Foundational Landscapes: Visuality and Regimes of Historicity in Francoist Spain

by

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my family for their support and encouragement throughout the years, but especially to Félix Zamora Mozos, Maria del Carmen Gómez Díaz, and Carmen Pilar Zamora Gómez. To Héctor Vázquez Zamora and Marcela Vázquez Zamora, I could not be prouder to be your uncle, I deeply love you and cannot wait to share more time with yousoon. This dissertation is likewise dedicated to Laura Pensa for helping me peel off those layers of pain and grief and set free a more kind, more loving, and more joyful version of myself. To Marisol Fila for always showing me kindness and attention and for teaching me that, in the end, we are all going to become compost. To Javier Zapata Claveria for helping me envision a life across time and space. To Dante Wadley for showing me love and generosity, and for being my safe place throughout the years, first as partner, and now as friend. To Cristina Moreiras-Menor for her patience, hospitality, and curiosity, all of which stand at the heart of this dissertation.

Acknowledgements

My first memories of my intellectual life begin with my parents, my mother was always by my side nurturing what would turn out to be my passion for history. Although I cannot remember my age at the time, I remember with fondness receiving a box at Christmas that contained reproductions of objects from ancient Egypt. A sheet of papyrus, an ink-stamp of different hieroglyphs, several amulets, and a book that I read and re-read over the years as I realized that I wanted to be an archeologist when I grew up. My father's passion for painting was a major impetus me to explore the arts, take comic-drawing classes as a kid, and he provided me with books on Impressionism (his favorite), Renaissance art, and more. Although over the years my interest turned toward contemporary art and less "artistic" objects (according to his views), I cannot help thinking of my father every day that I get to enjoy working on and surrounded by art. Along similar lines, my sister has played an equally central role in defining who I am. I am reminded of her support, relentless belief in me, and determination to accompany me through the years now that she is raising the two stars who have brought vitality back to my family: Héctor and Marcela.

My parents come from an interesting generation of Spaniards, the first that could be fully considered to be members of the "middle class." While the fantasy of economic and social stability has progressively faded away for generations like mine or my sister's, they were always fully aware of the unique opportunity that it was for us to excel in school and went to the university, an opportunity they did not have. They both come from families of farm workers and coal miners who experienced war and political oppression first-hand. In the mid-50s, when Spain

was going through an expedited process of industrialization built upon thousands of dead bodies and extreme poverty, my grandparents left their hometown and occupations as agricultural labor become factory workers, and "ascend" the social ladder.

As a result, my cousins, my sister and I grew up surrounded by constant reminders of the importance of getting an education if we wanted to "be something in life." Although this narrative may be common common for all members of our generation, it resonates differently for each of us as a result of the varied histories, agents, and elements that define our family heritage. It has taken me multiple years and immigration to another country to start exploring the individual factors that could help me understand the specific and utterly personal motives behind my parent's insistence on our education. One aspect has been crucial for me to make sense of this: recovering the diaries that my maternal great-grandfather, Cayo, wrote in prison during the post-war period. In addition to his diary, two years ago I was lucky to uncover the archival traces of his time in the prison camp, a detailed profile of his political affiliations, and descriptions of the interrogations he went through when he was arrested during the early days of Francoism.

Although learning about his experience of boredom, fear, and hope in the camp of Orduña during the 1940s was central to understanding his son´s--my grandfather Ponciano--ardent hatred towards the political right, there is one striking element that helped me make sense of my heritage and its intersection with education. My great-grandfather Cayo was literate, or so I believe, and his handwriting denoted skill and was somewhat delicate and decorated. When he ran out of stories to tell, he turned to copying the dictionary. Learning this has always been extremely striking to me; I vividly remember my grandparents' handwriting, the angular and almost childish shape of letter, and the simplicity of their signatures. These two contrasting images speak to me of the deep education and cultural lacuna that the postwar generation

experienced, passed down to my parents, who attended vocational school, and from there to my sister and me. I see this legacy in my cousins, my aunts, and my uncles. I know for a fact that they always root for me, for my personal and professional growth, and for my well-being. They have never desisted in reminding me where I come from but also of how far I can go on this path of self-realization. I am proud of them. I love them.

Aside from my family, it is hard to trace backwards the steps that have led to this point in my life, but I will try my best. With the defense of this dissertation approaching, it is complicated to differentiate between the academic and the personal since the former enabled me to grow in so many different aspects of the latter. In doing so, it becomes clear to me that in my academic life there are a few outstanding educators who helped me realize that there was a future ahead of me; there are also a few educators who took it upon themselves to hinder my ability to grow for who knows what reasons. Although these acknowledgements will clearly highlight experiences and moments of the first kind, it is important to also show how the second kind informed my views on the kind of researcher and educator I never want to become.

I vividly remember being four or five years old when my teacher, Conchita, slapped me in the face for coloring outside the lines. Her robust golden rings and pointy red nails are my first memory of having to stay within the boundaries of what was expected of me. I also recall being told I could only aspire to be a flight attendant given that my flamboyant mannerisms as a teenager would prove useful for professional path. Similarly, I cannot forget when my teacher, Victoria, asked why I insisted on making my life so complicated after she saw 17-year-old Félix kiss a girl; after all, it was *so clear* to her that I was gay. I will dedicate a few lines to the countless bullies I encountered through the years. Their physical and psychological warfare against me made me hate school, hide my true self, and question my every single move.

Unfortunately, this relentless hatred convinced me that the only way to survive school was by becoming a bully myself. Every day I strive to undo this damage by being gentler with myself, nurturing the child in me, caring for him, and telling him he is worthy of love.

I was lucky to cross paths with José Ramón Delgado Jiménez, a teacher who was kind and compassionate. I recall when he called my mother for a parent-teacher conference. I remember the fear of thinking he was going to tell her of my terrible performance in school. Instead, he told her that "I could become a great humanist." Although far from true, this is the first kind and encouraging words I can remember. When I was sixteen, Pedro Gutierrez Abad came to my school as a substitute teacher of Latin and Greek. The first adult gay man I had ever met; I remember being the first one to step foot in his classroom. He was twenty-seven, this was his first job as a teacher. I slammed the door; we stared at each other and silently recognized each other as gay. After the end of that year, during the summer recess, he sent me and my two classmates a handwritten letter, a gift (a Damien Rice CD), and a text in Greek to encourage me to continue practicing. He returned to my school, no longer my teacher, and our friendship flourished, he taught me how to navigate my queerness after so much bullying, heard me complain countless times about the hardships of living in a small town, an experience he knew so well. Soon after, Pedro aka Petrus Rubeus Magnus, helped me find a house in Madrid when I moved there at age eighteen. I am extremely privileged to count him as a close friend. I only hope to have more opportunities to dance with him to "Electricistas" by Fangoria, our song.

During my time in Madrid there were innumerable professors who never missed a chance to remind us of of our inability to learn the innumerable years, names, and locations that unfortunately seem to make up the core of the discipline of Art History. I had to wait until my last year to meet Professor Jaime Brihuega, and his teaching of Goya and his openness to

creative forms of research and writing continue to remind me of who I want to be as a teacher and researcher. One memory stands out: during a deep depression that left an indelible mark on me, he found time to chat about my interest in art and literature dealing with Nazi concentration camps and the work of Polish artist Mirosław Bałka. I had experienced Bałka's exhibition, *CTRL*, at the Museo Reina Sofía alongside my friend Adolfo, and I remember being paralyzed by the sheer darkness and howling sounds of the installation piece. I remember feeling fear at the museum, such that a place of safety and dullness had suddenly become vibrant and emotional to me. The connection between Bałka's *CTRL* and Goya's *Corral de Locos* led to a conversation in Professor Brihuega's office during which he shared with me that, at the height of his research on Francoism, he suffered a heart attack. For him this was a wakeup call that reminded him of the need to take care of himself. During that conversation, he encouraged me to make time to read other things, and in particular, the writings of Alejo Carpentier. In exchange, he promised to give me a catalogue of an exhibition he had curated. I am still waiting for that catalogue, but the imprint of that conversation stays with me, even if I frequently forget to follow his advice.

My interest in the work of Mirosław Bałka led me to more readings on the Holocaust. The following year, 2012, I was extremely lucky to be a student of Professor Rebeca Sanmartín Bastida. She first recommended to me *La escritura o la vida* by Jorge Semprún, and then she changed my life. I spent that year dissecting Semprun's writing alongside Giorgio Agamben's *Remnants of Auschwitz*. Aside from class assignments, these two books were the only ones I read that year, at the library of the Facultad of Geografía e Historia at the Universidad Complutense during the years of economic recession when we did not have heating. My memories of reading these books are intertwined with feelings of my feet being extremely cold, which is still today my most hated physical sensation. These two books represent my first encounter with philosophy

and autobiography. I still have them, completely stained with markings and annotations, and full of colored sticky tabs organized by color denoting themes. They have been with me in every move, always accompanying me whenever I begin a new chapter of my life. Rebeca's class was my first experience devoting so much time to reading literature carefully. Her courage to set Lorca in conversation with Foucault stands out in the intellectual emptiness of those years. As for Rebeca, I still have her by my side as a friend and mentor. I hope someday we will have time to go back to Semprún and write that book we have always talked about.

During those days I attended the weekly public seminars offered by the Centro de Arte 2 de Mayo, where I learned about contemporary art and critical theory. This experience compensated for my professors' seeming lack of interest in contemporary art. Together with Rebeca's course on 19th and 20th century literature, my time as student and then educator at CA2M paved the way for me pursuing a PhD. Philip Noonan (now professor at Boston University) and I shared an apartment when he was an undergraduate student abroad in Spain, and he was the first one to encourage me to explore graduate careers in the US, something I thought completely impossible to materialize. I then met Nora Schucat in the first months of 2012, she was in Madrid completing her master's degree. During our first conversation she told me about Oberlin College, their exchange program, and her belief that I was a perfect candidate for a position as teaching assistant. I cannot thank you enough, for you changed the course of my life. For months, I crafted my application with the help of my roommate at the time, Joe Little. I put it in an envelope and sent it to the office of the Department of Hispanic Studies. Months later, I received an invitation for an interview, a few days after the passing of my maternal grandfather Ponciano, and weeks before the passing of my uncle Santiago.

My days at Oberlin were, in all seriousness, filled with joy. Suring my time there, I was immensely lucky to meet fabulous colleagues who now are friends: Vanessa Peláez, Marcela González Hage, Patty Tovar, Larisa Colón, Salvador Raggio, Eli Cohen, Blanca Villar, Brian Cope, Cornelius Graves, Gabriela García Greco, and Barbara Sawhill. Their support was central in helping me navigate my first experience as an educator in an academic setting, understanding the intricacies of being a migrant, and realizing my potential. Sebastiaan Faber was the one who made me aware of doctoral programs and recommended the University of Michigan as a good program to apply to and Cristina Moreiras-Menor as a mentor. Finally, I would like to give special, infinite and resounding thanks to Patty Tovar and Larisa Maite, you are my family in this country, you are my sisters and my friends. I cannot emphasize how important you are in my life, how loved you make me feel every single day. I love you deeply.

My arrival in Ann Arbor—and the beginning of my time as a graduate student—was full of excitement and hopes, but also anxiety and insecurities. The company and friendship of Matías Beverinotti, Pedro Aguilera, and Priscila Calatayud equipped me to navigate this university, the seminars I took, and my life here. In my nine years at UofM, I have come across excellent colleagues like David Campbell, Sabrina Righi, Jim Carter, Travis Williams, Elena Martínez Acasio, Esteban Kreimerman, Luis Miguel Dos Santos, Youngkyun Choi, Steven Kurtz, Garima Panwar, Sahill Kumar, Bárbara Caballero, Mariel Martínez, Juanita Bernal, Ludmila Ferrari, Roxana Maria-Aras, Richard Bachmann, Grace Mahoney, Jodi Greig, Raquel Parrine, Drew Johnson, Laura Martinelli a.k.a La Veci, Ana Luisa Guimaraes, Alejandro Vela, and Alejo Stark; thanks to you all for your invaluable friendship. In recent years I have had the luck to meet Anna Brotmann-Krass and Diego Pena to whom I wish their very best in the years to come. You have a friend here.

I want to especially thank María Ferreiro for her friendship and love. I simply cannot wait to see you grow even more into the amazing colleague you already are. Almost ten years after leaving CA2M, I had the amazing opportunity to reconnect with its former director Ferran Barenblit here in Ann Arbor. Sharing these two years with him stands out as one of the most enriching experiences of my time as graduate student. I cannot thank him enough for encouraging me to believe that pursuing a career in museums was possible for me. Similarly, the larger UofM community includes amazing individuals whose support has been crucial: Barbara Álvarez, Melissa Levine, Brad Taylor, and Margaret Hedstrom. Thank you all for your friendship. The Department of Romance Languages and Literatures is lucky to count amongst its ranks an amazing array of lecturers and staff. In particular, I want to thank Stephanie Goetz, Mar Freire, Susanna Coll, Kristina Primorac, Michelle Orecchio, Olga Gallego, and Rashmi Rama for their friendship throughout the years and all the things I have learned from them. Desiree Laurencelle holds a special place in my heart for all her support as Graduate Coordinator and friend. Shoutout to Carissa Van Heest, Kara Rumsey, and Carrie Berger for being so amazing.

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Blanco, the scope of your work and innovative approach to history is an inspiration to me. Your generosity over the years stands out, and I want to thank you for that. Most recently, I met professor Mónica Lerma who has always supported my scholarship and work, my gratitude goes to you.

I am extremely privileged to spend my last year as a graduate student at University of Michigan Museum of Art. While there, I have been fortunate to work with amazing professionals like David Choberka, who is an inspiration for me. Robin Thum-O`Brien, Laura de Becker, Jen Freiss, Isabel Engel, Natsu Oyobe, Jacob Ward, Jim Leija Lisa Borgsdoff, Erika Larson, Lynn Hayes, Katie Prichard, Kate Holoka, Chris Ankney, and Tina Olsen. You have made me feel seen and validated. Every day, I go to work with a smile and excitement for what is to come. Amanda Krugliak, you helped me believe in my ability to curate art, and I can only hope for more years of friendship and learning from you. It has taken me over a decade to find my way back into museum work, and I could not have had a better place to do so than UMMA.

Throughout the years I have had amazing friends by my side. In the distance, from Spain and elsewhere you have shown me what true care is. Natalia David Cano, Amalia Ruiz Larrea, Cery Garí Navarro, Antonio Menchen; thanks, from the bottom of my heart. Laura Ripoll, Auri Ladeira, Estíbaliz de Miguel, Anneke Raskin, Mutiu, Brianda, María López and my friends at Estudio Sincronía. Thanks to Jon Snyder, Lee Douglas, and Leo Cortana for their friendship and support, you truly are amazing humans. Special thanks to Yunuén Sariego, I cannot wait to see you again, laugh, and enjoy Mexico City with you. Thanks to Daniel Ángeles Rivera, I wish we were closer every day. To Naïri Davidian for her decade-long, relentless support and friendship across continents. To Susannah Greenblatt, I cannot wait to read your book and work with you,

thank you so much. To Christine Martinez for being such an intelligent and amazing human being, you are incredibly talented my friend.

From my days growing up in Puertollano I have amazing friends whose companionship has never ceased to amaze me: Elías Santos Bueno, Víctor Sánchez Chocano and Sara Galán García. Natalia Ferreti, wherever you are, I am still here, and I hope we reconnect sooner than later. María Zapata Clavería, my Goya 10 Glam Club buddy, you are so inspiring. Special thanks to Javier Zapata Clavería, my emperor, dopplegänger, neighbor, classmate, companion; we grew up together, learned together, lived together, and emigrated together. You are a unique individual who has been along my side in the most special moments of my life, and I love you for that and for so much more.

Finally, there are four individuals who deserve a special thanks. Professor Cristina Moreiras-Menor…wow, what a trip and a privilege to be your student and friend. Words prove useless to describe the admiration, gratitude, and love I feel towards you every single day. I met Cristina at a now defunct café in Ann Arbor in 2014, since then you have never stopped believing in me, supporting me, accompanying me both in grad school and in life. You and Gareth are family to me. Sharing conversations, laughter, and tears with you has helped me SO much to come out of my shell, deal with my insecurities, believe in myself, and grow into a better human being. I pity those in RLL and beyond who missed their chance to engage with your radiance. Speaking of family, Marisol Fila and Nacho Canosa, mi comunidad, os amo hasta el infinito. Laura Pensa, chiiiild. We raised the most beautiful and complex dog in existence, León. You are home, wherever you are you always are home to me, safety and joy. You have taught me to be gentler with myself, to be firmer and more grounded in this world. There are not enough words to thank you for all that you have done for me.

Judit Parejo was with me the moment I send my letter of resignation to my part time job back in 2011. We met working at Camper and became friends right away, she has been extremely supportive and reassuring to me. She makes me feel at home; I love you. Adolfo Carrasco; you and I did not necessarily like each other very much when we met. Over the years you have become a central component of my life. We have laughed, cried, fought; you have allowed me to edit *Bicho* with you, and I cannot wait until *Pajaparques* become a reality. You have taken me to places in life where I thought I would never find myself, and I want so badly to be, at least, half as courageous and amazing as you are when I grow up. I love you bebé. Finally, Dante Wadley, I seriously do not have words to describe what I feel towards you, and I do not want these acknowledgments to turn into a love letter…. but I kind of cannot help it. I love you so so deeply, you are so brilliant, so caring, so unique. Your companionship and love have made me feel like the luckiest man in the world. The three years we spent as a couple were the most challenging and enriching years of my life and, thanks to you, I have been able to put behind so much trauma and pain, embrace joy, and become a better human on this Earth. Dante, I only hope the future hold amazing and beautiful moments together. I love you.

This journey would not have been possible without the support of Joe Breaky and Denis Pascon. Having them as my therapists has brought so much growth to my life. Thanks to both of you. This may be a long list of acknowledgments, perhaps too biographical, but I cannot help it, this dissertation does not solely represent the culmination of my time as a graduate student, but the climax of ten years as a migrant, and of a much longer and ongoing journey of undoing harm and learning to love myself.

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Abstract

This dissertation traces the ways in which the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975) mediated its relationship with history through visual culture. Through a broad approach to visual culture that includes architecture, museum culture, film, television, and the visual arts, this project explores the ways in which the materials studied aided in producing what François Hartog defines as "regimes of historicity" to define the articulation of the relationship between past, present, and future. This dissertation is organized following the traditional historical periodization of the dictatorship and each chapter is treated as a specific "regime of historicity." The first chapter analyzes the magazine *Reconstruction,* various documentaries directed by the Marqués de Villa-Alcazar, and the architectural thought of the time as the elements that conceptually sustained the process of national reconstruction during the post-war (1940s and 1950s). The second chapter focuses on the celebration in 1964 of the *XXV años de paz* during the years of economic development in the 1960s with a particular focus on the exhibitions *España 64, España en paz,* the Spanish Pavilion in the New York World's Fair, and the film *Franco, ese hombre.* The third and final chapter studies the connection between the later years of Francoism and Spain's transition to democracy in the 1970s through the analysis of the TV show *La transición* and the work *TVE: Primer intento* by artist Antoni Muntadas.

I analyze the role of these materials in the articulation of these three different regimes of historicity through a critical study of their visuality. My approach to the notion of visuality is informed by Nicholas Mirzoeff's and Georges Didi-Huberman's conceptualizations of visuality as a critical tool that complicates the relationship between visual representation and power. As

such, this approach is an effort to move away from an alleged mimetic relation between image and ideology and instead focus on the disjunctions that exist between visual culture, historical discourse, and Francoist ideology. Although this dissertation is rigorously historical, this project points at the limitations of these periodic divisions in accounting for the conceptual networks that exists at the heart of these regimes of historicity. This project is explicitly interested in bridging history and the study of visual culture beyond the approaches traditionally employed in art history, with the goal of broadening our understanding of Francoism and the ways in which the dictatorship constituted a conceptual framework to portray the past, create a sense of the present, and imagine the future in Spain.

Introduction

Certainly, there exists no image that does not simultaneously implicate gazes, gestures, and thoughts.

– Georges Didi-Huberman, "How to Open Your Eyes"

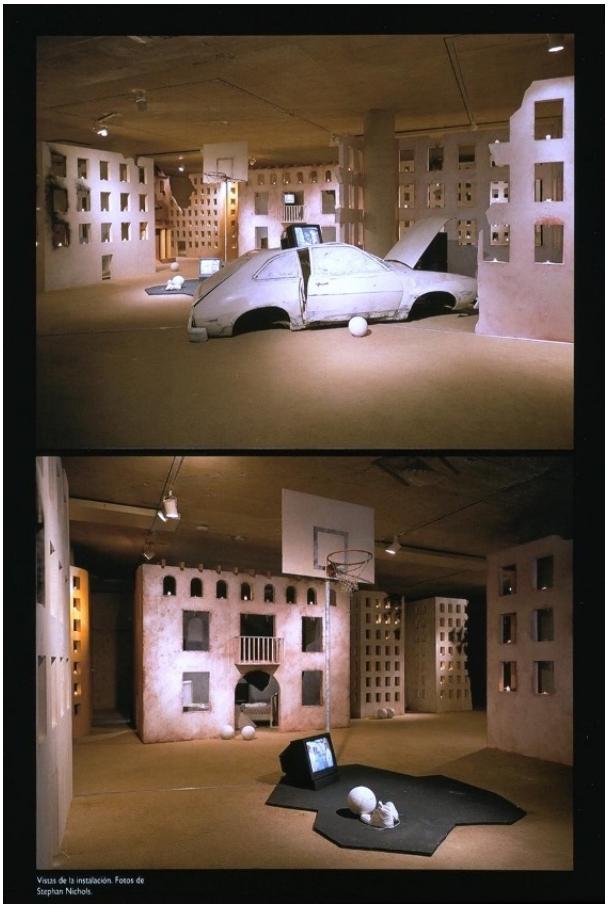

Figure 1. Francesc Torres. *Belchite/South Bronx*. 1991, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía.

In his piece *Belchite/South Bronx,* artist Francesc Torres created a multimedia installation that combined objects, video, and scaled reproductions of some buildings from the Spanish town of Belchite and the neighborhood of the South Bronx in New York City (fig. 1). Belchite was and still is one the most significant material traces of the violent legacies of the Spanish Civil

War (1936-1939) and the ensuing Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975). After its destruction during the war, the dictatorship used slave labor from political prisoners to build an entire new town. The rubble of old Belchite was left intact as a reminder to the defeated of the "montón de ruinas que sembró el marxismo" ("pile of ruins left by Marxism"; Gómez Aparicio 6).

After the end of World War II, white population of the South Bronx emigrated to suburban areas in what is known as the "White Flight" in response to the increasing racial diversity of the neighborhood. In 1963, Robert Moses, the developer responsible for the New York World's Fair studied in chapter two, led a project of urban renewal in the city that resulted in the division of the area by the Cross Bronx Expressway and which forced the displacement of thousands of neighbors. The increase in African American population emigrating from the south, and Puerto Rican population led to racially discriminatory processes of redlining and systematic divestment from the area[1]. During the 70s and 80s, 80% of housing in the South Bronx, in New York City, fell victim to arson by landlords and owners in order to receive insurance payments. This process resulted in the displacement of over 250,000 people while the media pushed a narrative in which tenants and neighbors were accused of causing the fires.

What ideas stand behind this paralleling of the seemingly disparate cases of Belchite and the South Bronx? For Torres, both cases could be seen as the result of different forms of a single process: civil war. While the connection between civil war violence and the destruction of Belchite are obvious, combining it with reproductions of the debris of a South Bronx victim of systemic racism was motivated by a desire to explore:

> the limits of the conditions that define civil war ... [by which a] nation, whether capitalist or socialist, that lives with the permanent stigma of unfairly distributed wealth (or the

[1] https://www.segregationbydesign.com/the-bronx/redlining

> incapacity of generating wealth for the majority of its citizens) is perpetrating an act of violence on a massive scale, a defining attribute of war occurring in peacetime (Torres, *Belchite* 86).

This conceptualization of war by Torres is in proximity to the analysis of the idea of civil war as posited by Giorgio Agamben. For the philosopher, civil war functions as a "threshold of politicization and depoliticization, through which the house is exceeded in the city and the city is depoliticized in the family" (12).

Precisely, in his installation Torres put forward a reflection on the notion of thresholds that is at the heart to this dissertation. In *Belchite/South Bronx*, the materials denoting both locations appear covered in white paint, mixed, nearly indistinguishable from one another, free of formal and spatial borders that could aid the visitor in distinguishing these two locations apart. If civil war is for Agamben an act of transgressing the boundaries between the destruction of the intimate and "the killing of what is most foreign" (11), Torres' installation piece echoes that conceptual structure by fusing two seemingly and foreign geographies into a single landscape. In doing away with elements that could highlight the geographical or historical boundaries, the installation transforms the gallery into a space that underlined the conceptual network between these varied means of discrimination, violence, and destruction in one single homogenous landscape of debris.

Threshold and landscape are not terms used here lightly. In fact, the full title of the installation is *Belchite/South Bronx: A Trans-Historical Landscape.* By using the term "landscape," Torres' piece highlights not only the continuities between economy, politics, and war, but it also materially articulates an innovative way of engaging with them both visually and experientially. With the inclusion of the keywords "landscape" and "history" in the piece title, the installation appears as an opportunity to reflect on the ways in which the former had functioned historically as one of the central media in the representation of the latter. Just as

traditional landscape painting and photography, the installation is sustained by an effort to enable the visitor to grasp a subject matter "too substantial for any one person to see" (Mirzoeff, *The Right* 2) all at once.

W. J. T Mitchell's approach to the subject of landscape departs precisely from a conceptual dissolution of thresholds. Landscape, Mitchell argues, results from a process of "'unification' of ... perception and representation" that produces a synthetic and "unified scene" ("Imperial" 12-13) used since the seventeenth century in Western societies to project themes of national identity and history into realistic representations of territory and nature (fig. 2). Landscape imagery produces a "reality" effect that attaches ideological content to the image in a way that "naturalizes a cultural and social construct, representing an artificial world as if it were given" (Mitchell, "Imperial" 2). As a result of this process of naturalization of the image, traditional representations of landscape constitute a visual device capable of effacing its own nature as an image of ideological content by which viewers do not see anything other than the intersection of nature, history, and nation.

Figure 2. Plá y Pellicer. *Reproducción del panorama de la Guerra Civil en el norte*. 1875.[2]

[2] Full view available at: http://www.navarra.es/home_es/Temas/Turismo+ocio+y+cultura/Archivos/Programas/Archivo+Abierto/Documentos/Reproduccion-del-panorama-de-la-Guerra-Civil-en-el-norte_d0LM1pWXyyfvy0wakULfUA

The unbound nature of vision imagined by traditional landscapes is related to the production of large battlefield painting in contexts of war (Mitchell, "Imperial" 16) that aimed to make "processes of 'history' perceptible to authority" (Mirzoeff, *The Right* 2). While these images were originally intended for military purposes, their internal logic and the forms of vision they gave shape to found their way into popular genres such as history painting and panoramas during the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Landscapes, battlefields, panoramas, and large-scale history paintings at the turn of the century became instruments through which viewers could visually engage with events from the past, historical landmarks, or views from faraway places. As a result, this type of imagery opened the path for the configuration of an allegedly universal and ideal spectator of landscape capable of recognizing the links between self, nation, and history in the alleged realism of the synthetic image.

The ability of these images to produce a sense of reality is not to be found on their representational surfaces but in their constructedness, their ability to efface their nature as representations, the blurring of the thresholds by which they become embedded in "new networks of the real, in which older models of visibility are exceeded" (Crary, "Géricault" 14); or what I like to think as the "gears" of the image. In successfully effacing its nature as image, its "pictoriality", these images produce new forms of visuality, that is, a "symbolic form of visual perception" by which images are embedded in a system of "extra-pictorial world recognition" (W. Davis 230, 232). In doing so, these otherwise plain depictions of nature become images of the nation and its values. Therefore, the conceptual networks functioning underneath these forms of visibility result in the articulation of the two constitutive elements of a concept of the visual: the linking between image, reality, and history and the invention of a subject viewer capable of a seemingly unbounded ability to see reality.

By using the term "landscape" to define *Belchite/South Bronx*, Torres appropriates the functioning of these images to offer a critical approach to their conceptual foundations. Whereas one could argue that the installation piece echoes the process of unification behind traditional landscape painting, *Belchite/South Bronx* does not produce a "rendition of physical and psychic space" (Mirzoeff, *The Right* 3) even while situating both locations within the same gallery or covering them with the same shade of white. Instead of unifying, the installation shatters the temporalities and histories encrypted in the gallery space. Far from offering a totalizing and apprehensible experience of history, the installation forces the spectator to meander through the gallery questioning the thresholds and connections that articulate this critical landscape of violence.

Torres' approach to the notions of landscape and history does not erase its own constructedness and artificiality. Instead, it highlights the centrality of montage for inquiries on historical processes such as those studied in the installation. In juxtaposing both locations together, the installation undoes the unity of traditional landscape to produce an estrangement effect between the local and the foreign, between us and them. This gesture forecloses the possibility of merely seeing and identifying with national history as a traditional landscape. Instead, it forces us to simultaneously navigate the individual material traces of violence included in the installation while grappling with the breadth and extension of the processes that give shape to our present both locally and globally.

This idea echoes John Lewis Gaddis' argument about the similarities in the functioning of history and landscape as two discourses built upon strategies of organization, unification, and synthesis that force into discreet units of visual and historical sense both large territories and extended political, cultural, and social processes. (47) While Gaddis does not problematize this

relationship, *Belchite/South Bronx* produces the material conditions for what Gaddis sees as the main pillar of historical consciousness: a state of suspension between "significance and insignificance, of detachment and engagement, of mastery and humility, of adventure but also of danger" (130). For me, *Belchite/South Bronx* successfully highlights the importance of creative practices as tools for thinking historically that exceed the material and methodological limitations of traditional forms of historiographical knowledge.

It is for that reason that Torres' work is the main inspiration for this dissertation and the conceptual model behind it. Echoing the conceptual premises behind Torres' work, this dissertation approaches history as a landscape composed of heterogeneous sets of objects, images, and texts. While traditional historiography would lock into place the "fluid, decoupled, and therefore indeterminate" relationships between continuities and contingencies (47), *Foundational Landscapes* is an effort not to conceal their thresholds under the guise of unity but to expose the conceptual, and critical threads that organize these "complex assemblages of virtual, material, and symbolic elements" (Mitchell, *What* xiii). In doing so, this dissertation has a dual goal: first, expanding the methodological approaches to the history of 20th century Spain; and second, highlighting the study of visual culture, exhibition design, architecture, and film as one of the central assets for the study of the historicity of the Francoist discourse and not just as peripheral "secondary" sources.

The Francoist dictatorship represents a unique case for this purpose. Stretching over nearly forty years, the Francoist state was capable of adapting to the rapidly changing landscape of global politics. Its adaptability could partially be explained by the heterogeneity in the social, economic, and political actors that supported it. The dictatorship built its platform in the shoulders of the army, business owners, and the church. The Francist regime gathered the

support of both monarchists and a nearly total support from the multiple branches of right and far right groups present in Spain. Thanks to this, it successfully articulated a political space unified by its anti-liberal, anti-democratic, and ultra-Catholic nature. While its political support came from groups with significantly different views on the nature of the Spanish nation and state, all these groups came together under the umbrella of Catholicism as the binding agent of the victors (Casanova 20), although not without frictions.

As a result of this and thanks to its support of the rebel side during the war, the church was given a *de facto* monopoly (Saz Campos 347) over education in the country while also being largely responsible for the social and cultural articulation of communities. Far from a monolithic regime (Saz Campos 356), the dictatorship was built upon a balance between these actors and successfully navigated its internal ideological tensions. The Francoist regime turned the disparity of views between its different constituencies--monarchists, carlistas, falangistas, etc.--from being the potential key to its demise into one of its central strengths. Over is prolonged political life, the regime could shift the dictatorship from a seemingly clear correspondence with other fascist European regimes[3] to an allegedly modernized nation in the process of liberalization. Its heterogeneous "plural" political fabric forced Francoism to become extremely adaptable and malleable, sometimes being able to combine contrasting political views into one coherent voice: its cultural legacy bears witness to this.

In historiographical terms the dictatorship has been traditionally divided into three periods: a first decade or so of clear fascist tendencies, a modernizing phase in the 50s and 60s,

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[3] In the context of this dissertation, I will refer to the Francoist dictatorship as a fascist one for the sake of clarity. In doing so, I aspire to highlight the disciplinary breadth of this work and keeping in mind a reader who may not be familiar with historiographical discussions over the political nature of the Spanish state during the period of 1939-1975. A good example of these discussions can be found in the work, amongst others, of Ismael Saz Campos.

and its final "grey" years in the seventies. When focusing exclusively on political or economic aspects to articulate these divisions and explain the historical evolution of twentieth century Spain, researchers seem to ignore how multiple aspects of the statist cultural and historical discourse of each period were prevalent across the life of the dictatorship and beyond. In my opinion, studying Francoism requires that we understand how these periods do not form a set of clearly differentiated strata. But instead, a significantly more complex landscape inhabited by cultural formations of "varying duration and diverse origin, … [that are] nonetheless simultaneously present" (Koselleck XIV) defined by the persistence of an original fascist discourse that the dictatorship progressively did away with as it "modernized" itself.

Instead of being tools to make history visible and readily available for the unbounded gaze of authority, these landscapes aim to expand our gaze not to merely *see* history but to complicate it by looking obliquely at it. From this perspective, each chapter is seen as a landscape that resembles the conceptualization offered by Torres, not as a monolithic entity but one composed by multiple "connected and dispersed lines" (Mirzoeff, "On" 24) that would define how historicity of the present in Francoist Spain was articulated, in part, by visual means. Approaching this subject from the standpoint of visuality, that extra-pictorial world recognition argued by Davis, allows me to pose a question: what else was recognized in the visual culture of the time? How can visuality help us understand the complex, trans-historical, and heterogenous landscape of statist cultural production and its approach to historicity by means of the visual?

What does it mean to think of historicity by means of the visual? This question leads me to the two key terms of this dissertation: historicity and visuality. For François Hartog, historicity represents the ways in which "individuals or groups situate themselves and develop in time the forms taken by their historical condition" (XV). Hartog proposes the concept of a regime of

historicity as a "heuristic tool which can help us reach a better understanding … [of] the way in which past, present, and future are articulated" (16). For Hartog, changes in the regime of historicity ultimately refer to the different crises of time that result in the need of rearticulating not historical discourse *per se* but how these temporal categories relate to one another. This conceptual tool allows us to deal with two key aspects of my understanding of the relationship between historicity and visuality.

First, departing from the traditional periodization of Francoism allows me to incorporate the historical contexts that gave rise to those "crises of time" experienced in 20th century Spain while also addressing an important aspect of the relationship between these landscapes and historicity. In using a historiographical organization for the dissertation, I draw from Nicholas Mirzoeff's understanding of history as the field of visuality insofar as it made large "processes of 'history' perceptible to authority" (*The Right* 3, 63). In battlefield paintings, depiction of plantation surveillance and systems of slavery, or in aerial views of cities under siege visuality would offer a seemingly linear system of articulation between events and figures that bestows meaning upon them to create a cohesive picture of the past thus rendering "History into the very science of the real" (*The right,* 38).

In that sense, for Mirzoeff visuality is first and foremost a tool for "order" (*The Right* 143). While this dissertation deals with ordered and well-articulated corpuses of large-scale visual production such as in the case of the *XXV años de paz* that would, indeed, produce a form of visuality in Mirzoeff´s terms, an additional conceptual tool is needed if the aim is to explore historicity's nature as relational, to dive deeper into its thresholds and constructedness. For Hartog, in order to understand historicity, we must "address these phenomena obliquely, asking what temporalities structure and govern" (Hartog 7-8) these regimes, that is, the concepts and

virtual powers that rule and organize those networks of visual meaning as they construct seemingly cohesive expressions of historical temporality.

For as remarked by Lewis Gaddis, in opposition to the sheer visibility of traditional landscapes, historical landscapes are not physically (and visibly) available to us (49). This is why to successfully address this, I deem necessary establishing a relationship with visual culture that does not abide to the "arbitrary limits of a semiology that has only three categories: the visible, the legible, and the invisible" (Didi-Huberman, *Confronting* 42). For Georges Didi-Huberman, this articulation between knowledge and visibility have constituted the basis for certain disciplinary approaches to the relationship between history and the visual by which the former simply unravels in the transparency of the latter. *Foundational Landscapes* searches to broaden the scope of Mirzoeff's formulation through Didi-Huberman's concept of the visual.

For the author, the visual stands opposite to ideas of visibility. Instead of unproblematically present what may seem obvious to the eye, the visual refers to the presence of a virtual power that "does not appear clearly and distinctly." Didi-Huberman situates the visual in relation to an invisible power—a virtual force, from *virtus*—that "never gives a direction for the eye to follow" and that opens "entire constellations of meaning" (*Confronting* 45). Instead of thinking of visuality as a tool "to dispose, in the sense of 'to arrange'" a catalogue of the visual culture of Francoism, this dissertation uses this concept to identify the connections within these foundational landscapes to render visible the virtual power organizing them in the field of the visual by focusing on "the conflicts, paradoxes, and reciprocal shocks with which all of history is woven" (*The Eye,* 121).

Therefore, visuality is formulated here from the tension between Mirzoeff's and Didi-Huberman's approaches to the concept. As a result, visuality is a tool to overcome the limitations

of an understanding of images as devices for pure representation that instead focuses on the matrix of virtual meanings that underpin the production of the "regime of the visual" (*Confronting* 45). This is done in response to a tendency within studies of the relationship between Francoist discourse and visual culture to depart from an unproblematized relationship between the surface content of images, their iconology, and the official discourse of Francoism in which the image would be a clear translation of the "primary" source of ideology into visual media. Although, this approach has produced undoubtedly remarkable contributions to the study of the Francoist cultural fabric, I would argue that we still haven't fully accounted for the persistence and survival, for instance, of fascist visual culture during the 60s or Francoist discursivity after the death of Franco. In looking at these cases studies, this dissertation offers a wider view of the different regimes of historicity that cohabited Spain during Francoism thus enabling us to complicate an otherwise rigid division of periods and cultural artifacts into discrete historical units.

Therefore, the plethora of artifacts studied in each chapter is seen not as made of pieces that conform a synthetic historical period but as texts that often point in disparate directions, highlighting the multiple tensions and relations within the Spanish cultural fabric that produced what François Hartog defined as "regimes of historicity." In understanding the visual beyond the two polarities of the visible and the invisible, the notion of visuality helps us deal with the phenomenological inaccessibility of the historical landscapes proposed by Gaddis while also addressing how these regimes of historicity are to be found in the study of the relationship between texts and not exclusively on their legible surface, echoing Torres' combination of Belchite and the South Bronx to understand civil war. Therefore, visuality is not a tool to explore

the meanings denoted by images but instead to question the connoted conceptual networks that sustain the production of a sense of historicity in Francoist Spain.

