

◆ Introduction

Carmen Moreno-Nuño

El humo aciago de las víctimas.
Todo se deshacía en el aire.
La historia como el viento dorado del otoño arrastraba a su paso los
gemidos, las hojas, las cenizas, para que el llanto no tuviera fundamento.
Disolución falaz de la memoria. Parecía como si todo hubiera sido para
siempre borrado. Para jamás, me digo. Para nunca.
- José Ángel Valente, *El fulgor*

(The fateful smoke of the victims.
Everything fell apart in the air.
History like the golden wind of autumn dragged along the way the moans,
the leaves, the ashes, so the cry would have no foundation. Fallacious
dissolution of memory. It seemed as if everything had been erased. For
never, I say to myself. For never and never.)

The New Context

There still remain historical realities that have been considered taboo and therefore have been systematically neglected by cultural critics since the end of the Civil War, even though the memory boom that characterizes twenty-first century Spain has facilitated the publication of critical studies on the cultural representation of the Civil War and Francoism. The anti-Francoist guerrilla is one of these neglected historical realities, despite the fact that the maquis constituted the most severe threat that the Francoist regime had to confront and the most radical expression of resistance against the dictatorship.¹ One of the consequences of this neglect is that the broad cultural production that fictionalizes the maquis, which can be found mostly in historiography, literature and cinema, has not been systematically studied thus far. Despite the recent publication of important studies on the residual elements of Francoism in democratic Spain, and on the literary and filmic

Armed Resistance: Cultural Representations of the Anti-Francoist Guerrilla
Hispanic Issues On Line (2012)

representations of the Civil War, (to my knowledge) no book has been published to date on cultural representations of the anti-Francoist guerrilla in the dictatorship and Democracy.² The current interest on the recuperation of historical memory, along with the 75th anniversary of the start of the Civil War in 2011, urges us to engage in scholarly reflections on the subject. The present volume has been envisioned as just such a contribution from the perspective of cultural criticism.

Resistance against Francoism has been studied in a number of important books. *La resistencia armada contra Franco* by Francisco Moreno Gómez, and *Maquis: Historia de la guerrilla antifranquista* by Secundino Serrano stand out; *La Resistencia silenciosa* by Jordi Gracia is also of importance. In this later essay, Gracia grants privilege to the liberal, humanistic, and necessarily oblique resistance of a cluster of moderate intellectuals who did not feel fully integrated within the dictatorship but who did not choose exile either. Mirroring a still prevalent feeling in current democratic Spain that stems from political self-complacency, Gracia does not express sympathy for any cultural production falling outside a canon of quiet resistance, which indeed contributed to the preparation of a peaceful and non-strident path toward the later successful reconciliation and democratization of the country. However, non-quiet resistance—armed resistance—against the dictatorship is a fundamental part of anti-Francoist culture without which the Spanish cultural production during Francoism, the Transition, and Democracy cannot be fully understood.

The fact that the political legacy of the guerrilla movement of the 1940s and 1950s has become difficult to reclaim is due to the historical oblivion or “pact of silence” that followed and perpetuated the omniscient censorship of the Francoist regime. After Franco’s death, the new political environment avoided the past of the Civil War in order to facilitate a peaceful transition to democracy. At the same time, most Spaniards, guided by an obsessive desire to forget a painful, shameful, and traumatic past, seemed ready to accept this form of historical oblivion. Despite the publication of important historiographic contributions and the cultural offerings on the Civil War and Francoism during the Transition and the first years of the new democratic regime, educators and many historiographers turned their attention away from the most controversial elements of the past, including repression and armed resistance (Aguilar Fernández 106).³

The fact that political historians and cultural critics continue to debate the terms and reach of the so-called pact of silence reveals the complexity of the issues associated with the question of historical memory, the internal diversity of this leading field of study, and the need for more detailed and thoughtful insights able to differentiate among the institutional and political field, social and civic life, and the cultural arena. Conflicting interpretations of historical memory mirror the existing discrepancies among different theories of memory as well as different theorizations of the relationship

between memory and history, exemplified in the debate between Santos Juliá and Rafael Ruiz Torres.⁴ The cultural critics's work on cultural products adds to the historians's concern regarding political uses of the past, as critics have become increasingly conscious of the fact that the cinematic and literary media may function as vicarious channels for the recovery of historical memories. Also, the tendency towards the internationalization of historical memory plays an important role in the debate, since for many the current vindication of historical memory is due not only or not principally to fill a void of historical knowledge, but also to the pressing international movement of moral and juridical reparation of victims of war, violence, and crimes against humanity during the last decades.

However, other elements besides historical oblivion need to be considered if we want to fully understand the marginal position historically granted to the guerrilla. Violence is one of these elements. Since violence is often accompanied by fascination, armed resistance—as opposed to other types of resistance such as exile, cultural opposition, unions's work, students's politicization—is both evocative and thorny. For a post-Cold War political subjectivity, the association between politics and violence produces a mixture of attraction and repulsion that makes the maquis alluring and at the same time unimaginable from the political distance imposed by our present historical context. In Spain, the radical project of the maquis—its political praxis and its theoretical-ideological frame—becomes definitely obsolete within the economic, cultural, and social horizon brought by the modernity of the capitalist neo-liberal project of the 1950s, which left the pseudo-fascist autarchic model behind. For our democratic and liberal sensitivity, any extra-judicial violence creates a deep but paradoxical uneasiness, since violence lies at the heart of modern culture. It can be argued that the loss of this imaginary is decisive if we want to understand the secretly fascinating nostalgia and moral repulsion that armed resistance evokes today.

