which we are dealing here¹⁵.

The new medium's potential role in official propaganda could not fail to be recognized either. When television began it was state-run, according to the predominant European model, and despite prior suggestions that it should follow the radio model in which private companies also had a presen-

For earlier work, the two volumes by FERNÁNDEZ CUENCA, Carlos, *La Guerra de España y el Cine*, Editora Nacional, Madrid, 1972. The authors who have dedicated the greatest attention to cinematic production during the Civil War years, and whose works have become classics, are: GUBERN, Román, 1936-1939. *La Guerra de España en la pantalla*, Filmoteca Española, Madrid, 1986 and *La censura. Función política y ordenamiento jurídico bajo el franquismo, 1936-1975*, Península, Barcelona, 1981. CAPARRÓS, José María, *Arte y política en el cine de la República (1931-1939)*, Editorial 7 y medio, Barcelona, 1981, CAPARRÓS, José María & BIADÍU, Ramón, *Petita història del cinema de la Generalitat, 1932-1939*, Robrenyo, Barcelona, 1978; y OMS, Marcel, *La Guerre d'Espagne au Cinéma*, Du Cerf, Paris, 1986. Other prominent works: SALA, Ramón, *El cine en la España republicana durante la guerra civil*, Mensajero/Filmoteca Española, Bilbao, 1993, y con ÁLVAREZ, Rosa & SALA, Ramón, *El cine en la zona nacional (1936-1939)*, Mensajero, Bilbao, 2000. CRUSELLS, Magí, *La Guerra Civil española: cine y propaganda*, Ariel, Barcelona, 2000. SÁNCHEZ ALARCÓN, Inmaculada, *Guerra Civil española y cine francés*, Libros de la frontera, Barcelona, 2005 and the various contributions made by DÍEZ PUERTAS, Emeterio (most of which are collected in), *El montaje del franquismo. La política cinematográfica de las fuerzas sublevadas*, Laertes, Sevilla, 2002 and *Historia Social del cine en España*, Fundamentos, Madrid, 2003.

¹⁵ "In terms of the novel, from as early as the end of the 1960s, with the first liberalization of information associated with Fraga's Ministry coming from the regime, accounts began to be produced which were not exactly defences of the regime. We recall the names here (although not the titles, for the sake of brevity, since they are well known and many of these authors wrote more than one): J. M. Gironella, R. Fernández de la Reguera, R. Sánchez Ferlosio, L. Martín Santos, J. Goytisoló...[the relationship has 22]" (ÁLVAREZ JUNCO, José, "Respuesta de José Álvarez Junco a José Brunner", *Historia Contemporánea*, nº38, pp. 185-186). In any case, the Francoist authorities were always more tolerant in the case of books with a limited print run (even when they did eventually achieve large circulations) than with products distributed through the media (including television).

ce¹⁶. There was a struggle for its control, even before transmissions began. We can state that the movement's *Falangistas* could not take control of it despite their initial manoeuvres, which included commencing broadcasts before the date originally planned¹⁷. In any case, in Spain regular broadcasts began in 1956. The entity remained under government control without interruption and came to be integrated within the state's resources for the moral and social education, in a fairly broad sense, of Spaniards.

The success of television in Spain is a process which coincides with the economic, social, cultural and political modernisation of the country and the years of developmentalism. In the context of a controlled and censored press, and a radio station which was limited to entertainment or to exclusively governmental versions of the news and of social education, television was a novelty in Spanish homes. Every day Spaniards were able to enjoy a new helping of official audiovisual propaganda, which would soon become more lively than the old NODOs, both in its version of bulletins as well as its documentaries, which it served up in its early years¹⁸. The crisis in cinema facilitated television's establishment and continuous and intensive spread: there were more and more television sets, more and more hours of programming. A captive audience, with no competition, was at the full disposal of the regime.

The existence of censorship in Francoist television should not be oversimplified. And it would be simplistic to identify the audiovisual discourse which was broadcast with a detailed plan to circulate and instil the Francoist ideology into the Spanish masses. To begin with, we would need to resolve the previous problem of *which* Francoist ideology, as well as the problem of its evolution through the years¹⁹. The second reason is that to do so would be to overlook a very basic aspect of Spanish television between 1956 and 1975: the scarcity of media and resulting improvisation.

Of course censorship existed and was efficient, in the sense that it allowed the programmes to go out just as they did. At what or whose service was a different matter. Those who worked on our television from its early stages

¹⁶ PALACIO, Manuel, *Historia de la televisión en España*, Gedisa, Barcelona, 2005 (2ª edición), pp. 34 y ss.

¹⁷ PALACIO, Manuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁸ See BARROSO, Jaime & RODRÍGUEZ-TRANCHE, Rafael, "Del directo al magnetoscopio. Bajo la doctrina de Arias Salgado. 1956-194", *Archivos de la Filmoteca*, nº 23-24, 1996, p. 13.

¹⁹ On this aspect see a brief and updated revision in GÓMEZ CUESTA, Cristina, "La construcción de la memoria franquista (1939-1959): mártires, mitos y conmemoraciones", *Studia Historica. Historia contemporánea*, 25, 2007, pp. 87-123.

were aware of the enormous influence exerted by fear. One of them would affirm many years later that “in terms of formative capacity, television is the greatest device that has been invented and it doesn’t stop being so simply because unworthy hands misuse its qualities²⁰”.

Censorship was as old as the pioneers of Televisión Española. Initially, “The problem of censorship was very serious and not everything could be reduced to the typical shawl that you had to put on the singer or flamenco dancer that came on showing a little more than was considered normal back then”²¹. In these and other cases, censorship was present as one more element of the production and “its rulings were accepted without a word”²². But the efficiency did not come from the official censor so much; self-censorship was usually the most efficient form of control²³.

Until Fraga’s arrival in the Ministry of Information and Tourism, and that of his right-hand man –Aparicio Bernal– as director general of Televisión Española, the most characteristic feature of television censorship was arbitrariness. There were no codes or regulations. The censoring action was, in many cases, linked to direct calls from senior officials of the regime –or their wives– to the organisation, or from the religious authorities, or simply from offended viewers. From 1965 censorship was rationalised, which is not to say that it was withdrawn or that new censors replaced the old ones. Here too, Francoism added innovators to the old forces of censorship, which to a certain extent, retained their strength.

One particular example can help us understand the situation from then on. A director suggested making a biography of Antonio Machado in 1965. The leadership’s new policy meant in practice that the proposal was accepted. From this moment on everything was left in the hands of the director, who interviewed some intellectuals in exile and acquired images of the Republican flight from Spain in 1939. Nobody expressed the slightest concern. Only when the moment of screening before the broadcast arrived did censorship take place. There were clashes between old and new censors. The director general settled it: some of the interviews with exiles were cut as well as the name of *Giner de los Ríos*... and twelve minutes of reel. For the director it

²⁰ GUERRERO ZAMORA, Juan, “Natividad y réquiem de un lenguaje dramático”, *Archivos de la Filmoteca*, nº 23-24, 1996, p. 39. Special editions dedicated to Television in Spain 1956-1996.

²¹ CASTELLÓN, Alfredo, “Yo estaba allí”, *Archivos de la Filmoteca*, nº 23-24, 1996, p. 45.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Ibidem*.

was an important step forward, and this procedure was followed in many cases: weighing up of subjects followed by final alterations on some occasions. It seems that no-one dared to employ these initiatives in our subject²⁴ –the Spanish Civil War. Very probably, in this case, the official initiative was determined in the few cases in which the war was dealt with directly. Caution would probably lead to the subject being avoided when the storyline dealt with biographies of people whose lives took place at the time of the conflict; or when the story of any city which had been a prominent setting for our war was being told.

In general, it is difficult to exaggerate the persuasive possibilities of this medium in Spain since the 1960s. There is no existing bibliography on the elaboration of Televisión Española's televisual discourse on the Civil War in these years (1956-1975), although there are some cross references²⁵.

2. *Televisión Española's audiovisual content (1956-1975) on the Spanish Civil War*²⁶

Two types of sources have been used. The first are written sources: Televisión Española's programming relating to the anniversaries of April 1, July 18 and October 1, between 1960 and 1975, as printed in *La Vanguardia* and *Tele Radio*²⁷. These sources also served to inform the search for audiovisual materials which we would not otherwise have been able to locate. The second type, RTVE's audiovisual collections which refer to the Civil War, are detailed in annexes 1 and 2. They comprise three types of materials. The

²⁴ CASTELLÓN, Alfredo, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

²⁵ Sira Hernández Corchete (*La historia contada en televisión. El documental televisivo de divulgación histórica en España*, Gedisa, Barcelona, 2008) broaches the subject of the Civil War only indirectly.

²⁶ There is a detailed discussion in PAZ, María Antonia & MONTERO, Julio, "El archivo audiovisual de RTVE. Programas emitidos entre 1956 y 1975 sobre la Guerra Civil", *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, [accepted for the 2011 volume].

²⁷ There are no monographs about this magazine, although there are interesting references in BAGET, J.M., *Historia de la televisión en España (1956-1975)*, Feedback ediciones, Barcelona, 1993 y BONAUT, J., *Televisión y deporte. La programación deportiva española en la Era Democrática: la antesala de la competencia televisiva (1976-1988)*, LibrosEnRed, 2009. Its predecessor was *Telediarario: revista semanal de TVE*. It can be consulted in Spain's National Library. On the publications of Televisión Española at the time see BARROSO, Jaime & RODRÍGUEZ-TRANCHE, Rafael, "Prólogo. La historia de la televisión en España", *Archivos de la Filmoteca*, nº 23-24, 1996, pp. 5-10.

first group are special programmes broadcast on the occasion of the stated anniversaries. The second are the historical documentary series which span the Civil War years in their development. There are only two of these, of which just one was definitely broadcast. The third group is made up of documentaries which were either biographical²⁸, or on places²⁹, which included references to the Civil War.

Access to RTVE's audiovisual collections required a design which would guide the searches and reveal any gaps. We expected that our television programming would have no shortage of programmes of memory or homage around the anniversaries of Francoism related to the Civil War³⁰, since the media had become one of the most important instruments for the formation of collective memory³¹, alongside the classic places -rites, symbols and memorials- without which it would be difficult for an idea of nation to exist³². Of the three dates which commemorate the regime, two were directly related to the Civil War: July 18; anniversary of the military uprising against the republic: the *Glorious national uprising* in the more frequently used official terminology³³ and the first of April; anniversary of the end

²⁸ The following were viewed: *Agustín de Foxá*, *Manuel García Morente*, *Millán Astray*, *Severo Ochoa*, *José María Pemán*, *Ramón Gómez de la Serna*, *Gregorio Marañón*, *José Ortega y Gasset*, *Daniel Vázquez Díaz* y *Juan Ramón Jiménez*. The documentary on *Antonio Machado* was not found. There were hardly any references of interest in those of *Ortega*, *Millán-Astray*, *Marañón*, *Vázquez Díaz*, *Gómez de la Serna*, *Juan Ramón y Pemán*. In that of *Ochoa* the Civil War is not mentioned at all. There are references to it in the biographies of *García Morente* and *Foxá*.