There is no shortage of remarkable contributions to the study of the larger body of Francoist filmic, museal, and architectural production. More particularly, the same could be said of those contributions that focus on the centrality of visual culture for the historical discourse of the dictatorship. Two examples come to mind, Zira Box' *España: año cero. La construcción simbólica del franquismo* and Gustavo Alares López' *Políticas del pasado en la España franquista (1939-1964): historia, nacionalismo y dictadura.* Both texts deal with the visual manifestation of the symbolic and historical lexicon of the dictatorship and its connection to historiographical discourse of the time. These works focus on cultural expressions dealing with the centrality of the medieval and imperial past in Spain to the political purposes of the dictatorship. However, these two excellent and comprehensive volumes share an approach that understands the visual as a seemingly transparent medium for the expression of ideology, a view that I seek to problematize.

By analyzing historicity through visuality this dissertation represents a contribution to the existing bibliography that highlights how visual culture of the time did not simply represent the ideological text of Francoistm but how its visuality, the gears of its images, gave historical meaning to its contemporaneity and defined the ways in which present, past, and future were articulated. Moreover, this dissertation goes beyond the more frequently explored relationship between historical discourse and visual culture during the 40s and part of the 50s to also consider the ways in which a notion of the present and an imagination of the future were captured and materialized in the visual culture of the period. Therefore, each chapter represents a critical take on these landscapes, on the forms of virtual power that structure these regimes of historicity, and

the ways in which visuality can help us expose "their differences, their mutual shocks, their confrontations, and their conflicts" (Didi-Huberman, *The Eye* 78).

Foundational Landscapes is not exclusively a study of the historical discourse of Francoism or its expression and representation through visual culture. Although history and visual culture do constitute two important fields of inquiry for this is project, *Foundational Landscapes* focuses on how the dictatorship mediated its historicity through the field of the visual. In other words, by focusing on the networks of conceptual networks that constitute these "pictures" of the past, this dissertation aims to explore the cracks in the junctions and thresholds that make up the relationship of Francoism with historical time by means of the visual. As mentioned, the organization of this dissertation echoes the historiographical periodization of Francoism: from the fascist years that followed the end of the Civil War until approximately the mid 1950s when the dictatorship veered towards the US in the geopolitical reality of the Cold War, to the 60s and the "miraculous" development of Spanish economy, and finally the "grey" final years of the dictatorship in the 70s and its relationship with democratic Spain.

Chapter one studies the post-war to set Fascist Spain in relation to a colonial approach to territory, temporality, and history by means of architecture and landscape. Focusing on the production of the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas and the Instituto Nacional de Colonización, this chapter studies the articulation of an idea of reconstruction whose function was to "save" Spain from decadence, reconnect it to the nation's past splendor, and materialize a new national community. This chapter breaks down the idea of reconstruction to explore three of its main components: landscape, architecture, and community. By doing so, this chapter argues that, to understand the symbolic organization of post-war society, we need to investigate the connection between its regime of historicity and a conceptual framework of colonial origin by

which rural Spain was presented as populated by an idealized "noble savage" free from the decadent influence of the present and in need of the intervention of fascism to be saved from oblivion. This negation of the contemporaneity of rural Spain was central in articulating programs of landscape modification and architectural production. Chapter one is a cultural history of the post-war that looks at archival materials to offer an innovative overview of Fascist Spain, the conceptual genealogies of architecture and environmental thought of the time, and the interest in producing an idealized image of the past.

Chapter two analyzes the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the end of the Spanish Civil War. The year-long celebration known as the *XXV años de paz* was central in performing a shift from a mode of historical discursivity that connected the war with the Spanish Empire to one that highlighted notions of peace, modernity, and technological progress as the key elements for the unity of Spain. While the former articulated historical time and set the course of the future always as a reflection of a long-gone past, the commemoration in 1964 conjugated a presentist historical discourse that posited technological progress and modernity as the keys to national identity. Through a combination of discourses on television and media from the time, analyses of three different exhibitions and the documentary film *Franco, ese hombre*, this chapter follows the articulation of what I define as the "Francoist aesthetics of objectivity." This formulation refers to the enlisting of science and technology to produce an experience of the visual that was able to present governmental practices into measurable evidence of the dictatorship's governmentality and a "presentist" experience of historical time. This chapter puts forth a conceptual model for exploring the connection between visuality and regimes historicity with an in-depth analysis of how different forms of media explicitly produced a sense of the present.

The third and final chapter looks at the 1995 TV series *La transición* to analyze the representation of the last years of the dictatorship and its legacies during the democratic period. This is accomplished by a study of the portrayal on television of the assassination of Francoist Prime Minister Admiral Carrero Blanco in 1973 by terrorist group E.T.A as a symbol of political rupture and origin of the transition to democracy. More particularly, this chapter studies the documentary's narrative of linear progress and political evolution as a strategy to hide the factual ideological links between dictatorial and democratic states. This last chapter closes with the study of the video piece *TVE: primer intento* by conceptual artist Antoni Muntadas as a critical contestation of the links between the visuality and the regime of historicity on display in the series. While both the documentary series and the video piece were produced decades after the death of Franco's death, these materials, I argue, can help us understand the legacies of Francoism in contemporary Spain. Chapter three is a theoretical exercise that looks obliquely at the way the relationship between the Francoist past and the democratic present was reimagined by the state to produce a sense of the future still marked by the survival of the dictatorial imagination.

This dissertation contributes to the field with an innovative methodology that departs from the conceptual framework of the work of Francesc Torres, an artist whose work has been unfortunately understudied beyond Spanish Art History. In doing so, this dissertation proposes a further integration of art practices and critical thinking as modes of research and academic writing. In addition, it showcases an extensive set of archival materials often ignored or barely studied within the field of Spanish Cultural Studies. Such is the case of the visual materials studied in chapter one, the documentaries, the never studied exhibition *España 64* or the curatorial discourse of the Spanish Pavilion at the New York World´s Fair in 1964 included in

chapter two, or the videoart piece *TVE: primer intento* by Antoni Muntadas studied in chapter three. In conclusion, this project searches to bridge Spanish Cultural Studies, History, and Visual Studies from a standpoint that does not rely on the ability of images to represent. Instead, echoing Harun Farocki, it is a standpoint that is distrustful of the apparent transparency of images[4] as it is of that of words. This dissertation is formulated from a perspective that searches to explore how the disparate lines and networks of meaning that gave shape to visual culture of the time articulated a sense of historicity and wove together history, nation, and the image in a way that will always exceeds the legible text of Francoist culture.

[4] https://marginalia.gr/arthro/harun-farocki-you-should-be-as-distrustful-of-images-as-you-are-of-words/

Chapter 1 Reconstruction: Territory and Architecture in the Work of the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas and the Instituto Nacional de Colonización

Figure 3. View of La Florida estate from one of the buildings built by the Instituto Nacional de Colonización. Fondo Fotográfico del Instituto Nacional de Colonización del Archivo Central del Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación.

1.1 Introduction. Premises for a National Salvation: Anti-urban Thought and the Myth of National Decadence

In his analysis of Italian and German fascism, Roger Griffin proposed that traditional approaches to interwar European fascism as ontologically "antimodern" were, perhaps, no longer operational. While traditional historiographical accounts of modernity have associated this notion with ideas of "progress," Griffin proposed a more nuanced and complex approach to the relationship between fascism and "modernity." His approach was built upon a question: how can we study fascist "antimodernity" while accounting for the processes of industrial and material modernization so essential to those regimes? Although Griffin did not touch upon the case of Spain and the Francoist dictatorship, his book *Modernism and Fascism* elaborated on the

possibility of conceiving fascism not as a negation of modernity *per se* but as the articulation of an "alternative modernism" (13). Such alternative modernism would not be founded upon the conceptual framework associated ideas of a "liberation" from the weight of history and tradition common in interwar European culture.

Instead, the alternative modernity envisioned by fascism would be sustained precisely by an effort "towards realizing the utopia of a homeland conceived in mythic terms which are at one and the same time anti-modern and hypermodern, futuristic yet arch-conservative" (98). In the context of such comparative framework to study interwar European fascism, Francoist Spain does not represent a case of a "hypermodern" or "futuristic" understanding of politics. However, the dictatorship did set in motion a totalizing process of cultural, economic, and social reorganization aimed at "improving" national life in line with the values and mores of Francoism. Inasmuch as it highlights ideas of national progress and prosperity, this form of archconservative "modernization" shares a semantic field with traditional understandings of modernity. This, in turn, provides grounds to theorize the articulation of a certain post-war form of Francoist modernity.

To this goal, this chapter proposes a synoptic study of two processes that are traditionally studied separately: the material reconstruction after the Spanish Civil War, and the infrastructural and economic modernization of Spain that began in the 1950s and extended until the mid-1960s. For the purposes of this chapter, I will refer to this combination as the project of national reconstruction. A project whose goal, it will be argued, was to articulate the form of archconservative modernity outlined above. Moreover, conflating these processes searches to highlight two common aspects that relate to the existence of a certain temporal thinking and historical imagination that would ultimately link the immediate post-war with the late 1950s and

60s. The first of these aspects would be the essential role played by official discourses around history as the state's moral compass[5]. The second, and perhaps more important to this chapter, would be the link between the National Reconstruction to ideas of a glorious return from a certain state of ruination and an idealized vision of Spain.

The linking between material reconstruction and its role as the main actor in the recuperation of the nation's soul (Box, "El cuerpo" 152) leads me to argue for the existence of an ideological core relating Francoist modernity with ideas of national salvation. Material and industrial progress were not only an index of modernity but material evidence of the spiritual well-being of Spain. Precisely, this chapter explores the importance of this articulation for a specific form of modernity in line with Francoist ideology. Of central importance here is the religious overtones of the notion of salvation in the context of ultra-catholic Francoism and how this ultimately points at a specific regime of temporality sustaining this articulation. Unveiling this represents an essential effort to fully understand how the process of reconstruction underpinned the articulation of the Francoist system of social domination.

To undertake this, I deem necessary to look back at the conceptual lexicon and specific ideological formulations grounding the failed coup against the democratically elected Second Republic (1931-1939) that led to the Civil War and the dictatorship, and the role played by ideas of national salvation. The coup led in 1936 by a rebel section of the army against the government was argued to be an effort to "rescue" Spain from a form of liberal, secular, left-wing modernity

5 For further reading on this subject: Alares López, Gustavo. Políticas del pasado en la España franquista (1936-1964.) Historia, nacionalismo y dictadura. Marcial Pons Historia, 2017.

that resulted in the "de-hispanization" and alleged bolshevization of the nation. Spain was allegedly the victim of a process of erasure of its national identity that had turned it into a decadent nation. The salvation of Spain necessarily involved the institution of fascism's "new order and new civilization" (Finchelstein 5) as way to halt national decadence.

As Henry Kamen demonstrated, the perception of Spain as a decadent country was not a unique trait of fascism. On the contrary, fears of national decline became prevalent amongst Spanish intellectuals during the 1700s. Despite the historical distance between the two scenarios, a closer inspection to their connections will yield an interesting insight into the articulation of the regime of historicity mentioned above and into how fascism used historical discourse as a justification for its plans. As mentioned, at least since the 18th century in Spain existed an idealized vision of a "Golden Age of a purely Castilian monarchy under Queen Isabella" (Kamen 176). In opposition to this idealized past, the arrival of a dynasty of foreign rulers—the Hapsburg dynasty—had triggered a process of national decadence. The decline of Spanish preeminence and the rise of other European nations in the context of a growing imperialism was seen as a clear sign of decadence.

In that line, the defeat in 1898 of the Spanish army during the Spanish-American war and the subsequent end of the Spanish Empire in America and Asia were read as the tipping point and undeniable material proof of the alleged process of national decline (Kamen 185) during the turn of the century. In that context, the historical evolution of the empire became a central indicator for the overall nation's health. Two overarching ideas sustained this understanding of history: an idealized image of the past as a sort of national arcadia, and the figure of the foreigner as the scapegoat for the national decline. This metahistorical understanding of history saw the

ascension to the throne of Charles the First in 1516 and the end of the Spanish-American war 1898 as the two landmarks for a centuries-long process of decline.

As noted by Mary Gluck, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the idea of national degeneration became a common trope across Europe to explain geo-political and social issues (364). This idea would go on to justify multiple processes of national reform that covered health, labor, housing policies, or racial discourse. The preeminence of degeneration across Europe helps us understand the role played by ideas of national history as the motor underneath the link between the past and cultural Darwinism or a "vision of society as a biological organism" (Gluck 362). What prior to the late nineteenth century had been largely an issue pertaining to historians became naturalized through a certain application of and "evolutionary thinking to social and economic problems" (Comfort 631) by which degeneration became the seemingly natural and evolutionary result of the sheer passage of time.

Precisely, as argued by anthropologist Johannes Fabian, the assumption of a concept of "evolutionary Time" in the nineteenth century was one of the foundational gestures of modernity. It created a "comparative method … [to measure] contemporary society in terms of evolutionary stages" by which "not only past cultures, but all living societies were irrevocably placed on a slope, a stream of time." This, in turn, enabled a worldview where ideas of "civilization, evolution, development, acculturation, modernization … industrialization [and] urbanization" directly derived from an evolutionary organization of time (17) and understanding of society in which "decadence" played a central role. This structuring of time and evolution was a central tool for the anthropological articulation of the alleged "pre-modernity" of indigenous societies, but also for the creation of an alleged existence of a *distance*—both spatial and

temporal—between centers of political power and non-western societies that ultimately would also define the relationships between metropolis and rural areas within European territories.

In the context of Spain, as historian José Álvarez Junco notes, the second half of the nineteenth century saw the unfolding of a state-led nationalism whose goal was to "delimitar los componentes del grupo, [y] marcar líneas que lo separan de los elementos ajenos o foráneos." The "political romanticism" produced by early-anthropology and ethnography resulted in a "conciencia de diferenciación cultural" essential to the formulation of a national "personality" and a "distintivo carácter racial" ("delimit the components of the group, [and] marking the lines that separate it from external and foreign elements", "consciousness of cultural differentiation", "distinctive racial character"; Álvarez Junco 189, 190)[6]. The transformation of the events of 1898 into a biologized "teoría explictoria de la historia" ("explanatory theory of history"; Marcilhacy 26) would inform "larger debates about Spanish social problems, colonial concerns, and the definition of the nation" (Goode 32). These ideas would evolve throughout the first decades of the twentieth century and eventually inform the articulation of fascist thought across Europe.

Henry Kamen argued that in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War there was a systematic denial of the alleged national decadence (194). However, the emphasis put by fascism on "saving" and "rescuing" Spain could be seen as an attempt to rearticulate and undo the naturalized concomitance between understandings of Spain and the idea of decadence that had been pervasive especially after 1898. Instead of being an essential part of national identity, Spanish fascist ideology would attach ideas of decadence to the "foreign" ideologies of

[6] All translations are mine

democracy and socialism "brought" to Spain by the Second Republic. As a result, republican liberalism and secularism would be read as "anti-Spanish" tools for a "negación del espíritu español… (y) la desaparición de nuestro Imperio" ("negation of the Spanish spirit… (and) the disappearance of our Empire"; Franco 54)

However, fascism did not simply do away with the idea of decadence. On the contrary, it continued playing a crucial role to the Francoist system of nation-building inasmuch it justified the coup of 1936 and the violence of the war as attempts to save Spain. As Francisco Franco himself argued, decadence was no longer an *a priori* characteristic of Spain but a result of a systematic "decadencia política de sus clases directoras" ("political decadence of its directing (sic.) classes"). By attaching ideas of national decadence to the Second Republic and its connection to nineteenth century political thought, the Civil War and the dictatorship became attempts to "rectificar los errores de un siglo" ("rectify the mistakes of a century") that the dictatorship would have liked to "borrar de nuestra historia" ("liked to erase from our history"; Franco 51, 53, 54). As a direct result of that, fascism forced a dialectical concomitance between 1898 and the post-war period by which the material ruin of the post-war would almost become a transliteration of the post-1898 spiritual decadence of Spain (fig.4).

Figure 4. Mockup of the Alcazar of Toledo after the war. Photography courtesy of [España] Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de la Administración.

These ideas are underpinning the Francoist articulation of National Reconstruction as a process of salvation. As outlined above, reconstructing the nation did not simply imply recovering from the destruction of the war but a form of rebirth from a centuries-long national decadence caused by foreign ideas. Precisely, national spiritual rebirth or "palingenesis" is identified by Roger Griffin to be central for fascist thought (2). Around this notion unfolds a rich conceptual panorama where ideas of degeneration and decadence converge with the need of manufacturing a return to an idealized nation free of foreign influence and attached to a set of moral values associated with a pre-modern past. This discursive process of spiritual rebirth was territorialized by post-war Francoism through the articulation of an image of the countryside as the very site for the intersection between material and spiritual reconstruction.

This image was founded upon Fabian's argument regarding the effects of an evolutionary approach to time and the production of a distance between "modern" and "premodern" societies by which rural lifestyle and architecture were presented as linked to an idealized past prior to national decadence located at "the edenic unity of time and space before entry into history"

(Boym 8). The idealized countryside of Spanish fascism was seen as the safeguard of "valores eternos, la austeridad en la conducta, el sentido religioso en la vida, el habla y el silencio, la solidaridad entre los antepasados y los descendientes" ("eternal values, austerity of conduct, the religious sense of life, speech and silence, the solidarity between ancestors and descendants"; Primo de Rivera 27) (fig. 5). In opposition to this, the city became the very spatial center of national degeneration, especially given the role of major cities like Madrid and Barcelona as sites of republican resistance throughout the war. However, this hatred towards the city was also influenced by how fascism analyzed the impact in prior decades of increasing waves of migration from the countryside to the city.

Figure 5. View of the surroundings of the town of Foncastín. Fondo Fotográfico del Instituto Nacional de Colonización.

To far-right ultra conservative—and land-owning—fascist ideologues, this process turned the city into a focus of social tensions and ("ambiente ideal para la propagación del virus socialista o anarquista" ("ideal environment for the propagation of the socialist or the anarchist virus"; Monclús and Oyon, *Historia* 357). Whereas the countryside was the priority for the reconstruction due to its nature as the guardian of tradition and "eternal" values and the largely agricultural nature of Spanish economy at the time, metropolitan areas were portrayed as "aluvión arenisco de la desintegración ajena … cinturón de chozas inmundas, sembradas de

desorden africano [, y] expresión física de su repugnancia a todos los valores humanos del campo" ("sand-like mudslide of disintegration of our neighbor … belt of foul shacks, scattered with African chaos [, and] physical expression of its repugnance towards the human values of the countryside" Sánchez de Muniaín 39, 40, 41). The fear of agrarian workers being proletarized (Alares López, "El vivero" 60) is at the heart of this dialectical polarization represented by ideas of the countryside as the site of eternal values, uncorrupted Spanishness, and idealized individuals versus the city as environmentally and metaphorically polluted, dehumanizing, and above all, democratic and proletarian.

The temporal overtones underpinning this physical and moral separation between city and countryside impacted how the idea of postwar reconstruction was turned into a process of salvation. This temporalization of territory was consistent with what Fabian's analysis of the "denial of coevalness" (31) or "negación de la contemporaneidad" ("negation of contemporaneity"; Verdesio 95) by which rural spaces were used to assert the "authenticity of a past" and "denounce an inauthentic present" (Fabian 11) represented by the city as the embodiment of non-fascist ideas of modernity. Through this process, Francoism constituted a discourse by which rural life, seen as the preeminent site of national identity and closer to the splendorous past of Spain, needed salvation from an alleged centuries-long process of decadence caused by the arrival of liberalism and democracy to Spanish political life.

This chapter is divided in three sections that focus on different aspects of this discourse. Through analyses of the production of the the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas[7] and the Instituto Nacional de Colonización[8], this chapter studies the centrality of visual culture for

[7] DGRD from now on
8 INC from now on

the articulation of an idealized picture of the countryside as the symbol of the eternal values deemed essential to bring Spain back to its past glory. My analysis focuses on the magazines *Reconstrucción* and *Colonización*—published by the DGRD and the INC respectively— the state-sponsored documentary films of the Marquis de Villa-Alcazar, and archival photography from the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture as its primary sources. Through these materials, I will interrogate the visuality of the regime of history at play in these materials to explore how ideas of reconstruction and salvation were seen as synonyms and tools to address the alleged process of national decline associated with republican Spain.

1.2 The Countryside as Foundational Landscape: Reforestation, and the Francoist Territorial Imagination

Amongst the mistakes that Francoism came to "rectify," the so-called desertification of rural territory was seen as a priority to reconstruction efforts. Desertification was seen as a result of centuries of neglect that were to be reversed through a large-scale plan set in motion during the post-war. The rectification of the alleged national decadence was framed under the blanket term of redemption. Taken from Catholic theology, this concept became the cornerstone of a wide variety of practices after the war. Perhaps best known for its use in the Patronato de Redención de Penas por el Trabajo—which used prisoners of war and political dissidents as workforce in the material reconstruction of the country (Acosta Bono 118)— the concept redemption was also used in relation to the territorial imagination of the dictatorship.

Under this view, the countryside was seen as the "irredento agro de nuestro suelo" in need of being "redimido de un feudalismo atrasado e inhumano" ("unredeemed countryside of our soil", "redeemed [it] from a backward and inhuman feudalism"; Sordo 10, 8). The use of the notion of redemption in relation to the countryside differs from common usage in the context of

post-war carceral system (fig 6). While the latter presented political opposition to the regime as a sin to be redeemed through imprisonment, the former saw the countryside as the victim of a loss of freedom which resulted from overuse and lack of care from which the countryside ought to be redeemed. The countryside, neglected by past governments, and enslaved by the greed of capitalists, needed the aid of Francoism to regain its freedom and independence. These ideas stressed a "connection between nature and soul, reinforcing … [the] vision of [landscape] reclamation as a process involving not only external nature … but also the moral qualities of their inhabitants'" (Armiero and Graf Von Hardenberg 287).

Figure 6. Political prisoners "redeeming" their crimes in the post-war prison workshops. Photography courtesy of [España] Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de la Administración.

After the war, the anti-urban and agrarian discourse combined with the drive to "redeem" the countryside evolved into two main categories of state-sponsored action related to landscape modification. The first of these was the implementation of new hydraulic policies that could ensure a high level of agricultural production and the transformation of traditionally dry lands

into irrigation. This measure aimed at increasing agricultural productivity in the context of the autarkic measures followed by the dictatorship in the immediate post-war. The second of these, and the focus of this section, was the reforestation of national territory into large masses of pine and eucalyptus. This process had a double goal: the production of timber, which had become the primary energy source in Spain after the war and counteracting the alleged process of "desertification" of Spain.

Although largely seen as economic attempts at transforming Spain into a "productive" nation, studying the process of reforestation and the passing of hydraulic policies could be analyzed as a series of political transformations that also respond to a conceptual framework directly inherited from the nineteenth century. I propose that these two processes could be read as an echo of the discourse of decadence explained earlier and the idea of "degeneration." While Spain is a country with more than three quarters of its territory falling under the category of semiarid and sub-humid dry climates, the regime promoted a decadent vision of territory that envisioned a country plagued by desertic areas as a direct result of the action of man and the mismanagement of the Second Republic.

As a 1965 article praising the process of land reclamation and reforestation in Spain still argued decades after the end of the war: "durante el siglo XIX y hasta la Guerra civil se había desarrollado en España un verdadero y vesánico espíritu anti forestal, que se encontraba no solo en las masas incultas sino también en los liberales y racionales legisladores" ("during the nineteenth century and up until the Civil War, in Spain a truly and raging anti-forest spirit had taken root which could be found not only in the uneducated masses but also in liberal and rationalist legislators"; qtd. in Iriarte Goñi 24). A contemporary account of this approach to territory can be found in some of the documentary films directed by agricultural engineer

Francisco González de la Riva y Vidiella, known as the Marquis of Villa Alcazar. Between 1930s and the late 1960s, the marquis filmed over seventy titles under the auspices of both the Republican and Francoist Ministries of Agriculture. His "cinematographic lectures" were created with pedagogical intent and to educate farmers in the new systems of production and irrigation promoted by the dictatorship.

While most of his production is associated with the work of the INC, some of his films also dealt with the process of reforestation. As such, the so-called anti-forest spirit proper of "anti-Spanish" liberalism was echoed in the 1953 documentary *Fertilidad*. The documentary opens with a visual explanation of the Christian myth of the creation of the world. This portion is followed with an explanation of how fertility is produced in nature. This is followed by a sequence were images of forests massively populated by trees are sharply contrasted with others of dry mountains (fig. 7) accompanied by a dramatic soundtrack. These are presented as:

> Montañas que antes fueron bosques parecen hoy montes de la luna, no solo no producen absolutamente nada sino que, al no cubrirlas un suelo esponjoso, la lluvia que en ellos cae desciende con sus arrastres sobre las vegas que quedan también inutilizadas para el cultivo. Nuestra falta de cuidado y a veces la codicia de un ganadero hacen que el fuego consuman bosques mucho más productivos como bosques que como pastos (Mountains that were forests now appear as moon-like mounts, not only do they not produce a thing, but also, due to being covered by a porous soil, the rain that falls on them sweeps along over the meadows and making them useless for [agricultural] cultivation. Our lack of care and the occasional greed of a rancher makes the fire consume forests that are, at times, more productive as forests than used for grazing; *Fertilidad*)

Figure 7. Stills from Villa-Alcázar, *Fertilidad* (02:46, 07:01). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

The argument of the documentary conflates the natural characteristics of territory with the consequences of human usage of land through agricultural expansion, the increasing extraction of natural resources, and the international process of economic growth in the years after the First World War (Iriarte Goñi 29). This conflation is presented throughout the documentary under the blanket term "desert." Through this morally charged notion, the environment is portrayed as the opposite of that national Arcadia imagined by the myth of national decline and as a direct result of the action of the "uncultured" masses and the democratic government. The motor behind this conflation and justification for presenting territory as a desert was the need to articulate a discourse around the "unproductive" nature of land.

To this end, the notion of desert will be a key term to understand the imbrication of reforestation, hydraulic policies, and rural settlements as indices of productivity used in post-war Spain. With this in mind, the 1939 *Plan General de Repoblación* was designed to counter the desertic nature of national territory and the means of returning Spain to an alleged forested and fruitful past. This is connected to the conceptual framework of desiccation theory and its use in colonial contexts beginning in the 18th century. The environmental impact of these ideas particularly in the context of colonial expansion in Africa, has been studied by geographer and veterinarian Diana K. Davis. Prominently discussed during the mid-nineteenth century,

desiccation theory was founded upon "[n]otions of deserts as aberrations, ruined and deforested wastelands … that must be rescued and made forests again." These ideas were rooted in "early Christian notions that deserts were the result of original sin" and inextricably connected with an early "dominant ideology of global environment decline" (79, 81).

As a result of these discourse, colonial powers like France and England pioneered conservationist practices in their colonial territories in the Caribbean to ensure the continuity of their extractivist practices. This conflation between drylands and deforested areas signals the existence of a teleological view of the desert as the one end on a "decadent" progression that would go from an idealized and voluptuous nature to a "dead" landscape. This results in the constitution of a moral hierarchy that situates the tree and the forest on the "good" and productive side of nature while arid and semi-arid territories were seen as "bad." This view of the "desert" as the result of poor land management, overgrazing, and especially nomadism—in the case of colonial possessions particularly in Africa (D. Davis 102, 96)— was essential for a. discourse by which colonial powers presented themselves "at war" against the desert by means of reforestation.

Desiccation theory played an important role in Francoist territorial imagination and was central in the conception and design of the reforestation efforts during the post-war days insomuch it cemented a view of Spain as a formerly hyper-forested Arcadia now in decadence. Consequently, the dictatorship articulated a discourse by which it found itself at "war" against a "dis-imbalanced" nature because of the action of man. This is echoed in yet another documentary from the Marquis of Villa-Alcazar. The 1942 film *Repoblación forestal* described the struggle to "dominar a la naturaleza aprovechándose de las propias fuerzas de la naturaleza" ("dominate nature by taking advantage of the very same forces of nature.") While offering a panoramic shot

of a series of beach dunes, the documentary explains how the creation of quadrangular fences made from grass and invasive species such as *Carpobrotus edulis* helped holding sand in place to avoid its "invasion" of productive territory (fig. 8).

Figure 8. Still from Villa-Alcázar, *Repoblación forestal* (12:30). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

These two aspects of reforestation practices are presented in warlike terms as the vanguard in the "battle" against desertification. The military tone of *Repoblación forestal* cannot be understood without seeing it as part of a larger discursivity still echoing the recent end of the Spanish Civil War. The latter functions as an all-encompassing signifier through which all "accomplishments" of the Francoist state automatically became a metaphor for the fascist victory. However, the relationship between reforestation practices, desiccation theory, and the notion of a war waged against the "desert" transcends the specificity of the Spanish case; this triad was founded upon a certain racialized fantasy that viewed the desert as the result of "savage" practices.

The image of the desert appears here as a symbol of Africa, the Middle East, and Asia and was linked to the presence of "savage" people. The premise of Europe's "burden of civilization," its obligation to assist "native races in their progress to a higher plane" (Bowden, *The Empire* 130), and the accusation against indigenous population for their alleged poor land were used to justify European presence in colonial territories to avoid desertification. This view can be connected to post-war Spain. Francoism's fixation with recovering "el supuesto equilibrio

de un ‘orden territorial’ preestablecido por la natureleza” (“the alleged equilibrium of the ‘territorial order’ pre-established by nature”; Gómez Mendoza and Mata Olmo 133). This temporal framework where “past” was associated with plenitude and “present” with decay is linked to a worldview of progressive stages of civilization (Boisen 338) which placed non-European societies on par with decadence.

In that sense, it is important to note how this articulation between political discursivity, visuality, and nature is pierced by the fabrication of a picture of left-wing ideas and the Second Republic as an uncivilized enemy and the cause of the “brutalidad oriental” (“oriental brutality”; Sevillano Calero 55). The manufacture of an image of political dissidents as inhabiting a supposedly backward stage of semi-savagery will be essential to produce an idea of a certain “enemigo interior” (“interior enemy”; Ampudia de Haro 286) responsible for the desertification of national territory. Such imbrication of culture and environment sustained the idea of a possible reversal or correction of said decadence through reforestation as an agent of civilization. This struggle to fight against the desert is an echoing of the xenophobic desire to differentiate Spain from “savage” nations which, as Susan Martín-Márquez notes, became a key aspect in the production of “racial panic” in nineteenth-century Spain to “disavow negative association with racial otherness” and support the “whiteness” (42), and therefore, “civilized” view of Spain.

This interest in restoring the so-called “natural order” of the nation and its racial dark side were echoed in ideas of redemption of post-war Spain. Just as the Civil War was seen in terms of a religious “crusade” for the salvation of Spain, the process of reforestation and the figure of the desert as the ultimate image of territorial otherness were considered to be a “segunda Reconquista del solar patrio” (“second *Reconquista* of national soil”; Gómez Mendoza and Mata Olmo, 134). These aspects highlight how the imbrication between environmental phenomena,

evolutionary views on culture, and historical discourse sustained the political investment on reforestation as a strategy to address these historical and racial anxieties expressed in the documentaries studied above.

As a result, trees and vegetation became tools that helped the dictatorship mediate with its own regime of historicity. As agents of restoration of an allegedly long-lost natural order of the nation they assisted in sustaining the metahistorical equation between ideas of civilization and reforestation. This process of repopulating Spain with forests points obliquely to the central actor in the linking of ideas of reconstruction and salvation: water which, as Erik Swyngedouw argued, became the "material and symbolic kernel around which the possibility for a national rebirth was articulated" (72). Reforestation was one of the key agents of redemption that helped the dictatorship in differentiating Spain from desert-like territories prey to savagery and the "oriental brutality" associated to the Second Republic.

1.3 Defining the Politics of Architectural Reconstruction. "Tradition" and the Objectness of the "Regional"

These ideas about territory and civilization intersected with discourses around architecture as a central tool to manufacture an environment that would be conducive to national salvation. Antonio Vallejo-Nájera was one of the main proponents of eugenic ideas in post-war Spain and head of the Gabinete de Investigaciones Piscológicas whose work focused on researching the link between left-wing ideas, Marxism, and political dissidence with physical and phycological pathologies. His 1938 book *Política racial del nuevo estado* argued that the "mejoramiento de la raza" after the century-long process of national decadence associated with liberalism and democracy was contingent on a "saneamiento del medio ambiente" that would reconnect the nation with the "características psicológicas del siglo decimoséptimo" ("betterment

of [national] race", "sanitation of the environment", "psychological characteristics of the seventeenth century"; 14, 18). While quantitative approaches to reforestation have emphasized its role as strategy to "mitigate the great impact of erosion…[and] meet the demand of the national market" (Vadell et al. 38), it could also be seen as an entry point to a certain form of environmental "sanitation."

The project of national reforestation was linked to a certain imagination of the past by which the current semi-arid nature of national territory was deemed as negative in opposition to an idealized Arcadian and hyper-forested Spain. Reforestation, in its materiality and visual presentation is seen here as a central component to understand the visuality of a regime of historicity built upon a perception of fascism as the safeguard of civilization against national decadence and evolutionary understanding of nature and society. Far from being the only element in the articulation of this imbrication between visuality and regime of historicity, architectural reconstruction was another of its tenets in the production of a sanitized environment. In particular, the delimitation and conception of a new style of architecture in line with the historical discourse of the dictatorship engaged in similar discourses about the past and national decadence.

This aspect is especially visible in the two main primary sources studied in this section: the magazine *Reconstrucción* and the minutes of the yearly Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos organized by the section of the Servicios Técnicos de F.E.T de las J.O.N.S focused on architecture. To address the widespread destruction resulting from the still on-going war, in 1938 the incipient dictatorial state founded the DGRD, one of the main institutions in charge of reconstructing towns and cities impacted by the war. As the war progressed and fascist territorial control expanded, the towns in such condition of ruination were named "adopted towns" (fig. 9).

This rhetorical figure furthered a perception of national territory and communities as left behind by the "foreign" Republican state; by being adopted by Franco, cities like Gernika or Brunete were "incorporated" back into the nation.

Figure 9. Anonymous mural with a map of the "adopted towns" in the exhibition devoted to the national reconstruction celebrated in Madrid in 1940. Courtesy of Centro de Estudios de Castilla-La Mancha (www.uclm.es/ceclm)[9].

As opposed to materially reconstructing what had been destroyed, the work of the DGRD resulted in newly planned and built settlements usually in rural areas as the dictatorship chose to prioritize the creation and improvement of rural settlements over urban areas (Sambricio 71). The institution's commitment to "elevating" the life of rural communities (Prieto Bances 21) is a key aspect to understand the connections between national reconstruction and salvation. The role of architecture as a tool for "civilizing" was one of the central ideas of post-war architectural

[9] Image included in the special issue from June of 1940 of the magazine *Reconstrucción*, published by the DGRD and specially dedicated to this exhibition. Available here https://ceclmdigital.uclm.es/viewer.vm?id=0001782717&page=1&search=&lang=en&view=prensa

thought, as it transpires in the discussions that took place during the first Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos in 1939. Given its nature as an event organized by the Falange, the lectures presented at the assemblies were particularly explicit in connecting fascism with national salvation through architecture as an index of "civilization."

What would become a yearly gathering, was one of the main arenas for both young and well-established architects who had sided with the rebel side during the war to advance their ideas. In particular, the event in 1939 focused on the discussion around the creation of a "national" style that would elevate the life of dwellers not by means of the "soulless" and technical modern architecture developed in Europe, but through an architecture infused by ideas of tradition understood as the recuperation of geographically specific styles, materials, and techniques of construction. Particularly between 1939 and 1949[10], the articulation of an idea of architectural style based on tradition became a tool to imagine a form of material modernity "representativo del espíritu nacional" ("representative of the national spirit"; Flores 55).

Architecture, and more particularly housing, was seen as an essential tool for the "improvement" of material life, and crucial for the "renovación del espíritu de la Nueva España" ("renewal of the spirit of the New Spain"; Box, "El cuerpo" 152). Architecture was invested with an ability to materialize the eternal spirit of the nation. Interestingly, post-war architectural thought navigated a space between the celebration of national master architectural works like the monastery of El Escorial and a special interest in forms of vernacular architecture as the embodiment of a form of nationhood outside of history itself. For that reason, if national

[10] While the DGRD ceased to exist in 1957, 1949 represents the moment when the concept of tradition will be questioned by the same members of the Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos thus marking a change in the path of the architectural discussions and production.

monumental architecture was the embodiment of history, unlocking the "secrets" of vernacular architecture was an opportunity to materially give shape to the national essence.

To accomplish that end, architects had to interrogate architecture beyond its historical surface, facades, and stylistics details. If Spain's history was marked by fluctuations of grandiosity and decadence marked by cyclical invasions, etc. monumental architecture run the risk of inducing contemporary architects to reproduce decadent architectural elements and undermine the sanitation of the national environment. As argued by architect Diego de Reina, crafting a new style in line with the new historical reality if Spain had to founded upon a rejection of historicist and eclectic architecture typical of the turn of the century and an argument against a mimetic approach to monumental architecture. On the contrary, architectural expressions of the nation's spirit had to be analyzed "con la facilidad de la perspectiva obtenida con el paso de los siglos" so as to then behave "por una ley de semejanza en el acierto o de la inversidad en el error" ("with the easiness of perspective granted by the passage of the centuries," "under a law of similarity for wise decisions or inversely for mistakes"; de Reina de la Muela 28).

If architecture was the expression of the national spirit dispersed through time and space, identifying the commonalities and traits that were to define the creation of a national style required an analytical gaze capable of seeing beyond the material and into the spiritual qualities of vernacular architecture. In this sense, identifying the *hispanidad* of national architecture held the key to the possibility of materializing the "imagen invisible" and "que define la esencia de la nacionalidad" ("invisible image", "that defines the essence of nationhood"; Garcia Morente 43, 47). The search for this invisible "medulla" of nationhood (Bidagor 58) in architecture was present throughout the lectures given during the first Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos in 1939.

In his opening lecture, architect Pedro Muguruza—who would become the head of the Dirección General de Arquitectura and the prime architect of the first decades of the dictatorial state[11]—affirmed that for the process of reconstruction to be effective, architects had to undertake a "proceso de revisión, de eliminación, y de selección" ("process of revision, of elimination, and of selection"; "Ideas generales" 5) that would analyze and identify the "belonging" of architecture to the new imagined community of Francoism. This process of elimination and architectural purification defended by Muguruza found its main target in modern architecture, rationalism, and functionalism of European influence.

As argued by Pedro Bidagor—who would later design the plans for the reconstruction of Madrid— Spanish cities guarded "la representación de un pasado major" that had been damaged by a "siglo de importanción democrática y liberal" ("the representation of a better past… [and an] endless spiritual wealth", "century of democratic and liberal import" (58) marked by foreign influences on architecture. In line with this, in 1940 Pedro Muguruza linked rationalist architecture and Marxism. In linking political views with architectural thought, Muguruza went one step further in stressing the alleged biological connection between race and politics and argued that modern architects like Gropius, Bruno Taut, or Mendelsohn were "representantes de una raza desarraigada … judíos alemanes que, naturalmente, ni podían ofrecer una tradición porque no la tenían" ("representatives of a rootless race … German Jews who, naturally, could not offer any tradition because they just lacked any"; *Arquitectura* 14).

