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Literature of Protest: The Franco Years.

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Literature of protest: The Franco years

Gonzalez, Margaret Carmell, Ph.D.

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1994
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THE FRANCO YEARS

A Dissertation

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Louisiana State University and
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requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Political Science

by
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B.A., The University of Louisville, 1985
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between Spanish literature and political opposition under the Franco regime. Chapter 1 introduces the concept of a political discourse that characterizes a historical era, specifically addressing that of the Franco era in Spain. Directly linked to the idea of a political discourse is the theory of a literary generation, united by the common experiences or characteristics of a specific time period, such as those of the Franco regime. Together, these two concepts helped establish a foundation for the transition to democracy in Spain.

Chapter 2 discusses the mythic foundations of Spanish culture in general, and of Spanish literature and politics in particular. Various biblical and mythical concepts and symbols embedded in the Spanish culture were employed by both the regime, to maintain the status quo, and the opposition, in an effort to disrupt the status quo.

Chapter 3 examines the presence of alienation that is found within Francoist Spain. This isolation extends from the national level to the individual level, and is a predominant theme expressed in the literature of the era.

Chapter 4 discusses the use of coercive force by the regime to maintain its society and the disruptive force employed by the opposition to protest Francoist society. The manner in which coercive and disruptive actions are linked in the censored literature suggests the omnipotence of the regime and the futility of disruptive protest.
Chapter 5 examines the various groups within Francoist society and how their interaction with the regime and one another maintains the existence of the oppressive society of the regime.

Chapter 6 concludes by discussing how the aforementioned aspects of Francoist society, while they did not result in the overthrow of the Franco regime, facilitated the preparation of Spanish society for a political transition.
CHAPTER 1
POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND THE LITERARY GENERATION

This examination contends that two dominant and competitive political discourses existed in Spain under the Franco regime. The discourse of the regime was one that sought to perpetuate the status quo and maintain its considerable power, primarily through administrative and legal avenues. The opposing discourse, however, had to resort to an oblique, indirect means of expression in the literature of the period.

The focus of this analysis will be upon that opposing discourse. This discussion proposes that the underground resistance to the authoritarian regime was maintained by this discourse and, furthermore, that the discourse helped preserve the democratic ideals of a nation through an entire generation of anti-democratic repression. This phenomenon was made possible, in part, through the efforts of a literary generation, or group of writers who shared the same heritage, lived and developed artistically in the same time period and geographic location, and shared the experience of rule by the Franco regime.

According to Bruce Lincoln, each historical era is characterized by dominant political discourses, particular to its unique situation and position in time. With the progression of time, the dominant discourse gives way to a new discourse that better accommodates the political reality of the newly emerging era. This process is similar to the paradigmatic cycle of the social sciences, presented by Thomas Kuhn. A paradigm that fits the current reality is accepted as the dominant paradigm until
challenged and ultimately replaced by a new paradigm that is more appropriate for that era.

The process of opposition may be regarded, then, as a universal one, characteristic of all political systems, but its importance and the forms which it takes vary widely from country to country and from period to period.¹

In the case of the Franco regime, literature provided one of the principal means by which to disseminate this discourse. Lacking competitive political parties and legitimate channels of dissent, the regime was protested indirectly within the context of novels and drama. Although there existed no legally permissible opposition to the regime, this raises the question of whether there was an opposition within the system that was still meaningful, though oblique. Following the death of Franco in 1975, the transition to democracy, though elite-led, progressed with more ease than anticipated, suggesting that the foundation for such deconstruction and reconstruction had already been established.

The medium chosen for this examination is that of the novel. Through the development of the human behavior in the novel written in protest against the Franco regime, the author brings to the reader insights into not only literature, but politics as well. Novels are not objective treatises; though based in a context of facts and history, they are subjective works. And yet, this lack of objectivity is often what

provides their unique perspectives. The novel manifests a still more subjective view when read by its audience.

Due to its subtlety, the political novel may provide the ideal expression of the politics of a culture or society. It is able to provide access to an era, offering a unique perspective of a specified time and place. This aspect of the novel is of particular significance in studying the political environment of Spain, for as George Wellwarth notes, "The educated Spanish reader, . . . has been well described as a man who gets all his information by reading between the lines."3

Political Discourse

In an oppressive dictatorial regime, criticism of the administration is often indirect and carefully hidden within an acceptable context if the message is to reach those for whom it is intended. If any discourse is to lead to the deconstruction of the current society and ultimately to the reconstruction of a new social order, it must be heard; whether formal or informal, the channels of communication must be able to carry the message of the discourse.

In addition to being both logical and ideological, the discourse must be persuasive as well. Of greatest importance is the ability of the discourse to evoke a


widespread sentiment among the populace that will be supported by the logical discourse and dispersed through the varied channels of communication.

Only through these levels of support built upon the foundation of sentiment can a discourse exert the strength to reconstruct society, establishing new social formations.

Ultimately, that which either holds society together or takes it apart is sentiment, and the chief instrument with which such sentiment may be aroused, manipulated, and rendered dominant is discourse.\(^4\)

Lincoln elaborates on the discourse process, proposing that it is used to establish societal norms as well as the "construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of society itself."\(^5\) The use of force, defined as the "exercise or threat of physical violence," and the evocation of sentiment are the keys to an active discourse. The dominant group uses these tools to establish an infrastructure that perpetuates its power by maintaining the status quo of the society.

Similarly, the discourse process may be used by the nondominant group(s) within society to counteract the traditional institution of oppression as it attempts to "demystify, delegitimate, and deconstruct the established norms, institutions, and discourses that play a role in constructing their subordination."\(^6\)


\(^{5}\) Ibid., 11.

\(^{6}\) Ibid., 5.
This examination will attempt to identify the political discourse particular to the Franco regime in Spain and its foundations in myth, focusing on those years from 1942 to the 1960s.

Despite, or because of, the disillusions of the Second Republic and the Civil War itself, the next thirty years reflect a growing obsession with politics on the part of numerous Spanish writers.7

Due to the strictly enforced government censorship applied during the Franco administration, the political discourse was stifled to a considerable degree. Newspapers, radio and television, even university courses, were monitored and censored by the government in an effort to protect and perpetuate the regime.

No one fears free thought more than those who have rejected it, usually from fear of the responsibilities it brings, and those who are incapable of understanding it. Hence the institution of censorship almost as a reflex action by dictatorial governments as soon as they assume power.8

In fact, at some points during the Franco administration, censorship was taken to extremes that surpassed mere publication regulations. As Juan Linz notes,

in the early forties, joking about Franco or not making the fascist salute to the flag could lead to arrest or a beating by a zealot, and owning Marxist literature or even picking up Allied propaganda at Allied embassies could mean trouble.9

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8Wellwarth, 1-2.

Unable to be voiced openly, criticism of the regime often sought release through the arts, in the form of literature, drama, and cinema.

It was inevitable . . . that literature should be put to political use under the Franco regime. . . . In such circumstances, fine literature, which to some extent escaped the censors' more extreme intolerance, was . . . the only outlet for even a limited and veiled protest.10

Though oblique and often veiled, this indirect dissention provides a valuable insight into the otherwise elusive political expression of the day.

The Literary Generation

The concept of a "literary generation," united by a set of common characteristics or themes manifested within a specific historical period, is directly linked to the idea of a unique political discourse. As José Gaos notes, "Generations appear as the building blocks of history. Lately, the doctrine or theory of generations has come to occupy an important place in philosophy and other disciplines."11

Although many general literary classifications span more than one generation, such as modernism, Spanish literature has typically been ordered by smaller units, or literary generations, that apply to a specific and limited time period. "Historically, the literary generation has evolved to become the principal instrument of literary valuation in contemporary Spanish studies."12

10Butt, 5.


The phenomenon of the literary generation was first named in 1910 by Gabriel Maura, in reference to the Generation of 1898. Although "the designation "Generation of 1898" was introduced without any pretense of its being a precise term and without any reference to a generation theory," other scholars such as Azorín, Pío Baroja, Dámaso Alonso and Pedro Salinas recognized its validity and expanded upon its foundation.13 "Salinas develops the thesis that personal characteristics in common among the members of the literary generation directly reflect artistic and ideological similarities in the art that the group produces."14

In Conflict of Light and Wind, Soufas discusses Salinas’ theory, identifying specific characteristics common to a literary generation. The "members of a literary generation must be born within a certain range of years. Even more important is a homogeneity of educational experiences that will lead to . . . the special mental molding of the individual . . . in which a group born in the same years develops." In addition, "generation members will almost necessarily be from the same social class. Opportunities for frequent personal contact among the members of the group are also important. . . . Also indispensable is a common generational experience," manifested in this study through the impact of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath.15

The literary generation is ultimately a selection from: a given milieu of those few writers deemed to be the truest embodiments of the literary


14Ibid., 7.

15Ibid.
agenda of a specific period. . . . The new critical paradigm, . . . emerged forcefully in the first decade after the Spanish Civil War.\textsuperscript{16}

The novelists of this era shared the disappointment of a failed attempt at democracy when the Second Republic fell. They also experienced the oppressive measures taken by a dictatorial regime. While some fled, or were exiled to foreign lands, many Spanish writers were, in effect, exiled within their own nation, due to the isolation the country experienced under Franco. Not only were Spain's geographical borders closed, but its intellectual and creative boundaries were restricted as well.

Although the literary generation has been acknowledged as the vehicle for literary history, the literary generation of Francoist Spain was shaped not only by its opposition to Franco, but by the regime itself. While the concept of the literary generation was used by Alonso in the 1940s to legitimize oppositional writing, only traditional works were included in this model. All avant-garde works were censored and defused in an effort to unite those works that shared a commonality of purpose and tradition. Although Garcia Lorca was lauded for his gypsy poetry, his dramas with homosexual themes were ignored. Ironically, this dismissal of any literature perceived as extraneous, and the manipulation of mainstream work, reinforced the Francoist isolation of Spanish writers and intellectuals from Europe and the international context. In a sense, Franco was instrumental in shaping the very literary generation that comprised his opposition.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, 17.
A character from Alfonso Sastre's *Escuadra hacia la muerte* (*The Condemned Squad*) provides an insight into the perceptions of this generation when he says, "[We are] . . . a generation stupidly condemned to death. . . . This can’t last much longer. . . . We’re already dead. . . ."17 It is only now that these works can be examined and their creators questioned in an open forum.

**Sources**

Six works by different authors will be examined in an attempt to demonstrate the variety of forms political protest was forced to assume under the watchful eye of the Franco regime. In an effort to reflect the significance of the novel and its political message in modern Spanish literature, five of the works in this analysis are novels. "The literary form in which Spain has been most original and prolific is without doubt the novel."18 The remaining work is a drama, included not only because of the literary stature of its author, but to reflect the importance of more accessible forms of literature, such as theater, as well. The entire body of works has been selected to present the political themes common to these works which, though produced in relative isolation from each other, emerged from a single literary generation.

A device common among opposition writers publishing within Spain under Franco was that of the "code." This political code in which they often wrote

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consisted of metaphors and subtle techniques used to criticize the regime in a manner that was sufficiently oblique to be permitted by the censors, yet clearly identifiable to its audience. The use of this code proved successful for many writers in that their works were not only approved by the censors, but retained their political statement for the reader.

The novels La colmena (The Hive 1953) and La familia de Pascual Duarte (The Family of Pascual Duarte 1942), written by Camilo José Cela, are among the novels examined here. As Anthony Kerrigan notes in the introduction to his English translation of La familia de Pascual Duarte, "Camilo José Cela is undoubtedly the finest writer of fiction in post-Civil War Spain." As a winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, Cela is an author of significance not only in Spain, but in a global context. Cela's novels exhibit the heightened levels of violence linked to oppressive regimes in general and the Franco regime in particular.

The Family of Pascual Duarte has been one of the most successful novels of modern Spain, its popularity persisting throughout the past fifty years. Like other works critical of the regime, to escape censorship, The Family of Pascual Duarte was written in code. Cela's use of the code resulted in the publication of his novel and the subsequent acceptance of the work, and the political statements therein, by the public. Ironically, Cela's work was permitted and promoted by the Franco administration precisely because it appeared to be so non-political.

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*The Family of Pascual Duarte* is presented in the form of a journal written by Duarte as he awaits his execution. Throughout the novel, Duarte dwells on themes of fate and destiny and the inability of mankind to resist these forces. It is not until the end of the manuscript and his life that Duarte recognizes the power and responsibility that he could have wielded in his own life, warning others to acknowledge their free will and power. Cela uses the depraved character of Duarte to demonstrate the effects of a people who acquiesce to the authoritarian control of a political regime, religion, and the class system, failing to exercise free will and power.

Unlike *The Family of Pascual Duarte*, *The Hive* was not initially approved by the Francoist censors. Because Cela's criticism of the regime and Francoist society was much more overt than that of *The Family of Pascual Duarte*, it was deemed unsuitable for publication within Spain.

In *The Hive*, Cela presents the reader with a microcosm of the Franco regime, populated by a multitude of characters whose lives are all connected and interrelated. The common bond uniting these disparate individuals is the location of Dona Rosa's cafe, where each one spends some time and reveals some portion of his or her life to the reader. The characters act and live as members of the "hive," or regime, and their behavior directly or indirectly allows the collective society to continue.

*Primera memòria (School of the Sun 1959)* was written by Ana Maria Matute. At the time that Matute was writing, the very fact that women were published authors represented a challenge to the oppressive regime and the societal norms of the day. As one of the relatively few women writers of the era, Matute provides this study
with a distinct perspective from which to examine the political discourse of the Franco years.

The dominant theme of this novel, however, is not that of femininity, but of isolation and alienation. This novel is told from the perspective of an adolescent girl, shunted from one guardian to another, and her struggle to understand and deal with the transition to adulthood and the oppressive nature of the authoritarian political regime.

*Five Hours with Mario (Cinco horas con Mario)* by Miguel Delibes is a novel that, like *School of the Sun*, addresses the theme of isolation. In this narrative, a widow keeps an overnight vigil with the corpse of her recently deceased husband, reading the underlined passages from his Bible and relating them to their life. Reflecting the significance of religion in the Francoist society, each chapter begins with one of these biblical passages; yet as the narrative progresses, it becomes apparent that the widow’s interpretation of each is verse is much different from that of her dead husband. Each is isolated within their own perspective: she, as a woman within a paternalistic regime, and as a Francoist within her marriage. As a dissident, the deceased man was particularly isolated and alienated within his own marriage and society.

Throughout the novel, the practice of writing and speaking in a political code is discussed. Within this work, the protagonist is criticized by his widow for using this code, yet as the reader becomes familiar with the plight of the dissident protagonist, the necessity of the code becomes clear. Ironically, the novel itself was
written in that same political code. This code was not only understood by, but meaningful to, its readership, leading *Five Hours with Mario* to become an underground cult classic in Francoist Spain.

*Escuadra hacia la muerte (The Condemned Squad 1953)*, written by Alfonso Sastre, is an important component of this examination in that it is a drama, accessible not only to the educated, but to the broader public audience. This drama takes places in a futuristic setting of World War III, in which a squadron of misfits and malcontents has been placed under the command of a sadistic corporal to guard the border. Each member has a shameful past which emerges within the drama, relating him to a particular segment of Spanish society. Isolated and free from any overriding authority, the corporal mistreats his soldiers until they mutiny. The condemned squad represents a condemned generation in Spain, composed of different classes and groups, yet each controlled by the authoritarian regime.

Like *Five Hours with Mario*, *The Condemned Squad* was written in political code. The characters are clearly metaphors for aspects of Francoist society criticized by Sastre. *The Condemned Squad* also became an underground cult classic, perhaps due to its accessibility not only as a drama, but as a political statement. Jailed for his political activities, Sastre’s opposition to the regime was well-known, and expected within his work.

An interesting technique employed by Sastre to reach his audience is a device used at the end of the drama. Following the desertion and deaths of the other soldiers, one character speaks to the youngest and most likely to survive, instructing
him to think of what has transpired there whenever he lights a cigarette. To the Spanish populace, the vast majority of whom smoke, this device established a bond between the statement of the drama and their everyday lives as individuals.

*Señas de identidad* (*Marks of Identity* 1966) by Juan Goytisolo, like *The Condemned Squad*, shares the theme of a generational experience and discourse. According to Gonzalo Sobejano, this expressive work marks the culmination of Goytisolo’s career as a novelist.\(^{20}\) This novel follows a young man’s search for his identity as an individual and as part of a generation, a journey which leads him to his past and the painful truth of his father’s murder. In learning the hidden truth of his past, he also learns the painful and concealed truth of the society from which he had fled as an exile.

As an exile himself, Goytisolo presents a protagonist who has been exiled as well, and dwells on the concept of isolation. As the character returns to Spain, seeking to establish an identity with his generation and eliminate his feelings of isolation, he discovers that his companions that remained in Spain are just as isolated as he is. Goytisolo presents the idea of "internal exile," isolation from the external world, in conjunction with traditional exile and creates for the reader an oppressive and insular environment.\(^{21}\)


Because Goytisolo wrote as an exile, his criticism of the Franco regime is more overt than that of authors writing and publishing within Spain. His portrayal of the Church as a godless socialization agent of the regime is clearly an affront to the Franco administration and the society it controls. His depiction of the police is particularly vicious, describing them as the lawless enforcers of regime policy, rather than guardians of justice. It is, therefore, not surprising that, like The Hive, the publication of Marks of Identity was not permitted in Spain for some time.

The primary sources referred to in this examination, when quoted from, will be presented in their English translations whenever possible. Any translations that are my own will be duly noted as such. Although the treatment of the literature under study will be original, examinations and interpretations of the literature by other authors will be consulted, as well as historical analyses of the Franco era as a political context for the literature generated within it. Furthermore, journal articles, essays and books dealing with society and culture in general as they relate to the literature will be included.

The Tradition of Myth and the Role of Religion

An important aspect of any political discourse is the tradition of myth within a society. Recognizing the power of the mythic tradition of Spain, the Franco administration began a campaign of Spanish unity and devout nationalism. While this policy was implemented through violent means by the regime, it was founded on myth common to all Spaniards.
Myth is often described and perceived as a relic, some form of oral or written fiction passed down through the ages, grounded in non-reality. With the advent of behavioral science, myth was relegated to the status of primitive man's inadequate explanations of the world around him; though these myths were the first attempts at investigating and understanding the outside world, they were decidedly fictitious. Moreover, these myths were thought to be static, unchanging narratives that bore no relation to a developing society.

However, in recent years scholars have begun to understand myth not as an isolated artifact, but as an integral component of both primitive and modern society. Although a variety of theories on the function of myth exist, it is commonly acknowledged that one of its primary actions is the unification of a people. Ideally, this unit of people is also bound together by other factors, such as a common language, geography, and national heritage.

Just as the literary generation shared a certain commonality that enabled it to coalesce, the nation as a whole shared a particular mythical heritage that established a basis for many of its beliefs and structured its perceived reality. Rather than merely existing as forgotten literature, the myths of Spain provided the foundation for a political discourse that would be used by an entire generation to preserve and eventually restore democracy to the nation.

The myth, therefore, is the foundation upon which these additional unifying forces build. The national myths of Spain, such as that of El Cid, were used as a basis for analogies with the contemporary circumstances in the Spain of the 1930s.
Ironically, both the political discourse of the Franco regime, as well as that of the opposition, drew upon this mythic past. Just as El Cid fought against the Moorish infidels, so would Franco drive out the political infidels. The concept of a Paradise Lost, or a fallen Eden from the Catholic doctrine, was also employed by both opposing discourses. Each portrayed its own fall as the Fall From Grace and its own eventual victory as the return to Utopia.

**Alienation**

In the literature examined, one can discern the growing discrepancy between Spain’s traditional society and the modern external world. Following the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), Spain existed in a state of isolation and insulation from all the world powers. Relations with communist countries were out of the question as communism was anathema to Franco’s right-wing administration; furthermore, the far left had comprised a substantial portion of Franco’s opposition in the Civil War.

Advanced industrial nations of the West disapproved of the repressive policies of the Franco regime, limiting economic and diplomatic relations after the Civil War. During and immediately following World War II, Spain was further ostracized from the Western community in punishment for its extended relationship with the Axis powers. Franco responded by implementing a policy of isolation, emphasizing the need for Spain to focus on its unity as a nation, and rejecting contact with the advancing post-WWII West.

With the coming of the 1950s and the Cold War, the Western world recognized the strategic value that Spain offered and resumed contact in the hope of
establishing military bases on the Iberian peninsula. Though Franco wanted the industry and economic affluence that modern society offered, he would not permit the evolution of social and moral standards that typically accompany such modernization.

While many intellectuals and artists were forced, or chose, to leave Spain, many remained in their homeland. They existed and produced their art in the political vacuum of Francoist Spain. This protracted state of isolation resulted in what has referred to as 'internal' exile, . . . suffered by that small group of intellectuals who were not resolute sympathizers of the new regime, but who either did not leave the country at the end of the civil war, or, having left it, soon returned home.22

These individuals were exiled not from their homeland, but from the rest of the world. Unable to look outward, they turned inward, drawing upon the cultural and traditional past of Spain.

The political discourse of Nationalist Spain, supported by the tradition of a deeply mythic and religious past, helped maintain this state of isolation.

