LYRICAL POLITICS IN THE SPANISH "STATE OF EXCEPTION" (1955-2009): AN ANALYSIS OF THE WORK OF VALENTE, VÁZQUEZ MONTALBÁN, PANERO, AND RIVAS

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis discusses the social, political, and historical panorama of the Spanish "state of exception" as depicted by the poets José Ángel Valente, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Leopoldo María Panero, and Manuel Rivas. The poetic works that have been examined in this thesis were all published between 1955 and 2009. The works present the horrors of the Spanish Civil War and the harsh conditions during the nearly forty-year dictatorship of Francisco Franco, in addition to the failed transition to democracy that began after his death. Through an incorporation of theories on nostalgia, trauma, "docile bodies", and "empty signifiers", this dissertation will analyze the exceptional literary space created by the minority genre that is Spanish poetry. Due to the *censura*, overt political discourse could not be carried out, and thus it was poetry, whose verses could abscond covert criticisms of the Franco regime, that created the opportunity for political dissidence at a time when it would be punishable by death. The poetic texts studied here expose the existence of Spain's "state of exception" and insist on its continuity despite the fact that Spain is now a Constitutional Monarchy.

For my father

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Introduction

In the years under and after the Franco regime, the liberal voices of poetry articulated both the memories and desires felt not only by the literary intelligentsia, but also by the Spanish citizens who found themselves restricted in the arena of cultural expression. The writings of four liberal poets in particular, José Ángel Valente, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Leopoldo María Panero, and Manuel Rivas, enumerate the complexities of Spanish life while constantly rejecting the fantasies propagated by the Franco regime in what Carl Schmitt would call a "state of exception". Through a detailed analysis of *A modo de esperanza* (1955) by José Ángel Valente, *Una educación sentimental* (1967) by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, *Last river together* (1980) and *El que no ve* (1980) by Leopoldo María Panero, and *La desaparición de la nieve* (2009) by Manuel Rivas, a comprehensive understanding of a poetic articulation can be yielded. Furthermore, the ideas expressed in these texts established the possibility of a critical corpus that opposed the rhetoric of the Franco regime and Spain's "state of exception".

The writings of these four poets are substantial for reasons noted by Jo Labanyi. All written and spoken words, under the Franco regime, were highly regulated by citizens themselves and the *censura* (censorship). Labanyi adds, "…popular romances and adventure stories were strictly controlled, as were historical and political texts in cheap editions" (211). On the other hand however, "[p]oetry became a vehicle for social protest in the 1950s because dissidence could be tolerated in a minority genre" (211). Rosalind Galt expressed concurrent thoughts as well. Galt insists "…the claim of poetic language as a privileged locus of social heresy is enabling in a situation where more direct activism or speech was impossible" (503). This is made even clearer when considering Marisol Morales Ladrón's explanation of the censorship protocol. She states:

> Thus, in Spain, the censorship board distributed the receipt of any material that could be published among readers, most of them priests, although there were also lay men, who filled out a questionnaire and reported on any subversive passage either asking for its excision, change into rephrasing or banning, or simply giving their consent for publication. The censors had to answer questions on the morality of the text, on religious dogma, and on whether it incurred any offence to the Regime, the Church or any of their institutions. (60)

Therefore, by covertly and implicitly exposing the harsh conditions of life in a "state of exception", the poetry of Valente, Vázquez Montalbán, and Panero largely alluded the *censura* and worked to establish an exceptional literary space that would allow for future poets, such as Rivas, to openly create discourse concerning politics in Spain's "state of exception".

This "state of exception", according to Schmitt, involves a "sovereign" who is "…associated with a borderline case and not with routine" and who will go on to "decide on the exception" (5). The power of the "sovereign" figure is made clear when discussing how he or she rules and creates laws. Schmitt continues:

> All law is 'situational law.' The sovereign produces and guarantees the situation in its totality. He has the monopoly over this last decision. Therein resides the essence of the state's sovereignty, which must be juristically defined correctly, not as the monopoly to coerce or rule, but as the monopoly to decide. The exception reveals most clearly the essence of the state's authority. The decision parts here from the legal norm, and (to formulate it paradoxically) authority proves that to produce laws it need not be based on law. (13)

It is Franco's position as *Caudillo* that elevates him to wield such sovereign power and to create a so-called "state of exception" in Spain. His unique role has been explained by Robert Moss who comments that Franco's was a "…personal dictatorship– and that is the whole problem. Personal dictatorships are nontransferable. A dictator cannot choose a man who can inherit his authority and charisma, and who can also enjoy the combination of historical circumstances that enabled him to come to power" (325). While Franco did have a forceful hand in the transition of power after he died, he could not replace himself with another dictator. However, he was able to create what Schmitt calls a "monopoly of politics", and in doing so, insure the continuity of Spain's "state of exception" long after his death.

Schmitt further explains writing:

> By virtue of its possession of a monopoly of politics, the state is the only entity able to distinguish friend from enemy and thereby demand of its citizens the readiness to die. This claim of physical life of its constituents distinguishes the state from, and elevates it above, all other organizations and associations. To maintain order, peace and stability, the legally constituted sovereign authority is supported by an armed force and a bureaucracy operating according to rules established by legally constituted authorities. (xxiv)

Throughout this introduction, the ramifications of this "monopoly of politics" in the Spanish "state of exception" will be evident in the discussions of nostalgia, trauma, "docile bodies", and "empty signifiers" as presented by Valente, Vázquez Montalbán, Panero, and Rivas.

Therefore, this thesis will demonstrate that, from the 1950s and continuing to today, poetry produced an exceptional lyrical discourse on the social, cultural, and political transitions in the Spanish society, during and after the Franco regime, due to the political exceptionality of

the dictatorship, which unknowingly allowed for political discussions in a minority genre. This dissertation builds on the proposals of Labanyi and Galt on the importance of poetry during the *censura* by stating Valente, Vázquez Montalbán, and Panero, in their limited capacity as participants in a "minority genre", created a political voice out of the trauma provoked by the violence of the Franco regime. This discourse fostered an alternative to the regime's propaganda, thus enabling a subtle but streamlined dissidence among the Spanish people at a time when harsh laws prevented overt criticism of the Franco regime. Their actions would pave the way for future poets, such as Rivas who would be the last heir to this poetic tradition as he writes poetry and prose in a democracy still darkened by Franco's ever-looming shadow. Following their example, Rivas employs his poetic style in multiple genres, among them journalism, in order to further the discussion of the environmental and political catastrophes facing the Spanish "state of exception" in the wake of globalization.

Concerning poetic works written during the 1950s through the democratic period, scholars, such as Andrew Peter Debicki, have focused mainly on style and form, especially in the case of Valente, but little research discusses the elements present in an historical and theoretical context. Therefore, there is a necessity for additional study, especially in light of new theoretical framework, that would further enhance a poetic capacity for comprehending the circuitous writings of poets who found themselves battling not only their own endeavors of expression, but also the *censura* established in Spain's "state of exception", under which Valente, Vázquez Montalbán, and Panero published.

For this reason, it is necessary to consider how these poets articulate the following five key elements, which will be defined at length in this introduction and the subsequent chapters of this dissertation: nostalgia, trauma, docility, anthropomorphism, and "empty signifiers". My

study will include the theories of Svetlana Boym on nostalgia, Cathy Caruth and Slavoj Zizek on trauma, Michel Foucault on "docile bodies", and Enersto Laclau and Andrews, Van Leeuwen, and Van Baaren on "empty signifiers" and anthropomorphism respectively.

These particular poets, along with their aforementioned works, have been selected for a multitude of reasons. Firstly, concerning the works themselves, this dissertation will study the poets' collections, which begin under Franco and end with a failed transition that has allowed for the continuation of a Spanish "state of exception". In particular, Vázquez Montalbán and Valente's poetry focuses on trauma and nostalgia respectively. Also, in the works of Vázquez Montalbán and Panero, the poets re-appropriate the literary works of figures such as Jules Verne and J. M. Barrie, in the case of Panero, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, John Keats, and Antonio Machado, in the case of Vázquez Montalbán. Overall, the study of these works, with their employment of devices that resurrect Spain's past, in the case of Valente, pop culture, in the case of Vázquez Montalbán and Panero, and Galician politics in the case of Rivas, will facilitate a more profound comprehension of Spain from the 1950s to the present, as captured by four unique poetic perspectives.

In order to successfully achieve such a feat, this dissertation will offer the following structure. The first two chapters will discuss the historical period of the 1950s through the 1970s in Spain. These chapters will include an analysis of two poetic generations, the *Generation of 1956-1971* in which Valente was a member, and *los novísimos*, in which Vázquez Montalbán and Panero were members. Additionally, Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 will provide a cultural context in which this period can be framed. Chapter 1 will focus on José Ángel Valente and his work *A modo de esperanza*. This poetic collection will be studied in light of Svetlana Boym's theories on reflective and restorative nostalgia. In the second chapter, Caruth and Zizek's theories on trauma

will be consulted in order to gain more insight on Vázquez Montalbán's use of, and contempt for, consumerism in *Una educación sentimental.*

The next two chapters will cover poetry written from the last thirty-five years. The third chapter will study Leopoldo María Panero and his works *Last river together* and *El que no ve*, both published in 1980. This chapter will relate the theories of Michel Foucault on "docile bodies" to Panero's poems. Panero's conscious and unconscious desires, which resulted from confronting his homosexuality and psychosis, under the shadow of the Franco regime and through the "móvida", will be documented and analyzed. Lastly, Rivas' portrayal of politics, both within Galicia and Spain as a whole, will be discussed in order to understand the "empty signifier" he creates concerning environmental awareness and Galicia's precarious status in the Spanish "state of exception". The final chapter of this dissertation will be the conclusion. Before commenting on each poet specifically, Debkicki's *Generation of 1956-1971* and Castellet's *novísimos* will be discussed in order to demonstrate how a lyrical product was capable of creating political discourse because of its exceptional position as a minority genre in Spain's "state of exception".

Poetry of Discovery (1956-1971) **and** ***Nueve novísimos poetas españoles***

Each of these poets will be studied in an individual chapter in order to provide a synthetic view of the changes, both historical and cultural, that unite these four men. Before embarking on said adventure however, an analysis of two poetic generations is warranted. In his work, *Poetry of Discovery* (1982), Debicki offers a conglomeration of seven poets: Francisco Brines, Claudio Rodríguez, Ángel González, Gloria Fuertes, José Ángel Valente, Jaime Gil de Biedma, Carlos

Sahagún, and Eladio Cabañero, along with two other poets whose membership in the group has been in contention, Ángel Crespo and Manuel Mantero. This work unites a selection of writers whose poetry illuminates the process of private, and later public, contemplation of their existence as Spaniards and their reflections on Spain's trajectory. This group's generation spans the years of 1956 to 1971, and therefore often captures, through its writings, the evolution of the post-war Spanish society culturally, economically, and politically. Moreover, these years capture the slight loosening of restrictions under the Franco regime as aid from the United States and tourism alimented Spain's struggling economy following the Civil War. For poets of the *Generation of 1956-1971*, writing and reflecting on their poetry permitted further comprehension of themselves, and later, that comprehension facilitated their participation in the literary and public spectrum. Debicki observes Valente's role in this process when he states, "[he] keeps stressing the ways in which poetry is a unique way of finding and inventing reality" (7-8).

