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Criminalizing Maquis: Configurations of Anti-Francoist Guerrilla Fighters as *Bandoleros* and *Bandits* in Cultural Discourse

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Introduction

In various public media outlets, a number of former antifrancoist guerrilla fighters have expressed their disappointment with the Ley de Memoria Histórica (Law of Historical Memory) of 2007, which they consider "una traición, por renunciar a la condena jurídica de los procesos y juicios sumarísimos del franquismo" (Castro qtd. in Castellanos 21) (a treason, because it renounces the juridical condemnation of Francoist legal processes and trials).[1] The most-interviewed woman maquis, Remedios Montero, declared in *El País*: "Se ha perdido la oportunidad de dejar claro que no fuimos *bandoleros*" (Lafuente qtd. in Castellanos 21) (The opportunity to clarify that we were not *bandits* has been lost) [emphasis is mine]. Montero and others's denunciation brings to the fore the importance of the process commonly known as the recuperation of historical memory. Following Walter Benjamin's eight theses on the concept of history—"the tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the 'state of exception' in which we live is the rule" (Benjamin 248)—the recuperation of the historical memory of the anti-Francoist guerrilla ought to function simultaneously as a type of hermeneutics, a form of justice, and a matter of public duty (Mate).

Moving from the public to the private, and from the general to the anecdotal, in summer 2009 I interviewed José Salcedo Dionisio, a 77-year-old retired shepherd who lives in the small village of Fornes (Granada). I had been told that José had spent years with the maquis when he was a child, which immediately arose my curiosity because, to my knowledge, no children had participated in the guerrilla.[2] I traveled to his village and he told me his story: his gratitude toward the guerrilla soldiers who helped him, and

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his fear of being taken either for a supporter of the guerrilla by the civil guards or for traitor by the same guerrilla fighters that trusted him before when he returned to Fornes after years in the mountains. When asked about the maquis, he authoritatively stated "pero no eran bandoleros, bandoleros no, eran . . . otra cosa" (but they were not bandits, bandits no, they were . . . something else). José's rejection of the identification of maquis with bandits, together with his inability to articulate a better definition for these fighters, reflects the conflict of the child that observes a world conceptualized through adult categories. José's urge for clarification also reveals the persistence of ideology: the offensive description of the guerrilla fighters as bandits and criminals, which continues still today in the social imaginary of considerable sectors of the Spanish population, is the most unrelenting Francoist myth of the maquis.

My goal in this essay is to illuminate the Francoist ideologeme that identifies maquis with bandits. My thesis is simple: cultural (literary, filmic, historiographical); medical (psychiatric); and juridical discourses helped consolidate the Francoist official propaganda that criminalized the figure of the maquis. First, I study how these discourses merge, configuring a criminal image for the guerrilla; second, I analyze a number of Francoist films that, reflecting on the predominant public discourse in the 1940s and 1950s, represent the members of the armed resistance as bandits and criminals. The criminalization of the enemy is a common practice in war and postwar contexts. In post-war Spain, the manipulation of the image of the guerrilla contributed to the identification of the *guerrilleros* with bandits and, furthermore, with the national prototype of the *bandoleros*. In fact, Francoist cinema utilized the evocative allure of the *bandolero* in order to engage the audience. At the same time, Francoist public discourse erased the crucial distinction between *bandolero* and bandit, which is tied to the romantic notion of Spain as an exotic and hot-blooded country. The figure of a *bandolero* who, in defense of his fellow peasants, incarnates a national patriotism threatened since the French invasion in 1808, is inverted by the regime's propaganda and stripped of nationalism: since the maquis are anti-Spanish and anti-nationalists, they are not real *bandoleros* but common bandits.[3] Since *bandoleros* traditionally give voice to oppressed people's desires and needs, Francoist movies had to neutralize the emotional and ideological connections that tie *bandoleros* to their communities, demonizing the former. Thus, Francoism appropriates the figure of the *bandolero*, but slims its traits down in order to keep and emphasize the *bandolero*'s criminal aspect.

Although the Spanish guerrilla has been read as part of other European guerrillas, the particularity of Spanish history helps explain the vastly different treatment that resistance fighters have traditionally received in Spain. While silence prevails in Spain, critical studies and sociopolitical recognition proliferate in other countries: "Tras los Pirineos se ha escrito

sobre una historia de vencedores, y sus luchadores han sido ampliamente recompensados e historiados. Pero a este lado de los Pirineos ha habido una historia de vencidos, y los vencidos no tienen historia" (Moreno-Gómez, Lagunas) (Beyond the Pyrenees a history has been written about the victors, and its fighters have been amply rewarded and historicized. But on this side of the Pyrenees there has been a history of the defeated, and the defeated don't have history). As it is well known, guerrilla movements tend to be remembered when they have been allied with victorious parties.[4] Some cases are considered paradigmatic in European history: in France, the French resistance against the Nazi occupation in World War II; in Germany, the Jewish resistance during the Holocaust; in Italy, the resistance of the partisans since 1943. In some instances, resistance fighters have even been foundational figures in the creation of nationalistic myths.[5] In Europe, the Soviet Union, the United States, and many parts of the world, the collective memory of war has aestheticized—minimized, polished—its own violence in order to create nationalistic myths.

The identification of the Spanish maquis with bandits and criminals exemplifies how "en todas partes se realizó una interpretación selectiva de lo ocurrido durante la guerra" (Bourke 161) (a selective interpretation of what happened during the war was made everywhere). In East Germany, the state proclaimed itself heir of the international brigades, resistant communists, and German prisoners. West Germany developed a hierarchy of victims and heroes that turned Germans into unfortunate victims. Italy swept away its fascist past and yielded protagonism to the Italian partisans who resisted the Nazi occupation since September 1943: the myth of resistance was particularly useful to the political left but also to the right, as King Victor Emmanuel forced Mussolini to resign and declared war against Germany. In France, the Vichy government was secluded in the past, the French persecution of Jews ignored, and resistance was placed at the center of ideological configurations of national identity. In comparison with the oblivion suffered by Spanish armed resistance until very recently, the admiration towards the guerrilla in other European contexts is such that in many countries, admirers of the guerrilla fighters "siguen resistiéndose a admitir que los partisanos y los luchadores de la resistencia también cometieron atrocidades" (Bourke 162) (still refuse to admit that partisans and resistance fighters committed atrocities too).