The Francoist state was an ideologically impoverished regime whose ability to maintain power depended primarily on its appeals to uphold national unity and separation from a disapproving European mainstream rather than on any elaborate ideological program. The literary generation, premised on a principle of unity and similarity of purpose, fitted well into the larger political agenda during the Franco years. Indeed, the term generation referred specifically to a national grouping of writers. In other words, the literary generation stopped at the Spanish border. Like Francoism, the literary generation was seen to

uphold a principle of nationalism at an artistic level as its highest value.23

Ironically, though the political discourse of the day was one of protest against the regime, its very context, that of the literary generation, facilitated the perpetuation of the regime in that it helped establish and maintain a unity apart from Europe, as noted above. This conflict between a nation virtually suspended in time and the encroaching modern world is evident in the literature examined here.

**Political Opposition**

As previously noted, the oppression of the Franco regime generated a substantial amount of dissent. Because this opposition to the regime could not be openly expressed, it sought release through the literature of the day. As Joseph Blotner points out, novels are not objective; though they may be "based in a context of facts and history," novels are subjective and reflect the authors' experiences common to them as a literary generation.24

The role of these novelists in an oppressive society was one of opposition. Indirect though their criticism was,

The overall development of Spanish literature has been strongly influenced by controversy about the writer's social and political responsibilities, and this is not surprising in view of the extreme and violent nature of Spanish politics.25

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23Soufas, 12.
24Blotner, 8.
25Butt, 7.
The novelists studied here were able to shoulder some of these social and political responsibilities by operating in the capacity of an opposition group. Though their protest was not always vocal, they were able to fulfill some of the functions ascribed to opposition groups by Juan Linz.

In his study of authoritarian regimes, Linz distinguishes between different types of opposition. Dissidents within the system compose the "semi-opposition," while opponents outside the system make up the "alegal opposition." (These classifications remain distinct, however, from that of the more extreme "illegal opposition.") While most of the authors in this discussion can be classified as alegal opponents of the regime, there are those who may be called the semi-opposition, as they found it necessary to work within the regime for various reasons.

Regardless of whether they criticized the system from within or without, these artists helped keep the intellectual dialogue against the regime alive. By communicating their ideas and political philosophies to the literate public in a veiled form, these novelists helped establish a basis for change and the potential for the transition of the regime.

In a democratic environment, the functions of the opposition have been defined as interest representation, provision of information, and provision of alternatives. These functions ultimately assure the greater accountability, responsiveness and effectiveness of the political system toward majorities in the population and thereby a measure of control over the governors by the governed.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{26}Linz, 202.
Although "these functions are imperfectly performed by critics and some of the
dissidents within an authoritarian regime . . . they are not completely excluded."\textsuperscript{27}
It is this role that the novelists discussed here attempted to fill through the
dissemination of their work.

Though the interests of various groups may be represented by opposition
within the system, it is the group representing the interests of the regime itself that
actually possesses any substantive power to affect policy. Therefore, though interest
representation exists, its effectiveness is severely limited.

"The function least effectively performed by the relatively autonomous groups
of critics or dissidents within the system is to serve as an alternative."\textsuperscript{28} This failure
can be directly traced to the fact that this opposition is still operating within the
system it denounces. "The fact that they are willing to participate in it takes
credibility away from their claim."\textsuperscript{29} This criticism has been levelled at authors who
published under the Franco administration, yet their very criticism of the regime, no
matter how indirect, provides them with some degree of credibility.

\textit{Societal Structure}

The structure of Spanish society facilitated its control by the authoritarian
Franco regime. Through the centuries, a traditional class system had evolved in
Spain, dividing the elites and the masses into distinct and separate groups within

\textsuperscript{27}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., 204.

\textsuperscript{29}Ibid.
society. The institutions of modern Spain developed as equally isolated and distinct units, organized in a hierarchy of power, according to their roles in society. The isolation and lack of contact between these groups, beyond that prescribed by their societal roles, furthered Franco's ability to separate and control them.

Franco manipulated the relationships between these groups and institutions to reinforce the order of his regime. By limiting or expanding the interaction between various groups, Franco was able to forge powerful coalitions and diffuse potential opposition. Groups able to offer power or support to the regime were chosen to work in tandem with it, enjoying the rewards of increased power and status in society. Those that rejected the regime, those whose goals conflicted with those of the regime and those who simply had nothing to offer the regime were assigned a less favorable role in society, subject not only to the power of the regime, but to that of the more favored groups.

The literature in this examination presents these segments of Francoist society, emphasizing the societal roles imposed upon them by the regime. Through the use of characterization and metaphor, the positions and functions of the groups are portrayed, as well as their interactions with the regime and one another. Interestingly, those characterizations do not vary significantly among the literary works, suggesting that the roles ascribed to these societal groups were, at best, accurately depicted, and, at worst, commonly acknowledged within the political discourse of the generation.
CHAPTER 2
THE TRADITION OF MYTH

A vital component of political discourse is the tradition of myth within a society. Under Franco, Spain was governed with an emphasis on unity and fervent nationalism, a policy implemented through violence and founded on myth. The significance of myth in modern society has been acknowledged and studied by many scholars with a variety of approaches. While each particular school of thought may employ a different method of analysis, they share an interest in the same general subject matter. "If they are relatively isolated schools, it is because they apply different academic disciplines and different principles of explanation."1

This chapter examines the role of myth from various perspectives. Within society, myth is used as a tool for organizing knowledge and experience, a linguistic construct and a psychological manifestation. Myth also lends itself to the unification process, examined here in the political context. Ernst Cassirer’s Myth of the State addresses the political use of myth in the forging of a unified people. This study addresses the Myth of the State and its unifying force as it was employed by Franco in Spain, as well as the use of myth the opposition to motivate the forces of rebellion.

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The Role of Myth in Society

Although in modern times myth has been portrayed as fantastic fiction created in the absence of science and logic, Wilma García contends that there is a historical movement away from seeing myths as false, non-fact based explanations of phenomena used by uneducated, "primitive" peoples. Instead, scholars who study myths, mythmakers, and myth-users have gradually expanded their descriptions to encompass myth as another perspective in the human search for truth, a perspective available to everyone in all times and cultures, of all intellectual and socio-economic conditions.²

Ben Halpern adds that, although they may not be overtly apparent in every society, myths provide the underpinnings for much of the common knowledge of a people. Though this information may not be explicit or clearly defined, it establishes "generally though tacitly understood principles of historical knowledge."³

García observes that in establishing these principles, myths enable their believers to evaluate reality by using the myths as a guide.

Since it provides the standards by which truth is judged, or even recognized, a myth is not only "true" to those who use that particular myth as a myth -- as a standard for belief and a model for judging reality -- but such a myth, in its proper functional context, provides the ultimate truth for its adherents.⁴

³Halpern, 129.
⁴García, 22.
According to Halpern, mainstream students of the "science of mythology . . . seek the origin of myth in some aspect or other of experience."\(^5\) The distinctions arise in the perception of these experiences. The most ancient approach to the myth is that of the Sophists, which contends that myth is an aggregation of static, isolated events, rather than a series of phases or process of development.

Mark Shorer, however, perceives myth not as the object of study itself, but as an organizational tool for structuring cognitive knowledge. Shorer adds that "A myth is a large, controlling image that gives philosophical meaning to the facts of ordinary life; that is, which has organizing value for experience."\(^6\) Instead of defining myth as a product of experience, Shorer sees myth as a method of analyzing that experience.

Stephen Ausband concurs with Shorer, and adds that the desire for order and structure is inherent in humankind. To that end, man turns to many different frameworks of belief, often those based on myth.

The process of turning outward, beyond the self, in order to find a coherent mythic structure is a natural tendency. Whether the result of that process is evangelical religion, mysticism, mythic nationalism, or a Myth of the State is immaterial; the process always derives from the common human need to perceive the self as a part of an ordered and coherent whole.\(^7\)

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\(^5\)Halpern, 135.


While García, Shorer and Ausband focus on the role of myth within the context of human experience, the Sophist view explains myth through language. This approach perceives myth as "an irrational belief of primitive men (with survivals in contemporary superstition) arising from the deficiencies of language."8 Due to the limitations of early language, imprecise metaphors were used to convey otherwise incommunicable information. As these metaphors evolved into what was accepted as "truth," or common knowledge, the acceptance of logic-defying ideas was also accepted as not only possible, but "true."

Northrop Frye proposes that at its most simplistic and superficial level, "a myth in the common sense . . . [is] a story about a god," while upon closer examination, "myth is an act of implicit metaphorical identity," similar to the contentions of Halpern.9 Frye agrees with Shorer that myth is an organizational tool, and adds that the motivation behind its use is an inherent desire for structure and organization in humanity. Frye proposes a description of myth which unites it with the human compulsion for orderly purpose in the universe. Thus, myth is not opposed to truth, in this case scientific truth, but is an organizing principle containing its own truth.10

Cassirer, however, counters that while literature is a myth-related language act, myth did not emerge exclusively from the use of metaphorical language, but from

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8 Halpern, 144.


10 García, 19.
a "pre-logical" era. In this era, primitive man was able intellectually and emotionally to withdraw from the "real" world of logic and enter into a "mythico-religious" realm that "so completely fills his consciousness that nothing can exist beside and apart from it." It is the conjunction of language and myth that "is the form of metaphorical thinking." 

In *Magic, Science and Religion*, Bronislaw Malinowski defines myth as the stories that validate a primitive culture. Andrew Lang shares this idea that myths are closely linked with primitive man, his rituals, and religion. Although Lang believes myths to be universal and residual in advanced society, he asserts that they survive most successfully in groups that

have least been altered by education . . . have shared least in progress . . . like their own prehistoric ancestors. The student of folklore is thus led to examine the usages, myths, and ideas of savages, which are still retained, in rude enough shape, by the European peasantry. Lastly, he observes that a few similar customs and ideas survive in the most conservative elements of the life of educated peoples, in ritual, ceremonial, and religious traditions and myths.

Mircea Eliade and Joseph Campbell assert that while primitive peoples may be more likely to "possess, and be influenced by, a living body of myth" due to their "social, cultural, and educational levels," the significance of myth extends beyond the primitive level. Eliade and Campbell contend that "myth-based activity is universally

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present as a part of human experience" and that this is, in fact, central and even
desirable to human experience.14

Richard Chase accepts myth as a result of primordial forces and primitive
evolution, but extends his theory of myth through mankind's development.

Myth must always discover and accept preternatural forces; it must
always reaffirm the efficacy of the preternatural and insulate it from the
ordinary world. . . . [Myths] show us what is more than ordinarily
natural.15

Chase contends that myth illustrates not only the past, but the future as well.
It is not merely a static and unchanging picture of reality in a specific period of
development or humanity. Although myths resurrect mankind's primeval reality, they
are dynamic and, like mankind, in constant flux, illuminating not only the past, but
the future. According to Chase,

Myths are told in order to preserve the meaningfulness and
purposefulness of social customs and institutions. . . . They look to the
future and to the present. . . . Like other kinds of literature, myth
performs the cathartic function of dramatizing the clashes and
harmonies of life in a social and natural environment. . . . Myth keeps
the dilemma operative and resolves the contesting forces into useful
experience.16

The psychoanalytic approach, while recognizing the irrational quality of myth,
looks for its origins in the symbols and mechanisms of the human psyche. According
to Sigmund Freud, "myths . . . are distorted vestiges of the wish-phantasies of whole

14García, 17.

John B. Vickery (Lincoln: University of Lincoln Press, 1966), 70.

16Ibid., 71-72.
nations -- the age-long dreams of young humanity." Otto Rank, a student of Freud, agrees that


Carl Jung shares the perception of myth as a manifestation of primitive development and relates it to the psychoanalytic examination of the unconscious.

Jung’s definition of myth and mythology were used to describe a model of the human psyche which he believed was made up of "conscious" and "unconscious" components, with the latter category subdivided into the individual unconscious and the "collective unconscious." Carl Gustav Jung, "Psychology of the Unconscious," in The Great Mother: Analysis of the Archetype, ed. Erich Neumann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 23-25.

According to Jung,

mythological motifs are manifestations of the collective unconscious. . . . Myth is the primordial language natural to these psychic processes and no intellectual formulation comes anywhere near the richness and expressiveness of mythical imagery.

Myth and Unity

Jean Paul Sartre contends that myth, to a writer, is as important as an audience, for without either, he cannot create. The myth unites the audience just as it

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19 Garcia, 18.

does for the literary generation of writers, and is therefore imperative to a complete understanding of the literature.

One cannot write without a public and without a myth -- without a certain public which historical circumstances have made, without a certain myth of literature which depends to a very great extent upon the demand of this public.\(^{21}\)

Roland Barthes points out that myth is not necessarily an ultimate truth. Rather, it is a tool, or instrument, with which the artificial constructs of society become normal or right. "Under the effect of mythical inversion, the quite contingent foundations of the utterance become Common Sense, Right Reason, the Norm, General Opinion, in short the doxa."\(^{22}\)

Like Chase, Barthes agrees that myths are dynamic and changing in accordance with developing reality. Instead of a fixed and static truth upon which humanity establishes its belief systems, myth reflects the perceptions or worldviews generated by a changing reality and the accompanying belief systems.

Contemporary myth is discontinuous. It is no longer expressed in long fixed narratives but only in "discourse". . . . Men do not have with myth a relationship based on truth but on use: they depoliticize according to their needs.\(^{23}\)

Myth can be used for any purpose, not merely to define some ultimate, undeniable truth.


\(^{23}\)Ibid., 117-19.
Within a society or among its competing groups, the function of myth is a unifying one; it establishes consensus and unites sub-groups. As beliefs emerge, they are spread and used as a unifying force through the myth.

The notion that myth defines the nation gives the false impression that national boundaries predate history and have an essential, 'natural' status. Myth unifies the nation by grounding it in the wholeness of nature; in doing so it legitimizes international rivalries and divisions.24

As this common heritage and myth-bound perception evolves, it often generates a political discourse. This discourse can be manipulated by those in power because, as a myth-based attitude, it can be altered to reflect any "truth," as seen in the myth of a Paradise Lost that may refer to any idealized period. National myths are particularly susceptible to such manipulation because they unite a people of a common heritage and can be rationalized with patriotic rhetoric.

Because national myths take on the character of collective representations that reconcile and unite many contradictory aspects of the past, over the course of several generations, they come to form parts of a national identity and a common heritage.25

Richard Slotkin agrees that nationalism is strongly linked to myth.

The mythology of a nation is the intelligible mask of the enigma called the "national character." Through myths the psychology and worldview of our cultural ancestors are transmitted to modern descendants, in such a way and with such power that our perception of contemporary reality and our ability to function in the world are directly, often tragically affected.26

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24Ibid., 8.


Paul Ilie proposes that while there may exist two competing political discourses within a society, this need not indicate that they are equal. Rather, Ilie notes that writers under censorship resort to a 'new mythology' in order to counter official myths, but that at the same time myth is a 'vehicle of last resort' to which writers turn to provide imaginary solutions when real solutions seem impossible. Indeed the use of mythical patterns in the novel of the 1950s seems to reflect a fatalistic belief that not even imaginary solutions are possible.27

Marx expresses an interest in myth and its use by rival societal groups as well. While he labels myth as irrational, Marx states that the dominant social group operates within the myth, relying upon it to justify and uphold the social system that favors that same group. Conversely, the oppressed group operates within the mythical guise of historic heroes in an effort to rise up against repressive powers.28

Beyond the use of mythic heroes within a political discourse, Ausband contends that Marxist philosophy also exemplifies Cassirer's Myth of the State through its comprehensive belief system and mythic proportions.

One of the most interesting examples of the Myth of the State -- and one of its supreme instances -- is to be found in the purest form of Marxism. What is so interesting here is the way in which a Myth of the State can so displace the previously established mythic patterns that it can become, in effect, a new religion -- and one which (like many other new religions) tends to regard other traditions as deadly rivals.29


28Ausband, 85.

29Ibid.
Myth of the State

Cassirer addressed the importance of myth to a nation in his 1946 book, The Myth of the State. "Cassirer notes . . . that myth lays the basis for nationhood. It is behind the feeling of nationality, and gives it its force."30

In his discussion of Cassirer's Myth of the State, Ivan Strenski asserts that myth is inextricably entwined with the creation of a nation as a unified entity. Strenski contends that myth is not only significant but imperative in the formation and maintenance of a nation. "It is inconceivable that a nation should exist without a mythology."31

According to Cassirer, the myth of a nation tends to emerge in times of crisis, replacing rational and logical thought. In the midst of a natural crisis, those logical, incremental, bureaucratic processes that have been perceived to fail are forsaken for the comfort of the traditional myth that offers the hope of some mystically originated solution. A return to mythic leadership then

appears when a collective desire has reached an overwhelming strength and when, on the other hand, all hopes of fulfilling this desire, in an ordinary and normal way, have failed.32

Cassirer does not approach this issue with the objectivity of other scholars of myth. His rather forthright position is a result of what he describes as the


31Ibid.

consequences of a return to the national myth. Specifically, Cassirer discusses the economic and political crisis of post-WWI Germany and its return to a faith in a mythic and mystic past rather than rational alternatives. The resurrection of Nordic myths of a godlike superiority of the Aryan race combined with utopic visions of the future as a return to an idyllic past, ultimately facilitating the genocide and crimes against humanity that occurred under the Hitler regime.

Cassirer laments what he calls man's "primal stupidity" in allowing myth to take the place of rational thought. He fears the consequences if the powers of myth, including the Myth of the State, are not checked and subdued by superior forces.\(^3\)

According to Cassirer,

As long as these forces, intellectual, ethical, and artistic, are in full strength, myth is tamed and subdued. But once they begin to lose their strength, chaos is come again. Mythical thought then starts to rise anew and to pervade the whole of man's cultural and social life.\(^4\)

Cassirer traces the development of this process in post-WWI Germany, yet does not relegate the Nazi experience to the past as some type of historical anomaly. Unlike early scholars who contended that myth was a manifestation of solely primitive peoples, Cassirer warns that this dangerous return to myth may emerge at any time of national crisis, even in modern advanced states, because it is part of man's mythic past; it is a bond of common heritage, and even solace.

In all critical moments of man's social life, the rational forces that resist the rise of the old mythical conceptions are no longer sure of themselves. In these moments the time for myth has come again. For

\(^3\) Ausband, 84.

myth has not been really vanquished and subjugated. It is always there, lurking in the dark and waiting for its hour and opportunity.\textsuperscript{35}

In fact, Cassirer advises that the twentieth century, rather than inhibiting the re-emergence and proliferation of Myths of the State, may encourage the growth of such myth. Although myth originally emerged in primitive eras, advanced knowledge, modern communication, and technology has enabled mankind to manipulate myth much more precisely and effectively.

The new political myths do not grow up freely; they are not wild fruits of an exuberant imagination. They are artificial things fabricated by very skillful and cunning artisans. It has been reserved for the twentieth century, our own great technical age, to develop a new technique of myth.\textsuperscript{36}

\textit{The Role of Myth in Franco’s Spain}

Building upon the premise of myth as a unifying force and political tool, the struggle of myth can be interpreted not as one against logic, but rather as one that occurs among competing myths. These myths help establish a foundation for competing political discourses. During the postwar era, Spain seized upon the mythical theme of Genesis and a Paradise Lost. Although this current runs through both the discourse of the ruling Nationalists and that of the defeated Republicans, the difference is, of course, that the Falange identified the Fall with progress and looked back to the Paradise Lost of traditional values, whereas the novels of the 1950s identify the Fall with Nationalist victory and look back to the Paradise Lost of the Republic. . . . Rather than reject the mythical view of history instilled into them at school,\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., 280.

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., 282.
the generation brought up after the war . . . simply inverts the terms of
the Nationalist version of Genesis, idealizing as Paradise Lost what the
latter regarded as the Fall.37

The religious overtones of this myth were no accident. As a nation that is
ninety-nine percent Catholic, Spain provided a populace that was well-acquainted with
biblical knowledge and the teachings of the Church. This abiding presence of the
Catholic doctrine maintained a strong link with religious and mythic tradition. As
Stanley Hoffman notes, "The closer a country comes to have one -- [a single common
faith] -- the less disconnected it is from the past."38

Franco drew upon this common faith to his advantage. He described himself
on all Spanish coins as "Caudillo by the Grace of God."39 If this claim to divine
rule was not enough, Franco also "saw himself as a second Cid come to drive the
political infidel out of the land as the first had driven the religious [infidel] out."40

The romance of tradition and mythic heroes, like El Cid, fortify not only those
who believe them, but those who know them as well. One need not believe in the
literal interpretation of a mythic account to agree with its underlying doctrine. In this
way, even those who devoutly believed in neither Catholic dogma nor traditional myth
were socialized to a specific perception of the world and their place within it.

37Labanyi, 44.

38Stanley Hoffman, "Fragments Floating in the Here and Now," in Culture and
Society in Contemporary Europe, ed. Stanley Hoffman and Paschalis Kitromilides

39Wellwarth, 15.

40Ibid., 7.
Romantic history was symbolic with the nation-state; it was indeed a form and an agent of nationalism. It showed how the modern nation emerged from the tribes and tribulations of the Dark Ages or triumphed over the machination and oppression of foreigners.\(^{41}\)

A significant outcome of Spanish myth and tradition is the concept of unity, which has been an integral part of Spanish tradition and myth since the unification of the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabela. This mythic foundation of unity provided the perfect tool for the Franco regime to promote nationalism and mobilize peninsular Spaniards as a people. Because of the significance of unity as a cohesive force to the regime, those who rejected the dominant political discourse, threatening Spain’s unity from within, drew the distinct displeasure of the Franco regime.