In her exploration of the poets of the *Generation of 1956-1971*, Silvia Sherno has concluded that many of the discoveries achieved during the process of writing their poetry led to intense introspection. She reflects on Ángel Gonzaléz, Carlos Sahagún, and Ángel Valente stating, "...these younger poets began to conceive their poetry as a form of meditation and introspection, and of language itself as the medium for cognition and awareness" (161). Essentially, by recollecting their memories and perceptions, and by reflecting on them through the writing process, they sought a meta-awareness. Finally, through a review of their own completed writings, the poets were sometimes capable of enhancing their own contemplations and conclusions. José Ramos has also commented on this process noting José Ángel Valente specifically. He writes, "Valente propone una 'inversión de perspectiva': volver a centrar la

consideración del hecho poético en la misma naturaleza del proceso creador, y no en los aspectos 'utilitarios o finalistas' del lenguaje (407).

Historians and economists alike have observed the vapidity of the 1940s in Spain. In their book, *La España del siglo XX*, José Luis García Delgado and Juan Carlos Jiménez note that after the 1940s, the country had little room to further plummet into economic despair. They write, "quizá porque las cosas no podían ir a peor mucho más, comenzaron a mejorar: desde el comienzo de los años cincuenta eso fue perceptible" (371). Manuel Vázquez Montalbán has shown his inclination to forget the bleak decade that was the 1940s in Spain altogether. In an interview with José F. Colmeiro he comments, "[t]rasladado a la historia de España estoy completamente de acuerdo con lo que dice Salabert; no se puede tener nostalgia de los años cuarenta" (*Crónica del desencanto* 281). Rather, for the poet, the 1940s were more about survival than anything else. In his *Crónica sentimental de España* (1971) Vázquez Montalbán insists that during the 1940s "…por importarle, no le importaban ni los recuerdos. Sobrevivir" (35). Much of the "poetry of discovery" grapples with the confrontation between what Giles Tremlett and Jo Labanyi would call a "haunted" Spanish past, plagued not only with the memories of the Civil War itself but the "años de hambre" that were the 1940s as well.

The 1950s, on the other hand, were years in which the struggle for economic survival would be less aggressive, and the rebuilding of Spanish infrastructure brought with it many positive aspects that set the stage for the 1960s, or the "años de desarrollo". In his book, *Limits of Convergence*, Mauro F. Guillén comments on the economic and political modifications that aided Spain's recovery. He writes, "[t]he incorporation of the country and its firms into the global economy has proceeded gradually since 1953, when Spain signed a military and economic treaty with the United States, and especially since 1959, when liberal economic reforms

substituted steep tariff barriers for nontariff barriers to trade" (52). These economic dealings, along with the tourism boom, contributed greatly to the exposure of Spanish citizens to other cultures and began the process of globalization for Spain, which was not two decades removed from the debilitating Civil War. John K. Walton documents the effects of tourism in his chapter in *Spain is (Still) Different*. He argues:

> It was not until the last two decades of the Franco regime that the thaw began, led by a retreat from autarchy under the modernizing influences of the technocrats of the aperture, and marked especially by a sudden spurt in income from foreign tourism from the end of the 1950s, which in turn helped to reinforce the destabilizing new influences, fashions, and media initiatives that were already well under way by the time of Franco's death in 1975. (114)

In addition, Labanyi has also noted an augment in the influx of foreign culture, prepackaged for consumption through tourism and trade, in a Spanish "state of exception" where many yearned for access to the rest of the world. She suggests, "[t]he pleasures afforded by the new consumerism also encouraged a complex combination of conformism and new demands, the latter exacerbated by the evident contradiction between increased opportunities for material satisfaction at a time when intellectual and creative freedom was still denied" (258). The 1950s, as a decade, have been heralded as a most stark departure from the decade that preceded it. Due to the reforms made by the Franco regime during the 1950s, a less restricted Spain, economically speaking, began experiencing a hint of prosperity that had not shown itself since the first decades of the twentieth century. However, intellectual freedom was still stifled, as Labanyi has noted.

Similar to the members of the *Generation of 1956-1971*, the members of *los novísimos*, such as Vázquez Montalbán and Panero, also show more consideration to the poetic product than

the language they employed. As J. M. Castellet notes in his anthology *Nueve novísimos poetas españoles* (1971), automatic writing played a significant role in the creative process of *los novísimos*. In the introduction to his anthology, he notes that *los novísimos* demonstrate a lack of preoccupation for traditional forms. Instead they heavily relied upon the employment of automatic writing, collage, ellipsis, syncopation, exotic elements, and artificiality (41-3). The collage, for instance, is prominent in the poetry of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán and Leopoldo María Panero. Furthermore, through the incorporation of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán and Leopoldo María Panero in this thesis, both groups within *los novísimos* are represented as Vázquez Montalbán falls into what Castellet names "los seniors", and Panero is part of "la coqueluche".

For both groups within the *novísimos* however, the mass media plays a significant role in the creative process as it offered a starting point to connect with the masses. Contemplating the 1950s and 1960s, Castellet notes:

> …se impone un tipo de cultura basada en unos *mass media* de muy baja calidad, pero que por lo mismo obtienen un enraizamiento popular de considerable extensión demográfica (radio, TV, publicidad, prensa, revistas ilustradas, canciones, tebeos, fotonovelas, etc., a un mero nivel de cultura futbolística). (24)

The collaboration of the mass media and the consumer society provoked certain changes in Spain's "state of exception". Labanyi observes, "…the accumulated social and cultural changes of the 1960s would create a complex, plural civil society whose mounting opposition to the anachronistic inflexibility of Francoism's political structures contributed significantly to the pressure which led to their dismantling" (17). *Los novísimos*, therefore, exposed those social and

cultural changes in their poetry with the intention of highlighting their positive and negative effects during the initial years of Spain's entrance into a global economy.

Castellet's anthology was especially innovative due to the poems selected for the work. As it can be noted, many of the poems, notably those of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, were previously published in 1967 in his own work, *Una educación sentimental*. Labanyi notes the integral role Castellet's anthology played in the expansion of creativity in 1970s Spain. She states "[t]he paradox of a highly aestheticized form of writing which derives its inspiration from mass culture is the salient feature of the new generation of writers that emerged around 1970: the date of Castellet's seminal anthology…" (297). In the anthology, creativity was fueled by pop culture and consumerism, which the mass culture willingly devoured in order to figuratively escape Spain's "state of exception", even if for the briefest of moments.

Ultimately, while the 1950s began the slow process of economic recovery and reconciliation in Spain, the 1980s would foster a time of unbridled expression, though not always positive in the case of Panero, which was inconceivable when the Franco regime took complete control of Spain in 1939. The political, economic, and cultural changes that occurred between the 1950s and the democratic period will be further explored in the following abstracts for each chapter in this introduction, and later more profoundly in the upcoming chapters of this dissertation.

Chapter 1: J.A. Valente: The Victors and Victims of Nostalgia

José Ángel Valente (1929-2000), being the eldest on the four poets selected for investigation, will be the focus of the first chapter of this dissertation. Valente's work has received a great deal of critical analysis, but there is a significant lack of a theoretical approach in past studies. As Valente's contributions to Spanish literature are vast, not only through his poetry but also through essays on his poetic process and the poetry of others, he has been justly recognized by many critics, among them Debicki. As a member of the *Generation of 1956-1971*, Valente's poetry shares several commonalities with his fellow members such as Carlos Sahagún, Gloria Fuertes, Ángel Gonzaléz, and Jaime Gil de Biedma. His first collection, a three section work entitled *A modo de esperanza* (1955), has been particularly discussed, as it similar to his other highly acclaimed works, such as *Poemas a Lázaro* (1960), that take memory, loss, and introspection as a central theme. This chapter begins with the literary analysis of *A modo de esperanza* as a departure point and will embark on a more extensive study by incorporating Boym's theories on nostalgia.

Nostalgia, as explained by Boym, appears in many poems in *A modo de esperanza* as the poet reflects on a personal and collective past. While the poet employs memory in his poetry to further comprehend the intricacies of his own perceptions of the past, he is often bogged down by it and unable to escape the plaguing thought that his life has been partly spent, and a death looms that can neither be avoided nor bested. One of the most intriguing aspects of this fascination with nostalgia and memory is the fact that it is so prevalent in his contemplations, and later his writings, despite the fact that he was twenty five years old when *A modo de esperanza* was completed.

In her work, *The Future of Nostalgia*, Boym explores several historical employments and understandings of nostalgia. In defining nostalgia she writes, "[n]ostalgia (from nostos- return home, and algia- longing) is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy" (XIII).

Furthermore, she disseminates two categories of nostalgia, which will be explored at length in this section: restorative and reflective. She explains restorative nostalgia as one that "…attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home [and] …does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition" and reflective as one that "…delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately…" (XVIII). Before embarking on a thorough analysis of restorative nostalgia, reflective nostalgia must be further examined.

Reflective nostalgia was common among poets and intellectuals because the nation state often had no space for it in its repertoire. Boym states, "[c]uriously, intellectuals and poets from different national traditions began to claim that they had a special word for homesickness that was radically untranslatable…Spanish *mal de corazón* has become part of nostalgic esperanto…" (12). However, Boym is very clear about the government's use of nostalgia. She claims, "[t]he official memory of the nation-state does not tolerate useless nostalgia, nostalgia for its own sake" (14).

Through his exploration of terms, Valente reflects on a past long gone, a present lost, and a future that could never exist in Spain's "state of exception". In doing so, Valente trespasses the abyss that Boym has termed "reflective nostalgia". Of reflective nostalgia she insists that "...it can present an ethical and creative challenge, not merely a pretext for the midnight melancholic" (XVIII). Furthermore, she claims that reflective nostalgia "...dwells in algia, in longing and loss,

the imperfect process of remembrance" (41). It is precisely within this painful state of memory limbo that Valente finds himself confined before his "conversion" to the poetic "yo".

For that reason, Valente's poetry weaves the planes of reality with the metaphysical in order to create a place from which a more complete analysis of Spain's trajectory could be determined. Reflective nostalgia, which is employed by Valente, "…does not follow a single plot but explores ways of inhabiting many places at once…" (Boym XVIII). She defines the term by stating, "reflective nostalgia thrives in *algia*, the longing itself… Reflective nostalgia dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belongings and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity" (XVIII). For Valente, the present and the future are unattainable until he can, if possible, know his past, and therefore, himself. Debicki observes, "Valente's first book of poems is centered on the themes of death and loss. Again and again the poem's speaker focuses on episodes of death, and in doing so raises questions regarding his place in the scheme of things and regarding the human condition in general" (104). Boym comments that reflective nostalgia itself "…cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space" (49). These fragments of memory materialize consistently in the form of several themes, such as death and loss, which appear abundantly throughout Valente's first work.

Valente demonstrates his ability, as a reflective nostalgic poet, to have contact with the physical reality in which he finds himself, and the metaphysical reality his poetic "yo" explores by discussing death. The theme of death, as it is abundant throughout *A modo de esperanza* and will be discussed in Chapter 1, is employed by Valente, by way of reflective nostalgia, in order to expose the erroneous logic exercised by the Franco regime through its use of restorative nostalgia.