On the other hand, armed violence responds to the widely perceived need to deepen democratic life because it points towards the very limits of democracy: Giorgio Agamben's denunciation on how the state of exception has turned today into the rule denounces the false foundation of contemporary democracies, underlying the need for a constant revision of the democratic project (10). Armed resistance, as well as insurrection and civil war, occupies an uncertain, ambiguous, and borderline position in the series of intersections that define the relationship between the legal and the political. In the new international order imposed after September 11, questions of the juridical significance of a sphere of action that is itself extra-judicial, and debates on the right of resistance have been brought into the open. The study of the anti-fascist guerrilla may certainly contribute to enrich these debates. It may also allow for a better understanding of the current drive to revive counterinsurgency strategies in countries like

Vietnam, Korea, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

Past and Present of the Anti-Francoist Guerrilla

The anti-Francoist guerrilla resistance in Spain began before the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939. Since the beginning of the Republican forces's defeat, the guerrilla became a clearly oriented armed pathway, as well as the only survival option, for many Republicans. The outbreak of World War II so soon after the Civil War surprised a large part of the Spanish Republican exiles in France; many of them joined the French Resistance. By 1944, with the German forces in retreat, many of the guerrillas shifted their focus toward Spain. Despite the failure of the invasion of the Aran Valley that year, some columns continued to progress into the Spanish interior and to connect with the groups that had remained in the mountains since 1939. The apex of guerrilla action was between 1945 and 1947, when it carried out sabotage, attacks against military officers and politicians, propaganda activities, and robberies to help fund guerrilla action. After this, the repression by Franco's government intensified, and little by little the guerrilla groups were destroyed. Most of their members were killed or incarcerated, others left for France or Morocco.⁵ In 1952, the remaining contingents escaped from Spain. After that, those who resisted in the mountainous regions, refusing to choose either exile or surrender, fought only for their own survival until the early 1960s.⁶

Guerrilla fighters considered themselves members of a regular army—"El guerrillero se siente soldado de un ejército regular" (Fernández Vargas 105) (The guerrilla fighter thinks of himself as a regular army soldier)—but their voices were concealed by official discourse. The iron-fisted censorship and the lack of accessibility of official documents forced mass media to broadcast, in Manichean terms, infrequent, fragmented, and reductive information. At the same time, various cultural products on the maquis were institutionally rewarded, which helped configure a sanctioned public image for the members of the guerrilla: the official discourse portrayed the maquis as bandits and criminals. Thus *Testamento en la montaña* (1955) by Manuel Arce wins the Concha Espina prize while *La paz empieza nunca* (1957) by Emilio Romero gets the Premio Planeta award. In the film industry, *Torrepartida* (1956) by Pedro Lazaga wins the Premio Nacional (National Prize) and *La paz empieza nunca* (1960) by León Klimovsky gets the Interés Nacional (National Interest) distinction. During the Transition, the mythological constructions generated by the Francoist official press, as well as the literary and cultural establishments, were not officially deconstructed: the new democracy had transformed the maquis into an inconvenient part of the past for conservative and leftist forces alike. The academic world, the

leftist parties—like the political and intellectual elites in exile during the previous decades—and even the Communist Party diminished the guerrilla in order to forget and even erase from the hurtful past the sordidness of the maquis's Stalinist practices (Serrano 13–22).

In recent years, due in part to the strengthening of democracy and the generational change, the memory of the past has achieved a central position in the current cultural debate—a most heated one.⁷ We might think here of the intense work of the Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (Association for the Recuperation of Historical Memory), the opening of mass graves throughout the national landscape, the passing of Ley de Memoria Histórica (Law of Historical Memory) in 2007, the first legal case—led by judge Baltasar Garzón—against Francoism, and the failed opening of the unmarked grave that was believed to be García Lorca's. The memory of the Civil War has become a powerful catalyst for political debates and a culture industry in which historical justice, but also sentimentality, play important roles. In fact, the Civil War has been converted into a profitable platform for all types of cultural products.

At the same time, the interest in the recovery of historical memory that pervades twenty-first century Spain seems particularly attentive to the most repressive and taboo elements of the Civil War and the dictatorship. Francoist prisons and concentration camps, the robbery of Republican children, the *topos*, the repression of women, and the anti-Francoist guerrilla are some of these historically neglected realities.⁸ If we focus again on the maquis, we have seen in the last few years an increase in the production of cultural artifacts that focus their attention on the elusive figure of the *guerrilleros* including, among others, the historical essay *La mujer del maquis* by Ana R. Cañil (prize Espasa for Essay in 2008), the film *Caracremada* by Lluís Galter (2010), and novels *Inés y la alegría* (2010) by Almudena Grandes and *Donde nadie te encuentre* by Alicia Giménez Barlett, which received the Nadal prize in 2011.

Within this new political and cultural context, the guerrilla survivors who met for the first time in Santa Cruz de Moya in 1985 and hold annual meetings as part of the activities of La Gavilla Verde association, demand symbolic and social rehabilitation, the juridical revocation of the sentences that condemned them as common criminals, and legal recognition as members of an army, which would affect their retirement benefits. Their ultimate goal is to disseminate accurate information in order to rectify the distorted image of the *guerrilleros* perpetuated by Francoist propaganda: worst-type criminals who, organized by the Communist party, conspiratorially invaded Spain from abroad.⁹ For these former fighters and their relatives, the past still shadows the present.