**Myth of the Opposition**

Georges Sorel contends that myth is used by the opposition as well as the ruling elite in a society. He proposes that such myths cannot be held to any standard of factual accuracy or rationality; the myth is simply a motivating force for change. Sorel’s preferred tool in obtaining this change is the general strike, a favorite of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain, as well as the rest of Europe.

\(^{41}\)Hoffman, 217.
According to Sorel, the myths of opposition movements need not indicate a goal, nor even be factual; their function is that of an "activating image," preparing the people for rebellion.\textsuperscript{42}

These myths cannot be analysed; they are not utopian descriptions of a future state of affairs, but moral beliefs acting on present conduct. . . . It does not matter if they are symbols of a state of affairs that will never be realized.\textsuperscript{43}

Sorel asserts not only that these myths need not be factual, but that they need not be rational. In fact, he indicates that irrationality is preferable, for improbable goals are often not only the most promising, but also the most difficult to disprove. Sorel cites the success of the Roman Catholic Church, with its admonishments to endure the hardships of life for the promise of an unseen afterlife, as an example.

The organizations that survive in history, the causes that triumph, are those inspired by irrational belief in their own destiny and mission, and not those based on intellectual constructions and rational analysis. The most successful example -- and Sorel comes back to it again and again -- is the Roman Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{44}

Sorel's perception of the morality of the opposition or the justice of their cause is not based upon facts, but rather upon myth and the call to action that precipitates change in a society.

These facts show us the way to a right understanding of the nature of lofty moral convictions; these never depend on reasoning or on any education of the individual will, but on a state of war in which men


\textsuperscript{44}\textit{Ibid.}
voluntarily participate and which finds expression in well-defined myths.\textsuperscript{45}

The basis of the myth is that the opposition wields a weapon capable of toppling the ruling order, and that weapon is the general strike. The general strike has been used by anarcho-syndicalist movements throughout Europe and Spain is no exception. Under the Franco regime, opposition forces held general strikes that, while failing to overthrow the regime, succeeded in disrupting the orderly routine and enforced stability of Spanish society. Accounts of these strikes are present in several of the literary works examined in this study.

In accordance with Sorel's contention that irrational myth is the most successful, much of the myth present in both the opposition literature and that of the regime was drawn from the Catholic Church. Ironically, the Church that provided this rich source of myth to the opposition was a primary partner of oppression with the Franco regime. Although the literature examined here often alludes to Christ-like heroes and martyrs of the opposition, the organized bureaucracy of the Church is rejected and criticized as a hypocritical and highly political arm of the regime.

Labanyi suggests "that the same abuse of myth by Nationalist ideology accounts for the frequently ironic use of myth by contemporary Spanish novelists" in that the literary use of myth is a way of "denying history."\textsuperscript{46} Rather than a linear


\textsuperscript{46}Labanyi, 53.
progression of time, history is seen as cyclical; society advances and comes full circle to embrace the ideals of a mythic past.

Just as Mussolini appealed to Imperial Rome, so Hitler -- in addition to his predilection for Wagner -- staged the 1936 Berlin Olympics in an attempt to revive the Greek ideal. Charles Maurras, founder of the French fascist organization Action Française, likewise pleaded for a return to classical culture.47

The works in this analysis also present negative religious or mythic references. While morally or philosophically supported characters tend to represent the opposition, characters who cling to the superficial ritual and trappings of their religion are metaphors for the regime and its followers.

The Literary Role of Myth

Goytisolo expresses the significance of Spanish unity, or disunity, in his Marks of Identity, in which the protagonist’s efforts to document the suffering of post-Civil War Spain are censured all the more because of his identity as a Spaniard. Representatives of the regime address him as, "you who have been one of us and have broken with us."48

Goytisolo uses the concept of unity to his advantage however, in his creation of a dissident character that represents a Christ figure. In Marks of Identity, Goytisolo briefly but purposively interjects the character of Jeronimo, a Spanish dissident evading the regime by posing as a farmhand, who befriends the protagonist,


Alvaro. Despite the brevity of his appearance and the lack of description -- or perhaps because of it -- the martyred everyman has a profound effect on the young Alvaro and his perceptions of moral right and wrong, as well as political right and left.

[M]aybe . . . he was lying in a nameless grave in some corner of your -- your? -- Spanish geography. You told yourself then that your homeland was quite base and deaf if as you were inclined to believe sometimes his rich offering had been useless . . . Jeronimo, or whatever his name was, the one who had awakened your moral sensibility with his pure conduct, had died for each and every one of you, as you knew -- with such pain, my God, such shame -- that he had died, in the same way, for you. 49

By introducing the reader to his protagonist's childhood, Goytisolo reveals the power of a mythic and dogmatic culture in the poignant memory of his attempted martyrdom, instigated by his devout nursemaid.

[Señorita Lourdes] had announced to you with a quavering voice the arrival of the anti-Christ. The poorly dressed men crowded into trucks that were driving beneath your window were special envoys of the devil, hardened agents of the Evil One. The fabulous world of persecutions and tortures, of executioners who slavered like wolves . . . "I'm not afraid to die, Señorita Lourdes." It was a sentence you had learned from the book [on child martyrs] . . . what do a few years matter if I lose my soul? 50

Later in the novel, Goytisolo's narrator recounts the details of a sacred religious celebration, using the adjectives and imagery of an evil, demonic bacchanal.

You vaguely remembered the festival of the Octave of Corpus Christi -- the year 1956, . . . an atrocious choir of little vampires dressed as altar boys; . . . heading toward the [altar] with the mystical compunction of

49Ibid., 39.

50Ibid., 19.
some of De Sade's adolescents on their way to a sacreligious, demented, fabulous orgy.\textsuperscript{51}

Goytisolo also relates a passage of a pro-regime speech which quotes Fray Luis de León, a Renaissance mystic, cleric and biblical scholar, well-known in the Golden Age literature of Spain. This allusion, clearly, is an attempt to associate Franco with another sacred hero of national tradition and religious dogma.\textsuperscript{52}

While lacking a religious foundation, the use of the bull as a metaphor is one that draws on the Spanish tradition of the bullfight and its mythic significance as a representation of Spanish society. The use of a familiar and understandable metaphor to organize unfamiliar information and explain complex events and phenomena is clearly evident throughout Goytisolo's \textit{Marks of Identity}, in which the metaphor of the bull is used to identify and describe the country of Spain; similarly, the behavior of its people is likened to that of a bullfight. Goytisolo describes the Civil War using the vivid imagery of a mad bull, while also drawing on a primitive past of demons and sacrifice.

For the period of three years a madness had blown across the skin of the bull -- that is what some people call your barren and ancestral home, the ambit of your present conglomeration of petty kingdoms . . . the incubus and sucubus of their hateful appetites and dreams, they had proceeded with order and detail toward the cruel and inexorable self-pruning, toward the expulsion and extermination of their inner demons, without stopping for a reason or consideration of any kind, destroying in turn, on the altars of an impossible exorcism, commerce, industry, science, art.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{51}Ibid., 62.

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., 308.

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid., 128.
In contrast to the passionate and vital image of this mythic bull that was Spain, Goytisolo presents the image of Spaniards under the yoke of the Franco regime as gelded bulls, domesticated and compliant, deprived of their passion and will, and accepting of the regime’s paternalistic authority. As the dissident character, Antonio, tells the exiled protagonist, Alvaro, these bulls are even less than the bulls of the ring because though the latter are killed, at least they fight.

Bulls themselves and not even that, happy tame bulls who spoke with arrogance about what could be talked about and letting themselves condemn what was condemned, sad herd of oxen without bells, eating the fodder of those who took advantage.  

Goytisolo returns to this metaphor in the arrest of the dissident, Enrique. During his arrest and brutal interrogation, the reader learns that his torturers, officers of the Guardia Civil, are nicknamed after famous bullfighters. The representatives of the regime are now those who will kill the bull, while Enrique and the people of Spain have become the doomed beast.

To emphasize the savagery and brutality of the regime, Goytisolo presents a passage whose subject is intentionally oblique -- animal or nation?

Custom forbids killing him with one thrust: the game must be prolonged up to the limit, his death throes must be drunk down to the dregs. . . . Reduced, the beast witnesses his own downfall, as if in a violent and overwhelming nightmare.

\[54\] Ibid., 192.

\[55\] Ibid., 212.

\[56\] Ibid., 122.
To Goytisolo, this is the pure, elemental Spain of his ancestors; only the cast of characters in the drama of the bullfight has been changed.

In *The Hive* and *The Family of Pascual Duarte*, Cela presents such the cyclical interpretation of history presented by Labanyi, in which life is "structured in a series of overlapping circles."\(^{57}\) Cela's cyclical perspective, or "ahistorical attitude is made explicit . . . [when] he expresses his cynical amusement at the eternal recurrence that constitutes human behaviour."\(^{58}\) In the memoirs of Pascual Duarte, the condemned criminal recalls the series of events in his life that have led to its end. Not only does this narrative take the reader through the "cycle" of the protagonist's life, but the moral tone of the work represents a return to the picaresque novel, characteristic of Spain's Golden Age. The life of Duarte and the literary work itself are, therefore, both cyclical in nature.

Cela also uses myth to express the pre-logical mindset discussed by Cassirer in which myth actually supplants rational thought. This pre-logical, or perhaps alogical, mindset is presented in Cela's *The Family of Pascual Duarte* through "numerous references to fate, destiny, [and] predestination." Duarte's criminal actions follow a primitive code. With "the exception of the mother's death, each crime is instinctual, and directly related to vengeance or personal honor."\(^{59}\)

\(^{57}\)Labanyi, 42.

\(^{58}\)Ibid.

Related to the psychological theme of an aggregate unconscious are the anthropological and sociological approaches. In these schools of thought, myth is a phenomenon that emerges from social communion and the primordial feelings brought forth in gatherings of early men. The mythic thread present throughout Cela’s *The Family of Pascual Duarte* is seen in specific mythic references as well as stylistic metaphors and images.

Constant references to fate also help to remove the novel from its specific social setting to an atemporal, mythic plane where behavioral codes are less conditioned by time and culture. Pascual cannot escape his bad luck.  

In Duarte, Cela creates a character who completely and absolutely relinquishes his free will and any responsibility that it entails. He continually refers to the futility of defying fate or destiny, foregoing all accountability for his actions. The concept of free will and choice is one that is central to the traditional Catholic doctrine of Spain, yet Duarte forfeits this cherished aspect of humanity, in an affront to Spain’s religious and mythic past. Like the followers of the regime, Cela’s misbegotten protagonist has yielded his most precious right, that of the will to act in accord with his conscience, and the subsequent responsibility that it carries.

But since we are not given a choice, but rather destined -- even from before birth -- to go some of us one way, some the other, I did my best to accept my fate, which was the only way to avoid desperation. . . . My mother . . . would tell me that it was no use learning anything if I was never to rise out of poverty anyway.  

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Like Goytisolo, Matute bases characters from her novel, *School of the Sun*, on mythic and religious figures of Spain. The young protagonist, Matia, befriends an honest and forthright young man, Manuel, whose family is persecuted by the Taronji brothers, who represent Franco’s Nationalists forces. Rather than flee to available sanctuary, Manuel chooses to stay and confront the consequences of his step-father’s death. "My place was here, among the bitter ones, among all this misery. . . . When the trouble came, I had already decided to stay. But you already know: they’ve killed him."\(^6^2\)

The crucifixion metaphor is continued within the narrative as Matia compares her devious cousin, Borja, to Pontius Pilate. Matute closes the novel with the symbolic crowing of the cock that appears throughout the story.

There stood the cock of Son Major, with his angry eyes, like two buttons of fire . . . he shrieked -- dawn was breaking -- his horrible, strident song, which proclaimed, perhaps -- how do I know? -- some mysterious lost cause.\(^6^3\)

Notably, the character Matute creates to represent the sanctioned clergy, Lauro the tutor, is a young man of far less integrity than Manuel. As the novel progresses, Matute reveals that the seemingly devout Lauro had entered the seminary seeking only the material and social benefits of the clergy, as well as a dispensation from serving in battle.

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Of what God are you a prophet, renegade?" screamed Marine, his face red with fury. "Of what God? You don’t believe in anything. They threw you out of there as an unbeliever. You only believe in your piggish belly... What is it that you’re going to teach these innocents?... It’s death you teach them! Dead men, nothing more. You don’t know anything besides death... Go on, renegade, Judas.64

Perhaps the most consistent and powerful Christ metaphor is that of the dissident, Mario, in Delibes’ Five Hours with Mario. Each chapter of the novel begins with a biblical verse from Mario’s bible, and throughout the novel, it is apparent that Mario lived a much more Christian life than those of the Catholic regime, despite the castigation of the regime and the ridicule of his wife, Carmen.

And please, don’t come to me with tales about how we all crucify Christ every day,... if Christ came back to life you can be sure he wouldn’t come to pray with Protestants, or say that poor people ought to go to the university, or buy jumping jacks off good-for-nothings in Madrid, or let other people go ahead of him in shops.65

The crusading image of the Franco regime is lauded by the Francoist widow, Carmen, in Delibes’ Five Hours with Mario, as she chastises her recently deceased dissident husband, "the war, which was a Crusade, everybody says so, seemed like a tragedy to you."66

The mythical underpinnings of Spanish society proved to be a rich resource that the Franco regime manipulated to full advantage. It was the "political ambiguity of the fascist appeal to myth [that] was in fact its main attraction, allowing it to claim

64Ibid., 103.


66Ibid., 57.
that it transcended the division between Right and Left, restoring the nation to a lost 'organic wholeness.'\textsuperscript{67}

Once again myth is seen as the key to wholeness, prized because it means nothing in particular but everything at once.\textsuperscript{68} The emphasis on 'unity' -- which in practice meant the suppression of regional separatist movements -- is entirely in keeping with the appeal to myth as a source of its wholeness.\textsuperscript{69}

Yet the political discourse of those opposing the Franco regime also drew strength from Spain's mythic tradition. They shared the desire to recreate in the future an idyllic period from the past; however, their utopia was one of democratic ideals rather than right-wing dictatorship.

If, as this study contends, the tradition of myth did help generate two competing political discourses expressed in the literature of Francoist Spain, then myths are, in fact, important enough to actually change reality, as Halpern suggests.\textsuperscript{70}

Sorel proposes that myths lead men to radical change in an attempt to destroy the existing system, not to merely repair the old.\textsuperscript{71} This contention is borne out by both the dominant political discourses of Francoist Spain; Franco resurrected the myth of Spanish unity and a paradise lost to destroy the democratic remnants of the Second

\textsuperscript{67}Ausband, 37.
\textsuperscript{68}Ibid., 12.
\textsuperscript{69}Ibid., 37-38.
\textsuperscript{70}Halpern, 131.
\textsuperscript{71}Ibid., 138.
Republic while Republican literary forces employed myth to combat the Franco regime.

Yet the very perseverance of democratic ideals under such an oppressive dictatorship supports Halpern's statement that myths are "socially effective from generation to generation."72 Although the only Spaniards who had participated in a functioning democracy were at least sixty years old at the time of Spain's transition to democracy in the 1970s, the democratic myth had persisted.

72Ibid., 130.
The phenomenon of alienation is one that permeated Francoist Spain on a variety of levels. In the international realm, Franco's Spain was isolated politically and economically from all but a handful of nations. The communist bloc was its ideological enemy; an animosity compounded by the fact that a significant portion of Franco's opposition was composed of the leftist element. The democratic industrialized West shared this antagonism toward Spain, citing not only the lack of democracy under Franco, but recalling Franco's alliance with Axis powers during World War II as well.

The antipathy was returned by Franco, however, who virtually sealed Spain's borders. This measure was taken not only to prevent massive emigration from Spain, but to effectively isolate and insulate the nation from the possible contamination from external forces as well.

Spain appears to be an excluded entity in Europe, her communications with other nations remaining minimal. . . . On the other hand, Spain also seems to have banished herself. . . . As for the international dimension, only a privileged minority of citizens could travel beyond Spain's borders, only foreign books of a nonideological nature could be translated, and so forth. The regime orchestrated campaigns against outside influences of all kinds, incidentally encouraging the natural xenophobia of certain conservative groups.1

1Ilie, 114-15.
Underscoring its political distance, Spain was geographically isolated from its neighbors as well. As Wellwarth notes, Spain under Franco was "an isolated peninsula separated from Europe by the Pyrenees and from America by the sea."^2

An extension of Spain's physical isolation was its intellectual alienation from the international mainstream. Although Spain's status as a world power had begun deteriorating several centuries earlier, the process of enforced withdrawal from the intellectual sphere was accelerated dramatically during the Franco years.

The polarization of Spain — its development of a tradition of repressive dictatorship on the one hand and a will toward anarchic individualism on the other — may be traced to its isolation from the mainstream of European political thought as a result of its decline from world power in the seventeenth century. Drawing in upon itself, it became an enclave in which, politically and socially, time stood still and all outside influences were bitterly opposed.^3

In addition to Spain's isolation within the global arena, the nation experienced alienation within its own borders. Although Spain had been a unified nation since the sixteenth century, its regional differences were, and are, still pronounced. The Franco regime's violent efforts to eliminate these differences and create a homogeneous, harmonious Spain only served to strengthen the determination of those bent on preserving regional distinctions.

The separate peoples and cultures that constituted the Spanish nation tended to break off and to resent the Castillian efforts to propagate by force, if necessary, the myth of unity under the aegis of a Castile whose principal industry was bureaucratic administration.^4

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^2Wellwarth, 10.

^3Ibid., 14.

^4Ibid.
Ultimately, this profound sense of alienation and isolation that characterized Francoist Spain, both internationally and domestically, manifested itself within the individuals of Spanish society. Individuals from various groups were either exiled or fled of their own volition. During the war, members of both the Nationalists and the Republicans fled the country to escape the ravages of battle. Following the victory of Franco, many of Spain's intellectuals and opposition leaders were exiled from their homeland.

Many who were not exiled beyond Spain's borders were imprisoned or exiled to their native region within Spain, while still others chose to remain in their homeland as a presence of opposition. In fact, Ilie suggests that to "productively endure exile without losing his cultural identity," one must continue living within Spain, producing what he terms an "inner exile." This manifestation of emotional and intellectual alienation that also

has been referred to in Spain as 'internal' exile, which was suffered by that small group of intellectuals who were not resolute sympathizers of the new regime, but who either did not leave the country at the end of the civil war or, having left it, soon returned home. [and] who suffered to different extents from the ostracism that independent creativity was subjected to by the Francoist regime.

Still others supporters of the former Republic were officially exiled from existence; they were issued no identification cards, without which they could receive no rations, government aid, or employment. Following their deaths, their unmarked

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5Ilie, 116.

6Bar, 152.
grave and expunged records obliterated any evidence that they had lived or died. It is this alienation of individuals through exile, internal exile, imprisonment, or non-existence that is commonly used in the literature to portray the many levels of the broader range of alienation.

Alienation is a theme common to all of the works examined here, for as José Ortega contends, external alienation inevitably leads to internal alienation. This phenomenon can be seen in the characterization, the temporal structure of the action, the thoughts and dialogue, and even the physical structuring of the literary work. However the overwhelming presence of this particular phenomenon is not unusual, considering its presence in the society, for as Rumbelow notes, "Alienation craves to express itself, because its ultimate aim is to cease to be alienated."

**Literary Alienation**

Janet W. Díaz has identified four distinct literary techniques of alienation. The first of these is physical isolation, such as exile or prison. The second technique is the use of temporal manipulation, in which time is not presented as a linear construct. The use of fragmented time periods, flashbacks, or the mixing of present and past tense help portray this sense of isolated time. Third, the perspective presented in the literature can indicate a sense of alienation if competing perspectives

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are offered, or if the perspective contrasts sharply with the reader’s grasp of reality, distancing him from the character. Finally, Díaz proposes that the characterization used in the literature can demonstrate aspects of alienation; superficial relationships, self-deception, and state of mind can all contribute to this process.9

Margaret E.W. Jones agrees that the method of characterization can be crucial in expressing alienation or isolation within society.

Thus strange, abnormal, or alienated people take the role of main protagonists, expressing their separation from conventional existence, which the author shows as unsatisfactory. The child character is particularly appropriate -- and prevalent -- in these cases, since the author can manipulate a naive or innocent viewpoint discovering with astonishment how unpleasant reality can be. . . . In most cases the protagonists are misfits in a place and time to which they cannot adjust. Anguish, pessimism, alienation, disappointment, and despair follow these characters, whose solitude is apparent even in the company of friends and family.10

Jones suggests an additional technique of alienation: a persistent lack of communication.

The characters are unable or unwilling to share their concerns with others. If they do attempt to break through the wall of indifference, the result is misunderstanding, suspicion, or hostility.11

The layers of alienation in society, combined with marginal or suspect interaction and a lack of communication create a situation in which the alienation process is self-perpetuating. As the isolation feeds on itself, perceptions and interaction grow more

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11Ibid., 70.
distorted between individuals, groups and, ultimately, nations, as we see in the
literature examined here.