²⁹ Those on Madrid's *Ciudad Universitaria* and *Málaga* were chosen. They were selected from the series *Testimonio*, the episode *Crónica de una ciudad universitaria*; its second part *Hacia una gran realidad*, deals with the war years in this place which is so strongly linked to the Civil War.

³⁰ See ZELIZER, Barbie, "Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies", *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, vol. 12, 2, 1995, pp. 214-239. For an interesting piece on the transmission of celebrations and the creation of memory through the media, EBBRECHT, Tobias, "History, Public Memory and Media Event. Codes and conventions of historical event-television in Germany", *Journal Media History*, vol. 13, 2 and 3, August 2007, pp. 221-234. On the transmission for television of celebrations of foundation and anniversaries, see (for the Jewish case) MEYERS, Oren, ZANDBERG, Eyal, & BEIGE, Motti, "Prime Time Commemoration: An Analysis of Television Broadcasts on Israel's Memorial Day for the Holocaust and the Heroism", *Journal of Communication*, 59, 2009, pp. 456-480.

³¹ HUYSEN, A., "Present pasts: Media, politics, amnesia", *Public Culture*, 12, 2000, pp. 21-38.

³² KERTZER, D.I., *Ritual, politics, and power*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1988.

³³ REIG TAPIA, Antonio: "Los mitos políticos franquistas de la guerra civil y su función: el espíritu del 18 de Julio de 1936", en ARÓSTEGUI, J. & GODICHEAU, F. (eds.), *Guerra Civil: mito y memoria*, Marcial Pons, Madrid, 2006, p. 225.

of the war, of victory and the beginning of “Franco’s peace”. The third, October 1, anniversary of Franco’s nomination as Supreme Military Chief of the national troops and Head of State, does not have such a direct link as the others. From this starting point, we then proceeded to a revision of Televisión Española’s programming. The basic sources were *La Vanguardia* (Barcelona) and *Tele Radio*.

It is of interest to point out that although there are no references in *La Vanguardia* or *Tele Radio* to special programmes about these anniversaries from 1970 onwards, some such programmes have been located among Televisión Española’s audiovisual materials, in whose files the date of broadcast is noted. This is surprising, since they were made with the intention of being broadcast on the corresponding dates: of this neither the subject matter, nor the titles leave room for doubt. Those corresponding to July 18 are: *La España de Franco* (Franco’s Spain) (1969); *El 18 de julio y la Guerra Civil española* (July 18 and the Spanish Civil War) (1971) and *Especial 18 de julio* (July 18th Special) (1975). Those found for April 1 were: *Especial -Hablemos de España* (Special -Let’s talk about Spain) (1971) and *35 años de paz* (35 years of peace) (1974). For October 1, only the following appear in the context mentioned: as a special, *34 aniversario* (34th anniversary), *Franco en el poder* (Franco in power) (1970) and *35 Homenaje a Franco* (35th Anniversary Homage to Franco) (1971). Six in total, to which we should add a special edition (*Hablemos de España*) even though it was broadcast within an existing series. Other types of ‘special programme’ –described as such in the RTVE archives– which were broadcast on these dates are not as interesting. Their descriptions mention the shots and materials used, which range from “The opinions of well known people on today’s generation and that of the Civil War”³⁴, to “Spanish Civil War [...] interviews about July 18, 1936³⁵”, via “Reiterative text on the Spain of peace, of war, of what could have happened without Franco...”³⁶.

The other large set of RTVE audiovisual sources are detailed in annex 2. The first group are historical series of a documentary nature. They hardly

³⁴ “Opiniones de gente conocida sobre la generación de hoy y la de la Guerra Civil” Programme *35 años de paz*, broadcast on 1-4-1974.

³⁵ “Guerra Civil española [...], entrevistas sobre el 18-7-1936”, Special programme: *18 de julio*, broadcast on 18-7-1975.

³⁶ “Texto reiterativo de la España de la paz, de la guerra, de lo que pudo haber sido sin Franco...”, Programme *La España de Franco*, “broadcast around 1969”.

dealt with the Civil War. The bibliography found 19 examples³⁷: just one of which tackles the Spanish Civil War. However, to this total we must add another which is not pointed out in the bibliography: “Times of Spain. A chronicle in images of twentieth century life in Spain”³⁸. This documentary series on the history of Spain is made up of 13 episodes of 30 minutes each. It covers the period 1896 to 1936. Although it does not deal with the Civil War directly, it puts forth an explanation of it by evoking its immediate origins³⁹. This set of materials proved sparse and therefore led to new searches among two types of productions: the biographical and those referring to towns or places in which the Civil War had a particular prominence, as we have indicated. All of these materials were broadcast on the first channel.

3. Treatment of Francoist anniversaries in *Televisión Española*'s programming

Televisión Española's representation of official ceremonies on the regime's anniversaries never responded to a fixed plan. The data gathered in Annex 1 shows an enormous variety: from official functions in Captaincy headquarters to mark July 18, as well as April 1 and October 1, to inaugurations and prize-givings on the occasion of one or other commemorative date. Perhaps official receptions at El Pardo or at La Granja for the government and its institutions were most frequent. The one which appears most regularly is the service of thanksgiving (*Te Deum*) offered for October 1. This does not seem surprising for an authoritarian country whose origin is linked with the military uprising and triumph in the resulting Civil War.

The media always echoed the anniversaries. In fact, the most important thing for the management of the Francoist propaganda machine was this presence in the media; more so than the celebrations themselves. We are not here to assess the audience or impact of these ceremonies. Rather, the aim is to shed light on the narratives about the Civil War which were broadcast by

³⁷ HERNÁNDEZ CORCHETE, Sira, *op. cit.* The details of the series mentioned are in the figures on pp. 107 and 119 respectively. It is very likely that there are more. At least, we were able to view the last chapter of the series “Tiempos de España. Una crónica en imágenes de la vida española del siglo XX”, the last episode of which was entitled “El huracán 1936”.

³⁸ *Tiempos de España. Una crónica en imágenes de la vida española del siglo XX.*

³⁹ This was probably the first Spanish historical documentary series to use professionals as advisors. They were: Joaquín Arrarás, Ricardo de la Cierva, Vicente Palacio Atard, Ramón Salas Larrazábal, José Manuel Martínez Bande. See PAZ, María Antonia & MONTERO, Julio, *op. cit.*

Televisión Española on those occasions and how the official account of this was constructed. The subject is of interest because it will allow us to establish which of the elements did not change, which did and what meaning one or the other had.

We will tackle two aspects here. The first is related to the general significance of these anniversaries. We will distinguish between the scheduling information offered in the printed press for those dates and the information contained in the special programmes which were broadcast to commemorate them. As we will see, several of them were not even mentioned in the scheduling information offered by the press.

3.1. *Televisión Española's programming in relation to the anniversaries of the Franco regime (1960-1975)*

As their titles suggest, some of the programmes which were announced in *La Vanguardia* or *Tele Radio*, had little to do with the corresponding anniversary directly, and never offered an account or explanation of the Civil War. Sometimes they were nothing more than a simple homage, perceptible only from the title. The most patent examples are the concerts. For example, the one scheduled for October 1, 1960: 'Concert of homage to the Head of State'⁴⁰ or the 'Musical Moments' of April and October 1st 1962 respectively, given over to the broadcast of Beethoven's Eroica symphony. Another example: "Inauguration of the new TVE studios in Prado del Rey. Live transmission of this important event with which TVE joins the July 18th commemorations"⁴¹. At other times *La Vanguardia's* concise information states simply: "commemorative programme on the XXVI anniversary of the exaltation of the Caudillo to Head of State"⁴². Much the same can be said of April 1, 1963, and other similar dates⁴³.

Before getting into the contents, it is worth highlighting some of the characteristics of this commemorative programming between 1960 and 1975. The special broadcasts begin to disappear from 1969 and, from then on, the

⁴⁰ Concierto homenaje al Jefe del Estado

⁴¹ *Tele Radio*, 342, 18-7-1964.

⁴² *La Vanguardia*, 1-10-1962.

⁴³ For example, on July 18, 1961 it advertises a "Montaje del cine político" from 22,10 to 23,30; on April 1, 1963, a "special programme" with no further details; etc.

only one mentioned is Sáez de Heredia's documentary *This man Franco*⁴⁴, produced in 1964 to mark the commemoration of the *Spain, XXV years of peace* campaign. It was shown twice: on April 1, 1971 and July 18, 1974.

We have found 37 broadcasts listed as being programmes about these emblematic dates for the regime. Almost half (46%) relate to July 18; nearly a third (30%) to April 1 and 24% to October 1. Definitively, the 'Glorious military uprising', the beginning of the War, is the anniversary paid most attention by the regime. The end of the conflict comes second. In short, the War: beginning and end. The significant point is that, as we have already said, the programmes practically disappear from the schedules published in the press around 1969. Perhaps it is of interest to recall that the nomination of the Prince of Spain (Juan Carlos de Borbón) as successor to Franco as king took place in this year. It is difficult to evaluate the impact of this fact on the programming, but what we can say is that from then on more time was spent thinking about the regime's future than its past.

The average frequency of advertisements for these broadcasts is 3 per year. There were more than average in the years 1961, 1962 and 1964. The years 1963, 1966, 1967 and 1968 have 3, i.e. the average number. Ultimately, if we leave out 1965 due to its peculiarities⁴⁵, we can state that after the intense propaganda campaign *XXV years of peace* (1964) the regime's anniversaries relating to the Civil War began to lose importance, until their disappearance around 1969. As before, this is according to the schedules published in the press.

If we turn our attention to the feature films broadcast, the results are even clearer. There is a limited intensity in the years 1965, 1966 and 1967. *Frente infinito*; *La patrulla* and *La fiel infantería*⁴⁶—all three directed by Pedro Lazaga—were broadcast on undoubtedly emblematic dates: the first on July 18, 1965; the second on October 1, 1966 and the third on July 18, 1967. Of course we cannot doubt the intention of the schedulers; but at the same time we must conclude that the offering of a cinematic vision of the Civil War according to the patterns of the 1950s does not imply a particular endea-

⁴⁴ *Franco ese hombre*

⁴⁵ For April 1 of this year, *La Vanguardia* indicates that "during the day the News services will compile special reports in commemoration of this day in 1939, the end of the conflict". In *Tele Radio* there is a similar advertisement, with the difference that it refers to the "day of victory". It is likely that there were several programmes broadcast on this day and not just one, as we have counted on the basis that there was only one mention in the schedules referred to.