The Anti-Francoist Guerrilla as Cultural Discourse

The richness and complexity of the cultural representation of the armed resistance associated with the maquis requires an all-encompassing analysis of the different cultural and sociopolitical significations that have been attributed to the guerrilla movement. It could be argued that the various meanings imposed during Francoism, the Transition, and Democracy on the malleable figure of the maquis are nothing but a reflection of the historical needs, voids, and anxieties of these different political configurations. One could perhaps make a general observation here about the omnipresent structure of power as conceptualized by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish*. What I would like to underscore, however, is that each one of the significations attributed to the maquis exposes the intricacies of three distinct historical epochs and their specific relationship with a cultural production that determines how the history of the maquis is told and thus shaped. Moreover, the mythical dimension that has inherently accompanied the guerrilla since the end of the Civil War has fused the historical reality of the maquis with its fictional recreation, making it difficult to separate reality from the myriad of its fictional representations.⁹ For Frederic Jameson, guerrilla warfare is “the prototype of war itself [and] war is ultimately unrepresentable” (1533); that is, if the reality of war and warfare cannot be grasped through representation, then the autonomy of representation is all that is left and consequently, all that ought to be valued and scrutinized. It can be argued that Jameson offers a formal and epistemological answer to the impossibility of representations of war and warfare that could be extrapolated to any representation, which is always deficient and incommensurable with respect to the original historical event. However, the traditionally mythical representation of Spanish armed resistance is, more than an autonomous representation, the product of its politico-historical context.

The cultural discourse on the maquis may be understood as a process—that is, as an ever-evolving creation of ideologemes or ideologies intended for the clarification, establishment, justification, and perpetuation of individual, collective, and national identities.¹⁰ These ideologemes frame symbolic configurations that respond to sociopolitical demands. At the same time, these ideological scaffoldings fill in the concept of the maquis with a changing cultural, social, and political content that moves from the oppositional and even abject to the integration of the maquis into a national imaginary now identified, thanks to Zapatero’s Socialist government, with official history. My claim is that the cultural production on the maquis shows a long process of construction of ideologemes in response to different hegemonic sociopolitical models: from the total exclusion of the guerrilla soldier as antisocial myth and even criminal abject-other during Francoism,

to the assimilation and identification of the guerrilla with the democratic project itself or, to be more precise, with an utopian version of democracy in which the violence of the past yields to a pseudo-ethical community devoid of conflict (Margalit).¹¹ This identification of the guerrilla with the democratic project asserts, through the appropriation of the memory of an otherness turned into sameness, what the citizens of the new democratic Spain want to be in both the national and international contexts. Thus, recovering the memory of the guerrilla for Spaniards, recent cultural products create an idealized image of democratic Spain for both national and international consumption.

During the dictatorship, the anti-Francoist guerrilla was considered the last remnant of the Civil War and had to be persecuted and demonized, or simply negated. Here emerges a cultural paradigm tainted by silence in the 1940s, and negative mythologization and denial of historical particularity in the 1950s. The novel *La sierra en llamas* (1953) by civil guard Ángel Ruiz Ayúcar exemplifies how the *literatura de cruzada*¹² (crusade literature) constructs an image of guerrilla fighters as immoral bandits, gluing together the legal and moral discourses of the time.¹³ On the other end, exiled writers pay homage to the maquis as exemplary, heroic resistance. As *Madame García, tras los cristales* (1968) by Jesús Izcaray illustrates, the guerrilla is the object of identification for exilic literature in nostalgic search for the lost personal and national identity (Moreno-Nuño 29–82). In 1973, the anonymous figure persecuted in the famous movie *El espíritu de la colmena* by Víctor Erice underscores the historical magnitude of a guerrilla that, as is the case for the fugitive in the film, will nevertheless remain silenced after Franco's death.

The transition to democracy inserts a teleological notion of History into the *horror vacui* produced by General Franco's death, filling the cultural image of the guerrilla with determinism and fatalism. Given that capitalism, democracy, modernity, and the European Union are perceived as the inevitable future for Spain, any other political road of the past—armed resistance—had to be abandoned to make room for the present. Narratives and movies reflect the obsolete nature of the guerrilla during the 1970s and 1980s. The figure of the defeated maquis in Juan Marsé's novels *Si te dicen que caí* (1973) and *Un día volveré* (1982) is a good example; the movies *Los días del pasado* (1977) by Mario Camus and *El Corazón del bosque* (1979) by Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón are also shining examples. Democracy evolved from the pact of silence generated by collective shame, guilt, fear, and political caution, to the twenty-first century movement of recuperation of historical memory. Cultural production, especially since the 1990s, aims at recovering the national traumatic past through hyperrealist and even sublime artifacts, which represent guerrilla fighters as tragic survivors but also victims. In this sense, cultural production reflects the centrality achieved by the discourses of the victims in western societies: this conflict-filled political

arena has substituted the categories that have traditionally configured the leftist imaginary, such as social class or race, with a new identity politics. In Spain, it is worth mentioning novels *Luna de lobos* (1985) by Julio Llamazares and *Maquis* (1997) by Alfons Cervera, the movie *Silencio roto* (2001) by Montxo Armendáriz, and the documentary *La guerrilla de la memoria* (2002) by Javier Corcuera. In recent years, the strengthening and securing of democracy in Spain has made possible a new image of the guerrilla soldier as an idealized fighter in Spain and also abroad, thanks in part to *Pan's Labyrinth* (2006) by Guillermo del Toro. At the same time, the figure of the maquis has also been transformed into a commodity by the Spanish national mass media (in the television series *Amar en tiempos revueltos*), projecting the image of a trouble-free common past.¹⁴