**Physical Isolation**

The use of physical isolation as an expression of alienation is evident in *The
Family of Pascual Duarte*, for as he writes the manuscript, Duarte is literally
imprisoned, awaiting his execution. It is significant that of all the criminal deeds of
Duarte's life, the one that brings him to this ultimate alienation is due to an isolation
from society that was imposed upon him by that very society.

The jailing and execution of Pascual -- not for the killing of his mother
but for a crime against society -- sunders him from that society. . . .
To be in a cell is to be barred from society.12

Duarte's confinement to a particular role or station in life is demonstrated
through the neverending enclosures through which he passes. As Sobejano notes,
within the confines of his house, his village, and his nation, Duarte exists in
alienation.13

Pascual's narrow, cramped one-story house befits the social status of its
occupants. The reader cannot avoid regarding it as a structure that
forms and deforms Pascual. When at the end of his account he rushes
out across the open fields, the last words he writes are: "I could
breathe. . . ." By the same token, the shack where Pascual was born
into oppression also happens to sit at the fringe of his village, just as
Pascual lives out his existence at the edges of society. . . . His native

12John W. Kronik, "Pascual's Parole," *Review of Contemporary Fiction* 4 (Fall
1984): 111.

13Gonzalo Sobejano, "Reflexiones sobre *La familia de Pascual Duarte*," *Papeles de
region, Extremadura, is as marginal to the rest of Spain as Pascual's house is to his village and as Spain is to the rest of the world.\textsuperscript{14}

The other characters of the novel experience physical isolation as well. For lack of a crib, Duarte's sister, Rosario, is kept in a small box as a baby; for lack of supervision, she is kept bound in rags. Their half-wit step-brother, Mario, after suffering a wretched but mercifully short life, drowns -- suffocated in a barrel of olive oil. Early in the novel, Cela presents a particularly gruesome episode in which Pascual Duarte's father contracts rabies and is locked in a cupboard for several days to suffer the course of the disease, only to be released as a grotesque and bloated corpse.

Despite his seemingly inescapable isolation and alienation within his society and himself, there is hope for Duarte, for as noted previously, the expression of alienation is the attempt to overcome it.

Pascual's memoirs are his effort to cast off his shackles . . . the miscreant who lies forever shut up in his tomb acquires materiality every time a reader revives him, and so he continues to live.\textsuperscript{15}

Goytisolo uses physical isolation to underscore the presence of alienation in \textit{Marks of Identity} as well. As an exile himself, Goytisolo presents the protagonist Alvaro in a somewhat autobiographical form. Although Alvaro's father was a bureaucrat of the Republic, his wealthy family is predominantly monarchist, and flees to France during the Civil War. Living in France, Alvaro is exiled physically and

\textsuperscript{14}Kronik, 113.

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.}, 116.
intellectually from his generation and a society that he rejects — and by which he is rejected.

Upon his return to Spain for the burial of a former professor, Alvaro’s friends are unable to help him overcome his sense of alienation as an exile because they are alienated as well, albeit in a different sense. The burial of Professor Ayuso represents to Alvaro the death of the hopes of his generation.

Ayuso’s burial was the burial of all of you; his death was the end of the illusions of your extended youth . . . and the man . . . had died, lonely and obscure, deprived of the consolation of his last and irreducible hope.16

The members of Alvaro’s generation are alienated within their nation and alienated within themselves as individuals, unable to identify with one another, or with themselves. Powerless to save himself and his nation, Alvaro becomes more alienated.

So, you were thinking, Ayuso has lived through difficult years with dignity, exile, jail, persecution, ostracism, voluntary forgetfulness, armed only with the truth of his words, never backing down in the struggle, and it all ended like this, covered with earth, cement, and bricks, in their custody, a defenseless body at last, in their hands once and for all.17

In addition to his isolation as a Spanish expatriot, Alvaro spends his formative years in the further enclosed environment of Paris’ Latin Quarter, listening to the tales of exiles as they gather at Madame Berger’s cafe to repeat their repertoire endlessly. Forced to flee their homes and exile themselves, the elite of Barcelonan

16Goytisolo, 77.
17Ibid., 86-87.
society reject the society and culture of their new home and attempt to recreate their lost world; they perpetuate their customs and cling to their own language in an effort to reject any further alienation from their homeland. Without change or progress, however, this tiny and stagnant world of expatriots becomes very fragile.

Illustrating the many levels of isolation, Goytisolo divides the exiles into still smaller categories, as they distinguish between the different groups, their experiences and reasons for emigration isolating and alienating them from the other groups.

The members of the first group -- the one to which Alvaro belonged -- were political or intellectual emigres. . . . The second layer brought together the already graying emigres of the years 1944-1950, . . . . The third stratum contained the fugitives of Perthus and those who had escaped from Alicante, buried for months on end on the sandy beaches of the Languedoc, forced to build the Atlantic Wall, miraculously saved from the gas chambers at Auschwitz, combat veterans of the Civil War that had been lost.18

Another of the most obvious forms of isolation used by Goytisolo is that of the imprisonment and exile of Antonio and Enrique. The author skillfully extends Antonio's physical isolation into a psychological and emotional alienation that is all the more powerful because of its intangibility.

Prison had infiltrated his nights until it possessed them completely and reduced the variety of its landscapes to a monotonous and obsessive decor: the patio, the cell, the cubicles at headquarters. If he dreamed about his village, it was a barbwired village; if he saw his mother, his mother was captured.19

18Ibid., 204-205.

19Ilie, 120.
Following Antonio's release from prison, the reader follows his daily movements and thoughts, restricted and monitored, creating a claustrophobic environment that is almost palpable. After his release from prison, Antonio's Exile to his native region was a curtain of smoke that hid a deeper reality: whether he liked it or not, his environment would still be imprisonment.20

All one had to do was raise his eyes for a moment to feel himself imprisoned between sky and stone, the useless guest of a mineral and empty universe that seemed to be a punishment of God and was the work of man.21

Antonio does not view his release from prison as freedom; rather he perceives it as merely existing within a different prison, be it his native region, the alienated Spanish society, or the authoritarian nation. "When Antonio wanders around town imprisoned in the deepest part of himself, . . . his crisis of identity matches that of Alvaro in Paris."22

The illusion of freedom had finally disappeared and the relaxed imprisonment was nothing but imprisonment: an encirclement of vague but real limits, . . . A lonely figure in a captive land, . . . multiplied the isolation at every instant.23

The sense of isolation presented through the character of Enrique differs in that it is more a sense of alienation from humanity. The reader is fully aware of the tension and mortal fear when Enrique is arrested; his subsequent torture not only

20Ibid., 143.
21Ibid., 157.
22Ibid., 121.
23Goytisolo, 192.
alienates him, but his interrogators as well. While Enrique is isolated on a physical level, the reader feels repulsed and alienated from the police on a more primitive level, related to an instinctual rejection of man's inhumanity to man.

In *School of the Sun*, most of Matute's characters are isolated by some aspect of themselves or the society, however the author focuses on the alienation of the protagonist, Matia. Matia's life is a series of losses and isolation. She is first isolated from her dissident father, then her aging nursemaid; as she enters adulthood, she loses her newfound relationship with Manuel. Ultimately, she is isolated even from her cherished little doll, Gorogo. The loss of Gorogo also symbolizes the loss of Matia's childhood innocence. Saddled with the burdensome knowledge and responsibilities of adulthood, she loses the symbol of childlike faith and goodness.

The residents of the novel's setting are also geographically isolated. They are separated from the mainland by the sea, and separated from each other by the topography of the island. Matia's wealthy and powerful grandmother, significantly, lives at the highest point on the island where she can oversee the activities of all those who are literally beneath her. The common people live on the descent; they exist under the watchful eye of those in power although they, themselves, have a restricted view of life.

The character who is the Christ metaphor in this narrative lives in a house on the descent. Throughout the novel, the reader is aware that this house is one of the few that is not enclosed or locked.
The orchard door, burned by the salt and the wind, was always open (just the opposite of our house, where everything was obstinately locked, as if hidden, as if jealously keeping to the shade.\textsuperscript{24}

Yet as the novel draws to a close, the residents of this house are finally beaten down by the forces of authority, and ultimately isolate themselves as everyone else has done. "Malene went into the orchard, and did something she had never done before: she closed the door."\textsuperscript{25}

In \textit{Five Hours with Mario}, Delibes provides the reader with a character who, while alive, was intellectually and morally isolated from both his wife and the authoritarian society that she represents. The distance between Mario and Carmen is unbreachable; in death, Mario finds the ultimate isolation.

\textit{The Condemned Squad} provides the reader with a host of alienated characters. The squad is physically isolated, far from any other posts. Each of its members has been in prison and this assignment is, in fact, a form a imprisonment or exile. Not only are they isolated from society as a group, they are separated from their comrades by a unique criminal past and the shame it carries. Thrown together, but isolated from society and within themselves, they are surviving on the margins of existence. Delibes adds an unusual component to this phenomenon in that the reader is allowed to learn so little of each character, so there is a sense of alienation between the characters and the reader as well.

\textsuperscript{24}Matute, 130.

\textsuperscript{25}\textit{Ibid.}, 216.
**Temporal Alienation**

The manipulation of time within literature is a very effective method of demonstrating a variety of themes, particularly isolation. By altering the commonly accepted linear progression of time through the use of flashbacks, nonsequential chapters, and other distortions of time, the authors in this study isolate characters, events, and even messages to the reader, creating a sense of temporal dislocation.

In *The Family of Pascual Duarte*, Cela uses temporal displacement to isolate Duarte's past as a narrative written in the present. In examining the structure of this novel, Kronik finds that in addition to the isolation of Duarte's life, his manuscript is separated and isolated in sections as well.

Pascual's memoirs consist of nineteen sections, of which the sixth and the thirteenth take place in the present in Pascual's cell, while the others are retrospective narration. Each of the three parts of his confession thus constitutes the fiction of the past caged in by the reality of the present. . . . *The Family of Pascual Duarte* is a frame novel. Pascual's memoirs are surrounded by the notes of a purported transcriber and by other opening and closing texts.²⁶

Goytisolo uses temporal isolation as well in *Marks of Identity*. The present time of the novel actually occurs over three days, while the protagonist's history is revealed through a series of memories and flashbacks that focus on isolated time frames, ultimately leading Alvaro and the reader through the Civil War and beyond it to the original three-day time period, or present.

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²⁶ Kronik, 113.
Sobejano writes that returning to the past is a way of distancing oneself by immersing oneself in a finite, static moment of time. Clearly, although Alvaro is seeking his identity through an examination into his past, he is unable to face his present and uses his past as a refuge as well.

Interestingly, Goytisolo casts Alvaro in the profession of photographer and filmmaker, a vocation in which he is forever isolating moments of time on film. In his career, as in his life, Alvaro literally seizes and isolates people, places and actions, displacing and preserving them in a distortion of linear time.

In *Five Hours with Mario*, the reader views Mario’s life through Carmen’s memories and fragments of time. The events are not presented in chronological order and Carmen often returns to a particular moment, repeating the events as if to organize and absorb that scrap of knowledge. It soon becomes apparent to the reader that, alienated from reality and understanding, Carmen clutches those static moments that she can comprehend.

Like Cela, Delibes uses time to frame his novel. As the novel begins, Carmen is preparing Mario’s corpse prior to the wake. This untitled prologue is followed by twenty-seven chapters, each of which begins with a verse from Mario’s Bible. These chapters compose Mario’s life and the alienation from his wife and society that he felt. As Carmen prepares for Mario’s funeral, an untitled epilogue closes the novel just as it closes Mario’s life.

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In *School of the Sun*, Matute presents the narrative predominantly in the present, the events occurring in chronological sequence. She does employ memories, however, to disclose the isolated past of her protagonist, Matia. Each memory is of someone lost to Matia, leaving her progressively more alienated.

Sastre's *The Condemned Squad* is presented within a finite period of time; however, like the previous authors, he modifies time to express the isolation of his characters. The opening scene of the drama actually relates the events near the end of the chronological time period. By beginning at the end, Sastre manipulates linear time into cyclical time. The futuristic setting of World War III contributes to this sense of time, or history, repeating itself. The result is a disoriented sensation of being lost in time, caught in a repetitive cycle of isolation and destruction.

**Alienation through Perspective**

Cela’s *The Hive* provides what is perhaps the best example of alienation through perspective. Over one hundred characters move through the narrative of *The Hive*, expressing just as many different perspectives and worldviews. The reader views the events of daily life through the abject misery and despondency of some characters, while seeing these same events from the privileged position of others.

In *Marks of Identity*, Goytisolo uses the mechanics of language to shift the perspective of his novel. At times, the protagonist speaks to himself in the second-person familiar, *tú*, while at others, he relates the events of his life in the third-person. In both cases, when avoiding the more common use of the first-person, Goytisolo creates a sense of distance between the character and the events of his life.
While using techniques such as physical isolation and temporal fragmentation to relate the concept of political and societal alienation, Goytisolo employs this altered perspective to enhance the sensation of isolation by projecting a strong image of emotional and psychological alienation within the character as well.

The shift in perspectives is compounded by the introduction of Antonio's story within Alvaro's search for identity. While the reader learns of the ties between the two men from Alvaro's past, the individual perspectives demonstrate just how radically the paths of their lives have diverged. The abrupt change of perspectives is further emphasized by the use of police surveillance reports. The result is a disrupted flow of the narrative, a continual change of perspective through which the reader shares the isolation of the characters.

Goytisolo also uses perspective to present to the reader a society that is fearful and alienated from itself. Throughout the novel, society at large is portrayed as living in willful ignorance of the injustice within it. Characters often focus on insignificant details while appearing oblivious to the worst crimes against humanity.

The Barcelonans were passing by along the sidewalk, satisfied, conscious of having lived another day exactly like the rest, one with no hostile upsets or disagreeable changes. What had been going on in the cells or at Headquarters was just a stupid accident, the bothersome interference of a parasite in a perfectly synchronized program, melodious and pleasing to the ear.28

In School of the Sun, virtually all of Matute's characters experience some form of alienation. This sense of separateness is most apparent in the protagonist, Matia,

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28 Goytisolo, 231.
and the sacrificial character, Manuel. When Manuel allies himself with his politically unpopular adopted father rather than his powerful biological father, Matia explains how his actions will change the perspective of the rest of the community, further isolating and endangering him. "Now you're on the outside too. I mean, outside the barrier. You understand, do you? From the Taronji, the delegate, and all the rest. And, probably, from my grandmother too."29

In Delibes’ *Five Hours with Mario*, the perspective of the narrator, Carmen, becomes evident as she reads Mario’s Bible. However, the most fascinating aspect of this use of a single individual’s perspective is that, despite Carmen’s perspectives and interpretations, the reader is able to discern how very different Mario’s view of life, politics and morality actually was. As the novel progresses, so does the polarization of perspective between the characters, reflecting that same phenomenon in Spain.

*Alienation through Characterization*

Within one or more characters, a variety of intellectual ideas, political positions, and personal qualities can be created to present a particular discourse to the reader. This process of characterization lends itself particularly well to the demonstration of alienation within a society and within individuals, as seen in the works examined here.

In *The Family of Pascual Duarte* and *The Hive*, most of Cela’s characters are not only unsympathetic, but actually repulsive. Duarte describes his father as an

29 Matute, 138.
abusive and drunken ex-convict who dies of rabies and his mother as an adulterous, ill-tempered, herpes-ridden hag who "was no friend of water." Cela’s characters are unhappy wretches who approach life with an air of futility, as pawns of a malevolent God, an oppressive political regime, and a society that has failed them. This view of themselves as victims of fate and society presents an image of profound alienation within Francoist Spain, particularly an alienation from free will and self-determination.

The characters of Marks of Identity are the most obvious embodiments of alienation and isolation. The protagonist, Alvaro, is an exile, the ultimate form of alienation from one’s nation and heritage. His character represents alienation in a variety of forms. Both intellectual and class-based alienation can be seen in his "attempt to escape the moral chaos of his own social class (seen in his family and friend, Sergio), and, as an intellectual, to involve himself in a committed way to a struggle for social justice." Yet, even among exiles, Alvaro is alienated, for their small isolationist tendencies have led them to make distinctions and divisions among themselves, making their groups exclusive and enclosed, like the society from which they fled.

Alvaro makes contact with each of the various groups of Spaniards -- political exiles, Republicans from the Civil War, members of the

30 Cela, The Family of Pascual Duarte, 23.

working class compelled to leave homes and families in search of work outside Spain — but without being able to identify with any of them.\textsuperscript{32}

Similarly, the character of Antonio is the personification of internal exile, imprisoned in his native region. The other characters exemplify alienation as well, being composed predominantly of exiles, emigres, or those trying to leave Spain. Goytisolo hints at the pervasiveness of this alienation beyond Spain's borders when he has a French character say, "Everyone is thought to be free and we live in the worst kind of alienation."\textsuperscript{33}

In \textit{Five Hours with Mario}, the characterization is very clearly defined, with little room for equivocation. Carmen is presented as selfish, egotistical and narrow-minded, while Mario is seen as compassionate, charitable and intellectual. Throughout the novel, the reader learns of a lifetime of events that isolate and alienate Mario. He is alienated not only from his nation, but from his wife as well. This sympathetic characterization leads the reader to identify with Mario; in doing so, the author encourages the reader to become more open not only to Mario's personality, but to his political and social ideas as well. Delibes uses this process of characterization to express alienation while also employing it to reach the reader with the discourse of his generation.

Matute uses characterization to express the extreme alienation in her novel as well. As Janet Winecoff states, "One of the most consistently striking aspects of Ana

\textsuperscript{32}\textit{Ibid.}, 8.

\textsuperscript{33}Goytisolo, 180.
Maria Matute's work . . . is the vision of the estrangement and alienation of the individual.⁴ Although all the characters of School of the Sun experience some sense of alienation, Matute literally isolates her protagonist by making her an orphan, sent to live with a domineering and uncaring grandmother in an isolated and prejudiced community.

Her major characters and many of her minor ones are solitary, introverted, misunderstood, neurotic, or otherwise estranged from their families and society; they are incapable of expressing themselves. Many are orphans, which intensifies their aura of loneliness and is symbolic of spiritual aloneness. . . . In effect, they exist enclosed within themselves, a world apart.⁵

To compound Matia's isolation, she loses her aging nursemaid, then the persecuted Manuel, and finally, her treasured doll, Gorogo. Although not an animate character, the importance of Gorogo is clear, for he symbolizes happier times for Matia and his loss is indicative of her lost childhood and reluctant entry into the world of adults. As in other works of Matute's, "The theme of the loss of childhood treasures, both sentimental and material, is recurrent."⁶

In The Condemned Squad, Sastre creates characters that are alienated on several levels. Because he reveals so little of their pasts, the reader feels alienated from these characters, much as the members of this squadron of strangers are alienated from each other. Each is further alienated within himself due to a painful

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³⁵Ibid., 61.

³⁶Ibid., 62.
past history that has caused some rift between his inner conscience and his actions. An aspect of these characters that is a metaphor for Spanish society is that of their alienation from their leader and his abuse of power. Through the use of these characters, Sastre is able to state his message in an oblique yet powerful way.

**Lack of Communication**

The lack of communication contributes considerably to the phenomenon of alienation simply because communication is a way of reaching out, spanning that gap of isolation. The absence of communication, voluntary and involuntary, can be seen in the interaction presented in the works examined here.

In Cela's *The Family of Pascual Duarte* and *The Hive*, many characters are unaware of the events taking place around them -- both personally and societally. If they converse, they typically do not listen to one another, preferring to carry on simultaneous monologues instead. On the occasions that communication does occur, it is often misdirected, or an attempt to conceal or actively deceive. All of these interactions impede the flow of communication that could break the isolation of the characters.

Goytisolo establishes various methods of inhibiting communication in *Marks of Identity*. One approach involves the dialogue that occurs within the protagonist. Alvaro struggles to be honest with himself in his search for identity, but this communication is fragmented and often comes to an abrupt halt when Alvaro is unable to face his truth.
Another indication of the pervasive nature of the lack of communication in society is the interaction between Alvaro and Dolores. Although they try to regain the closeness they once shared, or thought they shared, their isolation becomes even more apparent.

On the afternoon that you spotted Dolores in the distance and you amused yourself by following her without her knowing it, spying on her as if she were a stranger, a game that you suddenly abandoned when you discovered that, as a matter of fact, she was.37

Still another absence of communication can be seen in the subterfuge required by the regime. When the characters speak of the regime or forces of authority, their words are guarded. One must actively look for the meaning in a conversation where much of the substance is merely implied. Pretense and deception are a way of life that is necessary to survive under the regime. A lack of communication is actually required.

In School of the Sun, Matute demonstrates the lack of communication between the different groups of society, as represented by those of the island community. Compounded by the physical and economic isolation, the common people of the island are isolated from the wealthy and powerful by an absence of interaction. On the occasions when interaction does occur, it is often negative, in the form of interrogation or persecution by the Taronji brothers.

Another aspect of society that is divided by a breach of communication is that of children and adults. Because of this faulty and limited communication, the adults

37Goytisolo, 300.
are seen by the children as incomprehensible authoritarian forces, while the children are viewed as irrational creatures that must be controlled. The inability to communicate across their isolation is much like that which characterizes the paternalistic regime and its child-like citizens.