⁴⁶ Titles: The infinite front, The patrol, and The loyal infantry

your by the schedulers of the feature films. And if there was, it did not last long. To state that the absence of specific commissions –feature films or soap operas proves “the surreptitious implementation of a policy of forgetting”⁴⁷ ignores the nature of Televisión Española, its shortage of resources and its frequent improvisations, furthermore, of the broadcast of products such as soap operas, precisely since 1960⁴⁸. The first feature was *Peace never begins*⁴⁹ based on the novel by Emilio Romero; it was shown every Saturday and included many scenes shot in a film format. Next, *The cypresses believe in God*⁵⁰ by the writer José María Gironella was shown in June of the same year and was divided into 30 half-hour episodes. Lastly, *Dead men don't tell*⁵¹ by Bartolomé Soler, was scheduled on Tuesdays in prime time. Since no copies of it remain, we have been unable to view it. For this reason references are also made here to representations of the Civil War in fiction formats⁵². Although it does not offer an account of the Civil War, there are allusions to it in the television version of *Las hermanas coloradas* by the novelist García Pavón (script by José Luis Garci and directed by Antonio Jiménez-Rico), from the Plinio series, which was broadcast on April 10, 1972⁵³.

From all of these dates we could detect a change in the thematic emphasis of the celebration of the regime's anniversaries from victory to peace. The emphasis is no longer on 'the victor's peace' as it had been in the earliest phase of the post war. In the early 1970s it would come to indicate an ex-

⁴⁷ DURÁN FROIX, J.S., “Televisión contra memoria histórica. Uso y abuso de la historia en la televisión franquista”, *Historia y Comunicación Social*, 13, 2008, p. 40. It covers television programming on the founding anniversaries of Francoism, without specifying its sources (it seems that they are taken partially from *Tele Radio*) or the system used. It contains some surprising general statements. (p. 40).

⁴⁸ DIEGO, P., *La ficción en la pequeña pantalla. Cincuenta años de series en España*, Eunsa, Pamplona, 2010, p. 23. The Documentation Centre's service team informed us (November 5, 2010) that nothing of any of the three survived. There is only the study mentioned, see ECHART, P., Reseña a Patricia DIEGO, “La ficción en la pequeña pantalla. Cincuenta años de series en España”, *Comunicación y Sociedad*, vol. XXIII, n° 1, 2010, pp. 325-328.

⁴⁹ *La paz empieza nunca*

⁵⁰ *Los cipreses creen en Dios*

⁵¹ *Los muertos no cuentan*

⁵² In those years programmes were not recorded. They were simply broadcast. On this subject see BARROSO, Jaime & RODRÍGUEZ-TRANCHE, Rafael, “Prólogo. La historia...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7. For example, programmes began to be recorded for editing purposes in 1965 (*Ibidem*, p. 52).

⁵³ The chapter on *Las hermanas coloradas*, which is of interest to us here, was broadcast on April 10, 1972.

haustion of Francoism's initial military legitimizing argument and a desire to pay greater attention to the positive effects of the peace (i.e. economic development) than to its cause. Ultimately, it was important to accept a system which had already assured its continuity with a political constitution and Franco's reduced effective presence. The *Ley Orgánica del Estado* stood in the way of the Falangists' dreams in December 1966; furthermore, the nomination of Carrero as Vice President in 1967, and finally the practical separation of the position of head of state and of the presidency from the government, all left Franco in the background of the executive. The nomination of Juan Carlos de Borbón to succeed the *Generalísimo* (in the role of king) completed this process⁵⁴. The General's withdrawal due to the foreseeable "biological fact" rendered the only line of argument which justified his presence –with exceptional powers– at the front of the state⁵⁵, useless. Francoism without Franco began to come up against the serious difficulty of legitimising itself, even before the Caudillo had gone. The old arguments were now insufficient and no new ones were to be found. The result, on Televisión Española, was silence with regard to the classic anniversaries. In other programmes, as we will see, it was another story.

As shown in the table in Annex 1, during the early years of Televisión Española, in which improvisation and a lack of planning⁵⁶ predominated, the programming on the aforementioned dates must not have been very different to what we know was shown immediately after: transmission of concerts of Spanish music (Falla, Granados) in homage –in 'exaltation' as the sources put it– of Franco. Pieces were even composed especially for these events. For example, on October 1, 1960, the pianist Manuel Carra premiered a piece in honour of the Head of State. The *Momentos Musicales* slot, in which Beethoven's *Eroica* symphony was the most often repeated piece, was also dedicated to the Caudillo.

Poetry was combined with the music: in 1961, the slot *Verses at Midnight*⁵⁷ commemorated October 1 with several compositions. In 1962, poetry

⁵⁴ See BARRERA, Carlos, "La prensa española ante la designación de Juan Carlos como sucesor de Franco a título de rey", *Comunicación y Sociedad*, vol. VII, 1, 1994, pp. 93-109.

⁵⁵ I.e., the military victory in the Civil War.

⁵⁶ The announcement published in *La Vanguardia* next to the television schedule for 1-4-1965 is significant: "Throughout the day the news services will compile special reports in commemoration of this day in 1939, the end of the conflict".

⁵⁷ *Versos a Medianoche*.

was more present than ever: there were verses for all three dates⁵⁸. Both the poetry and *Momentos Musicales* remained until 1963. By then, television productions themselves were becoming more regular.

Among the *patriotic anniversaries* linked to the Civil War, July 18 is, once more, the most commemorated. Special 15 minute, half-hour or hour long programmes were made for this anniversary. Some of them simply broadcast Franco's speeches to parliament (*las Cortes*) or presented, on the relevant days, a summary of the victory parade, along with interviews with political personalities.

We can appreciate the approximate content of the broadcasts which have been lost from their titles. *Between yesterday and today*⁵⁹, shown on April 1, 1963, must have captured the idea, manifest in many other television and cinema productions, that the situation of peace and prosperity in Spain at the time was due to Franco's victory and his "wise" use of power. From the data that we have about radio programmes of this same year, we can surmise that they would have been programmes with a poetic, nostalgic and emotive tone, focused on the figure of Franco⁶⁰.

In 1964, the Francoist era's broadest propaganda campaign was formulated: *25 years of peace*, which in reality meant 25 years since the Francoist victory in the Civil War. Whilst RNE made various programmes, TVE only broadcast one on April 1, with the specific title of *25 years of peace in Spain* and another on July 18, 1964, entitled, without much originality, *Spain 25 years*. These programmes combined reports and interviews which showed the advances made by Spanish society in various fields thanks to the peace en-

⁵⁸ April 1: "Torre del Castillo de la Mota" by Martín Alonso Pedraz; July 18: "Romance de Castilla en armas", by Federico Urrutia; and October 1: "La espada", by Federico Mendizábal.

⁵⁹ Entre el ayer y la mañana.

⁶⁰ *La canción del recuerdo*, Songs to remember, a RNE programme would bring to life the emotion of that memorable date. The scriptwriter Enrique Domínguez Millán, says that the focus is very poetic: "I am attempting to recall what the day of victory was like, not just in Madrid, but in Spain and abroad. Now, after 25 years, all that was life and reality, has become an exciting and dynamic memory. We will hear from a journalist who entered with the first nationalist troops, the general who commanded the forces which liberated Madrid, a Spanish woman from Auxilio Social* who distributed provisions, a nurse, one of the rearguard, the Spanish press correspondent who was abroad, the general who conceived the operation in the general headquarters of the Generalísimo... I hope that it be something pleasant, simple, warm, with nostalgic overtones, reviving before the microphone that sweet day which is permanently in the memory" (*Tele Radio*, 1-4-1963, n° 275) (*social welfare organization).

joyed since 1939⁶¹. We have been unable to consult them as they are not available.

*Franco and his people*⁶², broadcast on October 1, 1966, justified Franco's decisions as being the consequence of his concern for the Spanish people. The 15 minute long documentary began with some shots of Franco's entry into the Alcázar de Toledo in 1936. His career appears to have begun there. To the sound of the hymn of the infantry, a piece well known to the majority of Spanish men at the time from their years of obligatory military service, Franco is presented as victorious in the war and prepared for peace. From minute four, the feature gives way to a series of short pieces with declarations of praise for Franco and the regime from the whole of Spanish society: farmers who refer to the achievements of land redistribution, agricultural cooperatives... they are followed by young and old; university students and priests, women and men... Society as a whole is grateful to Franco, and by an effect of the montage, seems to congregate in the Plaza de Oriente to mark one of the mass displays of support for the General, which culminate in his international recognition, over images of Franco in an open carriage on Madrid's Gran Vía accompanied by heads of state from other countries. The Civil War –in this case the liberation of the Alcázar de Toledo– is presented as the origin of all that comes afterwards: a whole country is grateful for the achievements and the resulting international recognition. It is the line of argument which sites the foundations of satisfaction in the present day in the war.

In this year, 1966, particular effort was put into this type of programme. In the month of October, in addition to those already highlighted, a documentary mini-series of three episodes was broadcast on July 18, 19 and 20. One was entitled *The Crusade*, another *Unity* and the final one *The valley of the fallen*⁶³,

⁶¹ The radio programmes “will gather in reports, interviews and a variety of information the events announced by the Directorate of Information (*Dirección general de Información*) which will take place in 1964: a series of 25 great programmes of an hour's duration, broadcast each week, with the generic title XXV years of peace; a series of 25 interviews with those political personalities linked to the Regime's most outstanding achievements, under the title ‘Men of peace; sport under the insignia of Peace’, which will sum up 25 years of sport in Spain. Development of a wide range of lectures on the radio, by eminent specialists, and lastly a series of programmes on the Spanish musical movement under the title XXV years of Spanish music. In addition, reports, information, and interviews...”, *Tele Radio*, 1-4-1964.

⁶² *Franco y su pueblo*.

⁶³ *La Cruzada*, *La Unidad* and *El Valle de los Caídos* respectively.

“which shows the erection of the great monument which highlights Spain’s unity in the aftermath of difficult times”⁶⁴.

From 1968 onwards, these commemorative programmes disappear from the schedules announced by *La Vanguardia* and *Tele Radio*, although we know that some continued to be broadcast. If we turn our attention to those which were advertised in the press, on April 1, 1971, the only such programme shown on TVE was the documentary made by Saéz de Heredia in 1964 –for the 25 years of peace campaign– *Franco ese hombre*. This biography of Franco presents him as a man of destiny: he escapes miraculously from his wounds in the African war and liberates Spain from the chaos and violence in which it found itself submerged during the Second Republic. When the documentary reaches the war era, the director appears on screen and explains that it is a painful period for all Spaniards and it will not be commented upon. Next, he interviews Manuel Aznar, who was then Spain’s Ambassador to the United States on Spain’s participation in an International Exhibition: the international renown of Spain and its presence in prominent forums also serves to hide the period of isolation that followed the war.

