Writing Spain: Race, Migration, and the Construction of the *Pueblo*

By

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A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Hispanic Languages and Literatures

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Summer 2019

Abstract

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Focusing on literature from the twentieth century, this dissertation analyzes how intellectuals have represented the *pueblo* of Spain through the lens of personal or intergenerational experiences of migration and diaspora. The dissertation considers work by Southern Spaniards, Catalans, Latin Americans and North Africans on the Peninsula, asserting the centrality of postcolonial and plurinational figures—largely absent from Spanish cultural studies or confined to niche canons—to antifascist critiques of Spain. The dissertation focuses on the junctures that punctuate narratives of twentieth-century Spain: the Spanish Revolution and Civil War, the Franco dictatorship, and the Transition to Democracy. Noting the unresolved and discursive quality of these events, the dissertation looks at their representation in the work of Nicolás Guillén, Juan Goytisolo, Najat El Hachmi and others; these writers problematize the imaginaries of race, ethnicity and nation that are latent in official national narratives.

Through analysis of the poetry of Latin American intellectuals, the dissertation shows antifascism in the Spanish Revolution and Civil War to be an anticolonial project, reconceiving the 1930s resurgence of transatlantic solidarity as a decolonial practice of critique. The dissertation then considers the mid-century turn to neoliberalism in Spain through analysis of an exilic memoir, arguing that the economic dispossession of Spain's southern emigrants and the simultaneous rebranding of the Mediterranean coast as a postcard-ready paradise are the economic and representational legacy of colonial Cuba. From there, the dissertation analyzes two memoirs by Moroccan-born Catalans, arguing that *Reconquista*-era ethno-racial constructs are central to the discourse of Catalan identity that reemerged in the Transition to Democracy.

Tracing the ways in which the (re)appropriation of the idea of Spain happens in the sign of the *pueblo*, the dissertation invokes this category as one that is as deconstructive as it is constitutive of Spain, and proposes *pueblo* as the nation in its erased, unofficial, nonlinear and pluralist histories, on the one hand, and as a hermeneutical category for imagining a community through critique of power relations, on the other. In its reading of transatlantic, transmediterranean and subnational constructions of the *pueblo*, the dissertation posits an archive that dismantles the homogenizing, centralizing and modernizing discourses of the last century in Spain.

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Acknowledgments

Finishing this dissertation gives me the opportunity to thank a number of people who have read, discussed, encouraged and critiqued my work. Dru Dougherty's meticulous teaching and advising have guided me throughout graduate school, and our conversations about Spain have been the sounding board for my ideas. Daylet Domínguez has been a mentor to me since we first met; her generosity in meeting my ideas with her own has provided me with intellectual and professional orientation. Michael Iarocci always has just the right language to bring my inchoate thoughts into focus. Steven Lee was good-natured to take on this project without having worked with me previously, and he has engaged my work incisively, eloquently and promptly at every stage; his challenges to my arguments have pushed me to begin to locate them within wider fields of study. I have been fortunate to work on this project with such a wonderful committee.

I would also like to thank others whose seminars, feedback and camaraderie have likewise inspired my work. Among them, Ivonne del Valle, Víctor Vich and Antonio Gonzalez have taught seminars that were formative for me; Emilie Bergmann has shared reading recommendations and a conference panel in Barcelona with me; Alex Saum-Pascual and Nasser Meerkhan read and gave me suggestions on chapter four of the dissertation. Moltes gràcies, Ana-Belén Redondo-Campillos, pel català i per el sempre bon clima. For helping me to navigate the labyrinthine world of Dwinelle Hall and graduate school, thanks are due to Megan Briggs Magnant and Molly Borowitz, as well as Verónica López, whose warmth and practical solutions have kept me on track.

To friends who have accompanied me in this process, I owe a great debt of gratitude. My writing is sharper because of Tamar Matz's editing acumen, Kyle Gerry's endless enthusiasm for thinking through language, and Kelsey Weinstein's careful listening. Nancy Powell has helped me to keep one foot in the real world.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to Charlie Weiss, Ashley Jackson and Robert M. Jackson, for the support, patience and encouragement they have given me over the years. Special thanks to Robert M. Jackson, my loyal reader since the beginning.

Chapter One
The *Pueblo* as Epistemology of Critical Distance

On a hot afternoon in mid-July, a solitary walker climbs a hill in the Spanish Meseta. The slope is steep and rocky; the climber pauses in the shade to catch his breath and wipe the sweat from his brow, and then pushes on, leaning on a walking stick reminiscent of a pastor's crook. From heights inhabited by birds of prey, he gazes at the town below. He sees the ruins of wars past, the signs of rural life carrying on in the present, and the timelessness of the river crossing through this landscape. The day wears on; the sun goes down.

This is Antonio Machado's ascending, seeing lyric subject, looking out over the medieval landscape of Soria at the outset of the twentieth century, in "A orillas del Duero." The *campos de Castilla* he sees are the metonym for a gloomy narrative of Spanish history, characteristic of the *Zeitgeist* at the start of the century. The poem has been as rejected for its apparent imperial nostalgia as it has been celebrated for its aesthetic achievements (Lappin 33); of interest here is the insistence on the physicality of its speaker, whose arduous and visionary climb bookends the poem's elegy to Castilian grandeur. The verbs in the opening verses characterize the speaker through a particular positioning in space and perspective: "Yo, solo, por las quiebras del pedregal *subía*" (Machado, "A orillas" 2); "*trepaba* por los cerros" (9); "Yo *divisaba*, lejos, un monte alto y agudo" (15); "*Veía* el horizonte cerrado por colinas" (23) (emphases mine). In the course of two Alexandrine caesuras, this far-reaching vision goes from material to metaphorical, and from metaphorical to historical-geopolitical: "El Duero cruza el corazón de roble / de Iberia y de Castilla. / ¡Oh tierra triste y noble[!]" (32-4); "Castilla miserable, ayer dominadora" (41). The lament that follows originates in the distance the subject has put between himself and the town: he has literally gained critical distance.

This is a dissertation about critical distance, which I explore as a legacy of empire. It is a reconsideration of several dominant political and national narratives of twentieth-century Spain through analysis of literature that reflects on Spain through the lens of personal and intergenerational migrations. My objective is to show that political critique in twentieth-century Spain—including antifascism, antineoliberalism, anti-nationalism and antiracism—depended on postcolonial and plurinational perspectives. The epistemology of critical distance is different from the range of identities associated with difference in Spain, although these things are not unrelated; it is the former, the literary use of geopolitical identity constructs in order to produce knowledge about Spain, that is my object of study. Although the chapters that follow are organized around major historical junctures of the twentieth century—the Spanish Civil War, the *milagro económico* during the fascist dictatorship, the Transition to Democracy—this organization does not result in a linear chronology; instead, each chapter focuses on the ways in which empire, colonialism and national formation, with their accompanying migrations and racial constructs, have been present in these defining moments of the twentieth century. This methodology exercises a claim: the lived experience and textual construction of modern-day Spain transcend the temporal and geographical borders of the modern-day State.

The underlying premise throughout the dissertation is that Spain is, among other things, a *written* space: a discursive field of ideas that take various textual forms. As Hayden White has observed, historiography makes sense out of, and gives ideological shape to, historical events through recourse to narrative archetypes or "emplotments" (*Metahistory*); historiography "performs an essentially *poetic* act" (xxx; emphasis in original). In the following chapters, I

consider instances in which the inverse occurs, looking at narrative and poetry that (re)write Spain's national history. I read the primary texts in this project as interventions in official—that is, state-sanctioned, anthologized, linear—historical narratives of Spain.

Spain outside Spain

Although my focus is on literature from the twentieth century, the figures of critical distance I encounter in it are legacies of an uneasy national formation in early modernity. The conquest at Granada in 1492 not only ended Muslim rule on the Iberian Peninsula, but also asserted Castilian power over disparate realms with distinct languages and cultures, delegitimizing regional difference in the process (Curutchet 90). On the other hand, the use of regional demonyms prevailed over the use of "Spaniard" for centuries (Feros 5), and it wasn't until the early nineteenth century that it became possible to speak of Spain as a nation (5). Throughout early modernity, Spain was a state, and an empire, without a nation (Martin-Márquez 16). The Catholic Monarchy's attempts to address this lack were often exclusionary: national consolidation hinged on a process of expulsions and legislation that would make Jews, Muslims, Christian converts and non-Castilian inhabitants of the peninsula *outsiders*. Purity of blood statutes, beginning in the 1400s and lasting for centuries, offered both a myth and a legal framework to delimit national identity. Official Spanishness came into being through "the imposition of a white male Christian hegemonic order, which sought to identify itself as the quintessence of the nation" (Branche 49-50). At the same time, Spain was engaged in a colonial venture that would subsume a continent of outsiders, both indigenous and brought as slaves from Africa, in the simultaneous forced inclusion and exclusion from the imperial identity of Spain.

Many of the archetypes of Spanish otherness that crystalized in these formative events continued to inflect the geopolitics and the collective imaginary of Spain throughout the twentieth century (and, arguably, to this day). There are outsiders: black and indigenous postcolonial migrants; transmediterranean migrants, often lumped indiscriminately, and discriminatorily, into the medieval term "*moro*"; "*xarnegos*" or southern migrants in Cataluña; non-Castilian Spaniards who speak in Catalan, Basque or Galician. There is also the bureaucratic system that defines, polices or reifies outsiders' outsiderness, including the proscriptions of regional languages under the Franco regime, the series of laws that emerged in the 1980s to control immigration, the externalized border spaces of Ceuta and Melilla, or the persistent citizenship law of *jus sanguinis*. These embodied, rhetorical and infrastructural figures of outsiderness channel longstanding anxieties about *whom* the nation of Spain comprises. In his study of the evolution of race and nation in the Hispanic world from the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries, Antonio Feros notes the resurgence, in the twenty-first century, of many of the preoccupations with race that defined early modern Spain. This dissertation is in dialogue with Feros's work on the interconnectedness of race and nation in early modern Spain, but considers these questions in the context of the twentieth century—a century that began with the discursive reformulation of national identity, now on the other side of Spain's imperial venture.[1]

I am interested in how this network of outside/rs and exclusion has been creatively inhabited in the sphere of Spanish cultural production in order to think about Spain: this is what I

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[1] While Spain would maintain its hold on Western Sahara until the late twentieth century and continues to occupy two cities in Morocco, the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines in 1898 signaled the end of the empire, at least in terms of the global economy.

am calling critical distance. Studies and anthologies devoted to the art and literature of "other Spains," and of Spain's others, began to proliferate at the end of the twentieth century, as a result of, among other things, the ideological apertures of the Transition to Democracy, the Latin American Boom's legitimization of "peripheral" literary productions (Santana 110), and the fact that Latin American and African immigration to Spain was acquiring "a quantitative and qualitative importance that ha[d] probably never been known before in modern Spain" (Gabilondo, "Introduction" 91); however, the idea that geopolitical outsiders have a critical advantage in perceiving and writing Spain has long existed within Spanish letters, oftentimes in the imaginative self-positioning as outsider. An early example of this is the fourteenth-century text *El Conde Lucanor*, by Juan Manuel, in which a Christian nobleman learns lessons in good governance from tales about Moors. Writing during the Enlightenment, José Cadalso imagines the critique of Spain in a transmediterranean exchange among a Spaniard who feels like an outsider in his country, a Moroccan student traveling in Spain, and a scholar in Morocco.

Oftentimes, however, the location of enunciation from which writers and artists reflect on Spain is itself outside of Spain, or within Spain but outside of the nation conceived as a unity with Madrid as its center. Henry Kamen points to what he calls the Hispanic diaspora (417)—a centuries-long exodus disproportionately comprised of "key cultural minorities and important sections of [the country's] own elite" (x)—as the space and the impetus for Spanish cultural production. If the "disinherited," as Kamen calls Spain's exiles, have produced Spanish culture in the exterior, other geopolitical outsiders—some of them within national boundaries—have, too. Paul Ilie ascribes the country's cultural production to forms of "inner exile" particular to Spain. Although Ilie refers, specifically, to the alienation and physical or psychological imprisonment of nonconformists within Spain during the Franco regime, the idea applies and has been applied to art produced after the Transition to Democracy as well. Germán Labrador Méndez proposes to rethink the Transition through an internal, heterogeneous creative mass he refers to as "*nosotrxs*" (*Culpables* 13). Since the nineteenth century, and particularly with the Transition to Democracy, cultural and linguistic revitalizations in the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia have resulted in many intellectuals on the peninsula expressing themselves in languages other than Spanish. Conversely, as these "peripheral" nationalisms—particularly the first two—have come to acquire their own hegemonic status, yet more interstitial regionalist cultural productions have emerged (Moreno-Caballud 265-6). Transnational migrations have also influenced Spanish culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Spain's transformation from a country of emigrants, throughout most of the twentieth century, to a country of immigrants, from the Transition to Democracy onward, means that immigration, "without a doubt the most important phenomenon of the last few decades, […] has radically transformed the dialectic between culture and identity in contemporary Spain" (Labrador Méndez, "Afterward" 274).

In my analysis, I aim to go beyond identifying forms of otherness or subjectivities that come into being through Spain's history of postcolonial, decolonial and exilic migrations; instead, my focus is on instances in which the embodied histories of these migrations are used as a mode for writing Spain. These histories include slavery and the African diaspora in the Spanish Caribbean and South America, the repression of dialectical or non-Castilian expression and the exile of non-conforming Spaniards, and the Islamophobia and xenophobia surrounding the Moroccan diaspora in Spain. As I discuss in the following chapters, these geopolitical movements and antagonisms are shot through with economic disparities wrought by modernization and capitalist development. In its consideration of transatlantic and

transmediterranean takes on Spain, my research describes a cartography of Iberian colonization. The process of religious, political and imperial conquest that began with the expulsion of Muslims, forced conversion and execution of Jews, and exploration voyages both substantiated a Hispano-Catholic nationalist discourse (Subirats 283), on the one hand, and raised the possibility of a cultural and political incorporation of Africans and Amerindians into the national community (Feros 4), on the other. As I will discuss shortly, the ideological framework of Iberian colonization illuminates the political culture of fascism in Spain in the twentieth century and the transnational resistance to fascism. Reading Spain through the lens of Iberian colonization results in a decentering of the national narrative.

Throughout my analysis, I find that the imaginary of race is central to how official narratives have been both constructed and deconstructed. Spain is the nexus between Europe, Latin America and the Muslim world; cultural hierarchies demonstrate the widespread rejection of this geographical and historical situating, however. Chapters 2 and 3 point to the erasure of black and indigenous Latin Americans in the production of Spain's modernity; chapter 4 considers how national identities cohere, in the "new" or post-Transition Spain, around repressed fears of the illegibility and ungovernability of race that predate the nation-state. These considerations of racially constructed difference put this dissertation in dialogue with recent studies that trace the spectral quality of race in Spanish historiography and literature. Jerome Branche signals the erasure of the black subject throughout the history of Hispanic letters as a representational practice of national consolidation. Daniela Flesler suggests that it is the ability of Moroccan immigrants to "pass" in contemporary Spain—not erased, but "invisible" in a dissimulation of difference—that generates anxiety about national identity. Joseba Gabilondo and Angel G. Loureiro both notice the absence of the Latin American postcolonial subject from the historiography of Spanish nationalism. For Gabilondo, the active forgetting of the Latin American postcolonial ghost is necessary for the conceptualization of Spain as a modern nation. Proposing a "spectral historiography" of Spain (Gabilondo, "Historical" 262), he argues that Spain's "peripheral nationalisms and subaltern subjects (rural, anarchist, etc.)" can only be understood through the ghost of the Latin American postcolonial, who persists in the form of the undocumented migrant worker (263). To do "spectral historiography," that is, to recover the vital perspectives of the erased, forgotten, displaced or ghosted is, I argue, to give space and priority to critical distance, which is my mode of literary analysis. As Gabilondo points out, "Spain emerges not as a subject imagined by itself […] but […] by (post)colonial others" (262).[2]

In talking about a proliferation of "outsiders" whose voices, I argue, constitute Spain across and beyond its geopolitical and linguistic borders, I have been signaling a monolithic Official Spain.[3] I unpack this dominant narrative or set of narratives within the specific contexts I am considering in the following chapters; broadly speaking, by "official," I mean functioning as an apparatus of the State. I have discussed Spain's national consolidation in the sign of whiteness, Christianity and Castile/Castilian Spanish; I have also discussed figures of otherness that, through the State's efforts to define and legislate bodies/blood, are made to substantiate and elevate this official figure. This racial and national anxiety is the basis of canonicity in Spain, and the ideological current of fascism in the twentieth century. In the time period I'm

[2] I have mentioned work on specifically Spanish and Hispanic contexts, but Giuliano Garavini's argument that European integration in the late 1960s and early 1970s depended on influences from the decolonizing Third World is another example, of broader scope, of this sort of investigation (300-1).

[3] In the twentieth century, Official Spain indeed takes the form of a monolith: the basilica and mega-cross of the Valley of the Fallen, outside of Madrid.

considering, Official Spain depends on various narratives: the centralized nation-state, the purity and supremacy of Castilian Spanish, Catholicism, Europeanness, modernization and the peaceful political transition to a democratic nation. The very centrality and singularity of Franco himself in narratives of the twentieth century is part of this dominant story—I will return to this thought later in this chapter, and again in the third and fourth chapters. The linguistic, literary, racial and religious institutions of Spain have tended to minimize or erase the breadth of Spanish cultural production happening beyond and across the geopolitical and linguistic boundaries of Spain, resulting in "the silencing of the works of either a significant portion of Spaniards (those who do not express themselves in Spanish) or the majority of Spanish speakers (who are citizens of *other* countries)" (Santana 114). These pages are an exploration of how such silenced works not only distance themselves from Official Spain but also, from that distance, posit other narratives of Spain. Their critique and participation happens, necessarily, from transnational vantage points. As Juan Goytisolo asserts, "la literatura, por lo menos a partir de Cervantes, es el territorio de la duda" (*España y sus ejidos* 191). I turn now to my theoretical approach to this "territory of doubt."

The contemporary and the *pueblo*

In my discussion of the nation, I have been implicitly referencing the turn in the late twentieth century toward conceiving the nation as an invention and a myth, as opposed to a natural unity. Of particular influence here is Benedict Anderson's work on imagined communities and the textual mediation of the nation. Certain extensions of and challenges to this framework from the field of postcolonial studies also influence this dissertation, namely Homi K. Bhabha's work on the colonized other's ambivalence in the space-time of the nation, and Dipesh Chakrabarty's critique of the Eurocentrism of historicist approaches to nation studies. Although I don't always engage with these intellectuals explicitly and although this dissertation is not based in postcolonial studies, their work has enabled some of my explorations. Spain as a written nation is my object here, but my readings of its transnational and transhistorical imaginings aim to contest Eurocentric narratives. I am imagining an imagined community in which geopolitical difference is a platform for reconceiving the nation.

On the other hand, the set of questions that arise in the case of Spain as a nation does not entirely coincide with the questions posed in the fields of European or postcolonial studies. Unlike other European countries, Spain as nation has never been treated as a given (Jacobson 394-5):

> Spanish scholars have […] long depicted 'Spain' as an entity open to vigorous contestation and questioning. This is perhaps because Catalan, Basque and Galician nationalists have long cast doubt upon the existence of a primordial Spanish nation, although questioning came not only from the dissident and the disaffected but also from the mainstream. (395)

It is not only the internal nations that problematize Spain as national category; so, too, do the perennial expulsions that have consolidated the Spanish state and official Spanish identity, and the exile from which the "disinherited" have written the nation (Kamen). In fact, given my focus on various forms of geopolitical distance related to the imperial legacies of Spain—multidirectional migrations, transcolonial repetitions, postcolonial spaces—it may make more

sense to talk about imagined communities that are not exactly the nation, communities cast across national lines.[4]

With this in mind, I have chosen to use the untranslated word "*pueblo*" in order to develop my overarching conceit of critical distance. In Spanish, the word *pueblo* denotes several things: the rural town, the people that inhabit a place, the common or humble masses, and the self-governing nation. This last definition, linking *pueblo* to self-governance, is a relatively recent development in the concept's history. "*Gobierno*" is not linked to "*nación*" until 1884 (Hobsbawm 14-15); the linkage between government and *pueblo* appears even later—not until well into the twentieth century.[5] This will be important in my own linkage of *pueblo* to forms of critical distance, since I find throughout my analysis that critical distance occurs in the breach between the imagined collectivity and the State.

Operating as a conceptual node, *pueblo* channels a confluence of mutually illuminating meanings and also grounds the abstractions of distance and epistemology in the specific geopolitical context of Spain. Among other things, the word *pueblo* in its connotation of a *site* bears a history of internal migrations in Spain: the *pueblo* is the place many Spaniards return to, either for lunch on Sundays or simply in their memories, in order to be with family; and many Spanish *pueblos* have become ghost towns in the wake of urban migrations over the last century. In Julio Llamazares's poetic rendering of this phenomenon in the novel *La lluvia amarilla* (1988), the abandoned *pueblo* is a metaphor for Spain's collective memory, as the last inhabitant of an Aragonese town "como […] tantos otros pueblos de todo el Pirineo" narrates (77): "desde que […] quedé ya completamente solo, olvidado de todos, condenado a roer mi memoria y mis huesos igual que un perro loco al que la gente tiene miedo de acercarse, nadie ha vuelto a aventurarse por aquí […] aunque, de tarde en tarde, hayan seguido viendo el pueblo desde lejos" (12). Llamazares also wrote the screenplay for *Flores de otro mundo* (1999), Icíar Bollaín's satire of the *caravanas de solteras* bussed in for singles events in depopulated towns. In Bollaín's film, the *pueblo* is the stage for gendered dynamics of internal and transnational economic migrations in Spain, as well as the class and race dynamics that distinguish the migrations of urbanization from those of globalization: more women than men leave Spain's agricultural sector for work in the city; and the women arriving on the buses to the *pueblo* are mostly Latin American and Eastern European migrants (Pressly).

The idea of *pueblo* as the *popular* or the *masses*, and particularly the idea of this entity's inherent dignity, has mobilized Spanish artists and intellectuals at various junctures in the twentieth century; in particular, between the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the start of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, many Spanish writers championed the *pueblo* in the form and content of their work, in what Víctor Fuentes calls "la marcha al pueblo." As I discuss in chapter 2, *pueblo* became increasingly urgent as a collective poetics or poetic desire in the mid-1930s—somewhat paradoxically, since the rural inhabitants and masses in Spain at that time were

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[4] The instances of imagined communities that come up in this dissertation are both transnational, as in the case of immigrants who live in the transmediterranean circuit of the Moroccan diaspora, and subnational, as in the case of Southern Spaniards who powered the workforce in Catalonia during the mid-twentieth century.

[5] In the dictionary entries digitally compiled in the *Nuevo tesoro lexográfico de la lengua española* or "dictionary of dictionaries" of the Real Academia Española, governance appears in the entry for *pueblo* beginning in 1927: "conjunto de los habitantes de una república, monarquía, etc." It is not until much later in the century—1970—that the definition includes the specific language "país con gobierno independiente" ("Pueblo").

overwhelmingly illiterate.[6] The invocation of the *pueblo* is incantatory in Rafael Alberti's poem from the Second International Congress of Writers in Defense of Culture: "contigo, pueblo de España, / pueblo mío, pueblo pueblo. / Con España, los poetas" (5-7). It was Machado, however, who opened this "veta popular" nearly two decades earlier (Fuentes 215), "atribuyendo al pueblo un halo de santidad" (54). Although many of the intellectuals participating in *la marcha al pueblo* were communists, *pueblo* remained an essentially sentimental concept. Still a centerpiece of leftist rhetoric in the 1960s, *pueblo* became the "*pueblo en marcha*" (Goytisolo), as I discuss in chapter 3. At the same time, the new identity formations that emerged in the mid-twentieth century in Spain fissured the idea of the *pueblo*; in chapter 4, I consider the tension between the *pueblo* and the Catalan "*poble*" during this period.

In this dissertation, I am tracing ways in which the (re)appropriation of the idea of Spain happens in the sign of the *pueblo*. I invoke this category as one that is as critical and deconstructing as it is constitutive of Spain; in many of the texts I have chosen, the word *pueblo* is marshaled for the purpose of dismantling official national narratives. I propose *pueblo* as the nation in its erased, unofficial, nonlinear and pluralist histories; and as a hermeneutical category for imagining a community through critique, oftentimes critique of the State's practices of power.

Focusing on how literature represents national history leads me to an interrogation of historicity, since literary or imaginative genres posit temporalities and temporal resonances that linear historiography cannot accommodate. Over the course of the dissertation, I consider national events or the national Event following Hayden White's work at the intersection of event and trauma theories (*Practical* 58-62); engage Michael Rothberg's idea of "multidirectional memory" in a transatlantic and postcolonial Hispanic context (*Multidirectional Memory* and "Remembering"); and examine the temporal layering of coloniality or "transcoloniality," as Christina Civantos theorizes this concept (16-19), in the formation of national and modernity narratives in Spain. Throughout these different approaches to the representation of history, there runs the common thread of anachronism and its critical possibilities.

In this sense, the theoretical matrix that emerges in my analysis most closely aligns with a problematics of contemporaneity or "the contemporary," where this noun has become charged through a series of philosophical inquiries. Leonel Ruffel, tracing the history of this concept as a "discursive event" over the last fifteen years (11), signals that contemporaneity is modal, and not epochal. In other words, contemporaneity is a way of being in historical time, as opposed to a historical period or identity (22). Conceived as a modal category, "the contemporary is not the *terminus* of linear history but its contradiction" (170); it contests historicity, and not history (175). In Giorgio Agamben's formulation, contemporaneity entails both dissonance and critical engagement with one's present time:

> Contemporariness is […] a singular relationship with one's own time, which adheres to it and, at the same time, keeps a distance from it. More precisely, it is that relationship with time that adheres to it through a disjunction and an anachronism. Those who coincide too well with the epoch, those who are perfectly tied to it in every respect, are not

[6] The fact of widespread illiteracy explains the importance of poster art of this period, which ranged from political propaganda to public service announcements about dental hygiene and potable water, and which sought to access and educate the *pueblo*. On a more abstract level, these campaigns sought to substantiate and construct the imagined collectivity of a nation whose population was heterogeneous and disconnected from the political dramas playing out on a national scale.

> contemporaries, precisely because they do not manage to see it; they are not able to firmly hold their gaze on it. (41)

By privileging high art in his textual analysis, Agamben implicitly envisions the contemporary in the figure of the white male author (Ruffel 77-94); this is ironic, Ruffel points out, because the concept was originally posed as an ongoing question with multiple, fragmentary and non-authoritative answers in the Argentinian *Revista Zum*, beginning in 2004 (23-33): "The point is to place a certain notion of authority under suspicion. It's important, then, to underline that the archaeology of this substantivation […] includes, very near its beginning, a 'deauthorization' of the word" (31).

Setting aside the implied incarnation of an authorized contemporary, Agamben's language in defining *contemporaneity* corresponds to how I am thinking of critical distance as an epistemological mode, that is, a way of knowing through disjunction. Contemporaries are "*inattuale*" or untimely: "precisely because of this condition, precisely through this disconnection and this anachronism, they are more capable than others of perceiving and grasping their own time" (Agamben 40), "capable of transforming it and putting it in relation with other times" (53). I use *pueblo* as a kind of spatial correlate to the contemporary. Critical distance, like anachronism, is a capability and a placing from which to produce knowledge.

Actually, insofar as it is a rejection of modernity (Ruffel 19), the contemporary is itself a spatial category. Modernity and its attendant historicist paradigms of Antiquity, Renaissance and Enlightenment are what separate the (European, Western) present from the (non-European, non-Western) past (Dussel 11, 26). Here, Ruffel's critique of Agamben helps to flesh out my thinking on *pueblo* and critical distance. For Ruffel, the contemporary mode is in line with the array of postcolonial theoretical approaches and with critiques of the normativity of the white, European man implicit in the Habermasian public sphere (181-2, 46). The work of contemporaneity is disruptive, "arising out of gender, class, and ethnic exclusions" (88); "[t]here is […] a fundamental link between contemporary, brouhaha, and multitude" (48). I read the primary texts I've chosen as expressions of contemporaneity, both in the sense of a perceptive mode and also in the sense of a geopolitical expression that questions, critiques or troubles even as it is "with the times" or with the nation. I am interested in the critical interventions of writing *the* and *as pueblo* (or, in chapter 4, *poble*), where *pueblo* is an expression of the contemporary mode specifically tethered to the context of Spain, with its particular historiographical issues: racial legislation and erasure, historical memory, and modernity polemics.

Questions of identity appear in each of the chapters here, and are of particular interest in chapter 4. The authors I study make claims about Spanish identity; they also expose the ideologies that construct Spanish identity. *Pueblo* is both a construct and a lived, embodied experience of this construct. As Stephen Jacobson points out, the notion of a timeless *Pueblo* existing in "intra-historia" (an idea formulated by Miguel de Unamuno in his essays at the outset of the twentieth century, published in *En torno al casticismo*) is just as mythical as any imagined community (Jacobson 406-7); and yet,

> 'pueblos' […] [do] exist, and each [contains] its own array of meaningful symbols, overlapping and interrelated systems of power, understandings of history and memory, and conceptions of natural and customary law, which cut across, sometimes [support] and often [undermine] hierarchical and Cartesian notions of 'Spain' usually associated with codified law, bureaucracy and the state. (407)

In the pages that follow, I argue that the textual construction of *pueblo* is an act of critique, and that *pueblo* as construct becomes a tool of resistance to the official, bordered nation of institutional Spain.

In chapter 2, "Transatlantic Body-Graphies of the Spanish Civil War," I look at the defining *topos* for historiography and literature of Spain from the last century, the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Having been sidelined after the loss of the colonies in 1898, 1930s Republican Spain became a beacon for the international left. In 1934, the miners' strike in Asturias—which had begun as part of a nationwide workers' strike that fizzled—developed into a full-blown uprising and the occupation of several towns in the northwestern province. Although the army intervened to suppress the strike, this revolution was the beginning of what would become the more widespread Spanish Revolution in 1936, on the eve of the Civil War. Revolutionary Spain mobilized the international community: when war broke out, thousands of volunteer fighters and intellectuals from around the world came to Spain to defend the workers' revolution and intellectual culture from the rise of fascism. By 1939, the military uprising (the Nationalists, led by Francisco Franco) had defeated the collection of leftist political groups grouped under the sign of the Second Republic, installing a fascist and isolationist government that drove Republicans and revolutionaries into exile, prison or hiding.

The War is a lightning rod for most of the issues I have laid out: questions of national identity and division, antifascism, the reactivation of the idea of the *pueblo*, and historical memory are virtually always tied to the Civil War, even in the present day. I consider the geopolitics of this history through analysis of two poems by Latin Americans: Nicolás Guillén's long poem *España: poema en cuatro angustias y una esperanza*, and Enrique Gil Gilbert's "Buenos días, Madrid!" Both poems were published in 1937, Guillén's in Mexico City as he was about to travel to Spain, and Gil Gilbert's in Guayaquil. The poems are "body-graphical," centering the particular embodiments of their lyric subjects. They highlight their speakers as black Latin Americans. My use of the term "body-graphy" comes from the field of decoloniality studies, which is concerned with the politics of location in the production of knowledge. I signal the epistemology of colonial difference in the poetry's body-graphy, arguing that Guillén's and Gil Gilbert's poems historicize Spain and the War via the body of the postcolonial lyric subject. They show antifascism to be a transatlantic, anticolonial struggle, the return of colonial power dynamics to Europe. The chapter reconceives the 1930s resurgence of transatlantic solidarity as a decolonial practice of critique. Throughout the chapter, I refer to "Spain-as-event," linking my analysis of the poetry's representation of this historical moment to theories of both the traumatic event and revolutionary rupture.

After the fall of the Republic, this *Zeitgeist* picks up again in revolutionary Cuba. As the Cuban Revolution was moving from a nationalist to a socialist revolution, Spain's economy and society were entering into a phase of capitalist consumerism that had been delayed under the isolating conditions of the first decade of the dictatorship. In chapter 3, "Memory and Coloniality in the Early Economic Transition," I link the representational operations of Spain's neoliberalization in the 1950s and 60s to the slave-based economy of colonial Spain in Cuba, through an analysis of the novels and memoirs of Juan Goytisolo. This inquiry into how critical distance has been inhabited in order to construct the *pueblo* would be incomplete without the figure of Goytisolo, who, in his writing as well as in his performative exile, plays gatekeeper to multiple discussions of "other" Spains: Spain as non-Castilian, plural, Islamic, Jewish, migrant, postcolonial, queer, non-canonical. While Goytisolo is mostly known for his transmediterranean exile, I explore his writings from Cuba in the 1960s, which capture a transitional moment in the

author's stylistic and ideological development, as well as his struggle to integrate the colonial past of Spain and of his family into an imaginary of the Spanish *pueblo*.

I focus mainly on the 1966 novel *Señas de identidad*, which Goytisolo wrote during a time of tectonic shift in Spain's economy and national narrative. The intellectual and geopolitical isolation of the postwar period had given way to "*apertura*," the "opening up" of the country to new and foreign ideas. Although the period known as the Transition to Democracy would not officially begin for another decade, Spain's neoliberalization had begun. The rapid economic modernization during the 1960s—heralded by the reestablishment of Spain's economic alliance with the United States at the beginning of the 1950s, in the context of Cold War anti-communism—resulted in unprecedented levels of wealth in Spain; however, this wealth was unevenly distributed and bound up in new forms of economic precarity. From 1960 to 1973, over one million Spaniards—a quarter of the country's active labor force—emigrated for economic reasons (Kamen 327). In particular, hundreds of thousands of southerners emigrated to Catalonia or Northern Europe, even as the South became a tourist mecca. As the most visible sign of the *apertura*, tourism necessitated and also consolidated the rebranding of the nation—particularly the official politics of forgetting and erasure that would come to characterize the ideology of the Transition.

Señas is both the material evidence and a critique of this institutionalized forgetting; initially censored in Spain, the novel interweaves layers of historical memory with a critique of the contemporary tourism industry. The period in Spain from the 1959 technocratic reforms to the 1973 oil crisis is often called the "*milagro económico*" or "economic miracle"; during the 1960s, Spain received a tremendous influx of foreign visitors. *Señas* exposes the spuriousness of the rhetoric of wonderment that surrounded the *milagro*. I read Goytisolo's critique of the *milagro* narrative alongside his inclusion of family archives from the slaveholding plantation in Cuba and his own recollections of family members' colonial nostalgia; I argue that the *milagro* narrative is the economic and representational legacy of colonial Cuba. My argument hinges on observations about the continuity of historiographical erasure and economic national narratives from imperialism to fascism. I explore how a mentality of coloniality informed modernization on the peninsula. Where temporal disjunction in *Señas* is most often understood as the sign of Goytisolo's turn toward his iconic postmodernist style, I read this instead as a feat of multidirectional postcolonial memory (Rothberg, *Postcolonial*): *Señas* represents Spain through both the nineteenth-century slave plantation in Cuba and the contemporary radicalization of the revolution in Cuba, where Goytisolo wrote the novel.

Although Spain's decade of *apertura* or *milagro* preceded the death of Franco and the end of the dictatorship, it represents the beginning of the Transition to Democracy, to the extent that the Transition was not simply a question of regime change. With this in mind, I use the phrase "Early Economic Transition," or "EET" for short, to refer to the period from the early 1950s but especially throughout the 1960s.

Although the term *tardofranquismo* is sometimes used to denote the changes in Spain during this period, the centrality of Franco in popular and academic discourse risks obscuring the complexities of the Transition to Democracy; the Transition, in turn, is often simplified as a "canonized narrative of […] a few heroes (with King Juan Carlos and Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez in the lead roles) who dismantled the dictatorship from within in the presence of an audience formed by an expectant and rather passive people" (Martín-Estudillo and Spadaccini xv). As Manuel Rivas signals, the term *franquismo* reduces the dictatorship to the singular figure of the tyrant, "como se fose só cousa dun xerifalte endeusado e enfermo de poder. […] Pero

Todo Aquilo era […] [u]nha mafia enxertada no Estado, que chegaba até a última ventosa dos tentáculos do poder, e que se fundiu sen render contas, máis ben gañándoas, en aliaxe co novo Estado" (14-5). Spain's Transition to Democracy is more aptly characterized as an economic transition to late capitalism.[7] Moving away from the monolith of Franco in Spanish historiography allows for consideration of other forces at work.

Where chapter 3 considers Goytisolo's representations of the economic refugees from Spain's South during the EET, chapter 4, "Transmediterranean *Catalanitat*," moves to narratives written by internal and transnational migrants in Catalonia during the Transition and post-Transition period. Beginning in the EET, and especially in the wake of Franco's death, all of Spain's various nationalisms—peripheral and central alike—came into new focus. The ways that *Catalanisme* or Catalan nationalism gained traction during this period are of particular interest in this chapter.

The proscription under Franco of the Catalan language gave *Catalanisme* its postwar dramatic imperative.[8] By most accounts, race and ethnic identity were not just secondary to but a function of language in the imaginary of the Catalan nation (Woolard 47; Candel, *Encara* 319). Chapter 4 questions this narrative through analysis of two memoirs by Moroccan-born Catalans: Najat El Hachmi's *Jo també sóc catalana* (2004) and Saïd El Kadaoui's *Cartes al meu fill: un català de soca-rel, gairebé* (2011). Both authors reflect on coming of age in Catalonia in the late 1970s and 1980s. Analyzing the figure of the autobiographical migrant in these fictionalized memoirs, I argue that *Reconquista*-era ethno-racial constructs inhere in the dominant narratives of Catalan identity. These authors mask critique as auto-ethnography, satirizing the bureaucratic demand made of immigrants that they give an account of themselves while also making creative use of their experiences as immigrants in order to expose and deconstruct Eurocentric and racist narratives of *Catalanitat*.

This final body chapter also offers a metacritique of how the publishing market and literary criticism alike have cordoned off these texts and their non-native authors in niche canons, circumscribing them in the rhetoric of welcoming or *acollida*—a central element of contemporary Catalan nationalist discourse. *Acollida* functions as a double-edged sword, since

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[7] For recent cultural studies on this period see Rivas, Martín-Estudillo and Spadaccini, Labrador Méndez and Moreno-Caballud.

[8] Writing during the first and most repressive decade of the regime, the philosopher Josep Ferrater i Mora affirmed that "[t]he Catalan personality can only be fully expressed through the intermediary of its language. When the latter recedes, the former fades, weakens and becomes corrupted […] the Catalan ceases to be a Catalan" (qtd. in Conversi 171). The Catalan politician and historian Josep Benet's five-hundred page "report on the persecution of the Catalan language," published first in Paris in 1973 and, following Franco's death, in Barcelona in 1978, exemplifies the solemnity with which Catalan intellectuals treated the situation:

> Poques vegades […] ha estat dictada, en els temps moderns, una disposició oficial prohibitòria tan radical i absoluta contra l'ús de l'idioma viu d'un poble, instrument de cultura, i llengua oficial d'un país, com aquesta, decretada pel govern feixista del general Franco.
>
> Com a conseqüència d'aquesta prohibició, començà una de les persecucions més totals que mai hagi tingut lloc, modernament, a l'Europa occidental (9-10)

These theorists signal the use of Catalan as an existential concern, and to this day language is widely taken to be the defining feature of *Catalanitat* or Catalan identity (Guibernau 64). For this reason, Transition-era *Catalanisme* focused on the recuperation and normalization of Catalan in the public sphere, aiming to make Catalan the language of citizenship rather than folklore (Miley 65).

the point of enunciation for this hospitality—white, modern, European—implicitly reifies its own *Catalanitat*.

It is this "*acollida* effect" that I hope to illuminate and also avoid in my work. The common denominator among the texts and writers in this dissertation is not any particular identity category but instead an epistemology of critical distance. These are writers who recall and claim geopolitical difference within the *pueblo*, not in order to offer an explanation of their own subjectivities, but rather as a platform for interrogating and producing historiographical knowledge about Spain.