In comparison with the process of heroicizing that casts guerrilla soldiers in a positive light in many countries, in Spain the maquis have been considered bandits for decades. For that goal, Francoism erased the difference that exists between the two basic hermeneutics regarding the historical reality of the *bandolerismo*. The first interpretation defends that the figure of the *bandolero* incarnates a "protesta social [. . .] contra la pobreza y la opresión" (Santos Torres 25) (a social protest [. . .] against poverty and oppression): state propaganda has always diminished radical

guerrilla fighters as bandits, explaining banditry as the residual product of a sociopolitical conflict (Bernal Rodríguez). From this point of view, banditry is linked to the major crises in Spanish history: the Independence War of 1808, the *Carlista* wars, and the Civil War. Moreover, the transgressive nature of banditry is related to smuggling, anarchism, and other subversive political manifestations. Contesting this political hermeneutics from social history studies on marginalization and collective criminality, a second interpretation defends that since the only goal for bandits's robberies is to secure survival, *bandoleros* are simply anti-social survivors ostracized and persecuted by the community. As an example, López Morán has analyzed how banditry in Galicia was not a form of rebellion, but the only means of survival for thousands of people due to the serious and long-lasting economic constraints of the region, deconstructing previous mythical configurations on the *bandoleros*.

In linguistic terms, since the sixteenth century the Spanish language has used two different words, *bandido* and *bandolero*, while English translates both as 'bandit.' However, etymologically *bandolero* is the follower or flag bearer of a Catalan noble while *bandido* is the person who, persecuted by law—*el bando*—escapes justice (Barrientos and García Moutón 9–11). Spanish differentiates between, on the one hand, *bandolero* as a heroic member of the community and incarnation of noble moral, political, and religious values that have to do with honor, religion, and patriotism, and on the other hand, the common, immoral *bandit* that seeks his personal enrichment regardless of the needs and rights of his fellow community members, who fear and despise him. Although in real life *bandoleros* and *bandidos* lived very similar lifestyles, *bandoleros* are portrayed in the social imaginary as heroic and benevolent outcasts while *bandidos* are plainly dangerous criminals. During Francoism, such a linguistic distinction disappears with respect to the maquis, the words *bandolero* and *bandido* achieving an identical meaning since the end of the Civil War.

The Cultural, Medical, and Juridical Discourse

Since the sixteenth century, the western literary tradition has been ripe with bandit figures, so much so that real life bandits emulating their literary counterparts have become a *cliché*.[6] Besides, stereotypes about Spanish bandits appear in other national literatures.[7] If we focus on Spanish literature, a number of recurrent traits conforms the banditry genre since the sixteenth century. Perhaps the most salient of these conventions is the depiction of bandits as generous individuals who, driven by an acute sense of justice, defend the weak and pester the *caciques*. The representation of banditry abounds in dramatic elements—uprootedness, persecution,

violence, love, admiration—which are used to accentuate the heroism of a protagonist who mocks institutional powers. The relationship between bandit and community allows for a defense of nationalism as well as local traditions and values. Also, the tragic destiny of the *bandolero* is the logical and inevitable consequence of an excess whose end reaffirms the existing order. Together with tragic death, other endings await bandits. Sometimes they benefit from conciliatory and populist pardons while occasionally they repent and retreat to convent life (Barrientos and García Moutón 18).

The very few women who become bandits have either lost their honor—what forces their exclusion from society—or have followed their lovers, also bandits, to the mountains. Spanish Romanticism highlights the landless nature of *bandoleros*, the forced abandonment of family and village, and the fatality that pushes them away from law. It also identifies and individualizes bandits with respect to other criminals. In the theater of the Romantics, melodramatic and sentimental elements abound in *bandolero* dramas, including crimes, duels, abandoned children, and passionate and impossible love stories (Cruz Casado, "*El mito*" 144). If Romanticism favors bandits because they symbolize the freedom so longed for by this historical time (Cruz Casado, "*El mito*" 32), Francoist fictional representation of the maquis utilizes those elements that signal the outcast, free, passionate, conservative, and landless nature of the bandits, discarding the benevolent aura that has surrounded them since Romanticism.

It is not easy to separate literature from historiography with regards to the figure of the *bandoleros*, since historiography has, especially on this topic, traditionally depended upon legends and oral accounts. In fact, historiographical studies on the *bandoleros* frequently refer to literature.[8] The Romantic vision of the *bandolero* is addressed repeatedly in historiographical, graphic, and literary works; moreover, the most famous cases of banditry that take place in Andalucia, more specifically in Sierra Morena, form the grounds for the legends, lithographies, and engravings of Romantic travelers, including Mérimée's accounts (Pérez Regordan 10–11). The Romantic mythology coincides with the reign of Fernando VII—golden age of banditry— and evolves around famous *bandoleros* such as El Tempranillo, Los Siete Niños de Écija, Diego Corrientes, and Luis Candelas.