The omission of the Civil War from an official biography of Franco from the era can only be attributed to an express wish not to mention it. This constitutes a novelty. It is likely that the director was conscious of the pain which the memory of the conflict still caused and did not want to tarnish a triumphal biography, and the subject’s achievements and record, with a bitter memory. This represents a recognition of the negative nature of the war, although an obligatory one –it could almost be said that the recognition came against Franco’s will. This aspect is important, because it marks a turning point in Televisión Española’s explanations of the war.

3.2. *Special programmes about Franco which dealt with the Civil War*

In addition to this news coverage of the regime’s anniversaries, special or commemorative reports were also produced. Just a few of these programmes survive. These are *Un día por una vida*, broadcast in 1972, *Franco, decisiones para la historia*, produced in 1974 (but with no details of its broadcast) and *Hoy, 18 de julio*, from 1975. Alongside these, is the mini-series *Cartas a un niño sobre Francisco Franco*, which was comprised of three episodes. Although it is included in a series which has not been found (Ayer), the archive clas-

⁶⁴ *Tele Radio*, 18-10-1966.

sified it in the ‘special programmes’ section. There are no details on the date of transmission or on the production. Judging from the images used it appears to be from the late 60s or early 70s. Even so, what is most striking about it is the fact that the episodes were not advertised in the schedules published in *Tele Radio y La Vanguardia*.

Las cartas a un niño sobre Franco constitute a sort of lesson to the younger generations on Franco’s importance in Spain’s history. It is a biography of the General for a young audience. Perhaps it sought to reference the title of *Cartas a mi hijo*⁶⁵, by Gaspar Gómez de la Serna, which was one of the official texts used in the subject ‘Formation of the National Spirit’, part of the basic high school diploma course. The book, which all Spanish high school pupils studied in the 60s, provides an official narrative of the history of Spain, trite and simple, in the form of a letter.

The series was comprised of three episodes. The first went from Franco’s birth up to August 5, 1936, official date of the beginning of the airlift over the strait of Gibraltar and consequently the start of Franco’s leading role in the conflict. The second explained, in fifty-seven minutes, Franco’s conduct in the Civil War. The third sheds light on the following years of the biography, which is set in parallel with Spain’s economic and social development. The voice in off –which serves as the classical omniscient documentary narrator of the era– reads the letters. Meanwhile, the images illustrate the narrative. Images of a boy who walks along the street; goes into an upper-middle or upper class house, studies in his room and reads the letters he has collected from the letterbox, alternate with images from the archives corresponding to each era. Its approach (between minutes two and four) has a totalitarian feel, to establish a certain identity between the names ‘Caudillo’ and ‘Spain’ and to underline the idea that Franco is the most important Spaniard of the twentieth century.

The explanation of the war begins in the thirtieth minute of the first episode. It could be regarded as a turning point which introduces the central theme of the second part. The voice over says: “José Antonio Primo de Rivera [October 29, 1933], raised a flag in order to prevent the Civil War and I believe that he achieved it because this war that I’m telling you about now had begun before he hoisted his flag”. The commentary does not seem very appropriate for children. It can be understood thus: when the Falange was founded, the Civil War had *de facto* already broken out. Thus the conflict

⁶⁵ GÓMEZ DE LA SERNA, Gaspar, *Cartas a mi hijo*, Editorial Doncel, Madrid, 1961, various editions. It won the *July 18* prize in 1961.

avoided by José Antonio was that which could have occurred afterwards, between the victors. This was a roundabout way of presenting José Antonio as the indirect author of the Decree of Unification of April 1937.

The second episode focuses on the war: from the moment that Franco crosses back to the peninsula until the end of the conflict. It begins with an account of how the Republican government “handed out weapons to the mob”, which attacked the barracks at la Montaña, together with the events in Barcelona and the shootings of Generals Goded, Fanjul and González Quintana. Next, we are shown a map of the locations of the two sides in August 1936, whilst the fact that the most important centres in terms of population, wealth and industry were in Republican hands, just like the majority of the air force and the navy, is underlined. By increasing the stature of their enemy, the victor appears even greater. The only mentions of the government of Largo Caballero, and even then without saying his name, were “he whom they called the Spanish Lenin”, and the presence of several communist ministers.

From this moment on, after mentioning the departure of the Bank of Spain’s gold for Odessa, the voice and the images cover the most significant incidents of the War. Some are particularly interesting. For example, in the battle of Madrid the narrative does not fail to highlight that “the Republican government was fleeing to Valencia” and how it was here that, for the first time in the conflict, a new resistance to Franco’s advance appeared: “an unusual method of combat: new weapons [...] the support of France and Russia for the Popular Front had materialised [...] in the International Brigades [...] the total number of well-armed foreign combat experts was some fifty thousand men according to impartial witnesses”. The International Brigades prevented the fall of Madrid because they were made up of people who knew how to fight and were well armed... and they were foreigners recruited by Moscow and Paris. Although it is unsaid, it seems difficult not to reach the conclusion that we are confronted with regular troops and almost special corps. This constitutes the first justification for a defeat which is not even mentioned.

This first mention of the brigade members allows, further on, the foreign assistance Franco received to be referred to in these terms: “and it also required foreign support. Reaching an agreement with Italy, which sent him men, and with Germany, where a voluntary air force –the Condor Legion– was formed, with excellent military equipment”. The juxtaposition offered in the montage leads to a conclusion which is not stated explicitly, but is evident: considering the fact that the governments of France and Russia have sent such large contingents... (the narrative does not make it clear that the fifty thousand would be, at best, the number who passed through Spain during the course of the

entire war, rather than the number of combatants who were there at any given time) the appeal for German and Italian assistance could be justified. Of course, the size of the Italian and German contingents is not mentioned.

The other explanation of an initial Francoist military failure –the battle of the Ebro– is resolved with a comment: “Franco, accused of being slow, was in reality a soldier who did not wish to eliminate other Spanish soldiers”. The argument is so far removed from the truth as to be surprising; because it could have been settled in a different way: in strict military logic: the initial republican advance is halted, allowing Franco to cut off the Republican Army, leaving it defenceless and incapable of stopping his advance towards the Mediterranean coast.

In terms of political aspects of the war, it points out that Franco was nominated head of government and of the Spanish state by soldiers, “some of whom were republicans and others monarchists”. The method is subtle. Of course it is not absolutely untrue, but it is far from the truth. Firstly, because the term ‘republican’ is almost synonymous with ‘communist’ in the account; and secondly, because it presents the dissolution of the Republic as a fact. These two aspects give greater legitimacy to Franco’s nomination. The other political event of relevance in the Nationalist zone is the Decree of Unification of April 1937. The programme settles the subject quickly: a speech given by Franco to the people, asking for unity in those times. It does not mention the parties which are now unified, as if the movement had sprung up from nothing. The episode closes with a reference to the shooting of José Antonio Primo de Rivera: as if aiming to create a link with the end of the previous episode. The head of the Falange is resolutely kept absent, not only from Spanish political propaganda but also from the ideological representation of the regime in its most basic explanations.

In summary: this was a necessary and inevitable war, with foreign participation on both sides tipping the balance towards the Republicans; a war which was managed by Franco, who sought to ensure that the bloodshed would be minimal, and in which José Antonio is mentioned briefly, as a perceptive man who was assassinated by his enemies. Franco’s leading role is indisputable, and it is upon this role that his later mandate in the re-construction of Spain is founded.

A special programme from the year 1972 survives: *Un día por toda una vida*⁶⁶. It was broadcast on July 18; but its relationship with the Civil War is

⁶⁶ No names are given for the director, editor etc., in the archive file.

little more than generic. Of the total 25 minute duration, only two minutes are dedicated to the conflict and its explanation, which may be summed up in the voiceover accompanied by images, according to the description of the shots in the archive file, of “disorder and barricades of the FAI⁶⁷. Bombs exploding. Boats. Franco strolling among the ruins of the Alcázar de Toledo. Franco on October 1, 1936. The day on which Francisco Franco takes charge of the State. Franco in the carriage escorted by the Guardia Mora⁶⁸ and waving to the crowd from a balcony. Franco directing some military manoeuvres. First victory parade with all the troops⁶⁹. The narrator’s words suggest the usual grandiloquent tone: “In 1936 Spain finds itself on the verge of sinking, vanquished by the crisis of its long, historic journey. There is Franco again, who one August 5, decides the fate of this resurrection with a firm hand”.

The summary could not be more expressive: a radical crisis, the way out of which is the war, once Franco has entered into it: the shots of the boats allude to August 5 (images and commentary coincide at this point). In other words: the war had already broken out when Franco entered into it and the General is not responsible for anything but its ending.

The next special that we were able to view was produced in 1974, but there are no details about its broadcast. It may not even have been shown, because it is not advertised in the schedules published in the press and there is no indication of the date in the corresponding section of the archive file. It is entitled *Franco, decisions for history*⁷⁰ and has a duration of almost an hour: 57 minutes and 44 seconds⁷¹.

We are dealing with a documentary of a completely different nature to the preceding ones. The last ten minutes present the image of the then Prince Juan Carlos and, to a lesser degree, the image of his wife. In fact the film closes with his picture, rather than Franco’s. The context, together with the title, suggests that one of the important decisions which Franco has taken for the good of Spain, is that of the succession, both in terms of the personal (Juan Carlos de Borbón) and the institutional (the *Ley Orgánica del Estado*).

⁶⁷ Federation of Iberian Anarchists.

⁶⁸ Franco’s guards, originally formed by Moroccans.

⁶⁹ The term ‘shot’ has been deleted in each case, along with the time code which corresponds to each one.

⁷⁰ *Franco, decisiones para la historia*.

⁷¹ Director: Ricardo Blasco; script: Ricardo de la Cierva; editing: Manuel Presa and voiceover: Rafael Penagos.

This ending determines the entire preceding account, including that of the Civil War.

The account is organized thematically around Franco; specifically, around the decisions he took throughout his life which were of significance for Spain. Until 1934 they seem to be mainly in the private realm; but the development of the argument shows that even these were important for the nation's history. Closing this documentary with images of his successor was to affirm the latter's legitimacy among the most recalcitrant Francoists. The line of argument can be summed up thus: if the decisions that Franco took have saved Spain, this one will have a similar outcome; in reality it already has, because by then the Prince had temporarily assumed the headship of state on one occasion due to Franco's illness.

The account corresponding to the war itself takes up almost a quarter of the documentary (about 15 minutes). It is, therefore, a prominent part of the programme. The most notable thing is the preparations for the conflict. The text leaves no room for doubt: Franco did not want the war and from his position offered the head of government suitable information and proposals to avoid it; the second and last sent from Tenerife in 1936: "From there he writes another letter to Casares to correct the Republican's suicidal path".