The "Disaster of 1898," the long fascist dictatorship, and the admittance at last into the European Community have tended to mark the twentieth century in Spain as one of isolation and, ultimately, redemption in the form of Europeanness. The youngest of a generation of intellectuals that coalesced in its critique of Spain after the loss of the empire, Machado imagined the need for critical distance with his lyric subject making his way uphill, putting distance between himself and the ruins of Castile. My analysis proceeds in the sign of these two figures: the traces of imperial Spain and the embodied experience of getting perspective. How have intellectuals gotten perspective on Spain, and through what sorts of distances? My query leads me to paths and journeyers with perspectives very different from that of Machado's hiker, perspectives that ask us to reimagine the canonical visions of twentieth century Spain and to consider Spain beyond "el horizonte cerrado" (Machado, "A orillas" 23), as a space variously and simultaneously transatlantic, transmediterranean and subnational. To read Spain this way is to deconstruct the system of homogenizing, centralizing and modernizing discourses of the last century, and to begin to decolonize the national narrative.

Chapter Two
Transatlantic Body-Graphies of the Spanish Civil War

As an opening image for this chapter, which considers the poetry of Latin American intellectuals writing to and about Spain during the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War, I take David Alfaro Siqueiros's 1937 painting *El eco del llanto* (Figure 1). A brief meditation on this painting will allow me to present many of the chapter's theoretical questions and underpinnings.

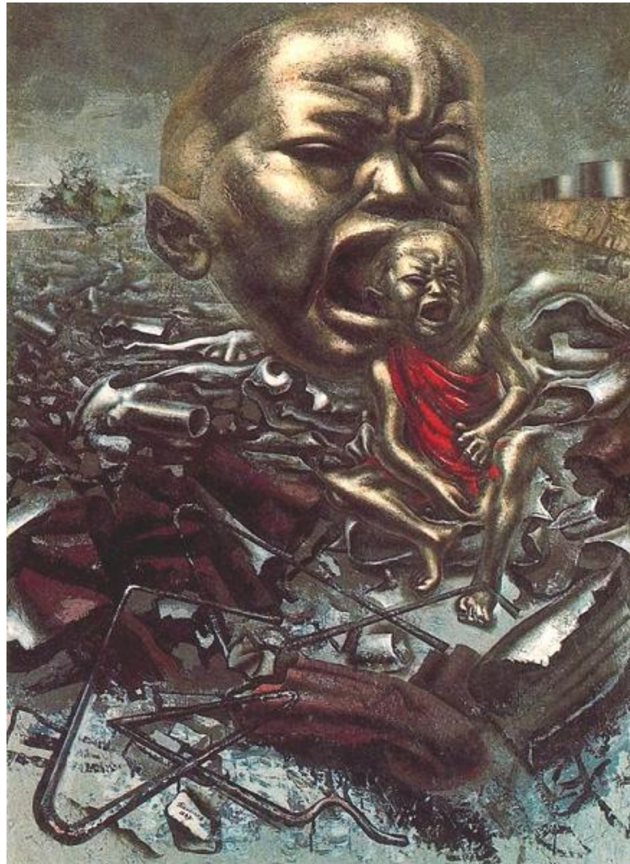

Figure 1: *El eco del llanto* (1937), David Alfaro Siqueiros
collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York City

Longitudinally centered and looming in the upper half of the painting, the enormous head of a baby floats over a sea of wreckage. The face is contorted in a cry, and from the mouth issues the head's likeness, in miniature. This "echo of a scream" reproduces the same expression of anguish; however, unlike the floating, disembodied progenitor, the echo is a whole body, sitting on the ruins, swathed in a red sash. Aside from these two figures, the foreground features the melted and broken remnants of industrial materials. This rubble stretches to the horizon, where it meets a sky of the same drab, metallic color. The floating head divides the painting's background into two: to the head's left, in the distance, there are cylindrical, metal buildings; to the head's right, also distant, a green olive tree.

Eco gives witness to the legacy of modernity playing out in the war in Spain. The ruins of modernity include humanity itself, which Siqueiros represents as immature, disembodied, and

doomed to repeat its agony. On the other hand, there are signs of more hopeful possibilities for humanity: despite the bombed out, dystopian landscape that dominates the scene, the olive tree survives in the background, an icon of both Spain and peace; and, despite the manifestation of suffering, the wholeness of the echo body entails a return to corporeal integrity. The painting's focal point, the red sash, symbolizes blood; however, its brightness imbues the painting with vibrancy, suggesting the vital qualities of blood as opposed to the violence of bloodshed (a duller red that covers some of the debris in the foreground is more likely indicative of bloodshed). Given Siqueiros's ardent communist politics at the time he painted *Eco*, the red sash is also a symbol of political promise, a banner the next generation takes into the future.

It is via Siqueiros's subjectivity that I make my intervention. What are the implications of Siqueiros, a Mexican, traveling to Spain during the war, at first in his capacity as a painter and public intellectual, but soon thereafter to join the frontlines as a volunteer in the People's Republican Army? Siqueiros was one of many Latin Americans that made the intellectual, political or ethical pilgrimage to Spain. Hispanism had found its renewal in the commonality among Spain and several Latin American countries fighting for their democracies (Paz 73-74; Binns, Cano Reyes and Casado Fernández 17). In spite of this transatlantic solidarity, however, the subjectivity of Latin American intellectuals introduces difference into their enunciations on Spain.

I see *Eco* as both an instance of and a commentary on such enunciations. The disembodied head's howl of anguish is also a howl of labor—the labor of a logocentric childbirth. This is a grotesque rethinking of "*la Madre España*," a trope for relating Spain and its Latin American ex-colonies that I will discuss later on. The echo signals the body's insistent presence. Siqueiros copied the posture and facial expression of the echo from the photograph of an African boy that appeared in *National Geographic* in 1925 (Oles 29); in the original image, however, the screaming boy is carried on his mother's back (31).

Thus, *Eco* poses questions of voice, embodiment, difference and, referencing as it does the original photo of black bodies, race; so, too, do the poems that serve as this chapter's case studies. In the following, I explore embodied difference as a poetics and epistemology, and its implications for the discursive construction of Spain, in two poems: *España: poema en cuatro angustias y una esperanza*, by Nicolás Guillén, and "Buenos días, Madrid!," by Enrique Gil Gilbert. Like *Eco*, both poems were produced in 1937. Ultimately, I argue that their enunciations provide a lens through which to envision Spain's radical potential in the workers' revolution that hung in the balance in the first half of the war.

By way of contextualizing this argument, I first need to establish the theoretical basis for reading Spain in the voices of Latin American poets.

Three premises for reading Spain in the transatlantic poetry of the Civil War

In the last century, no event is more emblematic of Spain than its Civil War. I use the word "emblematic" because, after the historical event, the war has continued on as a symbolic event—a discursive field in which Spain is constructed and deconstructed. In the twentieth and, to a lesser extent, twenty-first centuries, the war is a recurrent metonym of Spain's identity; its symbolic weight exerts a force in historical, political and artistic representations of Spain. Even as it was occurring, "what was at stake […] was the very identity of a nation and a people. The war was a battle over the future history of Spain and who would represent that history" (Valis

11). This idea—that the war is a foundational moment for the discursive identity of Spain—is the point of departure for my argument here. To the extent that the war grounds an era of representation in and of Spain that continues into the present day, contemporary Spain is written in the representations of its war.

Why is it that the 1936-39 war is so persistent, when the Carlist civil wars had already punctuated the nineteenth century and soon found their idiom in the idea of "las dos Españas" before the Nationalist uprising against the Second Republic? Among the possible reasons for this phenomenon, two are present in the field of literature: first, the unresolvedness of the war's historical meaning; and second, the war's international dimension.

Because of the symbolism, rhetoric and propaganda that have surrounded the war since its unfolding, the war is subject to a continual instability of meaning or "undecidability" (Nelson 78): "Every fact about Spain is fundamentally unstable, and each fact's relation to another is in significant ways undecided" (78). Writing about his experience in the May Days of 1937, George Orwell predicted that it would "never be possible to get a completely accurate and unbiased account of the Barcelona fighting, because the necessary records do not exist. Future historians will have nothing to go upon except a mass of accusations and party propaganda" (160). Enric Ucelay-Da Cal doubts whether the war can even be considered in terms of a historical past, since it "remains an ongoing ideological confrontation, despite the democratization of Spain after 1975" (34). An intractable problem of interpretation from its inception, the war becomes a recurring symptom in Spanish matters. As such, its integration into history depends on forms of discourse outside of historicity—namely, literary discourse.

Admittedly, textual frameworks always mediate historicity. In the case of the Spanish Civil War, however, literature itself acquires a historicizing impulse. Leftist poets during and immediately after the war renewed the popular epic and ballad to narrate the histories of contemporary heroes like Federico García Lorca, Enrique Líster, Paca Solano and Dolores Ibárruri, as well as villains like Emilio Mola and Francisco Franco. Their poetics bear out an ethical imperative to historical witness, eliminating the personal consciousness of the lyric subject in favor of a collective human consciousness—avoiding, as José Bergamín termed it, "el hamletismo" (32). If the literature of the Spanish Civil War performs historiographical work, it also achieves what the purely historiographical cannot: the suturing of traumatic wounds and the articulation of meaning in the meaninglessness of war.[9]

A second possible reason for why the Spanish Civil War looms so large in the imaginary of Spain and Spanish identity is its internationalism. The idea of Spain occasioned different forms of international involvement in its war. Major world powers—both national governments and corporations—intervened actively, passively or covertly in the conflict, playing out the impending world war on the stage of Spain. Despite the stance of non-intervention struck by various governments (including those of France, Britain and the United States), forty to fifty thousand individuals came from different parts of the world to fight as volunteer militiamen (most fought in the International Brigades, organized by the Communist International, although some fought in units affiliated with other leftist parties). The fact that parts of Spain were actually living the workers' revolution was a beacon for the cause of international workers'

[9] This historiographical bent continues in contemporary literature of the war, which remains within the same discursive matrix of historical, literary and mythical representation. Two contemporary examples of writing that deals with the problem of the war's historicity through literary forms are Javier Cercas's historical novel *Soldados de Salamina* (2001) and Manuel Rivas's magical realist and historical novel *O lapis do carpinteiro* (1998).

solidarity (Orwell 2, 26-27, 111)—as it was for the intellectual world, polarized between the rise of fascism and the Russian Revolution and aligned mainly with the latter: "no era extraño que tantos intelectuales […] vislumbraran en la incipiente guerra civil la encarnación de su lucha por la utopía. En España se decidiría el futuro de la humanidad" (Binns, *Llamada* 13). The Spanish Civil War marshaled intellectuals from around the world, who gathered for the Second International Congress of Writers in Defense of Culture in July 1937—the "[a]pogeo del antifascismo de los intelectuales" (43-4). Alain Badiou takes stock of the moment's intellectual fervor:

> [T]he Spanish civil war is certainly the historic event that has most intensely mobilized all the artists and intellectuals of the world. On the one hand, the personal commitment of writers from all ideological tendencies on the side of the republicans, including therefore the communists, is remarkable […]. On the other hand, the number of masterpieces produced on this occasion is no less astonishing. ("Poetry" 96)

Although this assessment elides the schisms among the pro-Republican left, it captures the utopian and creative aura that Spain as international space possessed.

If this internationalized Spain fostered an international (and eventually, with the fall of the Republic, diasporic) literary culture, the writing of leftist internationals in turn created Spain. Rafael Alberti expresses the nexus of international poetics, international action and international *pueblo* in his poem from the July eleventh session of the Second International Congress, which begins:

> Todas las voces del mundo,
> los corazones más llenos
> de sangre limpia, de clara
> sangre que es entendimiento,
> contigo, pueblo de España,
> pueblo mío, pueblo pueblo.
> Con España, los poetas
> mejores del mundo entero.
> Aunque no en la misma lengua,
> sí en el mismo entendimiento,
> unidos bajo las balas,
> unidos ya cerca o lejos. (1-12)

The poem goes on to salute specific international poets present at the conference, and concludes by reaching out to the International Brigades:

> ¡Salud! España os saluda,
> y os da mando en el ejército
> de los soldados que cantan
> las mismas voces del pueblo.
> ¡Brigada Internacional!:
> tu frente es el mundo entero. (78-83)

The poem's introduction and conclusion articulate a metaphorics of the body that resonates with the primary sources I will discuss in this chapter: voice and blood circulate vital knowledge; and the international is both the frontline (el frente) and the thinking mind (la frente). In Alberti's figuration, Spain is the unified body politic of the world.

In fact, the presence and participation of Latin American intellectuals complicates this internationalist discourse. At the time of the war, Spain's relationship to its American ex-

colonies was one of ambivalence. On the one hand, transatlantic Hispanism as an intellectual stance had only just begun to take root. From the time of the nineteenth-century independence movements, Spain was "en palabras de Simón Bolívar, […] la 'desnaturalizada madrastra'" (Binns, *Llamada* 19); only with the establishment of Spain's Second Republic could colonial history be rewritten, and "[l]a 'madrastra desnaturalizada' volv[er] a merecer el nombre de Madre Patria, patria ejemplar" (29). The tradition of Latin Americans distancing their intellectual work from "Mother Spain" was more longstanding than the newfound solidarity.

On the other hand, Latin America and Spain shared linguistic, historical, cultural and familial ties—in addition to common political concerns such as land reform, the separation of Church and State, and the rise of fascist government (Binns, *Llamada* 28). The outcome of Spain's war promised transatlantic repercussions: "Chile, Uruguay, Brasil, México, Cuba, Ecuador, es una cosa tan lógica que brilla, que las fuerzas reaccionarias se agruparán y solidificarán, y arrastrarán con ella a la mayor parte de la pequeña burguesía, si en España, ligada a nuestros pueblos histórica y económicamente, triunfa el fascismo" (Torriente Brau 66-7). Nearly all Latin American nations were governed by dictatorships when Spain's war broke out (Soto 17), and almost all Latin American governments supported the uprising in Spain (Binns, *Llamada* 30). For many Latin Americans, the shared political crisis rendered the war "una problemática más hispánica que universal, en la que se sentían emocionalmente involucrados" (28). Because of this simultaneous intimacy and critical distance, Latin American involvement in Spain had different discursive effects than that of other foreigners.

Up to this point, I have laid out three premises for how I am reading Spain in this chapter, summarized as follows: first, the war is a locus for the discursive identity of Spain; second, the historicizing impulse of literature from and about this period intervenes in the recurrent and unresolved historical quality of the war; and third, Latin American intellectuals play a unique and intimate geopolitical role in the leftist imaginary of international Spain. This base sets up the motivating question for the close readings that follow: how do the leftist poetics of Spain's Latin American ex-colonies construct and historicize—that is, write—Spain?

I approach this question through analysis of two poems, both written in 1937: Nicolás Guillén's *España: poema en cuatro angustias y una esperanza* and Enrique Gil Gilbert's "Buenos días, Madrid!" Guillén, a Cuban, wrote *España* while in Mexico. Gil Gilbert, an Ecuadorian, wrote "Buenos días" in Guayaquil. Guillén and Gilbert posit a historiographical timeframe in which to make sense of the war: the geopolitical history of the formation of the Americas. Both poems foreground the enunciation of a postcolonial lyric subject, who summons a particular Spain from the formative violence of war. The poems historicize their subjects through signs of a colonial past—their "colonial difference." My use of this term follows the field of decoloniality studies, which has theorized colonial difference as the liminal condition of simultaneous forced belonging and exclusion (Mignolo and Tlostanova 208-13).[10] Colonial difference conditions knowledge production, producing an "epistemology of the exteriority; that is, of the outside created from the inside; as such, it is always a decolonial project" (206). My aim in the close readings that follow is to trace the epistemology of colonial difference in the poems' "body-graphy," a concept that entails the "enunciation grounded on geo- and body-politics of knowledge" (Mignolo, *Darker* 82). I argue that Guillén's and Gil Gilbert's poems

[10] I draw mainly from the work of Walter Mignolo, who articulates the concept of colonial difference by way of differentiating between and critiquing the philosophies of modernity, world-systems and modernity as coloniality (see Mignolo, "Geopolitics").

produce knowledge of Spain via the body of the postcolonial lyric subject, and that this body-graphy is both a historiographical and a literary practice.

If there is a dominant bodily image of Spain in the poetic archive of the Spanish Civil War, it is that of Spain as mother body. Miguel Hernández writes in 1938 of "Madre España":

> Madre: abismo de siempre, tierra de siempre: entrañas
> donde desembocando se unen todas las sangres:
> donde todos los huesos caídos se levantan:
> madre. (9-12)

Pablo Neruda opens his collection *España en el corazón* (1937) with the image of the maternal body: "Para empezar, para sobre la rosa / pura y partida, para sobre el origen" ("Invocación" 1-2); "Madre natal, puño / de avena endurecida" (15-16). César Vallejo's "España, aparta de mí este cáliz" (1939) exhorts the "children of the world" to find their Mother Spain: "[¡]si la madre / España cae—digo, es un decir— / salid, niños del mundo; id a buscarla!…" (49-51).

In some cases, this narrative extends to Latin America as child body. For example, a group of prominent Chilean poets published *Madre España: homenaje de los poetas chilenos* in 1937. María Zambrano, in exile in Chile, wrote in response:

> En esta terrible conmoción de España se comprueba su condición de madre. Todas las notas de la maternidad esenciales se encuentran en ella exaltadas hasta el máximum: dolor sin límite, fecundidad y esa mezcla de lo divino con lo carnal y sangriento, ese palpitar de lo infinito porvenir entre entrañas desgarradas; esa agonía de vida en que la muerte queda vencida como un toro arrodillado. Todos los hombres cuyo corazón está abierto al futuro se sienten hoy hijos de España y *todavía más de entre ellos los que vierten sus pensamientos en el claro idioma que ella les enseñó como madre. Madre del 'nuevo mundo' siempre España. Os sentís ahora alumbrados por ella, renacidos*, transformados en descubridores de la nueva época histórica que hemos de cuajar entre todos. (95; emphasis mine)

The metaphorics of Zambrano's essay figure the war as the agonizing childbirth of international solidarity, an international "new world." This phrase echoes the colonial rhetoric of the Americas as new world. Indeed, amidst the abstract internationalism of "the future" ("los hombres cuyo corazón está abierto al futuro"), Zambrano distinguishes Latin Americans as having a privileged role: "todavía más de entre ellos los que vierten sus pensamientos en el claro idioma que ella les enseñó como madre." In the metaphor of Spain as perennially laboring mother ("siempre España"), Latin America occupies a filial status—Spain's echo body.

This narrative supports the discourse of post-imperial Hispanism, the solidarity of which resolves differences even as it re-centers Spain in the international future: "Os sentís ahora alumbrados por ella, […] descubridores de la nueva época histórica que hemos de cuajar entre todos" (Zambrano 95). Perhaps inadvertently, however, Zambrano touches on an important point: the vital and *particular* aspect of Latin American poetic voices in the Spanish Civil War. Guillén and Gil Gilbert open up a fissure in the body narrative of the transatlantic *pueblo* by writing the war in the sign of empire. Bodies and bloodlines remain central, but they take on new spatial terms and metaphoric valences. The poems emphasize colonial wounds, and the embodiment of these wounds as an epistemological mode—a particular form of witnessing, critiquing and knowing history. Their poems diverge from the collective singular that is common to other contemporary poetry, developing the individual identities of first person lyric subjects. In this, they represent nuanced, critical forms of solidarity.

My aim in performing this reading is not to establish a canon that is apart from or counter to that of Spanish Civil War poetry, the principal coordinates of which are Hernández, Alberti, Machado, Neruda and Vallejo. To frame Guillén and Gil Gilbert as representatives of a counter-archive would reproduce the binary of western/nonwestern and fall into the trap of creating "guild-canons" based on the latter (Ríos-Font 12); furthermore, it would limit Guillén's and Gil Gilbert's poetry to an alternative canon based on identity politics. Instead, I hope to point to forms of critical distance that inhere in the corpus of Civil War poetry—a literature that, as I've argued, is constitutive of Spanish identity. In other words, I look to these poems for the decentralizing and constituting *pueblo* of Spain.

I need to distinguish my use of the category of *pueblo* from its common usage during the war. The concept of *pueblo*, in the sense of the masses or the common man, was essential to leftist discourse of this time period, which generally took the form of communism—as opposed to fascist discourse, which eschewed both the masses and the arts. For the poets, the concept of *pueblo* operated as an ethics and a poetics: "the *pueblo* was viewed by them as the essence of what they were trying to achieve in their writing" (Schwartz 310). As Rosa Chacel wrote in January 1937, "dos términos, cultura y pueblo, sobresalen de todas las voces que llenan el momento actual, destacándose con unánime impulso, con franca voluntad, o más bien forzosidad, de fusionarse" (13). The question of how "culture"—literature—was to engage, speak for or give way to the *pueblo* drove the debates in prominent leftist magazines of this time period (Schwartz 305-10)—as it did the speeches of the Second International Congress, where Machado spoke of the writer's commitment to the *pueblo* as one that surpassed national borders: "escribir para el pueblo nos obliga a rebasar las fronteras de nuestra patria, es escribir también para los hombres de otras razas, de otras tierras y de otras lenguas" ("El poeta" 12). Here, Machado envisions Spain as the source of an international *pueblo*. The enunciation of Spain emanates from a zero point outward toward otherness ("*otras* razas, de *otras* tierras y de *otras* lenguas"), encompassing the abstract world of Marxist internationalism. For the purpose of my study, I propose the inverse figure: the *pueblo*—in its sense of formative non-centers—speaking to and for Spain.

As the primary sources of my analysis, Guillén's and Gil Gilbert's poems present an asymmetry both textual and contextual. *España* can be read as a collection of five poems or as a long poem divided into five sections—taking my cue from the title, I read it as one long poem. It runs to 241 lines, is epic in its scope, and contains multiple poetic addresses. By contrast, "Buenos días" consists of one sustained apostrophe in 93 lines. Both poems were written in 1937, but while *España* was published as a standalone volume in Mexico City and republished later that year in Valencia, "Buenos días" appeared in print the following year as part of the collection *Nuestra España: homenaje de los poetas y artistas ecuatorianos*. Guillén's poetic profile eclipses that of Gil Gilbert, then and now. Guillén figures prominently in the canons of *afrocubanismo*, *négritude* and *poesía negra*; the avant-garde and twentieth century cosmopolitanism; Caribbean literature and nation language; and communist poetics. Gil Gilbert is virtually unknown as a poet; he is recognized instead as a member of Ecuador's Guayaquil Group, a circle of social realist and regionalist novelists writing in the 1930s and 40s. A final contextual difference of note is that, although Guillén wrote *España* before leaving Mexico, he thereafter traveled to Spain, where he inserted himself in the network of leftist intellectuals active in the war, presented multiple times at the Second International Congress, and reported internationally for newspapers and magazines. Gil Gilbert, despite his involvement in communist

politics, did not travel to Spain during the war, nor did he write about the war aside from the poem I will consider here.

Despite the textual and contextual imbalances I've described, there exists an affinity between the two poems. By allowing this affinity to develop in my analysis, I hope to identify a dialogue happening within poetry of the Spanish Civil War that questions, decentralizes and reconstitutes "Spain."

In mid-1937, the war in Spain still bore revolutionary and international potential. The International Brigades had not yet left; the Second International Congress convened that summer in Valencia. It was in this juncture that the two poems I consider here were written. Interviewed by a Republican newspaper upon arriving in Spain, Guillén affirmed: "Venir a España es venir a un mundo nuevo" (qtd. in Aznar Soler 661). Evidently, Spain still had the dream appeal of being something new. In keeping with this *Zeitgeist* and the spirit of these poems, I talk about Spain as an event, where "event" connotes three things: an interruption of the status quo, a revolutionary integration of temporal signs, and a becoming.[11] Although the promise of internationalism faded with the death of the Second Republic and subsequent world war, the utopian potential of Spain-as-event lives on in the voices of this poetry.

Embodying Spain: *España: poema en cuatro angustias y una esperanza*

In *España*, the idea of Spain as a transatlantic space precedes the poem itself: the image of a boat in the poem's front matter serves as a paratextual reading cue (Figure 2).[12]

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[11] It is not my purpose here to take up the philosophical debate surrounding the idea of the event; however, I need to sketch those positions that give context to my use of the term.

Taken as a problem of temporality, the event is interruptive. Žižek translates this into spatial terms: "An event is thus *the effect that seems to exceed its causes*—and the *space* of an event is that which opens up by the gap that separates an effect from its causes" (*Event* 3; emphasis in original). I will talk about how Spain might be found in a space separate from the "space of causation" or peninsula, in a "gap" that takes form in spaces that are tangible, such as the Atlantic, or symbolic, such as the body's circulatory system.

Badiou's theory of an event as something fundamentally "undecidable" suits the Spanish Civil War's "undecidability" (Nelson); it is the undecidable quality of a political event that allows it to "continue to comprise an unattested or anonymous promise" long past its historical moment (Badiou, *Infinite* 67).

A theory of special interest, which I will revisit in my synthesizing comments toward the end of the chapter, is Hayden White's idea of the "traumatic event," which bridges theory of history and theory of psychoanalysis: the traumatic event is an eruption of knowledge that occurs when a later moment fulfills the meaning latent in an earlier moment (*Practical* 58-62).

The problem of whether an event is actually new, whether it is "a change in the way reality appears to us, or […] a shattering transformation of reality itself" (Žižek, *Event* 5), is beside the point. Rather, my contention is that the leftist Latin American intellectuals who wrote in and about the Spanish Civil War experienced Spain both as a something new, as the quote from Guillén suggests, and as a spatial-temporal gap in which effects did exceed their causes. Their poetic enunciation or "decision" on the war consolidates the event as such.

[12] Guillén drew this image to accompany the poem in a volume of his collected works published in 1974 (*Obra* 207); it did not accompany original publications of the poem. Instead, on the title page of the first edition of *España*, there is a drawing of two men embracing: one, shirtless and exaggeratedly muscular,

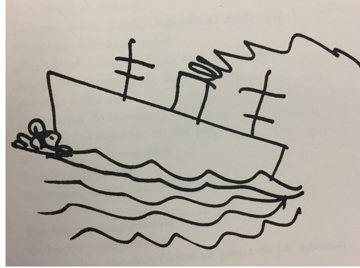

Figure 2: drawing to accompany *España* (1974), Nicolás Guillén

The ship is an organizing symbol; already, the idea of crossings pushes the discourse of Spanish Civil War—and Spain—beyond the categories of nation and national boundaries. As Paul Gilroy proposes, ships on the Atlantic were spaces of transculturation: "Accordingly they need to be thought of as cultural and political units rather than abstract embodiments of the triangular trade. They were something more—a means to conduct political dissent and possibly a distinct mode of cultural production" (*Black* 16-7). In this vein, the image of the ship invites a reading of *España* that takes into account the wider space of Spain as one of transculturations and decentralized cultures; likewise, it heralds the politicization of this space.

España unfolds around the history of this space, as it does in the gradual revelation of the American lyric subject who witnesses and embodies the Spanish Civil War. This speaker reveals himself in doses, first appearing in language reminiscent of a riddle before coming to occupy the poem's center of gravity in the last section's dramatic self-affirmation as a black American. A formal transformation accompanies his revelation; from the poetic traditions of Castilian popular romance and erudite verse, the poem opens outward to lengthier, more accelerated free verse.

In his speeches at the Second International Congress, Guillén emphasizes his own colonial difference as constitutive of the *pueblo* of Spain: "vengo, os digo, como explotado, como perseguido, como acorralado; pero también como hombre que cuida de su libertad y sabe, como sus hermanos de raza, que sólo derribando las murallas que hay entre el presente y el futuro podrá obtenerla cabalmente. Vengo, camaradas, como hombre negro" (6 July 103); "Yo quiero, pues, afirmar aquí esta noche una triple causa de adhesión en mí al pueblo español: como escritor, […] como cubano, […] y como negro" (16 July 261). Similarly, his article in *Mediodía* about Basilio Cueria, a Cuban baseball player who became a captain in the volunteer brigades, cites Cueria's heritage as the source of his anti-fascism:

> El padre de Cueria era asturiano. La madre negra. Por ambos caños le viene, pues, su rebeldía contra los invasores de un pueblo que trabaja. De Asturias, el ímpetu fiero, la dura resistencia, el tesón sin quebranto. De África, el dolor de la carne secularmente oprimida, la tempestad del espíritu, al que aplastó la esclavitud y el cual estalla al fin en busca de una salida revolucionaria para su ascenso. (Guillén, "Cubanos" 43)

In this same vein, the lyric subject of *España* asserts his embodied, intergenerational identity as the basis for his anti-fascism.

The first section or "*angustia*" of *España*,[13] titled "Miradas de metales y de rocas," is an impressionistic representation in four stanzas of the armed conflicts constitutive of modern-day

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with markedly African features; and the other, also exaggeratedly muscular, marked by his worker's attire.

[13] Following the language Guillén uses, I will refer to *España*'s first four poems or sections as "*angustias*," and the last as an "*esperanza*."

Spain. The refrain that opens the first and third stanzas introduces the theme of Americans in the Spanish Civil War:

> No Cortés, ni Pizarro
> (aztecas, incas, juntos halando el doble carro).
> Mejor sus hombres rudos
> saltando el tiempo. Aquí, con sus escudos. (Guillén, *España* 1-4, 25-28)

Right away, the poem makes use of formal structures characteristic of Castilian poetry, alternating in a twinned rhyming scheme between common forms of *arte menor* (heptasyllabic verse) and *arte mayor* (Castilian Alexandrine and hendecasyllabic verse). Here and throughout this first *angustia*, the verses are uniformly paroxytonic or *versos llanos*. This results in a homogenous rhythm that is "natural" to the Latinate branch of the Castilian language, in which most words are paroxytonic. Thematically, the first stanza establishes the idea of a lateral family relationship (brotherhood) of simultaneous proximity and distance in space and time. A metaphysical paradox arises in the tension between the remoteness of history and the physicality of history's presence: "Aquí, con sus callosas, duras manos; / remotos milicianos" (5-6); "lejanos milicianos, / ardientes, cercanísimos hermanos" (10-11). The distant past is present, ardent and embodied—"calloused."

After postulating a jump in time, the poem passes through images of the Reconquista: "Los hierros tumultuosos / de lanzas campeadoras" (Guillén, *España* 12-13); and of colonial conquest: "los ingenuos arcabuces fogosos, / los clavos y herraduras / de las equinas finas patas conquistadoras" (16-18). These allusions to the Iberian wars of El Cid Campeador and to imperial conquest form a historical flow that runs into the moment of the Civil War:

> todo el viejo metal imperialista
> corre fundido en aguas quemadoras,
> donde soldado, obrero, artista,
> las balas cogen para sus ametralladoras. (21-24)

The laterally conceived *pueblo* articulated here—comprised of "soldier, laborer, artist"—loads its modern firearms with the fuel of historical battles, wars that are determining of the Spanish state and that double as both historical and literary signposts in the conventional discourse of Spain and Spanishness. Likewise, this contemporary company conjures a historical *pueblo* characterized by its worker identity: those "hombres rudos / […] Aquí, con sus escudos. / Aquí, con sus callosas, duras manos" (3-5). From the beginning of the poem, then, the question of Spain at war is bigger than the present-day Civil War, and the struggle of the people is a continuum throughout that history.

Underlying this preliminary historiographical stance is a messianic teleology: the militiamen of centuries past are "aquí al fin con nosotros" (Guillén, *España* 9). Thus, in this first *angustia* the paradox of history and presence resolves itself in a transcendent Here and Now that brings to mind Hegelian notions of historicity. This is unsurprising given the poem's contextualization of Spain as revolutionary event; in its modern usage, the concept of revolution tends to rely on the infinite spatial-temporal horizons of "world" and "permanence" (Koselleck 49). The flattening out of historicity in the concept of revolution connotes an identity: the collective singular (46). Indeed, in the first *angustia* the lyric subject is subsumed in the "we" of a transhistorical people: "al pie aquí de nosotros / clavadas las espuelas en sus potros; / aquí al fin con nosotros" (Guillén, *España* 79).

The collective singularity of this transhistorical people implies epistemological unity, since revolution is "a regulative principle of knowledge, as well as of the actions of all those

drawn into the revolution. […] [T]he revolutionary process, and a consciousness which is both conditioned by it and reciprocally affects it, belong inseparably together" (Koselleck 47). Revolution is a way of knowing. If in the first *angustia* the poem puts forth collective consciousness and the transhistoricity of worker solidarity ("juntos halando") as a resolution to the paradox of history's presence (Guillén, *España* 2, 26), the subsequent *angustias* nuance this paradox, which becomes the rhetorical means by which the poem probes the collective identity of the revolutionary event.

The first *angustia* culminates in the call to witness the ravages of war: "¡Miradla, a España, rota!" (Guillén, *España* 29). The montage of instantaneous images that follows could accompany Pablo Picasso's *Guernica*, painted the same year Guillén wrote *España*: "y faroles sin luz en las esquinas / y los puños en alto, / y los pechos despiertos" (32-34); "caballos ya definitivamente muertos" (36); "los ojos coléricos, abiertos, bien abiertos, / miradas de metales y de rocas" (40-41).

If the tableau of fragmentation, chaos and disembodiment that closes the first *angustia* represents apocalypse, the second *angustia* ("Tus venas, la raíz de nuestros árboles") represents a dramatic shift in voice and imagery. Until this point in the poem, the lyric subject has maintained himself at a distance from the poem's images; his vision is omnipresent in time and in space, and his embodiment does not enter into the poem. Here, the first person singular appears. The speaker shuffles three pronominal entities—"I," "you," and "we"—in a dynamic semantic system articulated through the images of root-vein and tree:

> La raíz de mi árbol, retorcida;
> la raíz de mi árbol, de tu árbol,
> de todos nuestros árboles,
> bebiendo sangre, húmeda de sangre,
> la raíz de mi árbol, de tu árbol. (Guillén, *España* 42-46)

The symbolic mechanism of this *angustia* evokes questions of family (the family tree) and genealogy (the root). The image of blood, which is absent in the first *angustia*'s representation of war, now appears in a nourishing capacity, a vital circulation among the community of trees.

The next stanza begins, however, with gradual emergence of the individual, the "I" of the lyric subject:

> Yo la siento,
> la raíz de mi árbol, de tu árbol,
> de todos nuestros árboles,
> la siento
> clavada en lo más hondo de mi tierra,
> clavada allí, clavada,
> arrastrándome y alzándome y hablándome,
> gritándome.
> La raíz de tu árbol, de mi árbol. (Guillén, *España* 47-55)

The focus moves from the collective experience ("todos nuestros árboles") to the speaker's particular practice of embodied witness, with the emphatic affirmation of "Yo la siento." This "I" is the only personal pronoun among the *angustia*'s accumulation of otherwise possessive pronouns, and it marks the poem's shift to the speaker's individual physical experiences, starting with the roots that pull, lift, speak and cry out to him. The system of root-vein-blood takes on the valence of sacrifice ("clavada") and of a profound, rallying voice ("hablándome," "gritándome")

coming from within the speaker. As they begin to emerge in this stanza, both the identity and the epistemology natural to the speaker are "rooted" in a material geography:

> En mi tierra, clavada,
> con clavos ya de hierro,
> de pólvora, de piedra,
> y floreciendo en lenguas ardorosas,
> y alimentando ramas donde colgar los pájaros cansados,
> y elevando sus venas, nuestras venas,
> tus venas, la raíz de nuestros árboles. (56-62)

Although a "we" forms of the "you" and "I" on the basis of the common root-vein, this root-vein is born, suffers and rises up in a geographical space attributed to the "I," which allows the lyric subject to feel and register the sacrifice as well as the exhortation it entails (communicated in multiple languages). There emerges, then, a lyric subject in possession of a double consciousness—an "I" at once part of and apart from a "we," differentiated through his form of knowledge. This "I" is from the earth that sustains the "we" as it sustains the "ramas donde colgar los pájaros cansados" (60), an image that evokes the tattered flags of a nation ("we") in crisis.

This riddle of pronominal convergence and difference discloses an epistemology of colonial difference. The speaker perceives through his body (figured as land), from which are extracted the resources vital to the formation of the collective singular. His expression is polyphonic and always corporeal—"floreciendo en lenguas ardorosas" (Guillén, *España* 59). It is a "body-graphic politic of knowledge" (Mignolo and Tlostanova 213). Thus, the second *angustia* changes the historiographical tactic of the poem by beginning to articulate a body-based knowledge corresponding to a colonial subjectivity that spans the history in question.

The themes of war, lineage and identity come together in the third *angustia*: "Y mis huesos marchando en tus soldados." Of all the poem's sections, this *angustia* is the most tethered to formal constraints: each of its four stanzas is comprised of four hendecasyllabic, paroxytonic verses that follow an ABAB rhyme scheme. In the first stanza, the singular first person from the meditation of the second *angustia* speaks from a position of self-sacrifice and solidarity at the front of the Spanish Civil War:

> La muerte disfrazada va de fraile.
> Con mi camisa trópico ceñida,
> pegada de sudor, mato mi baile,
> y corro tras la muerte por tu vida. (Guillén, *España* 63-66)

Where in the previous *angustia* the identities of lyric subject and object remain in the symbolic realm of abstract self and other, here these identities begin to take on specific historical and geographical attributes. The poem's lyric object or "you" comes into focus as Republican Spain, which is under attack from the Catholic friar, a figure that symbolizes the far right. The representation of the lyric subject's embodiment becomes more realistic and geopolitically specific: he wears tropical attire and is a volunteer militiaman (having "killed his dance" in order to go fight for the life of the Republic). The following stanza picks up the register of riddles from the previous *angustia*:

> Las dos sangres de ti que en mí se juntan,
> vuelven a ti, pues de ti vinieron,
> y por tus llagas fúlgidas, preguntan.
> Secos veré a los hombres que te hirieron. (67-70)

Here, the two bloods of the lyric subject ask after the nation's wounds. At first glance, the prepositional construction "preguntan por" indicates a search for the most precarious or needy parts of the ancestral homeland in its present moment of crisis. On the other hand, "preguntan por" also connotes the act of doubting. In this sense, "preguntar por las llagas" would be the exercise of a critical thinking *through* the national wound, a questioning that signals a vital blood that perturbs even as it constitutes the national body. This kind of embodied critique demonstrates once again a body-political epistemology of the subject that expresses him or herself from a position of colonial difference, that is, a position of being both part of and apart from. The speaker's agitating and vital presence within the wounds of Spain corresponds to the critical distance of his witnessing gaze, which in the last line of the stanza is prescient and transcends the present war (as indicated by the future act of witness).

If the speaker of the poem circulates a vital questioning through and for Spain's wounds, his voice is also the critical voice that vibrates and resounds inside Spain's own chest:

> Contra cetro y corona y manto y sable,
> pueblo, contra sotana, y yo contigo,
> y con mi voz para que el pecho te hable.
> Yo, tu amigo, mi amigo; yo, tu amigo. (Guillén, *España* 71-74).

This stanza reiterates the speaker's solidarity with Spain-as-pueblo, particularly in the present struggle against monarchical and ecclesiastical tyranny. The poem's representation of the two sides of the conflict is clear in the contrast between the inhuman signifiers of power and the human embodiment of the pueblo: the metonymic conceptualization in terms of regalia and accouterments (scepter, crown, mantle, saber and cassock) identifies the body politic of fascism as absence and death ("La muerte disfrazada va de fraile") (63); conversely, the pueblo of Republican Spain is a "real" body that listens and hears.