It is clear in *A modo de esperanza* that Valente was trapped in a state of constant reflection through the process of producing his poetry. His use of reflective nostalgia also put him at odds with the regime as they worked to return Spain to its imperial past through restorative nostalgia. Boym explains the process by discussing how restorative nostalgia "…manifests itself in total reconstructions of monuments of the past" which would involve resurrecting the Spanish Empire and strengthening the Holy Catholic Church (41). Under the Franco regime it was more important to accept whatever "home" they created without reflecting on its merits or shortcomings. This is a critical component of restorative nostalgia as it "is at the core of recent national and religious revivals" in the world (Boym XVIII). The revival of some of the most stringent Catholic missteps, such as creating enemies out of people who did not share the same ideological views, was a genuine focus of the Franco regime.

Establishing an enemy, as Franco saw it, was a critical aspect in his maintenance of power and control over Spain and its citizens. As Boym notes, this is built within restorative nostalgia. Of restorative nostalgia she insists "[it] knows two main narrative plots – the restoration of origins and the conspiracy theory, characteristic of the most extreme cases of contemporary nationalism fed on right-wing popular culture" (43). Therefore, Franco's efforts to restore Spain to its past glories, in addition to the demonization of defeated republicans, required his "new" Spanish "state of exception" to have a visible enemy and a direct connection to the Spanish empire of the 16th century.

The creation of an imagined enemy is very similar to what Hitler did in Germany. Paul Preston discusses Franco's support of Hitler's Nazi agenda at the beginning of his tenure stating, "Franco praised the anti-Semitic legislation, declaring that the prosecution of Jews by the fifteenth-century Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel had shown the Nazis the way" (471).

As the Nazis went on to create an enemy in the Jewish people, Franco would also invent an enemy in any, and every, Spaniard that was not supportive of him during the Civil War. What Boym calls the "conspiratorial worldview" goes on to "[r]eflect a nostalgia for a transcendental cosmology and a simple pre-modern conception of good and evil. The conspiratorial worldview is based on a single transhistorical plot, a Manichaean battle of good and evil and the eventual scapegoating of the mythical enemy" (43). According to Boym, the use of conspiracy theory is a multifaceted approach that works on various levels simultaneously. Boym insists, "conspiracy is used pejoratively, to designate a subversive kinship to others, an imagined community based on exclusion more than affection, a union of those who are not with us, but against us" (43). She also notes how conspiracy works against the imagined community, as suggested by Benedict Anderson. Boym explains further, "'They' conspire against 'our' homecoming, thus 'we' have to conspire against 'them' in order to restore 'our' imagined community. This way, conspiracy theory can come to substitute for the conspiracy itself" (43).

Ángel Palomino and Paul Preston have documented the dichotomy created by Franco after the war. They state, "[c]uesta reconciliar la visión de Franco como magnánimo patriota con el lenguaje psicopatológico con que los franquistas describían a sus compatriotas izquierdistas: seres infrahumanos, sucia, repugnante degenerada y pestilente escoria depravada, alimañas, rameras y criminales" (195). Thus, Franco merely had to create a "state of exception" fueled by conspiracy and driven by the paranoia of the threat of a perceived enemy. This allowed for the self-propulsion of his panoptic state that would turn Spaniards against themselves and each other.

Uniting those who did not support his efforts during the Civil War, either by direct support through participating in the war effort or indirectly by withholding support of either side during the conflict, was another way for Franco to consolidate his power and exercise control

over his, and now Spain's, enemies. Preston comments, "[t]he long-term institutionalization of Franco's victory required the perfection of the machinery of state terror to protect and oversee the original investment. For that reason, the martial law declared in July 1936 was not rescinded until 1948" (471). This act, along with many other oppressive mechanisms installed by the Franco regime, was sustained by the manipulation of conspiracy theory inherent in restorative nostalgia. Boym postulates that the "…paranoiac construction of home is predicated on the fantasy of persecution. This is not simply 'forgetting of reality' but a psychotic substitution of actual experiences with a dark conspiratorial vision: the creation of a delusionary homeland" (43). Franco's attempt to restore Spain to its glorious imperial and Catholic past by positioning the participants of the defeated republican movement as a viable enemy is the clearest evidence of said "psychotic substitution". The prosecution of Spain's enemies was bolstered by this act of substitution and a manipulation of nostalgia. First, as Preston notes, "[m]en and women were condemned to death for participation in crimes not on the basis of direct evidence but because the prosecutor extrapolated from their known Republican, Socialist, Communist, or anarchist convictions that 'they must have taken part'" (475).

Furthermore, Boym discusses how distance and displacement, which are caused by the homecoming process restorative nostalgia works to accomplish, can be overlooked through the manipulation of memory. She argues restorative nostalgia "…takes care of both of these symptoms. Distance is compensated by intimate experience and the availability of a desired object. Displacement is cured by a return home, preferably a collective one. Never mind if it's not your home; by the time you reach it, you will have already forgotten the difference" (44). The Franco regime, therefore, would create a caricature of Spain, portraying it as a state that had been drawn away from its noble imperial and Catholic aspirations by the left leaning liberal

government of the Second Republic that fostered an environment within which intellectuals could trespass freely.

Preston goes on to comment on how Enrique Suñer Ordóñez, the man Franco made president of the Tribunal of Political Responsibilities, dealt with the so-called enemies of Spain. He cites Suñer's unflinching hatred of leftist intellectuals saying:

> The aim of war, wrote Suñer, was 'to strengthen the race' for which 'it is necessary to bring about the total extirpation of our enemies, of those front-line intellectuals who brought about this catastrophe'. Determined to eliminate any intellectual who had contributed to the liberal culture of the Republic, Suñer sent many denunciations to the rebel intelligence service, the Servicio de Información Militar. (506)

In essence, the Franco regime was attempting to rid its "patria" of many of the social and cultural changes it felt were making Spain too liberal. In his mind, Spain could not return to its former glory while merely one enemy survived to offer an alternate vision of what the "state of exception" could be. Therefore, it is restorative nostalgia, as employed by Franco, that causes the forgetting of a past home in order for a successful "psychotic substitution" of a new one to occur. Valente, on the other hand, through an exploration of reflective nostalgia, which deals particularly with memory and loss, would go on to oppose Franco and take on the role of prophetic witness to the violent undertakings the Franco regime employed to secure its lost home.

The tendency of pointing out the "contradictions of modernity" instead of achieving the "reconstruction of a lost home" is not only present in his is inaugural collection, but also in the works that he spent his life shaping such as *Poemas a Lázaro* (1960), *La memoria y los signos*

(1966), and *Fragmentos de un libro futuro (2000)*. If Valente's intentions are to be comprehended, the theories on memory and nostalgia must be applied to his works because more insight can be obtained about the manner in which he experienced and employed the poetic process. This chapter will employ Boym's terms "reflective nostalgia" and "restorative nostalgia" in order to contrast Valente's perspective on Spanish life following the Civil War with that of the regime's. While the regime strived to recreate the lost Spanish empire by forming a "state of exception", Valente would pine for the yesteryears when free expression and political debate were possible.

Chapter 2: Manuel Vázquez Montalbán: Trauma-Induced Neurosis

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (1939-2003) enjoyed fame as a novelist, essayist, journalist, and poet, among other honors. His novels, which include the Carvalho series, have received a great deal of attention. Along with his essays, his novels have been dissected and consumed by many critics. His poetry, on the other hand, seems to have received far less attention, despite the fact that it has no less originality nor worth. As a member of "los seniors" in Castellet's anthology of *los novísimos*, Vázquez Montalbán's poetry contains an innovative re-appropriation of both ideas and movements that he supported and despised. In order to promote what he felt was a more desirable Spain, Vázquez Montalbán, in opposition to previous poets such as Valente, offered sharp criticism for nostalgic Spaniards and the endless consumerism in his society. By portraying an enhanced caricature of consumerism and trauma in his poetry, Vázquez Montalbán was able to offer a collage of his continued suffering as a liberal poet in Spain's "state of exception". Concerning his use of collage Castellet writes:

> Vázquez Montalbán es el que hace una utilización menos histórico-literario y más *pop* de sus 'collages': letras de canción, frases publicitarias, fragmentos de discursos, textos de manual de instrucciones, etc., quieren significar exactamente lo que son –como las etiquetas de botes de conserva pegadas en un cuadro *pop* cualquiera– y su fuerza mayor es, precisamente, la de la imperatividad que les confiere su inmediatez. (42)

Vázquez Montalbán's experiences with trauma caused him to reflect on consumerism, as prepackaged by pop culture and mass media, and he requisitioned consumerism to criticize those who blindly and thoughtlessly pursued the inherent fantasy it perpetuated. In order to further understand the trauma Vázquez Montalbán was forced to continuously confront in his life, a trauma that caused him to be a self diagnosed workaholic, this dissertation will discuss Zizek and Caruth's theories on the term. First, Zizek arugues "[t]he obsessional neurotic aims at complete control over what he is for the Other: he wants to prevent, by means of compulsive rituals, the Other's desire from emerging in its radical heterogeneity, as incommensurable with what he thinks he is for himself" (*The Metastasis of Enjoyment* 177). This neurosis fueled by trauma can account for the abundance of literary and culture production carried out by the poet.

In her chapter, "Trauma and Experience", Caruth discusses various causes of trauma and a brief commentary of the term's conception. She posits, "[t]he phenomenon of trauma has seemed to become so all-inclusive, but it has done so precisely because it brings us to the limits of our understanding: if psychoanalysis, psychiatry, sociology, and even literature are beginning to hear each other anew in the study of trauma, it is because they are listening through the radical disruption and gaps of traumatic experience" (Caruth 200). She later notes that the incessantness of trauma envelops the person it plagues. She writes, "[t]he pathology consists, rather, solely in

the structure of its experience or reception: the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it" (200).

This "possession" over the afflicted, along with the "compulsive ritual" discussed by Zizek, is a recurring torture that can manifest itself through the witnessing of new trauma or the simple act of remembering. Also, while trauma takes possession of the afflicted, the same cannot be said for the reverse. Caruth argues, "[t]rauma, that is, does not simply serve as record of the past but precisely registers the force of an experience that is not yet fully owned…The phenomenon of trauma, as they suggest, both urgently demands historical awareness and yet denies our usual modes of access to it" (151). The main issue then, is that trauma cannot be remembered in its entirety, which leads to a failure to capture a comprehensive understanding of the traumatic event, and therefore overcome it. Caruth further explains, "[t]o be traumatized is precisely to be possessed by an image or event. And thus the traumatic symptom cannot be interpreted, simply, as a distortion of reality, nor as the lending of unconscious meaning to a reality it wishes to ignore, nor as the repression of what once was wished" (200). This "possession" would manifest through the act of writing, an act intrinsically married to memory. Once the mind is employed for the writing process, it leads the traumatized person back to the intangible location of the trauma. But, as Caruth states, traumatic events cannot be fully captured in speech or writing. She claims, "…the most striking feature of traumatic recollection is the fact that it is not a simple memory…while the images of traumatic reenactment remain absolutely accurate and precise, they are largely inaccessible to conscious recall and control" (151). The "compulsive ritual" that is the writing process can lead the writer to the very edge of the traumatic site, but it does not allow for the traumatized person to fully enter into it, as was the case for Vázquez Montalbán.