The key episodes of the Civil War are, firstly Cáceres, then Toledo and Salamanca. His prestige and his nomination to Head of State are based on these. Then Madrid which "inexplicably resists" and an anecdote which serves to advance the permanent "state of reconciliation" characteristic of Franco (according to the documentary): "One of the soldiers who oversaw the construction of the fortifications [...] in Madrid [...] Years later the family of this soldier came to form part of Franco's family, thus healing the scars of the Civil War within his own family circle"⁷².

His personal *peripeteia* is expanded upon a little later: "Franco, the man who would bring an end to the era of Civil Wars in Spain, would proclaim

⁷² The information is true. One of Franco's granddaughters was married in 1975 to Rafael Ardid Villoslada, grandson of the Teniente Coronel de Ingenieros Tomás Ardid Rey. According to his personal file (Segovia Military Archive, Hojas de servicio. Signatura A 2163 bis) he organized a system of trenches which allowed the successful defence of a city which had lain open to the advance of General Varela. In the Council of War that tried him once the conflict was over (Archivo General de la Defensa. Consejos de Guerra, con signatura 06508) he was sentenced to death (November 9, 1939). This was commuted to life imprisonment. On May 18, 1943, it was reduced to 20 years and one day of 'short-term' imprisonment. He was finally pardoned on March 7, 1946 due to application of the decree of October 9, 1945. We would like to thank Ángel Bahamonde for this information.

time and again that his victory was destined to be for all and that in the Spain of everyone there should be no talk of victors and vanquished”.

Franco's next decision to cut the war short was to surround Madrid and focus his efforts on the north. Here the account takes the opportunity to point out the popular components of the Nationalist Army, specifically the brigades from Navarre, and to establish a level of equality in this respect between the two opposing armies⁷³. From there it moves on to the Decree of Unification and to a commentary that goes back to stress some of the Caudillo's qualities that cannot fail to surprise: facing a political coup, the scriptwriter points out his capacity for adaptation. The voice over has no shame in stating: “If in the military aspect, Franco's conduct is defined by respect for the lives of the combatants, organization and concentration; in the political aspect, Franco distinguished himself through four qualities: coherence, demand for essential unity [...], pragmatism on the changing realities and cold serenity in adaptation to these new realities”.

The description of the year 1938 is organised around the battle of the Ebro. It praises the Republican Army's initial manoeuvre and highlights Franco's swift arrival at the front to put himself in personal control. Another moment of interest takes place here: the voiceover stresses one of Franco's international policy decisions. The images show him with a pair of binoculars looking towards... the future, and the commentary: “faced with the surprise of Germany and Italy, he declares before the representatives of the western democracies that Spain will remain neutral in case of European conflict”. Hitler's reaction was –according to the documentary– to threaten to suspend his support in the form of military supplies, but Franco managed to triumph in the Ebro. All that was left was to take Catalonia (“All of Catalonia wanted Franco immediately” states the voice).

Lastly, “in the University Campus of Madrid the heads of the Republican Army offer their surrender once the Commander of Madrid reads the last confidential dispatch from the sector. The soldiers run out to embrace the enemy. The opposing soldiers have already made peace between themselves”. In some ways the desire for peace was being imposed. If it had been left to the people to decide freely, they would have opted for a Francoist victory a long time before. He was already a popular hero to everyone.

⁷³ The voiceover states: “In the northern campaign, the voluntary unit (...) the Navarre brigades, played an important role. Franco came up with a system of volunteer officers and sub officers which would soon materialize [...] this demonstrates the popular aspect of Franco's army.”

In summary, we are presented with a war which Franco did not want and tried to avoid from his position. Popular support existed on both sides. When it broke out he sought to ensure that the bloodshed would be kept to the minimum and prevented Spain from becoming involved in the military conflict that would later ravage Europe. He was realistic in adapting to the circumstances, thinking about building a united country which would overcome the divisions of the Civil War, and sought that there would be no distinctions between victors and vanquished. In an uncommon way, he did not hold back praise for those who fought in the Republican Army: this was given as before, in the areas of their technique and bravery.

De la Cierva's discourse is not just a call for reconciliation, but a declaration that this had already been achieved, and that, in fact, the process of reconciliation had already begun during the war itself. His reasoning, however, mistakes the people's logical desire for the war to end for a desire that it end in the precise manner in which it actually did so.

The last special programme related to the anniversaries of the regime was *Hoy, 18 de julio de 1975*⁷⁴. From the fifth minute, it gathers excerpts from interviews with various personalities who give their opinion on the meaning of July 18. Some of them are identified as historians, specifically: Vicente Palacio Atard and Carmen Llorca. Another, José María García Escudero⁷⁵, despite the fact that he appears as Parliamentary Counsel, was already known for one of his books on the history of political ideas. This circumstance in itself constitutes the adoption of a particular stance: the beginning of the war represents a historical reality which can be dealt with from the perspective of time, as required by this science. The distance –and the desire to highlight this distance– is of interest because it separates the war from the present, despite the fact that the consequences still felt today (i.e. in 1975) are numerous. To place an event in history was a means of making it indisputable. We could reason over it, explain it, analyse its consequences... just as we could over the presence of the Romans in Spain, or any other subject from the past; but removed from politics, from the present day.

⁷⁴ There are no production details in the RTVE archive file. It has a duration of 33 minutes. It was also produced in 1975.

⁷⁵ His works prior to 1975 and outside cinematography include: *Política española y política de Balmes y De Cánovas a la República*. His best known work *Historia política de las dos Españas* dates from 1976. His memoirs are also of interest: *Mis siete vidas. De las brigadas anarquistas a juez del 23-F*.

The documentary makers also provide an initial summary of the significance which they wish to give the anniversary. The text is well worth hearing. Over some shots of almond trees in flower, bells ringing out, people in the Puerta del Sol, elderly people and children, it states: “There is a meditation for every July 18 as a date which represents a driving force in Spain’s history. In peacetime, thirty six July 18ths have had an identical significance to this July 18: the peaceful coexistence of Spaniards”. There can be no greater clarity in the objectives.

For the following two minutes, over archive shots of the Civil War, the voice over – without mentioning the word *war* at any point– states that Spain’s *historical crisis* –which enables the narrative to avoid references to those who are guilty or responsible for the same– caused an enormous amount of pain: so much that all those involved decided that it must never happen again⁷⁶.

The visual tone changes and over shots of the countryside, factories, high rise buildings on the coast, aerial views of cities, classrooms, operating theatres, textile mills, and closing with images of tall buildings, the programme’s main conclusion is presented: “It would be a mistake to understand July 18 as a date of division and political differences. On this July 18, 1975, thirty nine years later, it is necessary to raise, over any other consideration, the hardworking Spain of those who are dedicated to fulfilling their duties each day, and who have made peace and development possible. Spain has shed its skin. This Spain, which was born on July 18, was born of the effort of each and every Spaniard”.

The declaration has overtones of integration, but always with the (well-known but not declared) limitation of accepting the legality of the current political system. In reality, it is a call for integration to generations that appeared to be disconnected from, or opposed to, the Francoist regime. We are told that this integration does not have a political content. It seems to be satisfied with the absence of war, with a climate of order, which has facilitated the improvement of the country. It recognises that this is not exclusively due to one or other of the former adversaries and states that there is hardly anyone left from that time.

⁷⁶ The transcription is: “Thirty years ago, a nation in political and moral ruin, which had disintegrated and lost its sense of historic orientation, faced a bloody crisis which had to be resolved on the fields of Spain. The pain of those Spaniards would become the fertile seeds of a shared path. It was to sink the divided Spains in the past and create, without exclusions or political divisions, a Spain for all Spaniards.”

The selection of personalities interviewed clearly shows two eras of the regime: the old combatants who claim to remain active in one way or another, and the new people who think only about the future. The former group includes personalities as eminent as Miguel Primo de Rivera and the Marquis of Valdeiglesias. Their contributions, in two shades and with different lines of argument, imply a return to the Falangists' and Traditionalists' approach of 1936, almost in its pure state. The rest, with greater or lesser intensity, state that one era has drawn to a close, and we have now moved into a different one. In summary, July 18 engendered this Spain, but the experience of the war was negative and should be forgotten. Among those taking this line we find García Escudero (parliamentary counsel), Palacio Atard, (professor of history) Fernández Cruz (professor of pathology), Obrador Alcalde (doctor), Gamazo Pelaz (Mayor of Zamora), de la Torre (President of the council of Málaga) and the writer Julio Manegat.

Some of them even declared the existence of political liberalisation in various shades, which should be understood in the context of the reading between the lines that was so characteristic of those years. For example, Palacio Atard, expressly points out, "as a Spaniard of 1975, July 18 is a date whose significance will be better understood in the future, not to fix ultra conservative positions but so that by strengthening our current positions, we reach a new coexistence in light of unquestionable pluralism of opinions and behaviours". Shortly before this, he did not hesitate in stating that the war was due to "multiple and complex causes which lead us to think about a collective responsibility and which require collective rectification". It is likely that such an assertion had never been expressed with such clarity on Televisión Española until that point. The line of argument characteristic of the transition was already being put forward: the war was the failure of a generation incapable of airing its differences in a civilized manner. The Mayor of Zamora expressed himself less directly, but along the same lines: "The will to find a solution to national problems. Not a closed or static solution, but an open and dynamic one".

For this reason, the programme offered an explanation of July 18 which abandoned the traditional outlines and established a discourse which would facilitate the transition. The Spanish capitalist sector's fears about the immediate future also surfaced, although one important player in the Spanish economy at the time, Aguirre Gonzalo, showed a certain optimism: "In politics too we trust that a monarchy will be established with the Prince of Spain as king. What concerns us is how the transition will come about. How development will be created, the passing from one system governed by an exceptional person to another system with high quality institutions and people, who are also exceptional".

This set of materials allows us to assume that the anniversaries of the regime were dealt with in the daily news programmes using images and references to the present, but with hardly any mentions of the conflict itself. This aspect is of interest as it concerns our subject by omission. Since at least 1970 (at the moment the RTVE archive does not contain earlier audiovisual materials), the daily news programmes avoided reference to the Civil War, despite the fact that their very nature demanded it. It was a way of recognising that the prior legitimisation, based on the victory, lacked validity. The allusions to peace and to the material fruits of governmental action (which were translated into progress, improvement of living conditions shown by economic indicators, etc.), identified with initiatives which came almost direct from Franco, replaced those arguments based on the victory. The technocracy⁷⁷ and its discourse prevailed over the old patriotic and war-focused arguments.