As I have been implying, the representation of embodiment is an ethical and political gesture in Guillén's poem. That the lyric subject's voice is located within the body of Spain, near the heart, nuances his form of solidarity. A trope of Spanish Civil War poetry, the figure of the international volunteer tends to represent a symbolic World that comes from a great distance to defend the Republic. I have already mentioned Alberti's poem at the Second International Congress ("¡Brigada Internacional!: / tu frente es el mundo entero") (82-83). In Rafael González Tuñón's "Los voluntarios," the international volunteer militias arrive en masse, homogenous in their unconditional support: "No preguntaron" (*La muerte* 1, 8, 12, 18, 27). In Pablo Neruda's 1937 poem "Llegada a Madrid de la Brigada Internacional," the speaker of which sees the international volunteers as an undifferentiated league, "silenciosos y firmes" (29),

> llenos de solemnidad y de ojos azules venir de lejos y lejos,
> venir de vuestros rincones, de vuestras patrias perdidas, de vuestros sueños
> llenos de dulzura quemada y de fusiles
> a defender la ciudad española (31-34)

By hyperbolizing the racial and geographical distance of the volunteers ("ojos azules […] de lejos y lejos"), Neruda's poem creates a spatial vagueness that emphasizes the placeness of Madrid. Whereas González Tuñón's and Neruda's collectively identified international volunteer stands for an abstract World, coming to the aid of Spain in stoic silence, Guillén's individuated subject is a voice of conscience originating and speaking from within the space of Spain. In fact, he is an ontological figure that establishes the body of Spain, as the final stanza of the third *angustia* of his poem makes clear:

> En las montañas grises; por las sendas

rojas; por los caminos desbocados,
mi piel, en tiras, para hacerte vendas,
y mis huesos marchando en tus soldados. (Guillén, *España* 75-78)

In the vision of the strips of skin, transplanted bones and advancing military formation, there is the violence of a national creation myth. From the first *angustia* to the third, this imagery—at once apocalyptic and formative—has relocated from the geopolitical history of Spain to the geopolitical space of individual bodies—that is, from the pueblo-as-nation-state to the pueblo-as-people.

In his problematized and problematizing role, this questioning speaker of two bloods enables an exploration of Spain's "llagas fúlgidas" beyond their immediate referent of the war. This inquiry is present from the beginning of the poem: where the first words are a negative invocation of the Conquest and the colonial wound—"*No* Cortés *ni* Pizarro" (Guillén, *España* 1, 25; emphasis mine)—the second line invites consideration of the parenthetical "(aztecas, incas, juntos halando el doble carro)" (2, 26). The use of parenthesis cuts two ways, both sublimating the line and calling attention to it, making it interruptive—a grammatical corollary to imperial psychodynamics of suppression and resistance/return. What's more, the colonial drive to "bleed" the natural and human resources of colonized places haunts the poem's particular constellation of blood-related images, which includes veins offered in sacrifice ("y elevando sus venas, nuestras venas") (61), for example, as well as life-sustaining blood ("bebiendo sangre, húmeda de sangre, / la raíz de mi árbol, de tu árbol") (45-46).

As I suggested at the beginning of this chapter, artists and intellectuals have often understood the Spanish Civil War through the conceptual framework of imperialism, comparing fascism to colonial conquest. During the war, while the insurgency on the right adopted the naturalizing moniker of the *nacionalistas*, Republican propaganda framed the right as "traitors who wanted to 'colonize' the Spanish soil" (Enjuto Rangel 153). For example, in an article published in *Nueva España* in 1936, the Argentine poet Rafael González Tuñón used this rhetorical structure in his assessment: "se han adherido los católicos-fascistas a la arterioesclerosis, a la polilla, a la lechuza, al esperpento, a la mandíbula borbónica, a la picaresca criminal. Han adherido al terror de la Conquista" (*8 documentos* 175). The passage goes on, weaving the geopolitical catastrophes of modern Spain together with symbols of death: the Conquest takes its place in a system of symbols that evoke the *leyenda negra* by way of explaining fascist Spain.

What Guillén's *España* insists upon, however, is that the colonization of the Americas cannot be reduced to a metaphor of the past that might elucidate the present conflict in Spain; on the contrary, imperialism in America and the role of Americans in the Spanish Civil War are the same living history, as the lyric subject's vital presence implies. This decolonial interpretative lens refigures the first *angustia*'s repeated invocation of "(aztecas, incas, juntos halando el doble carro)" (Guillén, *España* 2, 26), which represents Panamerican union in the first hemistich ("aztecas, incas, juntos"), and solidarity in labor in the second ("halando el doble carro"). While the line brings to mind a kind of utopian internationalism that prevails in the leftist imaginary of the war, it goes beyond merely depicting the international through means of an allegorical or folkloric rendering of America; the image portrays the colonial burden that yokes Aztecs and Incas together in a profound parenthesis. Their union is colonialism; their action within the poem, a decolonial effort that occurs not parallel to the Spanish Civil War but as the foundation of the struggle against fascism. In this reading, it is these Americans who are the "remotos milicianos / al pie aquí de nosotros" (6-7), "lejanos milicianos, / ardientes, cercanísimos

hermanos" (10-11). The Republican cause is the decolonial drive. Thus, the "llagas fúlgidas" of Spain through which there flows the mixed blood of the lyric subject thematize the violence of colonialism as they do the violence of the war.

The fourth *angustia* of *España*, titled "Federico," commemorates the poet Federico García Lorca, executed by the Nationalist militia in August 1936. The lament reads as an interlude; the poem momentarily departs from the existential and historiographical questions of the lyric subject's identity in order to perform Lorquian poetics. Certain stanzas recall the rhythm and versification of the *Canciones*: "*Salió el domingo, de noche, / salió el domingo, y no vuelve. / Llevaba en la mano un lirio*" (Guillén, *España* 103-5; emphasis in original); others tap into the distinctive symbolic vernacular of *Poeta en Nueva York*: "*negro musgo* en las paredes; / brocal de *pozo sin cubo*, / jardín de *lagartos verdes*" (Guillén, *España* 91-94; emphasis mine). In this *angustia*, Guillén inserts himself in what by 1937 had already become a tradition among intellectuals of paying tribute to García Lorca through poetic remembrance.

Visible in glimpses throughout the first three *angustias*, the lyric subject reappears in the final section or "*esperanza*" of the poem, titled "La voz esperanzada: Una canción alegre flota en la lejanía." Whatever codedness exists in the pronominal language of the poem—the enigmatic orbit between the "I" and the "you"—is clarified in this section, which names the poetic "you" in the first line: "¡Ardiendo, España, estás!" (Guillén, *España* 131). The stanza goes on to represent the country at war with itself:

> ¡Ardiendo, España, estás! Ardiendo
> con largas uñas rojas encendidas;
> a balas matricidas
> pecho, bronce oponiendo,
> y en ojo, boca, carne de traidores hundiendo
> las rojas uñas largas encendidas. (131-36)

Divided Spain is physically monstrous, tearing itself apart. In the midst of this destruction, the image of the root reappears, symbolizing the pueblo-as-common people that sustain the body politic:

> Alta, de abajo vienes,
> a raíces volcánicas sujeta;
> lentos, azules cables con que tu voz sostienes,
> tu voz de abajo, fuerte, de pastor y poeta. (137-40)

Here, Spain is "subject to" its "voice from below," the same voice from below that interpellates the speaker in the second anguish ("arrastrándome y alzándome y hablándome, / gritándome") (53-54). In a poem where blood is charged with symbolism, in these lines there is the first instance of unspilled blood: the "azules cables," that is, the veins inside of a body. Spain's voice depends on this circulation; in the present crisis it is fragmented, dissonant and excised:

> Tus ráfagas, tus truenos, tus violentas
> gargantas se aglomeran en la oreja del mundo;
> con pétreo músculo violentas
> el candado que cierra las cosechas del mundo.
> Sales de ti; levantas
> la voz, y te levantas
> sangrienta, desangrada, enloquecida,
> y sobre la extensión enloquecida
> más pura te levantas, te levantas. (141-49)

The scene evokes bodily disintegration and resurrection. Within the conceptual node of "blood" and "purity," it is possible to detect the specter of the old racial legislation of Spain, an official preoccupation with so-called *pureza de sangre*. The theme of race and Spanish identity reasserts itself with the return of the lyric subject's two bloods:

> Viéndote estoy las venas,
> vaciarse, España, y siempre volver a quedar llenas;
> tus heridos risueños,
> tus muertos sepultados en parcelas de sueños;
> tus duros batallones,
> hechos de cantineros, muleros y peones. (150-55)

The syntax of the first two lines of the stanza privileges the position of the speaker, as if his revitalizing gaze were giving rise to the bleeding out and perpetual replenishment of Spain—and as if his "moment," the present progressive, encompassed the "always" of Spain. Once again, the lyric subject's epistemological agency happens by means of his particular embodiment.

From this moment forward, his phantasmatic identity (inhabiting the bones, the wounds, the memory of Spain) emerges in an emphatic declaration of his being, which is the climax of the poem. These verses displace the idea of the Spanish Civil War as something circumscribed in the space of the peninsula or in the twentieth century:

> Yo,
> hijo de América,
> hijo de ti y de África,
> esclavo ayer de mayorales blancos dueños de látigos coléricos;
> hoy esclavo de rojos yanquis azucareros y voraces;
> yo chapoteando en la oscura sangre en que se mojan mis Antillas;
> ahogando en el humo agriverde de los cañaverales;
> sepultando en el fango de todas las cárceles;
> cercado día y noche por insaciables bayonetas;
> perdido en las florestas ululantes de las islas crucificadas en la cruz del Trópico;
> yo, hijo de América,
> corro hacia ti, muero por ti. (Guillén, *España* 156-67)

The shortest verse of the poem—that self-affirming "Yo"—functions as a fulcrum; it announces an aperture in the rhythm, tone, and space of the poem. Where the first four *angustias* adhere to traditional Castilian forms and rhythms, from the "Yo" onward, the lines begin to run longer, propelled by an anaphoric drumbeat. The space of the poem—"España"—moves, definitively, to the Americas; and the cryptic language of the second and third *angustias* gives way to a capaciousness of expression that corresponds to the lyric subject's own critical capacity. If the technics of poetry may apply to the psychology and politics of expression, this assertive "Yo" is always already two, since the monosyllabic oxytonic verse is, by the rules of Spanish prosody, two poetic syllables. Indeed, the poetic "I" of the poem is doubled in his Afro-Caribbean subjectivity. In the writing of W. E. B. Du Bois, this "double-consciousness" amounts to an epistemological displacement, where the revelation of self occurs in the eyes of others (3). More recent scholarship finds epistemological potential in this identity. Since the 1990s, the field of decoloniality studies has rethought this problem with the concept of "border thinking" (Mignolo and Tlostanova), in which the subject of colonial difference is geopolitically positioned to produce knowledge rooted in "geo- and body-politics" (209). There is agency in this "epistemology […] of the outside created from the inside" (206), and to think from this

exteriority is to enact a "de-colonial shift" (210). Over the course of Guillén's *España*, the speaker performs the de-colonial shift to a body-political and body-graphic knowledge of Spain: the movement in the poem's rhythm and theme constitutes a formal and thematic self-revelation of the speaker and, through the speaker's revelation, Spain itself.

This lyric subject is a departure from the tropes of leftist poetry of the Spanish Civil War: he is not the volunteer militiaman, quasi-ahistorical and unquestioning in his solidarity; nor is the decentralizing impulse of the poem an appeal to utopian internationalism. The lyric subject raises an awareness of his body—a body that has been marked by ongoing enslavement and whose heroic contribution ("muero por ti") to the Republic cannot be separated from these marks. In these verses of his poem, the verbs stress the agony not of the Civil War but of the enslaved Caribbean body ("yo chapoteando"; "ahogado"; "sepultado"; "cercado"; "perdido"); by extension, the *agon* of the poem is not only the conflict between republicanism and fascism but also the internal conflict in the body of the colonial subject. Yet, the poem responds to the Spanish Civil War, and in this the poem stipulates a specific historiography: the war into which the lyric subject throws his life is the same colonial war against imperialism and slavery. As the "son" of Africa and of Spain, the speaker also *is* Spain, not in a symbolic or solidary sense but in a corporeal sense: where the nation bleeds, where its life force flows, there may be found the history of the lyric subject's body.

The next stanza opens with the same declarative "Yo," now qualified by this person's identification with physical freedom: "Yo, que amo la libertad con sencillez, / como se ama a un niño, al sol, o al árbol plantado frente a nuestra casa" (Guillén, *España* 168-9). The subsequent portrait of the lyric subject verges on caricature in its emphatic description of his racialized body:

> que tengo la voz coronada de ásperas selvas milenarias,
> y el corazón trepidante de tambores,
> y los ojos perdidos en el horizonte,
> y los dientes blancos, fuertes y sencillos para tronchar raíces
> y morder frutos elementales;
> y los labios carnosos y ardorosos
> para beber el agua de los ríos que me vieron nacer;
> y húmedo el torso por el sudor salado y fuerte
> de los jadeantes cargadores en los muelles,
> los picapedreros en las carreteras,
> los plantadores de café y los presos que trabajan desoladamente,
> inútilmente en los presidios sólo porque han querido dejar de ser fantasmas (170-81)

The reduction, whether mythologizing or ironizing in tone, of the black lyric subject to his body—strong, simple, elemental to and at one with nature—gives way to specific circumstances of contemporary forms of slavery. The labor of workers on the pier, highway, coffee plantation and forced labor camps materializes in the lyric subject's own body. In the course of a line break, the speaker returns his gaze from the space of labor in the Caribbean to the battlefield in Spain:

> yo os grito con voz de hombre libre que os acompañaré, camaradas;
> que iré marcando el paso con vosotros,
> simple y alegre,
> puro, tranquilo y fuerte,
> con mi cabeza crespa y mi cuerpo moreno,
> para cambiar unidos las cintas trepidantes de vuestras ametralladoras,
> y para arrastrarme, con el aliento suspendido,

allí, junto a vosotros,
allí, donde ahora estáis, donde estaremos,
fabricando bajo un cielo ardoroso agujereado por la metralla,
otra vida sencilla y ancha,
limpia, sencilla y ancha,
alta, limpia, sencilla y ancha,
sonora de nuestra voz inevitable! (182-95)

The yell of the speaker travels in two directions, bearing witness to Cuba's imprisoned revolutionaries even as it establishes the place of the lyric subject at the frontline in Spain—a transatlantic articulation across a geographical and geopolitical gap that locates Spain and the Caribbean together in shared struggle. The articulation across the gap resounds in a future life: "donde *estaremos* / *fabricando* […] / otra vida sencilla y ancha" (190-2; emphasis mine), "sonora de *nuestra voz inevitable*!" (195; emphasis mine). This inevitable voice features again in the next stanza: "para pasear en alto como una lengua que *no calla, que nunca callará*" (205; emphasis mine).

At the end of the *esperanza*, there is a change in the modality of this critical voice. The yell of the particular lyric subject becomes a song shared among the transatlantic *pueblo* that marches in Spain: "¡Eh, mulero, minero, cantinero, / juntos aquí, cantando!" (Guillén, *España* 213-14). The final "song in chorus" restores the revolutionary collective singular ("*nuestra* voz"). The last line of the poem glosses the imagined song: "¡Y la canción alegre flotará como una nube sobre la roja lejanía!" (241). The color red doubles as a symbol: on the one hand, it evokes the Communist International, which occasioned the influx of volunteer militiamen in Spain; on the other hand, it echoes the red of the "rojos yanquis azucareros y voraces," modern-day slavers. Of course, as the color of blood, red also refers back to the symbolic system, developed over the course of the poem, of vitality, epistemology and colonial wounds. The spatial-temporal multivalence of the "red distance" reflects the lyric subject's own multivalence, speaking from and about conditions of oppression in colonial and postcolonial Cuba, as well as in Spain.

Thus, the image of the transoceanic boat at the beginning of the poem is also multivalent: it suggests the foundation of imperial Spain upon the exploitation of Africans enslaved in America, as it does the voyage in reverse, the anti-imperial efforts (another national formation, now of revolutionary Republican Spain) of Spain's once colonial subjects. *España*'s body-graphical, semiotic combination of voice and blood are a double synecdoche in which there can be read the circulation of cognition through the body politic of Spain. The epistemology of the black, Latin American lyric subject—sensing the depths of a shared root system, doubting through the wounds of Spain, speaking through the heart of Spain—as well as the geopolitical history that his self-declaration channels—constitute this body of Spain.

Articulating Spain across the gap: "Buenos días, Madrid!"

Like Guillén's *España*, Enrique Gil Gilbert's poem "Buenos días, Madrid!" decentralizes Spain in time and space by representing the embodied enunciation of the lyric subject. Where in *España* the lyric subject simultaneously bears Spain in his body and circulates through the body politic of Spain, in "Buenos días" the lyric subject's colonial difference is an ethical position, the critical distance from which he speaks privileges his contemporaneity in Spain's war. By

geopoliticizing and historicizing his body in his address of Spain, the lyric subject calls forth Spain-as-event.

"Buenos días" is divided into three sections: in the first and shortest section, the lyric subject invokes Spain and historicizes himself; in the second, he problematizes his identity and the identity of Spain through philosophical and historical meditation; and in the third, he resolves these questions by staking a particular historiographical claim on the present-day war. The opening section, which consists of one stanza of seven lines, is an apostrophic address to Spain:

> Buenos días, España!
> Te saludo con voz mitad de negro, mitad de indio,
> vestida en castellano la palabra mestiza.
> Alzo mi saludo para verte
> por vez primera con alegría de hombre.
> Por vez primera en mis tobillos i muñecas
> no arden las pulseras que España me aherrojara. (Gil Gilbert 1-7)

The greeting in the first line is not a lead-in remark, but rather the exclamatory affirmation of a metaphoric new day. That the speaker invokes Spain in the sign of this new day indicates the poem's representation of Spain as an event—and, immediately, the speaker's active and embodied role in bringing about this event: "Te saludo *con voz*" (2; emphasis mine). Already, the poem articulates the agency of the speaker's enunciation.

After the invocation of Spain, the focus of the stanza shifts to the particularities of the lyric subject's voice: "Te saludo con voz mitad de negro, mitad de indio / vestida en castellano la palabra mestiza" (Gil Gilbert 2). The lyric subject speaks in Castilian with a voice that is half black, half indigenous—a voice of African and Native American descent. In his initial assertion of identity, the speaker does not admit European lineage except as clothing, that is, exteriority; his is a mixed voice cloaked in Castilian. This metaphor introduces a split between meaning and language, the philosophical basis for which is not linguistics but rather geopolitics: the Castilian language signifies differently in the speech of its (post)colonial subjects.

By making this distinction, the poem points to an ethics in which the physical act of speech demands separate consideration from the semantics of that which is said—or, in the words of Adriana Cavarero, a shift in focus from the "said" to the "saying" (26-32). Cavarero's work on voice criticizes western philosophy for neglecting the substantive, embodied aspect of speech—that is, voice—in favor of the semantic: "As it develops in different forms over the centuries, the logocentric tradition of metaphysics continues to insist on *what* is Said and never asks after *who* is Saying" (29; emphasis in original). In her interpretation of Hannah Arendt's work on the uniqueness of humans, which is disclosed through speech, Cavarero formulates a body-politics of voice: "speech becomes *political on account of the self-revelation of speakers* who express and communicate their uniqueness through speaking—no matter the specific content of what is said. The political valence of signifying is thus shifted from speech—and from language as a system of signification—to the speaker" (190; emphasis mine).[14]

Cavarero's body-politics is another way to understand the importance of embodiment that I am tracing in *España* and "Buenos días," both of which realize their political intervention through the self-revelation of embodied speakers. In "Buenos días," the speaker explicitly marks

[14] According to Arendt, "human plurality is the paradoxical plurality of unique beings. Speech and action reveal this unique distinctness" (176). Speech discloses who a person is (178), is thus the only category of the *vita activa* "from which no human being can refrain and still be human" (176).

the distinction between his speaking body and his spoken language.[15] Both poems register their speakers' corporeal encounter with the world—and, in so doing, historicize their speakers—by foregrounding the physical action of saying: "yo os grito con voz" (Guillén, *España* 182); "te saludo con voz" (Gil Gilbert 2).

My aim here, however, is not simply to point out that plurality inheres in the corpus of war representations, or that the colonial subject is speaking; rather, the bodily aspect of speech in this poetry carries over into the speakers' utterance, such that the semantic is a body-graphic production of knowledge. Thus, in "Buenos días," the speaker's description of his voice as black, indigenous and mixed establishes not only his individual humanity, but also the geopolitical and ethical position from which he critiques Spain. His embodied speech, "la palabra mestiza" (Gil Gilbert 3), constitutes political action in and of itself; beyond this, the semantics of his words bring forth Spain-as-event.

In his speech act, the lyric subject raises his voice: "Alzo mi saludo" (Gil Gilbert 4). This construction—"alzar la voz" instead of "decir" or "saludar"—contains the trace of radical action, insofar as the verb "to raise" has connotations of intervention. To raise one's voice is not merely to speak, but rather to speak *out*, against or in defense. This heightens the political stakes of the lyric subject's enunciation, which is ultimately not just a greeting but also a summons: "Alzo mi saludo para verte" (4). To call to Spain is to call Spain forth. As with his voice, the lyric subject's vision is specific to his subjectivity as someone who carries the collective memory of colonial slavery in mind and body: "por vez primera con alegría de hombre. / Por vez primera en mis tobillos i muñecas / no arden las pulseras que España me aherrojara" (5-7).

In this opening stanza, the lyric subject speaks to, sees and remembers Spain via his body. The anaphoric "por vez primera" reinforces the event quality of the speaker's greeting. For the first time, the speaker has the joy of a mature person. His "alegría de hombre" suggests not only the fulfillment of realizing equal status in legal personhood, but also the fulfillment of attaining maturity of consciousness. Fulfillment coincides with the memory of enslavement and the freedom to hail Spain in this "primera vez," this "buenos días."

That the poetic gaze upon Spain's new day entails historical witness is an ethics that drives Guillén's poem, too: "esclavo ayer de mayorales blancos dueños de látigos coléricos; / hoy esclavo de rojos yanquis azucareros y voraces" (*España* 159-60); "yo os grito con voz de hombre libre que os acompañaré, camaradas" (182). In "Buenos días," the temporal disjointedness of the speaker's visionary greeting is not unlike the metaphysical paradox of history's presence in *España*.

The second section of "Buenos días" elaborates that the speaker's voice is precisely that which constitutes the joint between Spain's imperial past and democratic potential. The first stanza of this section opens with a repetition of the speaker's greeting, now directed at Madrid. Breaking with the *Madre Patria* trope, the speaker ascribes a lateral family relation to Madrid, referring to the city as sister:

> Buenos días, Madrid!
> Desde la piedra eterna, sobre el mundo levantada,
> mi voz de indio se acerca a buscarte, comprendiéndote hermana.
> Esta voz que lleva cinco siglos
> toda cargada de tierra en una porción de carne oscura,

[15] In *España*, the speaker performs this difference in the formal and rhythmic transformation of his voice. Cavarero allows for the jump from embodied to written voice since, at least in poetry, the written belongs to the realm of the oral (150).

cuya canción de amor es lamento
i para quien un nacimiento no asolea de risa
la tristeza de los ojos nocturnos. (Gil Gilbert 8-15)

The speaker's voice "comprehends" ("comprendiéndote"). The doubled meaning of this verb signals the historiographical impulse of Gil Gilbert's body-graphy. On the one hand, the indigenous voice is comprehensive of space and time: "Desde la piedra eterna, sobre el mundo levantada" (9); "Esta voz que lleva cinco siglos" (11). On the other hand, the voice comprehends in the sense of knowing: "mi voz de indio se acerca a buscarte, comprendiéndote" (10). As intimated by the modifier "indio," the lyric subject's fraught historical relationship to Spain conditions his epistemological approach to present-day Spain.

In this approach are the signs of contemporaneity, as Agamben theorizes them. The action of Gil Gilbert's poem is to effect such a transformation of the age through the voiced (embodied) relation of disparate temporalities. He is "untimely" in his address, in which the ruins of the past ("la piedra eterna") speak to the modern-day present: "Desde la piedra eterna […] / mi voz de indio se acerca a buscarte, […] / Esta voz que lleva cinco siglos" (Gil Gilbert 9-11). This anachronism is a critical distance from which he comprehends Spain's "now," the immediacy of the war. In my use of the term "anachronism," I am interested in the poetic feat of reconciling temporal signs in the enunciation of an event.

The stanza goes on to give spatial dimensions to the speaker's untimeliness. He bears his temporal dissonance in the space of his body:

Este hombre que vive en un poco de mi sangre
aún con el estremecimiento en el fondo de la pupila
que antes de cinco siglos viera arder fogatas de caciques,
este hombre que todavía oye con mis oídos
cómo se morían aullando los indios
encadenados con hierros al pescuezo;
este hombre que no cicatriza en mi pecho
ninguno de los surcos que abriera en sus espaldas
la mano blanca del español,
que todavía siente arder el desierto en su garganta
i sabe que sus aguas no son para su sed,
que en vano los trigos rubios dan pan cuotidiano
si él tiene que roer raíces como un animal,
que en vano los libros están llenos de espíritu de hombre
si los hombres del continente nuevo
tienen la noche para mirar la letra;
este hombre que te odiara cinco siglos en mi sangre,
hoi te dice por vez primera con voz de compañero:
Buenos días, Madrid! (Gil Gilbert 16-34)

As in *España*, blood and voice are interlocking body-graphical symbols. In these lines, the speaker's blood is the record of both Spanish colonialism ("cinco siglos en mi sangre") and the resistance to colonialism ("este hombre que te odiara") (32). The man that "still lives," "still hears" and "still feels" within the speaker gives witness to historical injustice by bearing its traces in his body. Much like the speaker of *España*, the speaker of "Buenos días" cannot address Spain but through the perpetual wound of historical witness, "este hombre que no cicatriza en mi pecho" (22). His witnessing blood is a precondition to the greeting that heralds Spain: "este

hombre que te odiara cinco siglos en mi sangre, / hoi te dice por vez primera con voz de compañero: / Buenos días, Madrid!" (32-34)

The speaker's blood wound comprises a spatial-temporal gap, the colonial gap in which he articulates Spain. Brent Hayes Edwards offers a provocative theory of what "articulation" implies. Following Stuart Hall, Edwards appeals to the etymology of articulation as a metaphor of the body (11-15). To move, one must articulate joints; to articulate a joint is to experience the "strange 'two-ness' of the joint" (15), which both separates and links. The corporeal connotations of articulation elucidate the implications of articulation as speaking across a gap: "Articulation is always a strange and ambivalent gesture, because finally, in the body it is *only* difference—the separation between bones or members—that allows movement" (15). Like Cavarero's signifying voice, Edwards's articulation always evinces difference. The place of this difference is the origin of action. Although Edwards considers the philosophical implications of articulation vis-à-vis diaspora cultures, the same etymological implications suit the variety of geopolitical encounters that coloniality entails. In this sense, the lyric subject's articulation from the gap is an activation of Spain.

After the articulation of the speaker's "indigenous voice" and "wound that does not heal," the poem shifts. The next several stanzas historicize the space of Spain in terms of the trauma of slavery, the recurring memory of which destabilizes the idea of Spain as a fixed place or identity. Language becomes itself unstable, oppositional:

España, España, ¿dónde estás hoi día?
Mi corazón es bombo i mi alma maraca!
El negro que tú tragiste de África en galera
caliente la sangre i roja la sangre,
alza su voz ardida como aliento de puma,
alborota sus labios de canción
i por fin—este día—la blanca canción del negro,
la negra canción de júbilo, es canción para los blancos.
El negro vino cantando, marcado con hierro.
(¿En qué sombra de la noche mi abuelo marcó a mi abuelo?)
Vino a abrir la tierra con sus manos de noche.
Vino a ver el oro con ojos de arroz. (Gil Gilbert 35-46)

[…]

España en el mar era como el viento.
Traía semillas de negros i la[s] semillaba en su propia carne.
Negros de tierra vieja, negros que ven de noche,
en sus canciones lo dicen.

La tierra de negros no es la tierra de los negros.
España, ¿dónde estás hoi?

Negros viejos como la tierra, negros que ven de noche,
en sus canciones lo dicen.
Ya se acaba la noche,
la noche que era de día,

la noche que era de noche. (53-63)

A disarticulation of identities occurs in these stanzas' host of linguistic contradictions: the song that is both black and white; the day that is both day and night; the lineage of one grandfather dehumanized by the other; the vision in the dark; the nation dispersed over the sea. This rhetoric of paradox is most pronounced in the couplet that links African diaspora with the dislocation of Spain: "La tierra de negros no es la tierra de los negros. / España, ¿dónde estás hoi?" (57-8) By virtue of contiguity, the poem's implicit answer to the interrogative refrain of where Spain is today involves the embodiment of the black Latin American subject.

Once again, body-graphy transmits the epistemology of colonial difference: the repeated phrase "negros que ven de noche" suggests visionary and imaginative agency. A metaphor of darkness operates throughout the poem, in which past and present forms of oppression are associated with nighttime. This nighttime represents the physical repression of slavery: "(¿En qué *sombra de la noche mi abuelo marcó a mi abuelo*?) / Vino a abrir la tierra con *sus manos de noche*. / *Vino a ver* el oro con ojos de arroz" (Gil Gilbert 45-47; emphasis mine); it also represents the epistemic violence of foreclosing knowledge or the participation in knowledge: "que en vano los libros están llenos de espíritu de hombre / si los hombres del continente nuevo / tienen la noche para mirar la letra" (27-29). These lines attest to the dehumanizing conditions of oppressive labor practices, which threaten to deprive workers of the time and space to think—of their own "espíritu de hombre," a phrase that echoes the speaker's "alegría de hombre" in the first section of the poem. Nevertheless, the poem signals the production of knowledge that the nighttime cannot prevent, that in fact comes from the imposition of the nighttime: "ven de noche."

The speaker links this epistemology to Spain-as-event. "Spain" is not an absolute in this poem, as the speaker's rhetorical question indicates ("¿dónde estás hoi?") (Gil Gilbert 35, 58), but rather a becoming: "Ya se acaba la noche / la noche que era de día, / la noche que era de noche" (61-3). Through his enunciation, the speaker fixes Spain's "today," the new day of the salutation, as evental ("i por fin—este día—") (41):

Está madrugando en Madrid,
la noche que España hiciera.

(El negro que está en mi sangre
tiene risa de alboroto
hace maraca mi verbo i hace bombo mi canción). (64-68)

In these final two stanzas of the second section, the event resonates in the repeated verb "está," which links Madrid's becoming to the lyric subject's racial body. Conversely, there is a grammatical and temporal disparity between the first and second lines of the couplet just quoted that serves to delink Madrid and Spain. Madrid is becoming—"está madrugando"—whereas Spain would have done—"que hiciera." Madrid is a place where something is happening, but Spain is the unrealized action of nighttime. The lack of parallelism here deprives Spain of its placeness even as it ascribes to Spain an ideological drive. Having problematized Spain as a mutable geographical space, the poem establishes "Spain" as a mutable signifier/signified; here, Spain is the would-be nighttime of oppression.

Where the first two sections of the poem have historicized the speaker by way of giving geopolitical context to Spain-as-event, the final section of the poem clarifies the nature of this event as related to the Civil War. The speaker describes the divisions of war: "España, toda España ensangrentada, / como un corazón, partida" (Gil Gilbert 69-70):

Del un lado está mi España,
con su Madrid en la frente.
Del otro la España aquella
que hasta este polvo trajo, cruz, espada i espuela.
Por un Océano se vino hasta la tierra del oro.
¿Por qué caminos nos vamos para llegar a Madrid? (73-8)

It is clear that the speaker is making specific metonymic use of Madrid. Spain's besieged capital city—the bastion of the *pueblo*'s resistance in the Civil War—is not synonymous with "la España *aquella*" that carried out the conquest (75; emphasis mine), but with the speaker's Spain ("*mi* España") (73; emphasis mine). The lyric subject confirms his ethical claim to Spain-as-event by articulating the war's significance. As Badiou theorizes, "a subject is what fixes an undecidable event, because he or she takes the chance of deciding upon it" (*Infinite* 62). The lyric subject's epistemological and geopolitical position enables him to "fix" Spain. Having connected Madrid's becoming to the sonority of his black voice, the speaker recovers in Madrid the solidary, collective singular: "En Madrid está el camino de recoger nuestra tierra" (Gil Gilbert 82).

The poem concludes with a gradation recollecting the qualifiers that have acted within the lyric subject's body-graphical greeting:

Buenos días, Madrid!
Te saludo con amarga esperanza de indio i palabra española,
con voz sonora de negro i castellano vocablo;
mi alegría de mestizo,
porque llevo metido un mundo entre las venas,
te saluda, ciudad barranco de la historia,
en el idioma eterno de un pueblo
que ha sembrado su carne para variar la vida
con la fe dolorida de otro pueblo
que derramó su sangre y entre la noche espera
que la tierra y sus manos será para siempre en comunión perfecta. (Gil Gilbert 83-93)

The speaker reaffirms the particularities of his subjectivity that constitute Spain—his indigenous voice and black song. In the speaker's veins, indigenous and black *pueblos* course as one "world"—the *pueblo* that invokes Madrid. The final image of the poem presents the utopian promise—that vision in the dark—of Spain-as-event: "que la tierra y sus manos será para siempre en comunión perfecta" (93). The word "communion" transmits the root of communism: community, *pueblo*. It also evokes the Eucharist, implying a Christological figuration of the "people that shed its blood and in the night waits": Latin Americans of African descent. In a different sense, "communion" offers the miracle of transubstantiation—in which one body becomes the sustenance of the people—as a lens through which to understand the lyric subject's body-graphical feat of calling forth Spain. Ultimately, the lyric subject's invocation of Spain in "Buenos días" is in fact an interpellation—one that demands fidelity to the revolution of Spain-as-event.

Writing Spain-as-event

In both *España* and "Buenos días," the lyric subjects channel a confluence of temporal signs. The past and periphery of the Spanish Empire—slavery, nineteenth century revolution, independence, and abolition in Latin America—speak within the contemporary milieu of Spain in 1937. From this spatial-temporal gap, the lyric subjects witness and enunciate a future Spain: "Secos veré a los hombres que te hirieron" (Guillén, *España* 70); "En Madrid está el camino de recoger nuestra tierra. / Buenos días, Madrid!" (Gil Gilbert 82-3). The event quality of Spanish Civil War hinges on the radical merger of the signs of past and present-day trauma.

The relationship between these moments of trauma is one of imaginative fulfillment. Hayden White describes "traumatic events" as presupposing "a distinctly 'historical' element inasmuch as [they] involve an element of 'afterwardness'" (White, *Practical* 58). A prior history crystalizes in, and characterizes, a later moment, in which "the eruption of what seems to be in some way affiliated with an earlier event reveals or seems to reveal in the fact of that affiliation the 'meaning,' significance, gist, even foretelling, though in a masked and obscure way, both of the original event and the later one" (62). In Guillén's and Gil Gilbert's poetry, the past of decolonial resistance erupts in the present transatlantic fight against fascism; thus, the revelation of the war's "meaning" occurs in the history of colonial difference. In this sense, the Latin American lyric subjects of these poems—or the Latin American volunteer militiamen in real life, or the poets themselves—have a particular ability for imagining Spain-as-event.

I will conclude this chapter by summarizing how transatlantic body-graphies of the Spanish Civil War refigure the idea of Spain in four categories of meaning: history, geopolitics, philosophy, and ethics.

The categories of history and geopolitics are inseparable in this discussion. I have argued that both *España: poema en cuatro angustias y una esperanza* and "Buenos días, Madrid!" perform the historiographical function of linking Spain's war to the legacies of its empire. This historical framing stakes a geopolitical claim: the imaginary of revolutionary Spain passes through—or originates in—Spain's postcolonial spaces.[16]

Apropos the category of philosophy, the poetry in question substantiates the hypothesis motivating this dissertation—that Spain is constituted in the writing or enunciations of "outsiders," or from critical distance. In the poems I've discussed, the *longue durée* of Spain's history inflects the collective memory of Spain's *pueblo*, which channels intergenerational and transnational traumas. The revelation of the Latin American, indigenous or black lyric subject is a structuring device that decenters the discourse of the Spanish Civil War and of Spain itself.

Finally, the interpretive practice of body-graphy constitutes an ethical intervention in the discourse of Spain. Colonial historical memory and decolonial epistemologies nuance the often

[16] In fact, Latin America has haunted the critical junctures of Spanish democracy. The first independence movements in Latin America coincided with Spain's nascent constitutionalism, and the influence of representatives from all regions of Latin America at the Cortes de Cádiz reunions was decisive (Berruezo 303-19). Later in the nineteenth century, the ongoing subjugation of Spain's remaining colonies called the First Spanish Republic (1873-4) into doubt. José Martí proclaimed the emptiness of Spain's incipient democracy, arguing that the stain of colonialism would remain as Spain's original sin even if Spain renounced its colonial power (99). Cuba's fight for independence served as the model for the Catalan independence movement (Tobeña 87). Catalanists planned the movement in various Latin American cities (Balcells 87), writing the 1928 Constitution of the Catalan Republic in Havana (87). Cuba's flag inspired the design of the flag of Catalan independence (the *Estelada* flag), which dates to 1904-08 and is ubiquitous in Catalonia today (Núñez 242). In other words: colonial and decolonial history and geopolitics are constitutive of the imaginary of revolution within the peninsula.

totalizing discourse of solidarity, which would subsume individual identities in the collective singular of revolution, the abstract unity of internationalism, or the absolving familiarity of Hispanism. Guillén and Gil Gilbert convey a solidarity that embraces criticism in various forms—questioning, doubting, remembering. The particularities of different subjectivities mediate and give dynamism to their solidarity. As John Patrick Leary writes, solidarity is a practice, rather than a static position:

> Because solidarity is not a fixed identity, but a dynamic tool of the oppressed, it is a *practice* of political affiliation that must be constantly remade, lest it become ossified into the orthodoxies it is meant to unsettle, become trivialized as a rote form of cosmopolitanism, or shrink, demoralized, in the face of the defeats inevitably risked by those who have nothing to lose. (144; emphasis in original)

Or, as César Vallejo would have it:

> *¡Cuídate, España, de tu propia España!*
> ¡Cuídate de la hoz sin el martillo,
> cuídate del martillo sin la hoz!
> ¡Cuídate de la víctima a pesar suyo,
> del verdugo a pesar suyo
> y del indiferente a pesar suyo!
> ¡Cuídate del que, antes de que cante el gallo,
> negárate tres veces,
> y del que te negó, después, tres veces!
> ¡Cuídate de las calaveras sin las tibias,
> y de las tibias sin las calaveras!
> ¡Cuídate de los nuevos poderosos!
> ¡Cuídate del que come tus cadáveres,
> del que devora muertos a tus vivos!
> *¡Cuídate del leal ciento por ciento!*
> ¡Cuídate del cielo más acá del aire
> y cuídate del aire más allá del cielo!
> ¡Cuídate de los que te aman!
> *¡Cuídate de tus héroes!*
> *¡Cuídate de tus muertos!*
> *¡Cuídate de la República!*
> ¡Cuídate del futuro!… (“Cuídate” 1-22; emphases mine)

Here, Vallejo warns against solidarity as an absolute and unquestioning stance. In Guillén’s and Gil Gilbert’s poems, and in the larger archive to which they belong, Latin American subjects address Republican Spain not with a solidarity of oneness but with a solidarity conditioned by difference. The admission of this difference is what makes Spain-as-event possible.

Chapter Three
Memory and Coloniality in the Early Economic Transition

In Joan Rabascall's 1982 artwork *Paisatge Costa Brava*, the commercial landscape of Spain's Mediterranean coastline appears in a series of photographs resembling postcards. The viewer sees a proliferation of inanimate signs—identical high-rise buildings, rows of ceramic souvenirs, heaps of discarded materials—superimposed with the list of words "*Paisatge* / *Landscape* / *Paysage* / *Landschaft* / *Paesaggio* / *Paisaje*" (the list varies in order from image to image, but always includes the translations into Catalan, English, French, German, Italian and Spanish) (Figure 3).

Figure 3: detail from *Paisatges Costa Brava* (*Castelló d'Empúries*) (1982), Joan Rabascall
collection of the Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona

Reflecting on the rapid littoral development in Spain over the course of the mid-twentieth century, *Paisatge* satirizes the culture of consumer capitalism that developed late and abruptly in Spain. The near absence of humans from these photos draws attention to the erasures entailed in the naturalization of apparently static landscapes. The transformation over the 1950s and 60s of the Spanish Mediterranean into a tourist destination masked crises and economic displacements behind a narrative of streamlined modernization, Europeanization, safety and steadily increasing wealth. This contradiction is the subject of the present chapter.