Delibes provides a profound lack of communication between the two main characters of *Five Hours with Mario*. Mario is unable to reach Carmen with any idea or vision of himself, while she is unable and even unwilling to understand him. This lack of communication is the foundation of their alienation from one another. Extending this theme of flawed communication is Carmen’s inability to be honest with herself, as she excuses her adulterous behavior with Paco, rationalizing and justifying the event each time she recalls it.

In Sastre’s *The Condemned Squad*, the communication is not so much absent as distorted. This communication has a unidirectional flow in that only the authority figure, the corporal, communicates to the soldiers. They are unable to respond in any significant way within the confines and rules of their military environment. More importantly, they are unable to initiate communication. They can only react, not act. There is no sanctioned interaction between the squadron and its commander; when the squad ultimately does respond to the corporal, it is to murder him. Through this limited communication, Sastre demonstrates the loss of free will, of choice, by both the fictional squadron and the all too real society of Francoist Spain.

As previously stated by Rumbelow, the expression of alienation is a fervent attempt to overcome its isolating nature. As seen in the literature examined here,
alienation feeds on itself through a lack of communication, extending from the international level to the national level to the individual. Conversely, alienation destroys itself through expression and communication, for it is that very expression which breaches its isolation. In overcoming the lack of communication so characteristic of an alienated society, the need to share that isolation through the literary techniques of physical isolation, temporal manipulation, perceptions and characterizations is eliminated. Ironically, the literature in this analysis is part of an oppositional discourse that, by its very proliferation, has led to conditions that no longer demand its existence.

The expression of this alienation, and other themes, through the oppositional literature of the Franco period is the focus of this study. Alienation within a political context and within society characterize the political opposition of Francoist Spain. The existence and persistence of this political opposition is demonstrated not only through the authors, as discussed in Chapter 1, but through their literary works.
CHAPTER 4
POLITICAL OPPOSITION

Suppression of the opposition is a tradition in Spain. The short-lived Republic created when Alfonso XIII was ousted was Spain's first experience of democratic government. Like the Weimar Republic, it failed because the habits of millennia cannot be reversed overnight. Spain had always been a polarized society with an economic oligarchy, usually ruling indirectly, on one side and the exploited masses on the other. Except for the brief hiatus of the Republic it was to continue to be so.¹

Just as the suppression of the opposition is a long-standing characteristic of Spanish tradition, the perseverance of that opposition is a feature of Spain's past as well. The authors in this discussion comprised a significant portion of that opposition under Franco. Admittedly, blatant opposition through their literature was not permitted, but subtle expressions of discontent and oblique references to the oppressive powers of the regime were often allowed by the censors. This dissent, however, existed only in a limited form, and only at the pleasure of the regime.

While the opponents of an authoritarian regime may be limited in their functions as opposition, ironically the regime's tolerance of their efforts may serve its own purposes. Linz offers several reasons why a regime, like that of Francoist Spain, whose stability relies on "homogeneity, unity, consensus,... discipline and subordination," would tolerate the existence of its opponents.²

¹Wellwarth, 13.
²Linz, 226-27.
In the Spanish case, the very presence of these writers in Spain could be interpreted as an implicit consent on their part to the policies and abuses of the Franco regime. Because the opponents accept the system -- even for the time being -- or accept the personal leadership of the dictator or head of state, they give the system considerable flexibility by shifting blame, giving hope to emergent leaders, and broadening the base of recruitment.

A second advantage to allowing the creative population to express their discontent under the regime was that "tolerance of opposition also allows the replacement of personnel without the excessive strain of purges." Similarly, a third benefit is that any severe restriction of the opposition using "coercion rather than manipulation" would not only alienate the population, but would threaten the legitimacy of the regime as well.

Fourth, by tolerating the opposition, the regime allows the continuing ineffectiveness of its critics' actions to become more widely known, reducing any status they may have gained in the public eye. In the case of the writers in this analysis, this tactic is a viable one in that the criticism of the regime had to be subtle to escape censorship, preventing its development into a rallying cry for revolt.

Linz explains that a fifth advantage of the regime's tolerance is that opponents within the system, the semi-opposition, may act as a safety valve for the regime in that they express the dissatisfaction of the more radical opponents from outside the

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3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.
system, the alegal opposition, yet continue to accept the rule of the regime. Their discontent may be expressive, but is unproductive.

Sixth, tolerance of critics is expected in the international realm; therefore, any limitations placed on intellectuals and other dissidents would almost certainly bring about censure by the international powers.5

An additional reason that could explain why dissident writers specifically were tolerated by Franco could be that they do not come from organized groups, and their authors do not speak for parties, organizations within the regime, or powerful interest groups like business or labor, nor do they make an appeal for the formulation of any organization (which would mean moving from legality to illegality).6

Though both the semi-opposition and the alegal opposition are represented by the novels and novelists discussed in this examination of literature under the Franco regime, it is not the objective of this dissertation to examine the regime’s manipulation of its critics. Like the rest of the intellectual and artistic community in Spain, the majority of these novelists criticized the regime from outside the system; however, some participation in the political system was necessary for others simply that they might continue their work. Had their criticism of the regime been more vocal, they would undoubtedly have been imprisoned or exiled. These writers made a concerted effort to operate in a manner that would allow the continuation of their opposition to the Franco regime.

5Ibid.

6Ibid., 218.
Coercive vs. Disruptive Force

The characters created by these writers, however, are able to exhibit more blatant opposition than their authors. The violence, or force, evident in the literature of the period was initiated by both the governing and the governed in Francoist Spain. The works examined here illustrate both the disruptive nature of the opposition and the coercive violence of the regime.

Force, defined by Lincoln as the "exercise or threat of physical violence," may be used coercively by the ruling group, or disruptively by those ruled. The ruling elite typically employs coercive force to achieve one or more of three goals: the maintenance of social stability, the preservation of societal structures which grant the rulers privileges and access to resources unavailable to others, and the expansion of territorial rule.7

The Franco regime sought this social stability and the preservation of the status quo to such an extent that Spain was virtually suspended in time for forty years. Characteristics of modern societies, such as broader social and moral standards and increased contact with foreign influences were prohibited until the 1950s ushered in an era of increased economic interaction with the United States and the rest of Europe. Franco controlled Spain's accessibility however, and maintained authoritarian control over the nation. Measures such as the absence of competitive political parties ensured the continued power and privilege of the regime.

7Lincoln, 3.
According to Lincoln, nondominant groups use force as well; however, it is used to disrupt the status quo of society rather than coerce adherence to societal norms. Disruptive force is usually manifested as "scattered assaults on persons and property" or "organized struggles" seeking secession from the dominant and oppressive regime, rebellion against the regime, or revolution designed to overthrow the regime.8

Scattered regional rebellions and bloody conflicts were staged by the nondominant opposition throughout Spain, particularly in the early years of the Franco regime. Because of the Catholic Church's close alliance with the regime, it also became a target of the opposition. At the height of wartime tensions, there were mass exhumations of saints and martyrs entombed in the churches of Madrid, Barcelona and Toledo, as well as massive destruction of church property.9

Although force is often effective in the short-term, it cannot be maintained long enough or at a sufficient intensity to be effective on a long-term basis. The force itself becomes an actor within the society. Although the ruling elite employs force to preserve the status quo, the force necessarily affects society, as it is manifested in political arrests, imprisonment, and death. As Lincoln contends, "Some groups and individuals may be emboldened, some intimidated, some depressed, some enraged," leading to further changes.10

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8Ibid.

9Ibid., 103-27.

10Lincoln, 4.
It is this failure of the use of force that the dominant political discourse process supplements by providing "ideological persuasion." Ritual and tradition, as well as "symbolic discourses of spectacle, gesture, costume, edifice, [and] icon . . . may be strategically employed" by the ruling elite to wield power over the oppressed, "transferring simple power into legitimate authority," which it, in fact, did under the Franco administration.

In employing these ideological devices, the regime allied itself closely with the Catholic Church, perhaps the quintessential source of ritual and symbolism in Spain, imbuing itself with a sense of divinity. Other allies of the regime included the upper class; the respect and obedience traditionally accorded this stratum of the class system was then bestowed upon the regime.

The use of force by both coercive and disruptive forces is reflected in the literature of the Franco era. Significantly, virtually no deed of the opposition goes unpunished by the regime in the literature examined here. It is possible that the persistence of this causal relationship throughout the works of different authors is an expression of the frustration and futility felt by the authors under authoritarian rule.

An alternative explanation is that only literature that reinforced this notion of an omnipotent and avenging regime was permitted by the censors. Just as Linz proposes that authoritarian regimes allow limited dissent to achieve their own

\[11\text{Ibid.}\]

\[12\text{Ibid.}\]
objectives, the Franco regime may have permitted the publication of works that, though somewhat objectionable, contained a lesson of obedience for the reader.

In *The Family of Pascual Duarte*, Cela creates a protagonist who is punished in a variety of ways. Throughout his existence, Duarte claims that he is chastised, undeservedly so, by Fate for reasons beyond his control or responsibility. Yet from the reader's perspective, it is clear that Duarte participates in his own suffering, as he persistently makes self-destructive choices whenever possible.

However, the harshest punishment is undoubtedly the final one of execution. Notably, although Duarte is guilty of murder, this cruelest of penalties is meted out by the authoritarian forces of the regime. Duarte suffers this consequence not as a result of his life of depravity or the murder of his mother, but for a crime against society. Duarte's disruptive force is punished by the regime only when it affects the order and stability of society.¹³

Similarly, the characters of Cela's *The Hive* are typically punished by the logical consequences of their own actions. Their actions provoke predictable reactions. However, Martin Marco, like Pascual Duarte, is not punished for his sloth and indolence, nor his pretentious intellectualism. Rather, at the end of the novel he is being sought by the regime as a member of the political opposition. Like Duarte, it is only a disruption of the order of the regime that invites the coercive retaliation of the authorities.

¹³Kronik, 111.
In *Marks of Identity*, Goytisolo presents the character, Antonio, who has been imprisoned for the possession of subversive democratic and socialist literature as well as consorting with known dissidents. Despite the relatively benign nature of his crimes, the regime responds with overwhelming and coercive force.

Let's see if I can make things clear. You played a game and you lost. . . . You're in our hands and we can do anything we want with you. . . . Even kill you . . . You wouldn't be the first to disappear. . . . Don't be foolish, everybody talks here. . . . The wise ones without our having to touch a hair on their heads and the stupid ones with wet towels or electricity.\(^{14}\)

Upon Alvaro's return to Spain, the novel's exiled protagonist travels to various locations in an effort to discover his past, yet finds that the regime has judged his actions to be questionable.

[W]e've followed every step you've taken since you came to town and we know just who you've had contact with . . . until higher Authorities decide in the case we will be obliged to . . . confiscate your camera and films . . . you can continue on your trip if you want on the condition that you present yourselves . . . whenever the Authorities think it necessary.\(^{15}\)

Goytisolo carefully capitalizes the word "Authorities," emphasizing not only their importance, but their dangerous anonymity and their unchecked power to act without probable cause.

Still another scene recounts the stories of the men in jail when Enrique is arrested. One man was almost in a fight, so the officers of the regime responded to the possibility of his violence by beating and arresting him. The other prisoners are

\(^{14}\text{Goytisolo, 142.}\)

\(^{15}\text{Ibid., 124.}\)
jailed for sleeping on a park bench, being homosexual, and being a gypsy, all of which are disruptions of the regime’s order. Enrique, the student demonstrator, is dragged in, unable to walk after his interrogation and beating. In each case, the coercive force of the regime responds in overwhelming proportions to the disruptive force of the alleged crimes.

Through a flashback, Goytisolo presents a scenario that further illustrates the relationship of the common people to their rulers. Near the end of the Republic, the government initiated a dam and irrigation project in the town of Yeste. The modifications in the land and waterways destroyed the livelihoods of the farmers and loggers, but they were promised work in the new dam. Before completion, however, the project foundered and the national economic crisis precluded any resolution to the problems.

Left without their former means of support and none of the promised government jobs, the starving peasants began logging and farming on the communal woodlands. The woodlands, however, were sold by the government to generate needed revenue. The new owner called upon the authorities who authorized a military occupation. The guards beat and arrested six men, resulting in the uprising of a thousand peasants against twenty-two armed guards; the peasants who were not killed in the chaos were later executed.

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16 Ibid., 216-17.
17 Ibid., 103-104, 116.
Although the implementation of regime justice through the violent deaths of Goytisolo’s peasants may have been the intended focus of the censors, there is an obvious parallel to this episode that Goytisolo undoubtedly intended.

Karl Marx writes of a similar incident in which Prussian peasants who were traditionally allowed to gather deadwood from the lands of nobles were suddenly denied legal access to this resource when it became economically valuable. Marx used this event to illustrate how laws are enacted to protect those in power and maintain that power.

In Marx’s Prussia, as in Goytisolo’s Spain, the rights of the peasants had been established by centuries of tradition, rather than conveniently passed legislation.

All customary rights of the poor were based on the fact that certain forms of property were indeterminate in character, for they were not definitively private property, but neither were they definitely common property, being a mixture of private and public right, such as we find in all the institutions of the Middle Ages.18

Goytisolo’s message, therefore, may have been quite different from that perceived by the regime censors. Considering the specific mention of various Marxist texts in Marks of Identity, it is probable that Goytisolo was quite familiar with Marx’s discussion of the Wood Theft Laws and intended to communicate to his readers that if the law applies the term theft to an action that is scarcely even a violation of forest regulations, then the law lies, and the poor are sacrificed to a legal lie. . . . You will never succeed in making us

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believe that there is a crime where there is no crime, you will only succeed in converting crime itself into a legal act.\textsuperscript{19}

Through the selection of this particular tale, Goytisolo succeeds in eluding the censorship that would have accompanied a more obvious approach, yet manages to draw the reader's attention to a similar situation that resulted in a successful uprising of the peasantry and the overthrow of the tsarist regime. Within his novel, Goytisolo recognizes and attempts to convey a sense of hope in the face of universal oppression, for, as Marx contends, "if wood and its owners as such make laws, these laws will differ from one another only by the place of origin and the language in which they are written."\textsuperscript{20}

In \textit{Five Hours With Mario}, Delibes uses the protagonist, Mario, to illustrate the power of the regime in relation to the opposition. Each chapter opens with a Biblical verse, one of which begins, "The keepers that go about the city found me: they struck me: and they wounded me,"\textsuperscript{21} Delibes employs this particular verse to express the authorities' access to violence and echo Goytisolo's theme of unrestrained violence on the part of the regime.

Mario is an upper middle-class high school teacher, however his egalitarian ideology prevents him from adjusting to the role that his status accords him. He typically dresses below his station and rides a bicycle, both of which mis-identify him as a member of the lower class and often cause him to be treated as such by the

\textsuperscript{19}\textit{Ibid.}, 227.

\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Ibid.}, 262.

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Delibes}, 141.
officials of the regime. As the reader views Mario’s experiences with the regime, it becomes apparent that a citizen is treated in direct relation to his status.

Why in the world would a policeman hit you for crossing the park on your bicycle? . . . a policeman doesn’t lie just to be lying, . . . you made up the part about his hitting you and all that tale about the pistol, when you struggled.\textsuperscript{22}

Even if he did hit you, see, which I don’t believe, the law is the law and if you can’t cross the park on a bicycle, well, everybody knows it, any way you look at it, the policeman was doing his duty, and if he’d killed you, why it would have been in the course of his duty.\textsuperscript{23}

Delibes compares the relationship between the regime and its citizens to that of a parent and child. Through the monologue of the character, Carmen, the author repeatedly emphasizes the parental aspect of the regime’s authority. Like a parent, the regime is not only unhindered by any form of accountability to an external source, but free to mold and shape its "children" in the desired image. Although the childlike citizen may exhibit undesired or disruptive behavior, the parental regime is larger, stronger, and makes the laws by which it coercively rules.

If a policeman in a fit of anger hits you with his fist don’t think he’s doing it for fun, of course not, but for your own good, just like we do with the children . . . we have to accept it whether we like it or not . . . a country’s like a family.\textsuperscript{24}

At bottom what bothers you and your kind is authority, . . . you have to obey in life and submit to discipline from the time you’re born, first with your parents and then with authority, it’s the same thing in the end . . . if once in a month of Sundays we catch a stray punch, instead of getting angry about it we ought to humbly accept it because the person

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., 141.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., 63.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., 213.
who gives it to us, you can be sure he doesn’t do it because he wants to but for our own good, so we don’t go off the track.\textsuperscript{25}

Delibes continues the analogy of the parental regime in the relationship between Carmen and her children. Her daughter, Menchu, represents the ideal citizen of the regime, compliant and docile. Conversely, Mario, Jr., like his father, epitomizes the dissident, thinking for himself and questioning authority.

I prefer Menchu a thousand times, with all her laziness, to these young fellows . . . whether she studies or not, at least she’s easy to manage, . . . if he [Mario, Jr.] wants to think for himself let him earn his way and go off and think somewhere else, because as long as he lives under my roof, the ones who depend on me will have to think the way I tell them to . . . a strong authority is a guarantee of order, . . . and order has to be maintained by fair means or foul.\textsuperscript{26}

Delibes extends his discussion of the regime to include the metaphor of the Inquisition. Like the Inquisition, the Franco regime made skillful use of Spain’s religious heritage. The tradition of exorcising the insidious infidel from Spanish society, established by expert inquisitors such as Torquemada, provided a convenient foundation for the methods of the authoritarian regime that would draw on its reputation and power centuries later. Allegedly sanctioned and supported by an almighty God, the extreme and coercive force of the Franco regime was rationalized and justified as a thorough and necessary control mechanism for the protection of Spanish society against disruptive forces.

Are you telling me the Inquisition was bad, smarty? In all sincerity, now don’t you think that a little bit of Inquisition is just what we need

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., 145-46.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 113-14.
in the present circumstances? . . . the world needs authority and a firm hand, . . . you have to shut up and obey, always, all your life, blindly, . . . the Inquisition was really good because it forced all of us to think right, . . . just look at the devotion, . . . those tales of yours that the Inquisition’s methods were unchristian . . . you said it’s unchristian to kill a man because he doesn’t want to deny his conscience.  

Perhaps the ultimate form of coercion applied to a disruptive opposition is that demonstrated by Delibes in his treatment of Mario’s funeral preparations. Following Mario’s death, Carmen meticulously washes, grooms and dresses the corpse to appear as she has always wanted.

And Carmen felt a swelling sense of pride about her corpse, as if she had made him with her own hands. No other one was like Mario; he was her corpse; she had manufactured him herself.

Having contributed to his death with her relentless harping and ridicule, Carmen’s final manipulations of Mario’s corpse embody the regime’s ultimate omnipotence over Spanish society. What the regime cannot shape to its desires, it destroys and recreates; by revising history it can then modify a formerly unpleasant reality into a more acceptable illusion. As one mourner in the novel notes admiringly, "Mario is the healthiest-looking corpse ever made by human hands -- Mario isn’t Mario."

Matute’s novel, *School of the Sun* shares this theme of crime and punishment, or political opposition and the inevitable retaliation through regime coercion. Although there are various acts of violence throughout the novel, only those

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27Ibid., 129-30.

28Ibid., 5.

29Ibid., 17-18.
perpetrated by the regime go unpunished, while those acts initiated by the opposition are avenged quickly and forcefully.

The family of Jews in Matute's novel are not active dissidents, however, their heritage and family mark them as targets of the corrupt local authorities who represent the Franco regime. The community not only accepts the family's persecution with an alarming nonchalance, but eventually participates in the activities, fearing that any reluctance to do so will attract the negative attention of the regime.

When the village women attack and shave the head of a Jewish woman, Matia's grandmother accepts it as one side of a violent balance that must be maintained.

She threw the newspaper on the table. "Here, a head of hair is shaven, there, this other thing is done" . . . . The photograph showed people hung somewhere or other . . . . And I thought of the straw doll Guiem's gang brandished at the bonfires to demonstrate their victory over us.30

This acceptance of the regime's coercive force is clear in Matute's discussion of the dissident character, Jose Taronji, and the reason for his murder. Because Jose had allegedly plotted to overthrow the island elites and redistribute their land, his son tells Matia, "they had to kill him. . . . I heard his voice saying: They had to kill him, they had to kill him."31

The plot of Sastre's *The Condemned Squad* is permeated by the theme of punishment and the coercive force of the regime. Assignment to the squad itself is a

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30Matute, 176.

31Ibid., 44.
punishment which each soldier has received as an alternative to another form of coercion, imprisonment. The fact that all are in the military is indicative of still another type of coercion. The enforced discipline of the soldiers is intensified by the sadistic and controlling nature of the corporal.

The soldiers’ original crimes are revealed as acts that, though legally defensible, are inexcusable affronts to the control of the regime. The reader learns that Andres killed his brutal boot-camp sergeant while drunk, possibly in self-defense; however, such an attack on a representative of authority knows no defense in the Franco regime.

Pedro is being punished for killing prisoners-of-war in retaliation for his wife’s death. Ironically, actions that are illegal for Pedro are routine for the regime. Javier, the intellectual, left a fallen comrade who was mortally wounded in battle so that he might save himself. This was not a crime against another person but rather a failure to save a resource of the state.

Within the crimes revealed by Sastre, the reader is able to see a relationship to the regime that is controlled by the concept of punishment, or coercive force. Ironically, it is this causal relationship between disruption and coercion that provokes further disruption, maintaining the cycle.