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[11] While Muguruza's career started as architectural illustrator before designing buildings like the Palacio de la Prensa in Madrid in the pre-war days, after the war he became the main name in architectural post-war discussions and projects. From his post as head of architecture, Muguruza designed the winning project for the Valle de los Caídos--although later severely altered before his death in 1952—and coordinated a significant number of projects of reconstruction, urbanization, and monumental preservation including the competition for the Almudena Cathedral and the design of a never-realized extension plans for the Prado Museum.

In opposition to this linking between Judaism, architectural Rationalism, and Marxism, vernacular architecture was seen as an element resulting from the crystallization of the unchanging essence of the nation. Precisely, as opposed to temporally marked examples of historical architecture, rural housing was articulated as the entry point to an idealized organic and essentialized expression of the nation. This trope reappeared throughout post-war discourse on rural architecture and set in relation the seemingly organic nature of vernacular dwellings with national territory and climate. While monumental and historical examples of national architecture were seen as evidence of the national genius and the historical mission of each historical period rural architecture was seen as an organic expression of national identity located in an extra-temporal historical limbo whose traits were organically transmitted across generations (García Morente 41, 47)

Like environmental views, this approach to vernacular architecture reinforced the "denial of coevalness" (Fabian 31) around rural communities; as a result, vernacular architecture was seen as

> fruto funcional del clima y materiales ofrecidos por el terreno, ordenados naturalmente para resolver el género de vida, y maravillosamente armonizados por sensibilidades de artesanos que, durante varias generaciones, no leyeron revistas extranjeras ni recibieron catálogos industriales de hierros y molduras.
> (Functional fruit of climate and the resources offered by the land, organized naturally to resolve the style of life, and marvelously harmonized by the sensibility of the artisan who, for generations, neither read any foreign magazine nor received industrial catalogues of iron and moldings; Cámara Niño 6)

In that sense, architecture not only held the secret logic of national essence but was defined by landscape and climate which, in turn, impacted the racial character of the dweller (Cámara Niño 5-6)[12].

In accordance with architect Antonio Cámara Niño, the post-war approach to reconstruction through rural architecture ought to be "definitiva y serena" and had to be organized depending on the "natural regions" of Spain to understand the architecture's inner logic ("definitive and serene"; Cámara Niño 5-6). Similarly, as argued by Muguruza the synthetization of a "good" style of architecture for the reconstruction would be founded upon the need to "volver, [y] de revisar la geografía y la estadística" ("return, [and] revise geography and statistics"; "Ideas" 6-7). Therefore, behind this approach to rural architecture as the untouched site of national essence lays the articulation of a certain "objectness" (T. Mitchell 5) of the countryside. Works such as Muguruza's extensive *Plan Nacional de mejoramiento de las viviendas en los Poblados de Pescadores* published in three volumes between 1942 and 1946 (fig. 10) show the role of processes of documentation and archiving of vernacular architecture to delimit the material expression of Spanishness.

[12] The addition of a certain racial discourse to the intersection between geographical and architectural elements is concomitant to other similar processes of "scientific" probing into national life like the ones described by Antonio Polo Blanco. Precisely in relation to the definition of a "Spanish racial profile" (101), Polo Blanco describes the processes undertaken by anthropologists, puericulture experts, and hygienists to establish "comparative analysis of the different geographical areas of the nation in relation to their generative prowess and robustness, and the vigor of their human production" (106).

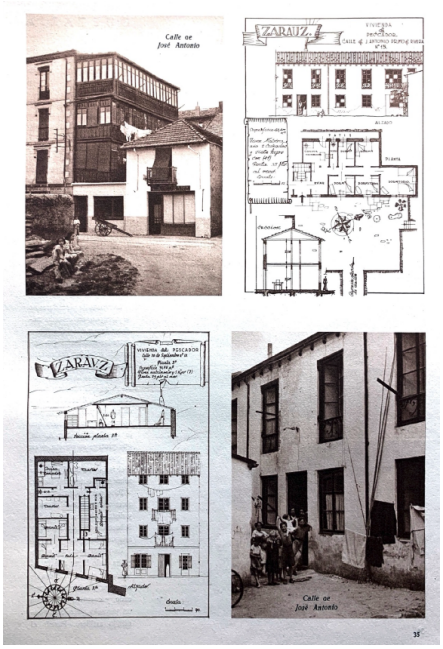

Figure 10. Pedro Muguruza. *Plan Nacional de mejoramiento de las viviendas en los Poblados de Pescadores. Ministerio de la Gobernación*, 1942. (Photography by the author).

Through geography, regional architecture, or racial discourse, post-war architecture aimed at materializing a certain "objectness" of tradition. The projection of an analytical and objectifying gaze towards the territorial and architectural reality of post-war Spain could be associated with a "geographical optics" that went beyond the "revindicación de identidades determinadas" and focused on understanding the "lógica functional que explica la disposición del espacio en la arquitectura del país" ("the recognition of a determinate set of identities", "functional logic that could explain the arrangement of space in national architecture"; Monclús and Oyón, "Vivienda" 107). These ways of articulating territory and architecture were also related to the autarkic reality of post-war Spain as the "hora del reajuste de la economía nacional, al reconstruir aldeas y ciudades, al pedirle al campo que rinda más y pronto, cuando es necesaria … arraigar en las zonas rurales a los que con su inteligencia y esfuerzo han de alumbrar sus veneros" ("time to readjust national economy, of reconstructing villages and cities, of demanding

from the countryside larger and faster production, precisely now when it is necessary to … settle in rural areas those who, with their intelligence and effort, will bear its springs; de Soroa 36).

This "return" to regional culture through its architecture and the study of geography and statistics proclaimed by Pedro Muguruza in 1939 is linked to an attempt by the dictatorship to halt the process of internal migration from rural to urban areas that increased during the 1940s and especially during the 1950s. Similar to ideas of environmental balance studied earlier, the effort to settle population in rural areas is linked to ideas of territorial equilibrium that would result in a "sociedad justa y armónicamente estructurada" ("fair society harmonically structured"; Monclús and Oyón, *Historia* 63). This desire to "return" to an idealized rural society by means of studying and codifying the traits of national geography and architecture is consistent with a certain inward gaze towards regional Spain that could be traced back to the early twentieth century and beyond.

Although undoubtably marked by the context of the post-war and the role of rural areas as key to national economy, the ideas expressed by Muguruza and others echoed a similar process of national "soul-searching" (Goode 121)" that took place in post-1898 Spain. The interest in rural areas as Spain's "indias internas" ("internal indies"; Cañete 44) in need of salvation was very prevalent during the second half of the nineteenth century and after the end of the Spanish colonial presence in America and Asia. As such, the "proliferación de conocimientos científicos sobre el territorio … corresponde con una voluntad de ordenar y valorizar el espacio agrario de modo homogéneo" which, in turn produced an "objetificación del territorio" ("proliferation of scientific knowledge about territory … "objectivation of territory"; Monclús and Oyón, *Historia* 50).

This regional "objectness" materialized during the post-war through the establishment of a series of rules for the construction of housing by the DGRD. The houses created by DGRD had to comply with a series of standards that would make their construction "netamente españolas, netamente tradicionales" ("distinctly Spanish, distinctly traditional"; Muguruza, "Ideas" 5). Amongst others, housing needed to have three separate bedrooms, kitchen, dining room, and bathroom, and enforcing spatial separation between humans and animals. Perhaps more important was the mandatory use of local techniques and local materials (Monclús and Oyón, *Historia* 420). While these last two aspects respond to the widespread scarcity of materials, they were also in direct relation to the geographical codification of architectural styles and the objectness of regional architecture (fig. 11). By doing so, the architects involved in the reconstruction ought to act with "criterio de artensano…y la sensiblidad de un arquitecto formada en la observación de lo muchísimo bueno, hornado y functional que se conserva en los pueblos … haciendo de la reconstrucción labor misional"("artisan-like criteria … and the sensibility of an architect trained in the observation of the very best [elements], honest and functional that are preserved in the towns ... making of reconstruction a missional labor"; Cámara Niño 11-12).

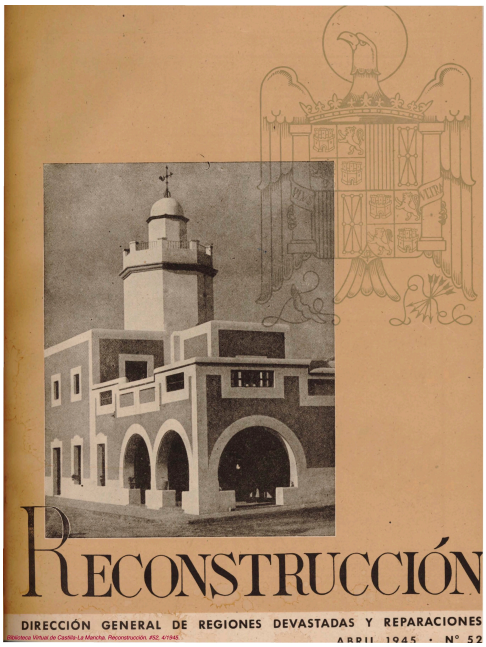

Figure 11. Andalusian-style house of north Moroccan inspiration built in Almería by the DGRD. Courtesy of Centro de Estudios de Castilla-La Mancha (www.uclm.es/ceclm).[13]

Alongside Muguruza and his "atlas" of popular architecture, perhaps the most significant continuator of these practices was Gonzalo de Cárdenas, the director of the DGRD. Throughout the years, and before his death in 1954, Cárdenas published a series of articles in *Reconstrucción* devoted to different "types" of rural architecture. These articles, entitled "Arquitectura popular española," focused on different types of low-income housing such as caves (figs. 12) or "typical" Andalusian houses. While precisely inhabiting these caves led to "condiciones de vida extrema, donde la pobreza era la norma" and where "no había ni saneamiento ni agua" ("extreme conditions of life, where poverty was the norm", "there was neither sanitation system nor water"; del Arco Blanco, "¿Se acabo…?" 63), the articles in *Reconstrucción* spoke of a "completamente higiénica" dwelling and explicitly contradicted those who "han visto en la cueva … una vivienda

[13] Front cover of the issue from April of 1945 of the magazine *Reconstrucción*, published by the DGRD. Available at: https://ceclmdigital.uclm.es/viewer.vm?id=0001782053&page=1&search=&lang=en&view=prensa

poco menos que infrahumana" ("completely hygienic", "have regarded the cave … [as] an almost subhuman dwelling"; de Cárdenas, "Arquitectura…Las Cuevas" 35).

Figure 12. Carved caves used as houses. Courtesy of Centro de Estudios de Castilla-La Mancha (www.uclm.es/ceclm).

The first of these articles synthesized some of the ideas outlined in this section. On the one hand, climate and landscape are seen as the unchanging element defining the construction of traditional houses. He argues that over time, "fueron variando lentamente las costumbres, pero permanecieron inalterables las condiciones físicas y climatológicas, y como las viviendas son una consecuencia de estas, han seguido inalterables hasta nuestros días". Vernacular housing are presented once again as invariable and organic results of the "instinto innato" of the peasant who seems to know by heart "qué orientación debe de dar a la casa, cómo debe de situar las cuadras, qué espesores han de tener los muros … detalles todos ellos que vienen transmitiéndose de generación en generación" ("customs varied slowly, but physical and climatological conditions remained inalterable and, since dwelling are a consequence of this, they have remained unchanged", "innate instinct", "the orientation needed by the house, how to locate the stables,

what thickness are required by the walls … details all of these that are being transmitted generation after generation"; Cárdenas, "Arquitectura … La Casa" 26, 29-30).

The gaze projected by the architects involved in the process of reconstruction toward the countryside is consistent with a denial of the contemporaneity through which the dictatorship articulated its views of rural life and, perhaps more importantly, with a commodification and essentialization of the conditions of rural life. The establishment of a notion of tradition sustained by the conscription of rural life to a different temporality would allow the probing of that "imagen invisible" of *hispanidad* and would persistently situate the population of non-urban areas in a seemingly inescapable estate of poverty akin to a certain "state of nature" (Bowden, "In the name" 91). In that sense, the process of reconstruction of the Spanish countryside is based on a process of "commodifying misery" (Drexel-Dreis 17) that, in turn, would allow for the architects and engineers associated with the fascist state to approach reconstruction precisely as that "missional labor" mentioned earlier.

Reconstruction then could be seen as a process of bringing "civilization" to the countryside where "la mayoría de nuestros pueblos … viven en condiciones infrahuamanas" ("the majority of our towns … live in subhuman conditions'"; de Cárdenas, "Arquitectura…Casa" 26) and were full of "miseria y fealdad" ("misery and ugliness"; Gutierrez Soto 43). However, that "civilization" embodied in architecture could not be "ni laica, ni liberal, ni internacional", instead it had to be constituted by a "constante servicio a Dios, a España y su propio destino" ("secular, nor liberal, nor international", "constant sense of service to God, to Spain and its own destiny"; Bidagor 62). Therefore, the "civilization" being brought to the Spanish countryside in the process of reconstruction through architecture was conceived to be a combination of a view of the dwelling as the "tradicional…hogar español, como primer centro de

educación cristiana y familiar" and as a tool for work. This combination of ideas would "elevar el nivel de vida de los pueblos que hasta ahora no han podido o no han sabido aprovechar los beneficios de la técnica" ("traditional … Spanish home, as the very first center of Christian and family education", "elevate the level of life of towns that, until now, have not been able or known how to take advantage of the benefits of technique"; Prieto Bances 24, 22).

This would result in a conceptual distinction of the Spanish "home" from the liberal and secularized "machine for living in" proposed by Le Corbusier (4) and the Modern Movement of architecture. The rural house of the reconstruction had become the "centro spiritual y material de la familia, núcleo primordial del Estado" ("spiritual and material center, primordial nucleus of the state"; "Brunete" 14). Therefore, through architecture the process of reconstruction was expected to materialize the invisible thread connecting the national essence as expressed in the countryside. Moreover, this materialization would in turn improve the life of rural dwellers, and more importantly, establish a spiritual difference of the Spanish "home" to the "mechanistic" modern house.

In addition to this, climate and geography were seen as the essential aspects making up a broader notion of landscape and effecting an inextricable impact in the design and construction of rural housing and the constitution of "tipos humanos formados por el paisaje y el clima" ("human types formed by landscape and climate"; Sánchez de Muniaín 27). An overall vision of climate and geography as quasi-unchanging conditions making up the "objective" reality of Spain and its regions provided with a point of articulation that allowed the architects behind the process of reconstruction to assign architectural styles, traditions, constructing solutions, and even human character based on regional origin (Polo Blanco 106).

This objectification and organization of national knowledge was akin to notions of a "ciencia folklórica" ("folkloric science"; Monclús y Oyón, *Historia* 410) with the ability to collect material evidence of the existence of a supra historical national spirit of "continuidad fundamental y atemporal, orgánica, [y] más profunda que aquella obtenida a través de la historia" ("fundamental and atemporal continuity, organic, [and] deeper that the one obtained through history"; Ortiz 165). While the interest in recuperating traditional styles was attached to views of vernacular housing as expression of the national spirit, the views expressed by some of the architects related to the DGRD and the magazine *Reconstrucción* also strived for a certain "adjustment" between the seemingly atemporal image of tradition congealed in rural architecture and the material reality of the present.

As such, Luis Gutierrez Soto affirmed that

> La casa se construye para el hombre, para el de hoy, no para el de ayer; debe cumplir un programa y una función exacta; representa un estado de civilización y de cultura; es la creación de los valores espirituales y materiales duraderos; es la representación por la aplicación de los postulados fundamentales de higiene social y técnica, de toda la cultura de una época.
> (The house is built for man, for [the man] of today, no for that of yesterday; it must fulfil an exact program and function; it represents a state of civilization and culture; it is the creation of spiritual and material everlasting values; it is the representation by application of the fundamental hypothesis of social and technical hygiene, of the whole culture of an epoch; 45)

Therefore, the articulation of an idea of tradition did not correspond to a mimetic application of the objectness of regional styles and techniques but with an interest to manufacture the "invisible image" of national identity essentially capable of materially and spiritually "improve" the life of populations.

This interest in conceptualizing a form of architectural tradition that responded to the "demands of today" while also true to the national spirit was the central tool in the effort to "elevate" the life of rural lower classes and, as such, to what I understand as the Francoist

civilizing mission that unfolded in the process of reconstruction. Departing from Pablo Sánchez León's understanding of the Civil War as a "conquista colonial civilizatoria" ("civilizing and colonial conquest"; "¿Sólo" 27), I propose that such conceptual framework could be said to be also at play in the post-war process of national reconstruction. Moreover, I would argue that an equation between colonialism and civilization could be traced in some of the foundational texts of post-war architecture.

Echoing once again the work of Roger Griffin and his study on notions of modernism within Fascist regimes, the apparent opposition between the upholding of tradition and modernity is not a reality when it comes to architectural thought in post-war Spain. I propose that the imbrication of both concepts is mediated by the concept of civilization as the cornerstone for the discourse of reconstruction in Francoist Spain. In this context of civilization through reconstruction, Gutierrez Soto claimed that the new State had an obligation to humanize and colonize rural Spain to "urbanizar el campo" ("urbanize the countryside"; 43). Rural Spain in the context of the post-war was envisioned almost as a noble savage (Fuentes Vega 191), innocent, laborious, but lacking the means to access a better and heightened standard of life subjected to the Francoist "ideal civilizatorio … [que] se adscribe a una lógica disciplinario-sancionadora que niega el potencial autogobierno individual y que enfatiza la necesidad de tutela para un ser humano incapaz de asumir el resultado último de sua acciones" ("civilizing ideal … [that] is assigned to a disciplinary-penal logic that denies the potential of individual self-government and highlights the need for guardianship for a human being incapable of assuming the results of their actions"; Ampudia de Haro 286).

This framework of reconstruction as a process of civilization could be seen as similar to the one in which "[b]ecoming modern is itself salvation" (Drexler-Dreis 28) and the gate of

access to Western modernity. If this civilizing ideal of Francoism was founded upon a view of rural habitation and population as somehow "uncivilized," the process of national reconstruction was essential to uplift the life of Spaniards to an "exact degree of civilization." This mention of a somewhat countable "degree" of civilization represents an explicit reference to the thought of Ellsworth Huntington (Muguruza, "Vivienda" 13, 15) whose "principal thesis was that cool temperatures and variable weather promote the most advanced civilization ... since the physical environment influences the location and level of civilization" (McGregor 240).

Muguruza echoed these ideas in the context of a lecture dealing precisely with low-income housing and its minimum conditions of habitability. For Muguruza, the connection between climate and civilization was essential to affirm that the "mejoramiento del clima mejora [igualmente] sus actividades y progresar su civilización" ("improvement of climate [equally] improves their activities and make civilization progress"; *Vivienda* 18). The essential aspect here is that, when it comes to applying this theoretical framework to the case of post-war Spain, Muguruza affirmed that before establishing an architectural style for the reconstruction, the state needed to manufacture a "style of living" in accordance with the Catholic values of the New State. In that sense, he affirmed that "hay, por tanto, un problema de educación, donde la casa juega un papel transicional y pedagógico en sus valores representativos para quien viene a disfrutarla" ("there is, then, a problem of education, where the house plays a transitional and pedagogical role in its representative values"; *Vivienda* 21). The pedagogical value of architecture not only provided access to a minimum standard of habitational and hygienic resources but also enabled the production of a "civilized" style of living supported by an equally climatologically "civilized" environment.

I argue that these two aspects amount to a deterministic view of the environment and architecture since they "depart from a given situation of nature-society interaction" (Meyer and Guss 6) by which natural and architectural environments are seen as essential assets in the modification and improvement of the lives of the population. These ideas were echoed not only by Pedro Muguruza but also in articles of *Reconstrucción* or in the catalogue of the 1940 exhibition devoted to national reconstruction where it was affirmed that the "casa modela el alma de los hombres" ("house models the soul of men"; *Exposición*). The crucial aspect here is the linking of these ideas to the overall discourse of civilization as the term was used as a "criterion against which barbarity, or non-civilization, is judged and condemned" (Bowden, "In the name" 82).

This section has departed from two main premises: on the one hand, that rural population and architecture were consistently situated in a different temporality through a denial of its contemporaneity; on the other, that the process of reconstruction aimed at locating in the differentially temporalized architecture the essence of the "invisible image" of national identity. These two premises must be set in contrast with the economic reality of Spain and the role of agriculture as the main pillar of the national economy in the post-war. With those three things in mind, this section has explored the way in which architectural thought in the post-war systematically essentialized rural life, landscape, and architecture and produced a certain commodification of regional life.

In turn, this "objectness" allowed for architects and engineers to consistently place rural life and architecture at both a temporal and spatial distance that sustained a view by which rural habitation and environment needed to be "civilized" to be saved. This articulation of salvation through architecture is consistent with notions of architectural determinism that assume that life

can be made "better" by the sole means of the production of dwellings. As stated by Brett Bowden, the notion of civilization represents an "explicit tool of hierarchy" ("In the name" 84) that reinforces this view of the countryside as a noble savage inhabiting in the past and in need of salvation by the standards of civilization promoted by the Fascist new state. Finally, this notion of reconstruction *as* salvation through architecture, understood as a "tool of work" and as an instrument capable of molding the soul of men, results in what will be the object of the next and last portion: the creation of a new picture of the national community through territorial modification and architecture as essential tenets in the articulation of an "environment."

1.4 Articulating Territory, Architecture, and Subjectivity: The INC as the Production of an Environment and the Francoist Biopolitical Machine

In 1949, during the lectures and discussions of the fifth Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos, the architects involved suggested "la posibilidad de abandonar el historicismo [arquitectónico] … [y] dejar de lado los métodos artesanales de construcción" ("the possibility of leaving behind [architectural] historicism … [y] the use of artisanal methods of construction"; Sambricio 63) traditionally associated with the DGRD. Parallel to the effort of codifying the historical and social imaginary of the dictatorship in architectural terms developed by the DGRD, the INC was responsible for an extensive program of architectural production and landscape modification. Although the institution was created during the war, the INC only built its first *poblado*[14] in 1943 (Delgado Orusco 240). However, and before its dismantling in 1973, the INC was responsible for the design and construction of over three hundred new settlements, the

[14] The terminology varies throughout primary sources between *poblado* and *pueblo*. What seems to be a constant is the preeminence of these two terms over that of "rural colony" which, as noted by Monclús and Oyón (*Historia* 365), will progressively disappear in the 1940s and 50s. Here I will use the term *poblado* for consistency.

majority of which were developed during the 1950s, a period considered to be the "golden age" of rural colonization.

Whereas the DGRD was responsible for reconstructing the towns affected by the war, the settlements created by the INC were designed *ex-profeso* in most cases and generally associated to large-scale hydrological projects. The INC was one of the main institutions responsible for the dictatorship's overarching plan of modernizing the agricultural sector. It not only built towns but also the infrastructures necessary for one of most important projects of the dictatorship: the transformation of traditionally dry areas into irrigated territories as way to increase the productivity of agricultural areas. Therefore, the towns designed by the INC were created as settlements for the labor associated with this transformation. While in previous sections I have explored the dictatorship's discourse on territory and architecture, this section will focus on the ways in which these two intersected to produce an environment conducive to a new form of community and subjectivity.

In architectural terms the experience of the DGRD established a series of concepts that would mark part of the production of the INC, especially the interest in the recuperation of popular architecture associated to the incorporation of techniques, materials, and a certain mimetic approach to architectural details. However, after 1949 the INC will engage in an "interpretación mucho más libre de las formas urbanísticas que … tomará ciertos aspectos de los popular como pura referencia de partida" ("much freer interpretation in urbanistic terms which ... will take some aspects of the popular as pure reference"; *Historia* 426, 435). Especially the towns created during its "golden age" in the 1950s—when over 160 *poblados* were built—have

been consistently portrayed by historians as a certain "return" of modern architecture to Spain inspired by Northern European architectural practice[15].

In that sense, although the architectural production of the INC was still partially linked to values of traditional housing, it also approached architecture through "formas simplistas, *modernas*, con elementos eternos: cal y barro." ("more simplified, *modern,* with eternal elements: lime and mud"; de Miguel González 17) However, it is important to highlight that the production of *poblados* and the discourse of their architects was still attached to a certain essentialization of rural architecture as an almost organic product of nature. In that sense, in 1974 José Luis Fernández del Amo (fig. 13)—who designed thirteen *poblados* for the INC—was still referring to popular architecture as ruled by a "ley occulta de su ordenación expontánea *[sic]*" ("hidden law of its xpontaneous *[sic]* ordering"; 33). Similarly, architect Miguel Fisac argued that the inability of contemporary architects to build "real" popular architecture was the result of their lack of "innocence" proper of rural dwellers (Alomar et al. 47).

Figure 13. Joaquín del Palacio "Kindel." Town of El Realengo. 1953. Fondo Fotográfico del Instituto Nacional de Colonización del Archivo Central del Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación.

[15] For an extensive and comprehensive study of the work of the INC from the standpoint of the history of architecture, see the book *Rural utopia and water urbanism: the modern village in Franco's Spain* by François Lejeune.

In terms of its core values, the INC shared with the DRGD some aspects of its mission of to "elevate" rural life. As such, the magazine *Colonización*—published by the INC—also presented the work of the institution as a civilizing intervention of missionary nature (Sordo 3). While perhaps in architectural terms the INC had moved on from the deterministic views on tradition and housing of the 1940s, at least a significant portion of its visual and discursive production was still set in relation to the regime of historicity of the postwar. The INC partook of the dictatorship's commemoration of the memory of the Spanish Empire, as indicated by its very name: the Instituto Nacional de Colonización. Although the term colonization is widely used in reference to processes of territorial ordering in the agricultural sector, the ideological links between Francoism state and the Spanish Empire make the use of term colonization a symbol of a "gozoso regusto de algo que fuera costumbre respetada y aún palpitante en el recuerdo" ("joyful aftertaste of something that used to be a respected tradition still throbbing in [our] remembrance"; qtd. in del Arco Blanco, *Las alas* 225).

However, the institution's role in articulating the relationship between the project of national reconstruction and the empire was not necessarily done through an approach to architecture as the materialization of the national spirit as in the case of the DGRD. Instead, the INC partook of this regime of historicity through a combination of natural and architectural forms that connoted ideas of civilization such as water, infrastructures, systems of irrigation, etc. Water will become then the "material and symbolic kernel … around which the possibility for a national rebirth was articulated" and the key element in the creation of a "new geography" (Swyngedouw 72) by the INC.

The importance of water and hydraulic public works in the context of the dictatorship had a double goal. On the one hand, just like the discourse on reforestation, one of the goals of the

INC was "'balancing' Spain's uneven hydrology" (Swyngedouw 80) as the means to return to an idealized society "estructurada armónicamente" ("harmonically structured"; Monclús and Oyón, *Historia* 63). On the other hand, the importance of manufacturing a system of "balanced" distribution of hydrological resources to fight back desertification is consistent with the moralized views of desertic territories and the pessimistic image of national territory outlined in the first section of this chapter. However, this discourse linking water, civilization, and empire is also part of a very specific historical heritage being appropriated by the dictatorship. In particular, ideas about water as a modernizing agent predate the civil war and can be traced back to turn-of-the-century *regeneracionismo*[16].

This program of national "revitalización intelectual y moral" ("intellectual and moral revitalization"; Gómez Mendoza 233), best exemplified by thinkers like Joaquín Costa, covered a wide range of views on themes related to ideas of "political critique, intellectual crisis, social malaise, and the need to revive Spain, both physically and spiritually" (Swyngedouw 71). In that sense, the INC (and the dictatorship at large) was linked to *regeneracionismo* (Swyngedouw 72) by a common interest in countering the effects of the alleged process of national degeneration signaled by the loss of Spanish imperial prowess (Gómez Mendoza 232). As far back as 1900, Joaquín Costa equated the struggle against the Cuban and Filipino separatism that had led to the end of the empire with the "guerra contra la sequía" ("war against drought"; 11) in Spain as the real source of national misfortune.

These views were inherited by the Francoist state and had an important influence in articulating its discourse on modernization as a process of national salvation. Both post-1898

[16] For a more extensive work on *Regeneracionismo*, see: Andreu Navarra Ordoño, *El regeneracionismo. La continuidad reformista.* Cátedra, 2015.

regeneracionismo and the Francoist dictatorship were always in dialogue with the phantasmatic image of the Spanish Empire and the myth of the colonization of America and Asia through the role of water as the key to national regeneration. In that sense, in both cases, the discourse on national decadence was sublimated with the rearticulation of a colonial mindset and a turning of the "gaze to the lands and people of Spain itself" (Swyngedouw 69) as condition *sine qua non* for a process of modernization as national salvation.

The INC was a crucial institution in the rearticulation of the discursive and intellectual heritage of *regeneracionismo.* It articulated a vision of rural territories as areas in need of the civilizing effects of the Francoist dictatorship through the distribution of hydrological resources and water. As a result, the territorial and architectural imagination of post-war Francoism came together with a form of "colonialidad medioambiental" ("environmental coloniality"; Corral Broto and Ortega Santos 3) that crystallized in a view of water as a techno-natural (Swyngedouw 29) asset capable of reverting desertification, depopulation, and savagery. An asset that, while techno-natural, is also historical. As I will show, discourses around water will result from the intersection between the management of hydrological resources with the memory, images, and values associated with the Spanish Empire. These elements will, in turn, serve as the foundation to produce an environment conducive to a new form of subjectivity and national community embodied in the *poblados* built by the INC.

These ideas were echoed in two documentaries by the Marquis de Villa-Alcázar: *Se vence el desierto*—briefly studied in the first section of this chapter—and *España se prepara.* These two films differ from other more scientifically oriented documentaries as both display an overtly propagandistic tone and articulate two different visual forms of presenting the environmental coloniality of the INC. *Se vence el desierto* explicitly links the visual and

architectural memory of the Spanish Empire with the work of INC. The 1949 documentary *España se prepara* focuses on productive consequences of the technical management of hydrological resources. While different in the topics and visual language, both documentaries highlight in different ways the role of water as a civilizing asset capable of "elevating" the life of rural communities.

As mentioned, *Se vence el desierto* is linked to a more literal visualization of the celebration of imperial memory by the dictatorship. The documentary opens with a map of the region of Huelva, in southern Spain. In the first few seconds, we see a caravel with a large cross decorating its sails hovering over the coast of Huelva (fig.14). The ship is used as a device to echo the caravels used by Columbus and it sets the tone for the rest of the documentary. While this geographical area is important for its connection with the work of the INC, its historical significance derives from its history as the point of departure of Columbus' first trip. Precisely, this juxtaposition between the geographical location of the film and its historical significance situates us at the site where Francoist agrarian productivism and historical discourse meet.

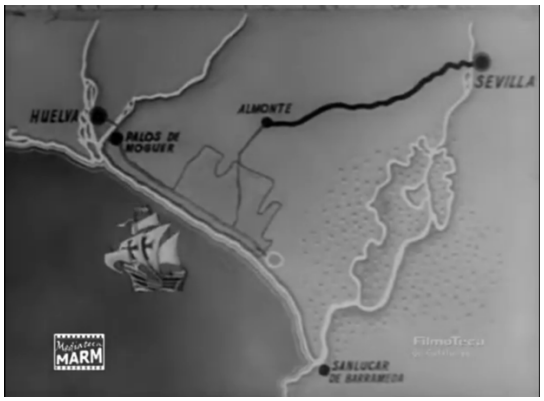

Figure 14. Still from Villa-Alcázar, *Se vence el desierto* (01:08). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

The visual imaginary of imperial Spain is once again linked to the "war against drought" of Joaquín Costa as the voice-over explains the documentary's approach towards territory. The words desert and productivity are the organizing principles for the narrative: "el desierto cerca de

Palos de Moguer ha sido vencido" ("the desert near Palos de Moguer has been defeated") by the civilizing action of the state. The roads, new settlements, and over 40.000 reforested hectares have "humanized" the region. The "humanizing" of a region so important for Spain's colonial past through agrarian colonization highlights the role of the dictatorship as an agent of historical retribution to the empire as the phantasmatic historical "essence that justified Spain's existence." As such, in the first few minutes of *Se vence el desierto,* the INC is presented as sharing the idealized mission of the empire: to "sown culture, civilization, and religion" (qtd. in Box, "Spanish" 97).

At the epicenter of this connection is the importance of water as a civilizing agent. The camera and the voice-over explicit this relationship as the documentary present a series of architectural and infrastructural landmarks that bring the colonial enterprise of Columbus to the present (fig. 15). First, the church in Palos de Moguer where "oyó misa Colón antes de salir a vencer no un desierto sino medio mundo" ("heard mass before leaving [Spain] to conquer, not a desert, but half of the world"). Then, the well from where Colombus "tomó agua dulce que, transportada sobre el amargo mar hizo brotar la civilización de un continente como hoy hace dar fruto a este trigal" ("[Columbus] took fresh water that, transported over the bitter sea, [and] sprouted the civilization of a continent just as today it sprouts that [nearby] wheat field").

Figure 15. Still from Villa-Alcázar, *Se vence el desierto* (1:20, 1:21). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

The images and words about water, presented as the source of life once "brought" to America by Columbus and now irrigating the wheat field growing nearby connect the imperial colonization of America and the agricultural colonization of Spain by means of reforestation, infrastructures, and new settlements. Precisely, the documentary highlights the links between these water infrastructures and the process of mass reforestation of pines and eucalyptus developed in the area. As a result, the documentary tells us, the transformation of the area into irrigated territory has brought a blooming agricultural industry which ultimately has required the creation of new roads and settlements. Water, in the form of historical structures, agricultural production, and trees, has "humanized" and elevated the quality of life in the area.

Figure 16 - Still from Villa-Alcázar, *Se vence el desierto* (09:47, 10:06, 10:35). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

To remark this aspect, *Se vence el desierto* shows first the temporary huts built for the workforce and then contrasts it to the houses, church, and school built by the INC to ensure workers have access to a "vida del más alto nivel" ("life of the highest level") (fig. 16). The origin of the Spanish Empire is set here in direct relation with the process of post-war internal colonization of rural areas by the dictatorship. This results in an intertwining of the discourse on productivity with historical and moral references orbiting around the notion of civilization. As such, if the desert and its climate were signs of savagery, the results of reverting that process of territorial degeneration were, therefore, civilization. This idea is illustrated in the final minutes of the documentary where we see several takes of a factory filled with women working on the

manufacture of artificial silk, a byproduct of the eucalyptus trees used to reforest areas of Spain. These images are read as "pruebas palpables de otra obra civilizadora de mucha menor envergadura que la que inició Colón pero gigantesca y realizada en nuestro propio suelo" (palpable evidence of the success of another civilizing work, of smaller scope than the one initiated by Columbus, but gigantic and undergone in our own soil").

This unfolding of the civilizing efforts of the INC through water is what connects the institution with the celebration of the Spanish Empire by the dictatorship. While the term "colonization" did not necessarily refer to the "ocupación o conquista" of territory ("occupation or a conquest"; qtd. in del Arco Blanco, *Las alas* 225), the connection between notions of colonization and civilization as a means of "elevating" the life of population is inextricably linked the historical role of the Spanish Empire. In this line, far-right philosopher and priest Manuel García Morente argued that the Spanish empire did not create "colonies" but "brotes de vida hispánica" ("sprouts of Hispanic life") without any "intereses mercantiles" ("commercial interests." On the contrary, Spanish colonialism, just like fascism, only searched to "mejorar el nivel espiritual, moral, y civilizatorio de las gentes filiales" ("improve the spiritual, moral, and civilizing level of filial peoples"; García Morente, "Ideas" 73)

In a similar way, *Se vence el desierto* connects the Spanish Empire and fascism through a visual lexicon by which historical structures, architecture, trees, and factories become displaced symbols of water. Through this construction of water as a civilizing agent the documentary reinvents "viejos conceptos, … [y] extraen las connotaciones de otros, se crea un pasado" ("old concepts [and] extract connotations from other, a past is created" (García López 36). Despite the figurative references to the empire made in *Se vence el desierto* through the portrayal of historical infrastructure and architecture, the connection between the Francoist dictatorship and a

colonial approach to society, environment, and territory is sustained in the visual by means of water and vegetation. As I have demonstrated, water was articulated as the crystallization of the positive values associated with the empire: civilization, the elevation of life, and national resurgence. These ideas will influence the connection between hydrological infrastructures and the societal imagination of the dictatorship as embodied in the *poblados.* These two axes will be essential to facilitating the establishment of new "social relations … [and] the consolidation of groups" (Nemser 18) in the newly built towns.

Precisely, the connection between society and infrastructures is what the 1949 documentary *España se prepara* articulates visually. The documentary opens with shots of the "desertic" Spain described in the first section of this chapter and presented in *Se vence el desierto*. This time, their desertic nature is not associated simply with climate but with its low levels of productivity. In line with the argument made by architect José María de Soroa in *Reconstrucción*, the dictatorship represented the arrival of the "hora del reajuste de la economía nacional, … [y de] pedirle al campo que rinda más y pronto" ("time to readjust national economy, … [and] of demanding from the countryside larger and faster production; de Soroa 36). To this end the documentary visualizes the temporality of progress by counterposing the "proceso calmoso" ("calmed process") of agricultural modes of production whose "labor de transformaciones eran labor de siglos" ("transformations were a matter of centuries") to the speedy process of production required today. Whereas the dictatorship celebrated the non-contemporary temporality of the countryside as site of national identity, these transformations required of a paradoxical acceleration of the means of production.

The documentary presents the action of the dictatorship and the INC as the solution to this need. This is articulated through the superposition of images of traditional methods of

agricultural labor and a speeding clock. Interestingly enough, this visual acceleration is followed by shots of traditional architecture while the voice-over celebrates that the population settled in the newly created settlements have already established their own traditions and folklore. This acceleration of productivity, presented as a national need derived from the future growth of population after the war, is sustained by the visual presentation of infrastructures (fig. 17). These embody the link between water and civilization expressed by the *regeneracionismo* and inherited by the dictatorship. Far from being absorbed by the environment, hydrological infrastructures in *España se prepara* shape it, sustaining the creation of new *poblados,* the settlement of new populations, and articulating the social imagination of the dictatorship.