Ultimately, the discourse created by Televisión Española on the occasion of the constituent anniversaries of the Francoist state revolves mainly around the celebration of July 18. This is logical: the regime considered itself to be heir to the military uprising which was usually justified –with greater or lesser intensity according to proximity to the real date– by the political and social chaos to which the Republic had led. Soviet Communism and, on occasion, Freemasonry are charged with playing the leading roles at this point; the fundamentalist dialectic was gradually watered down with the passage of time. First came recognition of the enemy's bravery and, on occasion, of their preparedness. Later, these virtues were attributed to a common element: they were Spaniards too. This point is of great importance because the official political discourse of the early years (not broadcast on Televisión Española because it did not yet exist) had referred to the enemy as the 'anti-Spain'.

The next step was to speak of the war as being a tragedy, without mentioning who was to blame. From this moment on, Franco was sketched as someone who had no other option but to participate in a conflict that he did not want and had in fact tried to avoid through his warnings to the Republican Government. This gradually opened the door to other possibilities in the line of argument: for example, we will hear that Franco sought to avoid casualties on either side (contrary to the figure of the victorious General in the propaganda from the early years) and, above all, the end of the war is the start of peace and a period of work in which the survivors from both sides

⁷⁷ It is worth remembering that Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora, author of *El ocaso de la ideología*, the manifesto of the Francoist technocracy, which was highly criticized by sectors of the Falange, would end up becoming the Minister for Public Works.

collaborate; the viewers must have perceived this change in the language.

The evolution of the discourse was favoured, above all, by generational change and Franco's evident and progressive ageing. Commemoration of the anniversaries could not be avoided: the only option was the discourse's gradual transformation and this was what was done, little by little. The most obvious conclusion of this process was the last 'special' to celebrate July 18: in which the final shot was of Juan Carlos de Borbón, not of Franco.

4. *The Civil War in Televisión Española's historical documentary series*

Televisión Española made a substantial number of references to the conflict in history documentary series. Some are in the form of accounts whose main subject is the war itself. We already know that there were not many of this type: one in the strict sense and another which refers to the background of the conflict. The rest, the vast majority, only make indirect references to the Civil War. These mentions are normally brief, following the thread of another main subject, biographies of personalities or the story of towns, to be specific. If the first are of interest for reflections on the narration, the latter are also interesting since their makers deal with the war only in passing, and highlight some features which seem key in each case. Together they offer a result which is of interest since the integration of partial aspects, which in each isolated case are considered to be highly significant, allows the elaboration of the line of argument of the *whole*.

The most complete discourse corresponds to the popular history documentary series. The first example, which deals specifically with the Civil War, is *La noche de los tiempos*, in the programme entitled *El último siglo de un milenio*, in its second episode to be precise⁷⁸. It was broadcast in 1972, which gives an idea of the delay in establishing a specific audiovisual account of our war on Francoist television. By then, the regime was preparing for Franco's inevitable death. In fact, the episode closes with a call to the future: the final shots are dedicated to then Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón and his son Felipe.

The narration begins in 1931 and this unequivocally establishes the Republic as the origin of the Civil War. The way in which the images are edited together lead viewers to understand that the present (1972) is a continuation of the Republic. Of course, it is not likely that the programme makers

⁷⁸ There were three episodes. The first covered the period 1898 to 1931 and focused on political evolution. The third focused on cultural and artistic matters.

saw it that way. This desire to fuse the Republican past and the present are shown in the initial images: modern shots of the Puerta del Sol are merged with images taken in the same place on the day of the proclamation of the Republic; the shots are almost identical at some points. Accompanying the images, the voice of the narrator says: “Through the Puerta del Sol the Second Republic made its entrance into the history of Spain on April 14, 1931”. The reason for the Republic’s failure is explained by the voiceover as the inability of both the Right, and of reasonable Republicans on the Left, to control the respective extremes of their parties. Images depicting the burning of convents appear to explain this early judgement, and Ortega’s statement (“This is not it, this is not it”) completes the explanation. The words of the voiceover, referring to the situation in 1931, already establish the bloody confrontation which it almost identifies with the war itself: “the whole Republican phase, which had undoubtedly begun with some encouraging characteristics, turned into a bloody episode which alienated those who had received it in good faith”. In summary, the war had already been present during the Republic.

Next, a trajectory that repeatedly underlines the aspects of violence and disorder culminates in the elections of 1936. This is followed with “the government lost control of the situation”. The images of Calvo Sotelo and the words of his speech to the Cortes on public disorder give the idea that the war had already started. The voiceover itself seems to accept this:

The search for peace cost our country three long years of struggle and a lot of blood. More than a century of historical decline crystallised in the chaos that made intervention by the army essential.

The audiovisual line of argument is clear: the war existed before it broke out. The intervention of the army is nothing but a necessary consequence of the Republic’s political failure. The account of the war sticks to a list of military events, dominated by the milestones of military successes or the heroic actions of the Nationalist side: the Montaña barracks, Seville (Queipo), Puerto de León; defence of Oviedo, passing the Gibraltar Strait, Alcázar de Toledo, Sanctuary of Santa Maria de la Cabeza, etc. References to Madrid in the account of the Francoist troops’ advance are made in name only. But there is mention of the resistance in Ciudad Universitaria and the crossing of the Ebro by the Republican troops.

Only at the end of the account on the military conflict, with no ideological differences made, is a door opened to recognising the merits of those vanquished in the war, and the later reconstruction of the country:

The sun shines once more on our fields giving a golden colour to the ears [of wheat]. It is the sun of peace over our lands which were watered with the blood of a generation that fought from different perspectives for a better Spain.

From this moment on, the discourse of the 'XXV years of peace' campaign is taken up once more: it emphasizes the role played by Franco in the face of Hitler's desire to involve Spain in the Second World War, the work of attending to all of the refugees without distinction of origin, the unjust isolation, etc...

This sample gives an idea of the longevity of the basic elements of the official Francoist account of the war. In reality, all that has been omitted are the defamatory remarks which were common in the previous audiovisual accounts⁷⁹. The line of argument is clear and only blurs Franco's protagonism at the start of the conflict, presenting him as a responsible soldier who sees himself obliged to intervene to save peace, to impose it and thus avoid the nation's suicide at the hands of politicians who were overtaken by circumstances almost from the very beginning. The idea of Franco as a defender of peace and not as an architect of the war is stressed in the narration leading up to the outbreak of the conflict. In other words: Franco brought peace to a country which had been at war before he intervened in it.

This account of the Civil War must be put in context with its background. The oldest television programmes on the subject of our war were offered in the series *Testimonio*, specifically the episodes about Málaga and the Ciudad Universitaria of Madrid. There are hardly any allusions in the other biographies that have been viewed and which correspond to these dates (1967 and 1968): those of Millán Astray, Gómez de la Serna; Marañón, Vázquez Díaz and Juan Ramón Jiménez. There are no references to it at all in the biography on José María Pemán.

In reference to Málaga, over images of disorder, people fleeing and public unrest, the voiceover gives the following message: "Spain is torn in a sea of disorder, crime, attacks which make the air unbreatheable. Death is all around and destruction dominates life. It seems that our homeland is going to succumb once and for all". Next, shots of soldiers parading, a victory parade and a battlefield. The voiceover states: "But Spain does not die. Her deepest

⁷⁹ On the evolution of audiovisual discourse in the NODO bulletin relating to the celebrations of July 18 and April 1, see RODRÍGUEZ-TRANCHE, Rafael & SÁNCHEZ BIOSCA, Vicente, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-346.

values spring to life one July 18th, demanding the country's resurrection from the very depth of the ashes, by the chosen hand of Francisco Franco. But the *via crucis* of her historical redemption goes on for three years".

The account responds to common places and the old clichés of the early years: of course the war -shown in the form of images of unrest- had already begun during the Republic. The military uprising is not a coup against an established constitutional order; what it does is to re-establish the peace in a conflict begun previously, in the times of the Republic. This general approach to the war is confirmed in the case of Málaga: "The troops enter down the street past the barracks, with the red and yellow flag which brings a message of peace and hope..." That is to say, the Francoist troops bring peace, not war. The images and the voiceover come in later with a discourse characteristic of the early years of Francoism: that of the reconstruction of the homeland which had been destroyed by their enemies. There is no shortage of references to acts of valour and heroism, and in this case these focus on Málaga's women. Special attention is paid to Pilar Pries and her work in organising the nurses during the military conflict. She was the then Marquesa of Larios and a notable personality in the life of the city. In summary: an account which signals the military uprising as a solution to a war which had really already begun, with some providential overtones which connect with the idea of reconquest and crusade, the consequent divine choice of Franco as Caudillo, and thus the early years of the regime.

Also in the series *Testimonio* there are two episodes dedicated to the Ciudad Universitaria. In the second (entitled *Hacia una gran realidad*⁸⁰) the references to the war offer an interesting novelty in the construction of the televisual account. Of course they retain clichés from the early phase: "Shortly after the crusade had begun..." In the description of the advance of the Francoist troops on Madrid, from the south, it does not fail to point out the "barbaric shooting at the Sacred Heart of Cerro de los Angeles". The novelty here is the appreciation of the enemy's heroism since he was Spanish too: "...the battle intensifies, registering singular cases of heroism on both sides because both are Spanish and common heirs to the most courageous warrior tradition in the world". This first statement is followed by another: "with the arrival of the International Brigades, they settle into a steady trench warfare which would last until the end of the conflict". The acts of bravery only attributed to the enemy if he is Spanish seem to disappear. Praise of the enemy returns

⁸⁰ Toward a great reality.

in the narration of the final victory: “The war reaches its end [...] an enemy which has known how to fight with bravery, as befits the sons of our race...”.

This is the first time that the audiovisual account of the Civil War on Televisión Española recognises the merits of the enemy, although some typical elements of the more traditional narrative are maintained. We should recall that this opening up to the positive features –to the heroism and bravery– of the enemy is limited to compatriots, since they share common characteristics of Spanishness. This constitutes another step forward: the account of ‘Spain versus the anti-Spain’ is put to one side.

The rest of the mentions of the Civil War presented in the materials about the biographies are only of relative interest, since they do not make up a line of argument. They are no more than circumstantial references in which the visual usually has greater impact than the literal narrative. The images do not transmit anything more than the idea of military conflict with simple stock images: cannons firing edited with the consequent explosions: advancing infantry: planes, bombs falling from the planes..., the Republican prelude to the war is, as always, presented with images of unrest: mounted police amid demonstrators; buildings on fire, churches destroyed, etc.

The voiceovers, in the case of Pemán for example, restrict themselves to pointing out that “Spain in those times was going through the greatest crisis [...] in 1939 peace arrives in Spain”. The sequence lasts thirty seconds –not much time to contribute something significant to the development of an account. Not much more time is dedicated in the case of Ortega, despite the fact that the story lent itself to easy propagandistic use. With a background of stock images of war, the voice informs us that July 18 catches Ortega by surprise in Santander, he returns to Madrid and “saddened and ill he leaves for Paris and Holland...”.