Interpretations concerning banditry have evolved through time, leaving a legacy inherited by Francoism. One of the first historians on the *bandolerismo* is Julián de Zugasti, defender of the 1868 Revolution, who in his three volume classical work claims that banditry mirrors the moral degradation of a society in need of regulation of political life. In the 1930s the anthropological approach, developed by, among others, C. Bernaldo de Quirós and Luis Ardilla, became popular. Based on race theories and 19th century phrenology, it defends the key influence of race in Andalusian banditry; in order to explain why Andalusians are particularly prone to crime, race is explained as including cultural elements (history, tradition,

folklore), a specific environment, lack of transportation, social polarization, and a high rate of brachycefalism. In the late 1950s, E. J. Hobsbawm's theorization, which has echoed popular literature since Romanticism, develops the idea of the primitive rebel. For Hobsbawm, banditry is a common form of primitivist social protest in rural communities threatened by capitalism: as pre-political phenomenon it is a moderate, non-revolutionary form of communitary contestation that tries to set limits to traditional oppression. The community projects onto the *bandolero* a desire for freedom, justice, and innocence, conferring upon him a symbolic status. Thus, *bandoleros* are invulnerable, heroic, ubiquitous, skillful, masculine, young, generous, fair, and have a passionate sexual nature—like Robin Hood, they persecute the true criminals. However, Caro Baroja has argued against deterministic approaches, questioning social conflict as well as economy—*latifundismo* rural structure—as the origin of banditry.[9]

The association between *bandoleros* and maquis is clearly established by lieutenant colonel Francisco Aguado Sánchez in his renowned historiographical two-volume study *El maquis en España* (1975, 1976), where the author describes anti-Francoist guerrilla soldiers as bandits, criminals, killers, and hijackers under the orders of the Communist Party. *El maquis en España* is a paradigmatic example of how Francoist historiography manipulated and distorted information in order to fabricate a Manichean vision of the guerrillero that converted him into an abject other conceptualized in terms of *bandolerismo*: "El movimiento subversivo rural de los años cuarenta tuvo un siete por ciento de guerrillerismo y un noventa y tres de *bandolerismo*" (Aguado 13) (The subversive rural movement of the 1940s had a seven percent of warfare and a ninety three of *bandolerismo*).

Historians from different political backgrounds have continued to explore the connection between the guerrilla fighter and a more or less criminal *bandolero* in democratic Spain. Tomás Cossías, defending the nationalist grounds of *bandolerismo*, presents the maquis as pure criminal bandits: "No se trataba de bandoleros clásicos, con una solera y psicología determinadas [. . .] no fueron nunca bandoleros españoles" (Nuño Castellanos 24) (They were not classical *bandoleros*, with a specific character and tradition, and psychology [. . .] they never were Spanish *bandoleros*). Moreno-Gómez has noticed how the dictatorship despised the maquis, degrading them as common criminals and insulting them as "'forajidos' y 'malhechores'" (22) (dangerous outlaws). For his part, Secundino Serrano has studied how Francoist literature inserted the maquis within the *bandolero* literary tradition: "Negado el contexto represivo que obligó a los republicanos a echarse al monte, orillada la violencia estructural que impedía su reinserción en el nuevo regimen y despojados de toda ideología, huidos y guerrilleros aparecían como la última secuencia del *bandolerismo* decimonónico" (Serrano 15) (Negated the repressive context that forced Republicans to escape to the forest, skirting the structural

violence that prevented them from integrating into the new regime, and stripped of all ideology, fugitives and guerrilla soldiers appeared as the last sequence of nineteenth century *bandolerismo*) [italics are mine].

Together with cultural products, medical discourses, especially the psychiatric, proved crucial to the criminalization of anti-Francoist guerrilla soldiers as bandits. It is important to remember how psychiatry was inserted within the turn of the century European culture, which experienced a period of imperial expansion and construction of citizenship based on the belief of the physical and intellectual superiority of the European race with respect to the colonized. This conviction was accompanied, in contrast, by a fear of degeneration, since the corruption of a race and its values could endanger the superior position achieved by the state and some of its citizens. Medicine, psychiatry, psychology, and criminology imposed the limits between sanity and insanity, the acceptable and not acceptable, and consequently between those who belonged and those to be expelled. Physical sickness, corporeal pathology, and mental disorders were grouped together and attributed political meaning; any disturbance was understood as sympton of race degeneration. This ideology climaxed in Francoist's propaganda with regards to the Second Republic: the identification between the national body and the citizens—particularly regarding the notions of order, unity, and potency—was the foundation for the rejection of the sociopolitical changes generated by the Republic, which was discredited as a sick society in need of regeneration (Cenarro 112–13).

In Francoist Spain, psychiatry became a pseudoscience whose priority was to prove the social inferiority, moral degeneration, and criminal nature of political dissidents, guerrilla soldiers included. For that purpose the army founded a Gabinete de Investigaciones Psicológicas (Committee for Psychological Research) in 1938, which developed the research project "Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista" (Psychism of Marxist fanaticism). This far-reaching project was signed by the prestigious psychiatrist Antonio Vallejo Nájera, who held the position of army major as well as chief of the army's Servicios Psiquiátricos (Psychiatrist Services). Vallejo Nájera's goal was to establish the principle of "segregación total" (Vinyes 50) (total segregation) as a means to protect and improve the race, or in other words, a eugenics of Hispanism. In his efforts to attain the social criminalization and stigmatization of Republicans, Vallejo Nájera not only psychiatrized dissidence, but also suggested the creation of a Cuerpo de Inquisidores (Board of Inquisitors) (Vinyes 60).

Vallejo Nájera's compilation of his previous works and most important book is *La locura en la Guerra* (1936). One of the central ideas of this essay, together with the thesis on children's segregation and the study on concentration camps, is the identification between Marxist dissidence and mental inferiority. Vallejo Nájera's point of departure is Cesare Lombroso's anthropological work on South Italian rebel peasants, "llamados

simplemente bandoleros" (Vinyes 50) (simply called bandits). Together with Lombroso, Kretschmer's influence allowed Vallejo Nájera to keep an aprioristic assumption on the existence of criminal types. The added contextual factor—the Spanish Civil War—worked as a justification for the need for an imposition of a Catholic education: the formation of a healthy personality. In his criminalization of political dissidents, Vallejo Nájera claimed that women, given the proximity of their psyche to the irrationality of animals and children, were more prone to cruelty, mental disorders, and criminal behavior. These assumptions justified a brutal repression in Francoist women's prisons that affected all detainees, including female maquis. For Vallejo Nájera, Republican men, included maquis, show an acute sense of inferiority and resentment that is not the product of punishment or social accident. This negative trait, together with the dissidents's insane and ubiquitous sexuality and ugliness, reveals their true criminal nature. In Vallejo Nájera's words:

> En la revolución española ha sucedido lo que enseña la historia que ocurre en todas las revueltas sociales: que desencadenada la revolución libéranse las tendencias psicopáticas de la más baja animalidad almacenadas en las multitudes, teniendo franca expansión las más abominables tendencias instintivas de crueldad, criminalidad y lujuria, sin freno posible para una multitud desbordada, que sacia sus pasiones hasta bañarse en sangre y lágrimas.
>
> Ahora y siempre ha estado y estará formado el populacho de las grandes urbes por toda suerte de degenerados, amorales, criminales natos, irritables, explosivos, epilépticos, paranoides, homosexuales, impulsivos, alcohólicos, toxicómanos, idiotas morales, etc., por la totalidad de la fauna psicopática antisocial. A los criminoides degenerados indígenas se han sumado en nuestra guerra los marxistas internacionales para ofrecer al mundo un ejemplo de bestial criminalidad que supera en muchos grados a la revolucionaria francesa de los años 1793 y 1794. Si tal conglomerado criminoide milita en las filas marxistas débese a que éstas resultan atractivas para los resentidos sociales, que destruyendo la sociedad se vengan de no haber alcanzado en ella otro puesto que el de un número en la muchedumbre anónima. (Vallejo Nájera 200–01)
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> (What has happened with the Spanish Revolution is what history has taught us happens with all social uprisings of this kind: that once the revolution has been unleashed, psychopathic tendencies of the lowest animalistic nature are pent up among the masses, giving free expression to instinctive tendencies of cruelty, criminality, and lust, a boundless

> multitude that satiates its passions until it bathes itself in blood and tears.
>
> Now and always the masses from large urban centers will be made up of all kinds of degenerates, the amoral, the naturally-born criminal, the short-tempered**,** the explosive, the epileptic, the paranoids, the homosexuals, the impulsive, the alcoholics, the drug addicts, the moral idiots, etc., and of the totality of the antisocial, psychopathic fauna of society. International Marxists have joined with degenerate indigenous criminoides in offering the world an example of bestial criminality that surpasses by many degrees those of the French revolution of 1793 and 1794. If this criminoide conglomerate joins the Marxist ranks it must be that Marxism appears attractive for these resentful citizens, and that by destroying society they are able to take revenge for not having reached any other station in life than being a simple number among an anonymous crowd.)

The cultural and medical discourse goes hand in hand with the juridical one, as guerrilla soldiers were considered bandits under the law. In fact they were first judged under the Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas (Political Responsibilites Law) of 1939, and later under the Decreto-Ley sobre Bandidaje y Terrorismo (Decree-Law on Banditry and Terrorism) of 1947, rewritten in 1960. It is worth noticing that this law explicitly uses the word *bandidaje*. But if the legal national discourse criminalized guerrilla soldiers as bandits, the Francoist government developed a completely opposite legal policy on armed resistance at international forums. The atrocious repression of the guerrilla inside Spain is a paradigmatic example of the schism that existed between a heinous national political practice—a brutal legalized state violence—and the international public discourse. The schizophrenic and hypocritical schism between national and international politics allowed the Francoist government to respond to international pressure through well-known cosmetic changes and an offensive diplomatic policy.[10] This successful operation, which softened some of the most radically fascist traits of the regime for the sake of garnering international approbation without turning the dictatorship into an acceptable democratic regime, includes the ratification of the Geneva Conventions.[11]

Spain signed the Geneva Conventions in August 12, 1949, and later ratified them in August 4, 1952, with no reservations.[12] The Geneva Conventions, four of the ten international treaties signed by the Franco regime, are still considered the cornerstone of contemporary International Humanitarian Law as they set the standards for humanitarian treatment of the victims of war.[13] They protect combatants who find themselves *hors de combat* (incapable of performing their military function). They also define the basic rights of those captured during a military conflict, establish

protections for the wounded, and address protections for civilians in and around a war zone. Franco's government signed and ratified the four treaties, including Common Article Three relating to non-international armed conflict. This article states that the rules of war also apply to armed conflicts which, contained within the boundaries of a single country, are not of an international character. It applies to conflicts between the government and rebel forces, between two rebel forces, or to other conflicts that have all the characteristics of war but that are carried out within the confines of a single country. In other words, although Francoist legal discourse was akin in the defense of humanitarian basic principles to that of western democracies, the national legal discourse always referred to the maquis as a band of criminals and bandits. It denied its status as armed association and undervalued it as a public-order domestic problem.

Francoist Movies on the Maquis

Together with literature, historiography, medicine, and law, cinema contributed to configuring the Francoist image of the maquis as *bandoleros* and bandits. Pre-Franco movies on banditry, like *Soñar despierto* (1911) by Segundo de Chomón, had already created a filmic image of the *bandolero* for the public imagination. However, the Francoist representation of maquis as bandits can be thought of not only as the recreation of a theme within an existing film tradicion but also, in broader terms, as the continuation of the legitimizing *cine de cruzada* (crusade cinema) and its Manichean portrayal of the enemy. The Manichean paradigm is especially important for the movies that in the 1940s and 1950s "se hacen para mantener viva la guerra" (Verdera Franco 31) (are made to keep the war alive). As opposed to escapist cinema, the mission of indoctrinating cinema is to remind spectators of the Civil War, thus legitimating the dictatorship. Here *Raza* is the most paradigmatic example.[14] In linguistic terms, crusade cinema uses a "léxico muy agresivo (hordas, canalla marxista, babosos mercenarios, bárbaros, turbas, populacho, plebe, chusma)" (Gubern) (very aggressive vocabulary [hordes, Marxist rabble, slimy mercenaries, louts, mobs, populace, plebs, rabble]), which is the same language used against the maquis in Francoist movies. Although crusade cinema is provisionally buried in 1942, in 1949 Arturo Ruiz Castillo recovers the genre in *El santuario no se rinde*.[15] In the 1950s and 1960s, legitimation and reconciliation between Nationalists and Republicans go hand in hand.[16] During those decades, Francoist movies on the guerrilla perpetuate, through the representation of maquis as *bandoleros* and bandits, the crusade genre because of their unambiguous legitimization of the war; at the same time they mirror the growing dialectics between

legitimation and reconciliation. The movies *Dos Caminos* and *Torrepartida* stand out in Francoist filmic production.