Specifically, I move in this chapter to looking at the two decades that preceded the official Transition to Democracy, a period I call the Early Economic Transition or EET. [17] The argument that the loss of historical memory mars the Transition's narrative of progress is well

[17] As I argued in chapter 1, the "Transition to Democracy" that Spain experienced in the twentieth century is more aptly characterized as an economic transition to late capitalism that began many years before the death of the figurehead of fascism.

established.[18] Here, however, I want to show that this memory loss extends beyond the Civil War and the idiom of the Two Spains to a deeper history of institutionalized amnesia—one that I argue, again, must be conceived of transnationally. *Paisatge* serves as an organizing image for the argument I will make here, which is that the transformation of Spain into a postcard-ready paradise during the mid-twentieth century depended on the sublimation of power relations to landscape, and that this dynamic of modernization echoed the country's colonial economy of the nineteenth century.

Juan Goytisolo's performative exile

After fascism came to eclipse revolutionary Spain, which I imagined in the previous chapter as having an event quality that was fundamentally transatlantic and anticolonial, there followed the mass exodus of republicans, anarchists, communists, Jews and other persecuted groups. Around a million Spaniards went into exile in the ex-colonies in Latin America, France and other parts of Europe. This diaspora was "above all an intellectual one" (Ugarte, *Shifting* 58), with a disproportionate number of Spain's "writers, professors, painters, sculptors, actors, architects, and scientists" opting to flee the country (58).[19] For these intellectuals, the current of intolerance in Europe made continental exile too risky; instead, Latin America was seen as the most desirable place for relocation, "un auténtico paraíso" (*Escritores* 17:00).[20] Since intellectuals at home faced censorship or imprisonment, it was the exiles who carried the torch of revolutionary Spain in their writing from abroad (Ugarte, *Shifting* 16).

With the gradual reopening of the country in the 1950s, however, return exiles found that the Spanish Revolution no longer existed; its promise had vanished in the State's project of homogenizing Spanish history and culture (Ilie 47, Kamen 429-30), as well as the rise of Spain's consumer class in the 1960s (Fraser 168). Return migrants found in Spain "el desconocimiento absoluto de lo que era la República" (*Escritores* 40:00); with the Pact of Forgetting, they themselves were confined to oblivion.

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[18] See, for example, MacKay's and Aguilar's respective studies. Memory loss was institutionalized with Spain's 1975 Pact of Forgetting, which ensured that there would be no prosecutions for crimes that had occurred during the Civil War and postwar periods. The agreement resulted in a "sacrifice of the desire for knowledge. […] [A] curtain of silence [was] drawn over the past in the interests of a still-fragile democracy. Accordingly, there were not only very few official initiatives aimed at commemorating the past but also a certain reticence within the education system about teaching the history of the Civil War and its aftermath" (Preston, *Spanish Civil* 12). The corresponding memory vacuum was not officially addressed until the twenty-first century.

[19] The anti-intellectualism of the Franco regime is symbolized in the deaths of the poets Federico García Lorca, who was shot by Nationalists at the start of the Civil War, Antonio Machado, who died a refugee in France at the end of the Civil War, and Miguel Hernández, who died in a prison cell. Spanish intellectuals fled Spain in the sign of these three deaths. The famous episode of General José Millán Astray interrupting Miguel de Unamuno's speech in 1936 with the cry "Death to intelligence!" contributes further to the narrative of Nationalist anti-intellectualism.

[20] Mexico, in particular, would become the "nucleo del exilio" (*Escritores* 12:15), opening its doors to all Spanish refugees, and would continue to be a major hub for the publication and circulation of the work of Spain's leftist intellectuals throughout much of the twentieth century. Chile also received working-class Spanish refugees: in 1939, Pablo Neruda (acting in his capacity as Chilean consul to France), arranged for 2,200 Spaniards interned in refugee camps in France to receive passage to and political asylum in Chile.

In light of this, many Spanish intellectuals looked to Cuba, in the midst of revolution, as the continuation of the good fight. Juan Goytisolo stands out among the Spanish exiles who visited Cuba. In the early 1960s, he championed the "*pueblo en marcha*" he saw in Cuba, while at the same time reflecting critically on the changes happening in Spain. He would also be among the first intellectuals to become disenchanted with the Revolution, although my study does not directly address this falling out and considers a text and time period during which the author backed the Cuban Revolution.

Goytisolo was an exile by choice; his assumption of exile as a personal condition, as a politics of ongoing dissent and as the subject matter for his novels makes him an icon of the intellectual exodus from Spain in the twentieth century. A self-described child "de la Guerra Civil, de su mesianismo, de su odio" (qtd. in Grimes), Goytisolo was born into a wealthy family in Barcelona in 1931 and went into exile in 1956, living between Paris and Marrakesh for the rest of his life. If exile was compulsory for Goytisolo's intellectual survival in 1956, it became, over time, a voluntary exile, as well as a form of performance art. As opposed to an involuntary or passive condition, exile was the epistemological platform from which Goytisolo wrote: "Esta posibilidad del exiliado de ver una cultura a la vez con intimidad y con distancia me parece fundamental" (*España y sus ejidos* 189).

As Lisa Surwillo points out, Goytisolo's condemnation of Spain issues "from beyond the limits of the community, outside Spain and without an explicit intention to reincorporate himself into his original society" (171). For Surwillo, this self-positioning serves to liberate the author from the community he condemned (171); likewise, Paul Ilie signals a self-liberating maneuver in Goytisolo's "complete eradication of cultural ties" (53), and Michael Ugarte sees Goytisolo's "self-exile" as a will to forget the former signs of his own cultural identity (*Shifting* 192). However, Goytisolo did *not* eradicate his textual ties to Spain; despite his self-imposed territorial exile and oppositional stance, most of his novels and essays are devoted to historicizing and imagining Spain. Goytisolo did not dismiss Spain; he held onto Spain, while cultivating a persona of linguistic, political and territorial deviance. The paradoxical staunchness of this identity suggests, as Olga Bezhanova argues, that Goytisolo failed to free himself from the monolith of national identity (15), instead invoking alternative myths that implicitly refer back to national Spain. Nor has Spain's literary apparatus of the democratic period banished Goytisolo: in 2014, he won the Hispanic world's most prestigious literary award, the Premio Cervantes. I maintain, then, that Goytisolo's *literary figure* of exile functions not as a rejection of Spain, but rather as an authorization and means of producing knowledge on the basis of critical distance; from this position, Goytisolo wrote—railed against, deconstructed and reconstituted—Spain.[21]

Although he ultimately settled in Morocco, living between Marrakech and Paris until his death in 2017, Goytisolo's numerous stays in Cuba between 1961 and 1967 are of greater importance to my analysis in this chapter. I draw from across Goytisolo's body of work, including his travel, autobiographical and fictional writing; my primary text, however, is the

[21] Goytisolo's oeuvre transmits an acerbic criticism of the institutions he saw as constitutive of the Spanish state: imperialism and slavery, Catholicism, the state-sanctioned family, the Franco dictatorship, the Spanish literary canon and, traversing all of these, the Castilian language: although he wrote in Castilian, his style would come to be characterized by its warping of grammar and profaning of literary decorum. His novels bring in other languages that are also either subjected to sacrilege (namely, Latin) or that constitute in and of themselves a degradation of "pure" Castilian (such as colloquial Cuban and Andalusian dialects, and Catalan).

1966 novel *Señas de identidad*, the first of a trilogy known as the Mendiola Trilogy.[22] Written over the course of the mid-1960s, *Señas* is inscribed in a transatlantic, transmediterranean and transpyrenean circuit of exile, as the last line of the novel indicates: "La Habana – París – Saint-Tropez – Tánger / Otoño 1962 – Primavera 1966" (485).[23] This signoff emphasizes the author's exilic enunciation, and Cuba as the primary site of this enunciation.

In *Señas*, protagonist Álvaro Mendiola returns after a decade of exile to the family estate in Barcelona in 1963, having suffered a heart attack. Beginning with Álvaro's discovery of the legal and personal records of his family's slave plantation in nineteenth-century Cuba, the novel unfolds as a memoryscape of "signs of identity" that mark Álvaro, the Mendiola family, and the Spanish nation. Memories of Álvaro's childhood during the Civil War, his failed attempt to film a documentary on the emigrants leaving southern Spain in the 1950s, and his gradual alienation from radical politics in Spain and Cuba are plotted in a kaleidoscopic discourse that features grammatical aberrations, fragmented prose, stream of consciousness, metafictional turns of phrase, and a heteroglossia of focalizers, voices and languages. In the novel's last chapter, Álvaro goes up to Montjuïc to look out over Barcelona through a telescope; he is surrounded by tourists, and the discourse of the tourism industry and the tourists themselves result in a chaotic overlay of official, fantasized and censored histories of the metropolitan landscape.

Most critical work on *Señas* takes a formalist approach to the novel, subordinating historical elements to the novel's provocative style.[24] Virtually all studies of *Señas* highlight the novel as a dividing line in Goytisolo's writing career, the herald of what would become the author's iconic style. This characterization of the novel as a gateway text tends to sideline *Señas* as a tentative foray into a style more fully realized in the later novels, a style that will ultimately break with (national) history and historicism.[25]

Here, I propose to recover in *Señas* a critical linkage between testimonial and stylized language, particularly in the novel's treatment of temporality. Rather than a nascent postmodernism adjacent to a receding testimonial realism, these two modes work together in

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[22] The trilogy continues with *Reivindicación del conde don Julián* (1970), which mythologizes medieval, Islamic Spain as a form of attack on the Francoist State's Catholic and Castilian Spain; and *Juan sin tierra* (1975), in which the nihilistic trajectory of the trilogy culminates in the deconstruction of the protagonist and desertion of the Castilian language, an "empresa de sedición" (Goytisolo, *Juan* 319).

[23] Citations are from the first edition of *Señas*, which, as I discuss in the next section, includes significant passages that the author later removed.

[24] Early studies of *Señas* focus on the psychology of its characters and style: José Ferrando considers failure and abulia as organizing concepts, for example; José Ortega tracks the alienation of Álvaro/Goytisolo/Spain in the novel's "aggressive" style (10); and Paul Ilie explores the protagonist/author's experience of "self-exile" and eventual "alienation from exile itself" (114, 53). The question of temporality motivates both Jaime Martínez-Toledano's methodical decoding of the storyline and Michael Ugarte's theory of mythic time in the novel (*Trilogy*). Samuel O'Donoghue, Brittany Powell Kennedy and Ugarte (*Trilogy*) focus on literary intertextuality in their respective studies of *Señas*. Stanley Black focuses on the novel's structuralism, Ugarte its poststructuralism (*Shifting*).

[25] Stanley Black, for example, takes the novel's disordering of deictic grammar as "a sign of the text's transitional status, abandoning the formal features of realism" (58); the novel's "uneven texture, narrative dislocations and ambiguities are the signs of the author's attempt to break free of a restrictive tradition" (45). Bradley Epps limits his extensive study on Goytisolo's work to the novels that followed *Señas*, proposing to read *Reivindicación del conde don Julián*, *Juan sin tierra* and Goytisolo's 1982 novel *Makbara* as the real trilogy (7). Goytisolo himself says that his fully developed language and style appeared only as of the last chapter of *Señas* (*España y sus ejidos* 210).

Señas, lending an ethical density to contemporary Spanish history—specifically, Spanish modernity, which emerges in the interweaving of colonial and revolutionary Cuba, the turn to neoliberalism in mid-twentieth-century Spain and the concomitant exodus from southern Spain.

I read Goytisolo's critique of the tourist boom alongside his inclusion of his own family's archives from their slave plantation in nineteenth-century Cuba, and also in the context of his performative exile; with *Señas*, he was writing Spain not simply as a "tourist of the revolution" in Cuba, but also as someone who experienced his exile from Spain as the embodiment of a deeply personal, intergenerational and unresolved colonial connection to Cuba.[26] In this sense, Goytisolo's time in Cuba is the inverse of Nicolás Guillén's trip to Spain, which was something more than an act of political solidarity in the contemporary conflict there; it was an intervention in the collective postcolonial memory of Spain. The revolution in Cuba would replace Republican Spain in the global imaginary of the Left, but also in the leftist imaginary of *Spain*; and, in Goytisolo's case, envisioning the *pueblo* of Spain entails thinking through Spain's coloniality in Cuba. My argument here engages Goytisolo's representation of persistent and intrusive colonial memories to show that the economic dispossession of Spain's southern emigrants in the twentieth century and the simultaneous rebranding of the Mediterranean coast as a destination at once accessible and exotic to Northern Europeans are the economic and representational legacy of colonial Cuba, and that both colonial and revolutionary Cuba are necessary for reflection on Spain—or, following my characterization of the *Zeitgeist* of the 1930s in the previous chapter, Spain-as-event.

In making this argument, my intention is not to equate the plight of Afro-Caribbean slaves with marginalized and precarious populations in Spain, nor to claim, as some have, that the tourist boom in southern Spain was tantamount to colonial invasion.[27] I focus, rather, on the making of modernization narratives in these respective contexts, inscribing the parallel I am drawing in the concept of *coloniality*, as opposed to colonialism. My use of the phrase "coloniality of power" follows Aníbal Quijano's and others' work in the field of Latin American subaltern studies. According to Quijano, the workings of power in the globalized world of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries presuppose "an element of coloniality" deriving from the racial constructs invented to rationalize colonial exploitation and slavery (533). The modern world system that began with the colonization of the Americas operates on a triple axis of coloniality, capitalism and Eurocentrism (545). The official image of mid-twentieth-century

[26] Following Leon Trotsky's observation that the October Revolution generated intellectual tourism and Hans Magnus Enzensberger's reformulation of this idea in the context of the Cuban Revolution, Duanel Díaz Infante signals the way revolutionary tourism in Cuba was predicated on the production and consumption of images, especially images of prestigious intellectual gatherings (108-10, 114).

[27] In his historical study of Spain's tourist industry, Sasha Pack argues that despite the prevalence of imperial metaphors describing the march of northern Europeans on the Spanish coast, tourism is not a problem of colonial relations, but rather a question of the longstanding dichotomy between Spain and "Europe" (2-3, 192-4). He points to the lack of opposition to tourism from Spain's Left and contrasts this with the case of Cuba, where "the more genuinely imperialist American tourism […] rallied many to support Fidel Castro against the Batista regime in the 1950s" (3). For Spain, Pack argues, tourism was a problem of Spanish identity vis-à-vis modernity, which had long hinged on whether or not Spain was part of Europe (2-3, 192-3). Pack's work on tourism as a political question informs my work here, and I am interested in tracing a transnational lineage of the narratives of Spanish modernity and Spanish Europeanness. I am also interested, however, in the erasures entailed in, and unwritten dissent from, modernization, which cannot be encapsulated in the "Left" that, as Pack sees it, took power with the 1982 elections (3).

Spain that *Señas* critiques—a Spain that is modernizing and prospering, a Spain for Europe—depended on the management of other images: Spain's racial image and the image of poverty—*increasing* poverty, which was bound up in increasing repression. The importance of competing images manifests in the novel's central plot point of the failed documentary of southern poverty, constant references to the photographic images of official and unofficial Spain, and motif of scopes and lenses. Erasure along class and race lines, in order to produce a modern European Spain, is a sign of coloniality.

In order to construct this argument, I will first explore the connection between the writing of Casilda Goytisolo, a slave who worked on the Goytisolos' sugar plantation, and the literary figure of Juan Goytisolo as writer and as Spain's most famous exile of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Her unanswered letter to the author's great-grandfather is a spectral presence in *Señas* and throughout much of Goytisolo's work, and is, I argue, a foundational text for Goytisolo's many-pronged critique of Spain. In this sense, Goytisolo's critical distance is not simply an expression of his own individual exile, nor is it a product purely of the intellectual conditions under Franco; if Goytisolo is Spain's quintessential intellectual in exile in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, his literary representation of his own individual exile channels the exilic and diasporic voices of Spain's economic modernization, including Afro-Caribbean slaves in colonial Cuba and economic emigrants leaving southern Spain in the mid-twentieth century. In the next section, I will turn to Goytisolo's representation of Spain in the twentieth century. In marketing the Mediterranean coast of Spain, the government turned a deaf ear to—and actively repressed—its inhabitants. The resonance of Cuba/Casilda in this dynamic suggests the coloniality of power underpinning Spanish neoliberalism. I will conclude this chapter with a commentary on a scene from the end of the novel in which an Afro-Cuban relative of the Mendiola family arrives in Barcelona, only to be rejected by the family. In the previous chapter, I argued that race and decoloniality nuance the narratives of the Spanish Civil War as both the ideological battle between fascism and socialism and as the site of a renewed transatlantic solidarity; here, I will argue that colonial constructs of race must also nuance our understanding of Spain's economic and political modernization in the twentieth century. Coloniality of power does not exist solely in the postcolonial spaces of the former empire; it is also a mindset that came to drive modernization within the peninsula.

As in the previous chapter, I am interested here in the potential that literature holds for an imaginative historicizing of the *pueblo*. I read *Señas*'s temporal disorder not as postmodernist pastiche or the first steps toward the later novels' mythical time, but rather as an effort to bring to light the shadow of Spain's official history. Understood this way, *Señas* anticipated the historiographical turn toward theorizing Spain from the colonies, which occurred in the last two decades of the twentieth century (Schmidt-Nowara 157). According to Josep M. Fradera, national historiography in Spain stagnated in the twentieth century because of a resistance to considering or including the postcolonial world: "Spain suffered not only from this colonial vacuum, but also from an aggressive Spanish patriotic offensive in the twentieth century, a reaction to the loss of the last colonies in 1898 and to Spain's subaltern position in the international order" (qtd. in Schmidt-Nowara 160). *Señas* centers colonial history and also thematizes the "colonial vacuum" itself, in its treatment of collective memory. In taking this historical approach to the novel, I am in dialogue with Surwillo, who shows that Goytisolo was not simply a harbinger of the turn toward recalling colonial atrocities; rather, he stands alone in his refusal to write reconciliation or absolution into this history (174). This makes the critical

attack in *Señas* "inconvenient" for the Catholic paradigm of confession and absolution (168, 174), as well as something of an open indictment to this day.

Throughout the present chapter, I will show how Goytisolo's critique goes beyond both the condemnation of the Franco state from which he was an exile and the paradigm of the Two Spains in the fallout of fratricidal war, constructing instead a narrative of a transnational *pueblo* that coheres in the opposition to the processes of capitalism.

"*Esta poble*": foundational erasures and Goytisolo's literary figure

I have been discussing Goytisolo's biography using the term "literary figure." By "Goytisolo's literary figure," I mean to imply both the author and the focalizing subjects of his novels, who are often semi-autobiographical alter egos of the author himself.[28] This is most evident in the Mendiola Trilogy (Goytisolo, *Coto* 11), where Álvaro is a "pseudo-autobiographical *protagonist* of exile" (Ilie 116; emphasis in original). Álvaro embodies multiple, interrelated patterns of Spanish migration that speak to the long history of the country's economic modernization: he comes from a Asturian family that made its fortune in Cuba and returned to Spain to establish the family estate in Barcelona, as many of the so-called *indianos* in the nineteenth century did (including Goytisolo's ancestors, although they originally hailed from the Basque Country); as members of the bourgeoisie, the young Álvaro and his family must go into exile in France during the Civil War; as an adult, Álvaro escapes the repressive regime by voluntarily going into exile in Paris, Cuba and Morocco. Ugarte suggests considering these similarities between author and character not in terms of a relationship between entities but as a "relationship between texts" (*Trilogy* 70), with Álvaro embodying Goytisolo's own "textual search" for authenticity (71).

Like Goytisolo, Álvaro derives critical consciousness from his encounters with the "*señas*" or texts of his family and national histories:

> justo en el punto en que el odio irreductible a tus propias señas (raza profesión clase familia tierra) crecía en la misma proporción que el impulso magnético hacia los parias y toda la violencia impuesta en nombre de la grey civilizadora (a la que exteriormente aún pertenecías) aumentaban el foso abierto entre ti y ella y fortalecía el sentimiento de traición y desvío que aguileñamente anidaba en el interior de tu pecho (Goytisolo, *Juan* 94)

This quote, from the last novel of the Mendiola Trilogy, functions as a gloss of the first novel of the series; it is also a commentary on the identitary tension that compelled Goytisolo in his writing. For Goytisolo, it is his paternal family's past in Cuba that particularly marks his writerly consciousness as well as his exilic consciousness. His great-grandfather owned two sugar plantations and slaves in Cienfuegos, Cuba (Goytisolo, *Pueblo* 10); Goytisolo's discovery of letters from the slaves to his great-grandfather became part of the impetus for his political performance of exile (Grimes; Goytisolo, *Coto* 11). There is an apparent anachronism here that is indicative of Goytisolo's contemporaneity—in the Agambian sense—or critical distance: the distant past of his own family provides the context for, and is diagnostic of, Francoist Spain. This anachronism—much like Guillén's anachronism of bodies "saltando el tiempo" or Gil Gilbert's of a voice raised across "cinco siglos"—recalls Hayden White's idea of the traumatic event as

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[28] I will problematize the relationship between authorial identity and autobiographical subject in chapter 4, the primary texts of which are memoirs. Here I mention the connection between exilic author and exilic narrator for context, but my analysis will focus primarily on what is a fictional novel.

manifesting an affinity with an earlier historical event, such that both it and the earlier event obtain meaning through the materialization of this affiliation (*Practical* 62). In the work of Goytisolo, Guillén and Gil Gilbert, it is the Spain of the former slaveholding colonies that returns in twentieth-century, fascist Spain. This perspective takes the form of an embodied expression in all three writers' work; unlike the body-graphical expression of Guillén's and Gil Gilbert's black and indigenous lyric subjects, however, Goytisolo writes the perspective of the exile, whose excision from Spain, I argue in this section, has an affinity with historiographical excisions in the national narrative.

The autobiographical detail of the slave letters Goytisolo discovered in his family's records takes on a life of its own in the fictionalized world of the Mendiola Trilogy. Here, there exists a particular letter, written by the slave woman Casilda Mendiola to Álvaro's great-grandfather. This letter is a fraught presence in the Mendiola Trilogy: it appears in the first edition of *Señas*, but none of the subsequent editions. This was at the insistence of the author himself, rather than any external source of censorship (Domínguez Búrdalo 131-2). Since my argument centers on how the letter is made to function as a compelling force in Goytisolo's archive of modern Spain as well his own exilic persona, the publishing history of the letter, and its inclusions, omissions and uses across Goytisolo's work, merit discussion before I begin my analysis of the letter itself.

In the first edition of *Señas*, there are nine chapters; Goytisolo later cut much of the eighth chapter and merged the last two chapters into one. The letter appears in the original eighth chapter, which tells the story of Álvaro's extended stay in Cuba amid the October Crisis of 1962, interspersing the narrative of Alvaró's failed love affair with a young Cuban woman with his journalistic perspective of the escalation of international political tension. This storyline is both framed and interrupted by Álvaro's delirious, intergenerational memories of Cuba, which are narrated in concentrated verse form, such that "las leyendas y fábulas de tu mitología familiar e infantil" repeatedly erupt into the "realidad cruda de un país en revolución erguido en abrupto y espectacular desafío frente a la potencia más dura y poderosa de la tierra" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 400). Maryellen Bieder charts the exact changes from the first edition of *Señas* in 1966 to the second in 1969, noting that Gregory Rabassa's English translation, which was published in the interim between first and second Spanish editions, leaves out large passages of the Cuba chapter as well (299). The omission of the entire Cuba subplot and some of the interruptive, fragmentary Cuba memories raises the question of whether the second edition of *Señas* is in fact the same novel (300). Bieder's approach to the omission is narratological; her argument focuses on Álvaro as character and his sympathetic development in the first as opposed to the second editions. For his part, José Domínguez Búrdalo interprets the expurgation of the novel's Cuba material as a gauge of the author's own alienation from the Cuban Revolution over the course of the 1960s, observing that, although the author's support for the Cuban Revolution continued into the seventies, the original eighth chapter of *Señas* bears early signs of what would eventually become Goytisolo's disillusionment with the Revolution and with Communism in general (136).

The letter reappears a decade later in the final pages of Goytisolo's third novel in the Mendiola Trilogy, *Juan sin tierra* (313-14). I contend, however, that the letter is not the same in this later reappearance, even though the text is unchanged from its initial publication in the first edition of *Señas*. Where *Señas* reckons with Spain's imperial legacy and historiographical violence, as well as the author's own embodied complicity in these forces, *Juan* is a generally ludic embrace of various forms of "deviance" from Official Spain—blackness among them. In *Juan*, the author's treatment of race verges on a kind of anti-State fetishization. In this context,

the reappearance of the letter suggests an appropriation: Goytisolo ultimately co-opts the real, historical slave woman as part of the novel's collective, anti-Spain persona. With this in mind, a skepticism about the letter's use by Goytisolo—a white man whose very ability to write, publish and perform exile depended, in part, on cultural and monetary capital that were the familial/imperial legacies of slavery—accompanies my analysis of it in this chapter. Furthermore, Goytisolo made some slight edits to the letter in order to publish it, the nature of which I will discuss shortly.

That said, however, the original publication of the letter, in the first edition of *Señas*, seems to me less problematic than its reappearance in *Juan sin tierra*. In *Señas*, the letter forms part of a set of historical documents interpolated as an *archive of Spain* that has been repressed. Its inclusion in the novel illuminates the violence of State-sanctioned historiography. Nor is its inclusion incompatible with Goytisolo's critique of Spain, within which he repeatedly situates himself and his own complicity. As a part of this evolution of Goytisolo's relationship to the slave letters, it bears mention that a decade after *Juan* and two after the first edition of *Señas*, Goytisolo is still moved to open his 1985 autobiography with the transcription of three more slave letters from his family's archives (*Coto* 11-13); now, however, his refusal to perform any sort of gloss or revision is conspicuous: "me limitaré a reproducir aquellas [cartas,] cuya elocuencia me exime de cualquier comentario" (12).

I will not attempt to make a claim or speculate about why Goytisolo chose to excise the letter from *Señas*, nor is my focus on the excision as it relates to Álvaro as character, as in Bieder's study, nor Goytisolo as author, as in Domínguez Búrdalo's. Instead, I point to the letter's spectral nature, its simultaneous absence/presence and the precarity of its enunciation as signs of the convergence of the historical and textual realities of its writer.

The first pages of *Señas* allude to the letter in their characterization of Álvaro's ancestors: "en el descabellado y anacrónico universo de tus antecesores: cartas de esclavos del desaparecido ingenio de Cruces, solicitando la bendición de 'su mersé', el amo remoto—responsable tuyo en el moroso sucederse de las generaciones—que *cabalmente les negaba y desposeía*" (14; emphasis mine). This abandonment is clarified in the original edition of the novel, in which the letter eventually appears in full:

La tienes ante ti
(su dolor rezumado gota a gota
inspira secretamente tu destino)
en uno de los fajos de la bien ordenada correspondencia del bisabuelo remoto
entre las facturas comerciales liquidaciones bancarias recibos libros de cuentas
cartas petitorias de institutos religiosos fundaciones pías obras misioneras y apostólicas
(al heredarle
tu abuelo debía construir un extravagante oratorio para su uso privado
y la piadosísima tía Ángeles
fotografiada en el corredor del Mas bajo un umbroso quitasol oscuro
rodearse día y noche de un vistoso séquito de canónigos presbíteros sacerdotes novicios
imperativa y feroz
bigotuda
como una clueca rodeada de sus polluelos)
una simple hoja de papel
marchita
apolillada por los bordes

escrita con letra vetusta
vacilante
torpe
dirigida a don Severo Mendiola el 10 de diciembre de 1870
y fechada en Cienfuegos
mi amo
su mersé me dejó en casa de sus hijos la niña Ferminita y el niño Jorgito y yo hice todos los posibles de cumplir con la palabra que yo di a su mersé pero cuando vino la niña Telesfora a casa de la niña Ferminita me botaron de la casa y aquí estoy como quiera en la calle esperando siempre a su mersé
también diré a su mersé que la niña Telesfora bendió Julián a Tomabella y Tomabella lo bendió a Montalvo y desde el verano su hijo Jorgito no quiere pasarle ni medio
si su mersé quiere arreglar de otra manera pues ya esta poble no tiene que comer yo quisiera que su mersé me socorriera
memorias a Petra a María a niña Flora a niña Ángeles a niña Adelaida a niña Josefita y a la mi señora
y su mersé manda a su esclaba que pide su bendición
Casilda Mendiola (455-6; emphasis in original)

Here and in all the passages related to colonial Cuba, the prose switches to unpunctuated verse form, a stylistic shift which appears to follow from Casilda's letter. In her plea for help from Severo Mendiola, Casilda describes being a slave in the household of his descendants, and being thrown out, separated from her husband or son, and abandoned. Her appeal is predicated on a principle of family ties—her family, but also her memory or trace within *his* family. The repeated deference to Severo Mendiola's status—"su mersé"—doubles as a summons of his capacity for mercy. *Señas* only hints at the contours of Casilda's story; however, her letter suggests a reality removed from the Revolution's negotiation of the freedom of its future black citizenry.[29] At the time of writing her letter, Casilda would have remained, in practice if not necessarily by law, the property of the Mendiola family and subject to the family's actions—although the newly-passed Moret Law would have guaranteed the freedom of any unborn child she may have been carrying.

[29] Although Spain, under pressure from Britain, had abolished the slave trade in Cuba in 1820, the slave trade continued illegally through the 1860s, and slavery itself was not abolished in Cuba until 1886. In fact, Cuba imported more slaves in this last century of the trade than all of Spanish America combined did from the early 1500s to the late 1700s (Curtin 25). Casilda's letter is from mid-December 1870, two years into the first of three independence wars against Spain. To the extent that Spain depended on slavery to maintain its hold over Cuba (Scott 46), liberal activism from this era operated within and even maintained colonial economic structures (Cepero Bonilla 10). At least initially, Cuba's independence leaders feared not only the potential loss of supporters among slaveholders and revenues for the war from agricultural production (Scott 46), but also the possibility of a slave rebellion (46). In the face of pressure from the United States, rebel leaders proclaimed the freedom of all people on the island in 1869, but the subsequent implementation of a patronage system effectively maintained the status quo of slavery until the very end of 1870 (47-8). While abolition slowly unfolded within the rebel camp, the Goytisolo family continued to own and purchase slaves throughout the Ten Years' War ("Agustín").

The fictionalized letter of Casilda Mendiola is based on the letter of a real person, Casilda Goytisolo (Ugarte, *Trilogy* 155).[30] In a 1967 interview, Goytisolo claimed that the Casilda Mendiola letter reproduces in full an actual letter from a slave to his great-grandfather, with only names being changed (Rodríguez Monegal 58); he later described the interpolated text as an "authentic" correspondence that he "adapted" for the novel (Goytisolo, *Coto* 11). The real-life Casilda also describes the Goytisolo family kicking her out of the house and selling her family members. In Goytisolo family history, 1870 was the year that the patriarch, Agustín Goytisolo (the real-life referent of the novel's Severo Mendiola), had amassed the fortune necessary to return to Spain and establish the family's *indiano* estate in Barcelona (EcuRed).[31] Conjuring the colonial trope of the impregnated and subsequently abandoned Afro-Caribbean woman (Bakhtiarova 49), there is an insinuation in both novelistic and historical narratives alike that Casilda was the mistress of the man she writes: Álvaro, looking at family portraits in the novel's opening scene, reads his great-grandmother as "resignada y muda, perentoriamente vestida de luto, esposa desengañada e infeliz—suplantada en el lecho por las esclavas negras" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 17); Ugarte also states that Casilda Goytisolo was the mistress of one of Juan Goytisolo's ancestors (*Trilogy* 65, 115), transcribing the first line of her letter as "mi amo*r*" (155; emphasis mine)—"my love"—as opposed to the novel's "mi amo"—"my master." Thus, the inclusion of her surname, which is her master's surname, and the family paradigm in which she inscribes her relationship with him, become ethically charged; there is a latent interpellation of her reader as the father of her child.

Casilda's letter links family and national origins to colonization and rape; it is the testimony that explodes the Mendiola family myth of Álvaro's great-grandparents as "protectors" of the slaves they owned—the formative ideology that nurtured Álvaro's childhood vision of himself, his family and Spain:

> Te lo habían contado siendo niño y entonces lo creíste
> obligado a liberar los esclavos por decreto del Gobierno de la Colonia
> el bisabuelo había reunido a sus negros en el batey del ingenio y con lágrimas en los ojos
> puesto que les quería
> los proclamó libres
> seres dolientes como los otros
> sin protección superior alguna
> abandonados al destino cruel
> sin dueño

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[30] The author donated this and other original documents from the Goytisolo plantation in Cuba to the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University. This curated intertextuality with private, local or family archives is what gives *Señas* its historical texture.

My discussion in this paragraph references Ugarte's transcription of the original letter; he notes that the handwriting is difficult to decipher, and that a note in the margin of the letter indicates that Agustín Goytisolo, Juan Goytisolo's grandfather, had been a rich sugar-plantation owner who left his fortune to his offspring (*Trilogy* 155):

> 'Mi amor, su merse…me dejó en casa de sus hijos Ferminita y el niño Agustín y yo hice todos los posibles [*sic*] de cumplir con la palabra que yo di a su merse pero cuando vino la niña Telesfora en casa de la niña Ferminita me botaron [*sic*] de la casa y aquí estoy como quiera en la calle esperando a su merse…su esclaba [*sic*], Casilda Goytisolo'. (155)

[31] Owing the entirety of his vast fortune to the exploitation of slaves on his sugar plantations in Cuba ("Agustín"), Agustín Goytisolo's death in 1886 is symbolic; this was the year that slavery was definitively abolished in Cuba.

> sin señor
> sin amparo
> y al escucharle
> los negros lloraron a su vez
> porque el bisabuelo era bueno
> no empleaba el látigo
> les daba de comer
> les protegía
> y a su manera
> rústica y primitiva
> silvestre
> ellos
> los negros
> también lo amaban
> pero todo era mentira
> su protección
> el alimento
> el pretendido amor que les unía
> el dolor de la separación
> los discursos
> las lágrimas
> *lo sabes ahora* (Goytisolo, *Señas* 439-40; emphasis mine)

To "know now" is the *anagnorisis* that changes the direction of Álvaro's life, as the discovery of his family's slaves' letters did Goytisolo's: "El mito familiar, escrupulosamente alimentado por mi padre, se esfumó para siempre tras la cruda verdad de un universo de desmán y pillaje, desafueros revestidos de piedad, abusos y tropelías inconfesables" (Goytisolo, *Coto* 11);

> Me habían dicho que los esclavos negros adoraban al abuelo y lloraron amargamente al obtener la libertad [...]. Entonces [...] descubrí las cartas de los esclavos, embebidas de un dolor viejo de siglos, escritas con la sangre de sus muertos y las lágrimas y el sudor de su dignidad pisoteada. Bruscamente, mi respetabilidad burguesa me horrorizó. El simple nombre de Cuba constituía un reproche, y la conciencia de mi culpa y de la culpa de mi estirpe y de mi clase y de mi raza, me abochornaron. (Goytisolo, *Pueblo* 12-6)

This correspondence, and specifically the knowledge it imparts to Goytisolo/Álvaro, are particularly important among the reasons why Goytisolo and his literary protagonist go into exile; their respective refusal or inability to return to territorial Spain are a form of embodying this "*saber ahora*" or knowing now. The family lore surrounding the slaves in Cuba and Goytisolo's discovery of the slaves' letters when he was in his twenties are the foundational history for his writing, at least during this decade: his semi-autobiographical *Señas*, autobiography *Coto vedado* and Cuban travel narrative *Pueblo en marcha* all tell the same history in their opening pages; its retelling acquires a ritualistic quality. Of course, this was not just a family myth, but a story that protected the imperial status quo, since the image of the "mild and humane" Spanish slave owner, conventional at the time, kept reformist and abolitionist movements from gaining traction in mainland Spain during this time (Davis 450).

While the fictionalized version of the letter in *Señas* reproduces the essence and much of the same language as the original, Goytisolo manipulates the letter by homing in on the poetic potential of its orality or bare literacy. In the original, there is one instance of phonetic

misspelling: the replacement of the letter "v" with a "b" in the signoff "su esclaba" (qtd. in Ugarte, *Trilogy* 155). The fictionalized version of the letter renders this error a subversive propensity, and phonetic misspellings result in a series of double significations. Following Goytisolo's poetics of contamination, these linguistic aberrations and impurities can be unpacked as ethical transmissions. Thus, in the fictionalized version of the letter, the verb "vendió," phonetically misspelled as "bendió," resembles the verb "bendijo," "blessed." The final request for Severo Mendiola's "bendición" reinforces this evocation, resulting in the felicitous conflation of "selling" with "blessing" and therein revealing the intimacy between capitalism and Catholicism within the Spanish empire. This connects to a critique that is ubiquitous in Goytisolo's work: the Church is a morally corrupt political system, and its claim on sacred language is hypocrisy.

In a similarly illuminating spelling error, Casilda refers to herself as "esta poble," "this poor one," spelling the word "pobre" as it might be pronounced by someone of her class background in Cuba. This gives rise to a play on words in which "pobre" becomes "poble"—the Catalan word for *pueblo*. Catalan appears in several passages of *Señas* and remained, at the time of the novel's writing, a censored language—on a par with the "impure" forms of Castilian found in Spain's peninsular and imperial peripheries. As the Catalan nationalist projects of the 1960s foregrounded in their rhetoric, the State's proscription against the public use of Catalan put not only the language but also Catalan national and cultural identity at risk of extinction.

The fomenting of *Catalanisme* during the EET and the political charge of using the Catalan language are the subject of chapter 4 of this dissertation. In observing the way the Catalan language insinuates itself in Casilda's language, however, I am less interested in raising the question of Catalan national or linguistic identity than I am in the more abstract idea that a subversive pluralism is at work, fissuring the monolith of the Castilian language. The glimmer of another language or an Other's language in the slippage from "pobre" to "poble" is different from the snippets of dialogue in Catalan recorded elsewhere in the novel, which are overt interpolations of the Catalan language. Both Catalan and regional Cuban dialect signify *within* Casilda Mendiola's Castilian signification. This polyphony suggests multiple geopolitical histories. If Casilda's language aligns Catalan and Cuban Castilian as languages that have been subjugated or sublimated by Castilian, the colonial history that binds Catalonia and Cuba announces itself at the same time.[32] Triply signifying as Cuban, Catalan and Castilian, Casilda's

[32] Catalonia's intimate history with Cuba begins with heavy Catalan participation in the slave trade in Cuba from the late eighteenth century into the nineteenth century. In the first half of the nineteenth century, conservative political measures meant to limit the momentum of British abolitionism, the Liberal Triennium in Spain and independence movements in Latin America led to the so-called "Second Spanish Empire" (Marquese, Parron and Berbel 183-5), "the reinvention of the Hispanic state in the nineteenth century context of a free-market global economy based on the technologies of the Industrial Revolution, the exploitation of slave labor, and the maintenance of the contraband slave trade" (184). This imperial resurgence coincided with the reassertion of Catalan national and linguistic identity that began in the late eighteenth century. Catalonia participated in the slave trade from 1789 through much of the nineteenth century (Cabrè 65), and the vast majority of *indiano* wealth made its way back to Catalonia (Rodrigo y Alharilla 264-87). The opening of Barcelona's Bonaplata mill in 1832 marked the beginning of modern, industrialized Catalonia, which "became the one Mediterranean exception to the tendency of early industrialization to be concentrated in Northern Europe" (Conversi 12). Catalonia's cultural and economic claims to modernity, a narrative I will explore more in the following chapter, depended entirely on its colonial exploits in Cuba (Rodrigo y Alharilla 266-85): "com el llegat indià es troba a l'arrel de la nostra historia contemporània, darrere els moviments culturals que ens singularitzen com la Renaixença, el

"poble" contests the idea that Catalonia, like Latin America, was "colonized" by Spain, an idea that some Catalanist politics wield to this day. Indeed, as I will explore more in the second section of this chapter and the next chapter, Casilda's language/speech and the language/speech of southern immigrants in Catalonia reveal how Catalan nationalism involves a narrative of cultural oppression that masks the economic oppression Catalan industry and politics have depended on for the region's cultural advancement.