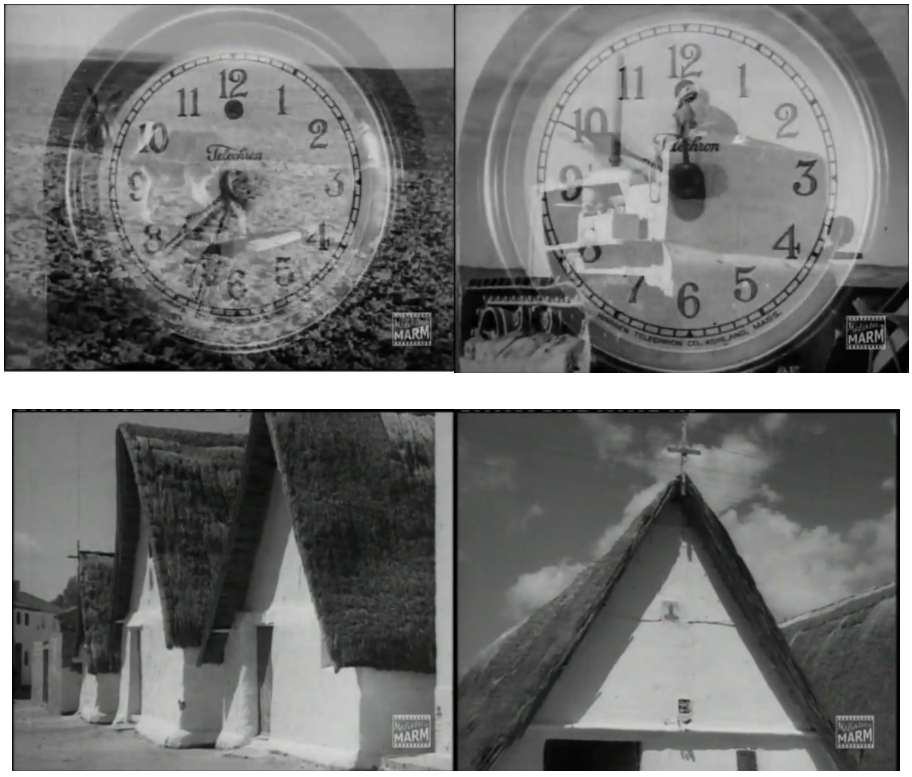

Figure 17. Stills from Villa-Alcázar, *España se prepara* (04:11, 04:13, 04,19). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

In that sense, hydrological infrastructures are essential actors in the articulation of a distinctly Francoist landscape, understood as "a construction, a composition of that world … a way of seeing the world" (Cosgrove 13). Ultimately, the Francoist landscape presented in the documentaries explored in this chapter, and more particularly *España se prepara,* engage in a future-oriented discourse of growth that simultaneously celebrates past and tradition, which is consistent with the idea of an alternative modernity of fascism expressed by Griffin. This is reinforced in *España se prepara* through the figure of the child as "the *telos* of the social order …[and] the one for whom that order is held in perpetual trust" (Edelman 11)[17] (fig. 18).

[17] Children, in their potentiality as embodiments of the social order created by Francoism are one of the most persistent visual tropes of the photographic archive and visual production of the INC. A persistent presence that could be the subject to further research projects.

Figure 18. Stills from Villa-Alcázar, *España se prepara* (04:11, 04:13, 04,19). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

The materialization of this social order in the construction of *poblados* could be argued to be equivalent with the argument made by Vallejo Nájera about the "sanemiento del ambiente" as the key aspect for the "mejora de la raza" ("sanitation of the environment", "betterment of the race"; 14). Speaking on race in this context does not necessarily involve a systematic biologization of cultural markers as an excuse for the eradication of certain populations as in the case of Nazi Germany. On the contrary, the racial thought being articulated in the ideas of Vallejo Nájera partake of a form of positive eugenics more directed towards ideas of environment and culture rather than a specific ethnic formation (Polo Blanco 27). The intertwining of views on landscape and architecture with the historical discourse on the empire and its legacies was essential in the articulation of the social imaginary of the dictatorship. The latter was embodied by the *poblados* as a specific form of "environment" conducive with the social order promoted by Francoism. In that sense, the *poblados* were an environment articulated around a series of assisting technologies (Monclús and Oyón, *Historia* 383) and the enforcement of certain biopolitical criteria—such as hygiene, mandatory health controls, or pediatric checkups.

These technologies of life (García López 25) could be seen as extensions of the mission to "elevate" rural life through the pedagogical value of architecture defended by Muguruza

(*Vivienda* 21). Moreover, and similar to the deterministic views proposed by the DGRD, the hygienic and good design of the houses of the INC were said to "ponía al obrero en Buena disposición para el trabajo, dando garantías para un mayor rendimiento en cantidad y calidad" while at the same time being seen as a "mecanismo moralizante" ("put the worker in a good disposition towards work thus warranting a better efficiency", "moralizing mechanism" (Monclús and Oyón, *Historia* 385, 384). Hygiene, considered as one of the tenets of the discourse of civilization, brought the "beneficios sanitarios que hoy se obtienen fácilmente en las poblaciónes" to the "pueblos pequeños, tan dignos de atención en este como en otros muchos aspectos" (sanitary benefits easily obtained today in cities", "small towns, so worthy of attention in this as much as in many other aspects"; Morales and Rueda Marín 16).

In turn, this hierarchization of civilized cities versus uncivilized rural towns highlighted a view by which the "población rural se encontraba fuera de la moralidad, la religion, e incluso la higiene" ("rural population had fallen out of morality, religion, and hygiene"; Rabasco Pozuelo 8). In that note, this network of technologies persistently rendered the rural subject as a noble savage in need of salvation and acculturation through the civilizatory ideal (Ampudia de Haro 286) of Francoism as portrayed in *Se vence al desierto* or *España se prepara*. The inhabitants of the *poblados* are persistently presented as a sort of Iberian rural "homo infantilis" in need of "asmilación o 'españolización' … como un ideal de homogeinización socio-cultural importado de un pasado colonial idealizado" ("assimilated or 'Spanish-ized' … as an ideal of socio-cultural homogenization imported from an idealized colonial past"; Sánchez Molina 111).

The construction of the *poblados* as self-enclosed environments reproducing the social order of the dictatorship was ensured by the enforcement of a process of selection to the individuals and families applying to work as *colonos.* Before being accepted in the *poblado,* the

colono had to fulfill a series of requisites. Amongst them, the *colono* had to be within an age range between 23 and 50 years old, be the father of a large family, have "buen comportamiento y moralidad" and be "desprovisto de taras hereditarias fisiológicas (sífilis, tuberculosis, alcoholism, etc.) ("good behavior and morality", "without physiological hereditary defects (syphilis, tuberculosis, alcoholism, etc.)"; Martínez Borque 23). In addition, the process of selection of *colonos* required for the applicant to provide reports from or to appear before governmental, civil, and ecclesiastical authorities to demonstrate his fitness to be part of this utopic rural and industrial community (Escardó Peinador 16; Villanueva Paredes and Leal Maldonado 45).

In that sense, and although the process of selection of *colonos* changed over time to prioritize prior experience with agricultural labor over ideological alignment, it is essential to set those technologies of life as crucial to "moldear y conservar el ambiente que el Instituto desea crear en los poblados que construye" ("mould and preserve the environment that the Institute wishes to create"; Morales and Rueda Marín 17). More importantly, studying the process of reconstruction and creation of new settlements in the context of the post-war as systems of manufacturing an "ideal" subject should necessarily be put in perspective as the reverse of the systemized eradication of population for ideological reasons during the Spanish Civil War. For these reasons, and as my conclusion, I argue that the *poblados* were extensions of the violent "dispositivo inmunitario" ("immunitary *dispositif*"; Sánchez Cayuela 65) at play during Spanish Civil War.

This immunitary system transpires in the interlinking of "negative" processes of murder, imprisonment, and forced exile of ideologically divergent population after the Civil War and the "positive" production of new "civilized" territorial, architectural, and human subjectivities

studied in this chapter. Despite the architectural modernity and industrial progress traditionally associated with the INC, it is essential not to dismiss the role of the institution in a broader process of constitution of a biopolitical community sustained, precisely, by a "heterogeneous network of relations of power/knowledge [such as] ... the prison, the school, architectural forms, procedures, regulations" (García López 27). For these reasons, I argue that the *poblados* were an essential piece in the construction of a national "sistema inmunitario para impeder el contagio o el desarrollo de una enfermedad" ("immunitary system to impede the contagion or the development of a sickness"; García López 33) of ideological nature and epitomized in the figure of the *rojo* as the "agente patógeno capaz de pone ren peligro el porvenir de la 'raza hispánica'" ("pathogenic agent capable of endangering the future of the 'Hispanic race'"; Sánchez Cayuela 60).

Ultimately, the exclusion from joining the "immunitary" community of the *poblados* to individuals suffering from "hereditary defects" such as tuberculosis or alcoholism were sustained by the "creencia de que el estado de salud de un grupo humano no solo está estrechamente ligado con las características biológicas y sociales de cada uno de sus miembros, sino también con la organización económica y política" ("belief that the health of a human group is not only related to its biological and social characteristics of its members, but also to the political and economic organization"; Palao Ibáñez 31) of society. In sum, the constitution of an immunitary environment around certain biopolitical technologies like the systematic policing of health. house hygiene, and the active promotion of an increase of the national birth rate represents to me undeniable evidence of the articulation of a notion of "population" in post-war Spain. As such, population is understood here through the formulation offered by Michel Foucault "as a set of

processes to be managed at the level and on the basis of what is natural in these processes" (*Security* 70).

It is precisely here where the alternative modernity of fascism is articulated: in the control of population and its health as constituent of labor power and its articulation with the moralizing notion of civilization and salvation. Through this lens, the production of a new territorial, architectural, and infrastructural environment was "shaped by the dominant medical obsession of the time." Ultimately, the Francoist landscape I have been outlining here was conceived as a "machine for health" (Colomina 10, 20) oriented towards the constitution of a new picture of national community represented by the *poblados* of the INC. In conclusion, the process of reconstruction at large could be seen as an "máquina antropológica…que produce imágenes de hombres, que establece modelos antropológicos, que plantea una antropogénesis" ("anthropological machine…which produces images of man, which establishes anthropological models, [and] which lays out a new anthropogenesis"; García López 30) for which the technical modernization of rural Spain became fundamental in "leading individuals… to advance and progress on the path of salvation" (Foucault, *Security* 166-167).

1.5 Coda: *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (1965)

In conclusion, throughout this chapter I have articulated the ways in which the post-war process of reconstruction could be argued to be concomitant with a parallel process of civilization as salvation. I have argued that these two interlinked processes unfold in the architectural discourse and the visual production of the DGRD and the INC. Although these two institutions are usually studied separately for their distinct approach to architecture, I have argued that both share a similar discourse in relation to the notion of civilization understood as an explicit tool of social hierarchy. The latter was central to a whole semantic field and visuality

of rural territories and life as somewhat backward and uncivilized thus articulating the role of Francoist state as essential paternal figure of salvation.

I sustain that this visuality is founded upon a negation of contemporaneity of rural areas that served a two-fold purpose. On the one hand, the "pastness" of rural life and its architecture sustained a temporal discourse by which the countryside was seen as closer to the idealized national past. On the other hand, this "pastness" was paradoxically situated at the epicenter of the need to bring modernity and civilization to the countryside by means of landscape modification, architecture, and the institution of a series of "assisting technologies" that would "elevate" rural communities and put them on par with contemporaneity. In this final portion, I will summarize the ideas of this chapter through the analysis of yet another documentary; this time, the 1965 German film *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* will demonstrate the continuation of the ideas expressed here well into the alleged "developmentalist" period of the 1960s in Spain.

Concomitant with the ideas presented in the first section, *Neues* opens with a bleak portrayal of life in Badajoz. The largest province of the country, the rural population of Badajoz is portrayed as the "slaves of hunger" due to the desertic nature of the territory. In accordance with the ideas associated with the desiccation theory used in the first part of the chapter, arid territory is presented as a sort of environmental shackle to the inhabitants of the region that consistently appear as enslaved by backward systems of agricultural production. The visuality of the documentary formulates an equivalence between the drylands and enslavement (fig. 19) to convey the idea that the redemption of these areas could only be attained by the civilizing role of water and the action of the INC.

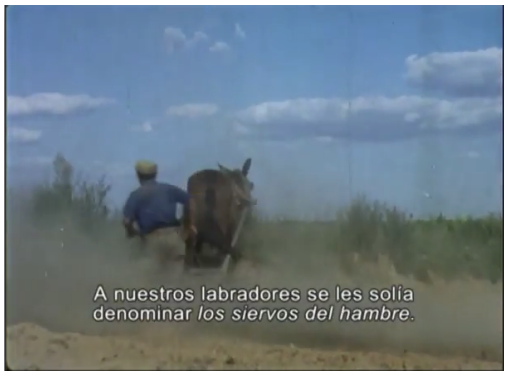

Figure 19. Still from Niederreither, *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (1:07). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

Neues provides an image of rural life as backward and poor (fig.20). This situation, the documentary tells, could only be "reverted" by a "big plan" that would save the province from falling out of the path to modernity and civilization. The voice-over explicitly references the 1952 Plan Badajoz whose goal was to redeem the province through the colonization and industrialization of rural territories in the banks of the Guadiana and Zújar River. In contrast to the dry lands of Badajoz, the poverty of its life, and the suffering of its inhabitants, the documentary shows images of large water infrastructures and their results. This visual contrast is exacerbated by the used of yellow, brown, and dark tones of the images used to portray life before the process of landscape modification and architectural renovation undertaken by the INC. In opposition to this, vibrant shots of water and produce (fig. 21) visually highlight the plentiful nature of life in the areas colonized by the institution.

Figure 20. Still from Niederreither, *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (3:04, 3:07, 3:28). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

Figure 21. Still from Niederreither, *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (2:57, 2;47, 5:04). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

Water, we are told, "has brought color to our province" and has "redeemed" Badajoz from its prior enslavement. Consistent with the ideas expressed in this chapter, in the post-war years, water became the essential actor in the process of modernization of Spain and the "material and symbolic kernel around which the possibility for a national rebirth was articulated" (Swyngedouw 72). Water and the infrastructures around it, appear as the main axis in establishing a differential temporality before and after the civilizing action of the INC. This visual articulation of poor versus rich, old versus modern will constitute the main argument of the documentary. After this, the camera introduces the protagonist of the documentary don Ramón, who lives in one of the old, unredeemed communities in Badajoz.

Don Ramón and his family have had the luck to be selected to move into one of the towns built by the INC. His selection as new *colono* has created some tension amongst his neighbors who, the documentary tells us, feel betrayed by Don Ramón and his desire to leave his hometown. In the post-war days, and even well into the 1950s and 60s, the work of the DGRD and the INC focused on improving life conditions in rural areas as to avoid internal migration to the cities, which was seen as a potential threat due to the associations of urban areas with democratic ideas and poor conditions of work and life. In that sense, the access of Don Ramón and his family to a piece of land, a house, and the tools for agricultural labor have caused

jealousy in the town; the documentary shows this through a tense scene where we see Don Ramón fighting his neighbors in the local bar (fig.22).

Figure 22. Still from Niederreither, *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (4:14, 5:04). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

The second half of the documentary could be seen as a portrayal of the overlap between the non-contemporaneity of rural life and the process of "elevation" of life through civilization. After the fight with his neighbor, the camera follows Don Ramón and his family in what could be seen as a travel through time to the civilized present symbolized by the yet unseen *poblado*. As Don Ramón and his wife leave town accompanied by their three children, a donkey, their dog, and all their belongings atop of a carriage (fig. 23), the voice-over tells us that their old house will be empty and progressively collapse after being abandoned. Their house, filled with the metahistorical and essentialist views of architectural discourse of the 1940s, becomes now almost a piece of waste, attached to the old days of poverty and drought, being left behind for the new *poblado.*

Figure 23. Still from Niederreither, *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (5:30, 6:49). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

The move from town to town is far from pleasant, as the camera accompanies Don Ramón and his family in what seems to be an arduous trip through their province on their way to a new life, we witness examples of temporary "traditional" architecture built on the drylands of Badajoz that the documentary associates with the enslavement of traditional agriculture. As we see Don Ramón and his son cross through the screen from left to right, the camera provides a visual metaphor of their "progress" as they leave the shacks behind and advance towards the *poblado.* The portrayal of the family on their way towards "civilization" is filled with depoliticized and romanticized references to their poor conditions of living and their hardships to access their new life in the *poblado.*

Through a visual presentation akin to an ethnographic portrayal, the camera shows us how the protagonists take a *siesta* after lunch as the voice-over describes the "typical" "requisites" for a Spanish *siesta:* a *botijo*, shade under a tree, food, and time. The camera offers a nearly pictorial portrayal of poverty and the hardships of Don Ramón and his family with tilted shots of the donkey, and the members of the family resting (fig. 24). This *tableau vivant* influenced by a Murillo-esque "visual and cognitive filter" that presents the life of Don Ramón and his family almost as a "form of travel to the past" (Sánchez Vega 186). This form of

visuality results in the presentation of the family as an innocent and humble noble savage leaving behind the past temporality of unredeemed rural and advancing in the path towards civilization.

Figure 24. Still from Niederreither, *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (07:50, 07:54, 08:02). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

Their hardship and poverty finally seem to come to an end as they encounter an irrigation canal. Water, as the essential actor of progress and signifier of modernity is welcomed by the cheerful children of the family. The camera cuts into another shot of an irrigation canal seemingly suggesting the continuity between the one encountered with the family and the one at the center of the new *poblado*: Gargáligas. The camera introduces us into the town with an interesting shot taken by the camera as it floats down an irrigation canal (fig. 25), we see women doing laundry who, we are told, "used to live in the arid mountains and now have abundant water." Once again, the earth-tones of the sequences depicting the process of migration are now substituted by the green, blue, and white tones of water, vegetation, and the colors of infrastructure running through the *poblado.*

Figure 25. Still from Niederreither, *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (9:03, 9:36, 9:49). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

Infrastructure, as noted earlier, becomes here the material actor articulating community in these new towns populated by formerly poor people now united in "wealth" thanks to water. As mentioned earlier, just as the anti-urban and agrarian discourse of the dictatorship created a spatial-temporal hierarchy between rural areas and the city, now the opposition between poor rural communities and new *poblados* reinforces a material and almost spiritual change as the *colonos* settle in their new towns. As we will see, Don Ramón and his family "enter" the ideal and immunized community by being granted access to a new house and schooling for both kids and adults. As the family arrives in Gargáligas and are taken to their new home, the camera once again uses high-angle and tilted shots to show the members of the family looking suspiciously and puzzled at the sight of the building (fig. 26)

Figure 26. Still from Niederreither, *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (14:39, 14:43, 14:48). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

The new house stands out in its sheer and blinding whiteness in contrast to the dark tones of the family's clothes and belongings. Its whiteness, a color usually associated with rural housing, is also linked to notions of cleanliness and hygiene and the "modernity" of the architecture as a "machine for health" (Colomina 27). As the reluctant family is almost forced to go inside their house, water appears once again as a prized resource that needs to be taken care of. With a sequence depicting the kitchen, the narrator tells us that the kids have never seen a faucet before. As soon as they start playing with it, at the very sound of water falling, we see the mother reprimanding them for wasting the valuable water. As the family settles, they receive

their first visit: the priest of the *poblado* arrive at the house on a modern motorbike that has earned him the name of "father speedy."

The role of the priest and of the church in the overall process of salvation of the poor rural population will be highlighted in the last scenes of the documentary. For that reason, it is not casual that the images of the priest welcoming Don Ramón into the "immunitary" community of the *poblado* precede the arrival of the camera into the very site where the process of civilization unfolds: the school. There, we witness how the youngest of the children, Inés, is asked about her hometown—Orellana de la Sierra—and whether she went to school there; the girl responds negatively with a respectful "no, teacher." After that, Inés is asked about the house: "which one do you like better, the one here or the one there [in Orellana]" to which the kid responds unhesitant with a bright smile: "the one here."

The cheerful face of the girl turns suddenly serious as the teacher asks Inés: "do you know who we owe for these new and beautiful houses?" The puzzled and silent face of Inés, whose arms are crossed while staring at the teacher silently without an answer, is preceded by an ominous low angle shot of a framed picture of Franco topped only by a cross and hanging above the blackboard (fig. 27). As we witness Inés' puzzlement, the off-screen voice of the teacher responds candidly, schooling Inés: "to the *generalisímo,* our chief of State" (fig. 54). This primary scene of the social order of Francoism is followed by a low angle shot of girls dressed in pure, clean, hygienic white as they parade towards the church. The pink dress worn by Inés in the previous scene that distinguished her from the rest of the class is nowhere to be seen, we cannot tell Inés apart from the homogenized community of school children.

As the future "civilized" Spaniards saved by fascism approach the church while chanting "Gibraltar, Gibraltar, Gibraltar español" we are reminded of how the church, the fascist state, and

the legacies of imperial Spain conform the limits of this "modern" community. A seemingly new form of nostalgic modernity where the colonial past of Spain is inserted as an ideological reference guiding the kid's path towards the future. The schooling of Inés is contrasted with the enforced learning of her father, Don Ramón, who is shown learning the appropriate techniques to grow the produce associated with the new irrigated crops. Finally, after some time settled in the new town, the redeeming action of the institution arrives in the form of new tools and living stock for Don Ramón. As the documentary enters its final minute, we see a clean and "civilized" Don Ramón redeeming the soil with his new tools of work while the voice-over celebrates: "Finally, Don Ramón and his son can work. *Colonos* in their own land."

Figure 27. Still from Niederreither, *Neues Land Für Don Ramon* (16:05, 16:08, 16:20). © Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

Chapter 2 *XXV Años de Paz Española.* On the Constitution of a New Visual Regime of History: peace, Progress, and Modernity

Figure 28. Francisco Espinosa's poster for the campaign of the *25 años de Paz.* (Photography by the author).

2.1 Introduction. Premises for the Spanish "Peace"

Despite not winning the grand prize of the 1964 national contest for the graphic identity of the 25th anniversary of the end of the Spanish Civil War, Francisco Espinosa's take on the visual presentation of the *XXV años de Paz Española*[18] (fig. 28) encapsulated most of the visual cues for which Spain was known by the first half of the 1960s. Wide and unsurmountable blue clear skies and a blinding sun only perceivable in the image thanks to the shadows projected onto the facade of the three houses included in the poster. Three identical buildings that provide a certain sense of repetition and pattern to the otherwise stripped-down design of the image. A

18 *XXV años* from now on.

design where the sun is displaced from the sky to the bottom of the poster where the orange shaded stripe serves as a visual cue to both the burning sun and the arid soil of the Spanish plateau. Where else if not in the sun and the soil could the slogan *25 años de Paz* be better presented? The sun, which by the 1960s was in the process of becoming the number one source of national profit through tourism, and the soil, the principal source of income of a country still largely agricultural.

The sun and the soil then, tourism and agriculture, or simply put, economy, becomes in this image the symbolically charged foundations of the Spain of the 1960s. This decade saw the slow and painful modernization of the country through the first Plan de Estabilización y Liberalización Económica of 1959*,* the *XXV años* in 1964, the celebration of the national referendum of 1966, and the establishment of Juan Carlos de Borbón as successor of Franco. This chapter focuses precisely on the celebration of the *XXV años* and its role in the creation of a new national narrative of Spain as a country in "peace." The celebration represented a major rearticulation of the regime's narrative about its origins and heritage that contrasted with how the Spanish Civil War had represented the foundational narrative of Francoism prior to 1959.

By contrast, throughout the 1960s the importance and omnipresence of the conflict was replaced by a new regime of historicity built upon a radical rupture with the past and its replacement with a present of modernity and progress. During this time, Francoism will formulate a narrative of inheritance by which the "alternative" form of socio-economic modernity accomplished by the state was formulated as the legacy left by the dictatorship for the Spaniards of the future. This process of moving on from the violent legacies of the Civil War was in direct response to the geopolitical situation Spain lived after the end of World War II. As

a result of its association with the Axis powers, Spain encountered a widespread discredit from the international community that materialized in the commercial international isolation in 1945.

After being left out of the Marshall Plan by the United States of America, the isolation of the dictatorship in the post-1945 geopolitical context became over the years a "morbid craving for respectability" (Rosendorf 5). To perpetuate its domination over Spain and driven by the astounding need for international aid, the dictatorship put aside its fascist ideological tenets to focus on promoting itself as the guardian of Europe against communism with the intention of clearing the way for a coalition between Spain and the United States of America. Instead of a fascist state, Francoist Spain was refashioned as *simply* an ultraconservative and Catholic country. To this end, the dictatorship built a historical narrative around its relationship with the Axis powers based not on a common fascist ideology but on their shared war against communism (Becerra Mayor 17).

In 1950 the United States resumed its diplomatic relationship with Spain and granted the dictatorship a loan of $100 million for its fight against Communism. Later, in March of 1951, the first ambassador to the US in Spain since the international isolation arrived in Madrid. This politico-economic process culminated in 1953 with the signing of the treaty known as the Pact of Madrid by which the US established four military bases in Spain in exchange for armament and a significant contribution to the Spanish treasury. This process triggered a wave of global recognition of Spain by a multitude of international institutions. As such, the on-going diplomatic conversations between both countries prior to 1953 led to the partial revoking of the international isolation in 1950 and culminated in 1955 with Spain joining the United Nations.

Soon after, the International Monetary Fund[19] and the World Bank followed suit and Spain joined them in 1958. By 1959, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) had established the creation of the Plan Nacional de Estabilización y Liberalización Económica as the central condition for Spain to join the organization. For the successful implantation of the program, Spain received from the US, the IMF, the OECD, and private North American banks a total of $544 million dollars to enhance Spanish economy (Junta, *El Gobierno I* 394). The effective implementation of the Plan de Estabilización y Liberalización Económica brought to end years of isolation, two decades or autarchy, and opened the way for the arrival of global capitalism to Spain (Huertas Rivera and Sánchez Rodríguez 39).

While the achievement of that long-desired respectability and validation from the international community was only possible through the adaptation of Spain to the capitalist economic order, the continued interest of the dictatorship on receiving support and appearing as equal to the so-called "Free World" together with its role as European guardian against communism resulted in a parallel reorganization of its visuality and ideological narrative. This process could be traced back to 1957 and the reorganization of the ministerial cabinet and the subsequent inclusion of the so-called "technocrats" of the Opus Dei. This shift between a largely military cabinet to a heavily economic one represented the transformation of the regime into a "dictadura burocrática de contenido clerical" whose members' "posicionamientos ideológicos carecían de una sistematización teórica que de hecho los mantuvo alejados de la discusión política, ("bureaucratic dictatorship of clerical content", "ideological positions lacked a

[19] IMF from now on.

theoretical systematization which, in fact, kept them away from the political arena"; Huertas Rivera and Sánchez Rodríguez 21, 23).

Within the Spanish political arena and official discourse of the dictatorship existed a "tensión entre la ideología falangista y desarrollo económico y *aideológico* de los tecnócratas opusdeistas" ("tension between Falangist ideology and an economic and a-ideological development promoted by the Opus Dei technocrats"; Becerra Mayor 19). This contrast between the dictatorship's fascist political and ideological heritage and its need to present itself as modern, neutral, and to some degree democratic in the eyes of the international community is what provides with a certain paradoxical texture to the celebration of the *XXV años.* In my analysis, the state-sponsored exhibitions, publications, and films created for the celebration served as elements in the production of a new national image of the Francoist state as an objective, neutral, and non-fascist regime while attempting to preserve some of its ideological constituent elements. For that, I propose the *XXV años* was the public arena where the regime attempted to resolve such a paradox.

The discredit experienced by the state for its ideological roots and past affiliations was countered with the conjugation of a rhetorical presentation of itself as a detached observer whose objective views on the world and the market allowed it to appear as an ideological "shifting formation" (Steyerl 28.) The Francoist state, I argue, became an uprooted ideological construct with the ability to conjugate both of its facets as fascist state and ally of the Western world depending on the context. With that in mind, this chapter departs from an understanding of the *XXV años* as the foundational moment not only of a new entire narrative of the state but also of a radically new picture of Francoism. Moreover, this chapter argues that the *XXV años* were, in

fact, the platform for the supremacy of the visual as the field for the new a-ideological and objective persona of the state.

While the visual played an important role in the legitimization of the dictatorship from its beginnings, the *XXV años* displayed the desire of the Francoist state to appear radically visible and translucent. If the images of the generalissimo, his family, and acts of government were traditionally the object of newsreels and newspapers; the *XXV años* expanded the limits of the field of the visual beyond the images of the government to include images *as the result* of government. As such, what will be seen throughout this chapter is a double process of codification of the visual that runs parallel to the paradoxical nature of the *XXV años.* While the first and second section looks at the constitution of the visual as a site for the truth and objectivity of the state, the third and fourth section analyzes how this strategy was used in concealing the state's fascist origin.

The first half of this chapter opens with a study of the discourses around television as the quintessential tool for the constitution of an understanding of the visual as a field of "objective" information. Particularly, this section looks at the ways the dictatorship created a new discourse about foreign content and broadcasting technologies as providers of reality and "factual" information. For this purpose, the section analyzes the newsreel *25 años de Paz en la Cultura española* and the 1966 documentary *Vida en los teleclubs;* although not produced for the celebration in 1964, the latter documentary deals with the national network of *teleclubs*. These state-sponsored TV-watching clubs were officially launched during the *XXV años* and were created to address the lack of access to TV receptors in the rural areas of the country.

Next, the chapter looks at the exhibitions *España en Paz* and *España 64* where the state articulated a discourse by which it presented itself as a neutral intermediary between market-

related data and the factual reality of the nation. Through the presentation of the visual byproducts of economics and statistics such as graphs, charts, etc. these two exhibitions conjugated a certain language of progress and visual experience of objectivity. Although mentioned in most of the literature about the *XXV años,* these exhibitions have never been analyzed in-depth before, making of this section the first critical text to tackle the articulation of the Francoist take on what Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison defined as "mechanical objectivity." Both television and exhibitions are in my view the two constituent elements of what I understand as the Francoist informational paradigm.

In contrast to this new visual regime based on ideas of objectivity and realism, the second half of this chapter explores how the state tried to resolve the paradoxes resulting from the state's fascist ideology and "liberal" economic approach. As I will show with my analysis of the state-produced film *Franco, ese hombre* on the third section of this chapter, the movie used the alleged neutral aesthetics of documentary film and the nearly exclusive use of archival footage to naturalize the paradoxical relationship between the ideological truths of Francoism and its need to conceal them. Following a linear narrative starting with the birth of the dictator and ending during the celebrations of the *XXV años*, the movie contains a more than relevant narrative absence: the Civil War.

This absence—or better, substitution, as the movie shows instead footage of the Spanish Pavilion at the New York World's Fair of 1964—represents the departure point for the fourth and final portion of the chapter. If at the beginning I argued that the *XXV años* represented a rearticulation of the relationship between the state and the Civil War as its violent origin, what would be the consequences of this substitution? I propose that the curatorial line and design of the pavilion could help us understand the new ways in which the Francoist state attempted to

resolve its ideological conundrum through a rewriting of its own history. As such, prior to the arrival of Spain to the capitalist geopolitical arena the Civil War functioned as the ideological agglutinant of the nation making the division between the victors and the defeated the key element of the political arena. In contrast, now technology, objectivity, and history came to substitute the war and as such they were the key elements at play in the curatorial line of the Spanish Pavilion and in the constitution of an allegedly a-ideological consensus around the dictatorship.

2.2 Television and the Constitution of a Francoist Informational Paradigm

The first attempt to celebrate what in 1964 became the *XXV años* can be traced back to the celebration in 1959 of the *XX años de Paz*, which culminated with the inauguration in the north Madrid of what today still stands as the biggest monument to fascism in the world and former burial site of Franco himself, the Valle de los Caídos. In addition to this, as stated in the official bulletin of the state (BOE) of December of 1958[20], the regime set into motion the institutional machinery for the celebration of the *Exposición Nacional 25 años de vida española (1936-1961).* Organized by the Ministerio de Información y Turismo[21], the exhibition never took place. Instead, and together with the several reorganizations of the ministerial cabinet undertaken by Franco from 1957 on, the arrival of Manuel Fraga in 1962 to the post as minister to the MIT meant the advancement of an agenda that focused on leaving the violent past of the war behind to highlight the results of the Plan de Estabilización Económica as evidence of a good government.

[20] https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1958/303/A11427-11427.pdf
[21] MIT from now on

It won't be until September of 1963 when Manuel Fraga suggested to Franco the possibility of celebrating the 25th anniversary of the end of the war. By the end of that same month, the plans had become official, were announced in the BOE, and a multi-ministerial committee was created for the organization of the *XXV años*. The celebration started officially on April 1st—Victory Day for the Francoist regime—with a mass at the Valle de los Caídos (fig. 29) and ended in December of that same year. The *XXV años* covered the entire geography of the country and included Spain's colonial territories in Africa as well as multiple exhibitions and other events abroad amongst which the Spanish Pavilion at the New York World's Fair of 1964 stood out.

Figure 29. Mass at the Valle de los Caídos. Stills from NO-DO 1109 B (0:35, 1:58) © Filmoteca Nacional.

Together with three different exhibitions (*25 años de arte español, España 64,* and *España en paz)*, several prizes were organized for the design of promotional posters, journalism, creative writing, as well as TV and radio scripts. Created in 1957 as a substitute for the Dirección General de Propaganda, the newly constituted and symptomatically named Dirección General de Información[22], became the agency under the auspices of the MIT in complete control of the design, purchase, and distribution of a vast number of promotional publications. While most of

[22] DGI from now on.

these books were promotional texts about Spain and its history such as *España es así* or *España en síntesis*, the DGI also published volumes compiling the political thought of the founders of the Falange Española Tradicionalista de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista[23] or the collection "Recopilaciones" ("Compilations"). This last collection contained "documentos relacionados con casos en los que se ha tratado de desvirtuar en el extranjero la verdad de determinados hechos de carácter político" ("documents related to cases through which foreign actors have have attempted to discredit the truth of certain facts of political nature"; Junta, *El Gobierno II* 481) as in the case of the book *¿Crimen o castigo?: documentos inéditos sobre Julián Grimau García* designed to justify the execution of anarchist activist Julián Grimau in 1963.

With the occasion of the *XXV años,* the DGI put together the multi-volume book *El Gobierno Informa.* Each individual volume was devoted to cover different areas of the accomplishments of the dictatorship in each province of Spain. Similarly, the DGI published the book *Pensamiento político de Franco* which offered a synthetic vision of the first twenty-five years of the regime through statements, speeches, and interviews given by the dictator. The importance of the editorial line of the DGI for the constitution of the Francoist informational paradigm lies in how this institution became a key asset for the MIT in the circulation of institutional information in most cases under the disguise of "informative" books.

If prior to the arrival of Fraga, the MIT commissioned the books to be written, now the Ministry purchased the right to manuscripts already released by private publishing houses and in

23 FET de las JONS was the result from the merging after the Civil War of three of the main far-right parties and groups Falange Española, Comunión Tradicionalista, and the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista. Throughout the dictatoship, FET de las JONS, later renamed Movimiento Nacional in 1958, was one of the central institutions of the state.

line with the ideas of the regime, in addition, the DGI began editing numerous magazines such as *Es*—published in five languages and designed with a foreign audience in mind— *El español,* or *Estafeta Literaria* (Romero Pérez 159). As such, this new editorial line specifically targeted foreign audiences to promote a more positive view of Spain abroad. The proliferation of the number of editorial platforms became a crucial asset for the constitution of a field of circulation of the new truth of the state. It is revealing to consider how in just one decade the Spanish government went from distributing barely 178.000 copies of its promotional texts in 1953 to almost 4.000.000 in 1963 of which almost 2.000.000 targeted the American continent (Junta, *El gobierno II* 483.) In tracing the constitution of this new informational paradigm, this proliferation of information outlets stands out in opposition to a negative conception of propaganda as untruthful so common of post-World War II discourse (Weaver et al. 7).

This new articulation of the public voice of the state into a producer of facts helped in portraying the information produced by the government as "objective" and "truthful." While the term propaganda was still largely used in the internal documents of the MIT (Romero Pérez 160), the move towards this informational paradigm is remarkable because it constructed an apparent decentralization of the production and circulation of content. In the context of this chapter, what can be traced is a certain desire of the Francoist state to appear radically visible and translucent through the mass production of facts and information regarding virtually all its facets, as in the case of the 400-page four volumes of *El Gobierno Informa*. Moreover, this production of facts and their use as evidence of progress and peace in the context of the *XXV años* permeated beyond the sphere of the press having on television its most relevant arena.

As a result of the destruction during the war of the nation's infrastructures, the arrival of television to Spain was significantly delayed in comparison to other nations. It was not until

October of 1956 when the Francoist regime officially launched the first broadcast of its state-owned channel, Televisión Española[24], after three years of experimental broadcasting. Although at first the broadcast only reached the city of Madrid, the inauguration of such a technological advancement was covered with a religious and ideological patina. As such, the inauguration of the first studios and equipment coincided with the religious holiday of Christ the King while the first broadcast—one day later—coincided with the anniversary of the foundation of Falange Española.

During the early years of TVE and despite the public nature of the television broadcaster, the funding to support the transmissions came directly from private advertising companies that purchased the broadcasting time sold by the government. In addition, receptors—which started being manufactured in Spain only in 1959—were taxed as a luxury commodity until 1961. Television remained long after the beginning of the Francoist regime a luxury service only affordable to Franco himself (Romero Pérez 601) along with the other three thousand individuals that owned at least one receptor across the country by 1955. Just as with the case of the proliferation of informational outlets directed by DGI, by 1966 there were 1.750.000 receptors in Spain (Vázquez Montalbán, *Informe* 178) thank to which Spain entered the world of mass communication.

Despite this, and while state-owned broadcasting technologies, production of content, and the expansion of the infrastructures had improved with the inauguration of the Prado del Rey Studios in Madrid, poverty kept being the larger drawback for the success of the informational campaign behind the *XXV años*. In fact, by 1960 Spain and Portugal were the poorest countries

[24] TVE from now on.

in Europe (Mateos 67). With an economy still largely agricultural, technological innovations and modernity represented by television remained a distant element of urban life. Over the years, television, as Manuel Vázquez Montalban argued: "se ha convertido (…) en un objeto-signo de valores sociales, de promoción familiar [y] significación social" ("[has] become ... an object-sign of social values, of familiar promotion [and] social significance"; *El libro* 63).

Parallel to this, through the DGI, the government used television "to establish an international appeal, [and] project the image that Spain was a developed country similar to others in Europe" (Binimelis et al. 38). The interest of the government in television resided not only in its appeal as an index of national development but also for its radical visibility and its potential as asset in expanding its informational campaign beyond Spanish borders. As such, the decade of 1960 saw the beginning of the production of TVE's own content, "news" shows, and a decrease in the use of material borrowed from NO-DO[25] (Mateos 66). On the other hand, and in the context of the re-establishment of international relations between Spain and the US, TVE began broadcasting content from abroad—mostly TV series—but also producing content for the exterior as attested by the creation and distribution of the newsreel *ES (España Televisada)* throughout South and Central America (Junta, *El Gobierno II* 509).

This strategy—both in the press and television—was outlined in governmental programs such as Operación Propaganda Exterior (Operation Foreign Propaganda) (Rosendorf 64) which:

> consistirían fundamentalmente en la inserción de textos publicitarios, edición de suplementos dedicados a España a través de agencias, periódicos y revistas de cada país, realización de programas de radio y televisión, conferencias, colaboraciones a cargo de personalidades españolas y extranjeras, gastos de desplazamientos, alojamientos y atenciones a estas personalidades, adquisición de libros, revistas, folletos que por su naturaleza contribuyan al crédito y prestigio de España con destino a su distribución

25 NO-DO (Noticiarios y Documentales, Newsreels and Documentaries) was the official newsreel of compulsory showing before any film screening between 1942 and 1976.