Dos caminos (1953), directed by Arturo Ruiz Castillo, has been considered one of the most beautiful movies on the consequences of the Civil War.[17] Its political message, legitimizing the regime and against armed resistance, was awarded, among other prizes, the Interés Nacional category: "El mensaje de la película es que la integración de los vencidos a sus quehaceres les proporcionaría un bienestar social, mientras que toda resistencia armada estaba condenada al fracaso" (Magí Crusells 191) (The message of the movie is that the integration of the defeated to their labors would bring them social well-being, while all armed resistance was condemned to failure).[18] The plot tells the parallel stories of two Republican soldiers under General Líster's command, Miguel (Rubén Rojo), who goes into exile at the end of the war, and Antonio (Angel Picazo), who decides to stay and work as a doctor in a small town in the Pirinees.[19] Years later Miguel returns as a maquis, is wounded by the Civil Guard, is operated on by Antonio, and dies rejecting his political convictions. The movie calls for the submission of the defeated that kept fighting for freedom through the exemplary social and professional integration of other, more docile, defeated.

The title refers to the metaphor of life as a road, as the protagonists live two very different lives recreated through constant flashbacks and described as "truth" and "lie." The movie opens with another metaphor, the French frontier of Le Perthus, where both friends separate. Le Perthus, the concentration camp of Argelès, the verse "¡hermosa tierra de España!" (beautiful land of Spain!), and most obviously the title of the movie, all refer to Antonio Machado, in what can be considered a wink to the exile community. However, Machado's poetry is saturated with moralism, and the telluric substratum of his poems transformed into a principle of exclusion for the other. As both protagonists exemplify, Antonio is finally accepted in the new Spain after a process of social rehabilitation reminiscent of Pérez del Pulgar's carcelary policy, but Miguel is represented as a criminal due to his morals: egoism, resentment, and violence.[20] He violently confronts others, to the extreme of killing a soldier in the concentration camp, and surrounds himself with easy women, alcohol, and dirty money in the Socorro Rojo. Besides his moral and psychological degradation, his terrorist attacks and acts of sabotage in the guerrilla—"el camino que no lleva a ninguna parte" (the road that leads nowhere)—round up his representation as a criminal and bandit. The last scene of the movie, with the civil guards dominating the mountains while spiritual music can be heard in the background, proclaims the dismantling of the maquis and the final victory of Francoist repressive forces.

Together with *Dos caminos*, *Torrepartida* (1956) by Pedro Lazaga is the most representative example of the filmic Francoist official discourse on the

maquis.[21] *Torrepartida*, awarded the Primer Premio Nacional de Cinematografía (First National Prize of Cinematography), reproduces the *cainita* motif through the story of two brothers politically and emotionally at odds.[22] In fact, the movie replicates some of the ideological motifs, so dear to Francoist cosmovision, that structure Sáenz de Heredia's *Raza*: the dangers of not consorting with good company, the lack of unity between brothers, and the epic Republican siege of the Toledo Alcázar. The title situates the spectator in the context of the Civil War, but the end of the movie evidences the impossibility of dialogue, pardon, and reconciliation for the guerrilla as last remnant of the war.[23]

The initial opening text specifies the intention of the movie: denouncing "la lepra del bandolerismo" (the leprosy of banditry) and paying homage to the civil guards, who close the movie—in the same manner as in *Dos Caminos*—victoriously dominating the recently conquered mountain. Identified with *bandoleros*, guerrilla soldiers are not only represented as inept and cruel criminals, but also as lazy and gluttonous men. This representation of the maquis through excessive bodily drives is a recurrently codified form or *motif* in the rural mythology on the *guerrilleros* (Germán Labrador 18). The degenerated psychology of these *bandoleros* is also revealed in their excessive avarice, which pushes them to kidnap women and children for ransom, and even to attack a train causing various casualties. Besides, the criminalization of the guerrilla soldiers turns France from original political site of the guerrilla into an earthly paradise of fortune and sin—a most emblematic image, as the cause-effect logic it suggests, is the mid-shot of bandit Tomás after he has been shot by the Civil Guard, which depicts his face next to the money he has robbed. *Torrepartida* displays a mixture of the adventure film and the crime genre, which in turn creates a close equivalent to a Spanish version of the western, with a rugged landscape—la sierra de Albarracín—along with shootings, chases on horseback, and the music of Antón García Abril. Through this hybrid genre, Lazaga proposes a criminalizing vision of the perpetrators of contemporary authentic episodes authored by the guerrilla, such as (among others) the train attack, the persecution of the maquis leader 'El Alicantino,' and the kidnapping of the son of the Civil Guard captain.[24]