Even less time is dedicated to it in the case of Juan Ramón Jiménez: “in 1935 Mr and Mrs Jiménez flee Spain [...] and settle in Puerto Rico”. The brief sequence takes just 15 seconds. In Millán Astray’s case: “the war took him by surprise in Latin America”. He returns and places himself at Franco’s service, who then “gives him orders to keep watch on the morale of the troops”⁸¹ and later to organize the disabled corps. Little more than 10 seconds. Even less reference is made in the biography of Vázquez Díaz. The nearest the narrator

⁸¹ The bibliography points out that he was at the forefront of the propaganda (see ÁLVAREZ, Rosa & SALA, Ramón, *El cine en la zona...*, *op. cit.*, p. 163 y ss.; also DÍEZ PUERTAS, Emeterio, *El montaje del franquismo. La política cinematográfica de las fuerzas sublevadas*, *op. cit.*, p. 264).

comes to mentioning it is this phrase: “He paints Unamuno’s portrait three times, the last portrait was interrupted by the Civil War and the distinguished thinker’s death in Salamanca...”.

Televisión Española, therefore, shows little interest in referring to the Civil War in its productions up until 1972. When the subject is dealt with explicitly, and in a genre which is manifestly expository and explanatory (the popular history documentary), the authors’ efforts seem to focus precisely on presenting the war as something inevitable and necessary to regain the peace which had been definitively broken during the years of the Republic.

The later biographical programmes add little to this depiction. The war is settled in three and a half minutes in the biography of Agustín de Foxá: “tragedy hovers over Spain. The Civil War breaks out. Agustín’s parents are on their summer holiday. He is alone in Madrid. It is a time of real anguish. As if hell has spread its wings and its devastation takes over the towns, villages and the fields”. This is followed by a personal anecdote: his attempt to put out the flames of the church of San Vicente, burnt down in the earliest days of the war, and his passage to the Nationalist zone.

More intense and dramatic was the account given in the biography of Manuel García Morente. The script requires the narrator to read a text by the subject of the biography, who describes his situation: “At the very start of the Civil War myself and my family felt the impact of the harassment: the government removed me from the deanship; my house was searched several times; on August 28, my son-in-law was assassinated in Toledo. He was happy, jovial, optimistic. The tragedy of my poor daughter, a widow at 22 years old and with two small children completely transformed my life [...]. I received a confidential warning. I had to leave both my house and Spain urgently. I had to leave my daughters and grandchildren in the care of my brother-in-law...”. It was a personal testimony of great hardship told in a religious context: this is the origin of the philosopher’s conversion, which was one of the key subjects of his biography.

The next documentary production on the history of Spain in the 20th Century was *Tiempos de España. Una crónica en imágenes de la vida española del siglo XX*. We have already pointed out its main feature of interest: it was the first time that a team of specialist historians had advised a production team, and their involvement was indicated in the opening credits⁸². The episode

⁸² Previously, experts had advised on some productions, but as individuals and without continuity. The role played by the historians seems to be greater in this series. In this case the team of historians was Joaquín Arrarás, José Manuel Martínez Bande, J. Salas Larrazábal and Vicente Palacio Atard. Scripted and directed by Ricardo Blasco.

which is relevant here is the last one. It is entitled *El huracán* and this is significant in itself because it deals with the period that spans from the elections of February 1936 to the outbreak of the war. Although the war itself is not touched on, the programme does explain its origins and causes.

The historians' presence is manifest. There is a written historical account –a text in the strict sense of the word– which is illustrated with images, and we must underline that the selection and editing are of high quality. The account is detailed and fast moving. The idea presented in the title –The Hurricane– sets the rhythm, accompanied by the editing. The fundamental protagonist –the Communist Party and, to a lesser extent, the revolutionary anarchists– accelerate the tension at the crescendo. It underlines how close the number of votes was, between the winners (the Popular Front) and the right, in the February 1936 elections, as well as the weakness of Portela and Alcalá Zamora at the head of the government and state respectively. The central theme is already made clear: “The conflict between two irreconcilable sides, the victory of extremism”. The presentation of growing violence on the streets and in political life is softened through the insertion of allusions to curiosities of cultural and sporting life: the premiere of *Morena Clara*; the *Queen Mary*'s first day at sea; Carmen Amaya's success in *La hija de Juan Simón*...

But the basis of the account is the struggle between Communists and Revolutionary Anarchists for leadership of the forthcoming revolution. If there is anything to highlight in it, it would be the Socialists' loss of protagonism. Franco is mentioned twice, briefly: two of his messages to the head of government (Portela in one case and Casares in the other) to emphasise his concern for public order and the re-establishment of the government's authority. The documentary's line of argument is put forward in the first few minutes: “The Republican democracy seems to have been reduced exclusively to a succession and an increasingly grave acceleration of acts of vengefulness”. After referring to the preceding events over almost fifty minutes, the voice of the narrator presents its conclusion in a dramatic fashion. We are at the burials of Calvo Sotelo and Teniente Castillo. He states that the two took place on July 14, 1936: “The crowd following the body of Calvo Sotelo shares its silence with those following Castillo's body. This is already the Civil War [...] on July 14 all Spaniards, and not just those present in the Eastern Cemetery, know that the fracture between the two opposing Spains which had been worsening is now irreversible. The most tragic aspect of the moment is that everyone enters into the Civil War almost with relief, as a solution that the divided Spanish people seem to desire”.

We are faced with a change in perspective⁸³. The war is the great error of a divided generation that cannot happen again. The argument is of interest because it tallies with the one which was circulated during the political transition. Gone is the presentation of the Republic as a prelude to war, and military intervention as a means of achieving peace that was already shattered. A political process is narrated, essentially the Republican failure to ensure the functioning of a system that would incorporate all Spaniards. When there is talk of extremism, however, extremism on the right is never mentioned: only the extremism of the Communists and Revolutionary Anarchists. The Falange only “intensifies its propaganda”; the traditionalists are victims (Teniente Castillo killed one of them during a demonstration); Calvo Sotelo denounces the disorder; and so on. However, the line of argument is clear: the Civil War is a failure of all the Spaniards of that time, because everyone wanted it to happen.

We do not know if the documentary was ever broadcast. The RTVE documentation does not mention the date it was shown, if indeed it was. In any case, from a study of TVE’s productions and broadcasts, we can say that around that time (1975), it was not the subject of our war itself that figured highly among the interests of Televisión Española, but rather the forgetting of it.

5. Conclusion

Until 1975, Televisión Española produced and broadcast a number of documentaries and special programmes dealing with the subject of the Civil War, which, though not particularly high, was still significant. There were also fiction productions which referred to the event, but copies of these no longer exist. This does not prevent us from getting an idea of their content

⁸³ “In the last twenty years, the dictator scarcely needed to maintain his policy on the physical elimination of his political enemies, although he did maintain the legislation which repressed democratic freedoms until the end. The military court and that of “repression of freemasonry and communism”, created in 1940, were replaced with the Public Order Court *Tribunal de Orden Público* (1963). The Law for the repression of “banditry and terrorism” of 1947 was replaced by the Law of social danger, *Ley de Peligrosidad Social* (1970). The new generations, who distanced themselves politically from the dictator and who, as soon as they could enjoy the minimal spaces of freedom, began to demand the re-establishment of democratic freedoms, were faced with jail terms, fines and administrative sanctions, but in general, no longer received death sentences”. ÁLVAREZ JUNCO, José, “La ley de víctimas de la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo”, *Historia Contemporánea*, 38, p. 149.

since they were versions of published and well known novels (by Gironella and Emilio Romero, for example).

The classification as 'historical' fits the documentary material well in the sense that it attempted to offer an audiovisual explanation of the conflict. However, only in one case, and even then within a broader subject matter, did a series deal with the war specifically. In another, only the background to the war was offered. The rest of the documentary materials deal with people or towns; and the conflict, when presented in images, occupied an almost insignificant length of film in most cases. There is also a documentary –with doubts over whether it was broadcast– which in theory was targeted to a specific section of the audience: children. We can therefore state that Televisión Española showed very little interest in using the most appropriate means of broadcasting popular history to deal with, explain or shed light on the Civil War.

Explanations of the military conflict are also scarce in terms of mentions within the scheduling of programmes on the regime's anniversaries relating to the Civil War. They typically focused on the present (i.e. the year of production): on the benefits and economic and social improvements that Francoism –and consequently Franco– had gained for the country. The question that immediately springs to mind is why this attitude was adopted in an organisation so closely tied to the state and to the Francoist governments, and so closely linked to official propaganda?

Even in the case of the regime's anniversaries, and their presence in Televisión Española's programming, since 1969 particularly, references to the war are couched in accounts that make reference to peace and to the leading role played by the generations which did not make war. The usual discourse in the 1940s and 50s on the reconstruction of the country is left to one side. What they want to transmit is something more than that. The war began a historic period which has moved Spain beyond what it was in 1936: in general economic terms as well as social wellbeing, measured in indices of consumption and literacy and levels of education. It is as if the economic development and its successes justified the political situation and it was not necessary to refer to its origins –the war– to shed light on this.

In the course of the 1960s and 70s, the subject of peace gradually substitutes that of war. The Civil War is even presented as the only way of achieving peace in that historical circumstance. The negative connotation of the war (a recourse favoured by two sides who had been incapable of reaching an understanding through political processes) begins to take shape. This process culminates in a discourse –though we do not know if it was ever broadcast– in which the war is shown as the great failure of that generation; and conse-

quently, also of the Republic. It can be said that it facilitated the transition, although it was not as the Francoists had hoped before Franco's demise.

The inevitable approach of the dictator's death must naturally have generated fear that there would be problems and conflicts. It is unlikely that anyone expected another Civil War, but to insist on peace they recalled the war and ensured that the idea spread that there could not be another one, at any cost. The desire for peace also promoted a certain fear that that peace might be lost. People felt that they were at the end of an historical cycle and did not want to open the next one with a new radical conflict, even if it was not a war. Preparations were being laid for the transition, whether consciously or unconsciously.