However, the study of the cultural representation of armed resistance needs to pay attention not only to the ever-changing ideologemes that determine its meaning, but also to the aesthetic and moral fascination engendered by acts of resistance, which adds to the newly recovered historical interest. This fascination also adds to the nostalgia of the past and the ritualistic nature of historical memory. The capacity to actively resist identifies and differentiates the maquis from other silenced manifestations of repression in post-war Spain—concentration camps, women imprisonment, *topos*, disappeared children—although all of them point toward a discourse on universal values that, as Javier Cercas's bestseller *Soldiers of Salamis* best exemplifies, is still most demanded by readers. Therefore, in this introduction I propose a somewhat deconstructive model for the discourses that have configured through time the cultural images of the guerrilla; concurrently I claim that such epistemological deconstruction should paradoxically be performed over a human bedrock—the psychology of political emotion—that interestingly insists on being recovered apropos of the Spanish Civil War.¹⁵

On the Concept of Resistance

The concept of resistance has traditionally been able to classify and thus accommodate all forms of rejection of a political system, including cultural resistance and resistance literature.¹⁶ As post-World War II Germany paradigmatically exemplifies, resistance is also a concept difficult to define in societies that do not achieve resolution and closure for historical trauma, and this difficulty often translates into passionate and lasting debates (Large). Arguably, resistance is not just a political notion. Although to resist means to oppose and even to fight against a force, violence, or threat of violence, the idea of resistance is linked to human emotions that tend to incite intense responses: the refusal to accept or comply with political

injustice also refers to the capacity to stand firm against one's own emotions and feelings.¹⁷ Thus, resistance entails a fight against what lies outside, but also against ourselves.

The cultural production on the anti-Francoist guerrilla exemplifies this twofold notion because it represents how resistance opposes fascism through military means, but also how it stands against the tyranny of our most inner drives, passions, and desires by presenting characters who remain in the woods, resisting their desire to abandon the fight. Combining once again the political and the psychoanalytical, resistance also refers to defeat or, at least, to the impossibility of victory. Since resistance is the last and only option, it always entails a romantic vital posture. It is a heroic and tragic resistance to be definitely defeated. This might help explain the political fascination we feel for the defeated of History who resist their fate because it is just the right thing to do.

If we move from semiotics to other critical theories, armed resistance has to be located within the wider spectrum of resistance theory, where some analysts have contributed important insights. These authors are re-thinking the vertical, unidirectional relationship between the resistant oppressed and the oppressor. In Italy, Luisa Passerini has engaged in pioneering oral history work on the relationship between resistance, memory, fascism, and social class. In Germany, the figure of the resistant hero and the history of resistance have, thanks to Alf Lüdtke, been re-conceptualized in a way that transforms heroes into co-authors—that is, individuals involved in and responsible for totalitarianism to various degrees. James Scott has also paid careful attention to what lies beneath the surface of overt public behavior. While it is true that theoretical works on resistance traditionally rely on the concept of hegemony, the version of hegemony on which Scott's theory rests is profoundly different from the well-known Gramscian notion. Focusing on the ways that subaltern people resist dominance, Scott argues that the everyday resistance of subaltern populations shows that they have not consented to dominance: those who are oppressed accept their domination in public, but they always question their domination offstage.¹⁸

Although there is no historiographic trend that fully integrates memory and history, microhistory or everyday history—the German *Alltagsgeschichte*, the *histoire des mentalités* of the French Annales school, the Italian *microstoria*—has been influential in the exploration of civilian resistance.¹⁹ Although microhistory has neglected collective memory, it has emphasized personal recollections. Arguably, there exists a new epistemology of resistance whose cornerstones are ambiguity and pluralism. From this point of view, resistance is not based on black-and-white distinctions, but on a wide spectrum of positions ranging from accommodation to non-conformity. In other words, confronted with totalitarianism, civilian population—and the Spanish population was not an exception—has traditionally adopted a wide range of responses, from

conformism and collaboration to non-conformism, rejection, protest, and finally resistance (Saz and Gómez Roda). It is important to keep in mind that although the concurrence of different and somewhat contradictory behaviors erases the dualism of perpetrator/victim, turning protagonists into non-permanent co-authors, the epistemological paradigm of everyday life historiography does not exclude the existence of a heroic minority of resistance fighters—nor other radically critical attitudes.

If we now focus on guerrilla resistance, it should be noted that armed resistance does not respond to indirect dynamics like inversion or subversion, but to open attack. In this sense, it can be understood as a paradigmatic example of a Hegelian logic that imposes total negation and absolute difference upon the enemy, to the extent of keeping (during years with a blind, violent, totalitarian fight even against all historical constraints) what is rejected by our contemporary post-revolutionary subjectivity. Thus, the anti-Francoist guerrilla is not held by notions such as ambiguity, pluralism, or irony, since it is embarked upon a sharply delineated fight against an enemy that, deprived of any legitimacy, must be defeated.

