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**Deep Space, Mobilized Time: The Anti-Francoist
Guerrilla—Politics and Aesthetics of Armed
Resistance (1938–1997)**

Ulrich Winter

A Political ‘Aesthetics of Resistance’

The anti-Franco *guerrilla* was a myth, even in its own day, and long before it was transformed by and into literature.¹ At least there seem to be very good reasons for this claim. On the one hand, the political and military coordinates of the *guerrillero* perfectly match the mytho-heroic narrative of modern struggles for freedom: firstly, the self-legitimization of armed action for a telluric value, namely the homeland; secondly, the ethics of direct action driven by honorable motives—that is, the unconditional resistance against the enemy in one’s own country; and thirdly, the archaic sympathy for an oppressed people. On the other hand, the Spanish *guerrilla* had a powerful model in their own country: the *Guerra de la independencia* (1808–1814) against Napoleon—the first instance of a national uprising successfully fighting a regular army. This is the world historical birthing hour of guerrilla warfare: a battle fought on Spanish soil that was to take on, like the Civil War from 1936–1939, significance on a European and even global scale. It is impossible to ignore the enormous role it played in the collective imagination of the anti-Franco *guerrilla*.² The aesthetic transformation of the resistance becomes manifest even at the outset. André Malraux’s film *Sierra de Teruel* (1939) is created during the first months of the war; literary reports on the people’s *guerrilla* circulate in the combat zone from the beginning.³ The actions of and narratives about the anti-Franco *guerrilla* are therefore connected from the very start in a reflexive loop. In order to analyze their relation to each other, it seems necessary to

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consider the literary or visual depiction of the struggle as an ‘aesthetics of resistance,’ to borrow the excellent title of Peter Weiss’s novel.⁴

From the outset, it seems obvious that the contemporary as well as the later transformation of the resistance into literature must gain complexity in comparison to the actual, armed resistance. Such is the nature of life turned into literature, and yet there is still much more to it. We must add to this the permanent shift in the political interests of author and audience. The novels selected here illustrate this point: *Cumbres de Extremadura* by José Herrera Petere (in the 1938 edition) is bound in a direct context of communication with the still open outcome of the struggle—it is a novel not only by and about but also for the *guerrilla*. The 1945 edition, however, is written under the shadow cast by the tragic defeat and the illusive hope to overthrow Franco’s Spain. Joaquim Amat-Piniella’s novel *K.L. Reich* (1946), a text which will be discussed only briefly, shows an extreme example of the armed resistance, its existential icon—the concentration camp. Emilio Romero’s novel *La paz empieza nunca*, completed in 1957, shows a retrospective view on the Asturian maquis—now from the predominant (hegemonic) point of view of the Falange, but with a possible “reconciliación” (reconciliation) between the victors and the defeated of the Civil War in mind. Finally, the post-Franco novels, *Luna de Lobos* (1985) by Julio Llamazares or *Maquis* (1997) by Alfons Cervera attempt, each in its own way, to re-establish historical memory. In their works, poetic as well as historical justice is to be delivered to the repressed history of Franco’s enemies.

But the political differences alone do not sufficiently explain the manner in which the resistance’s translation into literature changed over time. Why and how does the impression arise that Romero takes the counterpart to Herrera Petere—not only with regard to contents and ideology but also with regard to aesthetics? Or that the depiction of the maquis in books and films has tended over the last years to become increasingly de-politicized, de-ideologized, and de-historicized, while at the same time it has become more evocative of the asymmetrical warfare of national terror-groups like the ETA or international networks? All this is neither sufficiently explained by the intervening political changes between 1936 and 1997, nor by the transition from modernism to post-modernism. In search of an ‘aesthetics of resistance,’ one should look rather at the reciprocal configuration of the world-political situation, politics of memory and textual strategies. It is well known that the post-modern culture of memory of the Civil War is determined by a post-modern aesthetics. At least as important is another, less obvious, aspect: the permanently changing *image* of the armed resistance. Its fundamental structure is that of “asymmetric warfare” (Münkler, *Der Wandel*), and it is a phenomenon that changes in modern times. The problematizing of the nation state and the increasing de-nationalization and de-territorialization of the actors in the modern era (for instance, terrorism)

have led to a diversification of combat through nonreciprocal irregular parties (see Münkler, *Der Wandel*). Whereas until the middle of the twentieth-century the guerrilla constitutes the archetypal situation of asymmetric warfare, it is replaced at the end of the century in this role by national and international terror. The latter determines our view of armed resistance and not only our view but, as we shall see, the depiction of the *guerrilla* in contemporary novels. If military practice, textual strategies, and collective imagination of resistance are related to one another, should it then not be possible to draw conclusions from the depiction of the resistance to specific, underlying political anthropologies? And might not these in turn determine the conscious as well as the unconscious collective and literary imagination? In order to construct such an ‘aesthetics of resistance,’ we first need to look at the historical and political situation and the tactics of the *guerrilla*.