> gratuita en entidades culturales, bibliotecas y sectores de marcada influencia en la opinión pública de cada país,
> (Fundamentally consist[ed] in the insertion of advertising texts, the edition of supplements focusing on Spain through advertising companies, newspapers, and magazines from each country, the creation of radio and television programs ... whose nature would contribute to the credibility and prestige of Spain through its free distribution at cultural institutions, libraries, and sectors of high influence in the public opinion of each country; qtd. in Romero 160)

Television then became a faster and freer speedway for the circulation of the images created for the dictatorship, an assemblage or "an object about which something is said and at the same time an object that is used ... a site at which a discursive formation intersects with material practices" (Crary, *Techniques* 31).

As such, television came to be understood as a polysemic sign bringing together two different aspects: the TV set as an object of social promotion and national modernity, and its technology as a bringer of actuality and a factual image of reality. With this, broadcasting technologies used for the transmission of content through television became a platform for a new discourse by which the arrival of foreign content and connection of the Spanish media to the rest of the world ensured the informational and not propagandistic nature of the images and content. A new type of technological images promoted as objective images and unmediated sources of reality, and therefore, of truth. My argument here is that these discourses around television and its technology became a tool of ideological indoctrination under the disguise of purely informational content.

For if television images, due to its technology, were objective indices of reality, therefore its content had the potential to be bearers of truth and showcase the reality of the external world. In other words, if television, and moreover the exteriority of its images were visual artifacts of truth, the images produced by Spain but also coming from abroad would equally become truth and therefore its favorable take on the dictatorship would be positively accepted. With Spain

joining the European broadcasting network Eurovision in 1960 through its connection to France, Spain finally appeared as "un país abierto y plenamente vinculado al mundo en que vive y al que pertenece" ("a country open and fully linked with the world it lives in and belongs to"; Junta, *El Gobierno II* 546).

Take for instance the 1964 state-produced short documentary *25 años de paz en la cultura española*. Created by the newsreel *Imágenes*—a subsidiary of NO-DO—this eight-episode documentary series dealt with different aspects of the *XXV años* including the arts, industry, agriculture, or international relations with other countries. This short film focused on narrating the life of the youth in Spain and highlighted the aspects of Spanish life and culture that had changed since 1939. For the documentary, this new generation of the daughters and sons of those who fought during the Civil War was seen as the subject of a total new connectedness to the rest of the world and the subject of its images. This rendering visible of the world is showcased with an opening sequence containing images of an atomic bombing, the Cold War, a rock and roll concert, or the celebration of Miss America.

Followed by images of young people studying at the national library in Madrid, these images are presented as the visual coordinates for this new generation and its connection to the rest of the world as observers of the technological images of television. A connection that conjugated an understanding of the visual experience of television as a witnessing of a global reality being broadcasted technologically. In the words of the narrator: "La técnica nos aproxima e impone el entendimiento entre los pueblos. El Telstar es como un símbolo de esta unión. Somos espectadores unos de otros (…) El mundo ha sido testigo del asesinato de Kennedy; la realidad comienza." ("Technology brings us closer and imposes the need for understanding

among different peoples. The Telstar is a symbol of this union. We are spectators of each other ... The world has been the witness of the Kennedy assassination; **reality begins**[26]"(figure 30).

Figure 30. Stills from *25 años de paz en la cultura española* (01:30, 01:33, 01:41). © Filmoteca Nacional.

For the founder of RCA David Sarnoff, who met with Franco in 1948 to show the advantages of broadcasting technology (Palacio 600), television was as a "mighty window ... to see ... the larger world of which we are a part" (Ponce de León 1), a space for a visible experience of reality and the world. Its images, as a byproduct of the satellite technology of the Telstar—the American communication satellite that allowed the first transatlantic television feed—were no longer the result of a univocal and centralized national production of information. The new informational paradigm of Francoism resulted in the creation of an allegedly multivocal "public opinion" based on the manufacture of an idea of "choice" through television as a virtual

> context of democracy ... [where] other competing discourses (supposedly) also have avenues for expression and promotion. ... [Where m]ultiple discourses circulate and compete with each other for hegemonic power and therefore there is a choice of meanings, identities, and realities available to audiences, not one all-powerful construction of reality. (Weaver et. al. 21)

26 Bolds are mine.

These “other” discourses appeared on the Spanish mediascape through the circulation of foreign content and as the object of a new sort of technological image conceived as an index of actuality and truth. Reality and its objective image come from the outside, like a *camera obscura* reproducing an image of an outer world allegedly fixed and objective. This rhetoric of actuality produced a “live effect, an allegation of ‘live’” while in reality what “is being ‘transmitted’ live on a television channel is *produced before being transmitted*. The ‘image’ is not a faithful and integral reproduction of what it is thought to reproduce” (Derrida and Stiegler 40). The image therefore is a result of a “set of technologies and political apparatuses ... [which] choose, from a non-finite mass of events, the ‘facts’ that are to constitute actuality" (42).

Jacques Derrida defined these processes of creation of a sense of actuality through the concept of media “artifactuality.” In the book *Echographies of Televisions,* co-authored with Bernard Stiegler*,* Derrida defined artifactuality as the “selective production [which] is simultaneously a system of capture, of treatment, of distribution, and of conservation” (41). This concept resonates with the processes involved in what Patricia Keller has defined as the Francoist system of totalitarian optics. With this idea, Keller traces the “system of accumulation and suture” present in some of the newsreels created by NO-DO. In particular, in her study of some of the newsreels created by NO-DO, she points at how “what is crucial is the all-encompassing totality of the news, presented here not only as information and cinema but also as ‘truth’, as something natural and organic." (20, 32) The idea of an all-capturing eye of the newsreel where the state was responsible for the capture and creation, and artifactuality of the news through the operators and editors of NO-DO would be substituted in the context of the 1960s by the alleged neutrality of broadcasting technology at the heart of the informational paradigm traced here.

In other words, television, as a mighty window, in conjunction with the technology of the Telstar, would function as a symbolic lifting of the burden of manufacturing actuality. I argue that this new informational paradigm and the arrival of foreign "contents and aesthetics ... more closely linked to the international scene than to some of the guiding tenets of Francoism" (Binimelis et al. 38) had a "hiding" effect thanks to which the Francoist state became an invisible and neutralized agent behind the radical visibility of television and the almighty power of technology as bearer of reality. If prior to this, ideology was the all-present *object* of the images as in the case of NO-DO, now ideology functions as the invisible guiding lines of this "criterology" and production of actuality. In conclusion, two are the main arguments in this section: one is the constitution of the visual as a field of truth and objectivity through technology, and the other is the apparent neutralization of the role of the state in the control and manipulation of the circulation of the visual facts provided through television.

Even when television was used as a sign of the progress and modernity of the nation (Binimelis et al. 39), more than anything it represented a channel for the potential arrival of criticism against the regime. In a national context heavily rooted in tradition and extreme Catholicism, the international isolation resulting from the international isolation against Spain became an important asset for the dictatorship in keeping its firm grip on the circulation of new ideas and the opposition against the regime. By 1955, Franco himself warned the nation of how

> with great ease, the media, the power of radio waves, cinema and television, have opened the windows of our fortress. The freedom of radio waves and print traveling through space, enable the outside air to penetrate our windows, contaminating the purity of our environment (qtd. in Palacio 603).

The despise of the Francoist government against anything foreign—and therefore "modern," capitalist, or even worse, communist—made of television and its technology a danger to national cohesion and ideological consensus around the legitimacy of the dictatorship. In this new context, as the 1966 short documentary *Vida en los telecubs* expressed, television and the "medios de comunicación de masas favorecen la confrontación con nuevos modelos de comportamiento" ("mass media favored the confrontation with new models of behavior"). Although this documentary was not created during the *XXV años,* it addressed another of the main programs created in 1964: the *teleclubs.* These state-sponsored centers were piloted in 1962 and officially launched in 1964 "para promover la formación, personal, social y cívica, utilizando los medios audiovisuales ofrecidos por la técnica moderna:" ("to promote the personal, social, and civic formation, using the audiovisual mediums offered by modern technology"; Herrero Martin 74.)

Created to address the lack of access to television in the rural areas of the country, the Red Nacional de Teleclubs brought televisions purchased by the state to around 5000 rural towns (fig. 31). In my opinion, the importance of teleclubs in the history of Francoist Spain resides in two different aspects. On the one hand, teleclubs made possible social gatherings under supervision in rural areas in a country where the right to public assembly did not exist in Spain until 1978. On the other, while years after their creation the space of the teleclubs became more akin to community centers, in its origins the television set played a key role as the main object around which experiences of social cohesion and communal TV-watching took place in these rural areas.

Figure 31. Arrival of the first television for its installation at the teleclub in Solana del Pino, Ciudad Real in 1963. © Agencia EFE/aa.

While the lack of economic resources of these families and their inability to purchase a TV set was the key element in the creation of these collective experiences, teleclubs became also a tool for the government to address the ideological dangers of the mass media as the main cause of "individualidad, la insolidaridad debida a las deformidades del sistema informativo, y la digresión sexual y generacional" ("individuality, the lack of solidarity due to the deformities of the informational system, sexual and generational digression.") Because of this, television and the teleclubs became at once an institution of control and vigilance through the gathering of population (fig. 32) around the TV and under the supervision of the members of the community—usually the local priest or local teacher—trained to guide the screenings and the discussions afterwards kwon as *monitores*.

Figure 32. Stills from *Vida en los teleclubs* (11:00, 10:57). © Filmoteca Nacional.

Then, modernity, through television, arrived in rural contexts as just another instance of the vigilance of the state. The TV set became an object that helped to articulate a sense of choice but was also an object of social cohesion around which a new form of community unfolded; a new form of national and social interaction guided by its spectatorial nature. For these reasons, and in a political context like the *XXV años* where the dictatorship was putting behind the legitimacy of the victory of the Civil War as the social binding element of the nation, the technological images of television, the inclusion of foreign content, and the ability of the state to control, regulate, and measure TV-watching experiences through the teleclubs became an index of governance, and the constitutive element of a new form of national observer.

Following Jonathan Crary and his definition of the observer as that "who sees within a prescribed set of possibilities, one who is embedded in a system of conventions and limitations" (*Techniques* 6), it could be argued that through the spaces of the teleclubs and the discursive apparatuses at play in the figure and control of the *monitores,* the technological nature of the images as an index of reality came to substitute to a certain extent the power of the repressive force of national power and totalitarian optics outlined by Keller. However, both paradigms of observership shared a logic by which "everyone seeing everything everywhere at all times become a concept ... [to] strike a claim on 'truth' and institute an optical mechanism ... that converts all observation into normalizing, disciplinary, and self-imposed behaviour" (Keller 33).

I propose that the subjugation of the population to the power of this new and "modern" Francoist state occurred precisely through the observation of these images and not anymore exclusively by a political belonging to the tenets and arguments of Francoism as ideological truth. The national community was not exclusively dependent anymore on the circulation of the Francoist ideology through propaganda but through the "distribution or sharing [*partage*] of

these images, of this information, a sharing which is no longer governed by a territorially delimited, national or regional community" (Derrida and Stiegler, 65-66) (fig. 33) which reinforced the apparent withdrawal of the Francoist state as the main object on view within the field of the visual.

Figure 33. Stills from *Vida en los teleclubs*. (10:49, 11:03, 11:48). © Filmoteca Nacional.

2.3 *España en paz* and *España 64*: the Language of Progress Itself

In a way, the rural teleclubs were an echo of a much larger and aggressive process taking place in bigger cities and centers of political power. The mobilization and renovation of the broadcast technologies of national television in Spain during the celebration of the *XXV años de paz* was one of the many institutional tools used by the dictatorship to further develop its credentials as a modern state and the foundational gesture of a new national community of observers. The sense of modernity through technology also brought with it a whole new semantic field that helped characterize the state and mobilize the relationship between the population and statist power. Through technological advancement, not only the state became modern but also objective; and with objectivity came democracy.

As historian Lino Camprubí notes, in the post-World War II geopolitical scenario the result of the linking of ideas of technology and science with truth became a common site for the anti-communist nations to defend their inherent democratic nature as opposed to the alleged manipulation of facts and totalitarian nature of the USSR (26). In addition to this, it is important

to remark how after the end of the global conflict, the Francoist state started to define itself as an "organic democracy" to further neutralize its fascist nature. This alignment of the dictatorship with the discourse of the so-called "Free World" pointed at an attempt to embrace the latter's economic neoliberal model, principles, and rhetoric of apparent a-ideological impartiality and scientific objectivity. If science became a political tool in the production of truth, the idea of objectivity became the necessary link for the successful creation of a sense of modernity through technological infrastructures.

In what follows, I will focus on the design and creation of the exhibitions *España 64* and *España en paz* as part of the 25th anniversary of the end of the war. *España 64* was inaugurated on May 1st, 1964, at the official building complex of Nuevos Ministerios in Madrid, later that year it was installed in San Sebastián and Barcelona. The exhibition focused on displaying the results of the first years of the dictatorship in the form of large panels filled with statistical information, charts, floor plans, and mock-ups of buildings and infrastructures as indices of the material progress of the country. *España 64* was organized in three sections: "Una patria major"*,* "Un pueblo unido"*,* and "Un país en paz." Each of these included smaller sections focusing on themes of communication, television, industry, health, the army, national culture, or spiritual life in Spain (fig. 34).

Figure 34. One of the panels at the exhibition *España 64*. Photography courtesy of Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo. Library. Archivo Mundo Hispánico.

During its first iteration in Madrid, *España 64* was displayed around the two fountains at the entrance of the building (fig. 35). Welcoming visitors to the exhibition, one of the pools displayed a large diagram of the organizational chart of the state administration (fig. 36). Behind it and looking towards the other end of the rectangular pool, a sculptural version of the tree of science included in the 1295 manuscript *Arbor Scientiae* written and designed by Catalan mathematician and philosopher Ramon Llull. This sculpture, created by artist Joaquín Rubio Marín (fig. 37), both reinforced the scientific character of the information displayed on the exhibition and commemorated the 25th anniversary of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas that was created months after the end of the war and whose logo is a re-interpretation of this image.

Figure 35 - View of one of the fountains at Nuevos Ministerios complex. On the left of the picture, we can see on display Rubio Marin's sculpture and at the other end of the fountain the organizational chart of the administration. Stills from NO-DO 1114 B (0:24). © Filmoteca Nacional.

Figure 36 - An organizational chart of the administration of the state as presented during the exhibition España 64. Stills from NO-DO 1114 B (0:40, 0:42). © Filmoteca Nacional.

Figure 37. Joaquín Rubio Marín's sculpture at the San Sebastián installation of *España 64*. Photography courtesy of the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo. Library. Archivo Mundo Hispánico.

The diagram made visible the structure of the state and Rubio Marin's sculpture connected it with the values of science and tradition. The other pool displayed projections of still

pictures by Spanish video artist pioneer Jose Val del Omar. Given the little attention paid on the literature to the importance of this exhibition and the dispersity of the graphic sources at the national archives, it has proven impossible to find pictures of these projections. However, and thanks to the information included in the promotional pamphlet of *España 64* we know that the title given to the projections on the second pool was *Agua-Espejo español* which could lead to thinking that the content projected onto the water screens around the pool could be still shots from his film *Aguaespejo granadino* from 1955.

Additionally, and given the temporary and itinerant nature of the exhibition, the multi-ministerial commission in charge of the celebration of the *XXV años* commissioned the design of a deployable pavilion that could be easily transported and installed in the other cities where the exhibition would take place. While other projects were taken into consideration—more remarkably the one submitted by Jose Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez Molezún, designers of the Spanish Pavilion for the Expo 58' in Brussels—the final commission was awarded to the young architect Emilio Perez Piñero. Piñero's work became of interest to the state after his award at the 1961 congress of the International Union of Architects for his design of a transportable auditorium which would be built under the supervision of the dictatorship and used for theater summer festivals in 1966. Perez Pinero's design of the Pabellón Transportable para Exposiciones consisted of a total of 54 modules of 0.80×0.70 square meters while folded and 12×9 when deployed. In total, the assembly of the entire pavilion took only 15 days and covered a total of

8000 sqm. (Pérez Almagro and Pérez Belda 153) (fig. 38).

Figure 38. Overview of Pérez Piñero's pavilion for *España 64* with the Nuevos Ministerios building behind. Photography courtesy of [España] Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de la Administración.

Remarkable for its formal simplicity with clear references to the work of Buckminster Fuller—member of the panel of experts who granted Pérez Piñero the award in 1961— the pavilion was used by the dictatorship as a symbol given its portability, flexibility, lightweight nature, and functionality, ideas which fit perfectly into the narrative of the *XXV años*. Presented in Francisco Prosper's 1964 short film *Un techo para la paz*, the process of deployment and assembly of the pavilion represented the perfect visual evidence of how the consistency, productivity, and little effort involved in the process of deployment of the structure was a visual metaphor of the collective effort to make Spain a better country. Additionally, the inter-ministerial commission highlighted the role of the pavilion a symbol of unity and reconciliation by commissioning the design to the son of a former military engineer working for the republican government defeated during the war (Pérez Almagro and Pérez Belda 155).

Moreover, the structure itself was used in the narrative of the movie a symbol of the state and its modernity (fig.39):

> Parece un símbolo; a veces es sumamente costoso eso que tan fácil parece, marchar sobre ruedas. Ya empieza a abrirse con un ligero temblor. Como un corazón cuando nace a la vida. Este será el monumental regazo para la feliz selección de hermosas páginas que recogen cuanto se ha logrado en los mil aspectos tan diversos que componen la vida de un país. Es una labor ardua, forjada a base de paciencia y exactitud y de situar cada cosa donde debe estar, en su sitio. ... Todo continúa teniendo la gracia de la sencillez. Se

remacha la original cobertura, y los hombres embarcados en la empresa de llevarla, la emplazan definitivamente. Así estamos todos, emplazados a llevar a buen término, la delicada empresa colectiva. España, en su sitio.
(It looks like a symbol; sometimes it seems extremely hard to do that which seems to be easy and go smoothly. It starts to unfold with a slight tremor. Like a heart when it is born to live. This will be the monumental bosom for the happy selection of beautiful pages which compile all that has been accomplished in the so diverse thousand aspects that make up the life of a country. It is a hard task, forged on patience and exactitude: placing every element where it should be. ... Everything goes with the grace of simplicity. The very original ceiling is riveted, and the men involved in the enterprise of moving it, finally place it where it belongs. This is just how we all are involved in this, expected to bring it to a good end this delicate collective enterprise. Spain, in a good fit; *Un techo para la paz*)

Figure 39. One of the modules of the pavilion being deployed. Photography courtesy of [España] Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de la Administración.

España 64 had its less elaborate version in the exhibition *España en paz.* While both exhibitions promoted the same values and displayed similar information, the latter was designed for smaller cities and consisted of a hundred and fifty posters designed by thirty-four different artists. This exhibition was displayed in three thousand cities around the country during the year 1964 (Díaz del Campo Martín-Mantero 220.) For that purpose, sixty thousand copies of the posters were printed and shipped to the provincial authorities in charge of the coordination of the local exhibitions. *España en paz* was designed to be displayed at schools, teleclubs and other

spaces for social gatherings, and had in mind kids and smaller communities as its target audience and as such was extensively used as a site for educational purposes (fig. 40).

Figure 40. Exhibition *España en Paz*. Photography courtesy of [España] Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de la Administración.

Each of these posters focused on one aspect of this panorama of growth offered by the dictatorship: the number of ambassadors in Spain, the number of students enrolled in schools, the rate of industrial production, the population density of Spain, or a comparison of the height of Spaniards before and after the first 25 years of the dictatorship. In that sense, most of the posters compared the statistical data of the years prior to the war and the immediate post-war with the information collected by the dictatorship since the beginning of the 1960s. Both exhibitions aimed at withdrawing from including apparent ideological stances with regards to the information contained in the posters and for that purpose they did not include any form of text or clarification about the data as to present them as impartial and objective. In that sense, both exhibitions were the embodiment of the articulation of peace and economic progress that so persistently populated the public arena during 1964.

Together with the exhibition, the multi-ministerial committee published a small catalog entitled *Viva la paz: España hoy* which contained reproductions of the posters and brief texts

explaining the information in them. Following the same rhetoric of the posters, this publication focused exclusively on providing more statistics and information with virtually no reference either to Franco or the Civil War. As such, both exhibitions and the catalog followed closely the guidelines for the official events directed by the multi-ministerial commission which specified the need to avoid "comentario elogioso alguno, para evitar que el público las considere como material de propaganda, y por lo tanto las rechace sin leerlas. Son los propios lectores, los que han de sacar las consecuencias a la vista de los hechos" ("praise of any kind, to prevent the public from considering as propaganda material and hence rebuffing it out of hand without reading it. It has to be the readers who make their own conclusions at the sight of the facts"*;* qtd. in Contreras Zubillaga 170)[27].

The catalog opened with an excerpt of the text "Parte Oficial de la Paz" written by the most prominent Francoist art critic of the first decades of the dictatorship, Eugenio D'Ors. While the Civil War—largely praised in previous decades as the almost mythical origin of the Francoist state—did not appear explicitly mentioned, the inclusion of the text by D'Ors invoked an oblique presence of the conflict throughout the exhibition and the pamphlet. Eugenio D'Ors' text performed a displacement of the notion of victory as the key concept in the state's vocabulary in favor of the notion of peace. Moreover, it created a parallel between the official communiqué of the end of the war delivered by Franco on April 1st of 1939 with an imagined "Parte Oficial de la Paz." If the infamous words back in 1939 were "la guerra ha terminado" ("the war is over"), now D'Ors imagined a communiqué "que consistiría en resumir las operaciones, pero ahora las operaciones de gobierno ... noticia sintética de los mejores avances de la patria, en el camino del

27 Official Memorandum from November 6 of 1964. AGA. Sección de Cultura, Fondo IV, Ministerio de Información y Turismo, Dirección General de la Información. 3(49).9, Top 23/54-55, caja 38.668.

Poder, de la Riqueza y de la Cultura" ("Would consist in a summary of the operations, this time the operations of government ... synthetic news of the best advances of the fatherland, in the path towards Power, Wealth, and Culture"; Junta, *Viva*.)

This displacement—the act of government in substitution of the act of war—was remarked by the title of the whole celebration, the exhibitions, and the renaming in 1964 of traditional Desfile de la Victoria (Parade of Victory) to the Desfile de la Paz (Parade of Peace). The notion of victory as the key concept in the state's vocabulary now highlighted the importance of peace as the consequent effect after the end of the war. The contrast between the last communiqué of war and that of peace imagined by D'Ors stresses the latter as a result of the act of governing, and governing itself as the result of reconstruction, advancement and progress: "En el día de hoy, la peseta ha ganado ocho puntos en la cotizaciones de la Bolsa de Londres, se han inaugurado las obras de tal canal y se ha abierto al público tal ferrocarril" ("Today, the peseta has increased eight points at the London Stock Exchange, the construction of this canal has been inaugurated, it has been open to the public that train station"; Junta, *Viva.)*

Precisely, the words of D'Ors seemed to have been the inspiration behind the creation and curation of the posters exhibited in *España en paz.* As such, each poster was conceived to serve as a communiqué of peace of its own, and therefore the direct consequence of the good Francoist government. Moreover, the exhibition seemed to stress that behind these expressions of progress and peace it was not the voice of the government speaking but the "fría elocuencia de los números" ("cold eloquence of numbers"; Junta, *Viva*) as the minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne put it at the end of the prologue included in the catalog. The images then, the posters and their groovy-looking and almost infantile aesthetic became an imagined transparent medium for the self-explanatory numbers to speak for themselves as evidential facts of the Francoist good

government. As such, the Spanish state, now fully immersed in the process of embracing the international market as the standard of its good government, seemed to relinquish its strong, militaristic, and propagandistic voice of the 40s and the 50s to embrace a more neutral tone and "coldly eloquent" voice.

España en paz and *España 64* served as platforms for the government to enact its new public persona as simply the provider and not the creator of truthful and objective facts "sobre cuya veracidad pueden dar fe los organismos internacionales a los que España está incorporada los millones de visitantes que comprueban por sí mismos la buena salud de la sociedad española" ("of whose veracity the international agencies of which Spain is a member of, or the millions of visitors who see for themselves the good health of Spanish society can attest; Junta, *Viva*.) Indeed, the veracity of the facts portrayed in the posters of *España en paz* was no longer the result of the voice of the state. Or in other words, and similar to the logic used regarding television and the broadcasting of foreign images, the Francoist state presented itself no longer as the producer of these statements but just the medium through which a bigger truth seemed to be channeled.

In addition to the displacement of the role of war and victory against the Second Republic, the voice of the state itself seems to be displaced as well to let a particular reality talk; the reality of the market. Precisely during this period of intense international relations and "liberal" tendencies in the Spanish economy, the market, its facts, and results became the standard ratio for measuring the success of Francoist policies. The international market became "a site of veridiction-falsification for governmental practice;" as such, the establishment in 1959 of the Plan de Estabilización Económica became the epicenter of the governmental quest to find the new utmost essential truth of the dictatorship. A new truth, a new true statement, that would

unlock the creation of a new entire standard of truth in which "[t]he market determines that a good government is no longer quite simply one that is just," instead, "now means that to be good government, government has to function according to truth." (Foucault, *The Birth* 32.)

This new standard of truth created by the array of economic data, and "facts" shown in the exhibitions, came to substitute the role of the Civil War as the keystone in the construction of the ideological edifice of the dictatorship. Moreover, along with this rhetorical reconfiguration, it is important not to forget that the main aim was for the dictatorship to achieve credibility in the eyes of the international community. Aligning with the idea of the international market as a site of truth brought about the opportunity to effectively produce an image of the regime as an objective interpreter of the facts of the market. This way, the government found itself with a double opportunity: becoming "objective" while also transforming its information and voice into an image of objectivity.

Hence, using statistics and the active avoidance of "praise of any kind" signaled by the official guidelines, the state attempted to remove itself as an active agent in the construction of data. This resembles what Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison describe in their essay "The Image of Objectivity" as the constitutive process of what they define as non-interventionist or material paradigm of objectivity. Tracing this process back to the mid-nineteenth century and the production in large numbers of medical atlases through the implantation of instruments of data collection, Daston and Galison argue that this conceptualization of objectivity was the result of the "resistance against the representation of abstracted 'typus' or ideal ... in the pages of medical atlases after the 1870's" (98.)

These "typus" were visual abstractions that draw together limbs and organs from different illustrations of human bodies and animals to compose an "ideal" representation that

could resolve “the problem of how single pictures could exemplify an entire class of natural phenomena.” These composite images (fig.41) depended on the “expert” eye and ability of the artist to recognize the “ideal” nature of these limbs and organs to compose an image that would represent normalcy. This paradigm, denominated as the precept of “true to nature” by the authors, aimed to “standardize the observing subjects and observed objects of the discipline by eliminating idiosyncrasies—not only those of individual observers but also those of individual phenomena [to] habituate the eye” (102, 84-85) to see and recognize normalcy.

Figure 41. Leveille*. Illustration of anatomy for artists, Female nude seen from the front with infant and skeleton.* 1849.[28]

The rise of a non-interventionist paradigm responded to an interest to “extirpate human intervention between object and representation. Interpretation, selectivity, artistry, and judgment

[28] Available at https://www.europeana.eu/en/item/9200579/fdm34tmb

itself all came to appear as subjective temptations requiring mechanical or procedural safeguards." In contrast to this, at the beginning of the twentieth century, physics and medical atlases would move away from displaying these composite images to include a multitude of individual different cases to argue for the impossibility of synthesizing large classes of subjects in a single representation regardless of its ideal, typical, or characteristic nature (98, 107). A corollary of this is that previously the image was responsible for conveying a sense of an entire sphere of normalcy in any given field of knowledge and train the eye of the observer to recognize that normalcy. Now, with the material paradigm of objectivity the responsibility of being able to abstract "normalcy" switched from the "typus" images to the reader who was expected to observe multiple images and recognize the commonalities between them as the determinant element for "normalcy."

Just as with the technological images of television, the 8000 sqm. display of information and 150 posters of *España 64* and *España en paz* were meant for the visitor to be able to *see and decide for themselves* the fundamentally good qualities of the Francoist state. The incorporation of a notion of decision in the conception of the ideal visitor of these exhibitions reinforced ideas of liberty and democracy. Just as one of the panels announced in *España 64:* "Hace veinticinco años que venimos votando lo mismo ... PAZ" ("For the last twenty-five years we have been voting the same…PEACE") (figure 42). It is important to consider how in the constitution of this notion of material objectivity an essential element comes into play in the struggle to remove subjective mediation in the interpretation of natural phenomena: machines.

Figure 42. “We have been voting the same thing for the last 25 years: peace.” Panel at *España 64*. Photography courtesy of Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo. Library. Archivo Mundo Hispánico.

As such, Daston and Galison explore the turn to mechanically produced images as a constitutive aspect of a non-interventionist or mechanical objectivity. For that, and quoting photography pioneer Étienne-Jules Marey, the information on display in *España 64* and *España en paz* was presented as if it was “the language of phenomena itself” (qtd. Daston and Galison 81); and, in the case of the *XXV años* at large, the language of progress itself. This understanding of data entailed a further argument for the removal of the role of the specialist or the scientist as possible agents in the fabrication of the results. If machines substituted the role of the human experts in the processing of the phenomena, then “machines offered freedom from will—from the ... most dangerous aspects of subjectivity. If the machine was ignorant of theory and incapable of judgment, so much better, for ... [they] were the first steps down the primrose path to intervention” (Daston and Galison 83).

Simply consider how the Instituto Nacional de Estadística became a key asset for this political endeavor. Created in the late nineteenth century, the year 1964 represented a crucial point for its development and popularity in Spain because of the purchase and installation of the very first computer for collection and processing of statistical data. The IBM 1401 required a team of fourteen highly specialized technicians to use it; the results of the technification of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística were promoted extensively throughout the two exhibitions. Alternatively, consider the creation in 1963 of the Instituto de la Opinión Pública, currently named Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas whose main purpose was the creation of opinion polls and collection of statistical data. Similarly relevant is the celebration in June of 1964 of the first constitutive meeting of the Asociación Española de Anunciantes, the institution in charge of the first yearly Estudio Nacional de Medios through which audiences and the consumption of information was and still is measured.

Ultimately, if the technological images of television suggested a lack of agency of the state in the creation of the reality and canceled the observer's own judgment, this understanding of mechanical objectivity directly aimed for a "ban of interpretation" and to "eliminate the mediating presence of the observer" (Daston and Galison 82, 84). Both exhibitions worked together in strengthening the image of Spain and its progress as a visual system free of the subject's interpretation and judgment and embedded in the free circulation of objective images and data. In consequence, while both exhibitions apparently encouraged the ability of the visitors to decide for themselves, in fact, both were designed as closed assemblages in the production of meaning leaving little to no room for dissensus or criticism. Progress spoke for itself in its own language—statistics and economics—as a clear sign of a good government. Once again, the alleged exteriority of the data and lack of agency of the dictatorship in its fabrication generated a

barred observer locked inside a hyperreal and undeniable seamless narrative of growth. In these two exhibitions, the documentation showcased in the panels performed the role of visual evidence of the truthfulness of the narrative of progress and good government.

2.4 Franco, *ese hombre* or the Sovereignty of the Visual

As such, *España en paz* and *España 64* allowed the government to produce what artist Hito Steyerl calls "documentality" which expresses "the permeation of a specific documentary politics of truth with superordinated political, social, and epistemological formations. Documentality is the pivotal point, where forms of documentary truth production turn into government". In using the term document, Steyerl refers not only to the documentary film genre but also other forms of documentation such as photographs, posters, or even PowerPoint presentations as in the case of the United States government and their justification for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 ("Documentarism"). Precisely, in coining this term, Steyerl aimed at encapsulating the role of the document in the production of governmentality as outlined by Michel Foucault and understood as the ensemble of technologies and institutions that enable the exercise of government (*Security, Territory, and Population* 108).

In other words, I propose that through the study of the role of these images in the celebration of the *XXV años* the internal logic of the regime of governmentality in the Spain of the 1960s can be outlined. The relationship between governmentality or the "how to govern" (Gordon 7) and the relevance of the document and the image expressed in the concept of documentality could be further explored in the narrative presented in the documentary *Franco, ese hombre*. The movie was premiered in November of 1964 and it was as one of the last main events of the *XXV años.* The documentary movie offered a narrative focusing on the parallels between the life of Franco and the history of Spain.

Opening with the images of the Desfile de la Paz, the movie present the dictator saluting the parade from an atrium as the voice over announces: "Sus ojos, consagrados desde niño a una contemplación única, la de España, están puestos ahora en este trozo de ella que desfila ante su tribuna" ("His eyes, consecrated to a unique sight from a very early age, that of Spain, are today on this piece of it that parades in front of his tribune"); the movie constructs a visual narrative that reinforces an experience by which *we* spectators get to see, experience, and remember *with* Franco. After the introduction, the movie creates a biography of the dictator that spans from his birth up until the year 1964. The movie concludes with a zoom-out that reveals the figure of Franco as he watches the movie at the theater of his residence and gives a (greatly awkward) interview to the filmmaker José Luis Sáenz de Heredia. The archival footage used to illustrate the historical events portrayed plays both the role of historical facts *and* evidence of the truthfulness of the memories of Franco himself.

Through the presentation of both the life of the dictator and the history of the country as correlatives of each other where, *Franco, ese hombre* uses the factual nature of the images to unite the biographical narrative of Franco with the supra-historical and transcendental destiny of the nation. As such, the movie oscillates between a biographico-historical documentary and a hagiography of Franco in which historical facts and national myth run parallel to each other articulating a narrative of objectivity based on the use of archival footage and documental images as elements of truth. A narrative of objectivity whose purpose was to rearticulate the political iconography of the dictator and the myth of the Civil War to generate a more positive presentation of the dictatorship and a filmic space of consensus about its economic achievements (Alares López, *Políticas* 359).

Therefore, the images—archival and documentary footage sometimes extracted from foreign films and even from propaganda films produced by the republican state—had an essential role in the constitution of a new political narrative underpinned by their realism and objectivity. *Verum esse ipsum factum,* a quote extracted from Giambattista Vico's *De Italorum Sapientia* from 1710 which could be translated as "'truth itself is fact' or 'the truth itself is made'" (Steyerl, *Truth Unmade*), could perfectly encapsulate the rationale of the whole campaign of the *XXV años* and reinforce the ideas of artifactuality as key in the creation of a new truth of the state for which a new sense of objectivity must be created. This sense of objectivity turned the state into a credible source of statements and facts and, moreover, a valuable interlocutor between the invisible-at-a-glance reality beyond the borders of Spain and the market (as we saw with the cases of the teleclubs and the exhibitions *España 64* and *España en paz*).

The state itself became a factographic device for which *Franco, ese hombre* was the utmost essential asset, just like the colossal IBM 1401 of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística and the other machines marking the switch between the "truth to nature" paradigm to that of the "mechanical objectivity" outlined by Daston and Galison. *Franco, ese hombre* represents the keystone in the visual architecture of the *XXV años de paz;* a visual device where the facts laid out by the state were supported precisely by the constructed notions of objectivity and realism of the state and the constitution of a spectatorial experience of choice to which the teleclubs were crucial.

Following Eyal Weizman and Thomas Kennan, the movie could be understood as a rhetoric forum where the state presented its historical facts and turned them into pieces of evidence of good government to constitute an affective image with the potential of *convincing* (Weizman 94) a population of observers with the alleged agency to decide about the narrative

truthfulness. For these authors, the notion of forum refers to a symbolic space where a "series of entangled performances" together with "a spectrum of technologies ... scientific, rhetorical, theoretical, and visual mechanisms ... make things appear in the world. The forums in which facts are debated are the technologies of persuasion, representation, and power—not of *truth,* but of *truth construction*" (Weizman and Keenan 29, 67).

What technologies are involved in the construction of truth in *Franco, ese hombre*? Moreover, what historico-political truth is being constructed in the movie? How does this truth fit into the narrative of the state and, more particularly, that of the *XXV años de paz*? My argument about *Franco, ese hombre* revolves around two elements: on the one hand, the use of the archival footage as evidence; on the other, the presence of different political personalities and the filmmaker as witnesses of the validity of the images as evidence. I propose that these two aspects, if considered in relation to the other elements of the *XXV años* I have studied in the previous sections of this chapter, can help us understand the visuality of the regime of historicity at play during the celebration; with this idea I refer to the set of strategies, apparatuses, and ideologies ruling the visual presentation of historical narratives.

As such, it is important to consider how the decision to create this film as a documentary based on archival footage to reinforce ideas of authenticity and impartiality (Yarza 157) invoked the alleged realism of the genre to "naturalize a way of seeing the world or an ideology, so that it no longer appears contingent, constructed, or debatable" (Nichols, *Engaging* 186). Moreover, in understanding the role of the movie as a forum where "facts may temporarily turn into evidence by being enlisted to prove or disprove a conjecture" (Daston 680), *Franco, ese hombre* uses of the tools of what Bill Nichols defines as expository documentary. For the author, this genre relies "heavily on an informing logic carried by the spoken word. In a reversal of the traditional

emphasis on film, images serve a supporting role. They illustrate, illuminate, evoke, or act in counterpoint to what is said. The commentary ... serves to organize these images [and] makes sense of them. (*Introduction* 122).

Because of this, in presenting the images of certain historical events as ontologically evidential, the documentary projects onto them—and their images—an "external authenticity ... [of] the discourse itself [that] makes its visibility appear as fact rather than an invention." (Nichols, *Speaking* 99). While in the case of the arrival of international television to Spain and the exhibitions *España 64* and *España en paz* the state enlisted broadcasting technologies and a certain mechanical objectivity as technologies of truth, now the visual archive becomes one of the mechanisms enabling the production of political truth (Foucault, *Power/Knowledge* 131). The use of archival images as *acheiropoiēta* or "images not made by human hands" (Didi-Huberman, *Confronting* 188), born out of history itself as pure facts, is supported throughout the movie by the words of the narrator actor Ángel Picazo. The actor's voice—as it is customary on expository documentaries—is "presumed to come from someplace that remains unspecified but is associated with objectivity or omniscience" (Nichols, *Introduction* 123). A function reinforced by the presence of different experts as witnesses of the truthfulness of the narrative.

Within the biographic/hagiographic rhetoric of the movie and given the alleged objectivity as a result of the genre of the film, the participation of these scientific experts as witnesses is meant to strengthen the overall presentation of the narrative and the legend around the dictator a truthful one (Yarza 160). Moreover, doctor Blasco Sala—who treated Franco from a nearly-fatal wound during the Moroccan wars in 1916— and the then-Spanish Ambassador at the UN and Civil War historian Manuel Aznar appear in the movie as experts publicly deciphering the images and narrative presented in the movie. As an example of this, Dr. Blasco

Sala presents to the camera an X-ray allegedly done on Franco after he was wounded in Morocco as evidence.

Despite the hardly believable fact that the medics could have performed an X-ray during a war battle in 1916 (Berthier, annex IV), the interview with Dr. Blasco Sala "reading" for the audience the X-ray image is nonetheless relevant to the understanding of the movie as a forum for evidence. Following Weizman and Keenan, the constitution of a forum requires for the presence of the objects as alleged evidence and of an expert to perform an act of *prosopopeia* or endowing "inanimate objects with a voice" (28). Both interviewers use their voice as authorities to validate its truth claims and defend "the evidentiary value of the thing [which] depends, at least in part, on the authority (probability) of the *expert who publicly deciphers it*[29]" (14). Together with the presence of doctor Blasco Sala, the intervention of historian Manuel Aznar signals another interesting claim of objectivity.