Armed resistance is also the object of a classical theoretical work that needs to be revisited in light of the new epistemology of memory. This new epistemology has amended the traditional distinction between memory and History through the incorporation to the latter of subjective manifestations of History like memory and testimony, especially those of the victims.²⁰ Carl Schmitt's foundational theory on the partisan, which traces the figure of the guerrilla soldier from the Spanish War of Independence to the Geneva Conventions in 1949, can be taken as an example. In *Theory of the Partisan*, Schmitt develops a typology for the *guerrilleros*: the guerrilla fighter is a politically engaged irregular soldier who utilizes his mobility, rapidity, and flexibility in order to defensively or aggressively defend a land that is conceived in telluric terms. For Schmitt, the theory of the partisan is instrumental in understanding the concept of the political insofar as it helps define a theory of war and enemy, paving the way for the current theories on terrorism. However, the incorporation of memories and testimonies of, for example, female fighters to more classical theories enrich such theories, exposing the central role played by women in armed resistance. In Francoist Spain, resistant women were key not only in prisons, exile, and factories but also in the guerrilla warfare, especially as intermediaries and performers of clandestine support functions, as studied by Mercedes Yusta. To the extent that Schmitt's theory overlooks gendered memory, it fails to take into account how female fighters or *guerrilleras* suffered the extra humiliation of sexual offense and abuse: if *guerrilleros* were criminals, *guerrilleras* were criminals and whores (Di Febo 85–86). Thus, a more comprehensive epistemology combining historiography, theory, and memory will allow for a better understanding of less-known realities, such as women fighters or guerrilla soldiers in concentration camps.²¹

Armed Resistance

Armed Resistance: Cultural Representations of the Anti-Francoist Guerrilla studies the cultural representation of the maquis during Francoism and Democracy through an interdisciplinary approach that encompasses literature, film, historiography, and cultural studies. The essays in this volume answer important questions: How does Francoist culture represent a reality that is continuously negated and censored? What are the differences between exilic and Francoist representations of the guerrilla? How can censorship on armed resistance be reconciled with institutional propaganda and the public recognition that national awards bestow? How does the cultural treatment of the maquis inform the different political contexts of the dictatorship, the Transition, and Democracy? What is the role of the cultural representation of the guerrilla in the current trend of recuperation of historical memory? What is the position of the maquis in the literary and filmic canon? How does this cultural production deal with issues such as violence and gender in the guerrilla movement? How is political subjectivity addressed? To what extent do these cultural artifacts offer an alternative paradigm to the ubiquitous sociological tool and competitive cultural *locus* of the victim? Can transnational works on the maquis be understood as cultural reinscriptions and reappropriations? How does mass media, especially television, deactivate the potentially subversive power that the guerrilla may have today?

The essays in this volume help decipher the existing connections between the cultural representations of the maquis since the 1940s and the cultural, social, and political contexts that created them. Ulrich Winter draws a panoramic vision of the literary representation of armed resistance from Francoism to Democracy, claiming that the changing image of the maquis mirrors the different political contexts in Spain since 1936 to the present. The array of evolving images creates an aesthetics of resistance, which is explored in the textual analysis of a selection of works, from *Cumbres de Extremadura* by Herrera Petere to *Maquis* by Alfons Cervera.

Sebastiaan Faber develops a cultural history of the representation of anti-Francoist armed resistance in Hollywood movies such as *For Whom the Bell Tolls* by Sam Wood and *Behold a Pale Horse* by Fred Zinneman. Faber claims that the problematic representation of the Spanish maquis is a symptom of the structural problems that affect the American Left, insofar as the creation of a public image for the maquis echoes the creation of the public image of the Frente Popular (Popular Front). Faber's study illuminates the process that culminates in the current uneasiness that surrounds armed resistance—perceived by the majority as extremist,

outdated, and unproductive—and the rejection of this leftish legacy even at a symbolic level. The critic situates armed resistance in the wider context of images and discourses, and the constant negotiation of cultural capital. In effect, the intellectual history of representation, which is so paradigmatic of the Second Republic, needs to be taken into account if we are to understand the figure of the maquis.

Carmen Moreno-Nuño delves into the Francoist paradigm (that represents guerrilla soldiers as bandits) through the study of the juridical, cultural, and scientific discourses of the time in order to shed light upon the filmic production that thematizes the maquis during the dictatorship. Inserting the Spanish Civil War into the wider context of contemporary European and international conflicts, Moreno-Nuño argues that the particularity of the Spanish guerrilla is largely determined by national culture.

Elena Cueto Asín examines the existing dialectics between propaganda literature and exilic literature in the novel *Cumbres de Extremadura* by José Herrera Petere and the drama *La niña guerrillera* by José Bergamín. The Mexican context of production shared by both works is Cueto Asín's point of departure for an exploration of the meaning of the guerrilla for the exiled community, along with issues on the literary exilic representation of the maquis.

Santiago Morales-Rivera warns against the melancholia invading the democratic leftist revisionism that has vindicated victims's voices, clouding memory, testimony, and documentary with sentimentality and non-critical realism. His analysis of the mockumentary *El honor de las injurias* by Carlos García Alix illustrates the intricacies surrounding this issue through the representation of anarchist Felipe Sandoval and armed resistance in the Second Republic and the Civil War.

Antonio González studies the theatrical production of Martínez Ballesteros in light of its historical context and formal recurrences, focusing especially on *Tiempo de guerrilla*. González reflects on how theater has represented armed resistance and how Martínez Ballesteros's work responds to the current trend of recuperation of historical memory.