Historical Situation and Political Anthropology of the Anti-Franco *Guerrilla*

For the modern theory of war, the guerrillero constitutes a very visible configuration—in the case of the Civil War, even its “central protagonist” (Schmitt, *Theory* 35). The partisan, as encountered in the pertinent theory of war, fulfills, according to Carl Schmitt, four criteria: “Irregularity, increased mobility, intensity of his political engagement and telluric character” (*Theory* 28). His nature, as his actions, in reality as in literature, mark the partisan as being not so much the opposite number to the “resistencia silenciosa” (Gracia) (silent resistance) after 1939, but rather to the regular soldier—even where he appears, as in the case of the Civil War, emphatically as a freedom fighter. The guerrillero is irregular mainly because he fights outside of a regular combat unit. He is ready for spontaneous action, serving values and powers that underwrite the political motivation of his deeds, such as the homeland. Even Clausewitz sees in the Spanish uprising an example of the partisan’s power against a quantitatively superior army, grounded in his ability to transform space and time into military resources and, by de-limiting them, to mobilize them.⁵ Who he is, for who and what he is fighting, depends upon who regards him as a friend, or as an “interested third-party” respectively, and who he regards as his enemy.⁶ The partisan’s coordinates are a direct result of the political and military force fields surrounding him. They create a plane of possibilities that changes along with the historical situations in which the partisan has found himself during the last two-hundred years between the Peninsular War and the twentieth century, when he crossed the border of a new political

identity under the influence of the communist world-ideology and the civil wars.

In the sixteen years between the national uprising of Franco's armies and the official end of the maquis in 1952, the change in political ideology and consequently in the military tactics of the guerrillero is especially striking. The armed resistance during this period is such a historically and regionally differentiated entity that it is impossible to do justice to its actual complexity here.⁷ For our present purpose it must suffice to discern three phases: the Civil War, the resistance driven by Communists that was to result in the invasion of the Aran Valley (1944) (the so-called "Reconquista de España") and the subsequent resistance's demise. In the first years of the Civil War resistance forms by turning the Francoist back area into part of the battlefield. The guerrillero is not a soldier. He is not involved in a political and/or instrumental war, but rather an "existential" one, only in course of which the actual subject of the war is constituted (the home, the nation).⁸ Thus, he is not representative of a modern or progressive attitude but rather of a backwards-looking one that seeks to reconstitute an established order. When, therefore, the guerrillero is depicted to this day in the pertinent novels as the peasant who takes up arms in order to defend his soil, this rural image has less to do with populism and paternalism. Rather, it is informed by a specific, organized agrarian resistance embedded in the Civil War's guerrilla, a type of resistance already apparent and typical in Spain's para-revolutionary, and in this sense pre-political, climate of the early 1930s.⁹

In opposition to other nations, social tensions became visible even beyond ideological camps and could lead to armed resistance as a direct result of their repression.¹⁰ For this reason, the patriotic fight for liberation remains a dominant aspect of the Spanish guerrilla, even in the later phases that were heavily influenced by the communist party and its ideology of class struggle. When the enemy in Cumbres de Extremadura is labeled as "los señoritos" (the owners of large estates) it is all but impossible to tell whether this is motivated by notions of class struggle or by the traditional pre-political conflicts of Spain's peasantry. Especially during World War II and the invasion of the Aran Valley, efforts were made to integrate them tactically, to turn them into regular combatants or soldiers. The guerrilleros—hence their name—gain by this their characteristic two-fold identity. First and foremost they are traditionalistic, defensive patriots—their enemy is an inner, consanguine one. Intermittently in the first phase and increasingly in the second phase, the enemy is identified as an enemy of the people. Here, the guerrillero gains the traits of a revolutionary. The potential to form a people's army, the struggle for national liberation and revolutionary activism are the three potentialities of the guerrillero in times of civil war that are also central to the retrospective depiction given by Enrique Lister in his biography *Nuestra Guerra* (1966). The Republican army commander emphasizes that the heroic masses of the belligerent

peasantry are integral parts of a “just” as well as “national and revolutionary [. . .] war for the defense of liberty” (Lister 273).¹¹ Lister suggests that this war actually might have been won if the momentum of the guerrilla could have been militarily focused in such a way as to have kept the political and the Civil War from hindering each other (278). After 1945, the position of the guerrillero changes once more. He turns into an illegal resistance fighter—or “bandolero” in the parlance of Falangists. While the political identity and legitimacy of the people’s guerrilla had been constituted by turning the fight for one’s own country into their interested third-party, they found this position in the mid-1940s occupied by communism. Its cadres do not enter the struggle but exploit the goals of the guerrilla for their own world-revolutionary ends. For a victory in the major offensive of the Aran Valley and its aftermath, the maquis would have required the support of the interested third-party: the people, the PCE, the Allied forces. But it is exactly this element that fails in this crucial moment. The maquis’s demise after the end of the Second World War is sealed by the general failure of the interested third-party: the exiled PCE revokes its support and the Allies do not—despite all hope—turn against Franco.¹² Montxo Amendáriz shows this in his movie *El silencio roto* (2001), largely refusing Hollywood-esque attempts to turn it more romantic. Here the maquis end as violent terrorists who may still occupy the moral high ground but lose any political legitimacy coming from the weary people. Finally, the end of the maquis is one of those quixotic moments that is so often conjured up in the Spanish cultural mythology that one cannot be sure whether it really is the result of history’s tragic irony or merely an effect of intrahistoria’s self-projection. In its greatest idealism, the political myths of the Spanish people’s resistance, greatest futility and inevitable failure are too interwoven. Perhaps it is the emotional intensity—the call of the aesthetic—inherent in this mythical moment of failure and its narrative logic that caused so many directors and authors to turn their attention to this phase in recent years.