Also, as more history is revisited and more art is created, additional fragmented traumas are recalled and relived. Caruth explains further stating:

> It is this literality and its insistent return which thus constitutes trauma and points toward its enigmatic core: the delay or incompletion in knowing, or even in seeing, an overwhelming occurrence that then remains, in its insistent return, absolutely true to the event. It is indeed this truth of traumatic experience that forms the center of its pathology or symptoms; it is not a pathology, that is, of falsehood or displacement of meaning, but of history itself. (201)

In his obsession to produce more material, Vázquez Montalbán was constantly barraged by the traumas he faced first hand and the traumas experienced by others. Put in simple terms, waking up every morning could be somewhat traumatic. Caruth explains how mere survival is related to trauma. She claims, "…the fact that, for those who undergo trauma, it is not only the moment of the event, but the passing out of it that is traumatic; that *survival itself*, in other words, *can be* a crisis…" (204). This would be a lifelong struggle then, and Dominick Lacapra has substantiated these findings. He writes, "[i]ndeed there is a sense in which, while we may work on its symptoms, trauma, once it occurs, is a cause that we cannot directly change or heal" (207). Zizek has also commented on the predicament of trauma. He goes further than Lacapra when he writes:

> Herein lies the trauma's vicious cycle: the trauma is the Cause which perturbs the smooth engine of symbolization and throws it off balance; it gives rise to an indelible inconsistency in the symbolic field; but for all that, the trauma has no existence of its own prior to symbolization; it remains an anamorphic entity that gains its consistency only in retrospect, viewed from within the symbolic horizon

> - it acquires its consistency from the structural necessity of the inconsistency of the symbolic field. (31)

Despite the fact that trauma is constantly confronted, often without solicitation, the afflicted person is forced to face a failure to understand the trauma, properly document it, and heal from the damage it causes. Caruth continues:

> The trauma thus requires integration, both for the sake of testimony and for the sake of a cure. But on the other hand, the transformation of the trauma into a narrative memory that allows the story to be verbalized and communicated, to be integrated into one's own, and others', knowledge of the past, may lose both the precision and the force that characterizes traumatic recall. (153)

Caruth's last point is significant because Castellet has commented on the autobiographical nature of MVM's poetry and has concluded that memory, both social and personal, is paramount in Vázquez Montalbán's writings. Castellet writes that MVM's poetry "[s]e trata de un encuadre histórico, perfectamente delimitado, en el que transcurre la vida del poeta. Por otra parte, nada de lo que es cotidiano le es ajeno. Es más: porque lo cotidiano es historia personal y colectiva, su mundo de referentes imaginarios surge de la cotidianidad de la historia" (*Nueve novísimos* 52). Vázquez Montalbán has also mentioned the employment of history in his work. In an interview with Ingrid Galster he stated, "…mi obra es una constante afirmación del papel de la historia. Aunque, evidentemente, existe el relativismo ante las grandes afirmaciones, ante las grandes creencias puede ser similar, puede ser incompatible" (75). Therefore, Vázquez Montalbán's "compulsive ritual" of writing led him to repeatedly face the traumas of his life in an attempt to document a true history that would confront the official History of the Spanish "state of exception" created by the Franco regime.

His poems in *Una educación sentimental* (1967), which is compiled of three sections including "El libro de los antepasados", "Una educación sentimental", and "Ars amandi", will undergo a detailed analysis that considers Caruth and Zizek's theories on the impossibility of fully documenting and understanding the traumatic experience.

Furthermore, in light of his comments on nostalgia, or more clearly, his disdain for nostalgia, it would be prudent to note how Vázquez Montalbán consistently confronted the past against his will, instead of fondly remembering, while becoming mired in an historical traumatic experience in post Civil War Spain. In an interview with José F. Colmeiro, Vázquez Montalbán stated:

> Yo estoy totalmente en contra de la nostalgia. Para mí la nostalgia no es sólo un error…*La nostalgia no es lo que era*. La nostalgia para mí es un sentimiento fugaz condicionado sobre todo por una experiencia personal. Puedo sentir nostalgia de un momento de convivencia con alguien que ya no existe. Pero es algo muy distinto sentir nostalgia de una época por el simple hecho de que extraes de tu memoria lo más favorable de esa época. (280)

However, traumatic undertones can be observed in some of his poems and novels as Castellet suggests in his introduction to *Memoria y deseo*. Castellet notes:

> Algo y alguien –el amor, la responsabilidad ante el pasado, quizás, o acaso, su solidaridad con otros seres anónimos– le han empujado hasta donde no hay más que una profundidad insondable o la vaga ilusión de un horizonte inalcanzable. Ante ellos y desde las *nostalgias* que he citado anteriormente se plantea la huida, tema recurrente, no sólo en la poesía sino, también en la obra novelística del autor" (26).

Having taken Castellet's conclusions into account, a rereading of Vázquez Montalbán's poetry is necessary in order to document the presence of trauma in his poetry and the fantasy he rejected in Spain's "state of exception". While the Spanish masses sought refuge in the whimsical circumstances depicted in pop culture, Vázquez Montalbán worked to create an improved Spain that could have a more prosperous, and less restricted, future.

Chapter 3: Leopoldo María Panero: Dark Thoughts and "Docile Bodies"

Leopoldo María Panero (1948-2014) has been one of the most outspoken Spanish poets of the 20th and 21st centuries. *Last river together* (1980) and the four section work, *El que no Ve* (1980), are examples of his brazen style of expression and include references to such figures as vampires, spies, and criminals, as well as many sexual and violent acts. Although Panero appears in Castellet's anthology, besides the monograph *Poesía completa: 1970-2000* (2001) and Visor Libros' collection entitled, *Leopoldo María Panero: Poesía 1970-1985* (1986), there is not an abundance of analysis available on his poetry.

Because of his history of having a fragile mental state, Panero's work has been besmirched by the blemishes associated with his character. In commenting on the poet, Eugenio García Fernández states, "[e]xiste entre él y su espejo, la poesía, una correlación íntima, casi obscena" (23). The obscenity yielded by Panero's mania can be indicative of his peripheral status among what Foucault has termed "docile bodies" of the Spanish society in which he was born. The psychological problems he experienced led Panero to a lifetime of internments in mental health facilities. His contempt led him to idealize characters such as vampires, spies, and criminals who were free of empathy and thus allowed to pursue all of their desires without

hesitation or consideration of social norms. Throughout the poems presented in *Last river together* and *El que no ve*, Panero will continue to direct his anger and frustration towards the "docile bodies" that allowed the failure of the transition in a unique, and poetically vulgar, fashion.

Countless laws and cultural practices were instituted under the Franco regime with the goal of creating a population of what Foucault terms a "docile body". His definition of a "docile body" involves one "…that may be subjected, used transformed, and improved" (136). It must be noted that Foucault's assertion that the body will be "improved" refers to the manipulator's opinion and not that of the manipulated. A "docile body" can be created through discipline, among other tools. Foucault argues:

> …discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an 'aptitude', a 'capacity', which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection. (138)

The aforementioned maintenance of a conglomeration of "docile bodies" is achieved through a multistep approach according to Foucault. He argues that first, "[t]he individual body becomes an element that may be placed, moved, articulated on others" (164). Here, the body is first "segmented", then instructed on the various operations it can complete. Through a forced discipline program, such as compulsory military service for young adults and educational

services through the Catholic Church for children, the body can be programed to function as the controller desires.

Similar to the discipline the Church demanded of the faithful, Foucault also notes its importance in the creation of "docile bodies". He argues, the "docile body", now tailor made, can be placed with others like it with the goal of achieving a mechanized union. Foucault writes that "[t]he various chronological series that discipline must combine to form a composite time are also pieces of machinery. The time of each must be adjusted to the time of the others in such a way that the maximum quantity of forces may be extracted from each and combined with the optimum result" (164-5). Upon creating this single, precisely functioning cog, a "docile body" can be (re)introduced to its society, where it can, in total alignment, work to create whatever its operator desires. In this process of creating "docile bodies" Foucault mentions the critical importance of the educational system. He writes:

> But it was probably in primary education that this adjustment of different chronologies was to be carried out more subtlety…a complex clockwork of the mutual improvement school was built cog by cog: first, the oldest pupils were entrusted with tasks involving supervision, the checking of work, then of teaching; in the end, all the time of all the pupils was occupied with teaching or with being taught. The school became a machine for learning, in which each pupil, each level and each moment, if correctly combined, were permanently utilized in the general process of teaching. (165)

Foucault finalizes his explanation with a summary of the benefits reaped upon reaching the goals he previously indicated. He concludes "…that discipline creates out of the bodies it controls four types of individuality, or rather an individual that is endowed four characteristics: it

is cellular (by the play of spatial distribution), it is organic (by the coding of activities), it is genetic (by the accumulation of time), it is combinatory (by the composition of forces)" (167).

Panero will use his poetry to continually attack the Spanish society composed of these "docile bodies" that surround him and the "state of exception" that manufactured and prolonged their repression. While so many of his countrymen applauded the transition, Panero was outspoken about what he perceived to be a slow paced transition to democracy and a false *móvida* due to the large contingent of Franco's followers in the new Spanish government of the democratic period. In his work, there is little room for the nostalgia discussed by Valente, nor for focusing on collective traumas, as was the case for Vázquez Montalbán.

Chapter 4: Manuel Rivas: Poetry and "Empty signifiers" in Spain's State of Exception

Manuel Rivas (1957-) is not only one of the most prominent Galician poets but also, one of Spain's most exported and translated authors. His latest work, *La desaparición de la nieve* (2009), was written in Galician and translated into Castilian, Basque, and Catalan. This work, with four unique versions of the same original poetic arrangement presented in the same text, is his response to the failure to rectify the political and cultural shortcomings in the "state of exception" that Spain continues to be. This flawed transition has been discussed by Noa Rios Bergantinhos who has written the following:

> The term 'Spanish transition' is conventionally used to refer to the historical period between the end of Franco's dictatorship in November 1975 and the subsequent consolidation of the Spanish state as a parliamentary monarchy. In Galiza, as in the rest of the state territories, the break between the Francoist

> regime and the new political and administrative structures was not fully achieved, a fact that is today viewed as one of the most debilitating aspects of contemporary politics in the Spanish state. (195)

Moreover, in addition to the political failures of the transition, Guillem Martínez has focused on the effects the transition has had on Spanish culture. He writes:

> La cultura de hecho, está notoriamente desactivada como tal en 1977, cuando, ante el silencio de la cultura y sin mecanismos culturales de crítica, se producen los Pactos de la Moncloa, primer pacto oficial del franquismo con la oposición, que supuso la eliminación de los movimientos sociales y el abandono de propuestas democráticas más amplias – como, snif, la democracia económica–. El abandono, vamos, de lo que había sido la izquierda del interior en los últimos años de franquismo. (4-5)

Therefore, it is clear that by removing what small political advances the left made immediately after the end of the Franco regime, the transition was stifled in the bog of nostalgic Spaniards who enjoyed the prosperous later years under the *Caudillo*.