Despite the fact that the opposition found in the literature of the day was not of an illegal nature, as it did not openly admonish the Franco regime, the regime was under no obligation to tolerate even an alegal or semi-opposition. Yet it did. The Franco regime tolerated indirect opposition within Spanish literature for its own
benefits, as outlined in Linz' typology. From this perspective, the opposition could be seen, at worst, as an agent of the regime or, at best, the co-opted facade of a protest, an opposition in name only.

This does not, however, negate or dilute the intent of the opposition. In the Spanish case, the regime's tolerance of the opposition was simply a reaction to the criticism initiated by the opposition. Therefore, the tolerant relationship between the two parties should not be viewed as a cooperative one. The Francoist reaction of limited tolerance was merely the best of its limited options.

Had Franco imposed severe restrictions and penalties upon the literary opposition, through purges of the administration or criminal punishment, the already questionable legitimacy of the authoritarian regime would be strained to the breaking point. Such a crisis of legitimacy would affect not only the domestic realm, but the international arena as well, as Linz proposes in his discussion of regime tolerance.
CHAPTER 5
SOCIETAL STRUCTURE

The literature in this examination clearly presents a relationship between the Franco regime and the Spanish society which it controlled. While Franco was able to manipulate the governmental institutions directly under his authority with more efficiency, his control extended to the informal groups of Spanish society as well. Franco controlled the interaction between these groups and their interaction with the regime, creating an elaborate structure designed to maintain his authority.

This manipulation of the Spanish societal structure is represented in all of the literature examined. Franco drew on the existing social environment of these groups and built upon that foundation to maximize his own goals. The Catholic Church, the police and traditional elites, entrenched in positions of power, became worthy allies of Franco. Meanwhile, less influential groups, such as women, intellectuals and labor were subject to the actions of not only Franco, but of his more closely allied societal groups.

The relationship between the Franco regime and the structure of Spanish society was one that drew upon its mythic heritage, isolation and the tolerance of limited opposition discussed in previous chapters. The mythic power of the Church, the myth of elite superiority and the mythic role of the Spanish woman all provided opportunities for Franco to expand upon the myths of these groups and strengthen his own control over them.
Although a sense of isolation had characterized Spain for centuries, as noted in Chapter 3, Franco reinforced this concept of alienation through the manipulation of Spain’s social structure in an effort to strengthen his authoritarian control. Employing the same tactic in Spain that he used abroad, Franco divided those around him and strategically set his enemies against one another. Once divided, they struggled against each other, freeing Franco to pursue his own objectives. Brian Crozier makes this point, citing Franco’s manipulation of the monarchists and socialists, who at one point had attempted to unite against him. "Once again, Franco knew that he had only to sit tight, leaving his enemies, both Spanish and foreign, to fall out among themselves."  

Franco’s domestic diplomacy produced other rewards as well, for by tolerating these groups that composed a limited opposition, Franco was able to allow some degree of expression to dissenters, thereby preventing a dangerous build-up of frustration and political hostility toward the regime. Franco treated his supporters in much the same way, orchestrating their interactions in the manner that served the regime. Permitted to interact with each other within Franco’s limits, the varied groups of Franco’s supporters behaved much like those of the opposition.

The selective enmity of each group of his supporters is outweighed at any stage by the inherent mutual hostility of all. At home, therefore, Franco’s masterly inertia has consisted of knowing when to give one of the groups something to keep it quiet, while stopping short of the full satisfaction that would provoke other groups to excess. That way, the sum of reasons for satisfaction always outweighs that of reasons for hostility.  


2Ibid., 447.
Though not a formal institution of the regime, the societal structure was undeniably influenced by the regime, and functioned as a complex social force, despite its vaguely defined parameters. By dividing and isolating the various groups within the society, Franco was better able to monitor and influence their interactions with one another, as well as with the regime. Through such machinations, Franco used the institutions and informal groups of Spanish society to maintain control. This intricate and carefully directed political drama was ultimately manipulated by one central, controlling force -- Franco.

The traditional institutions of Spanish society facilitated Franco's efforts in this area, because they were, by their very nature, means of dividing and differentiating people within a larger unit. Those outside the institutions were excluded from those within, and those within were separated and controlled by internal hierarchies. These layers of isolation contributed significantly to the power of the Franco regime to control the various cells in the hive of Spanish society.

*Societal Structure in Oppositional Literature*

Throughout the literature examined in this study, various societal groups and institutions are presented. Each of these groups has a role to play in the drama of the regime. While some are formal institutions that are well-defined and easily identifiable, others are more subtle and have more vaguely defined parameters.

The following examination addresses these institutions and groups as they are presented in the literature, focusing on several aspects of their function within Francoist society. Voluntarily or involuntarily, each group was assigned a different
role to play in the greater drama of the regime. These groups were also defined in different ways, be it power, status, wealth or some other identifying factor. This chapter examines how the groups operated within such roles, as well as how they were treated within the social structure controlled by the regime.

Related to the concept of societal roles is the manipulation of the groups. While some groups willingly accepted their positions in the social structure, others were forced into well-defined and isolated roles. Groups enjoying positions that were relatively free from restrictions needed little prompting to abide by the rules of the regime. Groups that occupied a less promising role often had to be coerced into maintaining their positions and functions.

The relationship between the various groups is also represented in these novels, as well as each group's relationship to the regime. Because some groups benefitted from the existing social structure, they willingly facilitated the efforts of the regime, while those less fortunate struggled against them. By pitting the segments of Spanish society against one another, the Franco regime was able to maintain control without expending unnecessary efforts to do so.

Due to the essentially literary nature of this examination, the concept of the "voice," or characterization, of the groups emphasized in the literature must be addressed. Although the authors in this study did not collaborate, and in fact one wrote in exile, they share common characterizations of the groups within Francoist society. The fact that the groups are portrayed with a specific characterization consistently throughout the literary selections suggests that the oppositional literature
is either depicting these groups as they actually existed in Francoist society, or that they are making an impressionistic statement about these groups.

The statements about Francoist society made by the authors in this study are presented through a variety of literary techniques, both subtle and direct. This examination focuses on the groups that were isolated within the Spanish society and isolated by the authors discussing them. These groups include the police and their importance to the regime, the Catholic Church and its relationship with the regime, the intellectuals of society, women and their role, the elites and their position and the labor movement.

**The Police**

The role of the police is clearly the most consistent of the groups presented throughout this examination. Interestingly, each author independently represents the police as the least restricted group in the societal structure. With virtually no accountability to the public for their actions, they operate with little regard for the law. As enforcers of the regime’s authoritarian control, the police literally are the law; they are subject only to the power of the regime on whose behalf they act. They are consistently portrayed as brutal, sadistic thugs.

The police, as presented in the literature, are also unique in that they are one of the few groups that voluntarily fulfills their role in society. Due to the lack of restrictions on their behavior, they are able to govern their own actions and judge their legality. Because such freedom is without equal in the literature, the police not only fulfill their role willingly, but wholeheartedly.
The authors are consistent in their depiction of the relationship of the police to the regime as well. As noted previously, the police are depicted as organized representatives of the regime's harsh and oppressive control over Spanish society. In return for maintaining this control and supporting the regime, the police are allowed to operate without restriction or responsibility.

This characterization extends to the relationship between the police and other members of society. During an interrogation scene in Goytisolo's *Marks of Identity*, the police make their lack of accountability painfully clear to Antonio.

"Let's see if I can make things clear. You played a game and you lost . . . You're in our hands and we can do anything we want with you. . . . Even kill you. . . . You wouldn't be the first to disappear."³

Similarly, in *Five Hours with Mario*, Delibes portrays the police as representatives of the parental authority of the regime, able to act upon others independent of their own laws, as presented by Carmen's lecture to Mario following his arrest and beating by the police.

"If a policeman in a fit of anger hits you with his fist don't think he's doing it for fun, of course not, but for your own good, just like we do with the children. . . . We have to accept it whether we like it or not . . . a country's like a family."⁴

Matute's characterization of the police resembles that of Goytisolo and Delibes, but is all the more sinister because of the novel's environment. The

³Goytisolo, 142.

⁴Delibes, 213.
community, like Spain, exists on an island isolated by war and politics; the brutal and sadistic Taronji brothers are the only authorities present.

The elites of the island support the authority of the Taronjis so that the brothers will continue to maintain the privileged positions of the elite. Working in tandem, the elites and the Taronjis are able to intimidate and coerce the rest of the community into maintaining this social structure. In reducing her perception of Spain to a smaller, more intimate microcosm, Matute emphasizes the brutality and unaccountability of the Francoist police.

The voice of the police, as an institution within Francoist society, is undoubtedly the most powerful of those presented in the literature. Although other institutions, such as the Catholic Church, may be more visible and publicly active, the police have the ability and the freedom to instill fear in the other members of society. This fear is emphasized repeatedly throughout the literature and cited as a principal source of the behavior that occurs within Francoist society.

**The Catholic Church**

As a traditional institution of Spain, the Catholic Church exerted its influence over the Iberian peninsula centuries before the creation of the Franco regime. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Church was instrumental in the development of Spanish myth and culture. Using this myth and the organized bureaucracy of the clergy, the Church was able to impose certain moral standards of behavior and control society to a great extent. The Church maintained its power in social and political arenas as
well, by aligning itself with the ruling monarchy which, in turn, delegated a great deal of authority to the Church.

Under Franco, this alliance of the Church with the ruling administration continued; as the monarch had not abdicated prior to leaving Spain, Franco contended that he merely ruled until conditions were more favorable for the monarchy. By exchanging its political endorsement for control over social areas such as education and charity, the Church was able to maintain a significant degree of political power itself.

Although members of the Basque and Catalan clergy were often torn by regional ties, the formal Church aligned itself with Franco’s Nationalists early in the Civil War. In July of 1937, Cardinal Isidro Goma y Tomas, Archbishop of Toledo, officially announced the Church’s support of the Nationalists by publishing a letter addressed to the "Bishops of the World."

The letter gave moral backing to the Nationalists, confirming the propaganda of a crusade of Good versus Evil. It fell just short of a full theological justification for the Nationalists. The document made the Church a party to the bloodiest of civil conflicts and the totally unchristian reprisals in its aftermath.5

"Under the Franco regime, the Church was an inseparable part of the establishment and enjoyed a highly privileged status."6

The Vatican supported Franco, cooperating with his administration until the Second Vatican Council, at

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6Ibid., 211.
which point the Church tried to eliminate its ties to the repressive regimes of many Catholic nations by establishing a policy of abstention from partisan politics.

Goytisolo portrays the Church as agents of the regime in his account of Alvaro’s attempt to gain access to the unused town library. "A priest in a dirty cassock crosses the square and looks at you out of the corner of his eye."7 When Alvaro is subsequently interrogated regarding his questions about the library, the author clearly completes this negative characterization by implying that the priest is the informant.

Matute presents the alliance between the Church and the ruling elite in her portrayal of the relationship between Monsignor Mayol and Grandmother. Like Goytisolo, she also employs the theme of uncleanliness in her discussion of the Church and its relations. While in the island Church, the protagonist, Matia, senses the lack of holiness therein.

A cruel sensation of violence. . . . I told myself that perhaps in the darkness of the corners bats nested, that there were rats fleeing and chasing one another among the gold of the altarpieces. Grandmother’s house was also somber and dirty.8

Like the police, the Church eagerly fulfilled its role in Francoist society in return for the considerable power it was granted in return. In negotiating control over the institutions of education, the Church was able to socialize the young citizens of the regime, exposing them not only to Catholic religious doctrine but to Francoist

7 Goytisolo, 320.
8 Matute, 71.
political dogma as well. Delibes explores this power in his portrayal of Mario’s plight as a teacher in Francoist society.

Do you think that a Christian can say right out, in the middle of class, that it was a shame the Church didn’t support the French Revolution? . . . A blasphemy like that? . . . How can principles be Christian if they consist in cutting off the right people’s heads?9

Control over the dispensation of charity was also powerful in that it allowed the Church to dictate to those in economic need, providing them with enough to survive, or denying them as punishment for their behavior.

The priest . . . said that he could not give us anything that my father had brought the trouble on himself that he should have left his family home and that God could not do anything for us and I went away from there very sad.10

With the police, the voice of the Church is one of the most consistent in the literature. While there is a respect for the foundations of Christian thought, as seen in Delibes’ use of Biblical verses, there is a clear theme of anti-clericalism throughout the various works.

The clergy is portrayed as decidedly un-Christian in its behavior; rather, it is a sanctimonious bureaucracy, filled with self-righteous hypocrites in cassocks, seeking only their own gain through the education, status and power accorded them by the Church.

Matute shares this characterization in her portrayal of Monsignor Mayol and the rejected seminarian, Lauro. The monsignor is always described in reference to

9Delibes, 181.
10Goytisolo, 315.
his appearance, as opposed to any philosophical thought, humanitarian act or internal quality. The author's portrayal of him is superficial and full of grandeur, while Matute's choice of words implies that the trappings of the Church and its affiliation with the monarchy blind its members to the truth.

Monsignor Mayol appeared in all his glory during those days. Grandmother was right, there was something of the prince about him. . . . Monsignor Mayol, tall and exquisite, was dressed in the palest of pink, and in gold and pearls. . . . The brilliance of it all blinded one's eyes.11

Similarly, Lauro is accorded no respect within the novel. As a matter of course, he is disrespectfully addressed by the children as Lauro the Chink. Despite his efforts to toady to the Monsignor, he is either ignored or ridiculed. Ultimately, the reader learns of Lauro's secret shame: he was rejected by the seminary because of his lack of faith. This humiliation is exposed repeatedly, as even the children threaten him with its revelation. "You'd better pray . . . even if you can't pray because you don't believe in anything. . . . Do you know what happens to old perverted apes like you?"12

Role of the Intellectual

The role of the intellectual in political opposition is a central one, according to William C. Martin. With the advent of the Reformation and the decline of religious dominance, secular intellectuals have stepped in to generate and establish ideology in

11Matute, 223.

12Ibid., 22.
modern society. The conflict arises when the intellectual inevitably questions the existing order and its ideology, undermining its legitimacy in favor of a new society and new worldview. The absence of this questioning results in a maintenance of the status quo and a conspicuous lack of change.

The political role of the intellectual is inescapable. When intellectuals have chosen to remain outside the ideological battle, this has had the effect of maintaining the existent social system.\(^{13}\)

Ralf Dahrendorf counters that the role of the intellectual is one of constructive criticism, leading to continual improvement and legitimization of the existent social order, rather than its overthrow. He likens the role of the modern intellectual to that of the court jester, or medieval fool, who operates outside the accepted social system, and is therefore able to criticize it in a way that others cannot.\(^{14}\)

The intellectuals presented in the literature of this examination typically fulfill the role offered by Martin. They are continually at odds with the regime. Their criticism is not meant to facilitate the ruling order, but to end it. The authors differ, however, in their perceptions of the possibility of change and the intellectuals’ role in society.

Goytisolo and Delibes present similar views of the intellectual in Spanish society. In the work of each, the role of the intellectual is one of an oppressed force


\(^{14}\)Ibid., 64-65.
for political and social change. Significantly, the brutality used upon the characters does not reduce their motivation or stop their agitation for progress.

Both authors draw from the commonality of Spanish myth in creating their intellectual protagonists in that each character becomes a martyr in the struggle against the regime. In employing the concept of self-sacrifice and martyrdom so prevalent in Spanish Catholicism, the authors establish a common bond with their readers and give their characters more validity.

The intellectual characters in these works also share a relationship to the regime and to others. In general, this relationship is an antagonistic one in which they are continually observed and controlled by the central force of the regime. Goytisolo’s characters of Alvaro and Antonio are both relentlessly hounded by the regime and forced into acquiescence through brutal treatment, imprisonment and exile. Antonio is arrested, tortured and exiled to his native region for the possession of books on democratic and socialist philosophies, while Alvaro is ultimately driven from the homeland that he seeks.

Delibes’ character, Mario, though subjected to more subtle forms of intimidation, is similarly monitored and mistreated by his superiors in collusion with the authorities. His teaching position is endangered as a result of his denunciation of the Inquisition and he is later beaten by the police when he is mistaken for a person of lower class while riding his bicycle.

The relationships between these characters and others shares the common theme of isolation. Goytisolo’s characters are isolated from others physically,
through imprisonment and exile. The isolation of Delibes' character is perhaps more insidious as he is alienated intellectually, by circumstance of his marriage and life in an authoritarian society. His wife, representing the narrow perspective of the regime, is not only unable, but unwilling, to understand him.

Mario doesn't have any reason to be depressed; he eats well and I do more for him than I can afford the time for... People who think a lot are infantile, Mario, haven't you noticed? Look at Don Lucas Sarmiento, simple tastes and some absurd theories about life, sort of philosophical or something.\textsuperscript{15}

Not for anything in the world would I want to have an intellectual child, a misfortune like that, I'd rather God took him instead, mind you. Recognize once and for all, Mario, intellectuals with their wild ideas, they're the ones who tangle everything up, all of them are half crazy, because they think they know things but the only thing they know how to do is make trouble, and the one who doesn't wind up a Red winds up a Protestant or something worse.\textsuperscript{16}

In spite of the derision they suffer, the voice ascribed to these intellectuals is notably rational. These characters consistently present the reasonable and thoughtful perspective of a situation; their political views do not attack or impugn other groups in society, as do the views espoused by the regime. As a group, these intellectuals demonstrate not only reason, but appear as the force for inevitable change. Clearly, Goytisolo and Delibes have characterized intellectuals, already identified as agents of political change, in an overwhelmingly positive manner to indicate their opposition to the regime.

\textsuperscript{15}Delibes, 69-70.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, 122.
In contrast, Cela and Sastre create a decidedly negative and pessimistic view of the intellectual in Spanish society. In The Hive, Cela’s character, Martín Marco, portrays the intellectual as an essentially non-productive member of society. Although José Ortega contends that Marco expresses indignation at the disordered society that impedes his progress, examination of the novel suggests that is the extent of Marco’s contribution to society.17

While Marco does not operate within the social order, he does not work against it either. His character is an object of ridicule in that he rejects the bourgeois notion of work, yet lives from the charity of those who embrace it. Although he, like the characters of Goytisolo and Delibes, is isolated from society, it is a self-imposed exile that he suffers due to his sloth and indolence. These traits, added to his hypocrisy and self-importance, create an intellectual incapable of leading any change.

Similarly, Sastre’s The Condemned Squad presents the character of Javier, a professor and intellectual, who was educated through the labor not of himself, but of his parents. It is clear that the other members of the squad believe that Javier thinks too much, and therefore, isolate him. His inefficacy is demonstrated in more serious terms when the reader learns that his crime was one of cowardice, that he left a mortally wounded comrade in battle.

The voice of the intellectual in Cela’s and Sastre’s work is virtually unheard -- even unworthy of being heard. These intellectuals are weak, their thoughts random,

and their ideologies without foundation. The sense of frustration and futility contrast sharply with the determination and optimism of the intellectuals of Goytisolo and Delibes. This disparity among intellectuals, about intellectuals, may be due to the hierarchical distinctions within that group.

The intellectuals of Cela and Sastre are academics, "ivory tower" philosophers who are detached from reality; although they may criticize the political or social system, they help sustain it by their participation as academics. Therefore, they are dismissed by the artistic intellectuals, who live their thoughts and work, despite the hardships this may entail.

**The Role of Women**

The literature in this study presents the role of women in Francoist society from an overwhelmingly negative perspective. Interestingly, the most negative female characters are consistently the most powerful. Through their actions, the characteristics of power and evil are linked, as are the traits of weakness and goodness. Underlying even the weak female characters, however, is an incipient evil that ultimately affects the other characters, particularly the males.

This dichotomous perspective of women is evident in Matute's *School of the Sun*. Although the protagonist lives in the traditionally patriarchal society of Spain, the household in which she lives is ruled by her authoritarian grandmother. The grandmother’s power extends beyond the traditional boundaries of the home, however. As a member of the wealthy political elite, connected to the Church and in
control of the police, Matia’s grandmother is possibly the most powerful individual on
the island. Yet she is a bitter and heartless dictator.

Her widowed daughter, Aunt Emilia, is her antithesis, spending her afternoons
drinking in her room and pretending that her husband will soon be home from the
war. Unable to confront the reality of her own life, she is equally unable to face the
truth about the injustice of the society in which she exists.

In *Five Hours with Mario*, Delibes expands upon the relationship of power and
the role of women. In emphasizing the suppression of women in society and their
empowerment in the home, he presents two different perspectives of women through
the character, Carmen.

Although Janet Díaz has pointed out that Carmen’s sex may be of
secondary importance, and that Delibes intended her to be a stereotype
of vain, materialistic, hypocritical, intolerant, and anti-intellectual
qualities of middle-class Spain, it is evident that Carmen thinks of
herself, first and last, as a woman, wife and mother.18

Carmen embraces the traditional role of women in Spanish society, professing
the desirability of a helpless, uneducated woman. She strives to fulfill these
requirements and encourages her daughter, Menchu, to do so as well.

What’s the use of a girl going on with studies, I’d like to know? What
does she get out of it, you tell me? Make herself all mannish. . . . A
young lady only needs to know how to walk, how to look, and how to
smile, and the best professor in the world can't teach her those
things.19

19 Delibes, 69-70.
Despite her weak role in society, Carmen exercises her power to its full extent in the home. She represents what M.C. Smith refers to as "the old Spain," embodying not only the traditional role of women, but the tradition of Spain.20 Ironically, the same tradition that restricts the role of the woman in society expands it in the home.