Alberto Medina analyzes Julio Llamazares's *Luna de lobos* along with *La lluvia amarilla* as examples of the aesthetics of the sublime. Medina's thesis is that *Luna de lobos* breaks with the rhetoric of disengagement, which was prevalent in the 1980s, with respect to the Civil War reworking the literary material into a lyrical and emotional narrative that represents historical reality through the lens of the sublime. Medina argues that Llamazares's novel responds to changing social demands with respect to historical memory. Transforming aesthetics into an ethics of history, Llamazares's representation of armed resistance shows—following Agamben—that there is something purely ethical in these sublime, inapprehensible, inevitable, and individualizing realities.

Gina Herrmann studies the representation of famous *guerrillera* Remedios Montero in Pau Vergara's documentary *Memorias de una guerrillera*. Drawing from studies on feminism, testimony, documentary, trauma, and memory, Herrmann's analysis of this docudrama reveals the insurmountable distance that exists between the public, cultural images of Montero and her resistance to satisfy the expectations created by such images, which helps explain failed cultural representations of historical memory.

Angel Loureiro offers a confrontational interpretation of the historical memory phenomenon, attacking its irrational, ritualistic, sacralized, and compulsive nature. For Loureiro, historical memory has generated a cultural corpus characterized by a pathetic rhetoric. Regardless of the fact that pathetic may be understood here as a derivative of pathos, Loureiro's essay stands out as a negative testimonial gesture against historical memory, which stems from a comparative analysis of films on the guerrilla during the Transition and in more recent years.

Germán Labrador Méndez and María Agustina Monasterio Baldor trace stories of anti-Francoist armed resistance back to rural communities, since these are the traditional places of transmission of oral memory. The authors follow a structuralist methodology for their comparative analysis of popular literature. As they examined the records of personal interviews, they came to the conclusion that many of the stories were structured by similar motifs that could be traced back to older patterns of universal folklore. This anthropological approach privileges popular, rural representation of the maquis over high culture. Moreover, it breaks with the predominant type of theoretical discourse on historical memory while reminding us of the ductility of any historical and cultural process.

Pablo Sánchez León and Carlos Agüero offer a powerful theoretical reflection on the historical and epistemological implications of La Gavilla Verde Association—the most emblematic association for the guerrilla movement. For these authors, the modernizing and *desarrollista* pathos that has guided Spain since the 1950s explains the lack of a coherent narrative on Spanish armed resistance all the way to the present. The essay articulates a number of fundamental questions, inquiring into what we are talking about when we refer to the maquis, what epistemic and cultural fractures have taken place between the historical moment of its emergence and the present day, and, what type of ideological projections do we impose on the maquis from our own social perspective and political vocabulary. The present volume addresses these questions from perspectives informed by different theoretical and methodological positions while, at the same time, underlining the need to develop a initial understanding of the different cultural configurations of Spanish armed resistance.

Notes

1. The anti-Francoist guerrilla was “la oposición más fuerte al régimen de Franco” (Preston qtd. in Serrano 20) (the strongest opposition against the Francoist regime).
2. See Merino and Song, Valis, Gómez López-Quiñones, Moreno-Nuño, Colmeiro, Luengo, and Ferrán.
3. Historians like Santos Juliá have written in passionate tones about the intense historiographic work on the Franco regime since the 1970s, contesting the notions of oblivion and silence on the part of both civil society and historians.
4. The public debate between Rafael Ruiz Torres and Santos Juliá, which took place in *Hispania Nova: Revista de historia contemporánea*, presents two different positions regarding the issue of historical memory. For Juliá, the movement for historical memory intentionally leaves aside the important historiographical contributions of the last decades. For Ruiz Torres, the claim for historical memory stems from a wide international trend that seeks the moral and juridical reparation of victims of historical violence.
5. The chronology most commonly defended by historians divides the operational years of the maquis into two main periods: 1) until 1944, when the dispersed groups have become mostly organized and the military occupation of the Aran Valley in the Pyrenees has unsuccessfully taken place; 2) after 1946, when armed resistance is abandoned as viable political option and thousands of guerrilla soldiers are left alone and trapped in Francoist Spain.
6. Preston has provided a brief but exemplar summary of the history of the guerrilla, underlying its most important elements: *huidos* versus *guerrilleros*, definition of the maquis and how fighters joined up with *huidos*, rural versus urban guerrilla, most important maquis zones on Spain, communist versus anarchist guerrillas, supporters’s webs, directives coming from France and URSS, and ideological motives.
7. Other heated debates are the “archival war” over the Civil War documents of the National Historical Archive located in Salamanca and claimed by Cataluña and the conservative historical revisionism.
8. *Topos* are citizens who could not escape after the Civil War, having to hide in minimal and unknown places for years and even decades.
9. After the defeat of the Axis in World War II, the Francoist government enforced the rumor of an exterior conspiracy, another myth that has shadowed the image of the guerrilla until the present.
10. ‘Ideologeme’ is a widely used concept in semiotic studies. It refers to the ideological fabric of discourse, which materializes in the different structures of the text and condenses the dominant cosmovision of each society in a historical time. This ideological fabric requires a cultural analysis of the ideological dimension of the text in order to reveal its latent content.
11. Julia Kristeva has defined the abject as that which lies “beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable. It lies there, quite close, but it cannot be assimilated [. . .] A massive and sudden emergence of uncanniness” (1–2).
12. “No obstante, cuando la guerrilla fue erradicada, el régimen franquista autorizó y estimuló una *literatura de cruzada* contra el movimiento armado de posguerra [. . .]. Reconvertidos en historiadores de guardia, un puñado de guardias civiles y policías se aplicaron a la tarea de codificar los estereotipos oficiales que se emplearon a partir de entonces para desacreditar la resistencia armada” (Serrano 15)

(However, when the guerrilla was eliminated, the Francoist regime authorized and encouraged a *crusade literature* against post-war armed resistance [. . .] Recycled into on-call historians, a handful of civil guards and policemen worked hard in the codification of official stereotypes that were going to be used from that moment on in order to discredit the armed resistance).