In the linguistic transference from "esta pob[r]e [que] no tiene qu[é] comer" to "esta poble," "this poor woman" becomes the embodiment of "this people," "this nation" or "these masses" *who do not have enough to eat*. A second error that ensues from reading Casilda's "poor one" as "people" is also significant. The Catalan word "poble" is grammatically masculine, but in the letter's multilingual phrasing it appears with the Castilian feminine demonstrative pronoun. "Esta poble" evokes a nation in the feminine, a nation that patriarchal Spain would repress. One of the figures in which this Other Spain leaves its trace in the novel is Álvaro's maternal family, "casi extinguida ahora" and erased from the archival memory (Goytisolo, *Señas* 55): "La familia materna no figuraba en el álbum" (49). Excised from the family album, Álvaro's maternal line is "associated with art and progressive, radical ideas" (Black 46), and represents the part of Spain that is expelled from the national narrative under fascism. Goytisolo's relationship to the Catalan language also passed through his mother, as he describes in his autobiography. His father was a staunch centralist and prohibited the use of Catalan in the family home (Goytisolo, *Coto* 36). Because his mother was killed in a bombing during the Civil War, when Goytisolo was a young boy, Catalan is a kind of phantom mother tongue in the author's literary production (35-7). The feminized *poble* that emerges in Casilda's letter, then, encompasses Álvaro's and Goytisolo's eradicated matrilineage, Spain's peripheral nations and languages, Spain's poor and displaced, and the black slave woman who articulates the term.[33]

In fact, the phantasmatic mother is a figure who wends through the author's childhood memories. In José Ortega's critical interpretation of *Señas*, the novel's central conflict is the broken maternal bond after Álvaro's mother dies when he is still a child (39-40), and Álvaro's relationship with his wife Dolores is the conclusion of the protagonist's search for wholeness (43-4). Ortega's interpretation looks to the state-sanctioned female relationships in the novel to explore the theme of the phantasmatic mother, but the persistence of Casilda in *Señas* and elsewhere in Goytisolo's work complicates this idea. Elements of Casilda's story reappear in other shadowy mother figures: after his mother's death, Goytisolo's father hired a maid for the family and forbade her from going by her real name, Julia, because it had been his wife's name. Goytisolo describes this woman, who his father renamed Eulalia, in terms of her class and sexual subjugation, which intersect with Spain's internal patterns of geopolitics and migration:

> *la pobre* sirvienta aragonesa, *embarazada por el amo de la casa en que servía*, madre soltera de un niño presentado siempre por sobrino, obligada a emigrar a Cataluña, a conocer mudanzas y despidos, acomodarse a los apuros y estrecheces de la guerra, Julia transformada para siempre en Eulalia, custodia celosa de tres muchachos a quienes

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Modernisme, el Noucentisme… Darrere els bons moments econòmics i financers; en la pedagogia, en l'associacionisme, en l'arquitectura" (Ainaud de Lasarte 6).

[33] Although somewhat outside the scope of this chapter, Goytisolo's geopoliticization of his own homosexuality is germane to this discussion of deviant, anti-patriarchal literary figures. As I suggested in this chapter's introduction, Goytisolo's exilic identity was politically performative; so, too, was his sexual orientation, associated in his writing with the Arab world and framed as liberation from patriarchal, Catholic Spain (Bezhanova 14).

llegaría a querer como hijos, ignorante, sabia, patética, bondadosa […]. (*Coto* 127; emphasis mine)

The servitude of a working-class Spanish migrant cannot be equated with a slavery system based on constructs of race. In Goytisolo's rendering, however, Eulalia/Julia bears the trace of Casilda Goytisolo: Eulalia is a "poor servant woman impregnated by the master" and subsequently disowned; she is twice denied her identity, first as Julia and then as the mother of the patriarch's child. Although the author displays his own ambivalence here—he does not refer to the child as his brother or half brother, nor does he express reciprocity when he says that Eulalia/Julia came to love him as a son—the quantity of text devoted to Eulalia/Julia and the affective tone he uses to describe her implicitly establish her as a mother figure. The unclaimed brother in Goytisolo's autobiography has a corollary in the Afro-Cuban relative that migrates from Cuba to Barcelona at the end of the 1940s, a scene I will discuss later in this chapter. In the resonance among Eulalia/Julia, Julia Goytisolo and Casilda Goytisolo/Mendiola, Goytisolo draws a ghostly maternal lineage for his literary figure. This maternal genealogy is not just a personal reckoning, but an effort to (re)historicize Spain itself.

Despite being removed from later editions of *Señas*, then, Casilda remains a foundational figure. As Ugarte notes, "[a]lthough the words of the letter were deleted from the second edition of *Señas*, their impact is felt throughout the entire novel as well as through the whole of the trilogy" (*Trilogy* 65). The novel constructs the *pueblo* of Spain on the basis of her erasure. When Civil Guards confiscate and destroy Álvaro's footage of Spain's emigrants in 1958, this action is not only reminiscent of, but follows from, the oblivion to which family and national narratives condemn Casilda in 1870. At one point in the novel, Álvaro reads over an emigrant testimony, the transcript of which he manages to safeguard even after his documentary footage is destroyed. Like Casilda's letter, this testimony is taken from a historical document that passed through the author's hands.[34] The diary is in fact the oral testimony of an illiterate, ex-Anarchist Catalan worker who was detained at the end of the Civil War, Ángel Bastomeu Palacios, as dictated to his son José (Ortega 69); José entrusted the diary to Goytisolo while the two of them were performing military service together (69-70). In the novel's rendering of this document, the testimony belongs to the worker José Bernabeu. Bernabeu's wife and children have been evicted from the family home while he is in jail for political subversion; upon his release from jail, he is blacklisted and unable to work; he is unable to pay for the burial of his child; he emigrates to France with his family, losing another child along the way, but once in France his employer fails to honor the contract of employment and he is forced to return to Spain; there, his desperate appeal to authorities at the town hall in Gerona results in another jail term. Bernabeu's words recall several of the elements contained in Casilda's letter:

> *y cuando yo pedía justicia no solamente para mí sino para mis pobres hijos y explicaba cómo vivíamos encharcados y muertos de frío el Jefe local de Sanidad vino a vernos y él mismo vio con sus propios ojos como estábamos pero a él qué se le importaba en su casa tenía luz y buen techo y calefacción pues después de venir él y prometer muchas cosas si te he visto no me acuerdo* (Goytisolo, *Señas* 384; emphasis in original)

The renunciation by those in power of those who have been exploited by power ("si te he visto no me acuerdo") and the phantasmatic figures of this dispossession are the *señas* that propel the novel's narrative and critique. Systematic erasure operates across text and context: the novel itself is a form of "testimony" that was censored in Spain at the time of its publication in Mexico.

[34] The diary is archived alongside Casilda Goytisolo's letter in the collection at Boston University (Ugarte, *Trilogy* 155).

From Casilda's letter to Álvaro's documentary—or, from the letters in the Goytisolo family archive to Juan Goytisolo's writing—one perceives the negative image of the official history of Spain.

If Casilda is the primary embodiment of the *pueblo* in the Mendiola Trilogy, her written text is likewise the genesis for Álvaro's documenting and Goytisolo's writing of Spain and the Spanish *pueblo* in figures like José Bernabeu. Casilda's language *acts upon* the language of Goytisolo as narrator, fragmenting his prose and compelling him to write as a process of intergenerational atonement:

> frases extraídas de los libros y fotocopias se superponen en tu memoria a la carta de la esclava al bisabuelo resucitando indemne tu odio hacia la estirpe que te dio el ser : pecado original que tenazmente te acosa con su indeleble estigma a pesar de tus viejos, denodados esfuerzos por liberarte de él : la página virgen te brinda posibilidades de redención exquisitas junto al gozo de profanar su blancura : basta un simple trazo de pluma : volverás a tentar la suerte (Goytisolo, *Juan* 51)

Goytisolo's narrator (here, the increasingly amorphous and disembodied narrator of the third novel in the series, *Juan sin tierra*) is driven by the "original sin" that is slavery, or Spain's *forgetting* of slavery; he is the "eternal outsider battling a societal desire to forget" (Surwillo 172). To "profane the whiteness" of the page is to act against the whitening metanarratives of Spain; in this sense, Casilda's letter is an archival origin for an unorthodox historiography of the nation.[35]

The language of profanation and original sin that describes the narrator's relationship to Casilda's letter raises the specter of Catholic dogma; however, Goytisolo's relentless narrative modality of "confession" forecloses on the possibility of absolution from his family's—and, by extension, Spain's—sins (Surwillo 171-4). Goytisolo's confessions destroy traditional national narratives:

> Cuba te ronda la memoria y no logras desprenderte de ella
> pudieras bien acabar ahora y tu pasado te escaparía para siempre
> pero algo perdura en ti denso e irreductible
> que aniquila tus proyectos destructivos te espolea te azuza te anima
> tu voluntad de vida inherente a la salvación del recuerdo
> y *una violenta*
> *imperiosa*
> *casi demoniaca*
> *necesidad de testimoniar*. (Goytisolo, *Señas* 401; emphasis mine)

If Casilda's letter is the metonym for Spain's legacy of slave trading in Cuba, the idea of "Cuba" is also the metonym for *Casilda*—the individual, embodied slave woman who becomes the ghost in Goytisolo's writing and Álvaro's spiritual exile ("no logras desprenderte de ella"). The Goytisolo family estate in Catalonia and the Goytisolo family plantation in Cuba "must be read together in order to understand […] the creation of the autobiographical self in Spain" (Surwillo 173); by the same token, Álvaro/Goytisolo and Casilda must be read together to understand this autobiographical self in Spain, this writing of Spain. Casilda interpellates and constitutes Goytisolo in his condition of exile, his critical distance from Spain.

Thus, I am arguing that Casilda and her writing are foundational not only of the *pueblo* and Goytisolo's writerly drive, but also in the particular exilic sensibility of Goytisolo as literary

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[35] I described this tradition of whitening metanarratives in chapter 1.

figure, as Álvaro describes in the passage that follows immediately after the reproduction of Casilda's letter:

han transcurrido casi cien años desde entonces
y cuando todo
absolutamente todo
como en este siniestro verano del 63
instiga a creer en la impunidad del crimen y el monstruoso olvido de la Historia
te basta leer la carta de la esclava para restablecer la verdad
y hallar en ella
en su certeza ruda
el fundamento y razón de tu desvío
tu regla de conducta
tu manera de ser
conquistados frente a la simonía e impostura de la fauna española
la moral que debe permitirte en adelante
proseguir
inexorable
tu camino
lejos de tu país y de tu gente
sin familia sin hogar sin amigos
contra viento y marea
sin ayuda
difícilmente a solas. (Goytisolo, *Señas* 456; emphasis mine)

When Casilda Mendiola's letter reappears in the last pages of Goytisolo's *Juan sin tierra*, this time definitively and unchanged from its appearance in the first edition of *Señas*, it is couched in terms of the narrator's quest to uncover the meaning of his very existence: "reproducirás una vez más, con tu caligrafía pulcra, la carta de la esclava cuya lectura esclarece y da sentido a una vida (¿la tuya?) organizada (en función a ella) como un ininterrumpido proceso de ruptura y desprendimiento" (313). The ritual action of transcribing Casilda's letter superimposes absences: Casilda haunts Álvaro, in part, because of her excision from the national myth; reading her testimony gives meaning to the "rupture and detachment" of his own exile, that is, territorial excision. Goytisolo's embodied writing as exile refers back to Casilda's embodied writing as slave.

As an ontological figure, the fictional Casilda Mendiola is similar to the black Latin American lyric subject in Nicolás Guillén's *España*, whose embodied voice speaks within, for and to the *pueblo* of Spain in the struggle against fascism: "pueblo, contra sotana, y yo contigo, / y mi voz para que el pecho te hable" (72-3). Casilda's letter is the "grito de dolor / fuente secreta del proceso liberador de tu pluma / razón oculta de tu desvío moral y artístico, social, religioso, sexual" (Goytisolo, *Juan* 314). Together, Casilda Goytisolo and Casilda Mendiola interpellate Goytisolo as literary figure—as child of Spain's Civil War, as dissident, as exile for life. Thus, *Señas*'s critique of fascist, Catholic Spain is mediated by its intertextuality with slave writings. Casilda's letter is not included as mere evidence or as an example, but instead as *the point of origin* for the novel's epistemology of critical distance. As I argued at the beginning of this section, this point of origin is unstable; it goes missing after the first edition of *Señas*. In the remainder of this chapter, I will explore how this legacy speaks across historical temporalities in the resistance to Spain's process of modernization during the EET. As Álvaro observes while

holding José Bernabeu's diary in his hands, these are testimonies that "ningún proceso, ningún bienestar, ninguna modernización […] conseguirían nunca borrar" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 377).

The scope(s) of coloniality: writing Spanish modernity from revolutionary Cuba

Broadening my focus in this section, I will connect Goytisolo's recuperation of Casilda/Cuba to *Señas*'s critique of the tourism boom, arguing that this critique hinges on the same action of (re)imagining Spain via Cuba, now revolutionary Cuba. *Señas* reframes the questions of memory that came to the fore during the Transition in terms of issues of racism and postcoloniality.

Álvaro returns to Spain in 1958 in order to film a documentary about the hardships faced by Spain's economic emigrants; this trip is the fictional frame to a journalistic exposé that covers the death of the traditional fishing industry in Murcia, the proliferation and subsequent "cleansing" of the southern migrants' slums in Barcelona, and the blacklisting of Catalan workers during the EET.[36] Álvaro/Goytisolo locates this diaspora in a continuum with the early modern expulsions of Muslims, Jews and Moriscos that were foundational of the State: "[*e*]*xpulsados* por el paro, el hambre, el subdesarrollo hacia países de civilización eficiente y fría" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 380; emphasis mine). This association deepens in the second novel of the Mendiola Trilogy (*Reivindicación del conde don Julián*), from then onward a key premise in nearly all of Goytisolo's writing as well as the author's performative exile. In *Señas*, however, Goytisolo is writing Spain from Cuba. In my reading of the novel, *Señas*'s critique of the EET involves the triangulation of what might be called Goytisolo's Spain—variously southern, "African" (Gotisolo, *Níjar* 10, 62), revolutionary and/or unofficial Spain—using colonial Cuba and revolutionary Cuba. This triangulation involves anachronism and a practice of multidirectional memory, as I will discuss.

The earliest critiques of the tourism industry in Spain were based on morality and came from within the most conservative elements of the government, which feared the invasion of the licentious *sueca* or Swedish woman, a catchall term for foreign women and the symbol, more generally, of foreign *ideas* (Vila Fradera 23, 33). Later critiques—particularly beginning in the 1980s—included environmental concerns and aesthetic objections to the "*afeada*" coastline (34), as well as political critique of corrupt development deals (339). As the industry developed, the *pueblo* or masses would have had little recourse for expressing possible dissent (23-4). In *Señas*, the critique of the tourism industry is focused squarely on social issues of erasure, dispossession and dislocation. As I will show, Goytisolo's archival, journalistic and imaginative work to give voice and textual memory to the *pueblo* reveals, in turn, the way that the tourism industry itself functions as historiography, intervening in the national narrative.

I must first point out *Señas*'s critique of the blanket statistical narrative of tourism. The novel is explicit, even didactic, in its condemnation of the *milagro* narrative:

> La modernización había llegado, ajena a la moral y la justicia […]. Pero si la prensa exhibía a diario los índices y gráficos de un despegue obtenido, entre otras razones, merced a la dura disciplina militar impuesta a la clase obrera y al mantenimiento de las arcaicas e inhumanas relaciones de producción en el sector agrario, ¿quién evocaba, en

[36] Álvaro's trip and documentary allude to the author's own trips to southern Spain in the late 1950s and early 1960s, which he chronicled in *Campos de Níjar* (1960), *La Chanca* (1962), *El furgón de cola* (1967) and newspaper articles.

> cambio, la existencia de aquellos que, a costa de su sangre, sudor y lágrimas, habían sido sus verdaderos artífices y sus víctimas, igualmente anónimos? (Goytisolo, *Señas* 375-6)

Clearly, the rhetorical question here is a metafictional commentary on the novel's intervention in national discourse. *Señas* answers its own call to action with documentary interpolations of the voices of the "*aquellos*" that, in Goytisolo's writing of Spain, comprise the *pueblo*. One of these, as I have mentioned, is the inclusion of several passages of testimony from the diary of a poor Catalan worker José Bernabeu. Elsewhere, the novel reproduces the speech of the inhabitants of La Calabardina, a coastal town in Murcia where a speculator who hopes to trade in on the building developments along the coast has bought out the controlling shares of the fishermen's cooperative (210). In one scene, the son of a man interviewed for Álvaro's documentary speaks in 1963 about the changes that have occurred in the years since the documentary:

> Con un gesto del mentón el hijo del Taranto apuntó las playas desiertas y dijo que en otoño empezarían a construir un hotel para los alemanes.
>
> —Ellos vienen acá y nosotros nos vamos a su país. Lo dice el sargento: ninguno está contento con lo que tiene.
>
> —El sol no vale dinero pero, con dinero, se puede comprar el sol—repuso Antonio.
>
> —Solamente de la Calabardina se han ido más de diez. En el mar no hay vida para los jóvenes. (198)

Here and elsewhere in the novel, tourists "buy the sun" and landscape even as the primary sector based on natural resources atrophies:

> Esperando los atunes que costeaban en primavera la almadraba había sido desarmada y boyas, cadenas, anclas, rezones reposaban en la chanca y depósitos del Consorcio tan decorativos e inútiles que los consabidos hombres sin trabajo, las mujeres enlutadas y graves, los niños oscuros y tristes. El amortiguado sol invernal reverberaba sobre las chozas de los pescadores. (239)

This shadow to the sunny narrative of the tourism is a sign of an economy that operates on South-North axis, where southerners are simultaneously displaced from and made to produce the South for its consumption by northerners.

The counter-narrative to the EET as *milagro* that I've just summarized exists as the surface layer of critique in *Señas*. Less explicit, however, is the novel's work to signal historiographical and national narratives circulated by the tourism industry. The reconfiguration of the Spanish landscape for tourism entailed a resemanticization and rehistoricization of Spanish culture, such that physical developments corresponded to an intervention in the national imaginary. This deeper and more literary, as opposed to direct or essayistic, critique occurs particularly in the novel's extended passage on the historical events in Yeste, one stop on Álvaro's tour through the South, and this passage's relationship to the Cuba passages.

Throughout the novel's Yeste sequence, Álvaro's memory of being in the town during its annual festival moves in and out of other histories of Yeste. Some of these are the memories of Álvaro's family: soldiers of the Second Republic's Popular Front shot and killed Álvaro's father while he was visiting the family's country house in Yeste at the outset of the Civil War, and a cross on the highway marks where "la canalla roja" killed five unnamed "caballeros españoles" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 114); the rest of the family was in exile in France at the time, waiting out what Álvaro's paternal side of the family calls the "salvadora guerra civil" (162). Family history dovetails with historical memory: in 1934, Yeste was the site of a reservoir construction project that resulted in the privatization of surrounding lands and rivers, and the collapse of the local economy; the ensuing crisis of poverty led to a peasant uprising and the subsequent massacre of

eighteen people at the hands of the Civil Guard in 1936, several weeks before the Civil War broke out.

As the novel represents this conflict, Yeste embodies a Spanish *pueblo* fated to play out a "drama urdido con sangre, sudor y lágrimas: vuestro destino común de españoles" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 125). For Goytisolo, the massacre at Yeste belies the promise of liberal Spain, here in the form of the Popular Front government, with its stated mission of aiding farmworkers: "Tras tantos siglos de olvido, la República, ¿iba a acordarse de ellos? Resultaba difícil de creer. Las autoridades, no obstante, lo afirmaban así" (123). With the economic crisis, however, "[u]na tras otra las Comisiones regresaron a Madrid. A primeros de 1936 había en Yeste más de dos mil familias sin trabajo" (130). This was a pattern across southern Spain throughout the Second Republic, with fraudulent or government-sanctioned appropriations of land by caciques disrupting local agricultural economies (Preston, *Holocaust* 119-21). *Señas*, alternating between journalistic account and fiction, recounts how the municipal government betrayed the townspeople, selling the communal forestlands—previously the basis of their economy—to the local cacique. Starving and denied access to the forest and two local rivers, the peasants banded together to reenter and resume working the communal land in mid-May of 1936; the Civil Guard intervened on May 28, arresting six lumberjacks and, the following morning, opening fire on the local workers who had gathered in protest.

Señas signals the way the massacre at Yeste goes unremarked in the official history of Spain and un*marked* in the landscape, overshadowed by the history and historiography of the Civil War. Where a mausoleum marks the site of Álvaro's father's death, no such text exists for the peasants of Yeste: "[n]inguna lápida evocaba en cambio a las víctimas del tiroteo del 29 de mayo […] se habían esfumado […] sin dejar huella. Muertos no, inexistentes. Negados por Dios y por los hombres" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 129); "Olivares, campos de maíz y cebada, una atarjea de desagüe, ninguna lápida conmemorativa" (138). In a maneuver parallel to Rabascall's repeating empty signifier "landscape," Goytisolo conjures the absent sign amidst the seemingly timeless, natural non-text of the Spanish landscape. The evocation of what is missing—that is, the suggestion of the landscape as mass grave—disrupts the archetypal Spanish vista. Yeste's erasure from official history continues in the present: a lengthy history of the reservoir construction on Spain's government website makes no mention of the massacre at Yeste, despite including historical information about the Civil War interrupting progress on the reservoir's nearly forty-year construction ("Embalse").

In 1958, Álvaro encounters Yeste still poor and largely abandoned because of emigration. The townspeople are fixated on the upcoming bullfights; they refuse to speak about the 1936 massacre, "[u]nos porque no saben y otros porque tienen miedo" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 122). Throughout the chapter, the hysteria of the panicking bulls and spectators is intercut with the report of the massacre in 1936, so that the *encierros* come to represent the diminishment of the revolutionary efforts of 1936 even as they symbolize the unspoken, unmemorialized brutality against the *pueblo* itself.

All of these memories of Yeste coalesce within an almost teleological awareness of the imminent tourist boom: "La vegetación crece apenas […] a lo largo de aquellos caminos polvorientos, ignorados aún por los turistas" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 114); "Es un público elemental y hosco sin turistas lectores de Hemingway" (151); "Estabais en la España de los Taifas, petrificada e inmóvil en el moroso transcurrir de los siglos (el turismo masivo no había llegado

aún, ni el Plan de Desarrollo de vuestros celebrados tecnócratas)" (139).[37] At one point, a parenthetical interruption of the Yeste sequence exile recalls the moment when Álvaro, in exile in France, becomes aware of the economic devastation suffered by the Republicans during the Civil War. He imagines the refugee border crossing at Perthus in terms of the reverse flow of tourists that would pass through the same border zone two decades later:

> (quince años después, en la cinemateca de la rue d'Ulm, Álvaro había visto con emoción las dolorosas imágenes de la derrota, de la caravana de centenares de miles de personas, hombres, mujeres, niños, ancianos que, a pie, con sus miserables enseres a cuestas huían en dirección a la frontera del Perthus, éxodo masivo numéricamente comparable sólo al actual, en sentido inverso de los turistas de todas las edades y países que, en automóvil, con remolques y carromatos, parecían huir escapados de alguna silenciosa y tranquila hecatombe ante las mismas peñas, los mismos árboles, el mismo paisaje que fueran escenario del gran cataclismo de febrero del 39). (162)

For Ilie, the comparison of the Civil War refugees to tourists is "a peculiar choice of analogy" (124): "The narrator leaps ahead of the tragedy […], now to associate it with another villain of Goytisolo's ideology, the tourist economy" (124). Yet the anachronistic analogy here is neither glib nor arbitrary. By writing the history of the massacre at Yeste so that it resonates in the plights of the war refugees and the economic refugees of the EET, Goytisolo inscribes the Civil War in a history of economic modernization that has entailed the ongoing dispossession and emigration of the *pueblo*.

The use of anachronism in this passage and elsewhere captures an experience of history in which Spain's unresolved and unmarked past continually erupts in the present. While the novel's stream-of-conscious makes it impossible to pin down narrative chronology, the frame of the novel is set in the summer of 1963, and this timestamp rings out with the steadiness of a funeral toll in the novel's otherwise temporally unstable narrative: "devuelto de súbito a la deprimente realidad de aquel agobiador verano español de 1963, te recobraste en el cementerio barcelonés del Suroeste hablando en voz alta" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 79); "en aquel espurio verano de 1963 tu patria se había convertido en un torvo y somnoliento país de treinta y pico millones de policías no uniformados" (235); "en este sediento verano del 63" (88); "en este ingrato verano del 63" (322); "en este apático e indolente verano de 1963" (332); "en este año bastardo y simoniaco del 63" (371); "en esta sofocante jornada de agosto del año de gracia del 63" (478); "en este siniestro verano del 63" (456). Against the prevailing rhetoric of these years of the economic event as miracle, as "extraordinaria y singularísima aventura" (Vila Fradera 17), as limitless, the novel's incantatory invocation of an "overwhelming" year in the history of Spain—corrupt, simoniacal and illegitimate; parched and suffocating; apathetic and indolent—continually snaps the narrator and the reader back into a present in which the tourist industry and consumer society are coming to dominate the landscape:

> A cubierto de la ruidosa ola turística que, como maná del cielo, caía sobre el dormido y perezoso país en este abrasado verano de 1963 (la radio había anunciado exultante, la

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[37] When *Señas* came out in 1966, Spain was in the midst of the first of three plans under the Franco administration for national modernization and development; the narrator is referring to the 1964–1967 Economic and Social Development Plan. The Development Plan fostered industrial growth in Spain's smaller cities, consolidated economic liberalism and opened up Spain to the foreign market, resulting in a sixty-fold increase in foreign investments over the course of the 1960s (Daniel 37). The Opus Dei politicians that replaced the original Falangist guard and implemented the Development Plans are known as Spain's technocrats.

> entrada de cien mil vehículos por la frontera del Perthus durante el último fin de semana: franceses, suizos, belgas, holandeses, alemanes, ingleses, escandinavos que venían a ver corridas de toros; beber manzanilla; tenderse al sol como saurios; comer pizza y hot-dogs en flamantes cafeterías bautizadas con nombres carpetovetónicos y castizos tales que Westminster, Orly, Saint-Trop, Whisky Club, l'Imprévu, Old England y otros […]) pensabas […] en Ayuso y tu padre, en los muertos inútiles del 36 y del 39, en la amarga generación de los tuyos, condenada a envejecer sin juventud ni responsabilidades. (Goytisolo, *Señas* 161)

As tourism resemanticizes the public space of Spain for consumers, the summer of 1963 emerges as the juncture in which the death of the radical potential of Spain-as-event—symbolized in Álvaro's political depletion and heart attack, as well as the funeral of the communist professor Ayuso—coincides with a new narrative of Spain as playground for northern Europeans. In 1963, tourism in Spain was entering a heyday that would last until 1967; over the course of the decade, Spain would come to surpass all other nations in tourism revenue per capita (Pack 188, 2). From 1959 to 1973 (dates that correlate to Spain's 1959 Stabilization Plan and the 1973 global oil crisis), the number of tourists per year in Spain rose from 4.2 to 34.6 million (Vila Fradera 28). Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the new Minister of Information and Tourism credited with the "*apertura*" or "opening up" of Spain to new and foreign ideas, spun this development into the "Twenty-Five Years of Peace" campaign in 1964—despite the increasing tensions and worker unrest that resulted from the uneven economic growth (Pavlović 76). The depoliticizing effects of narratives both created for and derived from the consumerist tourism economy proved strategic, enabling the state to not only sidestep, but also conceal, the issue of worsening repression of its people (Daniel 37, Jeffett 10)—1963 was also the year that the government censored Goytisolo's work.

The slogan "Spain is Different," which the Ministry of Information and Tourism began using in 1957, is the language of the EET campaigns that most endures, largely because the phrase has lent itself to any number satirical reflections on Spanish "difference." Using this slogan on posters and advertisements that featured folkloric Spanish tableaus amidst Moorish architecture, the government offered up as commodity the same cultural diversity it sought to repress (Figure 4). The concept of "difference" implicitly affirmed the centralist imaginary of Catholic, Castilian, unified Spain as the norm. In its official and bureaucratic usage, the campaign was to harness the narratives of Iberian marginality that had existed in various forms since early modernity and repurpose these as attractive and *safe* adventures for northern European travelers.[38] Tourism was the state's engine for generating a national brand: selling the image of the folkloric Spain of bullfighters, gypsies, flamenco and—especially—sunshine and beaches, the government "locked the country into the identity of a historical theme park, an island of imaginary difference to which the alienated citizenry of developed capitalist countries

[38] Since the Enlightenment period, anti-Spanish sentiment had been widespread in northern Europe (Pack 19), and even late into the nineteenth century, despite a growing interest in and market for international travel, the traveler in Spain "remained more of a swashbuckler than a tourist" (21). Although by the end of the nineteenth century the Mediterranean coast was gaining traction among upper and middle class Spaniards as a therapeutic getaway, the international tourist industry still rejected Spain as unhygienic (22-4). Efforts to promote international tourism came to a halt with the Civil War, and only resumed with the creation of a tourism bureau in 1951. In the post-World War consolidation of the industry, tourism in Spain was unique both because it was under the control of the state and because it was, in the early years, based more on rhetorical maneuvers than it was on infrastructural developments (27, 9).

could direct their steps in search of a primitive authenticity" (Afinoguénova and Martí-Olivella xii). From 1950 to 1975, the number of bullfights nationwide tripled in response to demand from tourists (Pack 152).

Figure 4: government poster ("Spain is Different")

A 1953 English travel guide—published in Spain, in conjunction with Spanish state-sponsored media—describes Spaniards as a primitive, gentle people: "The forms of popular expressions of the sentiments of the Spanish people, verily unspoilt children of Mother Nature, are diverse in songs and dances as can be readily seen when witnessing the 'sardana' of Catalonia, the 'muñeira' of Galicia, the 'jota' of Aragon, or the typical 'flamenco' and gipsy type of merry-making by songs and dances" (Serra Williamson 591). Punctuating its own rhetoric of exotification, the guidebook assures travelers that Spain "will be the most pleasant 'discovery' of every tourist, who as yet has not penetrated into this 'unknown and mysterious' country" (48-9).

This rebranding of Spain and Spanish ethnicity is ultimately revealing of a national politics of othering. Over the course of the EET, two entities emerged: a "new Spaniard" who was both modern and European, and a performer of a curated Spanish "difference," in whom "the very notion of Spanishness was reinvented in response to consumer society" (Jeffett 17). These two figures, magnetized by the perennial issue of Spanish modernity, correspond largely to "Northern"—Catalan and Basque—and "Southern"—Andalusian, Murcian and

Extremaduran—typologies.[39] During the EET, the vast majority of the government's advertising campaigns marketed the South and the islands (Pack 70), which were made to be both exotic and familiar to European travelers. Longstanding ethnic and racial anxieties surrounding the South as gypsy, Islamic and African Spain became the commodity of just enough "difference." Serra Williamson's traveler's guide, for example, advises that "the country has been very often overrun by different races, each one of whom has left its peculiar marks" (8), but assures travelers that southern Spaniards are nevertheless "not so brown" (14), that is, still white: "Southern Spaniards are known throughout the world for their dark complexion, but this apparently widespread conjecture is wrong, and 90 per cent in the Canary Islands and some 73 per cent in Zamora are not so brown as is generally thought" (14). In shaping a particular tourist gaze, state-sponsored tourist guides and initiatives like these also shaped the ethno-racial narratives of the nation in the persistent state project of whitening Spain.

In the following chapter, I will talk more about the ways in which the racial constructs of Spain's national imaginary weave through the (re)emerging nationalist discourses of the Transition. Here, I'm interested in the latent commodification of Spain's internal ethnic and racial others during the EET, both as the colorful narrative for attracting tourists and as the internal migrant workforce needed to build and staff the tourism industry and the industries of the Catalan economy. During the EET, tourism monopolized Spain's labor market and led to housing shortages in tourist areas (Pack 180-1); economic emigration, in turn, contributed to the decimation of small-scale agriculture in the South (180-2). Spain's southern provinces and Mediterranean coast saw massive demographic shifts as workers migrated for seasonal labor or relocated permanently; in particular, hundreds of thousands of southerners moved to Catalonia. If the conditions of poverty in the South began with the Andalusian *latifundio*'s mismanagement of the land of forest and irrigation zones (Goytisolo, *El furgón*, 195-200), these conditions became not just the effect of, but a necessary ingredient for, North-South economic power relations in the twentieth century. Just as Catalonia's dominance in the slave trade of the Second Spanish Empire financed Catalonia's cultural renaissance and industrial modernization in the nineteenth century, a form of internal colonial mentality would become indispensible to Catalonia's continued power in the twentieth. After the loss of the Cuban colony in 1898 and resulting waves of decolonial or return migrations from Cuba, Catalan industry was at risk of being unable to compete in the global market with the economies of the northern European countries; it was in the context of both this loss and the mobilization of the anarchist-syndicalist movement in the early 1920s that Catalonia's business elite, positioned within the major political party, the *Lliga Regionalista*, exchanged anti-statist, nationalist demands for protectionist measures (Smith 162-6). The *Lliga*'s entry into the centralist government ensured not only protectionism for Catalan industry (the same occurred in the Basque Country), but also the financial ruin of southern agricultural industries, since the southern autonomous communities still had to compete in the foreign market:

> El proteccionismo otorgado a las industrias catalana y vasca acabó con la industria y artesanado del Sudeste. […] [M]ientras los campesinos del Sur soportaban la competencia extranjera en el mercado nacional, debían dirigirse a Cataluña y País Vasco para vestirse, proveerse de utillaje agrícola, comprar abono, etc. Tras vender sus productos a bajo precio, tenían que pagar el instrumental necesario a su cultivo al precio que les dictaba la industria bilbaína y barcelonesa. (Goytisolo, *El furgón* 199)

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[39] In early modernity, the phrase "descended from the Goths" referred to Spaniards from the North, regions that were never under Muslim rule and that supposedly initiated the *Reconquista* (Martínez 80).

Here again, the Catalan bourgeoisie's role as economic and social oppressor nuances its own experience of cultural and national oppression. Nearly all the major players of the development and hotel industries during the EET—the "founding fathers" of modern Spanish tourism (Vila Fradera 37)—were Catalan (37-60). Goytisolo concludes that the South was essentially converted into an internal colony of the northern economic powers: "la alianza de la industria vascocatalana y el latifundio andaluz, significaba, a fin de cuentas, el mantenimiento del Sur a un nivel de colonia de explotación" (*El furgón* 199). Thus, two stereotypes played into the reconfiguration of the national narrative during the EET: the exotic southerner, featured in the posters geared toward an international market; and the poor southerner. The simultaneous normalization and invisibilization of the latter were necessary to ensure economic growth, making the critique of economic injustices an unspeakable narrative.

Indeed, when the Civil Guard in Yeste destroys Álvaro's documentary, the action symbolizes the unspeakability of poverty in the official narrative of Spain: police surveillance logs identify Álvaro as the "*autor del film anti-español sobre la emigración obrera intervenido por la guardia civil de Yeste, Albacete, el 23-8-58*" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 234; emphasis in original). Likewise, the first person plural that represents the Spain of official institutions refers to Álvaro as "*anti-español* por haber rodado un breve documental de planificación defectuosa y chata pésimamente amalgamado y carente de garbo fotográfico y de poesía" (9; emphasis mine). Álvaro and the documentary are "anti-Spanish," the implication of this being that Spain is to be a harmonious and welcoming tableau. The "elegance and poetry" that the institutional "we" alludes to here is precisely the aim of the tourism campaigns, which promote a postcard-ready Spain. In this sense, the tourism initiatives were something more than an economic enterprise; they were the means by which the state sought to renew and control the national narrative. If initially the tourism bureau was preoccupied with combatting anti-Spanish propaganda abroad (Pack 130), by the 1960s it had shifted from a defensive tack to the dissemination of a national history and identity, the circulation of which was internal as well as international.

Over the course of the EET, all sectors of Spanish society developed what Sasha Pack calls a "touristic consciousness" (137, 167)—that is, a sense of being beholden to the figure of the tourist as the agent of economic and national progress. While Pack uses the phrase to refer to a collective awareness of the need for improvements and standardization across the hospitality industry, "touristic consciousness" works well as a psychological descriptor of the internalization of an imagined gaze and historiographical imperative—a reimagining of the nation through the narratives used to market Spain. Reconceived this way, "touristic consciousness" could well caption the cacophonous final chapter of *Señas*, in which Álvaro and a legion of tourists look out over Barcelona through the telescopes on Montjuïc. Here, historical and dialogical intercalations, as well as the noise and clutter of tourism, result in a phantasmagoria of official, national, local, erased and transnational histories.[40] It is clear that much has been erased in the production of this postcard landscape of Barcelona: "edificios legañosos jardines cipreses restos de chabolas buldozers brigadas de obreros el parque las torres vetustas del estadio inútil el envejecido palacio

[40] Montjuïc is the name of the hill and fortress in southwest Barcelona. In his study of the photographic mechanism in *Señas*'s final scene, Benjamin K. Fraser points out that the history of Montjuïc's transformation is a spectacle of power and modernization that is representative of Barcelona's history more generally (155). In the twentieth century, the central monarchist government, the Second Republic and the Franco regime all used the fortress at different times as a political prison and execution ground; in 1929, Montjuïc was the site of the World Exposition; the *chabolas* or slums of southern Spanish migrants covered the area until the "cleansing" efforts of the Transition period.

de la Exposición barracas en ruina nuevas chozas farolas plateadas avenidas el campo las afueras más humo más chimeneas más fábricas" (Goytisolo, *Señas* 468); "las chabolas barracas y chozas condenadas como sus precarios dueñas al destino insalvable de la fosa común" (473); "brigadas de obreros habían borrado cuidadosamente los impactos de las balas y abierto a las miradas indiscretas de los curiosos el lugar parecía proclamar a los cuatro vientos su inocencia" (479).