In an interview regarding the events of the Civil War, the voice-over justifies interviewing the historian in relation to the period of 1936-1939 "por haberla seguido crítica y objetivamente desde su iniciación y haber sido testigo presencial de sus principales episodios" ("for having followed it critically and objectively since its beginning and having been witness to its main episodes"). The inclusion of Aznar in the movie responds to the then-recent interest of the state and its academics to rewrite the history of the period. As Gustavo Alares López notes, during the first half of the 1960s "la afluencia de estudios sobre la España contemporánea preocupó a las autoridades por amenazar su monopolio historiográfico" ("the affluence of studies on contemporary Spain was worrisome to the authorities for it threatened its historiographic

29 Italics are mine.

monopoly") The renovated interest about the republic and the war within Spain and abroad led the MIT to create the Sección de Estudios de la Guerra de España to "afianzar una interpretación franquista del pasado reciente" ("secure a francoist interpretation of the recent past"; 371). The "escuela neo-franquista" (neo francoist school) of historians was "marcada por el deseo de compatibilizar el rigor científico y la fidelidad al franquismo" ("marked by a desire to make compatible scientific rigor and fidelity to Francoism; *Políticas* 369, 374) which resonates with the paradoxical nature expressed throughout this chapter between the preservation of the ideological heritage of the dictatorship and its alleged neutrality.

In conclusion, the movie represents an attempt to present a monolithic narrative about the life of Franco and the last century in Spain based on connotations of authenticity, the impartiality of archival images (Yarza 157), and the authority of the witnesses featured in the film. *Franco, ese hombre* offers to the audience a new politics of the past based on an aesthetics of neutrality and objectivity. It is inevitable then, to put *Franco, ese hombre* in contrast to the 1942 movie *Raza* to understand the impact of these new politics of the past in the constitution of visuality of this new regime of historicity at play in the celebration of the *XXV años.* Also directed by José Sáenz de Heredia and written by Franco himself, *Raza* focuses on the fictional family of the commander Pedro Churruca to trace a historical narrative that goes from the Spanish-American War of 1898 until the end of the Civil War in 1939.

In the context of this chapter, my interest is in the parallelisms between these two different movies has to do with their different visual strategies of historical representation. Just as in *Franco, ese hombre, Raza* aimed at perpetuating a narrative of the past. However, while the former enlisted scientific objectivity to justify its visually neutral celebration of the Civil War, the later wanted to "justify the Spanish Civil War as a religious crusade of national liberation ...

and set the historical record of the Spanish Civil War straight" (Yarza 24) through what Alejandro Yarza defined as a fascist kitsch aesthetics. For the author, just "like kitsch, fascism is also a nostalgic reaction—a refuge against the passing of time ... [and] the fear of change—of the inevitability of permanent loss implied by the new modern teleological conception of history." Therefore, a fascist kitsch aesthetics denies "both real needs and historical truth, totalitarian fascist kitsch aims to project into the future the illusion of an idyllic past" (7).

Raza, as the main expression of the visuality of the post-war regime of historicity, was an exponent of a politics of the past where "un tiempo cíclico, ajeno a acontecimientos turbadores y mirando a un pasado remoto y legendario ante el que, como un espejo se reconoce" ("a cyclical time, alien to any troubling events and looking always towards a remote and legendary past on which recognize itself, like in a mirror"; Sánchez Biosca and Tranche 277.) Unlike the symbolic repetition of the past of *Raza* by which the Civil War became an echo the Spanish-American War, the Independence War against the French army, and so forth until reaching the "original" foundational war, the *Reconquista*, *Franco, ese hombre* incorporates the present through the images of the parade and the interviews with the expert-witnesses to make a claim about the historical truth of its narrative. In contrast to the rhetorical density of the images of *Raza,* and its heavily codified, ideological, and historical referents; *Franco, ese hombre* made use of a neutral film genre and the alleged impartiality and transparency of the archival images to spread its message while still containing traces of a mythic narrative of the past.

In that sense, while *Raza* could be seen as a "mythic" narrative of the past with a view on "the social world as fixed, permanent reality, with values and beliefs that lie beyond question," *Franco, ese hombre* would allegedly display a "historical view [that] understands the social world as populated by contending forces and competing ideologies even if one happens to

dominate" (Nichols, *Engaging* 187). Precisely, the coexistence of the two narrative models proposed by Nichols between the fixity of mythic and contending nature of historical narratives is, from my point of view, what is at play in the context of the *XXV años.* An idea that still resonates with some of the dynamics at play in the constitution of the Francoist informational paradigm. In sum, *Franco, ese hombre* played the function of a visual device for the creation of a consensus around the dictatorship based on the truth of its images and the objectivity of its voice as the key elements in the social acceptance of its narrative.

In fact, my argument is that *Franco, ese hombre* represents the key element that allows me to conceive the *XXV años* as what Jacques Rancière denominated a "community of sense." The entire celebration, and in particular the pieces studied in this chapter, were built in coherence with one another "putting things or practices together under the same meaning": peace as a result of progress and a perception of the field of the visual as the realm for the circulation of a neutral notion of political truth by means of mechanically produced images. These ideas functioned as the agent that "binds together practices, forms of visibility, and patterns of intelligibility" creating this way the "linkage [that is] a partition of the sensible" ("Contemporary" 31). Precisely, what makes of the *XXV años* a relevant moment for the political configuration of the last decade of the dictatorship is its role in the fabrication of a new form of consensus around the dictatorship not based anymore on belonging to one of the two sides of the Civil War.

On the contrary, it is now the "undeniably objective facts" produced by the state which serves as the common element that binds the space of the political. Once again, Rancière sheds some light over the notion of consensus explaining how it

> does not simply mean the agreement of the political partners or of social partners or the common interest of the community. It means a reconfiguration of the visibility of the common. It means that the givens of any collective situation are objectified in such a way

> that they can no longer lend themselves to a dispute, to the polemical framing of a controversial world within the given world ("Contemporary" 48).

Articulating a visual and discursive device capable of disarming any form of political dissensus by means of the "truthful" data and facts of *España 64, España en paz,* or the same *Franco, ese hombre* is what lays at the core of the *XXV años*.

Consensus, as the establishment of an "identity ... between fact and its interpretation" (Corcoran 2), forces the pairing of the archival images, the statistical data, and the broadcasting images of television with their univocal reading as indices of progress and wealth. This partition of the sensible "presupposes a distribution of what is visible and what not, of what can be heard and what not" (Rancière, *Dissensus* 36). Prior to this form of visuality, it could be argued that the binding agent of the common was the narrative about the war as the mythical origin of the Francoist state. A narrative built upon the violence of the war and a friend/foe logic where the victors repressed any agent of political opposition that had survived the conflict.

Following the lineal structure of *Franco, ese hombre,* the movie arrives at the date of October 1st of 1936, when Franco was promoted to generalissimo of the armies and chief in command. Although the movie covers a portion of the weeks prior to the war—the democratic elections of 1936, the victory of the left-wing coalition Popular Front, the stationing of Franco at the Canary Islands and the days immediately before the coup led by the military against the democratic government— the documentary, once archival, all-seeing, and evidentiary, momentarily ceases its historical narrative to present us with the filmmaker at the editing lab surrounded by film canisters (fig. 43). Instead of showing the images that contain the visible evidence of the origin of the dictatorial state and its legitimacy, José Luis Sáenz de Heredia addresses the viewers to explain the rationale behind not including any footage of the war:

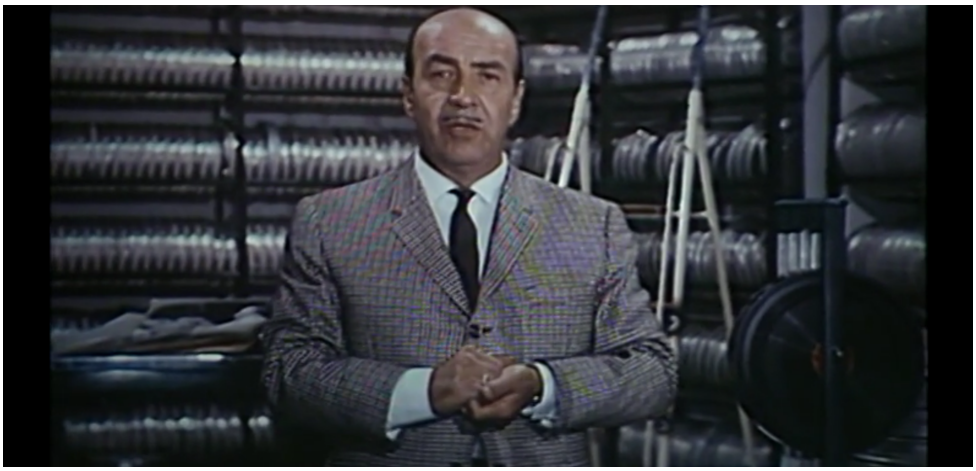

Figure 43. Still from *Franco, ese hombre* (1:10:23) where José Luis Sáenz de Heredia stands before the canisters allegedly containing the images of the Civil War. © Mercury Films.

> En estas cajas que están ustedes viendo aquí, se conserva el material que retiene los episodios bélicos más notables, pero nosotros, aún a riesgo de poder defraudar, no vamos a proyectarlos. Entendemos que el seguimiento minucioso de tal trascendental acontecimiento, ni cabe dentro de nuestros límites, ni se ajusta, por muchos motivos a nuestra intención. En España hubo una guerra interpolada entre dos irrefutables justificaciones: el caos de 1936 y la venturosa realidad de 1964. Por ganar esta orilla de una España mejor, dieron su vida, en un lado y en otro un millón de españoles. Pretendemos pues recordar este periodo haciéndolo serenamente en el ambiente más apropiado, a nuestro juicio, y que mejor puede sintetizar la España que ha sido posible gracias a aquella inevitable cirugía. Y para ello, vamos a trasladarnos expresamente con nuestros equipos a la feria internacional de Nueva York.
> (Inside these boxes you can see here, the material that holds the most notable war episodes, but we, despite risking disappointing you, will not show them. We understand that a precise narrative of such a transcendental moment, neither fits in the limits of this movie nor is appropriate, for many different reasons. A war took place in Spain, interpolated between two irrefutable justifications: the chaos of 1936 and the venturous reality of 1964. We aspire to remember this period peacefully at the best place that can synthesize the Spain that has been possible thanks to that inevitable surgery. For that reason, we are going to move expressly to the New York World's Fair; *Franco, ese hombre*).

The documentary moves on to present the Spanish Pavilion at the New York World's Fair of 1964 with an interview to Spanish ambassador to the US and historian Manuel Aznar. However, before looking in depth at the case of the pavilion, its design, curatorial line, and importance within the narrative of the *XXV años*, I consider necessary to study more closely this apparently simple breakdown in the documentary and historicist logic of the film. While

scholarly literature on the subject has deemed the breakdown in the narrative and the lack of images of the war as an attempt to leave behind the violent past of the country and appear as a peaceful state (Yarza 156, Quintana 178), my argument over these few minutes of the movie takes into consideration how defining this absence may be for the forms of visuality proper to this new regime of historicity.

Precisely, the key concept of this conceptual formulation is its visual nature and ability to produce visibility. While the movie does indeed not show the images of the war allegedly contained in those canisters, it does show other images—those of the filmmaker in the presence of the canisters, those of the pavilion, and even some archival footage. There is not a breakdown in the visibility of the film nor in the narrative since the movie goes on to cover the corresponding historical period. However, it does so from the present; from a contemporaneity of modernity and progress projected from the futuristic space of the World's Fair. The war, or its images, may not be visible, those film reels may not be projected, but the historical event is very much visual.

The distinction between those terms is crucial to understand the inner logic of the aesthetic proposal of the *XXV años. Raza*'s visual logic pointed at a symbolic correlation between the images of the movie and a mythic understanding of history codified by the ability of the viewer to decipher the myths of Francoism. On the contrary, *Franco, ese hombre* displays a seemingly neutral simplicity of its images that could allegedly make them *understandable* to everyone. However, I argue that what it is at stake in the documentary is a continuous reverberation of the images of the war as the images of the origin of the state. In other words, the movie is built upon the promise of *seeing* the archival truth of the mythical origin of the state—as opposed to the fictional and constructed scenes of the war presented in *Raza*. In that sense, it

is this unfulfilled promise—that of being before the factual presence of the images—what rules over the narrative of the movie.

Precisely, in his discussion of the emptiness between Mary and the angel in Fra Angelico's *The Annunciation,* George Didi-Huberman argues how the distinction between visibility and visuality lies in the role of the latter as the *invisible* power ruling over the former; as the "alternative to this incomplete semiology [of the] visible, legible, or invisible." The visual, as opposed to the visible, remains invisible while still "belongs to the mimetic economy [and] to the world of the representation" of the movie. While this mimetic economy linking the words of the narrator to the archival footage is present throughout the movie, the *virtual* presence of the war and its images "tends to loosen our grip on the 'normal' ... conditions of visible knowledge (..) [making] possible not one or two univocal significations, but entire constellations of meaning, of which we must accept never to know the totality and the closure." Following this argument, I propose that the Civil War is, in fact, the virtual central element around which the visuality of the *XXV años* unfolds. Virtual, in the sense proposed by Didi-Huberman as "the sovereign power of that which does not appear visibly" (*Confronting* 16, 18).

For while the state was indeed trying to present itself free from its ideological origins and affiliations, the *virtual* presence of the war in the form of the footage of the pavilion and through the narrative of Manuel Aznar keeps revealing itself as the binding agent and the principle behind the entire narrative of the movie. Therefore, visuality, as the "incarnate truth traversing the appearance of things like a momentary disfigurement, the scopic effect of *something else*" (*Confronting* 29), is at play when the mimetic economy between archival images and historical narrative is shattered open with the invisible yet visual irruption of the Civil War as historical event. The invisible presence of the war, that situates it at the center of the virtual truth of the

state, irreplaceable beyond all other factual mechanic, and statistic truths results in a sacralization of the event itself. With the images of the war being taken out of circulation, these are instituted as the "most intimate and profound identity of the community as a whole" (Tarizzo 3), just like the true name of God, or the Holy of Holies hiding behind a curtain the broken tablets of the Ten Commandments at the lost Temple in Jerusalem, these are images *not* meant to be seen but appear as the virtual limits of the field of visibility.

2.5 Coda: Taking the Place of War. Spain at the 1964 New York World's Fair

Contrary to the widespread argument about the lack of images of the Civil War as a simple attempt to "make a clean cut with Spain's traumatic historical past" (Yarza 156), this last section of the chapter wants to take into serious consideration the visual proposal behind *Franco, ese hombre* and ponder the consequences of the visual substitution at display in the movie. What conclusions can be drawn from interrogating the images of the Spanish Pavilion at New York as the *de facto* substitute of the images of the Civil War? If what lies underneath the narrative presented in the movie is an attempt to reconcile the ideological and economic-political paradoxes of the late Francoist regime, how can we understand the inclusion of this pavilion in the context of the World's Fair and in relation to the visuality of this new regime of historicity traced in the second half of this chapter?

Although this world's fair was never approved by the International Bureau of Exhibitions, Spain could not refuse the opportunity to reaffirm its position in the global market in an arena like New York. Despite being a mostly commercial fair in which most European countries did not participate, the geopolitical juncture between Spain and the USA made it hard to the dictatorship to refuse the invitation of the organization. As such, the fair was mostly populated with pavilions of private corporations such as Coca-Cola, IBM, Kodak, or the

Mormon church. The fair had a general tone of positivity and faith in technological progress best exemplified by the famous "Futurama" pavilion of General Motors displaying a futuristic and utopian future of houses under the sea and suburbs in Antarctica.

As Lawrence R. Samuel notes on his book on the fair: "this pervasive commercialism ... made the 1964-1965 New York World's Fair different from all other and forever changed the landscape of global expositions ... [, w]ith corporate America more powerful than ever in the mid-1960s and consumer culture at an all-time high" (XX). For that same reason, the organization of the fair designated the real estate mogul Robert Moses as its president with the hopes of turning the Flushing Meadows Park—the location of both the 1939 and 1964 fairs—into a profitable housing area after the end of the fair. Inaugurated on April 22 of 1964 and closed one year later with a six-month hiatus in between, the symbol of the fair, the Unisphere—the largest representation of the globe of the Earth at the time—was accompanied by the motto "Peace Through Understanding" just two years after the intensification of the atomic threat caused by the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The responsibility to choose the architect and the design for the Spanish Pavilion at the fair—which coincidentally used the spot reserved for the never-realized USSR pavilion—landed on the hands of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. For this purpose, a total of 24 architects were invited to participate in a competition won by Javier Carvajal ("Pabellón" 43.) With less than one year to complete his project for the fair, Carvajal's design was "gargantuan yet elegant asymmetrical two-story, 50,000 square-foot, cantilevered poured concrete structure with multiple interior courtyards, a 900-seat performance theater and space for three restaurants" (Rosendorf 171) (fig. 44). As such, and in contrast with the highly technological rest of the pavilions, the Spanish proposal turned its back against the context of the conquest of space and the imagination

of the future to focus on one of the strengths of the cultural narrative of the dictatorship: tradition (Arcaraz Puntonet 129).

Figure 44. Promotional postcard of the Spanish Pavilion in New York. Photography courtesy of [España] Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de la Administración.

The pavilion used concrete as its main constructive material, which draw some aesthetic connections between the pavilion and American corporate architecture. The proposal of Javier Carvajal turned its back to the metal-and-glass wall of pure visibility of contemporary architecture to create an enclosed and shut-to-the-world building that had the Nazari palace of the Alhambra in Granada as its referent. As such, Carvajal's design for the pavilion was part of larger theoretical discussions amongst architects to revive architecture in Spain after the end of the war, aspects of which have been studied in chapter one. Since 1939, the regime, with Eugenio D'Ors as the National Director of Fine Arts, instituted the monastery of El Escorial as the monumental referent for the reconstruction of the nation. During the 1950s these views were partially contested with the publication of the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra.*

The renewed interest on the Alhambra aimed to move away from a romanticist imagination of the complex to transform it into an architectural master lesson free of ideology and history (Calatrava 36) whose use of the materials and spatial solutions made it the quintessential example to follow by younger generations of Spanish architects. The resemblance

of the pavilion to the Alhambra was not articulated by a mimetic reproduction of decorative elements but sustained by a conceptual link that highlighted "the [unadorned] exterior aspect … almost harsh, a play of contrasting masses with rough, white, closed-in walls forming the lower part and well-disposed grey [concrete] blocks in the upper part" (Casamayor 56).

Additionally, the austerity of the first floor's echoed the materials and techniques of vernacular architecture while the prefabricated concrete blocks on the upper floor searched to reference the technological development and industrialization of Spanish contemporary architecture (Bernal López-Sanvicente 168). This combination of materials blended the "most exciting present-day architectural ideas ... with the truest Spanish traditions" (Casamayor 55-56). While the use of Nazari architecture as a referent for the design of Spanish pavilions was not new—take for instance the "Arabic eclecticism" of the Spanish pavilions at the fairs of 1837, 1878, and 1879—the link between the Alhambra and the 1964 fair was furthered by the curatorial narrative of the exhibitions.

The first floor of the pavilion included three different restaurants and three gallery spaces rooms for permanent exhibitions at the pavilion. As such, one of the rooms was devoted to contemporary artists including pieces from Picasso, Dalí, Miró, and even drawings from Lorca—assassinated by Francoist supporters at the beginning of the war. An adjacent room was dedicated to a selection of works from the Prado Museum including Goya, Murillo, or Velázquez, and a third room of the pavilion was exclusively dedicated to religious art. A fourth and fifth exhibition rooms were dedicated to artisanry and temporary exhibitions. Contrastingly, the second floor housed an auditorium, a large room for mostly commercial exhibitions and a section entitled "España es así" (fig. 45) which consisted of twelve large machines simultaneously projecting images of the "progreso de nuestro pueblo en obras públicas, en

viviendas, en educación, agricultura, etc." ("progress of our country in public works, housing, education, agriculture, etc."; García de Sáez 12.) This section of the pavilion transmitted some of the "objective" and "factual" messages promoted by the dictatorship on the exhibitions *España 64* and *España en paz.*

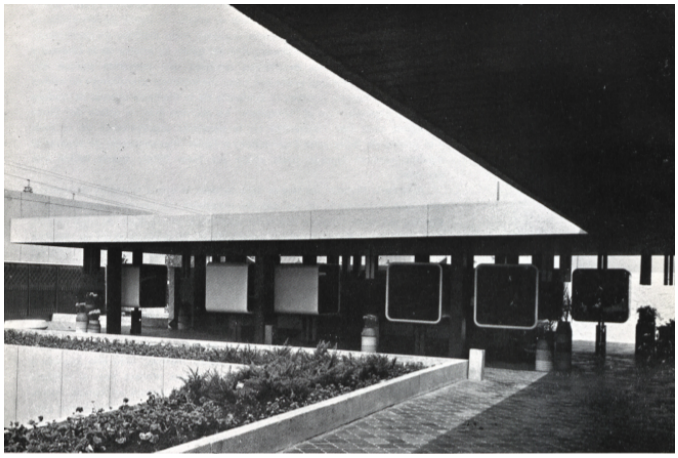

Figure 45. Projection machines for the section "España es así" at the Spanish Pavilion. Courtesy of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid.[30]

In addition to the art and commercial exhibitions at the pavilion, the opportunity of the dictatorship to create such a powerful device of cultural hegemony like a national pavilion represented a unique opportunity to showcase a narrative about Spain's role in the "discovery" of America. Especially for a dictatorship so invested in the recuperation and capitalization of the history of the Spanish Empire, expanding its message of peace, progress, and modernity in the capital of the "Free World" represented a perfect accomplishment in the search for international validation. As Amparo Bernal López-San Vicente notes, "[e]l argumento expositivo del pabellón recreaba ... el descubrimiento y la evangelización del Nuevo Mundo" ("the narrative of the exhibition recreated (…) the 'discovery' and the 'evangelization' of the 'New World'; 168); to

[30] The images in figures 45, 46, 48 and 49 come from the article "Pabellón de España en Nueva York (EE. UU)" by Miguel García Sáez available at: https://www.coam.org/media/Default%20Files/fundacion/biblioteca/revista-arquitectura-100/1959-1973/docs/revista-articulos/revista-arquitectura-1964-n68-pag01-18-sp01.pdf

this grand narrative a fourth element should be added: the unity of the nation as both a result of the history of the "discovery" but also of the economic progress and modernity of the dictatorship.

For that purpose, Javier Carvajal worked under the direction of Miguel García de Sáez—director of the Spanish Pavilion in Brussels in 1958—to commission works from a group of young artists that would make of the pavilion a total work of art. Amongst these artists, Joaquín Vaquero Turcios created four on-site murals depicting the arrival of Columbus and the evangelization of America (fig. 46) and Manuel Suárez Molezún created a stained-glass wall enclosing the room devoted to religious art from the exterior[31] (fig. 47). The relationship between the narrative of the "discovery" and the legacy of the Spanish Empire, and the unity of Spain were undoubtedly furthered with the inclusion of three other artistic elements in the conception of the building. The use of a stylized drawing of a pomegranate as the logo of the pavilion created by José María de Labra (fig. 48) in conjunction with the inclusion of a sculpture of Fray Junípero Serra (fig. 49)—founder of nine missions in California in the 18th century—by Pablo Serrano, a sculpture of Queen Isabella (fig. 50) by José Luis Sánchez strengthened the connection between the pavilion and the palatial complex of the Alhambra.

For the conclusion of this chapter, I would like to take a moment to focus on the relationship between these three elements with the overall narrative of growth and progress at play during the *XXV años de paz.* It is important to keep in mind the historical connection between the siege of Granada as the last city under Nazari rule—and hence the end of the

[31] In addition, Antonio Cumellas created the fountains on display on the *patios* and the mural decorating the restaurant Granada while Francisco Ferreras painted the mural for the restaurant Toledo. Additionally, sculptor Amadeo Gabino designed the fence installed at the main entrance, and Arcadio Blasco oversaw creating the ceramic tiles composing a mural in one of the patios as an homage to Antoní Gaudí.

Reconquista—with the departure of Columbus from Palos de Moguer as both events took place during the same year of 1492. In the same vein, the relation between Queen Isabella and Fray Junípero Serra, both historical figures and sculptures, is significant. While the former was located on the threshold and the only unfenced point of connection between the exterior of the building and its interior (García Rubio 288), the later was installed at the architectural heart of the building: the main *patio* (see appendix at the end of this chapter).

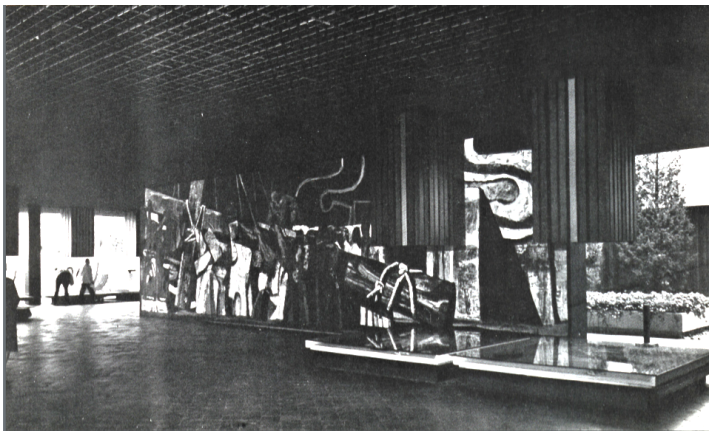

Figure 46. Vaquero Turcios. *The Evangelization*. Mural at the Spanish Pavilion in New York. Courtesy of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid.

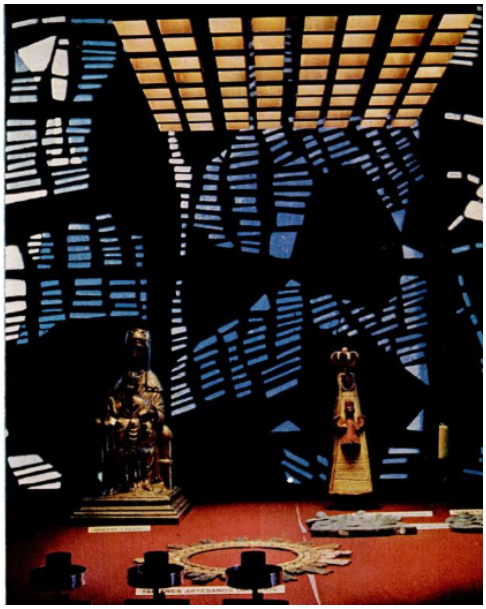

Figure 47. Suárez Molezún. Stained-glass wall at the section for religious art included in the Spanish Pavilion in New York. Courtesy of the LIFE Picture Collection.

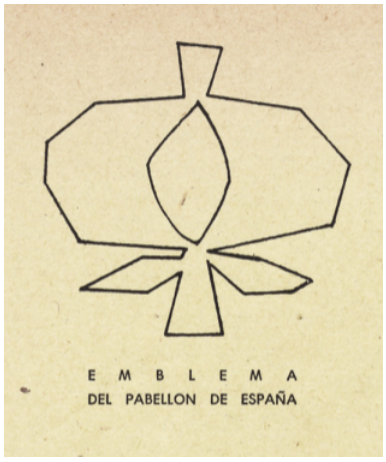

Figure 48. Logo of the Spanish Pavilion. Courtesy of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid.

Figure 49. Pablo Serrano, Fray Junípero Serra. On-site sculpture for the Spanish Pavilion in New York. Courtesy of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid.

Figure 50. José Luis Sánchez, sculpture of Queen Isabella. Photography by Ramón Masats © Ramón Masats. Courtesy of Galería Blanca Berlín.

This way both sculptures, "looking" at each other across the space of one of the hallways of the pavilion[32], established a spatial dialogue between Isabella, from Spain, the exterior of the "New World" as patron of the colonial and evangelizing enterprise, and Fray Junípero Sierra as bearer of the message of the Catholic Kings from within the Americas. In addition to this, the selection of the pomegranate—English for *granada*, both the fruit and emblem of the city—as the logo for the pavilion carried heavy nationalistic connotations. The last kingdom to be conquered during the *reconquista* in 1492, Granada became in the national imagination of Francoism the symbol of the unity of the nation, of its completeness:

> Cuando los Reyes Católicos tomaron el reino de Granada, pusieron una granada en nuestro escudo. España quedó así completa, lista para desbordar su destino más allá de sus fronteras; la reina Isabel mandó sus naves a descubrir nuevas tierras y sus manos

[32] See appendix to this chapter.

> descubrieron todo un mundo nuevo. La granada es símbolo de nuestra unidad, de nuestro destino, de la mayor empresa de nuestra historia. (When the Catholic Kings took over the Kingdom of Granada, they added the pomegranate to our coat of arms. Spain was, this way, complete, ready to overflow [sic] its destiny beyond its borders; Queen Isabella sent her ships to discover new lands and her hands discovered a whole new world. The pomegranate is the symbol of our unity, our destiny, and the biggest enterprise of our history; García de Sáez 68).

In considering how the celebration of the *XXV años* became in a way an attempt of the Francoist dictatorship to rearticulate its relationship with the Civil War as its origin and a political signifier of the unity of the nation, it is hard to ignore the narrative similarities with the presentation of the Spanish arts and the myth of the "conquest"—both of the Americas and of Islamic Spain—in the pavilion as the binding agent holding the Spain together.

In considering one of the national mottos of the dictatorship "España una, grande, y libre" ("Spain, one, grand, and free"), it is important to understand how the unity of the nation was—and remains—one of the basic tenets of right-wing political thought in Spain. If the coup leading to the Civil War was in a way an attempt to violently ensure the territorial, political, cultural unity, and homogeneity of the nation, it is also important to understand how the Francoist victory brought to Spain a deep and still unresolved rend between the right and the left, between the "victors" and the "defeated," the perpetrators and the victims. An unresolved historical conflict that still pervades Spanish society even to this day when the bodily remains of the dictator and their final burial site are still a point of social and political conflict.

With that said, one of the aims of this chapter was to demonstrate how the *XXV años* was an attempt of the dictatorship to impose a rhetorical peace in the form of the consensual—in the sense developed by Rancière—narrative of factual progress and growth on Spanish society and the victims of decades of political repression. Hence, in pondering the role of the visual substitution at play in *Franco, ese hombre* it would be naive not to consider the conceptual links

between the scene of the substitution and the pervasive references to the symbolism and history of the city of Granada. If the whole celebration was in a way an attempt to rearrange the "visibility of the common" (Rancière, "Contemporary" 48), the symbol of the pomegranate becomes in this context a heavily charged signifier bringing together the history of the *Reconquista* and the historical unity of the nation with the role of the Civil War as a historical device of enforced unity and political consensus.

A signifier expressing, in the context of the *XXV años*, a renewed enforced unity of the common and the nation through an a-ideologized presentation of the Spanish arts as a consensual narrative of peace. So, where did the war go in the narrative of the fair? In the case of a pavilion with virtually no reference to the dictatorship, Franco, or the recent historical past of the nation, the conjoining of mythic and historico-artistic narratives, modernity and traditional architectures was condensed through the pervasive figure of the pomegranate. A symbol, an object in this case, not only present throughout the pavilion but also displayed on the hands of the sculpture of Queen Isabella (fig. 51) and being offered to the visitor. Because, despite all modernity and technological progress, the politics of the past at play in the Spain of the 60s and in the pavilion still brought back a remote past in which the present could look into to recognize itself.

A relationship between the past and the present where the Civil War was nothing but a distant reverberation of the ideas behind the *Reconquista.* A present where despite all its informational paradigms, claims to objectivity, and international recognition, the Civil War still pounded under the surface of the Spanish contemporaneity of the 1960s as the undeniable original cornerstone of the state. An undeniable political truth still present even thousands of miles away, at Flushing Meadows Park, where "[c]omo si de una nueva conquista simbólica se tratase, hasta Nueva York se trasladó un fragmento del sepulcro de la reina para ser colocado

como primera piedra del pabellón" ("As if it was a new symbolic conquest, a piece of the tomb of Queen Isabella was taken to New York to be placed as the cornerstone of the pavilion; Sastre 611.)

Figure 51. The abstract pomegranate carried by the sculpture of Queen Isabella. Photography by Ramón Masats © Ramón Masats. Courtesy of Galería Blanca Berlín.

2.6 Appendix: Floor Plan of the Pavilion

In the image below you can find the floor plan of the Spanish pavilion. The top red circle signals the location of the sculpture of Fray Junípero Serra by Pablo Serrano. The bottom red circle indicates the location of the sculpture of Queen Isabella by Jose Luis Sánchez. Note the proximity between the second sculpture and the main entrance to the building as well as the linear disposition between both artworks.

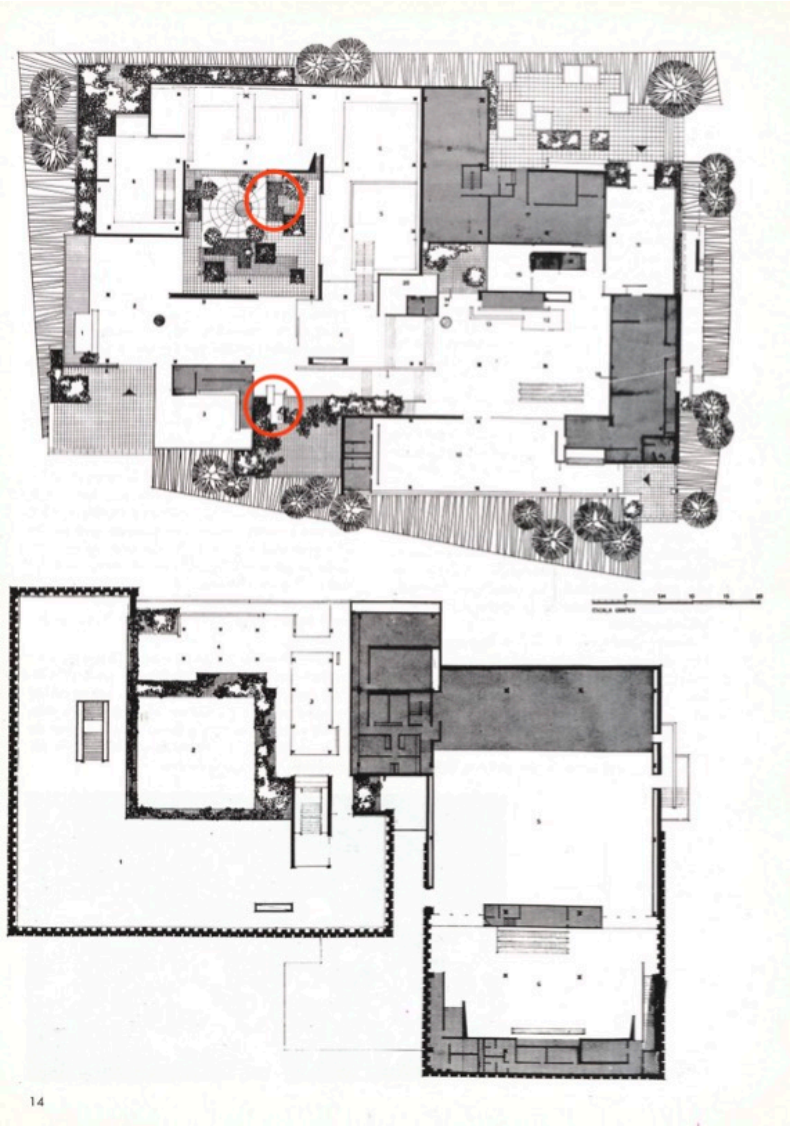

Figure 52. Floor plan of the Spanish Pavilion with the locations of the sculptures circled in red. Courtesy of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid.

Chapter 3 Vision, Melancholia, and History: Victoria Prego's *La transición* and Antoni Muntada's *TVE: primer intento*

In order for a part of the past to be touched by the present instant <*Aktualität*>,
there must be no continuity between them.]

– Walter Benjamin, "Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress.

Figure 53. Monument to General Sanjurjo after the explosion of a car-bomb placed by ETA on June 26th of 1972. © The original work reproduced in the image belongs to the bibliographic collection of the Bizkaiko Foru Liburutegia/Bizkaia Provincial Library.

3.1 Foreword: Pamplona, June of 1972

On the night of June 26 of 1972, the Basque left-wing terrorist group E.T.A. placed an exploding artifact at the monument in memory of General José Sanjurjo in Pamplona (fig. 53). The newspaper *La gaceta del norte* argued that the destruction of the sculpture was a senseless act of violence. For the newspaper, the sculpture of Sanjurjo lacked any real political significance as it simply commemorated the General's outspoken defense in favor of the traditional *encierros* of San Fermín during the years of the Spanish II Republic ("Vuelan" 6). Two days later, on June 28th, E.T.A. targeted the headquarters of the government in Pamplona with a car bomb. Coincidentally located at then-named General Mola Square, the two attacks were perhaps more politically motivated than the note published in *La gaceta del norte* seemed to acknowledge.

While the press tried to depoliticize the presence of the sculpture, these two attacks were an active form of defacement against what Enzo Traverso calls the "legacy of the war" (168). Sanjurjo was called to be the commander-in-chief of the coup of 1936 that led to the Civil War but died on his way to Spain from Portugal in the first days of the conflict and Mola was another prominent figure behind the coup. Perhaps, the seemingly anachronistic attack against two symbols of the political mythology of Francoism thirty-six years after the end of the war could be pointing at the fact that for E.T.A the state of war did not end in 1939. Perhaps, these attacks speak of a war waged against the state, its symbols, narratives, and those traces of the Civil War still palpable even three years before the death of Franco.

While a plausible theory, a leaflet circulated days after by E.T.A made clear what the real target of the attacks was: the week-long festival of conceptual art *Los encuentros de Pamplona*[33]. Accused by E.T.A of being "una manifestación más de la cultura burguesa engañosamente cubierta por un halo de vanguardismo artístico" ("another manifestation of bourgeois culture deceptively covered with a halo of artistic Avant Garde" (qtd. in Museo Nacional 199). The festival allegedly promoted a false sense of "democratization" and modernity in Spain (Palacios González 63). The idealized sense of modernity and political liberties associated with contemporary art practices contrasted with the proximity of the promoters of the event to the dictatorial mainstream. Although the Huarte family had become an important patron of the arts by the early 70s—working with architects and artists such as Saénz de Oiza, Molezún, Corrales, Coderch, Chillida, or Oteiza—the Grupo Huarte was also one of most renowned contractors of both private and state-funded architectural enterprises like the Torres Colón and Torres Blancas buildings in Madrid, the Hospital La Paz in 1964 and parts of the infamous Valle de los Caídos.

For E.T.A, the *Encuentros* were a clear example of the strong connections between the art scene and the well-rooted system of private companies and patrons who profited from the dictatorship and its violence. Although the attack against the statue of Sanjurjo took place the same day scheduled for the opening of the festival, the *Encuentros* were celebrated only to become one of the most important events in the history of Spanish contemporary art. The festival has been regarded as the climax of the conceptual and experimental art practices that had developed in Spain and abroad since the 60s while also been seen as the last instance of a collective and militant approach to conceptual art (Cuyás, "Literalismo" 23). These practices

[33] *Encuentros* from now on.

were seen through the lens of the "dematerialization" of the work of art by Lucy Lippard in her 1973 book *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972.* In Spain the work of Simón Marchán Fiz *Del arte objetual al arte de concepto* and Victoria Combalía Dexeus *La poética de lo neutro,* published in 1972 and 1975 respectively, theoretically grounded the practices showcased at the *Encuentros*.