Finally, as Joseba Gabilondo argues, Galicia is an exceptional space for analyzing the failures of the transition. He claims:

> In this context, Galician studies constitute perhaps a privileged space from which to challenge Iberian studies through a postnationalist theory that addresses state violence. The reason is that, due to the lack of nationalist hegemony…Galicia permits us to study state violence without conflating its history with a nationalist clash between center and periphery. In short, Galicia allows us to study the effects

> of state violence on a subaltern, non-nationalist, populist organization of culture, also defined by its chronic migrational history. ("The Big Other")

This is due to, in no small way, the time of *Fraguismo,* or the years 1989 to 2005 in which Manuel Fraga wielded considerable political power within his *nacionalidad histórica* and most certainly prevented many of the political advances for which Rivas has been advocating by pursuing a nationalist approach to Galician politics. The greatest example of this would be the sinking of the Prestige oil tanker off the Galician coastline, which would result in Fraga losing his political power due to political incompetence in the face of an avoidable disaster. Therefore, through his poetry, Rivas continues to examine and criticize Galician and Spanish politics from the transition to today in order to achieve his goal of causing a political transformation from Franco's "state of exception" to a modern Spanish state that gives true political autonomy to its *nacionalidades históricas*.

While his narrative and journalistic works outnumber his poetic texts, Rivas has consistently attributed a higher value to poetry. Miguel Ángel Villena has quoted Rivas on his stance concerning the importance of poetry. The poet states, "[l]a poesía se hallaría en el núcleo central…los cuentos en el círculo siguiente y después ya vendrían el teatro, la novela y las leyendas" (*El País* Villena). It is through poetry therefore, that Rivas works to secure Galicia's future after a failed transition by uniting Galicians, and later all Spaniards, by propagating environmental awareness through discursive politics based on what Ernesto Laclau has termed an "empty signifier", which in the case of Rivas materializes in the form of an anthropomorphized nature. Later, he inspires political changes by disseminating his own political signifiers to a unified audience capable of breaking from the Spanish "state of exception".

According to Laclau, "[a]n empty signifier can, consequently, only emerge if there is a structural impossibility in signification as such, and only if this impossibility can signify itself as an interruption (subversion, distortion, etcetera) of the structure of the sign" (37). In discussing the topic of environmental destruction, which is for Rivas is one of the most pressing political problems of today, he creates an "empty signifier" through the depiction of a phenomenon that his government is not adequately addressing. Laclau explains further, "[t]his emptying of a particular signifier of its particular, differential signified is, as we saw, what makes possible the emergence of 'empty' signifiers as the signifiers of a lack, of an absent totality…The presence of empty signifiers – in the sense that we have defined them – is the very condition of hegemony" (42-3). Rivas continues to challenge the hegemony of the Spanish "state of exception" through the inclusion of "empty signifiers" in his poetry. Laclau explains how this is possible stating, "…in a climate of extreme repression any mobilization for a partial objective will be perceived not only as related to the concrete demand for objectives of that struggle, but also as an act of opposition against the system" (40). In the Spanish "state of exception", Rivas will continue to advance his arguments in the same manner in which his poetic predecessors had successfully employed. In order to accomplish this, Rivas works first to inspire his readers to align themselves with him in his quest of promoting the ever-popular environmental awareness movement by anthropomorphizing nature, which he will convert into an "empty signifier". Then, he presents his own political and social predilections, which are much more divisive, in order to gain his reader's support for them as well.

In order to explain how Rivas uses an anthropomorphized nature as an "empty signifier" it is important to consider *Hidden Persuasion*. In their book, *Hidden Persuasion*, Andrews, Van Leeuwen, and Van Baaren introduce successful techniques on social influence, and among them,

anthropomorphism is highly effective. They explain the term stating, "[a]nthropomorphism is the tendency to describe and visualize animals or non-living things using human characteristics" (104). By giving the objects human characteristics, it is easier to empathize and relate to them. They continue stating, "[a]nthropomorphism makes us bond with objects. When we anthropomorphize, we think that the object, brand, product, or animal is actually more like us. We tend to add thoughts and emotions which stimulates liking and empathy for the object" (108). This process can be done through visual, audio, or textual forms. Regarding textual bodies, which is what will be studied here, the authors suggest, "…in text, we can describe an object in a human-like way by providing feelings, thoughts it may have, or an experience it may undergo" (108). Rivas therefore, will use anthropomorphism to present nature as a victim that needs a unified human consortium to save it. After having united his audience by creating a common goal that can only be met through collaboration and thereby reducing it to be an "empty signifier", Rivas then adds his political ideas to the text, thus inserting the polarizing positions into a broader, more accepted point of departure.

The poems in *La desaparición de la nieve* (2009) can be divided into two different sections based on the "empty signifier" concerning ecology and Rivas' own political and social stances. These two sections contain poems that are not in sequential order, but rather a grouping that illuminates the rigors of being a *nacionalidad histórica* in Spain's "state of exception" and the poet's proposed political solutions on both the local and state levels.

Conclusion

This dissertation will have the limited focus of analyzing poetic collections written by José Ángel Valente, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Leopoldo María Panero, and Manuel Rivas. Although it is not possible in this venue to complete an all-encompassing analysis of these four poets, this dissertation can serve as a unadulterated depiction of Spain's political and cultural history during the last six decades as portrayed by poets writing in a "state of exception". By incorporating theory into the study of poetry, which as of this moment has been scarcely done, this dissertation has been written with the intention of making a positive contribution to the critical corpus of peninsular Spanish poetry. Furthermore, by electing said theory on trauma, nostalgia, "docile bodies", and "empty signifiers" in the Spanish "state of exception", this dissertation establishes, as a principal goal, to demonstrate how poetry, as an exceptional genre, can create political discourse in a space where it is all but impossible. Therefore, I will argue that the poetry to be studied in this dissertation signals and deconstructs the historical and political contradictions created by the Franco regime and maintained in a "state of exception" after his death. These poets reveal how a globalized Spain pursuing a nationalist agenda has failed to confront the past, *vis a vis* the *pacto del olvido*. Even with the arrival of democracy and globalization in Spain, Valente, Vázquez Montalbán, Panero, and Rivas insist on the continuity of Spain's "state of exception" while other figures, and even literary genres, consider it resolved.

Chapter 1

J.A. Valente: The Victors and Victims of Nostalgia

If we open a quarrel between the past and present, we shall find that we have lost the future.

Winston Churchill

For nearly forty years, Spanish citizens lived under Franco's oppressive regime, which worked tirelessly on innumerable levels to indoctrinate its people with tailored histories and agendas. In this setting, poetry proved invaluable as its verses exposed the changes, often violent, Spain was experiencing at the hands of a fascist government. José Ángel Valente (1929-2000) was one such poet who discussed Spain's "state of exception" while living under the Franco regime and through the periphery of exile after he fled Spain in 1956. Valente, as will been shown in the cases of Vázquez Montalbán and Panero, wrote his poetry, whose true message often escaped the *censura*, in order to present alternatives to the propaganda of the Franco regime. Their poetic works would go on to establish the genre of poetry as a means for highlighting the cultural and political faults in the Spanish "state of exception" and promoting change, even into the democratic period, as will be demonstrated by the four poets studied in this dissertation.

Concerning the utility of Valente's poetry, García Berrio notes how it was a "[d]escenso a la memoria de sí mismo, del propio cuerpo; descenso en la memoria colectiva, la de la especie y el sufrimiento humano; y descenso mineral hacia la memoria universal del cosmos, de la materia: el centro al fin" (26). Valente's poetry chronicles an existence in Spain's "state of exception" through the following works: *A modo de esperanza* (1955), *Poemas a Lázaro* (1960), *La memoria y los signos* (1966), *Siete representaciones* (1967), *Breve son* (1968), *Presentación y memorial para un monumento* (1970), *El inocente* (1970), *Interior con figuras* (1976), *Material memoria* (1980), *Tres lecciones de tinieblas* (1980), *Mandorla* (1982), *El fulgor* (1984), *Treinta y siete fragmentos* (1989), *Al dios del lugar* (1989), *No amanece el cantor* (1992), *Cántigas de*

Alén (1995) and *Fragmentos de un libro futuro* (2000). This chapter will study *A modo de esperanza*, a three-section work whose titles are Section I, II, and III, which is the commencement of Valente's poetic oeuvre. *A modo de esperanza* shows the evolution of Valente's poetic "yo", a term that will be subsequently discussed in Section I of this chapter.

Much of Valente's work has been analyzed and discussed for its thematic explorations as well as its poetic mechanics. However, by reanalyzing Valente's poetry in light of memory, as discussed by Nietzsche, and nostalgia, as discussed by Svetlana Boym, a new understanding of Valente's critical consciousness can be gained. This goal is substantiated by Claudio Rodriguez Fer. He argues, "[m]anifestación de la verdadera vanguardia y conciencia critica de la sociedad contemporánea, la obra literaria y la reflexión intelectual de José Ángel Valente constituyen, en suma, una aportación honesta, radical, completa, y absolutamente ejemplar a la cultura de la búsqueda y del conocimiento" (*José Ángel Valente* 14). First, in order to study *A modo de esperanza* anew, memory will be discussed following Nietzsche, and later it will be integrated with Boym's theories on nostalgia, in order to demonstrate how Valente's particular use of reflective nostalgia illuminates and criticizes the flaws in the Franco regimen's employment of restorative nostalgia in Spain's "state of exception". In Section I of this chapter, entitled "Memory vs. (m)emory", Nietzsche's theories on memory will be discussed as they relate, in the words of the poet, to a "conversion" to the poetic "yo". Following the introduction, Sections II-V will employ the aforementioned theories in the analysis of the three sections of Valente's *A modo de esperanza*.

Section I: Memory vs. (m)emory

Throughout his many works, Nietzsche discusses the power of forgetfulness in memory. He observes:

> Forgetfulness is not just a *vis intertiae*, as superficial people believe, but it is rather an active ability to suppress, positive in the strongest sense of the word, to which we owe the fact that what we simply live through, experience, take in, no more enters our consciousness during digestion (one could call it spiritual ingestion) than does the thousand fold process which takes place with our physical consumption of food, our so called ingestion. To shut the doors and windows of consciousness for a while; not to be bothered by the noise and battle with which our underworld of serviceable organs work with and against each other; a little piece, a little *tabula rasa* of consciousness to make room for something new, above all for the nobler functions and functionaries, for ruling, predicting, pre-determining (our organism runs along oligarchic lines, you see) – that, as I said, is the benefit of active forgetfulness, like the doorkeeper or the guardian of mental order, rest and etiquette: from which we can immediately see how there could be no happiness, cheerfulness, hope, pride, immediacy, without forgetfulness. (*On the Genealogy of Morals* 38)

The labeled "spiritual ingestion" is akin to the poetic process Valente describes though his texts and speeches on the formation of the poetic "yo" through memory. It is precisely his poetic "yo" that will divulge so many of the Franco regime's offenses against the Spanish people.