As a motif in *Señas*, the telescopes in this final scene hark back to a number of other lenses in the novel (the camera lenses of the tourists themselves, documentary film lenses, the binoculars through which the Civil Guard keeps watch on Álvaro and his companions as they tour Yeste); they are, however, most reminiscent of the telescope belonging to Eulogio, Álvaro's paternal uncle. An idiosyncratic polymath and speculator in the coffee market in Central America and the Caribbean, Eulogio bridges the themes of surveillance and colonialism. Eulogio is, indeed, the "eulogy" for colonial Spain in Cuba: he waxes nostalgic about Cuba, laments the fall of the Spanish Empire and of European dominance, and appears in Álvaro's memories and the family album with his telescope in hand, surveying coffee plantations in Nicaragua or on the family's *ingenio* in Cuba (Goytisolo, *Señas* 34). Eulogio is another anachronistic intrusion, and largely an ironic figure in the novel: he ends up in a sanatorium, convinced of an imminent Russian takeover of Europe; Álvaro amuses himself imagining "la reacción del tío Eulogio, de haber seguido en vida, ante la expropriación y la huida de los Mendiola a Miami y los levantamientos negros y matanzas de misioneros en Angola y Kenya" (40). While in Cuba, however, Álvaro channels the voice of Eulogio and Eulogio's ever-present *Geografía de Cuba*, in a passage that returns the narrative to the childhood memories from the first pages of the book. The passage begins with an omniscient vision of tropical paradise and transitions into second person narration; here, the second person is no longer simply Álvaro himself, but rather the collective ancestry of the *ingenio* in Cienfuegos:

> El clima del lugar es magnífico.
> su situación en la zona intertropical y la acción benigna de las corrientes marinas
> [determinan que sus inviernos sean breves y poco acentuados sus veranos estimulantes y
> [frescos un país ideal en suma para los reumáticos y los gotosos
> su flora es espléndida generosa salvaje
> árboles inmensos frutos variopintos flores desmesuradas y exóticas
> los animales de la selva vagan libremente por el campo combaten las plagas nocivas son
> [amigos y aliados del hombre
> tu casa corona la cima de un monte rodeado de mar azul arrecifes de coral playas de
> [arena blanca bosques de cocoteros
> el sol brilla rotundo sobre la copa de los árboles y en el cielo no hay una nube
> desde tu ventana abarcas las ricas plantaciones de café cacao vainilla caña de azúcar
> [copra
> los baobabs las palmeras las ceibas las secoyas los ficus
> las chimeneas del ingenio en el que tus peones y obreros trabajan
> […]
> los negros te saludan afectuosos
> su alimento consiste en meladura de caña flores silvestres hierbas aromáticas
> sin necesidad de recurrir a los castigos te admiran te respetan te quieren
> su carácter es dulce y son católicos
> tú los llamas a cada uno por su nombre
> Bobó

Sesé
Arará
como en las novelas de Emilio Salgari
y ellos piden tu bendición se arrodillan te besan la mano
espaciosamente recorres tus dominios verificando que todo está en orden
tus propiedades tus inmuebles tu ganado tus rentas
los peones se descubren para saludarte
los viejos te sonríen
los niños te rodean
los animales de la jungla te escoltan
bejucos y orquídeas se inclinan a tu paso y parecen rendirte homenaje
te crees a salvo
entronizado en tu puesto por los siglos de los siglos
y cuando despiertas segundos más tarde
te recobras en tu habitación del Mas con la 'Geografía de Cuba' de tu tío Eulogio debajo
[de la almohada (425-7)

In Álvaro's intergenerational colonial dream, which echoes the family myth of the Mendiola patriarch as gentle and good slave owner, Cuba appears as a paradise and therapeutic destination, and slaves as both docile and seamless elements in a "natural" landscape. This nostalgic and "natural" representation of Cuba recalls the insidiousness of the "borrosas postales de Cienfuegos con sus plazas desiertas, iglesias blancas y palmas reales primorosamente dispuestas como en un ingenuo decorado de teatro" that Álvaro observes on the walls of the family estate in Barcelona in the first pages of the novel (16). The sublimation of colonial violence to a postcard-ready landscape in nineteenth-century Cuba is a precedent for the emptying out of historical memory of the working class struggle in Spain that happens with the advent of a touristic consciousness in Spain.

If Eulogio and the colonial scope inflect Álvaro's knowledge of Cuba, firsthand experience in 1960s Cuba also enters into the focalization of Goytisolo's literary figure. Álvaro's "awakening" from colonial delusion immediately segues back into the narrative of his time reporting during the Cuban Missile Crisis, another autobiographical element of the novel.[41] Goytisolo was among a number of international intellectuals present in the early years of Cuba's revolutionary government. As Rafael Rojas suggests, a history of the Cuban Revolution as an intellectual event among Latin American, European and North American leftists runs parallel to

[41] Goytisolo made several visits to Cuba between 1961 and 1967, the years during which he wrote *Señas*. He was staying in La Habana, touring the rural provinces and writing about what he saw at a time when the Revolution was becoming increasingly socialist in nature. After coming to power at the beginning of 1959, the revolutionary government initially pursued a reformist agenda that was fundamentally nationalist, democratic and moderate, following the original objectives of the Revolution (Rojas, *Historia* 98-103). By the end of 1959, however, in the context of militant actions against anticommunist public figures, the suspension of *habeas corpus* and postponing of elections (102-9), Cuba's moderate politicians had all resigned or been pushed out of office (109). By early 1961, the government openly avowed communism (117). The conflict with the United States and the concentration of the immense popular support of the Revolution in the figure of Fidel Castro were popularly taken to be justification for the radicalization of the government, arrests and executions of anticommunist opposition members, and rejection of representative government in favor of Castro's direct connection with the masses were all justified (116-29). Many of the thousands arrested during the Bay of Pigs Invasion in April 1961 were not conspirators, but rather part of the anticommunist resistance in the country (129).

the history of what occurred on the island ("Anatomía" 40). The intellectual pilgrimage to Cuba was a way to partake in the "spectacle of ideas" Cuba represented (40-1), as it was part of a broader media event.[42] If the photogenic masses provided the image of a tropical utopian *pueblo* before the messianic figure of Fidel Castro (Guerra 70-4), the public intellectuals as revolutionary tourists, gathering in Havana or meeting with the leaders of the Revolution, provided a complementary image of prestige (Díaz Infante 109-23). In a highly choreographed and publicized mass visit to Havana, for example, the rural *guajiros* were incentivized to don traditional peasant garb, commissioned for the occasion (Guerra 70); this folkloric aura appears in Chris Marker's 1961 documentary *Cuba sí!*, which shows the Revolution dancing its way through the streets of Havana (40:28-44:45).[43] Such images enabled a discourse of ideological purity, at least at first, in both in the ways in which the revolutionary government billed itself and in the ways in which intellectuals projected ideas onto Cuba.[44]

These images were premediated, however, by other images: Cuba was a utopia "hecha de reminiscencias" (Díaz Infante 123). For many international intellectuals, the Cuban Revolution looked very much like the realization of the Spanish Revolution of three decades earlier (108, 118, 122-3). In his documentary, Chris Marker refers to Fidel Castro and the other leaders of the revolution as a coterie of "*maquis*" (11:13, 11:50, 22:24). The term, originally used to refer to Spanish guerrillas who continued to fight against the fascist powers in Spain after the Civil War, suggests a transatlantic continuity. The exile Max Aub also saw in Fidel Castro the figures of Buenaventura Durruti and "*el Noi del Sucre*," Salvador Seguí, legends of Spanish and Catalan anarchism (Díaz Infante 123). Traveling in and reporting from Cuba in 1962, Goytisolo found that he recognized the faces of the *pueblo* demanding justice in the streets:

> Aquellos rostros […] los conocía bien. Eran los mismos que, veinticinco años atrás, habían irrumpido en mi universo de niño satisfecho y que, entonces, me habían sobrecogido de temor. La antorcha revolucionaria estaba ahora en manos de Cuba y, por una hermosa lección de la historia, ya no era España quien indicaba el camino a su ex-colonia, sino la ex-colonia quien daba el ejemplo y alumbraba los corazones, nos ilustraba y nos precedía. Defender a Cuba era defender a España, como un cuarto de siglo atrás morir en España fue morir por Cuba. (*Pueblo* 19-20)

Goytisolo articulates the *pueblo* in terms of a transnational revolution that has resumed in Cuba a quarter century after its expression in Spain. Beyond this, however, he witnesses this moment as a kind of belated slave uprising against his ancestors: "Los esclavos se habían impuesto finalmente sobre el recuerdo del bisabuelo" (20). For Goytisolo, then, Cuba in 1962—the year he

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[42] Along with Goytisolo, Jean-Paul Sartre, Pablo Neruda, Charles Wright Mills, Octavio Paz, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Mario Vargas Llosa, Allen Ginsberg, Max Aub, Julio Cortázar, Jorge Semprún, Oscar Lewis, Gabriel García Márquez, Graham Greene, Carlos Fuentes, Marguerite Duras, Miguel Ángel Asturias, Italo Calvino and Aimé Cesaire were among the intellectuals in Havana during this time (Rojas, "Anatomía" 40).

[43] Documentary film was the genre of choice for capturing the epic of the Cuban Revolution; this reframes the failure of the documentary film, in *Señas*, as both a nod to the political-aesthetic efforts of intellectuals in Cuba and an indication of futility or skepticism around this mode of representation's "passion for the real," as Duanel Díaz Infante calls it (114).

[44] For Díaz Infante, it is Jean-Paul Sartre in particular who realizes a "third discovery" of Cuba: following Columbus's geographical "discovery" of Cuba and Alexander von Humboldt's scientific "discovery" of Cuba, Sartre's was a philosophical "discovery" of revolutionary Cuba (121). Sartre, insisting on the fundamentally theoretical or ideologically pure nature of the revolution in Cuba, folded Cuba into "esa otra catolicidad que ha sido en el siglo XX la filosofía hegeliana en su versión marxista" (121).

begins writing *Señas*—is the revival of the memory of socialist revolution, suppressed in Spain, as well as the subversion of racial hierarchies in Hispanic memorialization.

Not only does revolutionary Cuba illuminate problems in Spanish memory, however; it also allows for a rethinking of the failure of Spain-as-event, symbolized in *Señas* by the Yeste massacre. The reimagining of Yeste becomes, in turn, a critical intervention in the novel's contemporary moment. In this sense, anachronism functions as a way to produce knowledge and solidarity in the present. Michael Rothberg's theory of multidirectional memory and postcolonial studies is helpful here for understanding this literary—as opposed to historicist—approach to a collective memory in the *pueblo*. According to Rothberg, memory is multidirectional in time, and as such is "subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing" (*Multidirectional* 3). Memory is always unfolding within a contemporary framework, as a form of "work, working through, labor, or action" that is fundamentally creative (4). In this capacity, memory becomes the space for "new forms of solidarity and new visions of justice" (5). Through its use of anachronism and literary memory, *Señas*'s representation of Yeste critiques Spain's touristic consciousness.

As with his incorporation of the historical figure of Casilda, Goytisolo marks the Yeste massacre with both the interpolation of historical documents and a fictionalized narrative intervention: the novel reproduces in full the list of those killed in the shooting, published in *Solidaridad Obrera* on June 3, 1936 (Goytisolo, *Señas* 129); beyond signposting the historical event, Goytisolo imagines a fictionalized scenario of communization in Yeste. This happens in the description of the peasant uprising, which characterizes the residents of the Yeste in terms of dignity and solidarity. Álvaro, in his metafictional capacity as "un trujamán que mueve los hilos de la trama" (143), envisions a utopia in which men, women and children "todos [son] parejas" and "no manda nadie" (142): "Si el Frente Popular no resolvía su situación la resolverían ellos (así eran entonces tus paisanos). A mediados de mayo pineros, campesinos, carboneros, leñadores entraron en los montes del cacique y empezaron a talar árboles" (131); "Durante dos semanas el sol cobijó propicio la unidad recobrada del hombre y el paisaje, la tarea abnegada de los serranos, la hermosa y sabia disciplina de los útiles en manos de los leñadores. […] La paz del trabajo útil y a todos provechoso parecía haberse instalado para siempre en el valle" (138). These descriptions are projections from Goytisolo's own vantage point as he began writing *Señas* in Manzanilla, Cuba:

> Los hombres dormidos durante siglos han despertado de pronto a su posibilidad de hombres auténticos y, en la confrontación, los alfabetizadores han purgado, a su vez, gran número de prejuicios antiguos y egoísmos. Un sentimiento nuevo recorre la isla de parte a parte. En Manzanillo transflora y embellece el rostro de hombres y mujeres, viejos y niños. El corazón se calienta y pulsa de alegría al reconocerlo: se llama fraternidad. (Goytisolo, *Pueblo* 105)

The fraternity Goytisolo sees in revolutionary Cuba is the same imaginary he uses to historicize Yeste. This writing of Yeste in terms of the successful communization or peasant appropriation of the cacique land holdings is not simply revisionist history, but rather an imaginative refraction or multidirectional memory used to illuminate the contemporaneous context of the EET, in which the libraries in the South are shuttered and poverty is widespread (Goytisolo, *Señas* 385-9). In Cuba, the militarization of the *pueblo* was bound up in mass literacy campaigns, which began in January of 1961 (Rojas, *Historia* 121).

The novel establishes the events at Yeste as a lost memory, in contrast with the stones marking the graves of a certain few, which are a *lieu de mémoire*.[45] As Rothberg signals, "the activation of memory can produce immediate, short-term resistance, but it can also set the stage for longer-term struggles carried out over generations" ("Remembering" 375-6). In this case, Goytisolo's intervention spans decades: as the means of production came under the control of the local cacique in Yeste in 1936, so too has the fishermen's cooperative in the early 1960s; drawing a parallel between these two contexts, the novel suggests a need and—as mediated by the socialist revolution underway in Cuba—a path for action in the contemporary moment.

Proleptive postcolonial memory

I have tried to show how colonial and postcolonial Cuba premediate Spain's modernization and national narrative in the EET, specifically in the writing voice of the country's most canonical *enfant terrible* of the twentieth century. By way of conclusion to this chapter and transition to the next, I point to another family memory, also from the chapter of *Señas* dedicated to Cuba, as an instance of postcolonial memory that maps itself onto future relations of power.

In this scene, the Mendiola family waits for a long-lost relative to arrive by boat from Cuba in 1946, eager for the "return" of the bygone Mendiola fortune to Barcelona. During these years, the contrast between the austerity of the metropolis and the wealth of *indianos* immigrating to Catalonia from Cuba was stark: "Als anys quaranta i cinquanta del segle XX, en plena austeritat franquista, els *cubanos* arribaven […] amb les seves *rubíes*; […] amb les dones conduint el cotxe i fumant, pentinades a la moda de Hollywood i vestides amb pantalons estrets, […] repartint ventalls i havans als seus convilatans" (Cabrè 32). Álvaro's paternal relatives expect that they will be receiving such an archetypical decolonial migrant—and, specifically, this figure's accompanying image of the *criollo* with European features. Instead, they are greeted by a relative descended from the family's slaves:

> los pasajeros reunidos en el puente os saludan con sus pañuelos
> […]
> ninguno cuadraba con el firmante del telegrama ni presentaba aparentemente los rasgos
> […]
> pues no está
> no ha venido
> tal vez el señor rubio
> no
> tampoco
> también se va
> no entiendo
> sin advertirlo tú el negro se había acercado a vosotros y preguntó con timidez
> Mendiola
> sí señor Mendiola
> y aquel descendiente enriquecido de algún bororo esclavo del bisabuelo remoto os había [tendido la mano
> perdonen dijo

[45] Pierre Nora theorizes *lieux de mémoire*, official sites of memory, as paradoxically indicative of memory *loss* in the collective consciousness (7-8).

> creo que somos parientes
> no hubo efusiones ceremonias agasajos banquetes y la ultrajada tía Mercedes arrugó su
> [nariz caudalosa
> aquella noche
> corría enjuto y párvulo el año 46
> un melancólico negro cenó a solas en un restaurante de lujo de Barcelona. (Goytisolo, *Señas* 412-3)

Unlike the other, canonized family memories and figures of Cuba—the geographical paradise (Eulogio) and the peaceful plantation (Álvaro's great-grandfather, the Mendiola patriarch)—this is a repressed memory within a repressed memory: the renunciation of postcolonial family ties in 1946 recalls, implicitly, the family's renunciation of its slaves and slaving past, which Casilda and her letter embody. Goytisolo imagines in this scene the encounter with a set of forsaken family members he began to wonder about while he was traveling in Cuba, those with "el apellido del amo […] [e]sos Goytisolo [que] existen aún en Cuba" (*Coto* 15): "En 1962, durante una breve escapada a la villa de Trinidad, cercana a Cienfuegos, oí hablar de otro Juan Goytisolo, famoso por sus artes de brujería" (15).

In *Señas*, the unnamed, "melancholic black" relative is not invisible—Tía Mercedes reacts with physical repulsion to him—but he is *un-seeable* in the unfolding of family and national history. His is the negative image of the typical, white *indiano*'s pure spectacle; where the latter migrated to Spain in order to build a colorful mansion with "tropical" landscaping as a sign of financial ascent (Surwillo 134), the Afro-Cuban immigrant becomes a ghost in the metropolis. The scene functions as a multidirectional memory, a projection toward a future in which certain "return migrations" are unassimilable in the official national imaginary. The forgetting that happens here not only echoes the forgetting that has functioned as a tool of coloniality and modernization (Casilda), but also forecasts the forgetting of Spain's future others: the postcolonial ghosts that persist in the form of undocumented migrant workers (Gabilondo, "Historical"). Additionally, the melancholia of the relative dining alone is an early image of Spain's post-Transition postcolonial melancholia, where this phrase connotes a collective pathology of colonial amnesia and the reenactment of repressed colonial memory in racial constructions (Gilroy, *Postcolonial*). I turn to this time period, and its manifestations and uses of racial otherness, in the next chapter.

Chapter Four
Transmediterranean *Catalanitat* in Transitional Spain

The previous chapter touched on the issue of peripheral nationalisms in the EET; this chapter delves more deeply into the question of Catalonia's national imaginary during the EET and later years of the Transition to Democracy. Focusing on texts written by immigrants that reflect on immigration in Catalonia, I argue in this chapter that Catalan identity—*Catalanitat*—has been transnationally constructed. I differentiate between dominant and emerging constructions of *Catalanitat* during the Transition, as this dissertation has conceptualized the period: a discursive project of economic modernization and Europeanization.

The implications of the terms "*Catalanitat*" and "*Catalanisme*" vary. Most frequently, *Catalanisme* is used synonymously with Catalan nationalism, whereas *Catalanitat* implies the quality of Catalan-ness or Catalan identity. While it is impossible to consider *Catalanitat* without verging into the question of *Catalanisme*, my primary focus in this chapter is the discourse of the former. I use the term *Catalanitat* to refer broadly to the ways in which a Catalan *poble*, as opposed to a Catalan state, is constructed.

While the issue of the so-called "Catalan difference" has flared into crisis at different times throughout the history of Spain, its iterations in the "new Spain"—that is, during the democratic period—are complicated by contemporary questions of economic globalization, post-nationalism and supranationalism, and, especially, the phenomena of displacement: Catalonia, more than any other region in Spain, experienced both mass exile and mass immigration in the twentieth century. Two waves of economic migration have had a particularly profound impact on Catalan society: internal or intranational immigration, from communities in southern Spain, in the decades following the Civil War and especially during the economic growth spurt of the 1960s; and international immigration, largely from Morocco, from the 1980s to the early 2000s. In this sense, the Transition, during which the reemergence and re-institutionalization of Catalan language and history collided with massive demographic shifts in Catalonia, marks a turning point for the writing of *Catalanitat* and *Catalanisme*.

These intranational and transmediterranean migrations entail different histories of social visibility, passing, assimilation and discrimination; however, read together through their accompanying literatures, they document an ongoing counter-history of difference within the tacitly *homogenizing* history of Catalan difference. The categories of nation and national identity, extremely contentious in twenty-first-century Catalonia/Spain, are written from positions of critical distance that exceed those categories. I explore this through analysis of the memoirs of two transmediterranean, Muslim immigrants, who write in Catalan about their experience in Catalonia: Najat El Hachmi's *Jo també sóc catalana* (2004) and Saïd El Kadaoui's *Cartes al meu fill: un català de soca-rel, gairebé* (2011). The memoirs, which recall the authors' experiences in Catalonia during the 1980s as well as the moment of writing, challenge the dominant narratives of *Catalanitat*, while at the same time participating in its construction; in this, they reframe Catalan cultural historiography as a transmediterranean project.

In this chapter, I present a bifurcating argument that attempts not only to read these memoirs for how they write Catalonia/Spain, but also to perform a metacritique that examines how these texts and their non-native authors are "welcomed" into the canons of Spanish or Catalan letters ("welcoming" or *acollida* being a slippery concept will come up in my analysis). I begin with a brief overview of the political and historical mappings of Catalan identity. From

there, I move to discussing the identity and class politics surrounding the influx of southern Spaniards in Catalonia during the EET. These ethnically-othered migrants were referred to as "*xarnegos*"; I explore how this geopolitical construct heralds the similarly wide-ranging category of "*moros*." Both labels are catchall terms that invent a subject of "difference" that secures the primacy and normativity of an official discourse of *Catalanitat*. I consider two cases in which the autobiographical construction of the *xarnego* allows for a critical intervention that is masked as autoethnography: Francesc Candel's *Els altres catalans* (1964) and José Luis López Bulla's *Cuando hice las maletas: un paseo por el ayer* (1997). Both texts question the dominant narratives of *Catalanitat* in the eras of nationalist consolidation and Pujolism.[46]

I argue that El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's memoirs follow in this tradition. Their "immigrant memoirs" establish the authors' own immigrant subjectivity as the basis for their memoirs while also declaring the performativity of this identity.[47] By way of contextualizing the subversive potential of this simultaneous assertion and troubling of identity, I present some different ways of thinking about—and problematizing—autobiographical writing generally; I then argue that immigrant narratives in particular entail a singular intimacy with oral and written forms of personal narrative, since immigrants are made to produce and reproduce their life story in order to acquire State documentation.[48] After bringing to the surface the ideologies that underlie this imperative to self-narration, I consider how El Hachmi and El Kadaoui situate themselves with regard to this imperative. Both make strategic and hybridizing uses of the form of immigrant narrative in order to cultivate the critical distance from which they write Catalonia. Their literary subversion of the bureaucratic immigrant narrative becomes a means to produce knowledge, rather than to account for the self.

My purpose here is to insist on the critical potential of El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's immigrant memoirs as critical theory, as opposed to simply an exhibition of individual identities. Scholarship on these texts has almost universally settled on the questions they pose or expose about identity. I propose rethinking these texts for the way in which they produce knowledge about Catalonia. This implies a reorientation in the critical gaze, particularly in the case of El Hachmi, who is by far the more canonical of the two authors and is invariably read along identitary lines.

The chapter continues with a close reading of these memoirs' projections of a future embodiment of *Catalanitat* based on plurality. Because the dominant formulation of *Catalanitat* is linguistic (Woolard 38-9), racial constructs of Catalan nationalism are seen as having "never

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[46] Jordi Pujol was the president of the *Generalitat* from 1980 to 2003, and a Catalan political leader and businessman before that. His political rhetoric consolidated the dominant "pensament catalanista" of the Transition as one rooted in a metaphorics of construction (Capdevila 180-1), that is, giving tangible form to the Catalan nation (171). Given Pujol's prolific written output, as well as the fact that his presidency spanned more than two decades and the entirety of the Transition, he is particularly important among the public intellectuals that contributed to the formation of a post-Franco Catalan nationalism (Guibernau 120, 141). Pujol and Francesc Candel, whose text I discuss in this chapter, are the principle representatives of the "integrationist trend" in the immigration debate that emerged in the 1960s (Conversi 195).

[47] Judith Butler first theorized the "performativity" of identity with regard to gender (*Gender Trouble*), although other forms of performative identity parallel and are bound up in gender performativity.

[48] Following the primary texts of this chapter, I am referring here to immigrants who pass through the legal and bureaucratic processes necessary in order to live as documented, government-registered residents or citizens of Spain. The last chapter of the dissertation considers a different kind of immigrant memoir, the "clandestine" writing of Rachid Nini's *Diario de un ilegal*.

gained currency" (Conversi 193-4). That *Catalanisme* and *Catalanitat* are linguistic constructs, rather than racial or ethnic constructs, is a ubiquitous point of differentiation between Catalonia and other stateless nations, such as the Basque Country. El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's memoirs trouble this narrative, however. Even though both authors use the Catalan language—Catalonia's enduring "instrument of social cohesion" (Sanjuán-Pastor 29)—their chronicling of experiences of exclusion and hierarchy in Catalonia reveals a breakdown in the narrative that *Catalanitat* is a strictly linguistic construct, unrelated to racial or geographical origin. Both authors articulate ways that racism functions as a driving force within the official narrative of *Catalanitat*; they then redeem *Catalanitat* not in terms of national pursuits, but as an ethical paradigm of self-determination and solidarity among *pueblos*.

In this analysis, this chapter comes back Spain's complex history of racial constructs and internal ethnic divisions as origins of critical distance. Chapter 2 discussed how slavery and colonial subjugation are present in the body-graphies of Latin Americans, which gives a particular contextualization and meaning to the "Event" quality of the Civil War and the threat of fascism. Chapter 3 also addressed transatlantic imperial legacies, folding together the history of Spain's colonial economy in Cuba with the coloniality of the mid-twentieth-century economy. In this chapter, I explore another sphere of Iberian colonization, considering Spain as a transmediterranean space.

Cartographies of *Catalanitat*

In order to contextualize this chapter's arguments, a brief discussion of the ideologies present in various conceptualizations of Catalonia as *a nation apart from Spain*, as *European* and/or as *Mediterranean* is in order.

The Catalan *poble* materializes largely through its critical distance from the Spanish *pueblo* in which it is inscribed. Catalonia's condition of statelessness places a higher burden on national discourse and language to give coherence, visibility and borders to Catalan identity—namely, to differentiate Catalonia from Spain. On the other hand, statelessness can unleash the imaginary of a Catalan collectivity from geographical bounds. The multiple versions of the *Senyera* or Catalan flag, ubiquitous in Catalonia's urban and residential spaces, provide a visual of this variability. The *Senyera* symbolizes a belief in Catalan nationhood. the *Estelada* ("starred") version of the *Senyera* represents separatist leanings (Hau 86-7). The *Estelada Groga* or *Vermella* ("yellow starred" or "red starred" flags) emerged in the late 1970s to represent a politically left-leaning separatism (87); and since 2008, the *Estelada Verda* ("green starred" flag) is used to represent an ecological and pacifist leanings (87). This phenomenon of ever-expanding, divergent political priorities conveyed by the different versions of Catalonia's flag suggests a few things: first, that *Catalanisme* is a politically malleable signifier that lends itself to a variety of ideological systems; second, that *Catalanisme* retains its purchase across a broad political spectrum, even in the era of globalization; and third and most significantly for my argument in this chapter, that the language (here the symbolic and visual language) of *Catalanisme* is capable of conveying notions of kinship that exceed traditional constructions of national community and even human community. This moves the debate away from Catalonia's (lack of) statehood or national space.

While these popular reworkings of *Catalanisme* are indicative of competing narratives of the *poble*, a dominant narrative of Catalan nationalism has, from the nineteenth century onward,

promoted Catalonia as European, precisely in order to distinguish it as a nation separate from Spain. Until the Transition, the narrative upheld *Catalanisme* as opposed to Spain's lack: Spain was "[*n*]*ot enlightened enough, not European enough, not cosmopolitan enough, and not modern enough*" (Miley 61; emphasis in original).

Over the course of the political Transition, however, Spain *became* European, weakening the rhetorical base of Catalan nationalism. The right to Catalan national, cultural and political self-expression were the program and rhetoric of postwar Catalan nationalism; the repression of Catalan during these years bolstered solidarity among Catalans (Conversi 123-4), which in turn served to streamline Catalan nationalism and consolidate its resurgence in the 1960s in the equation of *Catalanista* as progressive: "*Catalanista* means *progresista*. *Españolista* means *fascista*" (Miley 62; emphasis in original). Since their reemergence following Franco's death, the majority of Catalonia's political institutions have branded themselves as leftist (55). Montserrat Guibernau argues, however, that post-Transition *Catalanisme* has failed to react to the Spain's democratic modernization (3), continuing to define Catalan nationhood, even into the twenty-first century, through an oppositional stance in relation to Francoist Spain (3-5).

In this sense, the problem of Catalan nationalism in the Transition stemmed in part from the increasingly indistinguishable regional identities of Catalonia and Spain. Beyond this, dominant articulations of the Catalan difference had to balance the homogenizing tendency of national narratives with contemporary reality of mass immigration in Catalonia. If the ideologies of Transition-era *Catalanisme* shared a common emphasis on restoring the primacy of the Catalan language, immigration represented a sociological concern of equal urgency. Between 1950 and 1975, Catalonia received 1,400,000 Castilian Spanish-speaking immigrants, and its total population rose from 3,240,313 to 5,663,125 (Guibernau 33); by 1970, immigrants, mostly working class, accounted for 40% of Catalonia's population (Woolard 33). Although this wave of intranational migration had ended by the 1970s, the new nationalism of the Transition had to define itself in accordance with Catalonia's demographic changes. From the 1960s onward, the perception that immigrants threatened the continued existence of the Catalan language and identity has been present in popular nationalist discourse (Conversi 140, 209); this anxiety continues in the twenty-first century (Guibernau 162). Catalonia's intellectuals and political élite, however, welcomed the Spanish immigrants, who supported Catalonia's anti-Francoist resistance and democratization efforts (Erickson 116). Moreover, the political élite saw that Catalans could not afford a politics of exclusivity, given the relatively high birthrate among immigrants and steady population decline among natives (Conversi 191-2). Thus, an integrationist discourse prevailed in Catalan politics in the democratic era, with language assimilation as the "real crucible and badge of successful incorporation" (196): "the emphasis on language provided an instrument both for the consolidation of a coherent nationalist ideology and for a slow integration of the immigrants" (184-5). Faced with the task of articulating the meaning and function of *Catalanitat* in the context of massive immigration and Spain's democratization, the Catalan government embraced a national rhetoric consisting in "a refusal to assimilate, a defense of regional particularity (their own and others'), and broad-based bilingualism" (Erickson 127). Although popular belief in an ethnic dichotomy between Catalans and Castilians was strong during the Transition, Catalan ethnic identity was officially seen as a function of language (Woolard 47; Candel, *Encara* 319).

The immigration debates of the Transition era are formative for Catalonia's characterization, in the twenty-first century, as a "*país d'acollida*" or "welcoming nation" that embraces as Catalans all residents who speak Catalan, regardless of their race (Saeed).

Catalonia's self-conceptualization along the lines of its resistant, minority identity and its difference from Spain conditioned its response to the massive wave of immigrants from outside the European Union in the 1990s and early 2000s.[49] The ideology of Catalan difference "complicates the dynamics of native-immigrant difference" (Erickson 116); the image of the *poble* in the twenty-first century is that of "multiple minorities with lines of affiliation between them that are not necessarily mediated by a national center" (116). This pluralistic vision makes Catalonia stand out amid a climate of rising xenophobia in Europe, and finds its idiom in the "Catalan Dream": "If you come to Catalonia and speak Catalan […] you will belong" (Saeed).

This narrative of Catalonia as welcoming nation is shot through with the discursive legacy of al-Andalus: the debate over the historical nature and meaning of *convivencia*, the "living together" of medieval Jews, Muslims and Christians.[50] As Ryan Szpiech points out, *convivencia* is most useful not as a field of historical inquiry but rather as a "litmus test" for the cultural settings in which it is articulated (151). During the Transition and post-Transition eras, *convivencia*—in Catalan, *convivència*—became a "key term of popular discourse in Catalonia" (Erickson 123). Like the "Catalan Dream," *convivència* lends itself as an expression of the "commitment to pluralism and mutual cultural interchange" (124). At the same time, and the promise of *acollida* notwithstanding, *convivència* tacitly legitimizes "the centrality and supremacy of what is deemed as Catalan (i.e. white, Christian/secular, Catalan-speaking) above what is considered different, which is ultimately absorbed and subordinated by the hegemonic understanding of Catalanness" (Pomar-Amer, "Voices" 37). I will return to this paradox in my analysis of El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's memoirs.

A second legacy of al-Andalus and the *Reconquista* is the contact zone of Spain and Morocco.[51] The border fences in Ceuta and Melilla signal the principle form in which Spain and

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[49] By 2011, Catalonia had one of the highest percentages of foreign residents in the European Union, 15.7% (Sanjuán-Pastor 28).

[50] The most familiar model of *convivencia* comes from the philologist and Civil War exile Américo Castro, who theorized Islamic Iberia as the source of a syncretism fundamental to Spanish identity and collective consciousness. Although it is Castro's sociological model of *convivencia* as religious coexistence that stuck in the popular imagination, it was his professor, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, who first adapted the term, in 1926, to refer to the dynamic of competing linguistic variants in medieval Iberia (Szpiech 137-8). As a historical theory, Castro's reformulation of *convivencia* is idealistic and lacks empirical grounding (151); its persistence as a metaphorical framework for constructing Spain, however, speaks to the enduring resonance in Hispanic studies of the context in which Castro elaborated it—during the postwar period and from exile.

[51] Mary Louise Pratt defines contact zones as the spaces of encounter and exchange—often in uneven power dynamics—between different cultures (4-7). The Mediterranean has historically been, and continues to be, "a 'common space' where economic and cultural exchanges, as well as violent confrontations, take place" (Ribas-Mateos 28). From the mid-nineteenth century onward, the Spanish army was repeatedly in armed conflict with tribes in Morocco over Spain's neo-colonial holdings and activity. This intermittent armed conflict in the Rif lasted from the 1859 until 1926. In 1909, tribes in the Rif rose up against the Spanish mining companies in Melilla and the Spanish army intervened. Warring abroad turned into civil conflict: the same year, a series of violent confrontations broke out between the Spanish army and Catalan workers, anarchists, socialists and republicans opposing the army's conscription of reserve troops for action in the Rif, over the course of what came to be known in Catalonia as the "Tragic Week." The Rif War took place from 1920 to 1927; in 1921, Spain suffered a tremendous loss in the "Disaster of Annual," an event that reinforced the post-imperial sense of national decadence. In 1936, Franco began his uprising against the Second Republic in Spanish Morocco, mobilizing an army of Moroccan troops Spain maintained its Protectorate in Morocco from 1912 to 1956.

Morocco's intimacy manifests itself today: immigration. While Maghrebian immigrants began to arrive in Spain in significant numbers in the 1970s, Spain's admission into the European Community in 1986 and the labor market of the 1990s resulted in a surge of this migration (Bel-Air 1). This inflow continued until financial crisis struck Spain in 2008 (6). Catalonia is the main destination for transmediterranean immigrants in Spain, and the efforts of the *Generalitat* or Catalan government to integrate these immigrants reflect, in part, an effort to assimilate immigrants into the Catalan, rather than Castilian, language (Campoy-Cubillo, "Representation" 142-3). In this sense, Catalan *convivència* works to preserve the Catalan difference.

Since the end of the twentieth century, migratory circuits and immigrant communities—in particular, the "circularity" of movement between Morocco and Spain (Ribas-Mateos 54)—have produced a contemporary form of Mediterranean unity. The category of the Mediterranean provides a context that, while not Europe, is necessary to theorize the European Union in its "ongoing re-definition" (x). While the idea of the Mediterranean as a unified space may be too monolithic to sustain, historical commonalities exist alongside regional differences; perhaps more importantly, the Mediterranean is a valid and useful conceptual category given the region's longstanding history as a contact zone. However, as Karla Mallette points out, literary history has been reluctant to theorize Mediterranean unity (254). Mallette argues that the reason for this "goes to the heart of what it means to view literary history regionally rather than nationally. To think the Mediterranean as a literary historical category means to propose a unity that transcends—for however brief a moment—the cultural differences that fragment the Mediterranean region" (254). In the case of Spain (Spanish historiography, literary criticism or literary history), in particular, to invoke the Mediterranean as theoretical framework is to risk bringing up the racial anxieties that have haunted or given shape to written constructions of Spain since its beginnings as a nation. Writing during the Transition and reflecting on repression in Spain, Juan Goytisolo argued that "lo africano" was that which had been repressed in Spain's national identity (*España y los españoles* 22). In the debates about whether to characterize Spain as "African" or "European" that marked the turn to the twentieth century, the characterization of ethnic differences of southern Spaniards tacitly slip into racial othering. Constructing Spain as European can be in service not just to a modernizing discourse, but also a whitening discourse.

Similarly, what is at stake in a Mediterranean reading of Catalonia is not national difference, but racial difference. The immigrant memoirs of Moroccan Muslims writing in Catalan and about Catalonia locate Catalonia within a Mediterranean, rather than European, cartography, constructing a transmediterranean *Catalanitat* no longer defined by Europeanness or whiteness. Before I turn my attention to these contemporary texts, however, I will address an earlier assertion of *Catalanitat* that, in its time, also inscribed Catalonia in a "Southern" cartography: the *xarnego* memoir.

Xarnego **ghosts and immigrant memoir as critical epistemology**

El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's memoirs have a precedent in the narratives that exposed the widespread pattern of intranational migration to Catalonia following the Civil War. The

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Spain continues to occupy the coastal cities of Ceuta and Melilla, which have become the extranational southern border of Spain—and, by extension, Europe.

foundational text for this literary tradition is Francesc Candel's *Els altres catalans* (1964).[52] Part sociolinguistic and anthropological study, part personal history and anecdote, Candel's hybrid essay is a *locus classicus* for talking about immigration in Catalonia.[53] *Els altres catalans* establishes Catalonia as an immigrant *poble*: "Catalunya sempre ha estat un poble que ha absorbit corrents migratoris. De la Península, el que més" (Candel, *Els altres* 41); "L'immigrant és arrel de poble" (183). Catalonia's immigrants are the "other Catalans" of the title—the other Catalans and the *also* Catalans, as Candel clarifies parenthetically: "«altres» catalans (altres i també)" (85). Whether "immigrants d'abans" or "immigrants d'ara" (37), the "no-catalans" and "catalans a seques" have come to outnumber the "catalans-catalans" (6; 63), he says; and those who are "de soca-rel" are more often than not "catalans sense català" (20; 6). What Candel's quirky lexicon makes clear is that the Catalan *poble* is not "Catalan-Catalan"; geopolitical difference inheres in *Catalanitat*. In a comment that is telling of the *Zeitgeist* of the early Transition, he conceptualizes this in racial terms: "La puresa de la raça és una falòrnia" (16). In considering the connection between the figures of "*xarnego*" and "*moro*," I need to stress at once the difference between race and ethnicity—which entail categorizations based on, respectively, physical and cultural attributes—and the way they are conflated in the imaginaries and national narratives of Spain. Linguistic differences within Spain have long been understood as ethnic differences, which in turn have been understood in terms of race. Chapter 3 addressed this in the discussion of tourism discourses.

Candel himself immigrated to Catalonia when he was a small child and grew up in the dictatorship years, during which the Catalan language was banned and became a vernacular of the private sphere. Candel's personal experience with estrangement from the local language informs the book's sense of urgency about cultural use and cultural loss in general; he advocates for opening up pathways of Catalan usage (*Els altres* 19), and is skeptical of the "closca" of folkloric performativity that hides evolving forms of *Catalanitat* (93).

Candel points to the Civil War as a dividing line for classifying twentieth century immigration to Catalonia: those who came before the war were needed by Catalonia; those who came after emigrated out of need (*Els altres* 37). The former arrived during the urban construction boom and for the 1888 and 1929 International World's Fairs in Barcelona, whereas the latter were intranational refugees fleeing the extreme hardship of the post-war South (37). In either case, Candel links Catalonia's immigrants to labor. In fact, *Els altres* stands as a monument to the migrant labor force: "mereixen més respecte. No li lleven res, a Catalunya, la reguen amb la seva suor. Això és engrandir-la. La terra és per a llaurar-la, per a construir-hi, per

[52] Although Candel wrote his essay-memoir in Castilian, the text was originally published, in translation, in Catalan. Candel discusses the intentionality of this decision in the opening pages of *Els altres* (5-8): the book is directed at a Catalan readership; at the same time, it calls attention to the loss of Catalan as a literary language and the dearth of Catalan readers (6). I follow the original publication's lead in calling the author Francesc Candel; Candel's given name was the Castilian form, Francisco. The Catalanization of Candel's name and memories suggests the split subjectivity of the *poble*/*pueblo*.

[53] The success of *Els altres catalans* led to Candel's follow-up essays *Encara més sobre els altres catalans* (1973), *Els altres catalans vint anys després* (1985) and, co-authored by Josep María Cuenca, *Els altres catalans del segle XXI* (2001). The Candelian figure of the "other Catalans" has become central to the imaginary and historiography of Catalonia, as evinced by the 2005 publication of Carles Millàs i Castellví's *Els altres catalans dels segles XVI i XVII: la immigració francesa al Baix Llobregat en temps dels Àustria*.

a edificar-la. Ells ho fan. Les feines més dures són per a ells. No vénen a buscar cap ganga. No ocupen càrrecs, ni representacions, ni gerències. Són peons, no alfils" (19-20).