The representation of the maquis through the crusade cinema subgenre can also be seen in *La ciudad perdida*, as in this movie the legitimization of the Civil War is the conclusion of an existential exploration of the psychological degradation of those who joined the Republican cause and the armed forces. *La ciudad perdida* (1954) by Margarita Aleixandre and Rafael Torrecilla is the filmic adaptation of the homonymous novel by Mercedes Fórmica (1951). Rafael, member of a terrorist group that enters Spain from exile, escapes police persecution and arrives in Madrid where he wanders around, nostalgically remembering his past. The report from Secretariado de Espectáculos de Acción Católica denounces that "al personaje principal no

se le descubre ninguna señal de arrepentimiento, sino más bien amargura y deseo de escapar a su conciencia" (Fernández Cuenca 710) (no sign of repentence can be discovered in the protagonist, only bitterness and the desire to escape from his consciousness). The existential drama carries out the message of the movie: armed resistance is a dead end that leads nowhere. The figure of the criminal in the margins of society brings back the connection between banditry and Romanticism in authors like Espronceda, at the same time that it fits into the conventions of the so-called war romance.[25] Francoist preference for melodrama is no surprise, given its idealized and hyperbolic realism and, what is especially tailored for the representation of the maquis, its Manichean moralism. Since the movie explores the interior, existential drama of a guerrilla fighter, melodrama incites emotional identification through suffering and a victimizing *pathos*. It also exalts female moral virtues, such as those of the idealized woman with whom Rafael falls in love at first sight. However, the moral legitimation so characteristic of melodrama yields to the political official discourse on the maquis: the escapist and reactionary nature of a genre that naturalizes dominant ideology and *status quo* relocating political conflict in the family arena is the tool, once again, for the criminalizing representation of the maquis.

Carta a una mujer as well as *La ciudad perdida* reflect on the possibility of love as vehicle for sociopolitical rehabilitation. In fact, *Carta a una mujer* shows how in the 1960s movies focused on reconciliation, progressively leaving aside the issue of legitimation. *Carta a una mujer* (1961), directed by Miguel Iglesias and based on Jaime Salom's *El mensaje*, tells a story of revenge in Barcelona in 1954. A guerrilla fighter called El Asturias convinces Flora that her husband is still alive, which leads to a rupture with her fiancé. The name El Asturias refers to the 1934 Asturias Revolution, pointing to the political dimension of the maquis. However, although El Asturias is a member of the Communist Party, his acts are the product of a criminal mind and not the result of political commitment: he is "indisciplinario y rebelde" (undisciplined and rebellious) and a "vulgar delincuente" (vulgar delinquent). The guerrilla group is defined as a "banda" (gang) and consequently characterized by banditry: "Asalto a una masía, atraco a un establecimiento del pueblo, robo de un coche. Se habrán ocultado aquí en la ciudad, preparando un nuevo golpe" (Assault on a country house, hold up of a village store, robbery of a car. They will have hidden here in the city in order to prepare for a new job). In *Carta a una mujer*, the romantic genre takes over the police drama. The melodramatic tone, one of the conventions of romantic genre, underlies the dramatism of the historical arrival at the Barcelona Port of the Semiramis ship from Russia—without Flora's husband—shown through NO-DO newsreels.[26] However, political discourse is again diminished and El Asturias's attempt

to tell the truth is useless, illustrating the impossibility of pardon and social integration for the guerrilla.

A tiro limpio (1963) by Francisco Pérez-Dolz is a crime film. In *A tiro limpio,* the character Marisa metaficticionally says that she is going "al cine, a ver una de gansters" (to the movies, to see a gangster movie). The election of crime genre and, more specifically, *noir* and heist subgenres, suggests a need to remind spectators of the criminal nature of the maquis in a changing social context—the 1960s—that increasingly demands public reconciliation and pardon.[27] *Noir* film's moral ambiguity paves the way for subversive discourse in contrast with a detective genre's conservatism that sanitizes the system. However, Pérez-Dolz, as other Francoist directors, manipulates genre conventions to adapt them to Francoist cosmovision, eliminating subversion and emphasizing cynical attitudes and sexual motivations.[28] Besides, through the exploration of the consequences of crime in criminals's lives, the heist film allows for the much needed Manichean representation of the guerrilla.

Tirso de Molina's *El vergonzoso en Palacio* opens *A tiro limpio*: "Con razón se llama amor / enfermedad y locura; / pues siempre el que ama procura, / como enfermo, lo peor" (Escena XII) (With reason love is called / sickness and madness; / since always the one who loves tries to obtain, / like the sick, the worst). The misogynistic message of the movie accuses Marisa of pushing Román toward the maquis. A group of gansters trained in Toulouse plans to carry out "un par de golpes que harán historia, y a veranear al otro lado de la frontera" (a couple of robberies that will make history, and spend the summer at the other side of the border). The criminalization of the armed resistance is ubiquitous—as an example, the police sign claims "la criminal agresión de unos bandoleros, cuesta la vida a dos inspectores" (*bandoleros*'s criminal aggression takes two police inspectors's lives). The moral degradation of the bandits shows in their expensive clothes, the sexual overtones of their relationship with Marisa, and the violence of their criminal attacks. The chain of treason and vengeance that ends maquis's lives paradigmatically illustrates the criminal nature of the guerrilla. The last scene of the movie, showing the dead body of Román lying in a moving escalator that kicks his inert feet again and again, points to the capitalist modernity that Spain pursues in the 1960s: any violent resistance has to eventually fail if we are going to favor progress for the country.

Finally, other Francoist movies add to the representation of the guerrilla. The comedy *Suspenso en comunismo,* (1955) by Eduardo Manzanos (written by Miguel Mihura), flippantly ridicules guerrilla training and the so-called terrorism schools, representing guerrilla soldiers as incompetent bandits.[29] *La paz empieza nunca* (1960), by Argentine León Klimovsky, based on the homonymous novel by Emilio Romero—who supervised the screenplay—tells the story of a Falangist informant for the Civil Guard who becomes

instrumental in the dismantling of the guerrillas in Asturias.[30] The realistic tone of the movie, reinforced by the use of newsreel scenes of the Civil War, does not prevent the representation of the maquis as bandits: "Para someter por el miedo a familias de campesinos obligándoles a ser cómplices de sus fechorías" (Fernández Cuenca 713) (In order to subyugate families of peasants by fear, forcing them to be accomplices of their crimes).[32] *Metralleta Stein* (1974), by José Antonio de la Loma, takes the historical figure of anarchist Quico Sabate, member of the Catalan urban guerrilla, as a mere pretext to produce an action and crime film. The last movie, *Casa Manchada* (1975) by José Antonio Nieves Conde, based on Emilio Romero's novel *Todos morían en Casa Manchada* (1969), faithfully follows the novel's representation of the maquis as bandits. *Casa manchada* is a poor adaptation that mutilates the possibility of the fantastic that is present in the novel with an ending that eliminates the perpetuation of a family curse for generations to come. However, it is precisely this mutilation of a 1975 movie with respect to the 1969 novel that halts the violence of the past, waiting for the new democratic future to come.