Both family and nation need authority. In the family, that authority is the Mother, and she recognizes the need to ally herself with the other symbols of authority, Church and State. Authority is the goal, and all else must be sacrificed to it -- even husband and children -- if the family or society is to continue its traditions.21

In Cela’s The Hive, Dona Rosa is undeniably the most powerful character in the novel. As proprietress of the cafe where all the characters interact, she makes the rules and has her employees enforce them. As Dona Rosa represents the regime, and her cafe a microcosm of Spanish society, her character is decidedly negative. She terrorizes the customers that patronize her business, as well as the employees that faithfully serve her. She doles out her humanity as infrequently as she does her wealth, despite the plights of various unfortunates in the cafe.

The remainder of the female characters in The Hive are noticeably weaker than Dona Rosa. While this weakness is often linked with goodness of intention or purity of heart, Cela makes it clear that it will eventually result in the character’s downfall. For Elvira, the middle-aged woman driven to prostitution, "within a few years, her

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20M. C. Smith, "Los versos bíblicos y la estructura binaria de Cinco horas con Mario," Hispanic Journal 3 (Spring 1982) [my translation]: 21.

golden dream may well be a bed in the hospital, close to the pipes of the central heating." Similarly, Victorita, who is prostituting herself to pay for her tubercular boyfriend’s medicine, begins to exhibit signs of the disease herself.

Perhaps one of the most striking portrayals of women is that within *The Family of Pascual Duarte*, in which all the female characters are depicted negatively. Duarte exists in a matriarchal world of his mother, his wives, his sister, his mare, and his bitch, all of whom exert negative forces of control over his destiny.

Alfred Rodriguez and John Timm contend that in Western culture, women typically represent the creativity and abundance of nature; however, the women of Duarte’s environment are either sterile and unable to create life, or unable to sustain the life once it has been created. Although Duarte’s sister, Rosario, is the most feminine of the women in the traditional sense, she is unable to conceive. Duarte’s wife, Lola, miscarry her first child and the second is still-born.

Duarte’s mother, while able to reproduce, is "monstrous and degenerate." She is depicted as a herpes-ridden crone of loose morals and incapable of affection who is often likened to a witch, or to Chispa, Duarte’s female dog. Yet her most significant failing is in her role as a mother. As Michael D. Thomas notes, "The first

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true resentment becomes apparent when the mother is deficient not as a person, but in her maternal role.\(^{24}\)

When her lover, and the father of her half-wit son kicks the boy on the scars where his ears were, before being chewed off by a hog, Duarte’s mother does not exhibit any maternal concern until after her lover has gone.

The old man gave him a kick with the other foot, right on one of the scars where his ears had been, knocked him senseless, and left him like dead. . . . [The mother] licked his wound all night long, like a bitch licking its pups.\(^{25}\)

David William Foster concurs with Rodriguez and Timm, citing the significance of the sacred image of the Madonna in a Catholic nation such as Spain, and its impact on the perceptions of women in the role of mother and nurturer.

That traditional fountain of virtue, the mother, is the most sinful and perverted member. In Catholic Spain where the cult of the Virgin Mary, the maternal prototype, has been developed to an extreme, such an arrangement on the author’s part is calculated to arouse violent reactions.\(^{26}\)

Even the female animals are depicted from this negative perspective. Chispa, the dog, has three puppies, yet they are still-born. The mare contributes to the miscarriage of Duarte’s first child when she shies and throws Lola.


\(^{25}\)Cela, The Family of Pascual Duarte, 44-46.

Through the women and the progression of the action in his novels, Cela establishes and reinforces a connection between femininity and destruction. Contrary to the perception of women as the source of life, Cela creates female characters who are not only unable to give life, but who eagerly destroy it. Duarte's carnal knowledge of Lola on his brother's fresh grave serves as a vivid metaphor for this link. Cela entwines these concepts again in his description of Duarte's vicious stabbing of the mare. "She only breathed deeper, and faster, like when we put her to stud."27 Duarte's matricide is the final blow against the evil of womankind.

Rodriguez and Timm contend that Cela's negative imagery of women is antithetical to the traditional Spanish image of women, and that Cela's subversion of the feminine image represents the destabilization of the societal structure; however, this negative perception of women is not unique to the work of Cela.28 The dichotomous view of women is an ancient one, reflected in the Madonna/Whore concept. Coupled with the prevalence of negative representations of women throughout the literature, it is probable that Cela's portrayal of women in his novels is instead an exaggerated metaphor for the narrowly drawn roles into which they were forced by a traditional and repressive society.

Unlike powerful, organized institutions, such as the Church and the police, the women of Francoist society were coerced into their roles. They did not share the same freedom of action or lack of accountability. Although they may have tried to

27Cela, The Family of Pascual Duarte, 80.

overcome their impotence in society by strengthening their power in the home, even this behavior is an outcome of their relationship to the external society of the regime. As George Wythe states, "One of the avowed objectives of the Nationalists was to restore woman to her traditional concern with church, children, and cooking."  

The suppression of women was institutionalized by the administration by subjecting them to the control of the Church and family, as Wythe notes, as well as restricting their access to economic achievement.

Francoist legislation penalized married women who stayed on at work by refusing them any family allowance, while those women who left work when they got married were rewarded with a so-called 'wedding bonus'... These laws favoured a rapid turnover in the textile factories and enabled employers to take on younger and lower-paid women.

Using the societal pressures of Church, family and economics, the regime was able to manipulate these groups into constricting the boundaries of women. This coercion of Spanish women into traditional roles is expressed in the literature through the characters previously discussed. It is noteworthy that all of the female characters who possess and exercise any degree of power do so at the cost of their humanity. Those without power are depicted as more compassionate, and therefore traditionally feminine, but they exist at the mercy of society.

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An interesting aspect of the literature in this examination is that while the female characters, both strong and weak, are all other-directed, or actively involved with other members of their environment, they have very little direct contact with the regime. This role seems to be dominated by the male characters, who are either active participants in the regime or vigorous opponents. The women exhibit less of a relationship to the regime than to other characters and society in general.

Though the family unit is the pillar of the society Franco desired, women, who orchestrate the functioning of that unit, are denigrated and devalued. Ironically, though they are essential to society at its most fundamental, biological level, women are portrayed as dispensable objects.

The voice of women as depicted in the literature is, overall, a weak and negative one. While some characters are accorded a certain degree of power, they are reduced to inhuman, soulless individuals. It would seem that in the Francoist society depicted in these works, a woman cannot hold power and retain any positive human, let alone feminine, qualities. Yet denied power, women exist at the pleasure of others, dependent on their families and society, reacting rather than acting.

The Elite

Without exception, the elites within the literature comprise two narrowly defined groups, divided by a subtle distinction. The outgoing elite of Francoist society are the traditional elite, descendants of the wealthy and powerful who cling to the remnants of their heritage. They are portrayed as penniless nobles, refusing to acknowledge the reality of their decline. Like the starving aristocrats of Spain’s
Golden Age who refused to soil their hands by labor, they are ridiculed in the contemporary literature. Cela's Don Leonardo, an impoverished drunkard, epitomizes this characterization.

"We, the Melendez, an age-old line connected with the most ancient families of Castile, were once upon a time the masters of lands and lives. Today, as you see, we're practically in the middle of the street."31

The emerging elite are defined not by family, but by economic means. The new elite is composed of professionals, businessmen and those assigned status through their ties to the regime. The significance of economics to the status of the elite is indicated by Matute in *School of the Sun*.

"Why is Grandmother mad at [Don Jorge]?"... [Lauro answered] "Why do lords and peasants stay at odds?" And he crudely rubbed his index finger against his thumb [indicating money].32

Throughout the works examined in this study, the role of the elite is presented as one of control, keeping those beneath them in their proper station. This social distance must be maintained even in death, as Goytisolo indicates in several discussions of the town cemetery and its reflection of social hierarchies.

The cemetery had been conceived originally as a peaceful and sleepy provincial town with gardens and avenues, squares and boulevards, niches for the lower and middle classes and sumptuous mausoleums for aristocrats and the wealthy.33

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32 Matute, 146.

33 Goytisolo, 53.
Virtually all of the elites in the literature not only accept, but relish, their privilege and power. There is no need to provide any threat or disincentive to oppose the regime, for the incentive to support it is so powerful. The authoritarian grandmother in *School of the Sun* exemplifies this willing elite force, as her "powerful social and economic position makes her an object of respect and fear on the island."\(^{34}\)

We are reminded about the seriousness of the division through the political assassinations on the island (one of whom is Manuel’s adoptive father), the ostracism and harassment accorded to families on the wrong side, and the fact that the fathers of Matia and Borja are fighting on opposite sides.\(^{35}\)

Like all groups within Francoist society, the elite exist at the pleasure of the regime, therefore they provide it with support and acquiesce to its orders, that they might sustain their elevated positions within the societal structure. In this way, the regime uses the elite to influence and manipulate the groups positioned beneath them within the hierarchy of the society to the benefit of the regime.

The elite control and manipulation focuses predominantly on the middle and lower class. Just as the Church establishes the standards of morality in Spanish society, the elite define the parameters of acceptable behavior and normality for all of society, whether they abide by these rules or not. The respect and fear accorded them and their ties to the regime facilitates the maintenance of these norms.

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\(^{34}\)Jones, 79.

\(^{35}\)Ibid.
Everyone ought to dress according to his class, and a gentleman’s always a gentleman, and he gets a different kind of respect and a different kind of consideration. . . . If a policeman, or half a dozen policemen, see you with your hat on, and with decent clothes, well turned out, it wouldn’t occur to them, mind you, and they wouldn’t have stopped you . . . because they’d be able to see a mile off that you were an influential person and a man of substance.36

Above all, to preserve their power, the elite must remain separate and distinct from those beneath them. Only by maintaining the societal structure, by forcing the lower classes into their assigned roles, can the elite protect and preserve the system that accords them their position of status and privilege. As Delibes’ Carmen notes, "If you gave yokels an elevator and central heating, they’d stop being yokels, wouldn’t they?" Matute and Goytisolo employ vivid imagery to symbolize the importance of preserving that power, describing repeatedly not only the physical walls that separate the classes, but the violence with which that separation is maintained.

The top of the wall was bristling with small pieces of broken bottle glass, sharp as teeth, ready to rip into the flesh.38

Alvaro intensely examined the wall surrounding the place which was crowned with a ridge of broken glass and pieces of broken bottles. His mother rang the bell at the door and a nun opened the latch and immediately closed it again, locking it with a padlock.39

Within the literature, the voice of both the traditional and the emerging elite is one that wields power over the lower classes, but is subject to the actions of the

36Delibes, 214.
37Ibid., 152.
38Matute, 77.
39Goytisolo, 41.
regime and its institutions. They are consistently depicted as a group that does not merit its privileged position and status, described as either penniless and inept nobility, clinging to a better past, or nouveau riche, who have acquired economic success and financial security through greed and avarice, grasping the superficial trapping and customs of the nobility.

Within these works, discussion of the class system focuses predominantly on the elites and the working class. The middle class is conspicuous by its very absence. However, the neglect of this group in the literature reflects the reality of the Francoist social structure, where the middle class was relatively small.

The lack of intermediary groups in a social system is of significance in that it is this absence which allows the elite to manipulate the masses without the benefit of any filtering mechanism. The middle class provides a sense of stability to society, serving as a buffer between the upper and lower classes. Deprived of a significant middle class, the elite of Francoist Spain were able to wield much more power over the working class than would have been possible in a society with a large, vocal intermediary class.

**The Role of Labor**

Under the Franco administration, trade unions were outlawed and replaced with the vertically structured Spanish Syndical Organization (Organizacion Sindical Espanola or OSE). Membership in this syndicate structure was obligatory for all workers and employers. Rather than an organization of equals led by their own, the
national syndicate instituted a hierarchical line of authority, developing policies at the regime level and implementing them at the regional and provincial levels.  

[The] Spanish Syndical Organization does not have the power to determine working conditions. It may make proposals to the Ministry of Labor, but only the latter has the power to determine wages and working conditions. . . . The Ministry of Labor has the ultimate power over the collective bargaining agreements.

It was against these restrictions that the outlawed labor movement of Francoist Spain struggled.

Like any labor movement, that of Spain strove to improve workers' wages and working conditions, using strikes to win specific gains and general power. Lacking a legal right to exist, however, the outlawed labor unions had to channel much of their efforts into merely sustaining an organized movement in the face of regime repression. Beyond the issue of survival lay the more distant objectives of attempting to remove government control over the supply, movement and price of goods. The scarcity of resources, worker abuse and inflationary prices in many areas led to widespread hunger and disease during the Franco years.

The plight of the exploited Spanish laborer is addressed by Goytisolo in Marks of Identity. Throughout his journey through Spain, the protagonist encounters Spanish laborers willing to work for even the lowest wage, eager to make contacts with someone who might enable them to leave Spain and its poverty. 


Ibid., 20.
fellow countrymen who thought they were free because they sold -- and it was a kind of progress -- their miserable working strength cheaply.\textsuperscript{42}

Yet those within the labor movement, compelled to maintain its infrastructure in the hope of future opportunities, were driven by ideology rather than material gain, possibly because they had already suffered through the deprivation and loss of the Civil War.

Spanish workers have often been described as passionately ideological, ever ready to sacrifice bread and butter achievements for utopian revolutionary aims. This alleged predilection has been cited as a reason why anarchism became a mass movement in Spain while it contracted elsewhere.\textsuperscript{43}

Due to its outlaw status, the relationship between the labor movement and the Franco regime was, not surprisingly, an antagonistic one. The regime had replaced the trade unions with institutions under its direct control, intending to absorb the membership of the defunct unions; however, the illegal labor movement simply went underground and continued organizing illegal strikes.

Goytisolo paints a vivid portrait of the Spanish worker and the corrupt exploitation of his labor by the regime in an account of the townspeople of Yeste, cheated out of their only means of survival.

Communal property, since time immemorial, it had slowly passed into the hands of the political boss during the period when the figureheads in the Yeste town hall did his bidding and ever since, the men who had

\textsuperscript{42}Goytisolo, 192.

habitually burned charcoal there saw themselves within the hopeless choice of unemployment or emigration.\textsuperscript{44}

The relationship between the labor movement and other institutions fared little better. Two relatively small Catholic labor unions were organized to compete with the government syndicate. Although these Catholic unions were illegal, the regime was reluctant to act against them considering its intimate relationship with the Catholic Church. Ironically, the same ties to the regime that facilitated the Catholic unions' existence led potential members to reject the movement, causing it to dwindle. In 1933, only five of every one thousand Spanish workers belong to a Catholic union, while the socialist union and the anarchosyndicalist union each boasted a membership of one million.

Given the Catholic elite's social distance from the working class, its utter failure to offer a plausible alternative to leftist anticlerical labor organizers was not surprising. . . . The Christian nature of the union was interpreted as prohibiting any form of conflict, no matter how peaceful, between workers and owners. . . . The Spanish Church's refusal to accept the inevitability of some degree of conflict between employers and employees deprived the unions it sponsored of their chief raison d'être. . . . The depressing image that emerges of a Church tied to the interests of a narrow capitalist elite is too familiar to require extensive elaboration.\textsuperscript{45}

The labor movement is given little voice in the literature. Although Delibes addresses the issue of social class, he does not expand upon labor issues. The concept of the general strike is mentioned, but is depicted as a spontaneous outburst rather than the systematic action of an organized underground movement.

\textsuperscript{44}Goytisolo, 108.

\textsuperscript{45}Winston, 5.
Only Goytisolo focuses on the plight of the Spanish laborer, forced into a role in which he can barely survive, but from which he cannot escape. Goytisolo's narrator returns to this theme repeatedly, emphasizing the poverty and hunger of working class Spain and the Franco regime's lack of response to its needs. The worker is depicted as grist for the mill, the stuff of which the Spanish economic miracle was made.

Considering the large number of workers struggling to survive in Francoist Spain and those attempting to emigrate, it is unlikely that the labor issue was unknown to the other authors; however, only the exiled Goytisolo was free to approach the topic directly and aggressively.

The Role of the Societal Structure

Each of the works examined presents Francoist society in a unique way, yet they all share the theme of carefully controlled units interacting under the auspices of a powerful central authority. The most direct approach to this theme is found in Cela's *The Hive*. The very title denotes a community of individuals, feverishly engaged in work. Through the center of this microcosm of Spanish society, the cafe, parade the members of society, each character identified with a particular group or institution. Because they all behave in accordance with their designated societal roles, the society continues to function. "The supposed detachment of classes is merely a technical one; the members of each stratum are inextricably linked to one another."46

In *The Family of Pascual Duarte*, Cela focuses on the manipulation of interaction within society through the protagonist. Duarte’s existence is so controlled that he makes no effort to manage his own life. He perceives himself as an object, acted upon, rather than a subject, acting. It is this conditioning and socialization from his society that is his ultimate downfall.

Society fails to provide Pascual the emotional support and intellectual tools necessary for the development of a coherent hierarchy of values and a framework within which to live his life. . . . He is reduced to reacting rather than acting.47

In *Five Hours with Mario*, Delibes continues the theme of controlled behavior. However, his protagonist struggles against this manipulation, attempting to act with initiative rather than react in a prescribed manner. The response of the Francoist society is to isolate him and repress his actions of individuality.

The most significant aspect of this response, however, is that it does not come directly from the central authority of the regime, but comes instead from the groups of society. The character is berated and ridiculed by the elite, criticized by his wife, rejected by the Church and harassed by the police. This network of manipulation succeeds where a single direct attempt might have failed.

While Delibes’ protagonist dies, Goytisolo’s characters are simply expelled. Alvaro and Antonio refuse to conform to the behavior norms established by the elites, the Church or the police. In response, Antonio is exiled to his native region where the forces of society are better able to exert a degree of control over his behavior.

Alvaro is simply rejected altogether. His society expels him like an organism rejecting a foreign body that irritates it.

Like Cela’s hive, Matute’s island is a microcosm of Spanish society, reflecting the distorted perceptions of justice and morality present in the Francoist social system. The actions of the Church, the police and the elite are more closely coordinated in this novel than in any of the others. The symbiotic relationship of these groups is portrayed very clearly, as is their manipulation of the island society.

The Grandmother clearly rules the island. The monsignor comes to her when summoned and uses his authority in the Church to support her decisions and actions, as the Church used its power to support Franco from the pulpit. The police are literally her henchmen. Although they exhibit a great amount of freedom in the extent of their brutality, it is sanctioned, if not ordered, by the Grandmother.

Sastre’s squadron of soldiers is also a microcosm, representative of the hierarchically ordered Francoist society, complete with injustice, absence of direction and repressive centralized control. Notably, the leader of this squadron society is a corporal, rather than an officer; he is no more qualified than his subordinates to lead. Isolated from any higher authority, the corporal’s power is tempered by neither reason nor justice.

Within the literature of this examination, various groups within the Francoist social system are emphasized. These groups and others composed the complex societal structure of Spanish society under Franco. Formal institutions of the society, such as the police and the Catholic Church, held the positions closest to the Franco
administration. These relationships were of mutual benefit in that the police and the Church provided their support and power to the regime, which, in turn, granted these institutions considerable power over other groups within Spanish society. In serving the regime, these groups were serving themselves. Though not a formal institution, the elites of Spanish society shared this symbiotic relationship, feeding off the regime in return for the protection of their privileged status.

The groups of intellectuals, women and labor did not share in the reciprocal relationship with the regime that the police, Church and elite enjoyed. Much of the antagonism between these groups and the regime was a result of their reluctance to fulfill the roles ascribed to them by the regime. This disinclination only exacerbated the tension between the regime and themselves.

Although the power of the repressive Franco regime was considerable, the scope of that power was expanded through the use of the different groups within Spanish society. By manipulating these groups, Franco was able to set in motion a series of actions and establish relationships that would maintain the desired societal structure, without the need for direct control by the regime. Skillfully managed, the groups interacted as planned and the system perpetuated itself with little maintenance. Goytisolo states as much in his novel.

Your homeland had become changed into a grim and sleepy country of thirty-odd million non-uniformed police. . . . In one way or another, the vigilante, the censor, the spy had secretly infiltrated the souls of your fellow countrymen. In every group, . . . the inquisition was reappearing with unsuspected disguises.48

48Goytisolo, 190.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

The alliance of literature and politics is one whose product is far more than the sum of its parts. In any society, literature can serve as a vehicle for political expression; however, that role becomes a pivotal one in a repressive society in which alternative means of political voice are denied. The writers of the opposition in Francoist Spain looked to their art not only as an avenue of dissent, but as an opportunity to incite change.

A variety of factors facilitated the advent of political change in Spain, some of which were, ironically, initiated by Franco. The depoliticization of Spain that followed the Civil War established an environment in which new ideas and ideologies might someday emerge. Franco’s restoration of the monarchy provided access to power for King Juan Carlos who would become a leader of the democratic transition. Similarly, the "economic miracle" engineered by Franco helped create the middle class base for a new democratic society. Ultimately, these factors contributed to the breakdown of traditional society and culture in Spain.