This praise of the immigrant working class in Catalonia reframes the Pujol-era slogans of "constructing Catalonia," "cal fer poble" or "cal fer país." Candel's formulation of "building the *poble*" shifts the symbolic narrative of "fer país" from the urban to the rural, from high culture to popular culture, and from the native to the immigrant. Where nationalist projects ignored or attacked the immigrant working class (Vilarós 230), Candel ascribes national formation to these laborers, who through their work come to constitute the Catalan *poble*: "Els murcians—parlo en sentit general—, el poble, els de baix, els qui sofreixen, els qui suen, els qui es trenquen els ronyons, s'afilien—oh paradoxa—als cors de Clavé, i es dona el cas graciossísim que en aquests cors d'extraradi són tots catalans dels «altres»—i no de soca-rel" (*Els altres* 20).[54]

José Luis López Bulla picks up on Candel's reformulation of Pujolism in his own immigrant memoir, *Cuando hice las maletas: un paseo por el ayer* (1997). The memoir—variously satirical and *costumbrista*—reflects on López Bulla's experience as an Andalusian emigrant in the industrial Catalan city of Mataró in the 1960s, "cuando en el Sur se preparaban las maletas de cartón con sus cuerdas respectivas, camino del imaginario catalán donde, según hacían correr, se ataban los perros con longanizas" (López Bulla 10). López Bulla recovers the history of immigrant workers in Catalonia—a category of experience that he argues is absent from Catalan historiography (12). Without naming Jordi Pujol, López Bulla refers to him as the "banker" who fails to acknowledge immigrant labor:

> Con razón tuvo que venir un buen señor y, alzándoles la voz, les dijo aquello de «Cal fer país», que había que hacer país. Hablando en plata, les negó el pan y la sal por esos muchos años pasados sin mover un dedo. Quedaba bien a las claras que aquel banquero se refería a su gente, porque los «nuestros»—quiero decir los de abajo—habían estado sudando la gota gorda. Hacer país era, también, alzarles la mano a las gentes del trabajo que llevaban mucho tiempo haciendo país, esto es, construyendo el edificio de Cataluña. (164)

For both López Bulla and Candel, there is a split between official, Pujolist and real-world conceptualizations of the nation or *poble*. Both writers decry the sclerotic and nativist bourgeoisie of Catalonia.

It was in the context of mass intranational migration and an increasingly classist Catalan élite in the 1960s that the term "*xarnego*" came back into usage to refer to immigrants from the South: "The word was denounced first by Candel in *Els altres catalans*. Meant to derogatorily designate the workforce of non-Catalan origin, the term embodied the economic, cultural, and linguistic tension present at the time between newcomers and natives" (Vilarós 232). For Candel, the term *xarnego* is one of class discrimination (232). He also uncovers the etymology of racial classification, however: *xarnego* combines the root words "*xar*," face, and "*neg*," black (Candel, *Encara* 301); moreover, "al diccionari català, havíem trobat: «xarnec, ga: Mestís de català i francesa», de la qual cosa deduïem que en realitat, «xarnego» vol dir mestís" (300). Candel dismisses this dictionary definition as outdated: "De tota manera, ningú no interpretava així el mot «xarnego». En realitat, i encara que hi havia certs matisos, «xarnego» era tot aquell que

[54] Here, Candel references Josep Anselm Clavé i Camps, a Catalan composer, poet and leftist politician from the nineteenth century whose choirs of workers ("els cors de Clavé" or Clavé's choirs) were a key expression of *Catalanitat* in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, inseparable from the birth of Catalan nationalism (Marfany 307).

vivia a Catalunya sense ser català, és a dir, l'immigrant, el que ha vingut de fora, sobretot el més humil i dissortat" (300).

What Candel's etymological inquiry signals, however, is that the word *xarnego* is a conceptual node that gives historical dimension to Catalan immigration by canalizing the shifting meaning of the border. At the outset of the twentieth century, inhabitants of the Cerdanya Valley—the Pyrenean border space between France and Spain—were seen by Catalans as backward and uncivilized (130); as Candel's and López Bulla's memoirs show, the same stereotypes would come to characterize immigrants from Spain's South in the mid-twentieth century. The evolution from *xarnec* to *xarnego* is indicative of an ideology of racial othering that persists in the rearticulations of the Catalan border. If racial difference is a salient feature in the contemporary border shift to transnational, globalized forms of immigration, this is not without precedent in the intra-European and intranational migrations and ethnic othering that characterized earlier manifestations of the Catalan border.[55]

The *xarnego* was also the person who resisted linguistic assimilation, that crucible of *Catalanitat*: "El fet de parlar o de no parlar l'idioma català sembla que atenuava o accentuava el xarneguisme" (Candel, *Encara* 319). By this definition, the *xarnego* was a threat to Catalan normalization: "the immigrant linguistic differential had the potential to subversively and unexpectedly turn the Catalan language itself into jargon" (Vilarós 234). Intranational migrants acted upon the Catalan language as "urdidores de un lenguaje anfibio, el *catalastellano*" (López Bulla 59), a "subaltern dialect" of Catalan mixed with "rural Andalusian, Murcian, Castilian, and Galician roots" that occurred in the context of Catalonia's capitalist distribution of labor (Vilarós 234).

In addition to its racial and socioeconomic implications, López Bulla notes a further nuance of the term *xarnego* as a signifier of cultural capital:

> jamás se llama *xarnego* a quien sabe la diferencia entre dórico y corintio o el valor de los números imaginarios, aunque otros puedan ser más rigurosos y exijan el conocimiento de la lista de los reyes carolingios. Ahora bien, en el improbable caso de que un *xarnego* resuelva el teorema de Fermat, automáticamente es silenciada dicha condición y pasa a ser un descendiente de los viejos almogávares. Si este científico se llama Martínez, le acabarán rebautizando Martinell, con o sin su permiso. (92)

Thus, *xarnego*, the etymology of which signals a history of racial differentiation and border shifts, came to also connote socioeconomic, locational, linguistic, cultural and educational difference, precisely at the time in which Spain and Catalonia were experiencing the tectonic shifts of capitalist modernization. In other words, the "ethnic" and ultimately racialized figure of the intranational migrant *xarnego*—which only came into focus as such in the 1960s, despite decades of intranational migration—functioned as a negative construct that established *Catalanitat* as white, bourgeois, urban, cultured and Catalan-speaking.[56]

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[55] In her work on border theory, Natalia Ribas-Mateos employs the term "border shift" in two senses: first, the term recognizes an epistemological shift (4), in the twenty-first century, to conceptualizing the border as "alive and dynamic" rather than an "inert framework" of geographical studies (5); second, more implicitly and within this contemporary understanding of borders as sites of global and socioeconomic processes, "border shift" refers to the way in which the meaning of a given border changes as these processes unfold. My use of the term implies the second of these two definitions, presupposing the former definition as a paradigm within which I am working.

[56] I have restricted my discussion here to immigrant memoirs, but the literary journey of the *xarnego* as character is worth mentioning by way of highlighting how this figure embodied a particular racial

As the Catalan economy transitioned from industrializing to globalizing, the *xarnego* construct disappeared, along with the word's pejorative edge. López Bulla describes 1990s Catalonia as a site of multinational corporations, its cities like any other city in the globalized world (11). This shift into a late capitalist economy coincided with an aggressive assimilation campaign by Catalonia's ruling political party to bring Spanish migrants into the fold of Catalan nationhood (Vilarós 237-40), such that the geopolitical positions of *xarnego* as worker and as outsider vanished simultaneously. The *xarnego* became a "ghostly specter" and "empty signifier" in Catalonia's capital development (239). However, the memory of this subjectivity "uncannily mirrors the current waves of immigrants of non-European origin. Although weak and blurred, such a memory clearly de-stabilizes neoliberal projects of subject normalcy since it forces us to trace important sectors of the Catalan nationalist construct to its industrial, class-centered roots" (241-2). The memory of the *xarnego*'s critical distance, then, complicates contemporary *Catalanitat*.

The concept of the *xarnego*—flattening, as it does, the differences among Spanish migrants—can be seen as a construct of the Catalan nationalism that surged during the years of economic modernization: the outsider that, by not assimilating, threatened Catalan singularity. In its discursive function, "*xarnego*" is the direct predecessor to "*moro*," another geographically vague moniker.[57] *Xarnego* subjectivity vanishes precisely in and because of the border shift to new migration patterns: "De un día para otro, los peones, la mayoría castellanos, pasaban a ser albañiles de primera, y cuando el jefe no estaba en la obra, ellos eran la autoridad frente a los moros" (Puntí 118). In her prologue to the uncensored version of *Els altres catalans*, published in 2008, Najat El Hachmi signals the continuity of Catalan immigration: "Una de les sorpreses del llibre és que s'hi descobreixen paral·lelismes entre la immigració de llavors i la d'ara. Es

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imaginary of the *pueblo* during the Transition. Perhaps no novelist has canalized the exoticism surrounding the *xarnego* more than Juan Marsé in his novels from and about the Transition. In *Últimas tardes con Teresa* (1966) and *La oscura historia de la prima Montse* (1970), *xarnego* bodies are the site of transgressive and erotic intrigue. Marsé's *xarnego* reaches new satirical heights in *El amante bilingüe* (1990): in this novel, set during the Transition, a schizophrenic Catalan protagonist transforms into his *xarnego* alter-ego in order to win back his ex-wife, a linguist of the Catalan bourgeoisie named Norma, who secretly fetishizes Catalonia's Murcian migrants. Norma, whose name evokes the Transition-era program of linguistic *normalització*, represents "the new Catalan upper class superwoman dreamt up by the *normalització* project" (Vilarós 238). More recently, Javier Cercas (who, like Candel, immigrated to Catalonia when he was a small child) has written about internal and internalized borders in his novel *Las leyes de la frontera* (2012), in which a teenaged protagonist inhabits various geographical and metaphorical borders in his friendship with the *xarnego* kids in his neighborhood. Here, again, *xarnegos* hold an allure of erotic danger.

[57] Historically, the term "*moro*" denoted a North African Muslim of Arab or Berber descent in Iberia. While the term has been used since the medieval era, Muslims themselves never used it; in other words, it has always been an exclusionary term. In contemporary usage, the connotations and political valence of "*moro*" vary depending on context and speaker. "*Moro*" has become a derogatory, catchall term that refers to people of North or Sub-Saharan African descent, or to Muslims in general (Faszer-McMahon and Ketz 1). The popular saying "*¡hay moros en la costa!*" warns a speaker to be quiet because of the arrival of someone who shouldn't hear what is being said (1). Following the 11M bombings in 2004 and, more recently, the 17A terrorist attack—both of which were carried out by Moroccan immigrants—rising Islamophobia has recontextualized the term in popular discourse as one that implies danger: "When today's Moroccan immigrants are called '*moros*' […], their identity becomes symbolically collapsed with the concept of that attacking enemy" (Flesler 3). Elsewhere, however, "*moro*" is a term of solidarity among Muslim and black immigrants (Dotson Renta 143-7).

repeteixen conductes similars, es produeixen desencontres semblants" (9). Because the semantic field of the word "immigrant" has been reduced to national terms (8), contemporary transnational migration is erroneously perceived as an altogether different phenomenon; recuperating the *xarnego* referent is important, El Hachmi argues, in order to understand present-day configurations of xenophobia and classism in Catalonia (9).

Candel's and López Bulla's *xarnego* memoirs do not simply document the immigrant cultures of the era; they assume this subjectivity (sometimes satirically) as a lens through which to critique Catalonia. This critical distance of the autobiographical immigrant subject is the epistemological antecedent to El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's memoirs.

Telling a story—not giving an account

Najat El Hachmi and Saïd El Kadaoui have similar backgrounds: both were born in Nador, Morocco (1979 and 1975, respectively), immigrated to Catalonia during the 1980s as children (aged 8 and 7), and completed higher education degrees in Barcelona. Both live and work in professional capacities in the greater Barcelona area. Both are public intellectuals.[58] It is clear from these authors' backgrounds that although they write and publish in a historical moment characterized in the media by the refugee crisis and a heightened rhetoric of legality surrounding immigration, their writing does not stem from firsthand experience of its associated scenarios of precarity. The very fact of having published their accounts "already means that the autobiographer enjoys certain privileges (education, economic means, leisure time)" (Hassan 81). The writers in question here enjoy a relative socioeconomic privilege. El Hachmi signals this difference: "Cap al 1992, una onada de marroquins havia anat arribant enduta per la flaire d'un món millor. Nosaltres, però, ens havíem canviat de pis" (*Jo també* 41). In this sense, El Hachmi's position with respect to the 1990s and early 2000s influx of so-called "economic migrants" from Morocco parallels Candel's position with respect to the 1960s immigrants from southern Spain: like Candel, El Hachmi and El Kadaoui arrived in Catalonia as children, during an earlier wave of migration, and they reflect on their own immigration experience in the context of a border shift.

I bring up this disparity because the mainstream representation of migrants—especially Muslim migrants—in twenty-first century Europe advances a necropolitical theorization of migrants, who come to represent risk, crisis, impermanence, illegality and death.[59] In Spain, this is particularly true for Moroccan migrants. Conceptualized as liminal figures—bare life, not yet citizens, precarious, threatening, etc.—migrants are confined to a discursive field outside of the *pueblo*. By writing in this historical juncture from their vantage points as both Muslim immigrants and rooted Catalans, El Hachmi and El Kadaoui draw attention to the aesthetic and cultural interventions of immigrants and immigrant narratives—that is, to the ways in which immigrants constitute the Catalan *poble*. If their memoirs are not body-graphies of the precarity

[58] El Hachmi and El Kadaoui write columns for major Catalan newspapers (*El Periódico*, *Ara.cat*); El Kadaoui works as a psychologist and university professor, specializing in mental health issues faced by migrants.

[59] Necropolitics refers to the political power to create "*death-worlds*, new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*" (Mbembe 40; emphasis in original).

of the border, they are still embodied texts that illuminate longstanding and often more insidious forms of internalized borders within Catalan society, as I will describe.

Given not only the resemblances among their personal histories as Muslim immigrants in Catalonia, but also the way in which their literary personae and output parallel these histories, it is unsurprising that these writers have been seen as members of a generation in Catalan letters that coheres around diasporic identity—and, especially, Moroccan diasporic identity—in Spain or Catalonia (Ricci, "Identidad" 80; Pomar-Amer, "Voices" 34-5). El Hachmi is also representative of a subset of women writers within this generation (Climent Raga 23). While it is useful to consider this "generation of 1992" (Ricci, "Identidad") or of 2004 (Pomar-Amer, "Voices") as a sign of Catalonia's shifting subjectivities, my grouping of El Hachmi and El Kadaoui does not revolve around their diasporic identity. Instead, I propose to read these memoirs as coalescing around the creative license these particular writers take with the immigrant memoir form in order to produce knowledge about Catalonia. This distinction is key to my reading of the memoirs as documents of critical distance. Epistemologically, they have more in common with the *xarnego* memoirs I have mentioned, in which the creative assumption of an outsider position grants the writers perspective on Catalonia, than they do with other memoirs from the 1992 or 2004 diasporic writers.[60]

I am calling these books memoirs, but the roomier term *life writing*, an umbrella term for any text that corresponds to an individual life (some examples being auto/biography, memoir, personal letters, diaries and *testimonio*), may be more fitting: *Jo també* and *Cartes* alternate between a narrative frame of the authors writing to their children and political essay. To the extent that both texts fictionalize personal anecdote in order to generate social commentary, they resemble memoir, and this formal categorization provides a key to how I am reading them as critique. Memoir historicizes the story of an individual in order to observe "the nature of a particular ideological moment and the effect of that moment on individual lives" (Buss 596), such that "the first question we should ask of a memoir is not 'why is this person's life an important or distinguished one?' but 'what is the place of this writer in the culture represented?'" (595). In this vein, my interpretation centers around the ways in which the writers' articulation of their "place"—that is, their geopolitical, historicized and embodied place within Catalonia—manifests knowledge of Catalonia, rather than an explanation of their individual lives.

It can be said generally that memory is spurious, and the autobiographical subject always a mediated one; memoir may be inevitably fictional, and fiction inevitably autobiographical. Within this postmodernist framework, the fictiveness of the autobiographical subject forecloses on the presupposition of referentiality (Eakin 3). Subaltern autobiography, however, functions as a site for moving beyond the postmodernist paradigm, since it insists on the writing subject's "social location" and embodied experience as identifying referents (García 10). Like the scholars of decoloniality studies cited in chapter 2, theorists of subaltern life writing signal an epistemological turn toward acknowledging the way geopolitical or sociopolitical embodiment and identity produce knowledge (García 9-10; Smith and Watson 22). This return to a "traditional unity and authority of the subject" is not regressive (Brewer 623), but rather a

[60] For example, Laila Karrouch's 2004 memoir *De Nador a Vic* is often included in the category of diasporic literature written in Catalan (Pomar-Amer, "Voices"; Pomar-Amer, "Play"; Ricci, "Identidad"; Climent Raga). However, because of its textbook explanation—literally, the memoir is used as a textbook in some Catalan schools to raise intercultural awareness (Pomar-Amer, "Play" 290; Ricci, "Identidad" 86)—of the author's story, it is not part of my discussion here.

strategic political act, a means of "subverting dominant cultural perspectives and practices" (623).

Then again, the post-postmodernist recuperation of authorial referentiality presents its own issues for interpreting life writing, especially life writing by subaltern writers—such as the Muslim immigrant writers whose memoirs serve as the primary texts of this chapter. "Ethnic visibility" results in a tendency to impose ethnicity as the frame of reference for the text (García 4, 18); consequently, regardless of authorial intentions, individual narratives are taken as proxies for essentialist discourses of ethnicity, race or gender: "autobiographers, in short, find themselves having to balance the expectation that their account authentically represent their personal experiences and life with the countervailing one that their account will also be representative of the […] group" (19). For Muslim immigrant writers in Europe, the inverse expectation arises that they distance themselves from the phantasms of fundamentalism; however, the underlying imperative that they account for or speak their ethnic identity remains the same.

If the voices of "ethnic autobiographers" are made to typify whole demographics, they are also marketed to confirm a specific and "self-enclosed 'authentic' community" of Others set apart from a universal consumer (Žižek, "Multiculturalism" 44). Culture critics in the age of late capitalism point to the market's "multiculturalist" contextualization of these voices as a guise for cultural imperialism and the reification of European universality (and of Europe, for that matter) (Žižek, "Multiculturalism" 44; Bourdieu and Wacquant 50-51). The commodification of racial difference both signals and erases the Other: "the Other will be eaten, consumed, and forgotten" (hooks 39). Multiculturalist discourse "condones the folklorist Other deprived of its substance—like the multitude of 'ethnic cuisines' in a contemporary megalopolis; however, any 'real' Other is instantly denounced for its 'fundamentalism'" (Žižek, "Multiculturalism" 37). Within this power dynamic of capitalist consumption, the "real Other" remains unpalatable—or, in the terms of the literary market, unreadable. In the case of immigrant life writing in particular, immigrant narratives that take on published form tend to be "success stories" (Hassan 81), where "success" entails the assimilation of certain ideological tenets and the forgetting of one's past (81-2). In this sense, the market for the readable, palatable narrative of the "Good Immigrant" promotes a colonial mentality (Okwonga 229; Caronan 352-4), rendering invisible the immigrants that don't adhere to this narrative.

This critique of market and reader receptivity connects to a critique of the governmentality surrounding citizen identity more generally. According to Judith Butler, "[w]e start to give an account only because we are interpellated as beings who are rendered accountable by a system of justice and punishment" (*Giving* 10). The call to give a definite account of oneself amounts to an "ethical violence, which demands that we manifest and maintain self-identity at all times and require that others do the same" (42), which doesn't let the other live (43). In Butler's philosophy, the subject is an abstract and shifting entity, always preceding and exceeding self-knowledge; identity politics are precisely not the point. However, the violence of bureaucratic interpellation that she describes is a practical reality for immigrants. To immigrate is to have to give an account of oneself, an account that must track interlocutors' expectations in order to secure status:

> immigrants are […] repeatedly enjoined by immigration agents, border patrol guards, lawyers, prospective employers, and others to make a *specific* case for themselves, to articulate their lives in ways that at once conform to established codes and that stand out as deserving of attention and acceptance. The burden of proof is on the immigrant,

> needless to say, with self-presentation folding in and out of preexisting, if often confusingly regulated, conceptions of the self, *the proper self*. (Epps, Valens and González 9; emphasis in original)

To go through the legal procedure of immigrating, then, is to be interpellated as one's "proper self," a self-narrative that confirms certain geopolitical, nation-based biases on the basis of the immigrant subject's difference. As El Hachmi makes clear at the beginning of *Jo també*, the private sphere reproduces ad nauseam this interpellation of a proper—that is, immigrant, non-citizen, geopolitically different—self: "Tots tenim un somni, un ideal imaginari l'existència del qual és necessària per tal de continuar endavant: el meu és poder deixar de parlar d'immigració algun dia, no haver de donar més voltes a les etiquetes, no haver d'explicar per enèsima vegada d'on vinc o, si més no, que aquest fet no tingui el pes específic que té" (12).

Then again, "[t]elling a story about oneself is not the same as giving an account of oneself" (Butler, *Giving* 12). In El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's work, literary self-narration reimagines the bureaucratic violence of having to give an account of the self. I have presented several ideological pitfalls in the production and reception of life writing in general, and in subaltern life writing in particular, by way of acknowledging that framing this chapter's primary texts as "immigrant memoirs" risks taking immigration as a fixed identity and as an endpoint to critique. However, as I have argued, these texts are in dialogue not because they are written by immigrants, but because they consciously engage the ideologies surrounding self-narration and immigration in order to generate critique. Their literary subversion of the bureaucratic immigrant narrative becomes a means to produce knowledge, rather than to account for the self.

In fact, both authors make clear in their prefaces that they are *not* giving an account of themselves. El Hachmi advises in the prologue to *Jo també* that the book is not exactly a memoir: "aquest llibre es perfila com una espècie d'híbrid transgenèric: unes memòries que no són ben bé memòries, experiències reals que semblen fictícies i un component d'anàlisi d'aquest relat vivencial que no és ben bé assaig" (13). This ambivalence results from a fundamental tension between the imaginative pleasures of writing, on the one hand, and the strictures of writing autobiography, on the other:

> [E]l privilegi de poder escriure […] era un dels problemes de fer un llibre de caràcter vivencial que recollís una trajectòria vital amb relació al fet migratori però que alhora vol reflectir les idees macerades a partir d'aquesta trajectòria. El problema no rau en el fet d'escriure en si, sinó en el fet que a mi m'agradi escriure, que m'apassioni posar-me davant d'un full en blanc (bé, la pantalla, vull dir, però no sembla tan poètic) i afrontar els primers mots, trobar un estil, explorar recursos i divertir-me, al cap i a la fi. (13)

Here, El Hachmi articulates a pleasure principle of writing that supersedes the literal and almost survivalist drive ("vital trajectory") to document the "migratory act." In this, her memoir betrays the expectation of recounting the self that underlies both autobiographical genres and immigrant subjectivities, adhering instead to a ludic engagement (to "have fun, after all") with the writing process.

In the preface to *Cartes*, which opens with an epistolary greeting to his son, Saïd El Kadaoui doubts whether he or his son are actually reflected in the text:

> En realitat, però, som tu i jo? Sóc jo, el teu pare, que et parla a tu, el meu fill? En bona part sí, però també has de saber que, com deia Gabriel García Márquez, la vida no és la que s'ha viscut sinó la que es recorda per explicar-la. El record és, en el millor dels casos, una reconstrucció d'allò viscut. L'evocació d'un passat que el temps transforma en

> memòria. I la memòria, ho sabem bé, ens menteix a tothora i de manera insolent. Un llibre que es nodreix dels records és, doncs, forçosament un llibre de ficció. (17)

If the fictionalization of memory is inevitable, it is also a tool of communication: "D'altra banda, també m'he permès transformar alguna situació, estirar i emmotllar i, per tant, transfigurar algun record fins a convertir-lo en un nou fet. En definitiva, m'he permès utilitzar molts dels recursos que s'empren en la ficció *per parlar-te a tu i a tots els lectors amb el cor a la mà*" (17; emphasis mine). Here El Kadaoui, or El Kadaoui-as-narrator, looks beyond his son-as-narratee to the wider audience of readers, suggesting that the performance of paternal address is another "resource of fiction" that will serve to establish intimacy ("heart in hand") with his Catalan readership. He evokes the voice of an archetypal father: "La intenció ha estat que la veu que narra aquest llibre sigui la d'un pare que, preocupat, explica la complexitat de la vida al seu fill. Per tant, *ja no som només tu i jo*" (18; emphasis mine). The fact that narrator and narratee are not simple correlates of El Kadaoui and son enables the two characters to embody their own personal history and channel a broader social history at the same time.

Both memoirs, then, disengage from the autobiographical imperative, explicitly marking their ambivalence with regard to the historical accuracy of their personal accounts. My point in highlighting this ambivalence is not to return to the postmodernist conundrum of authenticity or historical factuality in life writing. However, as I've argued, it remains a bureaucratic and, in the era of "multiculturalist late capitalism" (Žižek, "Multiculturalism" 37), artistic imperative for immigrants to write their "proper" or bureaucratically fixed selves. In this sense, the disavowal of one-to-one referentiality or factual representation at the outset of these memoirs strikes a stance of resistance, putting the texts into orbit around the subversive potential of the memoir form in its creative, non-confessional modality. Thus, my objective in drawing attention to the fact that both narratives share a preliminary moment of asserting their own departure from the autobiographical task is to signal that these texts use immigrant memoir as an epistemological mode, rather than a protocol for strictly factual self-representation. This refiguring of the immigrant narrative releases the writing subject from the task of accounting for the proper self. One argument here, then, is that these memoirs make use of the form of immigrant narrative not simply to give an individual account of immigrating to and living in Catalonia, but to establish a mode of critique based on specific, embodied perspectives.

Indeed, immigrant memoir becomes a means to intervene in the society they reflect upon, as El Kadaoui explains the preface to *Cartes*:

> Em proposo fer literatura d'una part de les nostres vides. Interaccionar amb tu i amb tot lector que s'apropi a aquest llibre per tractar de construir junts un nou escenari des d'on actuar. […] Perquè, com diu Tzvetan Todorov, la literatura amplia el nostre univers, ens incita a imaginar altres maneres de concebre'l i organitzar-lo i pot transformar-nos des de l'interior. (17-8)

Accordingly, I proceed with my textual analysis of these memoirs reading them not as factual accounts but as a literary means to—as El Kadaoui and Todorov would have it—reimagine the social universe of Catalonia.

Parenting in Catalan: revisability of the future-son

In both *Jo també* and *Cartes*, the authors address their toddler sons in order to recall their own experiences as immigrants in Catalonia in the 1980s and 90s, memories that their sons will read

when they are older. My argument in this section has three parts, which track these three embodiments: first, the authors' border epistemology (as they characterize it) permits a critique of Catalonia based on the exposure of microaggressions; second, the referent of the young, Catalan-born son couches this critique in a reformulation of the various discourses of Catalan "normalization"; and third, the future, grown son becomes the site for the memoirs' intervention in Catalan society. In particular, the futuricity of the grown son functions as an ethical interpellation of the memoirs' Catalan audience.

I am speaking of Catalonia and not Spain: it is clear from the outset that these memoirs are written from and about Catalonia because of the linguistic choice to write in Catalan. El Hachmi insists that this is no choice at all but an unconscious decision based on her life experience (Song, "Narrating" 49); nevertheless, she avoids the word Spain throughout most of her memoir (Celaya-Carrillo 352). For El Kadaoui, who elsewhere writes mainly in Castilian, the choice to publish his memoir in Catalan appears as a display of *Catalanitat*, and also signals a particular intentionality in his address: he writes for a Catalan readership.

In *Jo també sóc catalana* (2004), Najat El Hachmi responds to questions posed by Rida, her two-year-old son, which evoke the phantasms of identity that loom both in his future and in the author's past. In particular, his question of whether he is Catalan catalyzes El Hachmi's memories of growing up in Catalonia: her intellectual and embodied experiences of mother tongues and maternity, her "*identitat fronterera*" or border identity, and her encounters with xenophobia and Islamophobia in Catalonia. Saïd El Kadaoui's *Cartes al meu fill: Un català de soca-rel, gairebé* (2011) likewise represents the author's personal history in Catalonia by way of anticipating the identity struggles in store for his Catalan-born son, Elies. Where El Hachmi uses maternal witness as an point of entry to working through her own lived experience and identity, El Kadaoui's "process of self-discovery and acceptance is already finished" (Pomar-Amer, "Voices" 47), such that in *Cartes*, the presentation of anecdotes and family memory is in service to several lessons geared toward his son as well as Catalan readers; these letters are written in a discursive manner, preceded by poetic introductory paragraphs.

As the summary I've just given suggests, identity is a central theme in these memoirs, and the corpus of critical work they have prompted tends to focus on the ways in which the authors articulate and problematize their respective identities and subjectivities. This is especially true in criticism on *Jo també* and El Hachmi's work generally, a fact that is symptomatic of exoticism as a driving force in the literary marketplace and of a desire for first-hand accounts in the contemporary debates around Islam, Europe and feminism (Ricci, "African" 216). The marketing of El Hachmi's writing coincides with a marketing of her identity as a Moroccan, Muslim woman (Pomar-Amer, "Voices" 41; Campoy-Cubillo, *Memories* 138-9); the prominence of her photo on the covers to many editions of her novels invites readers to focus on her individual identity (Pomar-Amer, "Play" 294). El Hachmi's critical success, evinced by the Ramon Llull prize she won in 2008 for her novel *L'ultim patriarca*, may derive in part from her branding as a Good Immigrant: "Spanish media emphasized El Hachmi's Moroccan origins and her exemplary acculturation to Western society" (Campoy-Cubillo, *Memories* 138). Laia Climent Raga reads *Jo també* as a record of identitary struggle, noting El Hachmi's "triple marginalization" as an immigrant woman that writes in Catalan (23). Cristián Ricci reads both texts as autobiographies that elucidate the formation of contemporary subjectivities ("Identidad" 80), as does Miquel Pomar-Amer ("Voices," 35). Working within a problematics of hybrid and border identities, many critics unpack the symbolic, linguistic and physical dimensions of the border space these writers inhabit (Sanjuán-Pastor; Crameri; Pomar-Amer, "Voices"; Martin-

Márquez 346-7). El Hachmi is often read in dialogue with Latin American and Chicana theorists like Gloria Anzaldúa as representing a global, feminist border literature (Dotson Renta 38; Sanjuán-Pastor 26, 31; Pomar-Amer, "Voices" 51; Pomar-Amer, "Play" 302, 305). El Kadaoui has received far less critical attention than El Hachmi, and critical work on *Cartes* is virtually always an addendum to the analysis of *Jo també*, yet just as in the case of El Hachmi, the media and publishing houses market El Kadaoui along identitary lines of difference or diversity (Pomar-Amer, "Voices" 41).

Since my analysis of these texts responds to the broader question of how Spain is written through the establishment of embodied critical distance, I propose a decentering of the theme of identity formation; rather than the object of analysis, I read the authors' textual identities as a creative point of departure for transmitting critique. As I argued in the previous section, the authors themselves ask the reader to look beyond the representations of their individual identities by casting doubt on the autobiographical aspect of their texts. The assumption of different strands of identity does not simply configure contemporary forms of Catalan subjectivity; it establishes a mode of embodied knowledge, one that produces a particular knowledge of Catalonia in addition to *Catalanitat*. Other critical interventions strive for a similar distinction: for example, Kathryn Crameri aims "not […] to treat El Hachmi as an example of hybridity […], but to take advantage of the way she expresses hybridity in order to illustrate" an argument about the linguistic borders that exist in Catalonia (277-8); and Carmen Sanjuán-Pastor proposes to read El Hachmi's "border knowledge" for its critical "imagining of the Catalan national project" (39), rather than as the final destination of her analysis. The need for this nuance follows El Hachmi's explicit reluctance to assume the mantle of representing immigrants or Muslim women (Campoy-Cubillo, *Memories* 141; Campoy-Cubillo, "Representation" 141, 154; Crameri 277-8). As in Crameri's and Sanjuán-Pastor's work, my analytical approach overlaps with and takes into consideration the question of identity that is present in the texts; however, my goal is not to articulate the forms of subjectivity that emerge in El Kadaoui's and El Hachmi's memoirs, but to interrogate how the authors' articulations of their subjectivities serve to write Catalonia.

Both authors depict their embodiment of national, linguistic and ethno-racial borders—the "phenotypical" dimension of which their sons will inherit (Pomar-Amer, "Voices" 49-50)—as a mode of critical perception. For El Hachmi, being part of the "generació de frontera" (*Jo també* 13), the term she prefers over second generation immigrant, corresponds to "un pensament que ja no és el dels nostres pares, però que no és del tot el de les persones que ens envolten, els autòctons. Un pensament de frontera que serveix per entendre dues realitats diferenciades, una manera de fer, d'actuar, de ser, de sentir, d'estimar, una manera de buscar la felicitat a cavall entre dos mons" (14). If El Hachmi thinks from the border, El Kadaoui envisions his body as the border itself: "Sovint em sento com l'apèndix de dos països. Des de l'apèndix t'observo. Sóc la frontera, visc a la intempèrie" (27). Here, he observes his son from a distance that is figured as a national bodily appendage; the figure comes to mind later in the memoir when he says that nationalism "amputates" identities (106). Living "outdoors," he is an outsider. He often notes and inhabits this remove from his home space, cultivating in his memoir self a "condició de ciutadà incòmode" (71); the geopolitical "we" in which he inscribes himself changes according to the critique he is making, so that his "uncomfortable citizenship" is variously European, Moroccan, Amazigh or Catalan. He celebrates the critical advantage of the periphery: "Des de la perifèria tens més perspectiva per observar. Aprofita-ho, fill" (99); "és des dels marges que voregen allò que en diem la normalitat, des d'on es pot mirar la realitat amb més llibertat […] veure amb prou distància l'estultícia narcòtica d'aquest centre que es mira i es veu com l'amo i

senyor del país" (105). The "center" for El Kadaoui is nationalist extremism, a "fanatisme més refinat" that seeks to homogenize (105). Evoking the same logic with which *Catalanistes* critique Spanish centralism, El Kadaoui attacks the homogenizing impulse of some forms of Catalan nationalism.

Indeed, border positionality is a mode of critique in both memoirs. In particular, the documentation of racist, Islamophobic or xenophobic microaggressions becomes a counter-discourse to key aspects of liberal *Catalanisme*.[61] El Hachmi and El Kadaoui give witness to what are often passive, barely perceptible or unconscious acts of discrimination in everyday speech; as these anecdotes accumulate in the memoirs, forms of internalized borders that might otherwise go undetected in Catalan society emerge. By noting their experiences of microaggressions, the authors expose the *exclusionary function of* acollida *or welcoming*; El Hachmi also signals that *racial anxieties are more deeply rooted than minoritary anxieties* when it comes to Catalonia's language politics.

Both authors find themselves circumscribed in identities based on their country of origin. El Hachmi recalls winning a writing prize as a young writer and being recognized in the local headlines as an immigrant, rather than as a writer: "«Jove marroquina guanya un premi en català»" (*Jo també* 43). Years later, giving a lecture at a university, she registers the audience's perception of her not as a writer but "com a nouvinguda, sempre nouvinguda des de fa setze anys" (61). One of the audience members confirms this by asking El Hachmi what she most likes about Catalonia. El Hachmi criticizes the question: "Aquesta pregunta es fa a un turista, a algú que està de pas, que va a veure museus i muntanyes, mitja pensió amb ampolleta de xampú de regal" (62). El Kadaoui recounts the same experience in terms of being "welcomed" to Catalonia after living there for most of his life:

> Un cambrer simpàtic, agradable i, intueixo, una persona lleial, em va donar la benvinguda a Catalunya. […] T'adones, fill? Ningú no donaria la benvinguda al país al teu pare si el seu cognom fos comú! Tu, que portes el meu cognom, has de saber que tindràs la gran sort de col·leccionar aquest tipus d'anècdotes. El pare va actuar, va agrair-li les seves paraules amb tot un seguit de reverències, que aquell bon home explicarà a la seva dona i als seus fills com a mostra del caràcter àrab que un client li va professar[.] (22-3)

El Kadaoui's extrapolation of the waiter's self-satisfaction is a critique of the complacency of multiculturalism, which tacitly legitimizes nativism in its perpetual "welcome" or *acollida* of the non-white, non-European "always newcomers." In fact, *acollida* serves a dual purpose: on the one hand, the discourse of *acollida* legitimizes Catalonia from the perspective of a liberal politics of inclusion; on the other hand, the practice of *acollida* delegitimizes the *Catalanitat* of non-native Catalans.

El Hachmi's anecdotes about linguistic microaggressions show Catalonia's "contradictory linguistic ideologies" (Pujolar 230). As I have described, Catalan is politicized as the crucible of Catalonia's minoritary struggle. The centrality of language remains a constant in Catalonia's immigration debate, even across opposing positions: thus, anti-immigrant rhetoric hinges on the precarity of the language and the existential threat that non-Catalan speaking immigrants pose to Catalonia (Flesler 12, 46), but "Catalanization" or linguistic assimilation of immigrants is also seen as the means to uphold Catalan nationalism and preserve Catalonia's

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[61] The term "microaggressions" comes from the field of critical race theory to refer to "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group" (Wing Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal and Esquilin 273). Microaggressions occur on the level of language, and tend to pass under the radar of racism.

difference from Spain (Conversi 184-5); similarly, learning Catalan is celebrated as an "open door through which newcomers may become part of" Catalan society (Crameri 275). Absent from this political debate is the role of popular resistance to immigrants learning Catalan. El Hachmi's anecdotes bring this resistance to light. Although Catalan became her primary tongue at a young age (El Hachmi, *Jo també* 47), she is regularly assumed to be—or obliged to be—a speaker of Castilian, rather than Catalan. She recalls feeling hurt as a child by a neighborhood shopkeeper's "mania de parlar-me en castellà. Ell no s'ho deu pas imaginar que amb les seves paraules ja m'ha tornat a posar el dit en aquella llaga que mai es cura […] jo continuo sent […] algú de fora" (50). As an adult, El Hachmi exposes the discrimination in these situations. When a clerk refuses to speak in Catalan to her son, El Hachmi tells the woman, in Catalan, that her son doesn't speak Castilian, only Catalan. The woman says, in Castilian, "Es que no hay muchos que lo hablen" (51), to which El Hachmi replies, in Catalan, "quasi tots els marroquins d'aquesta edat, si això és el que vol dir, parlen la seva llengua perfectament, és la llengua de l'escola, si no ho recordo malament" (51). On another occasion, El Hachmi corrects a woman who mispronounces the Catalan word for incense, influenced by the Castilian. The woman takes offense at a perceived outsider telling her "com haig de parlar la meva llengua" (53). These slights reveal an exclusionary language politics—Catalan as an "insider language" (Pujolar 231)—that runs counter to official concerns with linguistic preservation and dissemination. Given the "unofficial understanding about language, in which the use of Catalan is the main vehicle through which a person is thought of as a 'real' Catalan" (Flesler 46-7), it is El Hachmi's *Catalanitat* that is being continually rejected when she is interpellated as a Castilian speaker.

Critics have read the scene where El Hachmi corrects a Catalan speaker on her pronunciation of the word for incense in terms of nativist hierarchy: H. Rosi Song notes that this scene illustrates "the supposition […] that an immigrant's linguistic skill is always below that of the native" ("Narrating" 51); Kathryn Crameri suggests that El Hachmi's eventual vindication as a Catalan speaker is a form of "cross[ing] the linguistic border" (279). However, this scene also shows the complicated linguistic panorama of the late twentieth century. Vestiges of anti-Castilian, anti-Spanish stigmatization are present in the woman's aggression toward El Hachmi, as she is moved to defend her own *Catalanitat*. Her involuntary mixture of Castilian and Catalan recall the vernacularization of Catalan under the Franco regime. When Catalan returned to the public sphere, many native speakers were unaccustomed to Catalan as an official or formal language, and had not learned it in school. By the time El Hachmi was attending Catalan primary school, however, Catalan was the primary language taught in schools (Flesler 48). In this sense, access to Catalan literacy is dependent upon generation.[62] In light of these dynamics, the scene

[62] In his own memoir, Candel expresses the collective loss of the "Catalans without Catalan" as a personal sadness at his Catalan-born daughter growing up without Catalan: "És trist perquè li serà difícil d'aprendre la llengua de la seva terra" (*Els altres* 76). When she asks that he speak to her in Catalan, Candel infers that someone must have questioned her *Catalanitat*: "*¿Tú catalana y no sabes hablar el catalán?*" (76; emphasis in original).