The presence of international artists and works by John Cage, On Kawara, Hélio Oiticica, or Steve Reich turned the event into an unexpected international festival of conceptual art at the heart of Francoist Spain. This seemingly momentary time out of the oppressive reality of the dictatorship during a week at the end of June of 1972 was not only the target of the violence of E.T.A. Actors across the entire political spectrum such as the then-illegal Communist Party of Spain (PCE) in exile, the nationalist movement in the Basque Country, and ultra-catholic establishment of the regime criticized the festival for different reasons. The PCE, in line with the arguments made by E.T.A, accused the festival of serving the interest of the bourgeoisie (qtd. in Zubiaur Carreño 265). For the newspaper *Tierra Vasca: eusko lura* published in Buenos Aires by Basque nationalists exiled in Argentina the Huarte brothers were "multimillonarios de guerra" and the *Encuentros* were funded by "beneficios de la guerra" ("multimillionaires of war", "war profit"; Museo Nacional 129).

Despite the political criticism, the events and practices present in the *Encuentros*—labeled in Spain under the name of "new behaviors" or "new media art"—made visible the rift between a new approach to the intersections between art and politics. Conceptual art practices of the 70s seemingly broke with the relationship between realism and political criticism typical of the prior decades in favor of formal and discursive experimentation. (Marzo and Mayayo 316). In that regard, a big portion of the works and artists present in the *Encuentros* were quite out of

line with the artistic practices of networks such as *Estampa Popular* whose sharp and expressionist style of social criticism was sustained by a view of artistic practices as a direct tool in the class struggle and opposition against the dictatorship (Albarrán 74-75).

Whereas the aim of *Estampa Popular* was the creation of an art critical of reality and intended for the "people" (Marzo and Mayayo 261), the discrepancy between a more visibly politicized aesthetics and the documental, minimal, and often ephemeral nature of the works (fig. 54) at the *Encuentros* where constitutive of an alleged visual, political, and ideological ambiguity that turned the festival into a target for criticism (Marzo and Mayayo 420). The connection, or lack thereof, between some of these art practices and the establishment of anti-Francoist groups did not mean in any case that conceptual art was not interested in a socio-political reflection of Spanish reality. On the contrary, as José Díaz Cuyás has argued, semantic "ambiguity" (Cuyás, "The rarified" 33) of conceptual art constitutes one of its main political assets.

Figure 54. Carlos Ginzburg, *Estoy denotando una ciudad* at the Encuentros. 1972. Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía.

Against the official and imposed culture of grandiose rhetoric, "peace," and progress proper of the Francoist aesthetics of objectivity studied in chapter two, experimental art appropriated a strategy that combined an "a-ideological" appearance and fixation with breaking "la apariencia formal para de ese modo descubrir la realidad cruda, sin medios preestablecidos, ni mediaciones consesuadas" ("away without the formal appearances to unveil the 'raw' reality, pre-established ideas, or mediations"). This impulse took the form of practices that often focused on simply recording, measuring, and registering some of the events that took place during the *Encuentros* as ways of "[a]ctivar lo verdadero en el aquí y ahora" ("[a]ctivate the real in the here and now") and moving away from the representational aesthetics of more "political" forms of art. Although utopic, the desire to let reality transpire "as it is" to portrait "raw" reality was in and of itself a move beyond the establishment, and an attempt to create a third way between the "esperpéntica retórica del regimen … [y] el estilo severo y dogmático de la vieja 'cultura de resistencia'" ("grotesque rhetoric of the regime, ... [and] the severe and dogmatic style of the old 'culture of resistance"; Cuyás, "Literalismo" 19, 28).

In contrast to an understanding of art as a platform for a social and critical comment of reality more in line with the discourse of social realism, conceptual art aspired to simply point at the factual nature of the world as mediated by language, technology, and new media. Moving away from the oppositional logic between state and anti-Francoist aesthetics was undoubtedly a political action in the context of the last years of the Francoist dictatorship; political in the sense of a "rupture radical" ("radical break") with an understanding of the intersection between arts and politics where the former is reduced to a simplified tool for ideological transmission and social transformation by means of representation (Cuyás, "Literalismo" 19). It is for that same

reason that the *Encuentros,* although funded by state-related actors, represents an experience imbued with a desire to break away with traditional association between aesthetics and politics.

On the fourth day of the festival, artist Antoni Muntadas displayed at the *Encuentros* what would be the first of his works dealing with television. The installation and performance *Polución audiovisual* (*Audiovisual Pollution*) (fig. 55) consisted of five televisions, two radios, two reel-to-reel tape recorders, a slide projector, a microphone, and a speaker (Bonet 16). Two of the TVs uninterruptedly displayed the only two channels that existed in Spain at the time, while the other three showed white noise. The other devices, broadcasted commercials both in its aural and visual form—through radio and slides— and the microphone and speaker invited the visitors to speak, and thus, generate more "audiovisual pollution."

Figure 55. Antoni Muntadas, *Polución audiovisual*. 1972

The piece stressed the incipient relevance of telecommunications in creating a sort of audiovisual background to contemporary life in Spain. The approach of Muntadas to the flow of information and content through audiovisual media is one that stresses notions of contamination and a divorce between "real life" and the experience of the world through the surfaces of media. By highlighting ideas of "pollution," the piece conjures up images of smog and other elements that obstruct our ability to *see* real life. An approach very much in alignment with Guy Debord's notion of the society of the spectacle; excerpts of which were distributed during the festival. On

the fifth day of the *Encuentros*, an impromptu colloquium on the topic "Art and Society" took place in what today remains the most visible symbol of the festival: José Miguel de Prada Poole's inflatable domes (fig. 56).

Figure 56. José Miguel de Prada Poole's inflatable domes, 1972.

The colloquium was shut down both by the organization and the police for representing a possible "asamblea clandestina contra el regimen" ("clandestine assembly against the regime"; Museo Nacional 330). Only two days after they were inaugurated, the domes were deflated to prevent more spontaneous gatherings. This decision was in line with the restrictive laws of the state and the illegality of free assembly at the time. By its end on July 2nd of 1972, the events that unfolded around the domes were representative of the very same societal fears and struggles of the time: the looming possibility of governmental repression, the lack of free speech, and above all the fear of more terrorist attacks. Art historical criticism has regarded the *Encuentros* as a chaotic experience that came to showcase not only the heterogeneous nature of the cultural fabric of society and the arts.

3.2 Introduction. Carrero Blanco and the Primal Scene of Democracy

On December 23rd of 1973, approximately one year after the end of the *Encuentros,* another car bomb detonated, this time in Madrid. E.T.A had assassinated the president of the government Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco. It was only a day after the attach that the interim

president of the government, Torcuato Fernández Miranda, made a public appearance on television to mourn Carrero and confirm the nature of the explosion:

> Desde el dolor de España, que ha perdido a uno de los hombres que con más lealtad y fidelidad la ha servido, quiero dirigirme a la nación. Las investigaciones realizadas demuestran que el almirante Carrero Blanco, presidente del gobierno, ha sido asesinado, ha sido víctima de un atentado criminal. La reacción del pueblo español es la propia de su nobleza, el orden es completo en todo el país, y será mantenido con la máxima firmeza, nuestro dolor no turba nuestra serenidad. La serenidad en estos momentos es la mejor expresión de nuestra fortaleza; la responsabilidad en el ejercicio de la autoridad no admite que la emoción turbe el espíritu ciudadano de nuestro pueblo. *El odio puede soñar con posibles revanchas, es inútil, hemos olvidado la guerra en el afán de construir la paz de los españoles, pero no hemos olvidado ni olvidaremos nunca la victoria, que ha abierto el camino español de la paz y la justicia*[34].
> (Speaking from the grief of Spain, who has lost one of the men who had served it with most loyalty and faithfulness, I want to address the nation. The investigation proves that Admiral Carrero Blanco, President of the Government, has been assassinated, he has been the victim of a criminal terrorist attack. The reaction of the Spanish people is the one proper to its noble nature, the order is complete in the nation, and it will be with due determination; our pain does not disturb our serenity. Serenity is, right now, the best expression of our strength; the responsibility in the exercise of public authority does not permit emotions to disturb the civic spirit of our people. *Hate can dream of possible retaliations, this is useless, we have eagerly forgotten the war in order to build up the peace for Spaniards, but we have not forgotten victory nor will we, for it has opened the Spanish path for peace and justice;* "El asesinato de Carrero")

The assassination of Carrero at the hands of E.T.A triggered a widespread crisis of governance which coincided in time with a period of socio-economic unrest following the 1973 oil crisis, the political turmoil of the case against the then-illegal union Comisiones Obreras (known as "Caso 1001"*)*, and the well-advanced age of the dictator. The death of Carrero represented one of the strongest blows against the dictatorship and, as such, it allowed the resurgence of old voices and messages: below the grey and anodyne bureaucratic Francoism of the 1970s laid still the legacies of war and violent spirit of fascism. An occasion such as the assassination of the president of the government, provoked once again the return to the surface of

[34] Italics are mine.

the need to assert the foundational and violent legitimacy of the Civil War to defend the state in front of its enemies.

This time around it was not the war but victory itself that came back to the surface of discourse as the symptom of something not resolved at the heart of the state. In the words of the interim president of the government, if war had been forgotten, victory had become an uprooted signifier, the one and only element of legitimization of Francoism. An enshrined notion of victory, that had been heavily damaged with the killing of Carrero Blanco. The death of the president resonates to this day as one of the essential events of the last fifty years of Spanish history for different reasons. The attack ended the life of none other than the second in command within the dictatorship, only topped by Franco himself as the appointment of Carrero Blanco as president of the government was the dictator´s sole prerogative.

This last element speaks of the relationship between Francisco Franco and Luis Carrero Blanco who became deputy prime minister in 1967 and was finally appointed president of the government in 1973. This reorganization within the dictatorship came as a result of the Organic Law that the regime put to a referendum in 1966 and that separated the posts of head of the state (Franco) and president of the government (Carrero Blanco) for the first time since the end of the Civil War. The "constitution" of 1966 established the separation of these powers both to address the visible aging of Franco and to advance a project to perpetuate the ideological continuity of Francoism beyond the death of the dictator. The appointment of Carrero—someone who had fought in the Civil War and whose views on politics were only matched by Franco´s—represented an attempt to ensure that the values and ideology of the dictator would live on.

It is for these reasons that the death of Carrero came to be seen as the untimely death of a son to an elderly father whose political inheritance was now lacking heirs. With Carrero also

died the specific project of political continuity so clearly laid out in the constitution of 1966 which envisioned a future with Juan Carlos de Borbón as head of state and Carrero as the political "insurance" for the ideological continuity of the regime. The death of Francisco Franco almost exactly two years later in November of 1975 set in motion a socio-political process known as the *Transición*[35]. Due to the inherent open-ended nature of the very notion of transition, it is very important to delineate the contours of the political project at discussion when talking about the transitional period in Spain.

Following the arguments made by Gregorio Morán in his 1991 book *El precio de la transición,* the discussion surrounding the periodization of the transitional process represents, in reality, a discussion about the life, death, and continuities of the different political projects (23) that populated Spain during the process of political reconfiguration after the death of the dictator. Although it has been largely assumed that the process of the *Transición* spanned between the death of the dictator in 1975 and the victory of the Socialist Party in the elections of 1982, we have to take into account that within the structure of the state a polyphonic reality was unfolding: a plurality of political projects that fought to become the sign under which the interim government in charge would reform the state system thus giving shape to the post-dictatorial society.

The different think-tanks and political groups unified within the dictatorship and under the authority of Franco broke loose after his death. The immediate post-Franco political reality was populated by those who defended the total continuity of the regime in the figure of the king,

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[35] Note that throughout this chapter I will make a distinction between the *Transición* as the specific political project that constitutes the grand narrative of democratic Spain, and the transition or the transitional process as an uncategorized pathway that marked the shift from a dictatorial regime to a democracy. When referring to the former I will do so in Spanish and capitalized to distinguish it from the rest.

those allegedly more "open" towards democratizing the political life of the nation, and those in the anti-Francoist political parties, unions, and associations which—while still illegal—were becoming increasingly visible and important in the socio-political life of the country. While this mainstream periodization remains to be upheld, there exists an important body of work that argues both for an earlier beginning of the process and a longer duration of the transitional period.

Authors such Teresa Vilarós (38) take the death of Carrero Blanco as the departure point for their analysis of post-dictatorial Spain and argue in favor of seeing the year of 1993 as the final point in this process of national transitioning. Similarly, Cristina Moreiras-Menor (186) has argued for an understanding of the transition as a broader project that exceeds the change in the political sign of the country and the arrival of the first socialist government since 1936. For her, 1992 marked a shift in the articulation of "a new way of presenting and narrating the contemporary reality" (Moreiras-Menor 187) of the country. Following the argument made by Morán, I will contend that each of these projects, those of the political opposition to the state but also those of the state itself, had their own inheritance, genealogy, historical filiations, periodization, and of course, their own way of portraying themselves in the field of the visual.

The following chapter will be dealing with the ways in which the "victorious" political project of the state became visible in the TV documentary series *La transición*. The series was written by journalist Victoria Prego, directed by Elías Andrés, and produced for the national television channel TVE. Produced in 1993 and broadcasted in 1995, the series consisted of thirteen one-hour episodes portraying the political events that took place between 1973 and 1977; that is, between the death of Carrero and the celebration in 1977 of the first democratic elections in Spain since 1936. This documentary series would become the visual encyclopedia of

the transitional process. Not only because it was formulated as a grand historical narrative of the period through national television but also because of its approach to the use of archival images from NO-DO, Radio Televisión Española[36], Filmoteca Española, or the BBC among others.

La transición focuses on the establishment of what could be understood as the basic conditions for a statist performance of democracy, that is: the legalization of political parties and labor unions, the reinstitution of certain rights such as assembly, freedom of speech, etc., and the right to freely vote to elect representatives. To support this framework, the series would argue that it was the option of the political "center" that finally succeeded in "bringing" democracy to Spain. The "centrist" option was incarnated by Adolfo Suárez who was designated president of the government by the king in 1976. Prior to this, Suárez had been governor, director of RTVE, vice-secretary and, during the last years of the dictatorship, Minister of the so-called "Movimiento."

With him, a cabinet of ministers who also came from holding positions in the dictatorship gave shape to the government that would oversee the transitional process. In addition to this, the documentary series focuses on linking *this* political project and chronology with an overarching narrative of victory, consensus, and freedom from the dictatorial past. However, in my analysis this coupling between chronology and political project serves as the framework for what could be seen as the expression of yet another narrative of transition, of another political project underneath the victorious arrival of democracy to Spain as portrayed in the series. This chapter presents an in-depth study of the intersection between the notions of inheritance and visuality; or rather, the ways in which the embracing of the former affects the production of the latter.

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36 RTVE from now on.

Inheritance is not understood here as simply a passive receiving of "a given that one may then have," but as an "active affirmation," an answer to an injunction from the past that determines that "when one inherits, one sorts, one sifts, one reclaims, one reactivates" (Derrida, *Echographies* 25). The visual articulation of the political project present in *La transición* is seen here as the specific reactivation of the inheritance left by the dictatorship to the young democratic state; a sorting of a visual heritage that would become the statist democratic master narrative in Spain. *La transición*—seen as the visual expression of an inheritance— is also seen here as a system of production of visuality which, following the definition by Nicholas Mirzoeff, is understood as the "intersection between power and visual representation" ("The Subject" 4).

The argument made in this chapter is that an analysis of the visuality of the political project of the *Transición* as presented in the series reveals the ideas, concepts, and reason governing the articulation of the regime of historicity of the new democratic state. This chapter precisely interrogates the ways in which *La transición* functions as a system of production of visuality and discourse on history through the specificity of the medium of television. In the first portion of this text, I will provide a conceptual analysis of the notions that rule this regime of visuality. This will be followed by a study of the two elements that to me stand out as crucial to understanding *La transición*: television as a specific "infrastructural organization of reality" (Blom, "Water Life" 155) and historic discourse as reconstruction of the past.

3.3 Deconstructing the Production of Visuality in Victoria Prego's *La transición*

In his essay, *El precio de la transición,* Gregorio Morán develops his criticism of the process of political transition and the official historical discourse surrounding this historical period. For the author, the state-sanctioned narrative of the period that went from the death of Franco in 1975 to the first democratic election of 1977 had a hagiographic nature full of selfless

leaders, committed institutions, and a responsible citizenry all working together in unison for the effective overcoming of the dictatorial past (11). Far from this idyllic vision of history, the period between 1975 and 1983 resulted in an estimate of between six to seven hundred deaths due to political violence. That estimate includes the victims of left-wing groups such as E.T.A, GRAPO, FRAP, the far-right group Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey, and those who died victims of the savage police repression still at place in the post-dictatorial years.

This "angelic" narrative (11) targeted by Morán and constitutive of the Spanish democratic state had in the series *La transición* its most important visual testimony. The series is strongly taxonomic in its drive to argue in favor of an alleged rupture with the dictatorship as planned and conceived from within the state. This was a project of institutional reform that would in theory preserve the scaffolding of the state while clearing the institutions of their links to the dictatorship. As such, the series traces the conception, development and approval of a series of laws that, over the course of the first term of Adolfo Suárez as president of the government, made possible the basic tenets of the Spanish democracy: the ambiguously named law of "political associations," the law for the political reform of 1976 that empower the government to dissolve and create new institutions, and finally the legalization of the Spanish Communist Party as the landmark that signaled the normalization of political life in the country with the return of some of the historically exiled members of the party.

These three elements—approved despite the strong presence in the Parliament of the so-called "bunker" of politicians in favor of a total continuity with the regime—are used by the narrative of the series as the evidence to prove that the democratic state had broken away from the past. In a similar manner, *La transición* diminishes the importance of any anti-Francoist opposition outside the two most relevant left-wing political parties that will be legalized during

those years: Partido Socialista Obrero Español and the Partido Comunista Español. The TV series portrays them as clandestine elements of chaos through an almost exclusive use of images of protests, demonstrations, crowded gatherings, and often violent confrontations with the police. As such, the narrative of the series places these two alternative political projects—that of the loyalists to the dictatorship and that of the "radical" left-wing groups—in a *contrapposto* to the images of reason, centrist thinking, and political audacity of Suárez, his cabinet, and the king Juan Carlos I as the manufacturers of the Spanish democracy.

As such, the series could be seen as a portrait of the intestine works of the state in its attempt to reformulate itself. Society, both those in favor and those critical of this highly institutional process, only participates in the narrative through instances of voting in the constitutional referendum of 1976 and the presidential elections of 1977. In that sense, as Morán argues: "dado que la sociedad no había sido la que formalmente forzara el cambio, no había más remedio que construirle un mundo político paradisíaco" ("given that society had not been the one who finally had forced change, there was no other option than building for it a paradise-like political world"; 13). To that end, *La transición* came to constitute the main visual instrument of a narrative that had at its core the promotion of the foundational ideas sustaining the semantic field of Spanish democracy: reconciliation and consensus.

In a country heavily torn by the Civil War and the dictatorship, promoting reconciliation and consensus with no provision of justice for the victims of Francoism resulted in the invention of a politico-societal middle ground where all sides could meet and play their roles in the game of democracy. The latter appeared as the crucial political project that "inevitably" had to take place if Spain wanted to avoid another armed conflict. Therefore, this political project came to be naturalized through an injection of fear of another war into the political body of the nation and a

series of rhetorical maneuvers that became the conditions *sine qua non* for the arrival of democracy.

The series created a visual apparatus of legitimization that would present the official narrative as transparent and truthful. The statement that seems to be the umbrella of all these maneuvers and strategies is that of the "rupture with the past." While it undoubtedly resonates with an aspiration to overcome the dictatorial past, I would argue that a more dangerous implication slips under its formal aspiration to political novelty. Not only this idea was directly embodied in the 1977 amnesty law that to this day obstacles any investigations of the crimes committed by the state during the dictatorship, but it also introduced what Gregorio Morán denounced as the "igualdad operativa … ante el pasado" ("operative equality … before the past"; 75).

The past, that is the Civil War and the dictatorship, was nothing to be looked upon if the democratic project was meant to be successful. The fascist past no longer existed but as a blurry nightmare of the super-ego of the state and, more importantly, the present became the sole site and horizon for the untouchable political project of the "centrist" democracy in Spain. A present that constituted a regime of historicity built upon a negation of the past as the central factor for the stability of the new democracy. This operative equality before the past could be seen as an interchangeability of everything, a sort of historical formalism where everything is a potential synonym for everything else, resulting this way in a radical cancelation of the past. This "presentist" understanding of history would place in the second of the death of Franco the beginning not of a process of transition that would claim the responsibility towards the past and take charge for the crimes of the state but of the very creation of the world anew (Morán 75).

In this new world, the only lens through which it is possible to look upon the past is that of the arrival of democracy through the political project of the *Transición*; a lens that imposes on the past, its institutions, its characters, etc. the very nature of the present as democratic. In other words, the past will only be understood as the primordial soup of the present democracy where willingly or unwillingly, everything and everyone, even the dictatorial regime, was moving towards the direction of the present, that is, of democracy. This not only enables the multiple historical analyses which have seen in some actions of the dictatorship a premonition of the *Transición*, but also affirms that no present will be overshadowed by its past, even if that means forgetting the Francoist past of the so-called "fathers" of democracy.

Throughout its thirteen episodes, the series showcased the official discourse of the democratic state underpinned by a nearly exclusive use of content from national television and NO-DO to making the series a presentation of the visual memory of the state through its own images. *La transición* represents an attempt to establish a grand historical narrative of democratic Spain through a reworking of the previous visualities of the state. As such, the documentary series is a key element to understand the ways in which the young democratic state imagined itself in relation with the dictatorial past of the country. This amounts to what Vilém Flusser defined as an "imagined surface" (4) where the desire of the state to embody that idealized paradise-like world of consensus and reconciliation and a national visual economy of democracy flows through the actual surface of television.

I argue that the first episode of the series is particularly illuminating in relation to the way in which the imagination of the democratic state reflects upon its virtual connections with the recent past. The montage that opens the series portrays the funeral of Carrero Blanco while dramatically alternating the images of military men dropping shovels of soil on the grave of the

Carrero with a camera slowly advancing towards the entrance of the palace of El Pardo, the residence of Franco. Finally, through editing, the image is split in two; a "window" opens into the palace to let the spectator "enter" the reality of the last years of Franco. This visual narrative seems to present the death of Carrero as an anticipation of the death of Franco two years later. Death, signified by the ominous sound of the soil falling onto the casket of Carrero, gets progressively closer to El Pardo with every shovel and, with it, the alleged strong historical narrative of the documentary enters the realm of coincidence, prediction, and premonition.

The selection of footage used to illustrate the event of the assassination is revealing. In the 1979 movie *Operación Ogro,* filmmaker Gillio Pontecorvo adapted to the big screen the novel of the same title written by Eva Forest. Using the *nom de plume* Julen Aguirre, the writer narrated the development and execution of the attack that killed Carrero Blanco in 1973. Unlike the rest of the series, instead of archival footage, the series uses the excerpt from *Operación Ogro* that would correspond with the assassination. This sequence was inserted between images from NO-DO of the months before the murder and the interviews conducted with the neighbors *in situ* around the crater left by the explosion in Claudio Coello Street in Madrid.

With these images, *La transición* made visible the very second of the symbolic beginning of the path towards democracy. This way, through our screens, a fictional scene slipped as the *real* image of the attack against Carrero thanks to a filmic montage saturated with documentary desire. Thanks to the series, this premonitory discourse became official in the subtle process that enabled the narrative continuity of the series. Sustained through the momentary hiatus of the fundamental role played by documentary footage in the series, the narrative filled the absence of visual documentation of the attack through film to emphasize the profound symbolism of the assassination for the democratic narrative. This way, by means of braiding filmic fiction with a

documentary approach historical to reality, the series coined the *real* representation of the primary scene of democracy and its alleged rupture with the Francoist regime.

With this end, the images of *Operación Ogro* are preceded with others that open the documentary and show Carrero Blanco being greeted by Franco while the voice-over of Victoria Prego affirms:

> Los partidos políticos democráticos consideran hoy, sin embargo, que de haber seguido viviendo, Carrero Blanco no hubiera tenido ni la fuerza ni los apoyos suficientes como para contener un cambio inevitable y que la muerte del almirante no abrió el camino a la democracia porque la fuerza de ese proceso resultó ser imparable; con o sin continuador de Franco.
> (Today, democratic political parties consider that regardless of having continued living, Carrero Blanco would not have had neither the strength nor the supports needed to contain an inevitable change and that the death of the Admiral did not open the path to democracy because the strength of this process turned to be unstoppable; with or without a continuator of Franco; "El asesinato de Carrero")

Hence, the arrival of democracy to Spain is formulated not as a bureaucratic process built from within the Francoist regime but as a process whose essential impulse could transcend the accidents of history (fig. 57).

Figure 57 - The assassination of Carrero Blanco as portrayed in the first episode of *La transición* (6:37, 6:49, 7:01). © RTVE.

My argument here is that this whole process of world-making in the field of the visual takes place through an intricate interplay between an understanding of vision as a system of

truth, the series as a discursive apparatus that reproduces the statist discourse of the past, and the event as the founding site of the democratic political subjectivity. In this combination of elements one can locate a series of coordinates that delineate the ideas articulating the relationship between the present and the past as presented in the visual. A series of concepts that make legible the visuality and specific organization of an inheritance at display on the series. In this endeavor, the crucial element to understand the functioning of this apparatus is the notion of suture.

In *La transición,* we are dealing with a double process of suture: a process of narrative suture linked to montage as the means to produce narrative continuity, and a parallel process of ideological suture that produces political subjectivity through identification with the narrative. Thus, the excerpt from the movie becomes the unavoidable condition that enables the process of suture between the visual narrative of the beginning of the *Transición* and the documentary as a narrative and cohesive unit. The opening scene of the series visualized the way the eyes of the state projected an idealized image of its most recent past. In this chapter, the ideological project of a quasi-mythical origin of democracy as an impulse of progress has its symptom and visibility precisely in the images of *Operación Ogro.*

These images came to ensure the continuity of this history of democracy in the field of the visual as it made possible the constitution of a "complete" image of the past. It is precisely with the double function of suture that this portion of the chapter is concerned with. Suture, as a means to sequence film through montage and produce narrative continuity, creates a literal image—understood as the visible indices of a certain filmic narrative. At the same time, the strategy of suture represents "the procedures by means of which cinematic texts confer subjectivity upon their viewers" (Silverman 147). In other words, while the former is here seen

as a machine-like organization of the visible experience of history, the latter determines a particular form of visuality, that is, of the intersection of power and image.

An intersection that, in this case, speaks both of the relationship between the state and national television as the means of image production and as the latter's role as the surface where the official discourse on the past unfolds. Therefore, one and the other, technical, and ideological montage, vision and visuality, intersect to produce a regime of visuality of history which performs this two-fold gesture of suture to constitute a spectatorial subjectivity and a determined way of looking at national history. Or to put it in other words, the image calculates and codifies within itself a request for a particular way of being looked at. In his text "The Age of the World Picture," Martin Heidegger offers a definition of the picture as a fixed system that enables conceiving and apprehending the totality of the world and its relations as a picture (129).

Picture is not understood here as an image of the world but as a notion that conjugates the totality of the things in the world and the relations among them. The concept of picture refers to a closed system or sphere of knowledge that enables the institution of a common thread linking the individual elements composing the world, and thus, the possibility of apprehending it *as such*. *La transición* is understood here in a similar way; that is, as a system in which all the elements of this paradise-like political reality, and in this case, the events of the transitional process, appear on the screen as an image of totality, as a closed system or sphere of knowledge. For Heidegger, the fixed quality of the picture is the result of a modern understanding of science dependent on the creation of a "sphere-object," endowed with the ability to entrap the real and make it "exhibit itself as an interacting network ... of related causes" (Heidegger, "Science" 168)

As a result, the world becomes a picture in the process of turning legible the relations that constitute it. In that sense, *La transición* could be seen as a theoretical model (Morán 17), a

"theory of the real" (Heidegger, "Science" 170) that entraps individual images and footage and organizes them under the umbrella of the political project of the *Transición* to construct a vision

Figure 58. Images of political life and the transitional process (35:54, 47:55, 50:17). © RTVE.

of the world premeditated by its own internal logic. *La transición,* as a visual artifact, behaves in that way by putting into effect an inclusionary/exclusionary logic that grants some images its quality as proper of the *Transición* while refusing to do the same with other images. As such, the visual expression of politics—mostly represented by images of the parliament or interiors of the royal and presidential palace (fig. 58)—are demarcated as the visible embodiment of the democratic process while, for instance, other images like those of popular assemblies or workers organizing for political action are left outside the montage, and with it, of the science of transition. Therefore, *La transición* is equivalent to an attempt to create a specific visual field, a system of contention, a framework of reference to imagine the political process of transition; an example of what W.J.T Mitchell understood as "iconomania" or the drive to create a "total metapicture of an event, a situation, a body of knowledge" ("Method" 1).

The images of historical events from the transitional period became the illustration of a subterranean and invisible impulse of change and democracy. In the same fashion, *La transición* is conceived as a portrait of the past that functions as a mirror for the present where the democracy of 1995 is supposed to recognize itself in the values of change, reconciliation, consensus, and overcoming of the past. This societal mirror-like function of the series produces a

self-image in the form of a cultural memory that "allows us to see who we are and who we have been" (Blom, Introduction 14). This portrait of the *essence,* the *zeitgeist,* the sign of the times of the transitional period produces what Norman Bryson described through the concept of the essential copy.

In his book *Vision and Painting* Bryson offers a historical study of figurative painting in the Western Canon and proposes an analysis of the image as a representational tool to achieve what he defines as the essential copy. This concept synthesizes the always frustrated aspiration of pictorial images to duplicate not only the material reality of the world but its utmost essence enabling this way an aesthetic encounter with "what everyone with two eyes in his head already knows: 'universal visual experience'" (13, 3). The image as essential copy shares with the Heideggerian picture one element: just as an experiment of modern science needs to "represent or conceive the conditions ... being controlled in advance by calculation" (Heidegger, "The Age" 121), the image as essential copy is built upon an aspiration to reproduce the essence of reality. An aspiration that is sustained by an alleged quality of painting as an anticipatory process of capture of the relations that make up the world.

In the theoretical framework of the essential copy "the communication of the image is ... pure and involves only these termini: transmitter and receiver." To accomplish this, Bryson argues that the image as essential copy has a series of fundamental principles. Amongst those, the absence of a historical dimension and negation of history stands out. This assumption logically results in an idealistic division between an intangible yet defining and unmovable "essence" of the real and a "superficially changing spectacle whose alteration does not affect the underlying and immutable substrate" (7, 10). This spectacle and surface of change corresponds to what we would call "history." Inasmuch as in the logic of the essential copy as history is

understood as a simple flow of events, it is consequently and inherently alterable, and merely epidermic.

History is then nothing but a fluctuating surface under which an essential and immutable reality remains. This premise echoes precisely the words of Victoria Prego which situated the assassination at the level of history and argued for an "unstoppable" democratic impulse capable of overcoming the accidents of history. The death of Carrero becomes this way a simple accident lacking the importance to alter the essential nature of the reality underneath: the progress to democracy. As a result, *La transición* provides the ground for a fantasy-like narrative for the series whose ultimate object is to "cancelar el pasado" and conform a "superficie de representación y un entramado ideológico sobre el que se inscriben sus relatos culturales" ("cancel the past", "a surface of representation and ideological scheme upon which its cultural narratives are inscribed"; Moreiras-Menor 33).

The other principle proposed by Bryson is the notion of a dualism of the image. This idea echoes the principles behind the absence of the dimension of history, if the latter was substantial in the production of the image as one of the two actors in the process of communication, the other actor—that is the receiver—needs to be equally constituted as a similarly blank, merely a surface receiving the imprint of the essence of the world through painting. In this conception of visual experience transpires a necessary mediation provided by the eye as an organ of vision between "the world of the mind and the world of extension" (Bryson 10). The constitution of the image as essential copy requires at the same time the creation of a logic of vision as an act capable of providing unadulterated truth. This way, the eye becomes a mediating barrier but not an opaque one that analyzes and censors, just simply a "limpid and window-like transparency" (11).

Therefore, just as the eye is conceived as a body-less organ of pure vision (fig. 59), the image, for its "inherent intelligibility of the outer world" is understood as the locus of a true experience of the essence of society. This aspect leads to another of the premises that make up the concept of the essential copy: what Bryson terms "the model of communication." In other words, the content of the image as true reflection of our world "is viewed evidentially, as product of and proof of an earlier and more perfect incarnation," one "alleged to ante-date its physical exteriorization" in the form of an image (12). In conclusion, the essential copy is founded upon a total break between perception and reality where the former is a producer of truth not because of its "transparent" qualities but because of the latter's inherent nature as the site of the essence of the world.

Figure 59. Leon Battista Alberti's winged eye of the architect.

The model criticized by Bryson is developed over an understanding of a form of perception based on the classic Albertian formulation (10). This approach was essential for the invention of linear perspective as a visual tool and conceptual world-making system that constituted during the Renaissance the subject proper of humanism (Steyerl, "In Free" 19). If Bryson conceived the eye's retina as a transparent barrier "in any sense opaque" (11) through which there could be no censorship whatsoever, Jonathan Crary historicizes this process and

presents it as the result of a shift between two different paradigms of the notion of observer. On the one hand, the monocular paradigm underlines a defective ability of vision to capture reality. As a result, this paradigm affirms the supremacy of reason as the "function to guarantee and to police the correspondence between exterior world and interior representation and to exclude anything disorderly or unruly" ("Modernizing" 32).

On the other hand, during the nineteenth century a new conception of vision was established. This time, it was a binocular understanding which situates the mere possibility of observing reality in a subjective realm. In other words, the previous monocular model prioritized reason over vision and, thus, depended on certain techniques such as the *camera obscura* to produce a faithful and external image of reality. In opposition, the new binocular model prioritized the eye as the site of subjective production of truth. To respond to the inherent limitations of vision, technologies such as the stereoscope, the diorama, and ultimately photography and film took upon themselves the task to supplement the natural "failures" and distortions of the eye.

As Crary analyzes, the history of the constitution of a new way of understanding the subject observer and the "elaboration of new empirical knowledge of vision and techniques of the visible" (*Techniques* 5) would reinforce the idea presented by Bryson of the retina as a transparent screen and the visual experience as ultimately universal. In other words, the "issue was not just how does one know what is real, but that new forms of the real were being fabricated and a new truth about the capacities of a human subject was being articulated in these terms" (Crary, "Modernizing" 40). The act of vision will no longer be diminished for its incapability to see reality "as it is" but will be assisted by technology in its attempt to capture the essence of reality through the invention of a transparent image.

In conclusion, the transparency of vision and the constitution of the image as an evidentiary artifact produces what Bryson understood as *vraisemblable* or the ways in which a "society chooses ... the vehicle through which to express its existence in visual form." The image must represent the point in which the "'join' between cultural and natural world lies hidden as a kind of blind spot of blank stain with social consciousness" (14). A join that enables the creation of the self-image mentioned by Blom (Introduction 14) and the production of a logic of identification not only with the system of representation, but with the internal logic sustaining it. In the case of *La transición* it is important to note how the root of the argument made here has to do with the ontological difference between the images extracted from *Operación ogro* and the archival footage, but more importantly, with their pairing to attain a narrative homogeneity. For those reasons I assert that there is a certain continuity of the arguments made by Bryson and Crary in the case of the TV series. This has to do with the condition of television as a technique of the visible and producer of new empirical knowledge (Crary, *Techniques* 5) but also with the production of a narrative cohesivity through montage as a tool capable of transforming the technologies involved in cinema into a form of discourse (Sánchez Biosca 36).

3.4 Suture and *Acedia: Operación Ogro* and the Production of Historical Subjectivity

Montage becomes in the case of the series a tool capable of supplying the lack of visual documents found at the very heart of this historical narrative. If the assassination represents the foundational event of democracy, the moment of departure and invisible progress to democracy, its images become the condition *sine qua non* for proving the essential argument of the series. This lack can only be supplied by suturing Pontecorvo´s *Operación Ogro* through montage. With the inclusion of these images the series aspires to reaffirm the existence of a common sense

between them as the *true* images of the *Transición* that turn them into a realistic portrait of the invisible history of the impulse of democratic progress.

Hence, the totality of the picture as a system depends here on the gesture that cancels the lack of images and rhetorically empowers the narrative to present history "as it happened." This gesture ultimately transforms the images of *Operación Ogro* into documents of evidential nature. This fact marks the nature of the visuality of the documentary and the regime of historicity that sustains is as one full of *acedia.* As Walter Benjamin proposes, the impulse to reconstruct history "the way it really was" and proper of classic historicism, is a sign of *acedia* or "the root cause of sadness" at the heart of historicism ("Theses" 255, 256). This "melancholy sense of the omnipotence of fate which removes all value from human activities" consequently leads to a "total submission to the existing order of things." This is one of the crucial elements at play in *La transición* as ultimately the series precisely ensures the continuity of the visual narrative of the documentary while sustaining a melancholic impulse that imbues the historical appearance of the narrative with a "submission to destiny" (Löwy 47, 48) and the existing order of things inherited from Francoism.

These images, momentary inversion and suspension of the documentary visual register of the series, become the symptoms that make visible the ideological fantasy of narrative continuity and ideological rupture that sustains the regime of creation of a total picture of the transition to democracy. Like my analysis in chapter two of *Franco, ese hombre*, this brief breakdown of the internal logic of the documentary allows us to *see* that thing which it simultaneously lacks. However, the "material externality" (Žižek, *The Plague* 1) of montage points at a similar yet different *absence* in its function in the constitution of the narrative. If the images of the Civil War in *Franco, ese hombre* were elevated to the status of a religious icon as an image of cult

whose "value would seem to demand that the work of art remain hidden" (Benjamin, "The Work" 225), now the image of the assassination become invested with an exhibition value that makes of its visibility the key to its nature as the *evidence* of the truthful nature of the *Transición* as narrated in the series.

Then, with this breakdown in the visual, the scene from *Operación Ogro* between the images of NO-DO becomes a signal that "subverts its own universal foundation, a species subverting its own genus" thus allowing to detect "the point of breakdown heterogeneous to a given ideological field and at the same time necessary for that field to achieve its closure, its accomplished form" (Žižek, *The Sublime* 15). This insertion of a fictional reconstruction of the historical event amounts in my view to an attempt to suture through montage. The concept of suture, although originated in Lacanian psychoanalysis has been widely expanded through its classical theorization in the field of film studies where it has been used to analyze some narrative strategies of classic cinema and the role of the shot/countershot structure as the tool for the aforementioned goal.