Chronotopicity of Resistance: Style of Fighting and Style of Writing

The defeat in the major offensive of the Aran Valley was not only ushered in by the political reasons already discussed, but also by a military reason: the attempt to integrate the independently operating *agrupaciones de guerrilla* into one army. This aspect is intimately connected to the identity of the *guerrillero* and will play a crucial role for the aesthetics of resistance within the novels. A major factor in the guerrilla’s military might lie in its style of fighting, which is different from that of a regular soldier. While the decisive battle, or “single blow,” is marked, in the words of Clausewitz, by “the

compression of all action into a *single point* in space and time” (*On War* 259), guerrilla warfare diminishes an army’s military power by scattering it into space and time.¹³ Hence the well-known adage: In fighting the partisan anywhere, one must fight as a partisan.

This chronotope of the irregular resistance is present in Spain. That the *guerrilla* in the second and third phase actually adapts the name “maquis” from the French anti-fascists shows how much they identify with the partisan regiment of space. This renaming and the later retreat into the Spanish “maquis” (the “matorral” or coppice) must seem, in hindsight, like omens of the disastrous end. Firstly, because it ignored that, for reasons already discussed, the conditions for victory for the French *résistance* were quite different from those of the Spanish resistance against the regime beyond the Pyrenees. And secondly, because the term maquis also symbolized—whether consciously or unconsciously—the dramatic coming to a head of the resources of identity of the resistance in this critical historical moment. In the mountains (“en el monte”) the maquis (as a partisan) is quite in his element. Telluric identity and the radius of action are congruent. And even time itself is being utilized as a resource of war, particularly in the sheer duration of the resistance. The partisan gains his power by transforming the battle chronotope—defined, after Clausewitz, by the compression of all action into a single point in time and space—into “deep space” (Schmitt, *Theory* 72) and “decelerated time” (Münkler, *Der Wandel* 169–88). In the following section, we will examine how the different tactics enter the novels as textual strategies, mainly with regard to the treatment of time and space. Amongst other things, it should become clear how the paradigm of armed resistance as asymmetric warfare changed between war time, post-war time, and democracy.

Contemporary Treatments: José Herrera Petere: *Cumbres de Extremadura. Novela de guerrilleros* (1938 and 1945)

The first two phases of the *guerrilla*’s fight, the Civil War and World War II, are covered by the two editions of José Herrera Peteres’s novel *Cumbres de Extremadura*. The first version is written in 1937, while its author fights as a soldier in the Republican army in Extremadura.¹⁴ The treatment is visibly shaped by this reality: for the time being the province is largely occupied by fascist forces. The supporters of the Republic, in their majority uneducated peasants, flee from the *facciosos* to the Republican zones. Some take up arms and, in the manner of guerrilla warfare, turn the rearguard of the Francoists into a war zone. At the centre of this “novela de guerrilleros” (its subtitle) is the left-leaning peasant Bohemundo, who flees into the Republican zone to join the “Batallón.” His first task is to liberate the

inhabitants of the resisting town of San Vicente de Alcántara who have fled from enemy forces into the mountains, from where they look down, full of hatred and yearning, on their destroyed village. In a heroic *coup de main*, Bohemundo liberates them and leads them back into the Republican zone.

The often quoted sentence that the partisan is the most characteristic image of a Spaniard in this novel holds true even when reversed: the belligerent peasant of Extremadura here is archetypal of a telluric *guerrillero* as described by Carl Schmitt in his *Theorie des Partisanen* (*Theory of the Partisan*). He is not waging a political but rather an existential war. The liberation from the occupying forces in one's own country (which will later turn into the "reconquista de España" [reconquest of Spain]) here still is a backwards-oriented revolution. Throughout all of this, the world-historical demarcation line between the two types of the partisan—the "defensive-autochthon defender and the aggressive, revolutionary activist" (Schmitt, *Theory* 35)—a line that is congruent with the one between existential and political war, remains an important point of reference for Herrera Petere. Thus, the *comisario* Manolito may try his best to raise the revolutionary consciousness, but Bohemundo still finds it difficult to memorize the political discourse (Herrera Petere 500, 541–42). The legitimacy of the struggle is the *iusta causa* of the homeland's defense, not yet the PCE. A communist social utopia is only very intermittently visible (Herrera Petere 466–67). While these elements of the novel owe much to a—albeit stylized—concrete reality, an aesthetic transformation is observable on another level. Herrera Petere stylistically pads the novel with folkloric elements. Numerous songs and sayings are quoted; the plot follows the model of the picaresque novel as its hero Bohemundo, and therefore the novel opens up the chronotope of the adventure tale: "the picaresque tale as war epic" (Bosch 281). The point is to inscribe the novel into the popular counter-discourse to the official powers.¹⁵ The comical effect of this distortion mirrors the hope for a favorable end of the war. These aesthetic techniques are matched by their political analogues. Less obvious is the analogy to the anthropology of the partisan that is carried by the 'aesthetics of resistance.' The partisan gains his power by scattering the battle chronotope—defined, after Clausewitz, as a "single blow"—into time and space. Even in this, an echo of the *pícaro* model is detectable: the crossing of space becomes a "tactical" art, as opposed to the "strategic" power presented by the enemy: First, Bohemundo himself flees through the national into the Republican zone; later he will lead the inhabitants of San Vicente by the same way to their comrades.¹⁶ In consequence, the partisan's whole topography is turned, in this novel, into a part of the novel's political aesthetic.