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Annex 1. Programming to commemorate April 1, July 18 and October 1 obtained from *La Vanguardia*, *Tele Radio* and the archives of TVE (in normal type, TR and *La Vanguardia*; bold, only TVE; italic bold: in both)

Year	April 1	July 18	October 1
1960	23h. Concert of Spanish Music	14'02. Spanish orchestras abroad 15'10. Young rhythms 17'05. Homage to the maestro Nicolau	22'45. Concert of homage to the head of state. In this special concert the Philharmonic Orchestra will perform, conducted by Odón Alonso with pianist Manuel Carra. The concert programme will be as follows: "Goyescas" (intermedio) by Granados, first suite of "El sombrero de 3 picos" (the tricorn hat) by Falla, and the premiere of a work by Manuel Carra –composed especially for this occasion at the request of TVE– entitled "Suite de la España imperial" (suite of Imperial Spain).
1961	<u>Saturday April 2.</u> 22'30h. <i>La paz empieza nunca</i> , (Peace never begins) by Emilio Romero. Script: E. Domínguez Millán. Director: D. Almendros	To commemorate the fact that today Spain celebrates, in this edition of the news bulletin TVE will provide the words of the Head of State before the Cortes, as well as a summary of the victory parade and a series of interesting interviews with the nation's political personalities. 10'15h. Filmed commemorative report.	11'45. Poems at midnight. In homage to Francisco Franco on the XXV anniversary of the exaltation of the Caudillo to the head of State. Musical moment: Beethoven's Symphony nº 3 (extract).

Year	April 1	July 18	October 1
1962	11'45h. Poems at midnight. On the XXIII anniversary of the Day of Victory, TVE's poetry programme offers "Torre del Castillo de la Mota" (The tower at the Castle of La Mota) by Martín Alonso Pedraz, read by Manuel Dicenta.	16'30h. Commemorative report (15 minutes long) 12h. Poems at midnight. "Romance de Castilla en armas", (The ballad of Spain in arms) by Federico Urrutia to sum up the XXVth Anniversary of the Glorious National Uprising. Recitation: Carlos Mendi. Musical Moment: Beethoven's Eroica Symphony	10. Programme commemorating the XXVI anniversary of the exaltation of the Caudillo to the head of State. 11'45. Poems at midnight. "La espada" (The sword) by Federico Mendizábal, read by Manuel Dicenta. On the XXVI anniversary of the Caudillo of Spain's exaltation to the Head of State. Musical moment: Beethoven's Eroica Symphony.
1963	10h. <i>Entre el ayer y el mañana</i> (Between yesterday and tomorrow). Programme to commemorate April 1, written by Rafael García Serrano and directed and produced by Domingo Almendros	2'15h. In honour of the festivities of July 18, TVE will dedicate today to special reports commemorating this important date in Contemporary Spanish history. 8'55 The march of time. Retrospective report. 12'05 Poems at midnight. Poetic composition to commemorate the festivities of July 18 on the XXVII Anniversary of the National Movement, by Federico Urrutia, read by Manuel Dicenta. Musical moment: Homenajes, by Manuel de Falla	Franco, Caudillo de España (Franco, Spain's Caudillo)

Year	April 1	July 18	October 1
1964	22h. XXV years of peace in Spain.	Inauguration of the new TVE studios in Prado del Rey, Live broadcast of this important event with which TVE joins in the commemoration of July 18. Special programme: "Spain 25 years", produced by TVE	
1965	In the course of today, the news services will compile special reports in commemoration of this day in 1939, the end of the conflict.		
1966		5'10. Valle de los caídos (The Valley of the Fallen). Documentary showing the construction of the great monument which points to Spain's unity after difficult times. Special programme (XXX anniversary of the National Uprising. Today: The Crusade.) <u>July 20</u> the special programme is called Unity. These are programmes of approximately an hour long.	<i>Franco y su pueblo. (Franco and his people.) Special programme on the occasion of the anniversary of Francisco Franco's exaltation to the head of state.</i>
1967	3'50h. Edición especial Special edition	Special. Programme dedicated to the day's festivities. Time and content to be advised. 10'10 Special news programme (30 minutes)	10. Special programme.

Year	April 1	July 18	October 1
1968		10'45. La hora del mundo. (The times of the world) Today: <i>Hablemos de España</i> , (Let's talk about Spain) by Jaime Campmany, Orti Bordás and Emilio Romero.	9'51h. Special programme.
1969	La España de Franco (Franco's Spain) Special programme, month of broadcast unknown	8'30. Por tierra, mar y aire. (By land, sea and sky.) Today: <i>Homenaje al Ejército</i> . (Homage to the army.) Script: Frco. Summers, Director. Luís García Rollán. UHF. 11'30 Beethoven's Pastoral symphony	
1970	Hablemos de España (Let's talk about Spain) Special programme	34th anniversary of July 18: various news stories (see table 11)	5h. <i>Hablemos de España</i>. (Let's talk about Spain) 34 aniversario de Franco en el poder: (34th anniversary of Franco in power: various news stories) (see table II)
	<i>Franco, ese hombre</i> (That man Franco) Biographical account using retrospective images of the deeds, life and works of his excellency, the head of state. Today's recommendation. April 2. 9'25: España siglo XX. (Spain in the twentieth century.)	El 18 de julio y la Guerra Civil española (Programa especial) July 18 and the Spanish Civil War (Special programme) En este país (In this country) Special programme, month of broadcast unknown	3'25h Por tierra, mar y aire. (By land, sea and sky.) A programme on the current national and international military situation. Script by Manuel Summers 35 años. Homenaje a Franco: Manifestaciones políticas (35 years. Homage to Franco: Political demonstrations)

Year	April 1	July 18	October 1
1972		Fiesta del 18 de Julio en Burgos (July 18 Celebration in Burgos) Un día por toda una vida (One day for a whole life -Special programme)	
1973		Entrevista a Ricardo de la Cierva (Libros sobre la Guerra Civil) Interview with Ricardo de la Cierva (Books on the Civil War)	
1974	35 años de Paz (35 years of peace - special programme)	Recepción en la Granja. (Reception in La Granja) Visita de Franco a un Hospital (Franco visits a hospital)	Franco, decisiones para la historia (Franco, decisions for history) Special programme, it is not known whether it was actually broadcast
1975	<i>Las instituciones.</i> (The institutions.) News on activities in parliament, reports and curiosities from the Cortes, the National Council, regional councils, etc.	Hoy 18 de julio (Today, July 18) special programme	

Annex 2. Documentary material catalogued in the TVE archives with reference to the Spanish Civil War

Series/ Programme	Episode title	Broadcast date
Biography	Agustín de Foxá	1973
	Manuel García Morente	1973
	José Ortega y Gasset	
	Millán Astray	1973
	Antonio Machado	
	Severo Ochoa	

Series/ Programme	Episode title	Broadcast date
	José María Pemán	
	Ramón Gómez de la Serna	
	Ramón Gómez de la Serna	
	Gregorio Marañón	1973
	Daniel Vázquez Díaz	
	Juan Ramón Jiménez	1973
Spain XX Century Part 2	Final chapter: "Las apetencias de los comunistas" <i>The wishes of the Communists</i>	
The mark of man	Final chapter: "Trajano, un emperador" <i>Trajano, emperor.</i>	1970
Tiempos de España		
The times in Spain	Final chapter: "El Huracán" (1936) <i>The Hurricane</i>	1973-1974
La noche de los tiempos Lost in the mists of times	Final chapter: "El último siglo de un milenio" <i>The last century of a millenium</i>	
Testimony	"Crónica de la Ciudad universitaria" <i>Chronicle of the Ciudad Universitaria</i>	1967
	"Crónica de la Ciudad universitaria" <i>Chronicle of the Ciudad Universitaria</i>	1967
	"Málaga, ayer y hoy de una ciudad" <i>Málaga, the yesterday and today of a city</i>	1967
	"Málaga"	1967
Special programmes	"Franco y su pueblo" <i>Franco and his people</i>	1966
	"Un día por una vida" <i>One day for a whole life</i>	1972
	"Cartas a un niño sobre Franco" <i>Letters to a child about Franco</i>	
	"Franco, decisiones para la historia" <i>Franco, decisions for history</i>	1974

Series/ Programme	Episode title	Broadcast date
	"Hoy, 18 de julio" <i>Today, July 18</i>	1975
	"Cincuenta y cinco aniversario de la Legión" <i>55th anniversary of the [Spanish] Legion</i>	1975
Special programmes with reference to the Civil War made in the 1960s and 70s.	"La España de Franco" <i>Franco's Spain</i>	1969
	"Hablemos de España" <i>Let's talk about Spain</i>	1970
	"En este país" <i>In this country</i>	1971
	"18 de julio y Guerra Civil española" <i>July 18 and the Spanish Civil War</i>	1971
	"Entrevista a Ricardo de la Cierva (Libros sobre la Guerra Civil)" <i>Interview with Ricardo de la Cierva (Books on the Civil War)</i>	1973
	"35 años de paz" <i>35 years of peace</i>	1974
News stories on news bulletins 34th anniversary of July 18	"Actos del 18 de julio en Guadalajara" <i>Events for July 18 in Guadalajara</i>	1970
	"Recepción en torno al 18 de julio en Jaén" <i>Reception to mark July 18 in Jaén</i>	1970
	"Entrega de trofeos, 18 de julio en Sevilla" <i>Prizegiving, July 18 in Seville</i>	1970
	"18 de julio en Valladolid" <i>July 18 in Valladolid</i>	1970
	"Recepción en la Capitanía General, en Valladolid" <i>Reception in the Captaincy-General in Valladolid</i>	1970
	"Recepción en la Capitanía General, en Sevilla" <i>Reception in the Captaincy-General in Seville</i>	1970
	"Recepción en la Capitanía General, en Aragón, Zaragoza" <i>Reception in the Captaincy-General in Aragón, Zaragoza</i>	1970
	"Recepción autoridades e instituciones corporativas" <i>Reception for the authorities and corporatist institutions.</i>	1970

Series/ Programme	Episode title	Broadcast date
	“Recepción e inauguración en Castellón” <i>Reception and inauguration in Castellón</i>	1970
	“Corrida extraordinaria en Vitoria” <i>Special bullfight in Vitoria</i>	1970
	“Guadalajara”	1970
34 years of Franco in power	“Fiesta del Caudillo” <i>The Caudillo’s celebration</i>	1970
	“Recepción en Córdoba” <i>Reception in Córdoba</i>	1970
	“Recepción en la Capitanía General de Sevilla” <i>Reception in the Captaincy-General of Seville</i>	1970
	“Te Deum en San Francisco el Grande” <i>Service of thanksgiving at San Francisco el Grande</i>	1970
	“Recepción en la Capitanía General de La Coruña” <i>Reception in the Captaincy-General of La Coruña</i>	1970
	“Recepción en la Capitanía General de Zaragoza” <i>Reception in the Captaincy-General of Zaragoza</i>	1970
35 years of homage to Franco	“Manifestaciones políticas” <i>Political demonstrations</i>	1971
Celebration of July 18	“Burgos”	1972
Celebration of July 18	“Recepción en la Granja” <i>Reception in La Granja</i>	1974
	“Visita Franco un Hospital” <i>Franco visits a hospital.</i>	1974