Following this argument, the purpose of suture is to lock the spectator to the screen through a first shot that shows "a space which may or may not contain a human figure" and a counter shot "implying that the preceding shot was seen through the eyes of a figure in the cinematic narrative." Thus, the classic formulation of suture proposes that the shot/countershot strategy generates *jouissance* first with the projection of an "imaginary plenitude, unbounded by any gaze" (Silverman 202, 203) to then withdraw the source of pleasure with a countershot showing who is in *reality* in possession of the power to see. This countershot and withdrawal of the momentary ability to see beyond instills on the spectator the drive to always go back to scopic pleasure, and hence, always desire to see more.

However, following Kaja Silverman the shot/countershot structure is part of a much larger system. Thus, the importance of this strategy is a result of its capacity to entrap the spectator in the discourse of montage through the symbolic reproduction of the process of subjectivity formation as understood by Jacques Lacan. For Lacan, this process is founded upon the repeated institution of a lack in the subject at each of the different stages of its formation: "it begins with birth, and then moves in turn through the territorialization of the body, the mirror stage, access to language, and the Oedipus complex" (Silverman 150). It is this constant reinstitution of lack which inaugurates desire as the strategy for avoiding the displeasure proper of lack.

While Lacanian theory argues for the existence of an origin prior to lack and sexual difference, the intersubjective nature of Lacanian desire is relevant to understand the role of the excerpt of *Operación Ogro.* As such, Lacan argued that our desire was always mediated by the desire of the Other since the latter projects onto us an image of that then results in the reinstitution of lack. It is this image that is condensed in the notion of the symbolic phallus (expressed Φ in the Lacanian algebra) or the "signifier for those things which have been partitioned off from the subject during the various stages of its constitution, and which will never be restored to it, all of which could be summarized as 'fullness of being'" (Silverman 183). Simultaneously, if the concept of phallus represents the absolute object of desire, the media through which this idealized image of fullness is attained are expressed in the concept *objet (a)* or that "'something in me more than myself' on account of which I perceive myself as 'worthy of the Other's desire'" (Žižek, *The Plague* 15).

However, that "something in me more than myself" referred by Žižek does not unfold as a positive or material reality but is instead at once "the void, the gap, the lack around which the

symbolic order is structured and that which comes to mask or cover over that lack" constitutive of the Lacanian subject. The fleeting materialization of the object-cause of desire which is nothing else but the "function of masking the lack" (Homer 88) comes to appear in the documentary in the very sequence of *Operación Ogro.* The fantasy of fullness, totality, and closure in the series is structured around the relation between desire and lack by means of suture; the latter is the way in which that fantasy is inserted in me. However, this relationship is in fact mediated in suture through a third element between the image and the spectator.

I am referring here to the figure of the "Absent One" or the Other who has an ideal capacity of seeing all and deciding what the spectator can and cannot see: the structuring agent of the narrative. This third element is relevant given that for the theory of suture its presence must be concealed to mask not only the passivity of the spectator but also the existence of a reality outside of the fiction of the film (Silverman 204). This argument resonates with the "hidden" nature of the join articulating the concept of the essential copy argued by Bryson (14). The shot/countershot strategy functions then as an articulation between the opacity of the presence of the Absent One and the false transparency of the images that we experience through vision. Thus, suture comes to introduce an element—the sequence of *Operación Ogro*—that functions at the site of the very lack proper to the structure it is part of.

This definition, similar to that of the symptom as provided by Žižek as the heterogeneous rupture that allows the closure of the ideological field, is what Silverman uses to defend that suture not only hooks the spectator to the screen, but it is also a key element in the transmission of ideology. Thus, I propose that the use of the images of *Operación Ogro* not only provides the so-longed continuity, unity, and closure of the narrative of the *Transición* through the succession of images in the montage, but it also produced the basis for an ideological suture necessary to

perpetuate that established order of things mentioned by Michael Löwy (47). The ability of the narrative to suture the spectator departs from the constitution of the images as transparent artifacts. I propose that in the visual matrix of *La transición* a certain conjunction takes place: the understanding of the documentary image as true, the act of vision as provider of such truth, and the image as transparency.

The combination of these three allows the narrative to undertake the suture not only between history and image but also between subject and ideology. Such a conjunction resembles what Lacan described as the split relation that takes place in the overlapping between the conscious and physiological act of vision and the unconscious act of the gaze. The constitution of the act of vision as a producer of truth conceals the process of subjectivity formation that occurs through the gaze; the overlapping of these two processes is crucial as in vision we are gazed upon and therefore subjectified (Lacan 106). As outlined above with the case of the "Absent one," the Other in the Lacanian model who projects the gaze onto us must be concealed if the ideal image of the self is to be attained.

For Lacan, "[i]n our relation to things, in so far as this relation is constituted by the way of vision, and ordered in the figures of representation, something slips, passes, is transmitted, from stage to stage, and is always to some degree eluded in it—that is we call the gaze." Therefore, I propose that the excerpt of *Operación Ogro* functions as the *objet a* that would enable the attainment of a primary mythic narrative of democracy as phallus, as the ideal and complete image of democracy. The fragment of the movie would become the point where "the *objet a* in the field of the visible is the gaze" (Lacan 73, 104), where the central lack of desire slips onto us and sutures the ultimate fiction of the narrative: the rupture between Francoism and democracy.

This process subjectifies the spectator by inserting in us the primary lack that sets in motion the same desire of completeness embodied in the documentary and described by Benjamin in the historicist and melancholic process of reproducing history "as it is." Ultimately, *La transición* aspires to overlap the subject spectator with a national subject. An overlapping process in which, just as defended by Silverman, suture is only successful when the spectator identifies the image as truthful and consequently does the same with its ideology affirming "'Yes, that's me,' or 'That's what I see'" (217). To illustrate this process Silverman draws from the work of Louis Althusser for whom transparency and opacity were crucial traits of ideology. For Althusser, ideology was seen as the "'familiar', 'well known', transparent myths in which a society or an age can recognize itself (but not know itself)" (144). Therefore, transparency of the images and transparency of vision represent for Silverman the ability of cinema to persuade the spectator to accept its images as a reflection of its own subjectivity.

La transición, as a picture-system attempting to attain the essential copy of the "impulse of progress" towards democracy, is responsible for suturing and camouflaging the exact point where ideology becomes visible in the simple narrative continuity of the series. Thus, it perpetuates a gaze that sustains the fiction of "society as an organic Whole" (Žižek, *The Plague* 5). The documentary as an ideological system, necessitates from a spectatorial subjectivity that identifies with the narrative through the strategies I have outlined. With them, a mimetic gaze is constituted as external to mediation and as pure vision; nothing exists outside of what vision brings. Thus, we can only be spectators, subjects of ideology, embodiments of the *Transición* if in believing to see the vehicle of our *vraisemblable* in the imagined surface of the TV we are, in reality, subjects of a *méconnaissance* where the subject is certain of seeing the truth of the image

while ignoring the ideological function of the gaze as the process of subjectivity formation (Lacan 74).

We see and we identify ourselves with the object of our vision, we become subjects of the gaze and its ideology, we become carriers of the primary lack which, through the suture of *Operación Ogro,* is almost camouflaged as totality in its radical exteriority. In conclusion, the image of the documentary wants to lure us into thinking it is the ideal image of self, an ideal image of democracy *qua* natural historical progress. The system that structures the image of the TV show is always requesting that we trust it, that we rely on its truth and the apparently obvious nature of its images as dictated by our vision; it requests from us that we accept its game of transparency and opacity, that we see our reflection in its image of plenitude. Thus, *La transición* proposes a spectacular relation between spectator and image in which the more the former "contemplates, the less he lives; the more he identifies with the dominant images of need, the less he understands his own life and his own desires" (Debord 16).

For Debord, the logic of the spectacle functions through a continuous separation and split between the images of each aspect of life. In his critique of the society of spectacle, image and reality are opposed terms and, just as in Bryson´s paradigm of the universal copy, the image as essential copy is countered to an alleged essential reality of the world. I propose that this spectatorial subjectivity expressed through a spectacular logic of separation proposed by Debord comes to reinforce the tenets of such a visuality full of Benjaminean *acedia*. What we encounter then, is a melancholic gaze which, following the traditional Freudian definition, produces a constant cancellation of the present and a radical disinterest in the exterior world (Freud 252).

For Freud, melancholia—the opposite process of mourning or overcoming of a loss—resulted ultimately in a narcissistic process in which the ego identifies with the lost object,

absorbs it, and becomes it. The narcissistic character of melancholia derives from a process through which the ego becomes the shrine of the lost object and the object itself of grief: the subject grieves the disappearance of its own ego. Thus, speaking of *La transición* as a picture-system, a regime of visuality of melancholia not only refers to that root of sadness mentioned by Benjamin. It also necessarily implies the existence of a great loss for which the death of Carrero Blanco has proven to be insufficient in its contemporary relevance as the foundational narrative of democracy (Eser and Peters 16).

Moreover, the status of the assassination as result of the action of E.T.A makes it an "uncomfortable" and violent point of departure for a process largely celebrated for being of "pacific" transition (Sánchez León, "Preludio" 51). Then, for whom does grieve *La transición*? Whose loss is the cause of this melancholia? It seems maybe obvious to say but I would argue that the answer to this question has been on the forefront all along; present under the rubric of mimicry, of a strategy of "camouflage" that does not consist in "harmonizing with the background but, against a mottled background ... becoming mottled" (Lacan 99); a logic in which that which hides is not located behind the background but in front of our very eyes, in the forefront, in the very "material externality" (Žižek, *The Plague* 1) of the image.

From the very beginning of the series, the death of Carrero is presented as the premonition of a bigger loss, that of Franco. As such, the interval that goes from the first to the sixth episode—that is, between the death of Carrero and that of Franco—becomes a visual experience of what in psychology is known as an "anticipatory grief" in which a forthcoming loss is preemptively mourned. The death of Franco appears then as the *real* primal scene of democracy; a scene that could never be fully assimilated in the symbolic and that *wounds*

culture, to paraphrase Moreiras-Menor (31). This scene rips open the symbolic regime that sustained a whole conception of history, national identity, and heritage.

The psychological rupture caused by the death of the *Caudillo* and the disappearance—at least in the visual—of the indices of that symbolic regime, produces a crack that needs to be sutured, an absence that causes the effects of a withdrawal syndrome or "mono"[37] in the cultural body, as defended by Vilarós (150). My contribution to these analyses considers the role of the assassination of Carrero Blanco in the first episode of *La transición* as a margin of error, as a socially acceptable and displaced form of public grief over the death it foretells. Through suture, the images of *Operación ogro* are a fleeting materialization of the "left-over of the real ... which escapes symbolization and is beyond representation" (Homer 88) and a displacement of a loss into a material lack of images that represents an attempt to "silenciar la esecena primaria que … da origen" to the cultural frame of the *Transición* ("silence the primal scene which gives its origin," Moreiras-Menor 33) (fig. 60).

Figure 60. Franco cries with the widow of Carrero as included in the first episode of *La transición* (29:58). © RTVE.

[37]Colloquial expression in Spanish used to refer to withdrawal syndrome.

3.5 Coda: Antoni Muntadas' *TVE: Primer Intento*

The documentary series *La transición* stands out to this day not only because of its status as the visual testimony of the official narrative of the transitional period but also because of its approach to television as a source of archival material. *La transición* presented the past as a closed matter free of conflicts through an understanding of television as a producer of pure and unadulterated vision. The approach of the series to the intersection between a discourse of the past and television is in stark opposition to the video-piece *TVE: primer intento*[38] by Antoni Muntadas. To conclude this chapter, I will circle back to Muntadas' work on television, which can be traced back precisely to the *Encuentros* where he presented the installation *Polución audiovisual*.

The nature of Muntadas' work on media and television crystallizes in the creation and development of the concept "media landscapes" in the 1970s. The concept resembles what in 1990 Arjun Appadurai defined as "mediascapes." As one of the five dimensions offered by Appadurai to analyze the disjunctive order proper of the new global cultural economy, mediascapes "refer both to the ... electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, film production studios, etc.) ... and to the images of the world created by these media" (Appadurai 298-299). Following Ina Blom, it could be argued that while Appadurai's formulation focuses on the technologies, images and necessary conditions for their production, the work of Muntadas goes one step further. For Blom, Appadurai's "mediascapes" was still attached to a representational logic through which media re-produces reality by ingesting, incorporating, and finally presenting a translation of the events of an alleged

[38] *TVE* from now on

exterior reality that would result in a "relation of identity between recognition and its object" (Blom, "Muntadas'" 87)

Moving away from this representational logic, the work of Antoni Muntadas departs from a disruption of the "identity between vision and world or [the] revealing [of] what has not been seen or thought ... by media" (Blom, "Muntadas'" 88). In the concept of "media landscapes" seems to reside an interest in television as a specific form of subjectivity that displays in its images and visual forms its own temporality, language, and "infrastructural organization of reality" (Blom, "Video Water" 155) through programs, montage, etc. The concern of this project with this notion of "media landscapes" responds to how the work of Muntadas deals with the intersection between the temporality of television as medium and Spain's national history, with a particular interest in the period of the transition to democracy.

As noted by Tatjana Pavlovic, since its arrival to Spain in 1956 and during most of the dictatorship, television was seen as a medium without memory. As such, programming consisted of live entertainment that was broadcasted in real time. Primary materials such as recordings of the programs, scripts, etc., were not preserved because of an understanding of television as a medium without any "archival value" (86). However, these particularities also responded to the nature of the technology that made possible television and its lack of technical capabilities to store information, thus making the medium a memory-less artifact. With the progressive growth of television and the increase in the number of consumers, the interest on preservation stem from the need to delay the broadcast of content in accordance with the time difference in countries like the US.

The kinescope was introduced in the 50s as a technology that could store television content into motion picture film by recording the transmissions through a lens directed onto the

screen. These tapes were later sent to TV stations to be transmitted, a process which needed the technology of the telecine to reverse the process by transforming motion picture film into video to make possible its transmission through television. In 1956, the same year of the arrival of television to Spain, the company AMPEX released their first videotape recorder, the VRX-1000, which "could store and retrieve 'live' moments cut out of the flow of time, according to a principle reminiscent of the film or photographic archive" (Blom, *Video Water* 156).

In the case of Spain, and in addition to the lack of state-of-the-art technology to tape programs— a VRX-1000 was valued over $50.000 at the time of its release and a rate of $300 for a one-hour tape—the taping of the shows through kinescopes was done usually with the purpose of broadcasting them later, but not for archival preservation (Pavlovic 87). These facts continue to this day being one of the most important obstacles for the study of early television in Spain, a country like Spain so often accused of lacking "memory" and of refusing to look back at its history. For those reasons, the absence of a memory of television—understood as the sheer ability to store information for the future—becomes a potential site for the development of a criticism of the crossing between image-making and historical discourse. It is for these reasons why *La transición* remains relevant as a political project in its use of archival images of television to constitute a narrative of history.

However, the TV series does not acknowledge in any way the specificities of the "artifactuality" of television (Derrida and Stiegler 42), the temporality proper to its production, and, in that sense, produces a constant invisibilization of the "politics of memory" of television. In the case of Muntadas, and in the video piece *TVE,* turning the *eye* of video technology with its simultaneous ability to see and record (Lazzarato 84) to the disjuncted and oblivious memory of television becomes a political project given the circumstances surrounding memory and the

legacy of the dictatorship in Spain. *TVE* was commissioned by RTVE but never broadcasted most likely for the video's criticism toward the company: the piece offers a visual investigation on the circulation of information on media, the poor material conditions of the archives of Spanish national television, along with an openly critical take on the continuities between dictatorial and democratic Spain after the death of Franco in 1975.

TVE opens with a sequence that contrasts a modern television test pattern with one dating to the 1950s, when television arrived in Spain. This gesture leaves no doubt to the historical interest of the work that seems to take us back in time and invites us to "adjust our vision" to the images of Francisco Franco, who in his televised public speech of 1955 warned Spain of the danger of media "contaminating the purity of our environment" (qtd. in Palacio 603). The video is divided into nine segments each of which opens with an intertitle incorporating a variety of texts from different writers. In what follows, I will focus on the three sections that in my opinion represent one of the central arguments made by the piece.

The first of the intertitles displays the formulaic sentence "once upon a time." This points at the interest of the piece in exploring the history of television as this section focuses on a general portrait the first years of the medium in Spain. This sequence of archival footage is followed by a segment filmed by Muntadas that portrays the security check of a car prior to entering the TV studios of Prado del Rey. In particular, the camera focuses on the process to make sure the car does not carry any explosive artifacts underneath undertaken by the safety guards, a reminder of the omnipresent fear of a terrorist attack from E.T.A (fig. 61). This portion functions as the first temporal index of the present in the piece and introduces one of the main features of the video piece.

Figure 61. Antoni Muntadas. *TVE: primer intento* (6:40). 1989, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía.

This contrast between archival and contemporary footage captured by Muntadas is repeated throughout the video and represents one of the key aspects of *TVE.* In this sense, and in opposition to the suspended and all-seeing eye of *La transición*, *TVE* provides a situated analysis of the historical past that is done explicitly from the conditions of the present. The intertitle reads "We can imagine a future in which the present era will be interpreted based on the way television treated that present" and is followed by a segment of black and white archival footage of cameramen preparing for a live transmission. Next, a quote extracted from Borges' "El lenguaje analítico de John Wilkins" lists the different categories included in the fictional Chinese encyclopedia "Emporio celestial de conocimientos benévolos" to introduce us to what I interpret as one of the main critical reflections of the video.

The visual narrative comes back to the present, to the interior of the TV studios of Prado del Rey, to portray the material conditions of the visual archive of TVE as the site of the visual memory of television, an encyclopedia of history in visual form. Despite the intertwining of past and present at play in the video piece, there is a composition element that highlights the difference between these two sets of images. While the archival material of the past occupies the entire screen, the images shot by Muntadas are framed by images extracted from the news.

Underneath Muntadas' footage we can partially see images of the explosion of the Space Shuttle Challenger, the Ayatollah Khomeini, or the memorial for what seems to be a victim of E.T.A. The images come from media stories whose single function is to inform and, as such, are understood as images of "unequivocal knowledge ... devoid of any rhetorical structure" (Sekula 35). On top of them, restricting our full view, footage of the security check, technicians preparing the transmission, etc. which present the processes involved in the material production artifactuality of television. This way the footage that portrays the production of the present become an obstacle for the central function of the news: to inform.

If the images of the news are understood as pure surfaces of communication, lacking depth, and tailored to transmit their content in a short period of time, their pure visibility is impeded with the portrayal of the material conditions of their production. This view problematizes an understanding of media and TV as a platform for an imagined "transparency" of the visual that "leads to synchronization and uniformity, ... eliminates Otherness ... [and] stabilizes the dominant system" (Han VII). In *TVE,* the images in the background appear as part of a radically homogenous visual space where national and international, cultural, and political, economics and sports, receive the exact same treatment and are presented under same rubric of information.

Over this rapidly consumed first layer of media images, *TVE* contrast a slow six-minute panning shot of the shelving units where the films reels are preserved; a shot that begins with a seemingly infinite number of first plastic boxes containing the more modern film reels to end with the rounded metal cans of older movies. To challenge the allegedly instantaneous and transparent overlapping of temporality and transmission proper to the images in the background, the shot of the archive offers an extended accumulation of time—both of the shot and that of the

time captured in the films preserved—that, from the present, zooms in to a past of canisters simply labeled with the name "Franco" (fig. 62). Covered in dust, poorly labelled, and sharing the space with a parking lot, resides what until 1989 was the single existing archive preserving the visual memory of national television.

Figure 62. Antoni Muntadas. *TVE: primer intento* (1:14:22, 1:15:11, 1:15:08). 1989, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía.

In the words of Muntadas, *TVE* is an investigation of television[39] as a producer of social memory, a memnotechnology. For that reason, the next segment of the video opens with an intertitle that reads "memory content is a function of the rate of forgetting" extracted from Norman E. Spears' 1978 book *The Processing of Memories: Forgetting and Retention.* This text is followed by several shots of what the artist calls the "cemetery of television" located in the TV studios of Arganda del Rey (fig. 63). This portion of the video captures the state of decay of multiple TV mobile units, along with reels, and machinery stressing the ideas present in the previous pan shot of the archive. The state of abandonment of the film-reels is heightened with the visualization of the detritus of the machinery—both technical and symbolic—of television that results in the accumulation of old instruments and devices of time capture and reality production.

[39] https://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/metropolis/metropolis-antoni-muntadas/1300175/

Figure 63. Antoni Muntadas. *TVE: primer intento* (1:21:40, 1:22:37, 1:22:47). 1989, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía.

These are the same devices that later appear in the video in their past splendor as indices of modernity with the inclusion of some excerpts of the NO-DO-produced short documentary *Televisión: 62-68* (fig. 64). Another example of the rhetoric of progress and Francoist aesthetics of objectivity studied in chapter two, the documentary uses the same language of material improvement and growth displayed on the exhibitions *España 64* and *España en paz*. Throughout the short film we see the smooth process of production of TV content as supported by an ever-growing number of devices. This way, the voice-off enumerates the number of magnetocopes or kinescopes owned by RTVE in 1962 and 1968 comparatively. Thus, the video produces not only an intertwining rhetoric of the past and the present, but also of the temporalities of television as a material system of production of images and as an immaterial flow of information.

Figure 64. NO-DO - *Televisión: 62-68* (12:29). © Filmoteca Nacional.

TVE weaves together national history—the images of Franco speaking and the barred images of the victims of E.T.A, etc.—and the history of the medium itself throughout the narrative. Ultimately, the post-dictatorial, democratic, and technological present appears not only as the container of the ruins of the past but also, somehow, as the site for a historical compression of the past political and historical projects of the dictatorship as imagined by Francoist television. In the end, as predicted in one of the intertitles, the present remembers only the past through the lens of those images labeled with the name of Franco and, with it, the historical and political projects encrypted in them. If memory is a function of the rate of forgetting, as expressed in the quote of Spear, what is forgetting and remembering the memory produced by television?

This question is what ultimately *TVE* wants to answer through montage and a reflection on what television makes something visible sometimes despite itself the second to last of the intertitles is worth being quoted in its entirety. Although the video displays a rearranged translation and only the two last sentences, the original text from which the intertitle is extracted reads:

> The supremacy of the poetic function over the referential function does not obliterate the reference but makes it ambiguous. The doublesensed message finds correspondence in a split addresser, in a split addressee, as well as in a split reference, as is cogently exposed in the preambles to fairy tales of various peoples, for instance, in the usual exordium of the Majorca storytellers: "Aixo era y no era" (It was, and it was not). (Jakobson 42)

This quote, extracted from the essay “Linguistics and Poetics” from the Russian American linguist and literature theorist Roman Jakobson, brings again to the forefront the idea of a certain semantic ambiguity. This could be traced the practices present in the *Encuentros* to avoid the censorship of the dictatorship but also, perhaps, as proper of the message of television. A certain

ambiguity that would require to read "between the lines"—just as the title of one of Muntadas art projects—the messages projected onto the screen of public television.

Therefore, we are dealing here with a possible visualization of a certain unconscious truth in television that transpires on the "imagined surface" of the screen. The split addresser of Jakobson that "was and was not," could be a metaphor of the third historical period of Spain's history as presented in *TVE.* For if throughout the video we see a back-and-forth study on the relations between past and present, the work closes with a reflection on the connection between those times, between dictatorial and democratic Spain: the transitional period. Through transitioning the video appropriates montage as a method to visually create a sequential arrangement of a specific set of images that, in contrast to the rest of the piece, replicates history chronologically.

TVE closes with a compilation of the sequences that announced the daily end of TV programming from the 1960s until the present. These sequences—no longer in use since the arrival of 24-hour television to Spain in 1997—had always the same structure. First, a close shot of a portrait of the chief of state, then another shot of national flags, to end with a zoom-in shot of the national coat of arms. Thus, the compilation in the video piece opens with the image of Franco, followed by the flags of Spain, Falange Española, and the Cross of Burgundy, and finally the Spanish coat of arms in the chest of Saint John's eagle. To this basic structure that condensates all national symbols with the Spanish anthem in the background, it follows a repetition of the same structure with a "slight" modification, this time we see the face of Juan Carlos de Borbón, now Juan Carlos I of Spain, thus signaling the death of Franco.

The compilation goes on and history with it, from black and white to full color, from fascist flags to the democratic coat of arms and the rest of the new national symbols: the

constitution and the royal family (fig. 65). And in doing so, by going from analogic images to computer-generated 3D maps of Spain, *TVE* reveals a truth that does not reside in the content of seemingly innocent and "real" successive sequences of national symbols. On the contrary, it stresses the continuity so blatantly visible in the *form* of this national synthesis fueling what Terry Smith defines as "iconomy," or "the symbolic exchanges between people, things, ideas, interest groups and cultures that take predominantly visual form" (37).

In the words of Muntadas himself, the concept of "media landscape" had its synonym in the notion of "invisible environments" which aimed at deconstructing how media functions and how television is sustained by a visible/invisible logic (qtd. in Parcerisas 181). These dispersed pieces of visual information, scattered across the years at the end of daily broadcasting, political regimes, and historical temporalities are reassembled to prove that images "beyond showing someone or meaning something, also *manifests a desire"* (Didi-Huberman XXI): the unformulated desire that is the preservation and continuity of the political and symbolic regime inaugurated with the end of the Spanish Civil War and the arrival of the Francoist dictatorship. A desire that echoes the "total submission to the existing order of things" (Löwy 47) and *acedia* proper to the visuality of the state as presented in *La transición.*

Figure 65. Still of end-of-programming sequences on TVE from the early 1990s

Conclusion: Francesc Torres´ *Cincuenta Lluvias*: a "Historical Landscape" of Visibility

To read into the future is difficult, but to see *purely* into the past is more difficult still. I say *purely*, that is, without involving in this retrospective glance anything that has taken place in the meantime.' The 'purity' of the gaze is not just difficult but impossible to attain.

– Walter Benjamin, "Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress."

Figure 66. Francesc Torres. *Cincuenta lluvias.* 1991*,* Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía.

In 1991, the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía organized the first retrospective exhibition devoted to the work of Francesc Torres. The exhibition, entitled *La cabeza del*

dragon, featured a new site-specific installation: *Cincuenta lluvias* (fig. 66). The installation piece used three different rooms, each of them corresponding to a specific year in the recent history of Spain. The first room contained objects salvaged in the 1980s from the abandoned Spanish embassy in Berlin. The embassy was bombarded on November 23rd of 1943, its reconstruction and refurbishment to become the new Spanish embassy only finished in 2003. The objects that were included in the first room—mostly furniture and debris from the embassy—were part of the 1988 installation piece *Plus Ultra*.

The second room displayed the events that occurred exactly thirty years after the bombing of the embassy, on November 23rd of 1973: the assassination of Carrero Blanco. This room contained a Dodge 3700—the same model in which the President died—and large reproductions of newspapers announcing the death of the president of the government. Finally, the third room presented a living room containing high-end furniture, artworks, and more prominently, a framed Spanish flag. In opposition to the other rooms, the last one is situated in the future, in an imagined November 23rd of 1993, twenty years after the death of Carrero. This room offered a glimpse into a future that would be marked by the events set to take place in 1992: the Olympic games in Barcelona, the Universal exposition in Seville commemorating the fifth centennial of the arrival of Columbus to America, Madrid as European capital of culture for that year, and the signing of the Maastricht treaty in 1993.

If we were to understand this piece in historiographical terms, the installation would simply transform the rooms into briefs snapshots of three distinctive, yet related, periods under the all-encompassing umbrella of national history. A few years after *Belchite/South Bronx*, Torres returned to the idea of a historical landscape to materially twist, once again, the conceptual tenets of traditional historiography. If in 1988 both locations were meshed together,

now history is ripped apart, physically separated in different rooms, yet threaded by their category as part of the nation's history. Just as Gaddis suggested, historical consciousness was contingent on a constant and feeble fluctuation between engagement and disengagement, mastery and humility (130), and I may add, a tension between an overseeing and a detailed, almost forensic, gaze; a tension that can never be fully resolved.

If we were to continue navigating the three rooms of *Cincuenta lluvias* through the lens of traditional historiography, 1943 and 1973 would seem like a natural pairing of central moments to the history of the Francoist state. And yet, at the same time, the "angelic" official historiographical discourse in post transitional Spain critiqued by Gregorio Morán (11) would perhaps argue that 1943 and 1973 belonged to two radically different periods and realities within the larger Francoist experience; and we would be at least partially right. However, these two rooms have a much deeper purpose than simply placing apart two moments in history that are yet categorically united. In flipping the formal strategies used in *Belchite/South Bronx,* Torres further appropriated one of the foundational gestures of history: wielding objects, traces, stories and events into one unique landscape and then breaking them into many multiple subcategories. Or rather investing order to time, for as argued by Hartog, history, "however expressed, ultimately presupposes, refers to, translates, betrays, magnifies, or contradicts an experience or experiences of time" (17).

The gesture of situating 1943 and 1973 together does indeed go much further that merely showing the material traces of history. Both rooms show something else; a clearly intentional image of the past not composed by idealized images of agricultural workers or the miracle of progress in 1970s Spain. Instead, they display a moment or a few seconds right before the instant when historicity pierces through the scene. They show images of destruction, rubble or soon-to-

be rubble; they show us the end of something, or rather *some things*, their afterlives. In seeing the debris of the Spanish Embassy in Berlin, 1943 we recognize something else by visual means, something extra-pictorial, we also see the incipient demise of European fascism and the eve of the retreat of Francoism from the trenches of fascism before morphing into a new state.

The same occurs with 1973, just with a slight difference. The intact car before the assassination is surrounded by newspaper reproductions announcing the death of the president *a posteriori*. Torres could not secure the actual car for the exhibition, or so the story goes, but I would argue that in using an intact car, within that room emerges a slight tension. A tension between the overseeing view of the newspapers and the detailed gaze of the car, but also a slight *impasse* between the past before the event and its future portrayal in the press. Just slightly, a potential future seems to arise at the very heart of the installation piece that enables the visitor to, again, see something else; the incipient arrival of democracy, the end of a nearly forty-year long nightmare, and so on. That is why these two rooms represent, to me, the exact site where historicity and visuality meet. This dissertation has focused on the moments of twentieth century Spain when those brief encounters are made legible, when those articulated relationships with historical time are detected in the visual.

In my view, both rooms speak to us of crises of time, of the need to rearticulate past, present, and future as experienced at the very demise of two regimes of historicity. For although the years of the autarky might seem to us fully focused on the idealized past of Spain, it too had a vision of the future in which the present was nothing but the painful site of transit towards a "better" nation. And so did 1973, regardless of having "given way" to democracy or not, the state saw its vision of the future--with Juan Carlos I as king with Carrero Blanco as chief of the state and heir of Franco--totally shattered by a bomb stuck under the car of the preseident. These

two rooms are not just snapshots of the past, not just two domesticated and dissected views of history, they are the cadavers of different futures.

These two seemingly immobile containers of time and history are confronted by a third room, a room that shows us a future about to arrive, two years ahead of the visitor, in 1993. A time yet to come, allegedly free of the painful marks of the past. Designer furniture takes us elsewhere, to a view of the present in 1991 as the "eve of better, if not a radiant tomorrow" (Hartog 13) with a nation united under the common values of democracy and capital captured in the large Spanish flag hanging in one the walls in the room. However, once again, under the guise of a lineal view of history, Torres slips something else: an effort to rearrange time, an attempt to tackle a new crisis of time. While experiencing 1993 in relation to the other two rooms, our historiographical lens may begin to crack, not because it could not anticipate the future through the economic and social tools of progress, but because these three rooms would in principle be divided by the unconquerable and foundational lacuna that gives shapes to the democratic state: the alleged radical break between dictatorship and democracy.

This is why I think Francesc Torres' work is a central example to understand how to think historically through visuality, or "moving across several times at once, putting them into play the present and the past, or rather pasts in plural, however far apart they may be in space and time" (Hartog 16). Ultimately, Torres' gesture of placing the first two rooms adjacent to that portrayin 1993 is an effort to "assign a past to the future" (Hartog 6) to contest the foundational narrative of democratic Spain, that is, the pacific transition to democracy and the rupture with the past. Just as this dissertation, Torres' installation departs from a chronologically cohesive and organized historical structure (Francoism, and 20th century Spain) to think about the modes of

relation in time and the ways in which "certain types of history are possible based on relations" (Hartog 17).

These relations must be necessarily malleable, susceptible to change, and open to rearticulation if we want to make possible new critical approaches to 20th century Spain such as the one in the case of Torres: a history of democratic Spain and its strong Francoist roots. These three chapters are conceived in a nearly identical organization as Torres's installation but, moreover, it uses the same conceptual premises. This dissertation does not represent an attempt to produce a totalizing image of the visualities and regimes of historicity that still dwell in the present landscape of Spain. Not only its objects are always susceptible of being rearranged, but they were also simultaneous to other experiences of time, such as those of the defeated and the survivors, the longing of the exilees, those subject to colonial rule by Francoism, the overwhelming absence of future of those stuck in poverty by the dictatorship. This is why this dissertation is nothing but an offer to further complicate and transform the way in which, even today, we may still be thinking of the Francoist dictatorship in its own terms; an attempt to start making a new certain, more diverse, and just histories of 20th century Spain that may help better prepared us to address a question: how do we inhabit the present? What is our relationship to a certain past? How do we imagine the future?

The idea of a form of historicity resulting for new modes and articulations of relations in time resembles Walter Benjamin's notion of a dialectical image insofar the installation assembles "large-scale constructions out of the small individual moment in the crystal of the total event" (Benjamin, "Theory" 460). The rooms do not address the present by simply pointing at its connections to the past in a rather reductive understanding of the so-called "cultura de la transición" for it does not tackle the legible surface of culture in search of its obvious

connections to Francoism, but instead it goes one step further by sheding light onto the intangible relations between its historical temporalities, and the multiple relations between past and future that inhabit our present.

In the catalogue for the exhibition, Torres affirmed that *Cincuenta lluvias* was an attempt to open a "window of consciousness […] not only about the recent history of our country, its present and what the future has in store for us, but also about the right and moral responsibility of taking an active role" in it (Torres, *The Head* 88). For Benjamin ("Theory 462) and Hartog (97), the historicity of the present and the dialectical image made themselves available in the intelligibility of the moment. For Torres perhaps, that brief constellation of meaning so clearly laid out in *Cincuenta lluvias* was caught up in a moment of danger before being obliterated by the relentless advance of neoliberalism in the Spain of the 1990s. However, I would argue that this installation piece also speaks to our present, or at least mine. Each of these rooms make visible for us the persistence and survival of some aspects of these relations between past, present, and future by visual means as we progressively get accustomed to the insidious presence of fascism amongst us, deal with the seemingly untouchable legacies of the transition, and grapple with the yet to come wounds of the 2008 economic recession that laid hidden amongst the neoliberal future envisioned in the third room.

Here we may find, however, another slight difference. What type of future, beyond 1993, was envisioned in the installation, if any? Hartog's *Regime of Historicity* was first published in 2003, twenty years ago. In there, the author spoke of society's contemporary relationship between present and future as one defined by "presentism." Not intended as a simplistic and nostalgic critique of the present but, echoing Koselleck, as a reflection on the founding tension of modern historicity laid in a progressively stronger tension between space of experience and

horizon of expectation. (17). As a result of this, the present of 2003 would seem to be engulfed in an obsession with heritage and memory that would simultaneously generate "today's sense of a permanent, elusive, and almost immobile present, which nevertheless attempts to create its own historical time" (18); a present that "no sooner arrive than it is consumed, […] almost static and undending" (16).

I too, just as many other young Spaniards in their twenties during the days of the recession, were told we did not have a future, and it honestly felt true. It felt like "our present was not preceded by any testament" (Char 62) as our future radically differed from that of our parents at our age while also having absolutely no clear outline of what was to come. The present of 2003 was for Hartog in a suspended state. Although undeniably invested in the past, this dissertation is marked by my historical positionality as someone whose vicarious experience of the third room radically differs from those for whom the portrayed future of 1993 was potentially a true outcome of their present. This year marks the thirtieth anniversary since 1993, the fiftieth since 1973, and the seventieth since 1943. The bright future of the third room in *Cincuenta lluvias* and the present to which Hartog was speaking in 2003 may share a somewhat similar purview of the relationship between present and future as an ever expanding one riding the wave of an idea of progress that was just beginning to crumble back then. Unlike 1993, my present, this present to which these two texts speak to in 2023 radically diverges from any redeeming or improving similarities between the now and the yet-to-come.

Hartog's framework is not without limitations. As far as I know, this dissertation is the first one to fully apply this framework to visual culture. Similarly, Hartog acknowledges, the relationships and experiences of time he studies are all circumscribed within Western cultures. A relevant fact about how Western reflection on its own historicity is how it was the result of the

colonial encounter and the necessity of grappling with cultures and communities that seemingly inhabited a different time altogether (Hartog 34). I do not say this to make up from the lack of account for the experiences of time in colonial territories during the period studied in this dissertation, but to bring into this conclusion a potential lead for the future of this project.

After decades of indigenous and BIPOC communities marginalized by Western culture alerting us from the impending destruction of the environment and the effects of systemic racism, the idea of a future of global annihilation has finally situated itself at the core of our experience of time and regime of historicity. It may be the result of being a child of the 2000s or an echo of that tiresome discourse that insisted on our generation not having a future, but I wonder what the content would be today, thirty years since *Cincuenta lluvias,* of an imagined fourth room of an installation now entitled *Ochenta lluvias* This is a question I throw at you, Francesc, and that I pose to myself for future developments of this project: what texts, objects, and images would best capture our bleak present in its seemingly inevitable way to destruction? How can we best account for what has happened both in Spain and globally between the mid 90s and now? The visuality of what artifacts and discourses could best equip us to deem legible the regime that rules our present, that bestows us with historicity?

Ultimately, *Cincuenta lluvias* produces scenes of dissensus where "there is neither a reality concealed behind appearances nor a single regime of presentation and interpretation" (Rancière, *The Emancipated* 48). In the scenes of this "historical landscape" (Torres, *La cabeza* 288), the historical narrative is "cracked open from the inside, reconfigured in a different regime of perception and signification" that rearticulates "the landscape of what can be seen and what can be thought" (Rancière, *The Emancipated* 49). If state visuality proposes a fixed system of the past and a historical theory of the real, *Cincuenta lluvias* puts forward an understanding of the

visual that functions just as historicity: as a set of relations that change, metamorphose, are altered and open to possible new imaginations of the links between past, present, and future.

If the "incomplete semiology" of the visible, the legible, and the invisible critiqued by Didi-Huberman would consider national history as a game of transparencies*, Cincuenta lluvias* challenges it by producing a picture of the past, the present, and the future built upon a form of critical visibility, where there is no secret to conceal. Opening with *Belchite/South Bronx* and finishing with *Cincuenta lluvias* is a way to highlight the centrality of the visual (and the visual arts) to think about historicity by means of the visual, beyond the forms of legible knowledge produced by traditional historiography. Just as Torres, in each of these chapters I have attempted to confront the constructedness of historicity and its visual expression with the goal of exposing the broad and multiple lines of knowledge that appear when we look at it obliquely, focusing on its internal contradictions and tensions to help us think critically of the dictatorial experience in Spain, its legibility, survival, and legacies encripted within our contemporaneity.

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