For political reasons, the 1938 version has never been published. In 1945, however, after the end of the war, a second, reworked and extended version is published. In a new fifth chapter ("cumbre quinto") and an

epilogue (“colofón”) the author, now under the impression of the lost war, allows the comical aspects to tilt over into tragicomedy. When the Republican capital Castuera falls, Bohemundo is executed by garrote and the inhabitants of San Vicente are either shot or hanged. The hopeful note on which the novel’s 1938 edition ends, namely that the young Falangists who were seduced by “foreign powers” may one day come to realize that fascism is in fact high treason against one’s own homeland, is completely absent in the new version (Herrera Petere 542, 607). In the later reworking, two factors are added that became, like the toponymy of the Pyrenees and the folkloristic coloring, recurrent topoi in the depiction of the *guerrilla* in later decades (though this is not to say that Herrera Petere was necessarily all that formative or influential). Firstly, and already anticipated in André Malraux’s *Sierra de Teruel*, the utopian victory the *guerrilleros* forfeit in Herrera Petere due to their lack of discipline, and secondly the reinterpretation of the time of war into a time of hope, hope to one day overcome the fascist present. Another trait that finds its way into the two versions of *Cumbres de Extremadura* is the oscillation of the Spanish *guerrilleros* between their role as defenders of their home and communist agents. Although Stalin had managed during war time—i.e. between the first and the second version of the novel—to forge a connection between the patriotism of the partisans and the aggressive ideology of world-revolution, Herrera Petere changes ideologically charged terms like “fascista” and “antifascista” into more neutral and colloquial ones, thereby changing the novel’s setting to that of a pre-ideological world.¹⁷

The Heterotopia of Resistance: The Maquis in J. Amat-Piniella’s *K.L. Reich* (1946)

Joaquim Amat-Piniella’s concentration camp novel *K.L. Reich* (1946) is an extreme example of the armed resistance. The importance of communism is relativized, if not outright contested, in preference to a less ideological but more humanitarian consciousness of the antifascist resistance on the Iberian Peninsula. The camp is the archetypal as well as the liminal situation of resistance. In opposition to the *guerrilla* and the *résistance*, the present scenario is concerned with the absolute resistance of a network of heroically committed individuals. The asymmetrical ‘war’ here is not organized as a movement, but like the underground, as an isolated net. While the resistance aims at a mobilization of the masses and is able to do so even without a pronounced leadership, the net of resistance can only operate while in contact with leadership present within the camp; the aim is ‘military’ action, the individual members may be hierarchically structured but work ultimately in isolation, only in contact with intermediaries and then under the strictest

security.¹⁸ The net is characterized by direct actions and solidarity. These are the narratives of the Spanish resistance in Mauthausen Amat-Piniella refers to. The concentration camp is the cause for resistance *par excellence*, and the Spanish were the only ones who could create a net of resistance in such a place.

In Amat-Piniella's depiction, fatigue duty is suffused by the spirit of solidarity—the Communists have the upper hand. More and more Spanish people gain privileged positions and the party tries to make contact between the single working units in order to create a united front. This, however, fails due to internal power struggles between union members and Communists. When both groups harden ideologically, solidarity threatens to turn into egotism and individuality into envy and jealousy; in short, the “*esperit dels camps*” (Amat-Piniella 342) (spirit of the camp) seems to have the last word. Significantly, these conflicts are what threaten to destroy solidarity, while the deeds of the network-like resistance restore it. It is the arrival of a Spanish group of *maquis*—men who had joined the *résistance*—that quite suddenly reverses the moral dissolution and brings the Spanish to terms:

Portaven l'aire fresc dels campaments de 'maquis', venien trempats en l'abnegació i l'heroisme de la lliuta clandestina, eren els heralds de l'ona alliberadora que es buscava al mur de l'Atlàntic. El mot d'ordre era la unió de tots contra l'enemic comú. Al camp hi hagué una abrivada d'entusiasme. Les gestes dels nouvinguts corrien de boca en boca i eren comentades i envejades. Tothom se sentia inferior, avergonyit de les picabaralles, quan es parlava de metralletes, de pegats de 'màstic' a les bases dels ponts, d'atemptats espectaculars contra oficials alemanys o contra col·laboracionistes, de detencions i de tortures als calabossos de la Gestapo, del sacrifici dels qui es negaven a declarar contra un company [. . .] Els mots de concòrdia que arribaven de fora eren acollits amb la mateixa passió que abans els mots de guerra fraterna intestina. El miracle era fet, i els espanyols anaven a aconseguir sobre el camp una victòria definitiva. Salvarien la vida i, per afegidura, passarien a ésser l'espill de la germanor, de l'altruisme i de la decència. (Amat-Piniella 256–57)