13. The maquis were judged under the Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas (Law of Political Responsibilities) of 1939, and later on under the Decreto-Ley de Bandidaje y Terrorismo (Law Decree of Banditry and Terrorism) of 1947, rewritten in 1960.
14. Francisca López, Elena Cueto Asín, and David George have studied the relationship between History and television. Through the textual analysis of series from the last three decades, they explore how television has shaped a social cosmopolitanism in democratic Spain.
15. Loureiro has argued how the recent cultural production about the Civil War is marked by sentimentality. For this author, the affective rhetoric that pervades critical arguments rests primarily on the translation of *pathos* into politics.
16. See Harlow for the study of resistance literature.
17. Two of the definitions given by the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* are: “Oponerse un cuerpo o una fuerza a la acción o violencia de otra” (To oppose a body or force to the action or violence of other) and “combatir las pasiones, deseos, etc.” (1782) (to fight against passions, desires, etc.).
18. Scott uses the term *public transcript* to describe the open, public interactions between dominators and oppressed and the term *hidden transcript* for the critique of power that goes on offstage, which power holders do not see or hear. Different systems of domination, including political, economic, cultural, or religious, have aspects that are not heard that go along with their public dimensions. On the event of a publicization of this “hidden transcript,” oppressed classes openly assume their speech and become conscious of its common status.
19. Microhistory is the intensive historical investigation of a well-defined, small unit of research (most often a single event, the community of a village, a family or a person). In its ambition, microhistory can be distinguished from a simple case study insofar as microhistory aspires to search for answers to large questions in small places. It puts great stress on the agency of historical actors and is unwilling to see culture as a determining force. Its purpose is to find and prove the links between the down-to-earth, everyday, basic experiences of ordinary people in a society, and the broad social and political changes that occur in that society.
20. The distinction between history and memory is epistemological, and also procedural—that is, disciplinary and conventional. Among those who vindicate the function of memory are Keith Jenkins, Sam Wineburg, Beatriz Sarlo, Marisa González de Oleaga, Reyes Mate and Manuel Cruz.
21. Former deportee Catalá has compiled the testimony of fifty Spanish women deported to Ravensbrück, showing the resistance strategies used by these female prisoners. Former political prisoner Cuevas has compiled the testimony of women incarcerated within Francoist prisons, paying special attention to the *guerrilleras*.

Works Cited

- Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception*. Trans. Kevin Attell. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005. Print.
- Aguilar Fernández, Paloma. "Cultura política, consumo cultural y memoria durante la Transición." *Tiempo de Transición (1975–1982)*. Manuel Ortuño Martínez et al. Madrid: Fundación Pablo Iglesias, 2007. 80–115. Print.
- Arce, Manuel. *Testamento en la montaña*. Barcelona: Destino, 1956. Print.
- Behold a Pale Horse*. Dir. Fred Zinneman. Columbia, 1964. Film.
- Bergamín, José. *La hija de Dios. La niña guerrillera*. Madrid: Ispamerca, 1978. Print.
- Cañil, Ana R. *La mujer del maquis*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2008. Print.
- Caracremada*. Dir. Lluís Galter. Paco Poch, 2010. Film.
- Catalá, Neus. *De la Resistencia y la deportación: 50 testimonios de mujeres españolas*. Barcelona: Península, 2000. Print.
- Cercas, Javier. *Soldiers of Salamis*. New York: Holtzbrinck Publishers, 2004. Print.
- Cervera, Alfons. *Maquis*. España: Montesinos, 1997. Print.
- Colmeiro, José F. *Memoria histórica e identidad cultural: De la postguerra a la postmodernidad*. Barcelona: Anthropos, 2005. Print.
- Cuevas, Tomasa. *Mujeres de la resistencia*. Barcelona: Sirocco Books, 1986. Print.
- Di Febo, Giuliana. *Resistencia y movimiento de mujeres en España: 1936–1976*. Barcelona: Icaria, 1979. Print.
- El corazón del bosque*. Dir. Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón. Arándano, 1979. Film.
- El espíritu de la colmena*. Dir. Víctor Erice. Elías Querejeta, 1973. Film.
- El honor de las injurias*. Dir. Carlos García-Alix. Guillermo Salafranca, 2007. Film.
- Fernández Vargas, Valentina. *La resistencia interior en la España de Franco*. Madrid: Istmo, 1981. Print.
- Ferrán, Ofelia. *Working Through Memory: Writing and Remembrance in Contemporary Spanish Narrative*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007. Print.
- For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Dir. Sam Wood. Paramount, 1943. Film.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1997. Print.
- Giménez Barlett, Alicia. *Donde nadie te encuentre*. Barcelona: Destino, 2011. Print.
- Gómez López-Quiñones, Antonio. *La guerra persistente: Memoria, violencia, utopía: representaciones contemporáneas de la Guerra Civil española*. Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2006. Print.
- Gracia, Jordi. *La resistencia silenciosa: fascismo y cultura en España*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2004. Print.
- Grandes, Almudena. *Inés y la alegría*. Barcelona: Tusquets, 2010. Print.
- Harlow, Barbara. *Resistance Literature*. New York: Methuen, 1987. Print.
- Herrera Petere, José. *Cumbres de Extremadura: Novela de guerrilleros*. Barcelona, Anthropos, 1986. Print.
- Izcaray, Jesús. *Madame García, tras los cristales*. París: Éditions de la Librairie du Globe, 1968. Print.
- Jameson, Fredric. "War and Representation." *PMLA* 125 (2009): 1532–47. Web. 16 Nov. 2011.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. Print.
- La guerrilla de la memoria*. Dir. Javier Corcuera. Puy Oria and Montxo Armendáriz, 2002. Film.
- La paz empieza nunca*. Dir. León Klimovsky. Jesús Saiz P.C./CIFESA, 1960. Film.