Conclusion

The lack of a true epic Spanish film on the anti-Franco resistance has been denounced: "Monterde resalta la ausencia en la cinematografía española de una película verdaderamente épica que refleje la resistencia colectiva frente a la barbarie fascista" (José Colmeiro 189) (Monterde points to the lack in Spanish cinematography of a true epic film that reflects collective resistance as opposed with fascist barbarism). It could be argued that *El espíritu de la colmena* (1973), by Víctor Erice, can be considered a true (poetic) epic movie on resistance, beautifully and powerfully evocative of resistance through the relationship between Ana and the fugitive and, more broadly speaking, through her resistance to fall into the world of ideology and adulthood. But *El espíritu de la colmena* is a famously *sui generis* movie. Leaving Erice's film aside, the rest of the Francoist film production illustrates how the memory of resistance is especially vulnerable to ideological manipulation because of its marginal position with respect to hegemonic power.[32]

If Francoist movies represent the armed resistance in terms of banditry, the cinema of the Transition substitutes the figure of the bandit with a classic tragic hero who, like Antigone and Oedipus Rex, reveals the mechanics of temporality. The Francoist cyclical and non-progressive conception of time that tries to perpetuate a frozen Imperial Spain yields to the mechanic, deterministic, chronological, and lineal temporality needed for democracy and modernity to arise. Moreover, given the intensely violent pro-separatist

activity carried out by ETA in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the cinema of the Transition can also be understood as an indirect discourse on ETA; in other words, the reflection on the internal dismantling of the guerrilla that characterizes the cinema of the Transition acts as invitation and model for a terrorist group, ETA, in need of acceptance of its new obsolete historical status. Although the cinema of the Transition opposes the triumphalist heroism of Francoist nationalistic rhetoric, certain elements—particularly the Romantic ones—continue in movies such as *El corazón del bosque* and *Los días del pasado*, as well as in more recent films. Examples include the centrality of things associated with the earth or the telluric, the struggle to go into exile, and the representation of violence as an apocalyptic force that pursues not only the enemy's disillusionment and abandonment of fight but also his absolute destruction (Gómez López-Quiñones 132). If the cinema of the Transition welcomes democracy through the representation of the epistemological and moral problem of how to imagine and conceptualize a resolution to armed resistance, Francoist film production criminalizes maquis as *bandoleros* and bandits in a relentless cultural battle that functions through the decades as necessary and persistent justification and legitimation for Francoist state terror.

Notes

1. Translations are mine.
2. I met José Salcedo Dionisio through a common friend. We met at one of his friends's bar, which was closed and empty, so we were not disturbed. We talked for more than two hours. I asked José questions about his involvement with the maquis. I did not take a historian's approach as I was not looking for a linear chronology, exact dates, nor historically precise information. My main goal was to listen to his testimony, allowing it to flow as a narrative. At the end of the interview José granted me permission to use his name in this article.
3. In the Independence War of 1808, bandits joined the fight against the French, blending with guerrilla fighters (Barrientos and García Moutón 57).
4. The key difference between European and Spanish *guerrilleros* is that the former were volunteers, while the latter were forced to join the guerrilla in order to escape from Francoist repression—that is, the Spanish guerrilla presents a distinctive defensive nature because survival was its primary goal. Besides, Italians, French, and Yugoslav partisans enjoyed English and American support—men, guns, drugs, radio programs—while the Spanish guerrillero had only his own courage (Fernandez Vargas).
5. Cristino García is considered a national maquis hero in France, where a street is named after him. He was awarded with the Cruz de Guerra because of his combat record of 600 enemy casualties and 1600 Nazi prisoners. He was detained and executed in Spain.
6. The conventions of the genres of pastoral, knight errantry, court, and Byzantine narrative contributed to consolidate the genre of banditry in the sixteenth century. It

should also be mentioned that one of the characters in *Don Quixote* is the bandit Rocaguinarda (Cardinale 149).

7. In a doctoral thesis from the 1930s, the author studies the importance of the *bandoleros* genre for German literature, and how romantic Spain was the preferred scenario for German writers due to its exotic landscape and passionate love stories (Murphy 9).
8. Romanticism fused history and literature, and was what made some prestigious historians like Macaulay and Carlyle claim that literature is the foundation for history (Cardinale 152).
9. "El bandolero no es un hijo desheredado del capitalismo, un rebelde dentro de la lucha de clases, como tampoco lo es un hijo maldito del latifundismo y de la miseria rural" (Caro Baroja qtd. in Barragán Moriana and de Prado Rodríguez 13) (the bandolero is not an heirless son of capitalism, a rebel within class struggle, nor a cursed son of *latifundismo* and rural misery).
10. Some examples of these changes are: the Fuero de los Españoles that was approved on July 13, 1945; a partial amnesty that was approved on the 17th; the Ministerio del Movimiento that was eliminated on July 20th; the fascist salute that was abolished on September 11th; the Ley de Sucesión, approved by referendum, that was enacted on July 26, 1947.
11. In 1955, Spain signed cooperation treaties with the United States and the Vatican, and it was admitted to the United Nations although the Cortes was not a parliament, the Fuero de los Españoles was not a constitutional text, the referendum was not expressive of a consultative democracy, and the definition of Spain as a kingdom did not diminish Franco's personal power.
12. The singular term *Geneva Convention* refers to the agreements of 1949, negotiated in the aftermath of World War II, updating the terms of the first three treaties and adding a fourth treaty. The treaties of 1949 have been ratified, in whole or with reservations, by 194 countries.
13. The treaties signed by the Franco regime are: the First Geneva Convention, the Second Geneva Convention, the Third Geneva Convention, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the United Nations Charter, the Iberian Pact, the Pact of Madrid, the Madrid Accords, the Concordat of 1953, and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Although warfare has changed dramatically since the Geneva Conventions of 1949, these treaties came into play for all recent international armed conflicts, including the war in Afghanistan, the invasion of Iraq, the invasion of Chechnya, and the war in Georgia.
14. Crusade cinema tries to accommodate different generic conventions, altering melodrama and sentimental-comedy intrigue in order to make them instrumental for the Nationalist cause.
15. *El santuario no se rinde* is an allegoric representation of a dictatorship transformed into Resistance against the political siege of Western democracies.
16. The new message of reconciliation and the recognition of the humanity of the Republicans appears for the first time in *La fiel infantería* (1959) by Pedro Lazaga.
17. "Una de las películas más profundas y más bellas que se han hecho sobre las consecuencias psicológicas y morales de nuestro conflicto bélico" (Fernández Cuenca 709) (One of the most profound and beautiful movies made on the psychological and moral consequences of our war conflict).
18. It also received the prize of the Sindicato Nacional del Espectaculo and was first prize in the Festival Cinematográfico de Málaga.
19. Although the story takes place in a non-identified place in the Pyrenees, the film was shot on location in Candelario and Sierra de Gredos.