(The new arrivals brought a breeze of fresh air from the 'maquis'-camp; they were steeped in renunciation and heroism of the clandestine fight; they were the heralds of the liberation against the Atlantic Wall. Their watchword was unity of all against the common enemy. There was a storm of enthusiasm in the camp. News of the deeds of the arrivals spread like wildfire and were jealously commented upon. Everyone remembered bashfully the useless quarrels of yesterday when the talk turned to machineguns, to the blasting of a bridge-head with plastic explosives, to the spectacular assaults on German soldiers or their

collaborators, to the arrests and the torture in the prison-cells of the Gestapo, to the sacrifice of those who had refused to betray their comrades [. . .] The message of unity that arrived from the outside was received with the same passionate enthusiasm as the message of the Civil War before it. The miracle was wrought; the Spanish would win the day against the camp. They would save the lives of all and become the paragons of brotherliness, public spirit and decency.)

In this novel, the tendency to turn the resistance into a myth becomes apparent as it does in so many later texts. In Amat-Piniella's work, this naturally has a special significance. The concentration camp is the existential icon of resistance as well as that of exile. The existential remove from Spain in Mauthausen is so great that it seems to take on absolute spatial and temporal dimensions (as it was indeed to become true for the surviving witnesses in exile).

In texts written after the end of the maquis, the image of the *guerrilla* is increasingly influenced by the politics of memory. In the immediate post-war era the maquis is turned, from the point of view of Falangists like Emilio Romero, into the negative founding-myth of Franco's Spain.

Retrospective Representation from the Hegemonic Perspective: Emilio Romero's *La paz empieza nunca* (1958)

In the 1950s the Spanish resistance went underground or into exile, and in Franco's Spain the perspective of the victors on the resistance establishes itself. One historical key moment in the history of this discourse—1957—is depicted in Emilio Romero's multi-faceted novel *La paz empieza nunca*. In his debut, the influential publicist offers a retelling of the history of his nation stretching from the eve of the Civil War to the end of the 1940s from the perspective of a Falangist war veteran. López, “un español del montón, un falangista de número” (Romero 401) (a Spaniard of the masses, a common Falangist party member), is fighting for the national uprising and is taken prisoner by Republican forces at the beginning of the Civil War. The wife of a *guerrillero* saves him from the firing squad; he goes on to become the hero of decisive battles. The deeper meaning of these events is revealed to him when, in 1947, he is ordered, because of his war experience and strength, to work as a double-agent in a *contrapartida*, to take part in a “cleansing mission” against the maquis.¹⁹ The mission succeeds, and when he retires with his family into private life he takes stock: “doce años en los que el tiempo y sus sucesos me habían hecho a ratos un santo, y a veces un monstruo. Pero todo ello porque España no me gustaba y quería hacerla mejor” (Romero 410) (Twelve years in which I was, due to time and

circumstances, made by turns into a saint and then into a monster. But all of this because I was displeased with Spain and wanted to make my country better).

Romero's novel is a tale of adventure and love as much as it is about the process of the growing awareness of a patriot who finds his ideology in an instrumental and tolerant Falangism. The author surprises with critical remarks on the pig-headed, inflexible wing of the movement that is putting ideology above country and he seems to labor to present a just and politically-balanced image of contemporary Spain. The novel, which was awarded the *Premio Planeta* in 1957, fits exactly into the moment just before the technocratic opening-up of the country, when the political elite begins, under social and economic pressure, to speak of "reconciliación."²⁰ Even those on the side of the defeated should, Romero suggests, abandon their plans for revenge, and integrate themselves into the Spanish society to work toward a common, modern future—albeit, of course, always under the auspices of the "solution of 1939" (400). The novel, however, is not only quite conformist with regard to the regime in ideological matters but also in its narrative logic. Its protagonist is neither collective nor does he show solidarity but is a heroic loner. When López manages to defeat the leftists, this is due to the fact that their most influential contacts—women and other 'unreliable folk'—act at the same time as the weakest. During his very first encounter with the *guerrilla*, at the beginning of the war, he is taken prisoner. The rescue from the firing squad can be read as a prefiguration of Sánchez Mazas's escape as told in Javier Cercas's *Soldados de Salamina*. Of course, Romero does not treat this, like the bestselling novel of 2001, as a politically correct fable of reconciliation driven by universal humanism. Here, a *guerrillero*'s wife who grants him refuge in her home and who keeps her husband from killing him falls for López's erotic chivalrousness.

This inclusive patriotism, present on the argumentative level, is not only *not* validated on the narrative and axiological level, but Romero also abandons it on the level of the political aesthetic. The presentation of the *guerrilla* is not only determined ideologically by an authoritative position of power; Romero, rather, writes absolutely under the influence of the perspective of the victor—the Asturian mountains are a space where power and control are disrupted by the *guerrilla*. This becomes obvious when we analyze the chronotope. It is not the telluric and tactical space (which encompasses the partisans's experience) that we glimpse in Romero's novel, but rather the geo-strategic space as experienced by hegemonic vision. This starts with the panoptical description of "celtiberian campaigns along the rivers and mountains" the protagonist is part of during the Civil War (Romero 212).²¹ Even more interesting is Romero's treatment of time and space during the mission in the *contrapartida* that is directly structured along López's military strategy.