In an interview with Nuria Fernández Quesada, Valente discusses the complete destruction of the person who is to become a poet. This annihilation requires the removal of all of a particular person's memories in order for the poet to have a clearer vision of the world being captured. He comments:

> El creador tiene que ir acostumbrándose a la aniquilación del "yo" que es el proceso de purificación espiritual. Toda creación literaria auténtica, poética, por utilizar la palabra poética en su sentido más amplio, tiene que ir acompañada de una experiencia espiritual, si no, no vale nada. Eso lleva a una aniquilación del 'yo' y probablemente una visión de la nada, aunque positiva. Quizá nuestro último cometido sea la fusión con el cosmos en el seno de la nada, volver a la nada de donde hemos venido. (Quesada 147)

The poet further extrapolates his conceptualization of the "yo" in his poetry. He claims:

> Cuando escribo la palabra yo en un texto poético o éste va, simplemente, regido por la primera persona de singular, sé que, en ese preciso momento, otro ha empezado a existir. Por eso, muchas veces al yo del texto es preferible llamarle tú. Ese yo – que es tú porque también me habla- no existe antes de iniciarse el acto de escritura. Es estrictamente contemporáneo de éste. (Quesada 163)

This idea corresponds to Ellen Engelson Marson's assessment of Valente's transition between subject and poet and is essentially mediated by memory and forgetfulness. She writes, "Valente intuye que la experiencia del poeta, como la del místico, tiene que olvidarse y deshacerse, para poder descubrirse poéticamente" (60). Rafeal Morales Barba has also testified to the importance of understanding the use of "yo" in Valente's poetry. He states, "[e]n cualquier caso lo que nos interesa es saber en definitiva dónde colocamos el 'yo' poético de Valente… Nos

interesa saber dónde se sitúa el hablante lírico… y dónde el texto es el medio donde se realiza primordialmente la función sintomática, como deixis del autor" (91).

Before exploring the creation of the poetic "yo", it is important to study the years leading up to his poetic endeavors. Several scholars have noted the importance of his childhood in Galicia, a land whose language and culture differed greatly from Madrid, where Valente would pass his first few adult years. Concerning his youth Rodríguez Fer writes:

> Nacido en Orense el 25 de abril de 1929, vivió su infancia y su adolescencia en Galicia, en cuya Universidad comenzó a estudiar Derecho. En los años cuarenta publicó versos en gallego y se relacionó con el galleguismo cultural, actitud lingüística que rebrotará en los años ochenta con el poemario *Sete cantigas de alén* (1981), luego ampliado en *Cántigas de alén* (1989), y con otros escritos en prosa de motivación galaica. Además, Galicia – y, particularmente, su ciudad natal – tendrá una notoria presencia en su obra en castellano. (*José Ángel Valente* 11)

Galicia and its questionable status in the Spanish "state of exception", a theme that will be explored at length in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, was not spared the hardships of the Civil War, and Valente himself would bear witness to the violence and brutality of the battle. This experience, as will be made evident in this chapter, had a significant effect on the poet. Rodríguez Fer comments, "[a]demás, para el niño Valente la guerra no fue sólo un fragor lejano desde el familiar balcón de la retaguardia, sino una realidad trágica vivida en su propia casa, como escribirá refiriéndose a la prematura muerte de un vecino en el frente y a los desgarradores llantos de la madre…" (*Valente vital* 48). The theme of death so prevalent in his early poetic writings no doubt stems from the tragedies the impressionable Valente was exposed to as a child.

It was most likely the horrors of war that led Valente to oppose the regime at an early age. At the commencement of his studies he was greeted by likeminded compatriots. Sánchez Robayna explains:

> El joven Valente se había trasladado en el otoño de 1947 a Santiago de Compostela para cursar estudios de Derecho. Allí conoció a un sacerdote y abogado gallego, Maximino Romero de Lema, antiguo alumno de Ortega en el Madrid de los años republicanos, y en ese momento, vinculado a políticos como Fernando María Castilella, y sobre todo, Joaquín Ruiz Jiménez, que intentaba promover en el país una democracia cristiana capaz de modificar las estructuras del régimen franquista. (14)

Upon completing his studies, Valente moved to Madrid, the heart of the Spanish "state of exception". In addition to the horrors of the Civil War, which he brought with him to Madrid, Valente would augment his exposure to sufferings resulting from the war in his new city. Sánchez Robayna explains, "…lo cierto es que el período madrileño de Valente corresponde en efecto a un 'tiempo sombrío' en la situación política, social y cultural española, que se prologaría hasta comienzos de la década de 1960, cuando diversos indicios económicos y sociales permiten hablar ya de un cambio" (17). His poetry from the 1950s therefore, particularly his first poetic publication, *A modo de esperanza*, would be rife with imagery of the trials of his fellow Spaniards.

As Valente's past will continue to have a significant role in his poetic output, it is important to always keep it at the forefront. This is especially true when evaluating Valente's perceptions as they are presented in his poetry. Debicki discusses Valente's writing process stating, "[he] keeps stressing the ways in which poetry is a unique way of finding and inventing

reality" (7-8). This theory corresponds with the poet's own words given during an interview in 1999. Reflecting on the fortitude of the poetic word, Valente suggests "…o elemento devanceiro é a palabra poética, é a palabra que descobre, é a poesía que doscobre anacos da realidade que están somerxidos no escuro" (424). Here, a conection can be made between "discovering words in the darkness" as Valente states, and securing episodes from memory. As poetry works to create or discover reality, as proposed by Debicki, this reality, found or fashioned, will, without exception, also be rampant with memories mined from the conscious and subconscoious alike.

As a poet therefore, Valente is an ideal candidate for expressing memory that is both personal and collective through his honest evaluations of his journey to capture the Spanish "state of exception", not only as he perceived it, but also how de desired it to be during the course of his poetic career. This is further substantiated by José Luis Pardo who states:

> …la poética de José Ángel Valente no sólo es relevante por ser plenamente personal y original, sino también porque, en esa originalidad, pertenece a un movimiento más amplio, un movimiento que podemos pensar como histórico, diciendo entonces que ha caracterizado a ciertos programas estéticos de nuestro siglo, pero que también podemos pensar como, en cierto modo, inmanente a las tradiciones de las propias artes, y entonces reconocerlo en diversas épocas y lugares. (27).

By exerting power over memory, Valente was able to embrace a nostalgia that could capture the history of Spain that the Franco regime was working to destroy completely. According to Isidro Sánchez Sánchez, Franco's donning of the title "Caudillo" was of critical importance. Sánchez remarks:

> La frase, por otra parte, era una más de la extensa serie de adulaciones, halagos y fidelidades que cosechó a lo largo de tantos años el 'caudillo' victorioso, el totalitario personaje Franco era presentado por la propaganda del Régimen como providencial salvador de España, devoto católico y amoroso padre de familia. (121)

By donning the title of Caudillo, Franco awarded himself the power necessary to manipulate not only Spain's present and future, but also to rewrite the past through restorative nostalgia.

Restorative nostalgia, as employed by Franco, stands in sharp contrast to reflective nostalgia because of its focus on the past grandeur of a country, either real or imagined. This type of Francoist nostalgia, restorative, "…evokes national past and future" (49). In his attempts to return Spain to the Catholic empire it was in the 16th century, Franco first ensured that he had absolute power. Franco constructed his image of a powerful leader connected with God after Felipe II, whose reign in Spain solidified it as one of the strongest empires, in addition to one of the greatest supporters of the Catholic Church that the world had known thus far. This resurrection of the past corresponds to Boym's concept of restorative nostalgia. It is no coincidence then that Franco's tomb and the *Valle de los Caídos*, both laden with Catholic imagery, are so close in proximity to *El Escorial*.

Through his utilization of the poetic "yo" Valente will rebut the Caudillo and the falsehoods his regime propagated under his rule. His poetic "yo" will nostalgically reflect on his lost homeland, which has been converted to a Spanish "state of exception". It is reflective nostalgia therefore, that drives Valente to reject the remanufactured Spain the Franco regime aimed to establish by means of restorative nostalgia.

Section II: The Persistence of Nostalgic Death in Valente's Poetry

Death, as a motif, appears to be a common fixture in Valente's first work. It is explicitly mentioned in 80% of the poems in the work, and if its implicit mentionings are counted as well, death is referenced in 88% of the poems in *A modo de esperanza*. It is within these poems that this chapter will find the basis of its argument. This has been noted by Peinado Elliot who states:

> Estos poemas tienen rasgos en común que delinean con claridad algunos de los motivos principales que acompañan al tema de la muerte en este primer poemario de José Ángel Valente: profunda separación entre la muerte y la vida; extrema individualización que supone la persona; condición corporal y, por tanto, mortal, del ser humano. (14)

The presence of death in his poetry is significant because it will fuel his employment of nostalgia as he focuses on personal and collective losses that resulted from the Civil War and the resulting "state of exception" after the war's conclusion. Therefore, historical and figurative death is an essential part of Valente's conversion to a poet. As Valente himself commented, "[e]l creador tiene que ir acostumbrándose a la aniquilación del 'yo'…" (Quesada 147). For that reason, there are various points throughout the three sections of *A modo de esperanza* in which he documents his conversion, which would be brought on by his own figurative death. Armando López Castro argues that for Valente, "[la] conciencia de la muerte impulsa la búsqueda de la vida…" (11). Later, in analyzing *A modo de esperanza*, it will be clear that his exploration of *algia* would in fact yield surprising results.

Antonio Domínguez Rey discusses the sorrowful nature of Valente's poetry. He suggests, "[c]ada verso, es decir, cada presencia, abre la herida de un hondo reclamo inaudible,

sólo intuido: inmensidad de lo oculto" (84). Valente's sharing of personal life experience has been noted by Antonio Gamoneda in his work *Valente: Texto y contexto*. Gamoneda suggests that "…podremos advertir que es innegable que, en su primer etapa, la poesía de Valente incluye de una manera muy personal datos reconocibles de alguna forma de realismo histórico y social, realismo que la mayor parte de sus coetáneos postulaba como único componente legitimo de la poesía…de los años cincuenta" (14). According to Gamoneda, this is particularly present in "El espejo", which will be analyzed in this chapter. He comments on the use of the phrase "mascara de nadie". He writes, "[l]a noción de 'mascara de nadie' aparece incluida sin reservas en *A modo de esperanza*. Es una noción que difícilmente se compadece con las propuestas sociales y realistas de sus presuntos compañeros de grupo" (15). By pursuing reflective nostalgia through items such as a "mask", Valente separates himself from the rest of the poets of the 1950s and 1960s who focused more on realism and social issues. This is supported by Debicki who states, "…Valente constantly stresses the goal of poetry in seizing and coming to know reality" (102).

In continuation, his first work, *A modo de esperanza*, more so than any subsequent works, depicts the struggle Valente faces as he confronts his fear of death until he is prepared to accept it. Later, he will share his message of survival, through the poetic "yo", with the Spanish people, who are in one of the most agonizing times in their history. In returning to the origins of the loss, Valente can capture as much of an explanation as is possible in his poetry. This idea is supported by Fatiha Benblabbah. Benblabbah further explores life and death in Valente's poetic process, specifically through the language he employs. She states:

> José Ángel Valente quiere que se quiebre el lenguaje, esas palabras hastiadas de sí mismas, para que nazca el lenguaje cero. Visto así, el proceso poético tiene como finalidad última una vuelta a origen, para que el lenguaje, vaciado de su carga de

> significados, signifique distintamente. La escritura poética viene a ser, pues, una búsqueda de la palabra auténtica, la palabra reveladora. Vaciamiento, depuración, ininteligibilidad, además de las metáforas del despertar y del amanecer, evocan en nuestra mente, como lectores, otro proceso, otra experiencia: la del místico. (134)

César Real Ramos has also offered an analysis of Valente's word use in terms of a conversion. He surmises, "[l]a palabra en Valente deja entonces de ser transitiva, signo (convencional) que transmite un contenido, para convertirse en encarnación, símbolo que en sí mismo 'contiene' el contenido, concepción en la que radica la importancia que el simbolismo en su obra adquiere" (162). This chapter will illustrate, therefore, how Valente's use of reflective nostalgia, through the poetic "yo", creates an alternative to Franco's Spanish "state of exception" forged from restorative nostalgia in his pursuit of resurrecting the empire.