It is this political and social development that is reflected in the literature of the opposition. As discussed in previous chapters, the authors examined in this study employed myth, alienation, political opposition and the societal structure in their work to convey political messages to their readers. Though often subtle and oblique, these political statements are evident to the receptive reader and were effective in communicating with the reading public of Francoist Spain.
Literature and Politics

The relationship between literature and politics is a complex one. As an instrument of communication with the public, literature can provide exposure and access for both the dominant discourse of a society and the discourse of the opposition. It is precisely because literature can function as such a tool that the introduction of politics into literature is both "temptation and impediment" to the writer.1 The writer may wish to espouse a particular ideology or elaborate upon a political theme; however, he must balance the desire to express that message with the need to prevent the deterioration of the artistic component of the literary work. Conversely, if the political statement is too subtle, it may be lost in the irrelevant actions of unrelated characters within the literature.

Irving Howe contends that ideas and ideology can be successful neither politically nor artistically if they are expressed blatantly. Because political statements often elicit emotional responses and inspire feelings of commitment, they must be embedded in the context of the characters and action of the literature. Any overt expression of these powerful attitudes would manifest itself as a diatribe, thereby limiting its acceptance by the reader.2 This consideration is of particular importance in opposition literature, which cannot afford to alienate its audience or antagonize the state. A.P. Foulkes agrees that subtlety is a necessary component of political expression in literature if it is to be effective. "Ideology can function within a

2Ibid., 20.
language as interpretation propaganda, and can in consequence socialize speakers to
the point that they are oblivious of having been socialized."

Beyond maximizing the acceptance, and therefore efficacy, of the political
statement within opposition literature, a more fundamental incentive for the oblique
expression of political ideas and ideology is that of simple survival for the writer.
While overt declarations may eliminate any doubt about their interpretation or intent,
they also eliminate any doubt about the political ideology of the opposition writer,
making him vulnerable to the coercion of the dominant discourse or the state that
espouses it.

The totalitarian state, which frequently attempts to impose 'correct'
political interpretants by edict, can usually be expected to act swiftly
against authors and texts which might seem to be smuggling deviant
interpretants into the sign process. Authors are then imprisoned,
silenced, 'rehabilitated' in psychiatric clinics, or forced to rewrite the
offending texts. Texts likewise will be suppressed or rewritten, if not
by the author then by the censor.

Despite the problems inherent in producing opposition literature under a
repressive state, protest through literature is both possible and effective, as the
opposition literature of the Franco era in Spain demonstrates. Although the state need
not limit the expression of its own ideology from fear of reprisal, the freedom
afforded it also allows it to be interpreted as overt propaganda. That of the
opposition, however, by virtue of its need for subterfuge, may become even more
appealing to the populace of a repressive state.

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4Ibid., 41.
Even states like Nazi Germany, which made a systematic effort to control public and private consciousness by controlling language, found that their extraordinarily detailed directives concerning language usage could swiftly be subverted by popular processes.\(^5\)

It is through such popular and accessible media as literature that opposition writers are able to demonstrate the relationship between theoretical ideology and political experience. As Howe notes, the intellectual concept of society is internalized by the characters in political literature. The concept of the individual character and his political and social role in society are developed and explored in an effort to express a broader statement or a greater truth about the society as a whole. This political awareness, or lack thereof, is manifested in the character's behavior as he recognizes some political alignment or identifies with an ideology. As his ideological stance develops, the dialogue and thoughts of the character are either supportive of, or in opposition to, society.

The idea of society, as distinct from the mere unquestioned workings of society, has penetrated the consciousness of the characters in all its profoundly problematic aspects, so that there is to be observed in their behavior, and they themselves are often aware of, some coherent political loyalty or ideological identification. They now think in terms of supporting or opposing society as such; they rally to one or another embattled segment of society; and they do so in the name of, and under prompting from, an ideology.\(^6\)

While the character and his actions provide a context in which to conceal a political statement of the opposition, they also serve to emphasize political expression through the emotional responses or sacrifices of the character. The passionate

\(^5\)Ibid., 38.

\(^6\)Howe, 19.
environment of the literature lends the ideology added impact, to the point that the political theme may emerge from the literature almost as another character that has come to life.

The opposition writers of Francoist Spain reflect the problems and characteristics discussed here. Unable to express their political beliefs openly, these artists resorted to oblique criticism of the regime through their literary work. This technique allowed them not only to escape censure by the regime, but to couch their political statements in subtle and appealing texts.

**Depoliticization of Spain**

By the time of Franco's death in 1975, a number of factors had developed that would facilitate the ultimate end of the regime and the democratic transition to follow. As mentioned earlier, the depoliticization of Spain, the restoration of the monarchy, social and economic modernization, and the breakdown of traditional Spanish society all contributed to the political change within Spain after Franco.

Stanley G. Payne is quick to point out that, although some of the prerequisites for democracy may have been instituted by the regime, it was not Franco's intention that the regime become a democratic one.

It will not do to suggest, as have a few, that Franco can be given credit for the tolerant and democratic Spain of the 1980s. A dictatorship is not a school for democracy, and Franco was not responsible for the democratization of Spain. While permitting limited liberalization, he fought any basic alteration to the last, . . . . Despite this, some of his fundamental policies and achievements ironically became indispensable
prerequisites for successful and stable democratization without rupture or violence.7

Following the Civil War, the Franco administration undertook the task of securing its authority over Spanish society. One method of establishing this control was the depoliticization and depolarization of Spain. Ironically, the measures intended to facilitate the control of the authoritarian regime created a politically blank slate, of which Juan Carlos and the proponents of democracy later took advantage.

One of the most important of these preconditions was inherently negative, though quite significant, for the depolarization and depoliticization of Spanish society pursued by the regime after 1945 did leave behind it a situation in which a new start could be made, free of the extremism of the Civil War generation.8

From his experience with the Republic, Franco had learned that order required stability and that economic stability was one of the most secure foundations for the political order he desired. Following this pragmatic approach, Franco established a long-term objective of modernizing the Spanish economy and improving the living standards of his people. He believed that it was self-evident that politics had to be neutralized if Spain was ever to emerge from her centuries of poverty and stagnation. Since only he was capable of neutralizing politics, it followed that he had to remain in power if Spain was to make economic progress.9

Another aspect of this depoliticization effort was Spain’s position in the emerging post-WWII international order. Franco was well aware that his control

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8Ibid.

9Crozier, 448.
required a stable foundation of political order and economic stability, which could be achieved to some degree through international relations and trade with the victorious Allies. Therefore, in his typically pragmatic fashion, Franco ignored ideology and proceeded to curtail anything reminiscent of fascism in his regime. The power and visibility of the Falange were significantly reduced, superficial remnants of fascism such as the Roman salute were abandoned, and Franco added democratic phrases to the Spanish bill of rights, although nothing actually changed in practice. That which was not useful in achieving the anticipated objective was discarded, even if it meant purging a nation of ideology and political orientation.

Supporting the contention that the Spanish populace under Franco underwent a process of depoliticization are the results of a national survey taken in 1960, in which a "low level of information was conspicuous." By 1966, "even though the means of communication (especially television) had increased notably, the degree of information did not yet correspond to that of a politically developed country."

Political awareness is cited by de Miguel as the first condition for the beginning of a true democracy. The results of a later poll indicate not only that this condition was emerging within Spanish society shortly before Franco's death, but that the populace was ready for a more liberal leadership. By 1969, de Miguel found that the "liberal" beliefs are more acceptable than the "conservative" beliefs and, in the second place, that among the "liberal" beliefs the

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11 Ibid.
degree of discrepancy, the difference which separates the groups, is less than among the "conservative" beliefs.\footnote{Ibid., 215.}

Moreover, respondents in the 1969 survey indicated an awareness of, and desire for, specific liberal goals for themselves and for Spanish society. A "preeminence of "order and peace" as political objectives permeated every group."\footnote{Ibid., 216.}

When asked what they would tell Franco if able to speak with him, the respondents suggested "opening up of democratic institutions, more education, more growth, more freedom, etc. . . . There was also a degree of rejection of Franco which sometimes bordered on insult."\footnote{Ibid., 217.}

\textit{Restoration of the Monarchy}

Into this atmosphere of a growing political awareness and a process of defining political objectives came the restoration of the monarchy. Franco announced in 1969 that King Juan Carlos de Borbón would be his successor, although he did not anticipate the new king's plans for democratization.

Restoration of the monarchy was decisive, for only the monarch held the legitimacy and authority to lead a peaceful process of legal democratization. Only Juan Carlos, of all monarchist candidates, possessed the requisite combination of unusual qualities to undertake the process successfully, and Franco had not only selected him but had always left him a certain amount of freedom and distance with which to develop his own political personality; even though the outcome for which Franco hoped was quite different.\footnote{Payne, 640.}
Franco had originally declared Spain a monarchy in 1947; however, this early proclamation was primarily a political move designed to pre-empt the plans of the monarchist-republican opposition. By declaring Spain a monarchy, Franco was able to appease many elements of the monarchist movement, thereby significantly weakening the opposing coalition. By 1969, Franco realized that he would not live forever; however, his rule could survive indefinitely if he selected the successor who would rule in his stead. Ironically, the man Franco took such time and care to select assumed power only to dismantle the Francoist power structure and institute widespread democratic change.\[16\]

Juan Carlos was not the sole advocate of democratic change. Since the 1940s, a clandestine shadow government had been preparing, establishing an infrastructure, in anticipation of the end of the Franco regime. Upon Franco’s death in 1975, the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español) was prepared to assume power. This state of readiness, in itself, implies a widespread presence of organized opposition to the Franco regime.

**Economic Modernization**

A third factor in the transition of Spanish politics was the economic modernization of Spain. Ironically, the program of economic modernization initiated by Franco after WWII was intended to provide a stable political climate for his authoritarian rule, not to develop a class base for democracy. Spain’s historically

\[16\] Crozier, 438-39.
poor economy coupled with the devastation of the Civil War required a dramatic renovation if it were to help maintain political stability. Franco instituted just such a renovation in the creation of the Instituto Nacional de Industria (INI), designed to create and manage new industries. Control of the INI was delegated to Franco’s lifelong friend, Juan António Suanzes, and by the 1950s it had developed into a "sprawling economic octopus" that owned or shared in over seventy enterprises.  

During the "economic miracle" that lasted from 1951 to 1958, industrial production doubled and the Spanish economy experienced tremendous growth. Dams were built, steel works increased, construction surged, oil refineries began production, a small auto industry was developed, and the government initiated programs to purchase farmland and subsidize the production of wheat, rice and cotton.  

Franco’s economic resuscitation of Spain included limited involvement in the international market. In 1951, Franco’s administration began negotiating with President Truman to establish U.S. military bases in Spain; however, Franco was in no hurry to compromise, so the negotiations dragged on for two years. By 1953, Eisenhower was president; as a former general, Eisenhower recognized Spain as a vital military strategic point and came to an agreement with Franco on the establishment of the long-awaited bases. Once again, Franco’s patient, non-ideological pragmatism was rewarded. Although Franco was not completely satisfied

17 Ibid., 457.
18 Ibid., 458.
with the $85 million in aid and the $191 million Spain would receive to improve the Spanish Army, the arrangements with the U.S. created jobs for Spanish workers and increased domestic production.19

Although economic success was always an objective of the regime, it was not until 1959 that Franco opened the Spanish economy to the liberal international market. The growth and change of the economic realm were not easily contained and soon had an impact on Spanish society.

Social and economic modernization, finally carried out under the regime, were indispensable, for the middle-class Spain that replaced the old internally antagonistic society of the 1930s provided the necessary basis for democracy.20

The rapidly evolving society of Spain left behind the rigidity of Spanish custom and religious domination. The traditional discourse of the regime was being broken down by the widespread opposition within society. This growing opposition to the regime and desire for change was expressed by, and reinforced by, the literature of the opposition.

From its own point of view, the regime's great domestic failure lay in its inability to sustain its neotraditionalist cultural and religious policies. . . . Continuation of the regime itself was made impossible not so much by the mere death of Franco -- for the passing of Salazar had scarcely brought the Portuguese dictatorship to an end -- as by the disappearance of the system of Spanish society and culture on which it had originally been based in 1939. Francoist society and culture had largely been eroded away even before the Caudillo physically expired. Moreover, the absence of any clear regime ideology after 1958 made it impossible for any consensus in support of a Francoist orthodoxy to

19Ibid., 446.

20Payne, 640.
develop among the regime’s political and administrative elites in its later phase.\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{Opposition Literature of Francoist Spain}

The first three factors were, ironically, policies initiated by the Franco regime. These developments, in tandem with the literature of the opposition, contributed to the dissolution of traditional Spanish society. In attacking and displacing the dominant discourse of the Franco regime, the literary generation was able to disrupt the regime’s manipulation of Spanish society and prepare the way for a political transition. The writers of this generation were not only able to reflect the opposition present in society, but to participate actively in that opposition as well. By attacking the political discourse of the Franco regime and generating a new competing discourse, the generation of opposition was able to establish a basis for the eventual acceptance of democratic change within Spanish society.

As discussed in Chapter 2, myth is often used as a tool for establishing consensus and creating unity. Cassirer’s \textit{Myth of the State} draws upon this ability to produce a feeling of nationalism, strengthening the sense of a nation as a unified entity. In times of crisis, this unity often emerges to replace rational thought with the security of unity and a sense of belonging to a greater, more stable whole.

Beyond forging a national unity, myth is also used to generate the political discourse of a nation. By building upon the familiar myths of a society, a foundation of common knowledge is established from which the discourse of a political group or

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Ibid.}, 639.
generation can develop. Ironically, the same myths may be used by opposing political forces to create competing political discourses. This discourse, in turn, can provide the background for the works of particular literary generation, as in the case of the Franco era.

The Franco regime drew upon the myths and traditions of Spain's Catholic heritage, as well as mythic heroes such as El Cid, in an effort to align itself with the exalted heroes of Spanish history. Society's familiarity with these myths provided a secure foundation upon which Franco could build and justify his political policies and dogma. The regime's objective in employing these myths, then, was to maintain control over Spanish society and reinforce the status quo.

The use of myth by the opposition, however, was designed to disrupt the status quo and initiate political and social change. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Sorel contends that myths of the opposition are employed to gain radical change or destroy the existing political system, not merely to repair the current system. The underground survival of these myths of the opposition in Spain, despite the repressive nature of the Franco regime, indicates the importance and persistence of myth in society. In Francoist Spain, the myth of the opposition persevered and provided a foundation for political change.

The significance of the myth of the opposition lies in its ability to motivate, to stimulate and to activate. Truth and rationality are relative terms, but mobilization is a tangible force. Just as the regime used the myth of a Paradise Lost to depict a united Spain of the past threatened by leftist forces with foreign ties, the opposition
employed the same myth to represent the fallen Republic, brought down by the unholy forces of the political right. The essence of oppositional myth, then, is not necessarily in its substance, but in its potential to generate power.

Another component of the political change initiated by the opposition is that of alienation. Throughout its history, Spain has been isolated by a variety of factors. Geographically, Spain has always been isolated from its neighbors by the sea and the mountains. Under Franco, Spain became isolated both politically and intellectually from the international arena of the advanced Western world. Within Spain, the nation experienced the political isolation of society into supporters of the regime and the varied groups of the opposition.

Many individuals from the opposition were exiled or fled Spain of their own volition, while others remained in Spain but were physically exiled to a particular region. Still others were intellectually exiled within their own nation, unable to influence or be influenced by, events and ideas of the world beyond Spain’s borders.

The many layers of alienation in Francoist society ultimately filtered down to the level of the individual, producing a society that was ironically bound together by the many facets of its alienation. The literature of the Franco era reflects this alienation through its characters, their dialogue, the manipulation of time, and the physical structure of the text. As discussed in Chapter 3, alienation existed in various forms within Francoist society, extending from the international level of alienation that Spain experienced politically and economically, to the level of the individual, alienated from the freedom of a political orientation as well as from the liberty of a
political voice. The power of this overwhelming alienation in the literature of the opposition, as well as within Francoist society, then, is that the commonalities of alienation were the very factor that lent unity to the opposition.

If, as Rumbelow contends, the expression of alienation results in its elimination, the overwhelming presence of alienation in the literature of the opposition facilitated the breakdown of the intellectual, political and social environment of the Franco regime that isolated this discourse. In overcoming its alienation, the writers of the opposition aided in readying the society for a political transition.

Franco tolerated the presence of this limited opposition not out of any benevolent attitude toward political dissidents or any affinity for democracy, but to further his own objectives. Always one to seek the pragmatic approach over any ideological principle, Franco had several practical reasons to permit a restricted amount of dissent against his regime.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Linz proposes that in allowing a limited opposition, Franco could cite the continued presence of this opposition in Spain as evidence of an implicit acceptance of the regime, or as an indication of their ineffectiveness in initiating political change. Either choice would have a negative impact on the opposition rather than the regime.

This tolerance also prevented a disintegration of the regime’s reputation, both domestically and internationally, in the area of human rights. In citing the presence of the opposition, the regime could defend itself against accusations of authoritarian control. Furthermore, the presence of a limited opposition provides a safety valve for
dissent in a repressive society and expresses discontent that might be more dangerous if manifested by an organized political group.

Franco’s tolerance of limited dissent, therefore, can be seen as simply another pragmatic attempt to control Spanish society. The opposition is presented as either an agent of the regime or a co-opted illusion of dissent. The continued presence of a limited opposition in Francoist Spain was not an indication of the power of the opposition, but merely the pragmatic response of a goal-oriented ruler.

Having acknowledged the authoritarian control of the Franco regime, it must be noted that the expression of political opposition that is so prevalent in the literature of the Francoist era indicates the presence of a definite opposition within society. While this opposition was unable to display its objectives overtly due to the restrictions of the regime, the elements of its discourse were manifested in the form of indirect criticism through popular literature.

Assessing the role of oppositional literature in Spain’s political transition is difficult in the context of Franco’s policy changes and the accompanying political and social developments; however, the presence and power of oppositional literature cannot be ignored. As discussed in Chapter 2, while literature may reflect reality, accurately or inaccurately, it can also affect reality in that it functions as a catalyst for action, a motivating force for change. The readiness of Spanish society for the democratic transition following Franco’s death indicates the presence of a well-organized, clandestinely developed oppositional movement.
The existence of such opposition within the segments of Spanish society is expressed in the oppositional literature. The resistance to accept the societal roles imposed by the Franco regime, as expressed by the disenfranchised groups within the societal hierarchy, indicates a disruption in the social system and infrastructure of society that Franco manipulated so extensively.

Franco manipulated the informal groups, as well as the formal institutions, within Spanish society. By controlling their interactions with the regime and with one another, Franco was able to maintain his authoritarian control with a minimum of effort. By pitting various groups against others in an attempt to promote their own interests and status within the societal hierarchy, Franco was able to construct a scenario in which those around him struggled against one another, rather than against the omnipotent regime.

Franco enhanced the already considerable powers of the Church, the police and the elite, making them formidable allies in the battle to maintain control over Spanish society. Through these institutions and his own bureaucracy, Franco was able to control less compliant groups, such as intellectuals, women and labor.

Freedom of speech was permitted -- as long as it served the interests of the state. This regulation of speech and print was forced upon the intellectuals from the pulpit of the Church, which decried their political heresies as readily as any religious ones. This control manifested itself through coercion by the police as well, using written law and unwritten code to judge and punish transgressors. The economic
power of the elite to deny employment was no less significant in the daily survival of these intellectuals.

Similarly, women were relegated to a lower position in the hierarchy of society. This attitude was reinforced by the Church and its mythic conceptions about the role of women in society. Women's status under the regime was further enforced by the economic sanctions placed upon women who did not marry and embrace motherhood.

The labor movement was more blatantly punished. It was initially outlawed, then replaced by the institution of vertical unions, or syndicates, ultimately controlled by the regime. Although there were small Catholic trade unions that existed unmolested by the regime due to its close relationship with the Church, they were regarded as circumspect due to those very ties with the administration.

Although the disenfranchised groups of Francoist society provide the clearest examples of manipulation and coercion, the supporters of the regime were used as tools as well. The various institutions and associations within society were controlled by Franco in an intricate and complex series of interactions designed to maintain or enhance Franco's authority. As discussed in Chapter 5, Franco was at heart a pragmatist, not an ideologue, and this manipulation of society provided him with the means to achieve his own objectives for the regime and Spanish society.

Although Franco inadvertently contributed to the downfall of his own regime through his political and economic policies, the dissolution of the traditional society and culture that perpetuated his rule can be attributed, in part, to the presence of the
opposition and oppositional literature within Spain. This study concludes that although unable to actively and openly promote dissent within the regime, the writers of the opposition under Franco not only reflected the opposition within society, but participated in its development by contributing to the initiation and acceptance of the idea of political change.

In establishing a new political discourse, they initiated a new direction of thought and a new set of objectives for Spain. By recognizing and emphasizing the injustice of Francoist society, albeit indirectly, through their literature, these writers not only reflected the dissatisfaction of opposition groups within society, but further stimulated and disseminated that dissatisfaction, strengthening the desire for political and social change in Spain. These writers drew upon the myth of their common past, the alienation that isolated yet united them, their unified rejection of the regime and the resistance to imposed societal roles in an effort to prepare Francoist society intellectually and emotionally for the political transition.
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From 1981 to 1985, Margaret Carmell Gonzalez attended the University of Louisville where she received a Bachelor's Degree, majoring in Political Science and Spanish Literature. She then completed the coursework for a Master's Degree in Spanish Literature, after which she moved to Madrid where she worked and studied for a year.

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