When he infiltrates the *agrupaciones de guerrilleros de Asturias* as a double agent under the name of Rufo, he begins to attempt to unite the scattered and independently operating *agrupaciones* into one army—ostensibly to lead them to victory, but in fact to be able to destroy them in one fell swoop. Rufo praises this reconversion of the *guerrilla* into a regular republican army as the end of the asymmetrical guerrilla warfare and the return of a symmetrical war: “La lucha hoy no puede ser de otro modo que ésta de las guerrillas, y la etapa siguiente, con las guerrillas agrupadas, será una guerra de mayores unidades hasta que otra vez las fuerzas estén equilibradas. La Agrupación de Levante es un ejemplo” (Romero 382) (Today, this fight can only be fought as a guerrilla war. But the next step, when all the individual groups are brought together, is a war of larger units, when the power on both sides is balanced out again. The *Agrupación de Levante* is an example for this). This suggestion is intended to evoke the memory of the Republican army during the Civil War in the contemporary reader; its implementation would lead to a repetition of the trauma of the Aran Valley. The idea of the *guerrilla* as a predecessor to the army would result in a perversion of the maquis’s tactics and would thus rob them of their power. Carazo, their spokesman, vetoes this idea instinctively but is tragically overruled (Romero 382). Later, he will turn out to be easy prey for the Franco troops, like so many other *guerrilleros* who are depicted by Romero as always being close to the criminal “bandolerismo” anyway. The mixture of their own backwardness, a motivation that—in 1947—is no longer driven by the idea of defending one’s own country but rather the sheer will to survive, and the guerrilla tactics and offensives from out of the deep space, the maquis’s main goal is to secure weapon shipments. Rufo uses this fact as bait. To achieve the cooperation of the different groups he employs an imperial means, quite typical for the dictatorships of the twentieth century: media of modern mass-communication. He distributes radio receivers to the single groups in order for them to listen to a counterfeit station, a phony PCE radio station based in exile in Toulouse. He transforms the deep space of the Pyrenees, held by the resistance, into a technically controlled space of communication. The trap works and the ambush succeeds—as in any other symmetric battle, everything is compressed into one moment; the maquis are executed with the weapons in the shipment.

***Guerrilla* and Maquis after 1975: “New Wars” in Old Battles and Historical Memory as Mobilized Time**

Ten to fifteen years after 1975, as the Civil War begins to fade from the biographical past and starts to become the *memoria histórica* of a new generation, historical accounts encounter a fundamentally changed political

context: at the center now is the recuperation of the repressed historical memory of those defeated in the Civil War. Of course, where the depiction of the resistance against Franco is concerned, the following is true even in democratic times: the mere mention of this episode can be read as a political statement. The memory of the repressed has an ethical and legal dimension comparable to that of secondary witnessing in Holocaust discourse—namely to atone for crimes against humanity by continual remembrance, crimes that lie beyond the boundaries of ordinary law. Put differently, and to vary Clausewitz's most famous dictum, novels about the maquis after 1975 are the aesthetic continuation of anti-Francoism by different means and with a different goal: the historical justice of the belated victory. In the genealogy of political topics of the left, which encompasses anti-Francoism and the contemporary novel of the Civil War, one may hypothesize a direct connection between the utopia of victory (Malraux; Herrera Petere) to the myth of the absolute past and to the dominant figure of the maquis as a survivor as encountered, for example, in Julio Llamazares's *Luna de Lobos* (1985).²² But this temporality has repercussions for the partisan's chronotopicity of resistance as well. In the post-Francoist clash of memories, the *guerrilla* moves from *armas* to *letras*, from warfare to novels and films, and from a traditionalist to a progressive movement. Time itself is still a strategic resource. But now it is found on the side of democracy. The partisan time of battle—that dilated the battle into guerrilla warfare—has now become the time of the historical memory that leads to a final victory of democracy. But while the depiction of the Republican refugee in Victor Erice's movie *El espíritu de la colmena* (1973) could still be, two years before Franco's death, subversive, the 'cultural guerrilla,' after 1975, increasingly finds itself in the paradoxical situation of belonging to the hegemonic point of view instead of that of the resistance; in a democratic age, dominated by mass media, resistance as aesthetic gesture is necessarily something that must be recovered again.²³