Section III: Death and algia in Valente's first section of *A modo de esperanza*

Section I of *A modo de esperanza* discusses multiple examples of the algia or "longing", as Boym describes it, and the occurrence of, or confrontations with, a death that had caused it. Starting in the first poem of *A modo de esperanza*, Valente pauses and, having reflected on the brutal force of death, leaves the reader to contemplate it as well. His journey begins with a reflection on death and a return to the origin, which in turn leads to a poetic conversion expressing nostalgia, upon having understood and expressed what has been lost. This journey will be depicted in the poems "Serán ceniza", "Lucila Valente, "El espejo", "Hoy igual que nunca", and "El ángel", all present in Section I of *A modo de esperanza*. The formation of the

poetic “yo” will begin in the last poems of Section I, “Destruccion del solitario”, “Consiento”, and “Misericordia”.

Understanding the origin and destination of this conversion is paramount. Luis Vicente de Aguinaga has studied the importance of the “origen” in Valente’s work. He contests, “[e]n la ingeniería conceptual de Valente, origen e interior son palabras afines, lo mismo que los verbos retraer y descender, y ambas parejas nocionales configuran el rumbo y objeto de una perforación ejecutada por la memoria y operada en ella misma, en sus variantes de memoria personal, memoria colectiva y memoria de la materia…” (180). These insights will aid in the comprehension of Valente’s intentions, which are woven into his poetry.

His first stanza of “Serán ceniza” mentions a lifeless, barren landscape and a signal that will begin his poetry journey. He writes:

> Cruzo un desierto y su secreta
> desolación sin nombre.
> El corazón
> tiene la sequedad de la piedra
> y los estadillos nocturnos
> de su material o de su nada.
>
> Hay una luz remota, sin embargo,
> y sé que no estoy solo;
> aunque después de tanto y tanto no haya
> ni un solo pensamiento
> capaz contra la muerte,

no estoy solo. (69)

Referring to "Serán ceniza", López Castro suggests a central theme: one of self-discovery. López Castro has commented on the passage noting the inner turmoil that Valente faced during his conversion into a poet. Castro states, "[e]s en el desierto donde el poeta se ha colocado y es esa oscura travesía por el interior del ser la que le permite entrever otro modo de existencia" (12). In the second stanza on the poem, light signals a rupture in the nothingness and helps Valente know that he is not experiencing an entire existence alone. Through these verses, Valente acknowledges the possibility of a poetic "yo" and begins to pursue it.

With the first two stanzas of his work, Valente engages the reader by offering hope for the desolate existence following death, which he presents in the first verses. Interestingly however, after receiving the signal of the "luz remota", one would think that Valente's struggle would be less burdensome. However, by the end of the second stanza he reminds the reader that no individual, nor thought, can defeat death. Death's looming shadow therefore, can darken even the brightest of lights and reinvigorate the solitude that Valente battles throughout Section I of *A modo de esperanza*. Critics argue that it is the one memory he retains of a point in time when his poetic self was born which works to cure his solitude.

María Zambrano has discussed this poem in particular, and the existence and purpose of said "luz remota". She proposes, "[t]odo método depende de la luz, se entiende de la relación del ser con la luz; relación del ser consigo mismo. Y así, si alguien la recibió sólo un instante, aunque fuese para perderla, si la vio como siendo siempre, se quedará ella ya indeleble. Será ella su verdad" (37). In accepting this idea with the first poem presented, Valente positions death as part of the process to gaining truth, and he works throughout Section I to will himself to embrace

both life and death in order to make the "conversion" into the poetic "yo", upon having fully contemplated and documented a nostalgia outlawed by the Franco regime.

Scholars have previously documented this contrast of light and darkness in Valente's poetry. In his article, "Contrastes de luz y sombra como técnica de representación en la poesía de José Ángel Valente", Santiago Daydí-Tolson suggests, "[e]s, por lo tanto, el contraste entre luz y oscuridad lo que define toda experiencia visual y, por extensión, ha venido a representar desde antiguo los opuestos del ser y el no ser, la existencia y la nada" (34). Although Daydí-Tolson does not focus on *A modo de esperanza* specifically in his article, it is relevant to gather Valente's poetic techniques in order to gain a more thorough understanding of his writing process and poetic conversion.

The second poem that appears in his premier work is a dedication to his deceased aunt Lucila. In the poem, he focuses on her love of life, his memories of her, and his dwelling in mourning; these are key aspects of the *algia* inherent in reflective nostalgia, as described by Boym. He writes:

> Estuvo en pie
> fue risa, lágrimas,
> alegría, dolor,
> pero amaba la vida.
> Caminó entre nosotros.
>
> La mañana era cosa
> de sus manos alegres,
> zurcidos, abiertas.

Solía alimentarnos

de pétalos o besos

sin cesar desprendidos.

Dejó su nombre puro

solo frente a la noche:

Lucila o siempremadre. (70)

Various lines in the poem, like headstones on graves, serve as testaments to the existence of an entity that is no longer physically present. The simple statements saying that "she walked among us" and "she left her pure name alone before the night" attempt to create a permanence for her impression on the material world in which Valente finds himself quarantined. Emilio Alarcos Llorach has argued that "[e]l objeto del poema es significar la injusticia de la muerte", and one significant way Valente illuminates the "injustice of death" is through pauses (163). The poem continues:

Ahora yace aquí

donde la lluvia canta

al pie de un montealegre.

Bajo la tierra el agua

acaricia sus huesos.

Ella amaba la vida. (70).

Pauses and silences in Valente's poetry have received much critical attention. José Luis Pardo argues that Valente's poetry, "…ha sido tan relacionado con el silencio. Hay, por ejemplo, un silencio vergonzante, una manera de callar culpable, ese silencio de otorga y legitima, eso que suele llamarse 'la conspiración de silencio'. Y hay también un silencio impuesto como prohibición, como violencia, como impedimento de decir o de expresar, como censura" (183).

His aunt Lucila was most dear to him as explained by Rodríguez Fer in *Valente Vital*. He claims that she, not having had any children of her own, took great interest in the care of the poet. Rodríguez Fer describes how Lucila "se hiciera cargo del hijo mayor, José Ángel, quien cuidaba día y noche y con quien dormía en la misma cama" (29). In the first nine poems of Section I, rather, up until the point in which "Destrucción del solitario" appears, Valente is cemented in the *algia*, a condition that Boym describes in her explanation of reflective nostalgia, due to the loss of his aunt. It is the death of his aunt, and that of so many others in Spain, which causes Valente to produce a poetry in which his comprehension of life and his own identity are profusely explored. This is especially true for the following poems in which he transitions from a focus on others to inward reflection. The poems, "El espejo", "Hoy igual que nunca", "El ángel", and "Destucción del solitario" from Section I, will illuminate his journey on the path to self-awareness, which will pave the way for him to find the poetic "yo".

In the poem following his poetic eulogy to his aunt Lucila, "El espejo", Valente offers contemplations on his own image, which in that moment, is unfamiliar to him. He writes:

> Hoy he visto mi rostro tan ajeno,
> tan caído y sin par
> en este espejo.

Está duro y tan otro con sus años,
su palidez, sus pómulos agudos,
su nariz afilada entre los dientes,
sus cristales domésticos cansados,
su costumbre sin fe, sólo costumbre.
He tocado sus sienes: aún latía
un ser allí. Latía. ¡Oh vida, vida!

…Pero ahora me mira –mudo asombro–
glacial asombro en este espejo solo–
y ¿dónde estoy –me digo–
y quién me mira
desde este rostro, máscara de nadie? (71).

The astonishment Valente expresses upon gazing at his own unrecognizable countenance demonstrates his failure to control his consciousness and know his role in Spain's "state of exception". María Zambrano has discussed exactly how Valente captured this sensation through language. She argues, "…se ve que entre lo que se derrama del poema está la prosa aun usando el signo de exclamación hoy tan en condena. Y la interrogación sobre el propio ser y quien lo mira se acuerda con la reflexión del espejo en el aire de su propia claridad" (42). Although he recognizes that his corporal functions continue, as denoted by the beating sensation he feels in his temples, he receives little relief as his quest to find a purpose results in failure. His journey of self-discovery has encountered what seems to be an immovable object, and he presents himself as a paralyzed being standing before a mirror.

In the poem, “Hoy igual a nunca”, Valente struggles to find the strength to continue, what he feels is, a spent existence. He transcribes his state of being as the following:

Parece que el destino está en suspenso,
que la desgracia pesa
sin llegar a caer; parece
que el amor se ha vestido de pena.
Alguien, próximo a mí,
llora en mi pecho
y me llama por el nombre que escondo.

Tengo miedo a morir.

Parece que he gastado
la vida.
Ni una lagrima
cae
ni una palabra, como
si todo hubiese sido consumado. (71-2)

Just as he expressed how he felt standing before the mirror, Valente notes in this poem how existence itself seems to have paused before him, leaving him in a state of *algia*, seeking an understanding of an experience which eludes him. The very first line of the poem addresses his lack of power over himself and his surroundings. When he writes “love has dressed itself in sorrow” he bemoans the absence of happiness in all things. Later, he questions whether or not his

own life can continue. It is clear that his residence in the *algia* of reflective nostalgia has left him with little desire to act or, possibly, even exist in his current state. He does however, express a fear of death, a fear that he will soon embrace, albeit figuratively, in several of his upcoming poems.

In nearly one third of his poems in *A modo de esperanza*, Valente esteems death to the same extent as he does life. In his next poem, "El ángel", Valente broaches the subject of death from this dewy disposition.

Valente indites:

> Me he levantado,
> he cubierto mi mesa con su tapete verde
> y me he sentado cuidadosamente a deshojar
> esta pequeña flor. Todo empezaba así.
> Todo menos la muerte, menos la vida, el amor o el
> odio.
> Todo empezaba así, la pasión de morir,
> de vivir, de amar, de odiar. (72)

The phrase "pasión de morir" is introduced before the passion of living, which would seem to be more critical. In his *algia*, the losses are so overwhelming, that it costs him dearly to sustain himself in a Spanish "state of exception" rife with death. In this poem, Valente sets the stage for a certain death in his battle with an angel. Instead of finding harmony and peace with this angel, he brings about his own destruction by allowing it to best him. His certain and embraced defeat is made clear in the next lines of the poem. He writes:

> Oscuro jugador,

frente a mí el ángel

con su terrible luz,

su espada, su abrasadora verdad.

Yo tenía solamente una flor. (72)

The battle in which Valente enters is sure to result in his death. This death however, will be of significant value, as it will be delivered by a sword burning with truth. Instead of fighting for his life, Valente merely brings a flower, a temporal object whose beauty and permanence cannot be sustained ideologically as truth can. This signals a substantial change from the poet who wrote about his fear of death in previous poems, such as "Hoy, igual que nunca", to the prophetic poet who welcomes death. Valente continues the poem:

Al sí y al no

jugaba contra El ángel,

jugaba el sí y al no,

al siempre, al todavía.

Pero tu conocías,

adversario cruel,

todas mis suertes.

Nada te delataba,

separado de mí

por una mesa

con su tapete verde,

una pequeña flor,

toda la muerte.

Fue larga la velada.