For his part, Juan Goytisolo, who was born into a wealthy Barcelona family and grew up during the dictatorship, recalls his estrangement from both Catalan, which the regime and the author's centralist father alike eschewed, and the Catalan upper crust's "castellano barcelonés," which "adolecía de imprecisión y pobreza" (*Coto* 162). The situation is "periférica y marginal por partida doble" (37): "Catalanes en Madrid y castellanos en Barcelona, nuestra ubicación es ambigua y contradictoria, amenazada de ostracismo por ambos lados y enriquecida no obstante, por el mutuo rechazo, con los dones preciosos del desarraigo y movilidad" (37). Here, Goytisolo articulates the critical advantages of his double linguistic exile.

suggests that the "threat" that immigrants pose is not necessarily the dilution of the language, but rather their symbolic displacement of Catalans as speakers of the language.

A similar anxiety is present in another childhood memory, in which El Hachmi's classmates object to her speaking Catalan to another immigrant child on the playground: "em deien «habla en cristiano»" (*Jo també* 76). Here, "Christian" is the metonym for Castilian. El Hachmi frames this memory in terms of her fierce devotion to the Catalan language, which she represents as oppressed by Spain. Her classmates' demand that she "speak in Christian" is "un discurso españolista, claramente agresivo" (Celaya-Carrillo 348), echoing an insult Francoist troops used against Spaniards that spoke non-Castilian languages (Flesler 42). In its conflation of religion and language, this command also evokes the earlier history of the *Reconquista* and the forced conversion of Muslims remaining in the Iberian Peninsula. Through its projection of this history, the command interpellates El Hachmi as a Muslim or *Morisca*.[63] This microaggression, then, transmits Spain's longstanding anxieties about the presence of African Muslims on the peninsula. Given the Catalan-Castilian differential and the fact that El Hachmi is speaking in Catalan, however, the command is significant for another reason: El Hachmi's conversation in Catalan with another child "d'identitat també esborradissa" amounts to a form of passing as Catalan (*Jo també* 76). El Hachmi is *too* Catalan; she is not different *enough*. As Daniela Flesler points out, the early modern *Moriscos* and the "*moros*" of contemporary Spain trigger the same racial anxiety: "*Moriscos* constituted a problem because they were different—their Muslim lineage marked them as potential heretics and enemies—but, at the same time, because they were the same—as converted Christians, without their *Morisco* clothing, language, and customs, they could be transformed into 'real' Spaniards, they could 'pass'" (8); "[p]erceived as 'Moors,' Moroccan immigrants embody the non-European, African, and oriental aspects of Spanish national identity. Moroccans turn into a 'problem,' then, not because of their cultural differences, as many argue, but because, like the *Moriscos, they are not different enough*" (9; emphasis in original). The injunction that El Hachmi speak or *be* "Christian" signals the presence of Islamophobia in Catalan society; the injunction that she *not* speak in Catalan signals a subliminal anxiety in the national imaginary that an African Muslim might pass—not just as Spanish, but as Catalan.

This passage in the memoir is revealing, then, not so much for what it says about the Muslim immigrant subject as for what it says about the precarity of *Spanish* or native identities. The racial anxieties that underlie Spain's present-day "anti-Moorish xenophobia" are rooted in the contested history of al-Andalus's ethno-racial mixture and in Spain's "quest for a racially homogenous (white) community in the phase of national consolidation" (Branche 20). The early modern foundation of Spanish identity on the expulsion of Muslims finds its modern-day analogue in widespread fear surrounding the presence of Muslims in Spain. In a report from 2000 on "white hysteria" in Spain, Peter Snowdon uses the title "The Moor that meets the eye."[64]

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[63] Muslims remaining in Iberia after 1492 became a source of anxiety for the Monarchy and the formation of Spain as a Christian nation, and were subjected to persecution, forced religious conversion, and further expulsions. The term "*Moriscos*" refers to the Moors that, voluntarily or involuntarily, converted to Christianity.

[64] In this article, Snowdon reports on the outbreak of anti-Moorish violence in southern town of El Ejido in 2000: "Popular feeling was well-displayed in the cries of 'Fuera moros!' (Moors Out!) that rang through the streets." The mayor of El Ejido, Snowdon reports, "bemoaned the fact that 'it is impossible to control all these people'—meaning the Moroccans, not the rioting Spaniards." If the "lack of control"

This phrase is an allusion to the idiom "more than meets the eye." The article doesn't parse its title; however, it bears mentioning that the echo hints at more than one form of racial anxiety in Spain. On the one hand, in Snowdon's rephrasing, the Moor "meets the eye," that is, looks back; this returned gaze subverts the normativity of the objectifying gaze, as the latter is met, held, and returned by the critical gaze of the "Moor" or Muslim immigrant. The original phrase, on the other hand, suggests that the Moor/more is that which is not immediately apparent or remains hidden—that is, that which enables someone to pass. Snowdon's wordplay is an apt turn of phrase for the broad and specific arguments here: the memoirs in question foreground their authors' specifically Muslim and immigrant vantage points, which constitute a historicized and geopoliticized critical gaze; and in the playground scene in *Jo també*, this epistemology manifests itself in a praxis of passing.

El Kadaoui articulates this racial anxiety in his critique of being "complimented" on "not looking Moroccan" (29-30): "Nosaltres sabem que de marroquins que tenen uns trets molt semblants als espanyols, als italians, als portuguesos i als grecs, n'hi ha molts. La geografia mana. Però no ho diguis a ningú. És un secret. Sembla que això no agrada gaire. És millor dir que no ho sembles. Així no incomodes a ningú" (30); "els marroquins hauríem de ser marroquins. Diferents. […] [E]l que més por fa de la persona *diferent* no és la seva diferència, sinó que s'assembli a nosaltres" (30; emphasis in original).

There are numerous examples of microaggressions in both memoirs. In *Cartes*, for example, several anecdotes call attention to the infantilizing expectation that immigrants be "grateful" toward Catalonia and native Catalans (El Kadaoui 51-4, 90-1)—a phenomenon that had already been dubbed "the 'grateful *xarnego*' syndrome" in the 1970s (Woolard 51). If El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's memoirs read at times as a cataloguing of microaggressions, it is precisely the frequency and cumulative effect of these stories that reveals the insidiousness of racism in Catalonia. Their memoirs were published shortly after a wave of anti-Moroccan mob violence at the turn of the millennium.[65] Although neither author comments on these events, their memoirs contextualize this sensational, publicly denounced violence in a more naturalized form of violence, which only acquires visibility in their collection of seemingly minor experiences of invalidation; this discursive violence is a "much subtler and more socially widespread culturalist racism that is publicly articulated and accepted in social and political spheres […]. This 'new' racism is especially pertinent in the case of Muslim immigrants" (Flesler 5). The work of enumerating these episodes, then, is to show that these are not isolated encounters but a system, a status quo. While El Kadaoui reminds his son to laugh off these slights (23), to breathe through them (91), he also urges him to trust his perception of them when they occur: "Veuràs, fill, l'exclusió i el menyspreu no acostumen a ser clars. Fan tot el possible per ser tan invisibles que ni tu mateix i, sobretot, la resta de gent que t'envolta no els vegeu. És més, sovint et plantejaran dubtes sobre l'existència d'aquestes actituds. […] Hi són, fill. No ho dubtis" (89).

In their representations of their own experiences, El Hachmi and El Kadaoui establish a critical vision of Catalonia; their intervention in this space occurs through the characterization of their respective sons. For the most part, both El Hachmi and El Kadaoui write as parents addressing their young sons. The figuration of child as narratee operates as a rhetorical device in two senses. First, the child figure is a "filter" between the authors and their wider readership

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here refers to legal order, it also conjures the phantasm of Spain's Moorish cultural heritage and the threat of that which exceeds or belies naturalized social demarcations.

[65] In July 1999, an anti-immigrant protest in Terrassa, Barcelona, led to a series of mob attacks against Maghrebian immigrants.

(Pomar-Amer, "Voices" 45); the address of a child allows the authorial voice to assume a parental authoritativeness (45). Second, the parent-child narrative brings the reader into the intimacy of family address, an interpellation that is at once emotional, appealing to a universal pathos of parental love, and political, compelling the reader to hold the image of family and home together with the books' respective critiques of Catalonia. The normativity of the family social unit—the *Catalan* family social unit, no less—works rhetorically to normalize the strands of identity that the authors and their children embody. In this sense, "normalization" occurs at different levels in the books, which affirm the authors' own *Catalanitat* as they affirm Catalan singularity.[66] It is evident from the titles that they lay claim to *Catalanitat*—even as they struggle with (in El Hachmi's case) or abjure (in El Kadaoui's case) identitary labels.[67] El Hachmi inhabits her son's critical question, avowing not only her Catalan identity—*sóc catalana*—but also her being among the Catalan community—*jo també*. El Kadaoui's subtitle (*Un català de soca-rel, gairebé*) both affirms and destabilizes his son's *Catalanitat*; his use of the Catalan idiom "de soca-rel" locates the enunciation in Catalan linguistic culture.

As physical referents, the young sons—the object of the memoirs—are the embodied site of the basic claim that *Catalanitat* cannot be defined in terms of whiteness or Europeanness. Thus, El Hachmi answers Rida's question of whether he is Catalan with an indignation that is clearly directed at an imagined reader, rather than Rida: "Has nascut aquí i només has estat al Marroc deu dies de la teva curta vida, encara ara t'haig de negar la catalanitat? On es deu adquirir aquest bé tan preuat, deu estar patentat?" (*Jo també* 89) El Hachmi's metaphor of *Catalanitat* as a prized or patentable good points to the capitalist elitism that underlies certain conceptions of Catalan identity, as if community belonging were a scarce resource. In *Cartes*, El Kadaoui recalls Elies's birth in the iconic Hospital de Sant Pau, linking his son to "una de les joies del Modernisme català" and linking this national style, in turn, to an ethical position (16):

> El Modernisme és un dels moviments artístics i culturals més rics de la història de Catalunya i un dels moments històrics que més em fascinen, precisament per l'obertura de mentalitat que significà per al país. És justament aquesta actitud de recerca d'idees, de formes noves d'explicar-se i de projectar la realitat que ara necessitem.

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[66] "Normalization" in this context refers to linguistic normalization, the cornerstone of the politics of Catalan singularity. The Catalan Normalization Law of 1983 gave the Catalan language official linguistic status alongside Castilian, reestablishing the use of Catalan in schools and public spaces. The text of the law invokes and characterizes the "poble català" through their use of the Catalan language, a speech act figured as "el testimoni de la fidelitat del poble català envers la seva terra i la seva cultura específica" (*Llei* 3); speaking Catalan "és un dret i un deure irrenunciables del poble català" (4).

[67] The intertextual resonance of these titles recalls other literature on national identity. El Hachmi's title, *Jo també sóc catalana*, is a rejoinder to titles that emerged the 1960s as debates surrounding Catalan nationalism and immigration began to surface: she strikes through the "others" of Candel's *Els altres catalans*; rebuffs the sarcasm of Miquel Arimany's *I els catalans també* (1964), a diatribe about immigrants diluting Catalonia's cultural singularity; and troubles the "*nosaltres*" of Manuel Cruells's *Els no catalans i nosaltres* (1965). The title also echoes an anecdote from *Els altres catalans* in which Candel, visiting a Catalan primary school, asks the how many of the students are Catalan. When teacher tells him there are two or three Catalan students, the children begin raising their hands and exclaiming, "Señor maestro, yo también soy catalán" (Candel, *Els altres* 35). Candel agrees with the children and takes this as a "gran lliçó" (35). In the case of *Cartes*, as El Kadaoui explains in the last paragraph of the book (156), the subtitle is an allusion to the opening line of Hanif Kureishi's novel *The Buddha of Suburbia*, the protagonist of which proclaims his nationality even as he expresses his alienation from it.

> Obrir la ment i el cor per fer lloc als nens que, com tu, tenen cognoms d'altres indrets i que són tan catalans com qualsevol altre. (16)

Here, El Kadaoui uses *Catalanisme* to redefine *Catalanitat*: he recognizes Catalonia as a country and reaffirms its quintessential iconography, but instead of reading *Modernisme* through the traditional Europeanist or nationalist lenses, he focalizes his reading through his son's embodiment of "other places."

In both memoirs, the narratees are not the children of the moment of writing, exactly, but rather imagined, older versions of these people, who will have come of age by the time they read their parents' books. Michael Nieto García proposes a terminology of "referentiality" and "revisability" to "describe the two poles of identity—the one corporeally fixed, and the other narratively fluid" (7). A text's referentiality confirms the embodied subject, whereas its revisability acknowledges the narrated subject (7). The authors' enunciations occupy the temporal gap between the past of the memories narrated and the future of the grown sons; they are anchored in the referentiality of the young son born in Catalonia and of the authors themselves, but gesture toward a revisability embodied in the future-son: "Quin futur l'espera, farà sempre de pont, com he fet jo, o sabrà arrela definitivament? […] Tot un camí d'incertesa s'obre davant nostre, els seus cabells rinxolats i la seva pell, encara una mica més fosca que la dels autòctons, sempre el delatarà" (El Hachmi, *Jo també* 54-5); "T'observo mentre jugues i em sento feliç. Una felicitat que també deixa entreveure la por: sento dintre meu l'enormitat dels vaixells que no troben port. Què ens espera, fill?" (El Kadaoui 139). To come of age in Catalonia, both books attest, will be to grapple with questions of identity and place, as well as the racism present in Catalan society.

The meantime between the physical child referent and the future-son is where the books reflect and work on this society. A present-day readership of Catalan speakers precedes—and is interpellated to imagine, alongside the authors—the future-son narratee. Through this secondary address of the wider audience, the texts refigure the symbolic child body as a site for change in *Catalanitat* or Catalan identity politics.

In both memoirs, the future-son nuances the ethical narrative surrounding the Catalan language. Formal Catalan language and the classics of Catalan literature occupy a glorified place in El Hachmi's representation of herself and her own memories. As Beatriz Celaya-Carrillo signals, El Hachmi exaggerates Spanish persecution of Catalan; in fact, by the 1980s, Catalan was the language—and *Catalanisme* the discourse—of schools in Catalonia (349). Celaya-Carrillo argues that El Hachmi reproduces the Pujolist party line of Catalan victimization and moral nationalism (350). Yet, if El Hachmi represents herself in these *Catalanista* terms, this is not the form of *Catalanitat* she projects onto her son. She speaks to Rida in Amazigh (El Hachmi, *Jo també* 20), her first language, and envisions him growing up not as a monolingual Catalan speaker, but rather bilingual or trilingual: "Tot i que et decantes sempre per parlar en català, estic segura que el teu codi deu ser una amalgama d'aquesta i de la llengua que alguna vegada, fa molt de temps, fou la llengua materna de la teva mare" (20); "Espero que tard o d'hora puguis adonar-te que aquesta amalgama de codis lingüístics on creixes no és més que un enriquiment" (27). Similarly, El Kadaoui sees in his son's integration of the family's languages, which reflect intranational as well as transmediterranean migrations, a leaving behind of the categories of national identity:

> La imatge d'estar a casa dels teus avis, parlant castellà amanit per l'amazic amb ells, castellà sense condiments amb els tiets, català amb la mare i amb els teus cosins, em sembla un llenç ple de vida. I la vida és això: moviment, canvi, mescla. És lògic que les

> tres llengües, a les quals sovint se suma l'àrab que la tieta parla als seus fills, es contaminin, es barregin, es barallin, s'estimin i, en definitiva, convisquin. Ja no som només marroquins, només amazics, només catalans, espanyols i europeus. Som tot això. (39)

Furthermore, El Hachmi and El Kadaoui historicize Catalan alongside Amazigh, not as national languages, but rather as minoritary and transmediterranean languages.[68] Catalan and Amazigh are "totes dues llengües marginades per certs poders" (El Hachmi, *Jo també* 52); in this analogy, the "powers" that marginalize are Spain and the kingdom of Morocco—or, the compulsory and official status of Castilian and Arabic. El Hachmi, who herself studied Arabic in college, imagines an older Rida's encounter with Arabic:

> la llengua àrab […] és la llengua dels opressors en un regne on l'amazic sempre s'ha considerat de segona categoria, llenguatge oral, només, bàrbars, ens diuen. Et sentiràs ferit el dia que tornis al Marroc i aquells que ostenten el poder et parlin en la llengua del profeta, en la llengua del rei? […] [P]erò aquesta sensació no et serà desconeguda. La teva altre llengua materna, el català, fou en altres temps perseguida i menystinguda, no en va la teva mare les sent com dues llengües germanes. (27)

El Kadaoui, who also speaks Amazigh as his first language, disagrees that these are languages in danger of disappearing (37), but signals the same historical connection: "Ho han resistit tot" (37). Considering that Amazigh was the third most spoken language in Catalonia by the mid-2000s (Playà Maset), the imaginative potential of remembering Catalan's persecution is not necessarily in service to a discourse of nationalism, but rather to one of transmediterranean solidarity and Catalonia as a transmediterranean space.

The future-son is a site for the revision of identitary logic in general. Both authors dismantle the monoliths of national identity and cultural or multicultural identity via a humanistic discourse of literacy. For El Hachmi, who characterizes herself first and foremost as a reader, intellectual growth dissolves identity labels. She tells Rida that when she is studying, "la mare deixa de ser mare, esposa, filla, treballadora, mestressa de casa, immigrant, marroquina, berber o amazic. La mare, fill, es despulla de totes les etiquetes i és només ella mateixa" (El Hachmi, *Jo també* 25). Despite this affirmation of her own intellect, she also describes being pigeonholed into studying Arabic along with the other Moroccan immigrants at the university: "Qui ho havia de dir que tots havíem de trobar a la facultat. Tots nosaltres vam arribar aquí amb vuit o nou anys, […] vam créixer en un país que no era el nostre al principi i hem viscut les mateixes contradiccions, les mateixes incerteses, hem trobat a faltar una part de nosaltres mateixos, aquella que vam deixar al Marroc" (26); and being out of place as a pregnant woman on campus: "entre mareig i mareig, ens acomodàvem com podíem en aquests estrets bancs de fusta vella. Segur que no es van fer pensant en embarassades, és clar" (25). For Rida, on the other hand, the university is home, symbolically figured as the site of his conception: "Quan a penes començaves a bategar dins del meu ventre, acollit pel liquid amniòtic, ja ens passejàvem tots dos per les aules" (25). El Hachmi envisions this space as the province of her grown son: "és la teva universitat" (25). Similarly, after lamenting his own linguistic "illiteracy" (El Kadaoui

[68] Amazigh is the language spoken by the Amazigh or Berber ethnic group, which is indigenous to North Africa. The Amazigh are geographically and politically marginalized by the kingdom of Morocco, the official language of which is Arabic. Since the Arab Spring, advocacy for Amazigh rights has gained momentum and visibility; the language was recognized as an official language of Morocco in 2011 (Keenan).

57-8), El Kadaoui tells his son that “l’única bandera que mereix ser onejada és la del coneixement” (58), and encourages him to learn as many languages as he can.

Conversely, the future-son is also charged with the task of remembering his Maghrebian cultural “inheritance” (El Hachmi, *Jo també* 14; El Kadaoui 33). El Hachmi cautions Rida: “Quan algú et diu que t’integris, el que en realitat t’està demanant és que et desintegris, que esborris qualsevol rastre de temps anteriors, de vestigis culturals o religiosos, que ho oblidis tot i només recordis els seus records, el seu passat” (*Jo també* 90). For El Kadaoui, the pressure to assume a national identity threatens to whitewash family memory. He frequently reminds his future-son reader of his paternal lineage, which appears, subliminally, in the memory of his grandfather’s silence as a migrant worker (El Kadaoui 54), and in El Kadaoui’s own anxious parentheticals or addendums: “(I no oblidis dir que sóc el teu pare.)” (61); “([…] diràs que aquest és el teu pare, espero que amb una mica d’orgull)” (72); “[n]omés es pot ser ciutadà del món si saps qui és el teu pare” (103). Even as he exposes nationalist and culturalist essentialisms, El Kadaoui is wary of their opposite (108): “Aquells que som susceptibles de ser etiquetats tenim un repte: no viure en la marginalitat, sí als marges, i no voler ser membres de ple dret d’aquest nucli que pot ser un jutge implacable” (107). In this analysis, El Kadaoui conflates Catalonia with the future-son:

> Aquesta és la Catalunya que a mi m’agrada. Que s’estima, es valora i s’agrada i que, per això mateix, s’obre a la resta d’Espanya, d’Europa i del món.
>
> És el mateix anhel que tinc per a tu. M’agradarà que coneguis la teva història, que […] valoris i estimis els itineraris viscuts pels teus pares […] i que, sense complexos però sense banderes massa altes, et sentis català. (107-8)

Ultimately, the establishment of the future Catalan child as narrative object of address becomes the basis for an ethical demand. When El Hachmi tells her son that “ningú té dret a preguntar-te: i tu com et sents, més català o més marroquí?” (*Jo també* 92), or when El Kadaoui tells his son that “[a]quest món és de tots! I aquest país és el teu!” (156), the authors are making a demand on the collective imaginary of Catalan national belonging: that it be as pluralistic and open-ended as the future-son himself. Grounded as he is in the referent of the real toddler son, the future-son is not purely symbolic but a ghost of Catalonia’s future, an embodiment to come and, as such, a space for revisability.

Practicing *Catalanitat*

In my analysis of the primary texts of this chapter, I have disengaged with two dominant critical readings. The first of these is specific to Najat El Hachmi, who is the more widely studied of the two authors I’ve discussed here. El Hachmi’s memoir is *Catalanista*—so much so that the publisher opted out of a Castilian translation (Ricci, “African” 216). I have explored fissures in this nationalism in order to argue that her memoir points to a transnational *Catalanitat*. The second dominant critical tendency is to read these immigrant memoirs for their articulations of identity. Here, I have argued that the authors use identity as a geopolitical starting point; I read the resulting immigrant memoirs as theory. This approach serves my overarching project of considering how Spain is written from and in critical distance; it is also a move toward incorporating these works into Hispanic and Catalan studies on the basis of their formal contributions, in addition to or beyond their sociological implications. Along these lines, I have read these memoirs together with Candel and López Bulla, intranational migrants who likewise

write their immigrant identity not in order to "account for" themselves, but rather by way of establishing a platform of critical perspective of Catalonia and Spain. In moving away from reading life writing for its representation of an individual life toward life writing as a narrative strategy for anchoring critique in embodied critical distance, I am signaling a far-reaching subject—much like the historically and geographically transcendent lyric subjects in the poetry of Nicolás Guillén and Enrique Gil Gilbert. This transcendent first person—an individual voice that, in writing a particular embodied experience, channels a larger collective history—is the thread that runs through the dissertation's transition from poetry to memoir.

The immigrant memoirs I've considered—from Candel's and López Bulla's *xarnego* memoirs of the EET to El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's memoirs of the late Transition period—occupy and repurpose *Catalanitat*, the significance and agenda of which came into question in the Transition. El Hachmi's and El Kadaoui's reframing of Catalan cultural citizenship through the involvement of Catalan readers in a transmediterranean family address puts *Catalanitat* into motion as a relational *practice*, rather than a static label. As I've argued, this becomes a transnational ethics of solidarity; in the Catalan narratees' embodiment of multiple circuits of migration, Catalan identity is figured in terms of transmediterranean kinship, rather than through the Romantic *topos* of the family as nation. It may be that this form of *Catalanitat* verges on wishful thinking, particularly in the case of the temporal displacement of the future-son narratee; then again, the narratives that have given shape to the prevailing political and socioeconomic imaginaries of Catalonia are themselves utopian and often teleological.[69] The memoirs I've discussed shift the utopian aspect of the "Catalan Dream" from national belonging to mutual recognition across *pobles*.

[69] One need look no further than Catalonia's national anthem, which, in its lament of the failed Catalan uprising of June 1640, galvanizes anti-Spanish sentiment and envisions "another June" of the future when Catalonia "will return to being rich and bountiful."

Chapter Five
Conclusions: Imagining and Remembering Spain in the Twenty-First Century

En la actualidad, España es el país de Europa
menos racista. Lo he leído hoy en el periódico.
- Rachid Nini, *Diario de un ilegal* (74)

"There is no racism in Spain" was the axiom that took hold at the end of the twentieth century, despite the rise of xenophobic and Islamophobic violence in Spain that marked the turn of the twenty-first century.[70] While few performing close analysis would defend the veracity of this statement, its persistent presence in popular and political discourses is a key part of a broader trend of "forgetful" claims about Spain that produced the dominant stories about the twentieth century, particularly the narrative that the twentieth century concluded with the fruition of a modern, European, democratic Spain. As this dissertation has argued at several points, this teleology is rooted in racial anxieties that were and are foundational of the modern Spanish State.

There is no racism in Spain; there is no *race* in Spain; Spain is homogenous. The slippage between these notions is something more than the desire to counter the Black Legend of Spain with claims to progressive multiculturalism and tolerance; it speaks to deeper concerns about *blackness* in Spain.[71] To conceal the nation's "colonial and enslaving past," as Antumi Toasijé

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[70] Writing as one of the "children of the first and second generation of Black populations" in Spain and as a Spanish scholar of Pan-African studies (352), Antumi Toasijé signals the tenacity of the truism that there is no racism in Spain even in the face of growing racism at the turn of the century. Goytisolo invokes and ironizes the statement in his editorials from the end of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (see, for example, "España y sus ejidos," published in 2000 and anthologized in the volume of the same name, 32). Likewise, Rachid Nini juxtaposes his own experiences of economic racism while living as an undocumented worker and intellectual in Spain with the media's blanket claims about the country's lack of racism (74). The rise in xenophobic, Islamophobic, and oftentimes specifically anti-Moroccan sentiment around the turn of the century is most obvious in the lynch mobs that shouted "Moors out!" as they rioted in El Ejido, the population of which was, at the time (2000), 20% migrant workers from Morocco (Snowdon); and anti-immigrant protests and attacks in Terrassa, Barcelona (1999). As Peter Snowdon points out, the particularity of the events that catalyzed these incidents were "soon obliterated by the blunt weapons of generalised racism and long-smouldering hatred." Anti-immigrant and racist sentiment increased with the economic crisis of 2008; and hate speech and hate crimes have escalated dramatically in the last two years—especially in Catalonia, where the majority of Muslims in Spain reside (ANSA).

[71] The so-called "Black Legend" is the perennial discourse of the exceptionality of Iberian imperial cruelty. The Black Legend emerged in early modernity, ascribing traits of excess and barbarity to the Spanish Empire; this anti-Spanish propaganda has filtered into modern biases against and exclusions of Spain—including Enlightenment-era representations of Spain as "an embarrassingly backward, uncivilized place that the spirit of progress had forgotten" (Iarocci 15), or the claim, in recent years, that racism originated in Spain (Martínez 9, 59-60). Among others, Susan Martin-Márquez picks up on the racial valence of the "Black" in "Black Legend," arguing that this centuries-old line of attack on Spain *is* about race (39-40). By contrast, recent scholarship signals a "White Legend" of Spain, oftentimes tied to a romanticized notion of *convivencia* and, indeed, the minimization of slavery and racism on the Peninsula (Herzog 4).

puts it (349), is to conceal myriad mixtures, migrations and fluidities in the *pueblo*, therein allaying uncertainties about *whom* Spain comprises.

At the outset of this study, an interest in immigration motivated me to ask how Spain has been imagined, beyond the synchronous and bordered nation, from the web of migrations to, from and within the country. Wanting to avoid simply mining Spanish letters for texts by migrants, which would have only upheld identity categories, I looked for literature that deliberately foregrounded perspectives of geopolitical outsiders in order to authorize their reflections on Spain; the approach was comparative, enabling me to read across genres and national statuses, but always within the parameters of Iberian colonization, the multidirectional conquest that set in motion Spain's many migrations.

What this dissertation has found, in every instance, is that this sort of writing tends to expose racial constructs and racist erasures as the underpinning of dominant national narratives, not only problematizing the stories that have become Spain's Official History, but also probing the limits of national historiography and literature. The various genres of autobiographical or pseudo-autobiographical writing with which this dissertation has engaged lend themselves to critical interventions that assert themselves as being outside the spatial and temporal logic of the nation-*state* but also as comprehending of the *pueblo*.

Thus, Guillén and Gil Gilbert reframe the question of solidarity in revolutionary and Civil War Spain, neither in national terms of the Two Spains, nor in internationalist terms as a collective and self-less fight against fascism, but as part of an antiracist and anticolonial fight against Spanish imperialism, a fight grounded in Afro-Caribbean and Afro-indigenous American experience. Three decades later, seeing through the lenses of anti-imperial, socialist Cuba and nineteenth-century, colonial Cuba, Juan Goytisolo casts doubt on the "*milagro*" of Spain's economic modernization and the innocence of the accompanying tourist boom. Writing in the context of growing xenophobia and a surge of anti-Moroccan hate crime in early twenty-first century Spain, Najat El Hachmi and Saïd El Kadaoui illuminate the continued operation of early modern race constructs in the discourses of the Transition to Democracy and Catalan progressiveness and modernity.

In their work, these writers not only deconstruct official narratives of Spain, but also *write* Spain, positing ideas about the national community in its geopolitical and temporal plurality: from the Afro-indigenous volunteer militiaman, fighting against the "cassock" in Spain for the imprisoned and oppressed in the Caribbean; to the slave woman Casilda, demanding not only food and shelter, but also recognition in the story of Spain's modernity; to the southern and transmediterranean migrant building the new Catalonia. Throughout the dissertation, the moveable and modal category of *pueblo* has been a reference to this dual action of deconstructing official narratives of the national community and asserting communities that exist within or inflect the sign of "Spain." The dissertation has found that the *pueblo* exists as a lived experience of an imagined community, but one that runs counter to the imaginary curated by the State.

Bringing forth the perspectives of spectral, minimized or forgotten racialized others in the writing of the defining junctures of Spanish society has resulted in the reconsideration of twentieth-century Spain. If the twentieth century would seem to be the period of greatest ideological and geographical isolation in Spain's existence, after the end of its global empire but before its admittance into the European Economic Community, the developments of this period can be understood as manifesting ongoing coloniality, colonial memory, and decolonizing

aspirations. As this dissertation has found, the identitary concerns of early Spain have currency in modern narratives (and in narratives of modernity).

In this, Spain is a special case among European nations. Spain destabilizes the notion of nationhood being a natural or inevitable antecedent to empire, a stable entity to which empire necessarily refers back.[72] Empire preceded nationhood in Spain, and Iberian colonization forged a racialized national imaginary at the same time that it complicated this imaginary through the forced conversions of new subjects.[73] As María Elena Martínez takes care to point out in her work on *limpieza de sangre* statutes and race, anti-Semitism was rampant across medieval Europe and Iberia did not originate racism (9, 59-60); however, the preoccupation with notions of purity that exploded in the mid-fifteenth century in Iberia made for a particular Iberian paradigm of genealogy and race (80). Thinking through the case of Spain is thus necessary for thinking about the interconnectedness of race and nation (Feros).

While many recent studies have sought to bring to light constructs of race and racism in the *early modern* Hispanic world, this effort must also inform the memory studies of post-imperial and contemporary Spain. Since the end of the twentieth century, cultural studies of Spain have tended to revolve around the problem of memory as it applies to the Civil War and, increasingly, the Transition to Democracy, the latter entailing a narrative of peaceful democratization that was literally contingent upon a pact to forget.[74] As H. Rosi Song sums up in her review of the corpus of critical work on the Transition, "'memory' in Spain has not only become a critical term, but a paradoxical one whose constant presence actually exposes its complete absence" (*Lost* 19). This dissertation is a contribution to this field of critical inquiry, but it has asserted that the problems of memory that haunt contemporary Spain run deeper than the fratricidal eruption of the "Two Spains" in the Civil War and years of dictatorship, the missed opportunity for justice that characterized the change in political regime in the 1970s, and the tensions between Spain's regional communities; the dissertation has attempted to show that memory work on these major events of the twentieth century must be placed in the broader scope of colonial and postcolonial migrations, relations and ideologies. Thus, the *lieux de mémoire* of contemporary Spain remain sites for the processing of colonial memories, beyond and in addition to strictly "national" memories.

Writing at the beginning of the twenty-first century and positioning his writing as the "*Diario de un ilegal*," the diary of a clandestine worker in the twilight economy of Spain's tourism and agriculture industries, the Moroccan journalist Rachid Nini thematizes the tension

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[72] As Antoinette Burton points out, even when it is "remade by colonialism and its subjects, 'the nation' often stands as the mirror to which imperial identities are reflected *back*" (5; emphasis in original).

[73] If there would seem to be a slippage here between culture (religion), on the one hand, and race as conceived from the nineteenth century onward, on the other, it is precisely this slippage that makes Spain important for thinking about the constructs of race and nation. María Elena Martínez argues that, since the construct of race shifts according to context, the concept can aptly describe the preoccupation with purity of blood in early modern Spain, even though this initially revolved around religious identity (59-60): "there was no neat transition from early modern nations of lineage to race. In the Hispanic Atlantic world, Iberian notions of genealogy and purity of blood—both of which involved a complex of ideas regarding descent and inheritance (biological and otherwise)—gave way to particular understandings of racial difference" (12).

[74] Even the 2007 Law of Historical Memory, supposedly a corrective measure against the Pact of Forgetting, was folded into this forgetting; the government both minimized the violence of the Civil War and dictatorship, and also attributed the same level of violence to victims and perpetrators alike (Song, *Lost* 12, 31).

between being a highly literate producer of textual memories, on the one hand, and being undocumented and treated as one of an invisible and disposable workforce, on the other. The title of Nini's memoir explicitly marks the critical distance from which he writes Spain. Like El Hachmi and El Kadaoui, he authorizes his writing by claiming his own position as immigrant while simultaneously refusing to give an account of himself as such: "en lo que se refiere a mi vida, miento mucho" (Nini 127), he affirms.

One passage from Nini's *Diario*, in particular, brings together the major themes that have emerged in this dissertation, and also says much about the contemporary period of Spain as a globalized European country. In this scene, Nini has just gotten off work in the touristy beach town on the Valencian coast where he is staying. The town is celebrating its annual festival, and as Nini is walking home, he comes across the traditional "*Moros y cristianos*" reenactment happening on the beach (37-9). A crusading Christian king bests an Arab king in a theatrical battle that celebrates the *Reconquista*. The performance is written in verse and caters to tourist sensibilities:

> No se pretende recordar a las nuevas generaciones lo que ocurrió realmente cuando los árabes fueron expulsados de Alándalus. La Inquisición. Las matanzas. La expulsión colectiva. Todas estas cosas no sirven para atraer a los turistas. Todo lo contrario. Le imprimirían al festejo un tono dramático inapropiado. Lo mejor es que la fiesta transcurra así. La celebración de la expulsión de los árabes. De los moros. […] Vendría el rey de los cruzados con su ejército y recitaría algunos poemas. Luego el rey árabe aparecería ante él y desde la fortaleza le respondería con versos preciosos. Más tarde abandonaría el castillo con todos los honores sin que se derramase ni una sola gota de sangre. Volví a casa destrozado. En el camino me vino a la mente la imagen del caudillo del grupo de moros, el de la cara pintada de negro. […] De repente sentí que mi presencia en esa escena era una extravagancia aún mayor que el torneo imaginario en la playa. Además estaba harto de estar en la fiesta pendiente de los uniformes de policía por si tenía que esfumarme. Volví a casa sin que el festejo hubiese terminado. Pero me sabía muy bien el final. (38-9)

The joust that Nini witnesses is a ritual that serves to inculcate a particular history of Iberian conquest into the twenty-first-century popular imaginary; its script whitewashes the *Reconquista*, subsuming the terrorizing and expulsion of Muslims in the pageantry of Christian righteousness and triumph. Here, the performance of national history is for the benefit of tourists, recalling the discussion in chapters 3 and 4 of the evolution of Spanish and Catalan nationalisms during the EET and Transition to Democracy; the commodification of national narratives for tourist consumption functions doubly, as a marketing of the nation and as a historiographical endeavor, reifying an Official History as a product that circulates nationally and internationally. Forty years after the "Spain is different" tourism campaign, Nini observes the same marshaling of the myths of early modern Spain in order to establish Spain's Christianity, which translates into the modern context as Spain's whiteness.

The scene also captures the polysemy of Spain's "natural" landscapes and stories. For festivalgoers, the Mediterranean sun and beach are a vacation destination; the landscape is a luxury good and the site of a national past that is offered up as a cultural experience and presented as resolved. Yet, as Nini's memoir makes clear, the performance in blackface of death on the beach unintentionally alludes to real black bodies on the beach: those of African migrants who die in the attempt to cross the Mediterranean and those of the migrants that end up working in the local restaurants, bars and fields. Thus, the scene shows the complicity of the innocence of

the tourist-ready landscape in the capitalist concealment of unresolved memories and power relations.

Nini's focalization of the scene is revealing of the ideologies of racial legibility at play in this national narrative as it is performed and consumed. Both the spectacle and literary form, with their "beauty" ("con versos preciosos"), refer back to the proto-racist idea of the "*cristiano lindo*" or pureblooded Christian in early modernity.[75] The actors in blackface elide the actual presence of Muslims and Moroccans such as Nini, once more implicitly affirming whiteness in Spain. Nini's characterization of his own presence at the festival as an "extravagance" is ironic but also apt, to the extent that that his embodied reality as a day laborer skirting the shadows of the jubilant public gathering exceeds the national narrative being performed. Then again, Nini is present and *passing* in this scene, as an undocumented migrant, and as a Moroccan Muslim who, the Spaniards he meets repeatedly tell him, does not look like "the others" (123, 127). Unlike the actor playing the part of the Arab *caudillo*, Nini avoids defeat at the hands of the State, avowing his ability to "vanish" before the police officers that might demand to see his papers.

When Nini says that he knows the ending to this story all too well, he is signaling both the tedium of colonial memory and also the conflation of the myths of national formation and State's present-day rule of law, which justifies the deportation and also the deaths at sea of migrants. Taken together, the vigilance of the State and the counter-vigilance and critical distance of the undocumented migrant, set against the theater of the nation, are indicative of the long history of minimization of colonial difference in Spain.

Writing at a critical distance from the national performance, Nini's rendering of this festival, which plays out in *fiestas del pueblo* across Spain to this day, heralds the increasing criminalization of postcolonial others in Spain in the twenty-first century. Today, "Spain" is still an idea in contention. The contemporary financial crisis (from 2008 to 2014) and the undying issues of Spain's national consolidation are the axes along which contemporary questions about the nation arise, most notably the increasingly conflictive issue of regional autonomy and the return of fascism to the public sphere, with its particular and perennial rhetoric in Spain of the *Reconquista*.[76] As the illusion of prosperity of the 1990s and early 2000s has disappeared, Spain is once again a "country of emigrants," but it has not ceased to be a country of immigrants (Bermudez and Brey 83-96).

It is in this context that the intractable problem of national memory has become something of a national obsession and, in the last decade or so, a political and academic "awakening" (Herzog 7). What is at stake in contemporary memory discourse is not the ordering

[75] The paradigm of "old" and "new" Christians was "built on binaries, including purity/impurity, beauty/ugliness (*cristianos lindos*), and rationality/sensuality, that are all-too-familiar tropes of racial discourse" (Martínez 60).

[76] Precipitated, in part, by the 2008 financial crash, the Catalan independence movement has emerged forcefully in the last ten years, with a referendum on Catalan self-determination held in November 2014 and another referendum, this one resulting in a declaration of independence from Spain, held in October 2017. The central government of Spain deemed these actions illegal, and a "constitutional crisis" has ensued. At the same time, steadily gaining traction since its founding at the height of the economic crisis, the fascist party Vox has effectively re-mythologized the psycho-geography of the *Reconquista* in its triple platform of Spanish nationalism (anti-Catalan statehood), anti-immigration and anti-feminism. This year, Vox launched its political campaign in Covadonga, the pseudo-historical locus of the resistance against Arab rule in the eighth century; similarly, the party's anti-immigrant platform is filtered through the rhetoric of "Islamic invasion" and "expulsion of the '*moros*,'" and associations between Al-Qaeda and immigrants (Blanco, Moreno).

or reordering of national history, but rather the uses of the past in the present. Cultural studies of this remembering *pueblo* will deepen through engagement of its anticolonial and antiracist constructions.

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