For this reason, contemporary depictions of the *guerrilla* often show a twofold structure. De-politization and de-criminalization of the maquis, as occur in most cases, are now symptoms of a cosmopolitization of memory.²⁴ Its most characteristic feature is a twofold frame of political reference. In the national and historical frame, the maquis are criminals, and the resistance acquires a politically more progressive meaning; in a global and contemporary framework, Francoism and repression become the metaphors and symbols of terror networks, and resistance recuperates the original sense of defense. One example of "maquis literario" (Tyras) (the literary maquis) is *Maquis* (1997) by Alfons Cervera. On the one hand, the text bears witness to the need for an intimate closeness to the historical world of the *guerrilla* in the 1930s and 1940s. Archival sources and documentary techniques create immediacy between author, reader and this epoch. The deep telluric space of the Spanish resistance remains as a topos, but its expression has become

more contemporary: the folkloric aspects, which in Herrera Petere were always connected to the comic or tragicomic, are now found in conspicuous clusters of aphorisms modeled on folk wisdom that connect the tragic-symbolic with the concrete.²⁵ As in Julio Llamazares's *Luna de lobos* (1985), the regional toponymy of northern Spain is turned by Cervera into a powerful metonymy of the counter-discourse of popular memory, injustice and resistance of the Iberian *guerrilla*—the story's spatial-temporal frame, as well as the narrative frame, breaks down. Anachronistic elements also influence the depiction of the maquis. Perhaps Cervera's portrayal of the lived experience of the historical maquis owes its power over the modern reader to its proximity to contemporary paradigms of asymmetrical warfare: the terror of Islamic fundamentalists as well as ETA bombings. In the historical treatments of the maquis life and death took center stage, not, as in *Maquis*, fear. "Yo sé mucho del miedo. Soy un maestro del miedo" (Cervera 13) (I know much about fear. I am a master of fear)—this is how Cervera opens the novel that can be read as an allegory of the fear of anonymous violence. The Francoists are reminiscent of terrorists in their unpredictability. Much like those fighting the "new wars," they only become visible in the moment they attack, break into the private sphere, seek to strike at their enemy's psychological infrastructure with fear and terror and act without regard for any "interested third-party."²⁶ While, on the one hand, contemporary depictions of the *guerrilla* manage to come very close to historical reality by virtue of a kind of written *oral history*, they leave, on the other hand, the archetypal coordinate system of the aesthetic of resistance that is so typical for the twentieth century and that was so emblematically embodied by the figure of the *guerrillero*. The ideological double-bind between the defense of the homeland and communist revolution is resolved into the myth of folklore; time and space lose their significance as tactical resources of war.

In Guillermo del Toro's movie *El laberinto del fauno* (2006), the latest successful staging of the maquis, all of this is fantastically exaggerated: in one of the last scenes the maquis come out of the mountains to kill the cruel Francoist commander who persecutes them and whose troops nearly despair because of the never-ending, decelerated time of the guerrilla warfare—a counter-factual utopia of a Republican victory that is often reproduced in movies and novels. Del Toro's strategy of de-politicizing the historical struggle enables the development of psychology and individualism in his characters. The Civil War has disappeared into an unattainable ontological distance of myth while space has disappeared into the aesthetic distance of mere 'location.' And to drive this point home beyond any doubt, this utopia is expressed in the movie as the product of the female protagonist's imagination.

Conclusion

This essay began with the question of how and why the literary depiction of the *guerrilla* changed between 1938 and 1997. It appears that not only the historical *guerrilla* as military event cannot be divorced from myth and literature, but also that its transformation into literature can never be seen as being free from political strategy. At the same time it has become clear that the change of the political situation—from civil war to dictatorship to democracy—and the respective imperatives of memory dominant at any given moment do not sufficiently explain the manner in which the resistance's translation into literature changed. This seems to be because, firstly, there is a fundamental connection between the transformation of life into literature and military tactics, a connection we called political aesthetic or, more aptly, “aesthetics of resistance.” It is based, in short, on the transcription of military tactics of asymmetrical warfare—the basic form of the armed resistance—into textual strategies. This has become most visible in the treatment of space, time and tactical actions. The deceleration of time and the expansion of space are military *as well as* literary strategies.

Secondly, underlying political anthropologies of the resistance determine the literary imagination of the *guerrilla*. It is for this reason that a novel taking the hegemonic point of view, *La paz empieza nunca*, depicts the Civil War as fundamentally different from a *guerrilla* novel of the Republicans, that is, as a symmetrical battle of nations. The very same reason produces subterranean anachronisms to emerge in the novels of the 1980s and 1990s: unlike at the time of the Civil War, it is now terrorism that dominates our idea of asymmetrical war, above and beyond the coordinates of ‘right’ and ‘left.’ This perspective may allow for operating beyond those artificial boundaries that circumscribe many of the latest analyses of the literature of the Spanish Civil War, namely those between the parameters of historicity (veracity), representation (textual strategies) and the politics of the past (the imperatives of remembrance and forgetting). Military practice, textual strategies, and collective imaginary of resistance are bound up in a kind of reversible, analogous relationship, a figure whose logic is that of what we might call a “reversible metaphor.” Resistance, thus understood, cannot any longer be conceptualized as merely historical fact or literary subject; it emerges rather as a cultural metaphor or cultural gesture.

Notes

1. In the following, the *guerrilla* or *guerrillero* (in italics) should be understood as referring to the historical Spanish phenomenon, while ‘guerrilla’ and ‘guerrillero’ refers to the strategy.