- Large, David Clay. *Contending with Hitler: Varieties of German Resistance in the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/The German Historical Institute, 1991. Print.
- Llamazares, Julio. *Luna de lobos*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1995. Print.
- _____. *La lluvia amarilla*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1988. Print.
- López, Francisca, Elena Cueto Asín, and David R. George eds. *Historias de la pequeña pantalla: Representaciones históricas en la televisión de la España democrática*. Madrid: Vervuert, 2009. Print.
- Los días del pasado*. Dir. Mario Camus. Impala, 1977. Film.
- Loureiro, Ángel. "Pathetic Arguments." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9.2 (July 2008): 225–37. Print.
- Lüdtke, Alf. "De los heroes de la resistencia a los coautores: 'Alltagsgeschichte' en Alemania." *Ayer* 19 (1995): 40–69. Print.
- Luengo, Ana. *La encrucijada de la memoria: La memoria colectiva de la Guerra Civil Española en la novela contemporánea*. Berlin: Verlag Walter Frey, 2004. Print.
- Margalit, Avishai. *The Ethics of Memory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. Print.
- Marsé, Juan. *Si te dicen que caí*. Barcelona: Bruguera, 1980. Print.
- _____. *Un día volveré*. Barcelona: Plaza y Janés, 1982. Print.
- Martínez Ballesteros, Antonio. *Tiempo de guerrilla*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia Servicio de Publicaciones, 2000. Print.
- Memorias de una guerrillera*. Dir. Pau Vergara. Maltes Productions, 2007. Film.
- Merino, Eloy, and Rosy Song. *Traces of Contamination: Unearthing the Francoist Legacy in Contemporary Spanish Discourse*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005. Print.
- Moreno-Gómez, Francisco. *La resistencia armada contra Franco: Tragedia del maquis y la guerrilla*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2001. Print.
- Moreno-Nuño, Carmen. *Las huellas de la Guerra Civil: Mito y trauma en la narrativa de la España democrática*. Madrid: Libertarias, 2006. Print.
- Pan's Labyrinth*. Dir. Guillermo del Toro. Esperanto Films, 2006. Film.
- Passerini, Luisa. *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Print.
- Preston, Paul. "The Urban and Rural Guerrilla of the 1940s." *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*. Ed. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. 229–37. Print.
- Real Academia Española. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española. Vigésima Primera Edición*. Vol. II. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1998. Print.
- Romero, Emilio. *La paz empieza nunca*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1957. Print.
- Ruiz Ayúcar, Ángel. *La sierra en llamas*. Barcelona: Luis de Caralt, 1953. Print.
- Ruiz Torres, Rafael. "De perplejidades y confusiones a propósito de nuestras memorias." *Hispania Nova: Revista de historia contemporánea* 7 (2007): 799–843. Web. 16 Nov. 2001.
- Juliá, Santos. *Hoy no es ayer: Ensayos sobre la España del siglo XX*. Barcelona: RBA, 2010. Print.
- Saz, I. and J. A. Gómez Roda eds. *El franquismo en Valencia: Formas de vida y actitudes sociales en la posguerra*. Episteme, 1999. Print.
- Schmitt, Carl. *Theory of the Partisan: Intermediate Commentary on the Concept of the Political*. Trans. G. L. Ulmen. New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2007. Print.
- Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: The Hidden Transcript of Subordinate Groups*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990. Print.

- Serrano, Secundino. *Maquis: Historia de la guerrilla antifranquista*. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2001. Print.
- Silencio roto*. Dir. Montxo Armendáriz. Oria Films, 2001. Film.
- Torrepartida*. Dir. Pedro Lazaga. Santos Alcocer Badenas, 1956. Film.
- Valente, José Angel. *El fulgor*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1984. Print.
- Valis, Noël. *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2007. Print.
- Yusta, Mercedes. "La historia en femenino singular: Las fuentes orales en el estudio del maquis en España." Ed. José Manuel Trujillano Sánchez y Pilar Díaz Sánchez. *V Jornadas Historia y Fuentes Orales*. Ávila: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1996. 241–52. Print.

Moreno-Nuño, Carmen. "Introduction." *Armed Resistance: Cultural Representations of the Anti-Francoist Guerrilla*. Ed. Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones and Carmen Moreno-Nuño. *Hispanic Issues On Line* (Fall 2012): 1–18. Web.