20. The Jesuit Pérez del Pulgar founded the Patronato de Redención de Penas por el Trabajo in 1939, with the goal of reducing the massive carcelary population after the Civil War through a program to reduce the sentence.
21. Although Pedro Lazaga fought in the Republican army and was a prisoner in a concentration camp, in movies like *La fiel infantería* (1959) he introduces the epic against the ideological, and the idea that foreign intervention—Communist Russia—aggravated the initial family conflict turning it into a national fratricide. Xenophobia and aggressive patriotism as signs of a return to a crusade cinema can be found in *Posición avanzada* (1966) and *El otro árbol de Guernica* (1969) (Gubern).
22. The fratricidal nature of the Spanish Civil War has been described traditionally in Cainist terms, that is, in terms of the Cain and Abel syndrome.
23. The first scene in *Torrepartida* is located in Teruel, an emblematic city apropos of the Civil War because it suffered a mythical Republican attack followed by a quick and effective counter-attack by the Nationalist army. Thus, Teruel is a symbol of the unity of Spain: the *torre no partida* (non-broken tower) well defended by the victors (Moreno-Nuño "La representación" 356–58).
24. Fernández Cuenca has studied how the screenplay, written by Alberto Fernández Galar and José María Benlloch, reproduces real historical facts such as the Zaragoza-Teruel train attack that resulted in several casualties, the escape in a taxi of the maquis leader 'El Alicantino' (Fernando Sancho) with the haul, and the relationship of characters such as Rafael (Adolfo Marsillach) and Manuel (Germán Lobos) with the guerrilla. The kidnapping of the little boy is also based on true facts. The movie was shot in Teruel, in the locations where the events took place (713–15).
25. The "novela rosa de guerra" (war romance novel) was a popular subgenre for the Nationalists, and it was frequently used in the representation of the maquis. The anti-bourgeois sentiment of the Republican novel rejected it (Moreno-Nuño, "*Las huellas*" 248).
26. After absences of a decade and more, almost 300 Spaniards returned home from Soviet prison camps. Most of them were veterans of the Franco Blue Division, captured when fighting for Hitler on the Russian front. The Liberian ship Semiramis carried them from Odessa to Barcelona, where they were greeted amid scenes of intense emotion.
27. Heist films deal with a group of criminals attempting to perform a theft or robbery, as well as the possible consequences that follow. Heist films that are lighter in tone are called "caper films." Examples include *The Killing*, *Oceans 11*, *Dog Day Afternoon*, *The Sting*, and *Reservoir Dogs*. *Film noir* is a term used primarily to describe stylish Hollywood crime dramas, particularly those that emphasize cynical attitudes and sexual motivations. Hollywood's classic film noir period is generally regarded as stretching from the early 1940s to the late 1950s, and it is associated with a low-key black-and-white visual style that has roots in German Expressionist cinematography.
28. One example is the wrong but purposeful use of the flashback by Juan de Orduña (Llinás 104–112).
29. The most important schools on terrorism were the Escuela del Buró Político, located at 10 de la Rue de l'Echappe (Toulouse), Argelès and the school in the Pyrenees. The initial parallel between children's schools and terrorism schools is utilized to degrade the Spanish exiles who return to Spain in order to commit attacks of sabotage. Their failure uncovers their inefficacy but brings them back their lost homes.

30. Merino has pointed out this anachronism, in 1960, of a type of representation that is reminiscent of the crusade cinema of the 1940s, underlying the resentful and anti-conciliatory message of the movie.
31. "Los maquis son definidos como 'enemigos de la paz.' Son los representantes del comunismo y se describen con un ejercicio de feroz maniqueísmo: comunistas de gran crueldad antirreligiosa (por ejemplo, uno de sus jefes no duda en ametrallar a un sacerdote que reza en el altar de una iglesia); de perversas conexiones extranjeras (como la emisora-enlace de Toulouse); o de asesina hipocresía (como la de un militante que asesina a una chica que trabaja en la barra americana que él mismo frecuenta)" (Merino) (The maquis are defined as "enemies of peace." They are the representatives of Communism, and they are described through a ferocious manicheism: Communists of great antireligious cruelty [for example, one of the leaders machine-guns, without hesitation, a priest who is praying at the church's altar]; of perverse foreign connections [as the transmitter-link with Toulouse]; or of assasine hypocrisy [like as a partisan who kills a girl who works in the same bar in which he is a regular customer]).
32. The more recent movie *Silencio roto* can also be considered an epic movie.

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