2. On the role of the war against Napoleon as a paradigm for the *Agrupación Guerrillera de Levante y Aragón* see Sánchez Cervelló (33–49); Aguado Sánchez (197) quotes commemorations of the 2nd of May 1808 from the *Mundo Obrero* of the 4th of May 1950. On the importance of this war in the context of mobilization and propaganda during the Spanish Civil War see Nuñez Seixas (80–84).
3. On Malraux's movie see: Tschiltschke (2009). Martín Gijón (129) mentions *Los Guerrilleros de Extremadura* as a model for Herrera Petere's novel *Cumbres de Extremadura*.
4. I am referring here to Peter Weiss's eponymous novel *The Aesthetics of Resistance* (1975–1981).
5. See Münkler ("Über den Krieg" 182–91) with reference to Clausewitz and Schmitt.
6. The "interested third-party" is, for Schroers, any foundational power or structure of values that legitimizes the partisan's fight without directly entering into it.
7. For a more detailed discussion see, inter alia, Serrano (2001).
8. For the concept of "existential war" see Münkler ("Über den Krieg" 111–12).
9. For the pre-political character of the rural resistance in Spain during the 1930s see Yusta Rodrigo (15–25).
10. For the connection between the uncontrolled repression by Franco and the *guerrilla* movement see Martín Barrio, Sampedro, Talabán and Velasco (367–75).
11. In his later remarks, Lister of course sees, following the ideology of class struggle, the cause for the heroic mass movement of the peasants in the rise of the industrial proletariat (Lister 291–92).
12. For an account of the political reasons for this failure see Arasa (257–62); Martín Barrio, Sampedro Talabán, and Velasco Marcos (414); Serrano (372).
13. "In einen Punkt des Raumes und der Zeit ist hier [i.e. in der Entscheidungsschlacht, U.W.] alles Handeln zusammengedrängt [. . .]" (Clausewitz, "Vom Kriege" 469 emphasis in original).
14. For more background on the inception of the two versions see: Martín Gijón (126–29).
15. On this carnivalization of the resistance motif see the exhaustive analysis of the novel's versions by Martín Gijón (129–50).
16. On "tactics" and "strategy," see de Certeau (34–39).
17. Such an editorial, but rather significant, variant can be found in the foreword: Bohemundo stands for the many common Spanish people (amongst which many popular names from literary circles are counted): "Muchos Pablos, muchos Juan Ruices, muchos Lazarillos de diferentes ríos, muchos Gabriels, todos ellos con un fusil y un odio antifascista" (Herrera Petere 421, 586) (Many Pablos, many Juan Ruiz's many Lazarillos from different rivers, many Gabriels, all of them with a rifle and a deep hatred against the fascists); this ideological tint is toned-down in the 1945 edition: "con un fusil y un sencillo heroísmo" (Herrera Petere 425, 586) (with a rifle and a simple heroism); see also the change from "ojos fascistas" (fascist eyes) (1938 ed.) to "ojos amenazadores" (threatening eyes) (1945 ed.) (Herrera Petere 440, 589). Other variants like "aviación alemana" (German airforce) (1945 ed.) instead of "aviación fascista" (fascist airforce) (1938 ed.) (Herrera Petere 442, 589) and many more are due to the changed political circumstances after the end of the war.
18. On the difference between resistance as a movement and as a net, see Bourdet (95–97).
19. "[. . .] para llevar a cabo una operación de limpieza de *maquis* en Asturias" (Romero 329).
20. See Juliá.

21. Another example is the extended geographic description of the landscape of war of the reconquista, close to the Picos de Europa, that is not coincidentally chosen as a battleground with the *guerrilla* and that is explicitly called a “hunting ground” (373–75).
22. Moreno-Nuño emphasizes the change in the literary maquis from a hero figure to a survivor in Llamazares and the turning into myth of the past (233–92).
23. On the resistance in the age of media see Cornago.
24. See Arroyo Rodríguez.
25. In Cervera, one encounters these expressly serious sayings even further compressed, on pages 22–23 (for example) seven times: “La vida de las personas es lo que esas personas son de pequeños, que si una vida se tuerce cuando nace andará torcida siempre” (People’s lives are what these people are when they are young; if a life is broken at birth it will always remain broken); “llorar lloran las madres” (Crying is what mothers do); “la muerte de los demás nos rompe las costumbres y también nos acerca la juventud y los recuerdos” (Another’s death disrupts our routine and leads us back to our youth and our memories); “sólo somos lo que dejamos” (We are but what we leave behind); “sólo seremos lo que los demás recuerden de nosotros” (We are but what others remember of us); “la guerra es una hija de la gran puta” (War is the great whore’s daughter); “El mar es más grande que la memoria” (The sea is larger than the memory). “La luna es el sol de los muertos” (The moon is the sun of the dead), is one of Llamazares’s central metaphors in *Luna de lobos*.
26. For the phenomenology of terrorism as a “new war” see Münkler (“*The New Wars*” 99–111; “*Der Wandel*” 226–29). Some of the characteristics of the “economy of violence” in *Maquis* (Gómez López-Quiñones 125–30) are also applicable here, especially “the totalizing impulse [of war’s violence, U.W.] that dissolves and negates the difference between one participating in the war and one merely witnessing it” (127).

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