Al fin me diste un nombre.

Yo tenía una flor,

tu una espada de fuego. Yo

la sola libertad de querer tu victoria. (73)

The last lines of the poem solidify Valente's desire to experience death as he envisions it, and thus, begin his "conversion" to the poetic "yo". In addition, his desire to die could also be indicative of his nostalgia for times in which life was worth living. In Franco's "state of exception", the fatigue of existence is so arduous that death is not only an escape, but a highly coveted one at that. This theme is also prevalent in the poems "Destrucción del solitario", "Consiento", and "Una inscripción", which lead up the formation of the poetic "yo" in the final poems of Section I.

In the poem "Destrucción del solitario", the ninth poem of Section I, many of the images introduced in previous poems continue to be present. Once again, the presence of an angel heralds symbolism of an incomprehensible truth in the face of Valente's loss of his beloved aunt Lucila. López Castro claims that this poem "…nos sitúa en ese punto en que la experiencia rebasa infinitamente a la palabra. El poeta quiso expresar la muerte de Lucila y su muerte personal en esa muerte y no pudo…" (16). However, the idea of what resulting affect will come of this inability to express himself, more precisely, the inability of a poet to find words to describe a state of being, goes unexplored. Upon commenting on poetic expression and its importance, Valente stated, "[l]a palabra poética es una palabra que se levanta contra todo discurso impositivo y lo invalida. Es el único asidero de salvación que nos queda" (Quesada 135). A rereading of the poem can, in fact, reveal, for the first time, profound insights on

Valente's conception of both physical and metaphysical planes, which will be setting the stage for his conversion to the poetic "yo". The poem begins:

Durante toda la noche,
en una vigilia superior a mis fuerzas
que, de tarde en tarde, un ángel
descendía a avivar
(a veces lo confundía
con el alba, pero
el alba no podía venir)… (76)

Once more, the poem begins with a darkness that is broken by light. Instead of being dawn, which cannot break in the condition of *algia* in his state of reflective nostalgia, the light of an angel causes Valente's thoughts to turn further inward. As he now turns inward, Valente's experiences will garner a new comprehension of his situation. He continues:

…pensaba: << La adolescencia tiene
un ojo fijo, sometido a la muerte,
un ojo suicida y cruel.>>
Yo estaba solo,
con mi muerte creada
que naturalmente no podía morir.
Estaba releyendo una carta
dirigida a mí mismo,
confrontando lo caedizo de mis manos
con la primeras lluvias,

que creía poder adivinar al trasluz.
Estaba solo,
comiendo un alimento frío y desigual,
notoriamente amargo,
que me retiraba celosamente a digerir.
Entonces comencé a odiar la música,
a hacer ruidos estridentes con la uñas
para no entregarme a lo
excesivamente halagador.
Y aunque nadie lo supo,
conseguí algún triunfo solitario
que ya nunca podré compartir. (76-77)

In these lines, a bereaved Valente contemplates a death, which he cannot achieve. In his *algia*, he yearns for a truth that will comfort and inform him. In the last three verses however, Valente presents hope through an unspecified triumph, but unfortunately, he is not yet in a position in which he can it with others. José Cuesta Abad has instisted that in this poem "…la desintegración de la identidad por obra del tiempo y de sus falsificaciones y la inminencia –por remota que sea siempre ahí, presente- de la muerte conducen a un deseo de la palabra que podría redescubrir las verdades perdidas" (53).

Valente's frustration is clearly expressed in the next stanzas. He writes:

Y sin embargo, todo era mentira,
como el tiempo, la muerte
deseada, así querida,

pero sin instrumento mortal.

…Y busqué en lo más hondo

la palabra,

aquella que da al canto

verdadera virtud.

Estaba solo.

Un cuerpo ante mis ojos:

le di un nombre,

lo llamé hasta mis labios.

No lo pude decir. (77)

Throughout these two stanzas, Valente's struggle to express himself repeatedly appears. The varied metaphors of a lifeless body, an intangible substance, and an inability to speak all testify to the *algia* in which Valente was suffering. In his state of mourning, his loss imprisons him in grief, and the poetic word, or "aquella que da al canto verdadera virtud", is unattainable. What sets this poem apart from its preceding counterparts is Valente's attempt to do more than merely experience and express his grief. At this point, he uses poetry to understand his *algia* instead of merely expressing his emotions. Upon moving past the *algia*, Valente is eventually able to identify his problems through reflective nostalgia. Despite Valente's efforts however, the endeavor he has begun will require much more contemplation before it can be completed. He notes that he still lacks the proper understanding of his nostalgia in the final two stanzas.

These signals that appear, without a name in "Serán ceniza", and with a name "that cannot be said" in "Destrucción del solitario", work as triggers that force Valente to understand his *algia*. By separating himself from his misery and grief he can, for the first time, work to

correct his flawed state of being through his contemplations of reflective nostalgia. He begins the poem by discussing his residence in *algia* before turning to self-reflection, which will allow him to move on to a more productive reflective nostalgia in the final stanzas. He continues "Destrucción del solitario" writing:

Porque nada podía
ser dicho aún.
Mis labios eran
como un lugar ingrato
que se siembra de sal.
Pensé: << Un monte,
un monte azul,
colinas de insondable verdor.
Hay nieve, risa y aves
en la boca de todos,
ciudades de inconfundible claridad.
Si regreso vestido de otros pasos
nadie lo podría prever>>.
Examiné mi corazón;
tenía un ritmo
solapado y circunstancial.
Allí la muerte,
cuanto amé con un amor
demasiado puro, oh sombra mía

de muerte que no podía morir. (77-78)

The themes in the following verses will draw the reader back to “Serán ceniza”. More than an expressed solitude, which appears consistently in the work, Valente speaks of a whispering heart which, like the dry heart mentioned in his first poem, cannot be further exited, a deserted place broken by a signal of someone else’s existence, and the inescapable ashes that will replace everything he perceives and encounters. He continues:

El corazón,
el tiempo, la mentira
de todo, la ceniza
prematura de todo,
como un sutil tejido de lianas
rompía al cabo la verdad.

Así entre el mar
y el inexplicable tañido de un tambor
en una ciudad desierta,
solo de pronto, solo
de acometida soledad,
vela sobre su pecho,
con una zarpa de hambre solitaria,
el que ha sido emplazado a vivir. (77-8)

For the first time in Section I, with the poem "Destrucción del solitario", Valente is at the cusp of a change that will allow him to reach the goal he has been fighting for: realistic nostalgic expression *vis a vis* the poetic "yo" in Spain's "state of exception".

Section IV: Valente's poetic conversion

In the final poems of Section I of *A modo de esperanza*, which include "Noche primera", "Consiento", and "Misericordia", Valente begins anew, as if from an awakened consciousness. His inward reflection, which leads him to diagnose and confront his personal *algia*, soon turns outward so that as someone who has come to know a truth, a prophetic poet, he can fix his gaze on the complications faced by his compatriots in the Spanish "state of exception". This is of particular importance for the reflective nostalgic because, as previously stated, it often inspires "an ethical and creative challenge" (Boym 41). These poems serve as a starting point to a more prescriptive poetic "yo" that, after having identified its own issues and experienced death, can now focus on those of its fellow Spaniards. Because he took ownership of himself through his poetic conversion, Valente feels capable of advising a generic "tú" in the poems to move past differences and treat others with compassion. Other poems employ the "tú" form, such as "El ángel" and "Aniversario", but they employ the "tú" form in different ways. In "El ángel", Valente finishes the poem stating "Yo tenía una flor, / tú una espada de fuego. Yo / la sola libertad de querer tu victoria" (73). The "tú" mentioned in this poem referrers to an angel that Valente has described throughout the poem. This is substantiated by the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth lines of the poem which read, "frente a mi el ángel / con su terrible luz, / su espada," (72). The other poem that includes the "tú" form is "Aniversario", and this poem, similar to "El

ángel", helps the reader understand the "tú" that is being addressed. Like the poem, "Lucila Valente", "Aniversario" also focuses on the loss plaguing Valente after the passing of his beloved aunt Lucila.

Without the poetic "conversion" depicted in "Noche primera" and "Consiento", this enlightened and engaged Valente present in "Misericordia" neither would, nor could, exist. This begins with "Noche primera" in which he connects word with truth. This connection facilitates his transition into a poetic "yo" who can employ the full force of the poetic word, which, as he previously stated, is the only meaningful expression left.

In the third to last poem of Section I, "Noche primera", Valente demonstrates that he no longer fears the emptiness he discussed in his previous poems, but rather, he immerses himself in it. Valente writes:

> Empuja el corazón,
> quiébralo, ciégalo,
> hasta que nazca en él
> el poderoso vacío
> de lo que nunca podrás nombrar.
>
> Sé, al menos,
> su inminencia
> y quebrantado hueso
> de su proximidad.
>
> Que se haga noche. (Piedra,

nocturna piedra sola.)

Alza entonces la súplica:

que la palabra sea sólo verdad. (79)

By crossing through the "darkness" and reaching the other side, Valente's conversion into a prophetic poet has occurred. Valente explains himself in an interview saying "[e]l compromiso mío es el compromiso con la palabra poética, que te obliga contra tu voluntad a decir lo que tal vez tú no quieres decir, porque es una palabra profundamente libre. Esa palabra tiene más fuerza que tú" (Quesada 135). His reluctant journey caused by reflective nostalgia resulted in him discovering his poetic "yo".

In his next poem, "Consiento" Valente mentions death as an attainable feat for the first time. He writes:

Debo morir. Y sin embargo, nada

muere, porque nada

tiene fe suficiente

para poder morir.

No muere el día,

pasa;

ni una rosa,

se apaga;

resbala el sol,

no muere.

Solo yo que he tocado

el sol, la rosa, el día,

y he creído,

soy capaz de morir. (80)

This poem is unique among its predecessors for several reasons. For the first time, death is attainable. Also, the language encompassing death has changed as well. Whereas death was formally an object of desire in the poems "Destrucción del solitario" and "El ángel", death has become not something the poet wants to do, but rather, a required component of his figurative journey. This is even more critical after Valente goes on to explain that death is not attainable for anything but him because "nothing has sufficient faith to die". In this poem, the poet elevates himself higher than ever before in Section I. While he previously saw a light in "Serán ceniza" and "El ángel", he now touches the sun. With this metaphor Valente announces his conversion from man to prophetic poet, the only entity capable of true nostalgic expression through the poetic "yo" in Spain's "state of exception". He claims to have the faith that all others lack, and this status will allow him to comprehend a reflective nostalgia that rejects the Franco regime.

Furthermore, when his comments about previous poetic generations are considered, it is clear that Valente saw himself as a truer poet than most others. He is especially critical of the *Generation of 1898*, whose members include, among others, the renowned Antonio Machado. In discussing *Campos de Castillo* Valente insists,

> ...es el libro que corresponde al canon del 98. Castilla es Castilla, y Galicia es Galicia y no hay por qué idealizar Castilla, ni vilipendiarla tampoco. En ese sentido, lo que hizo el 98 fue deformar la visión de la historia de España, más de

> lo que ya estaba deformada y de lo que sobrevino con Franco quien, lógicamente, explotó el centralismo geográfico (Quesada 137).

Valente, having noted the mistakes committed by his poetic ancestors, strives to ensure that he avoids the same pitfalls that diminished the works of poets that had, in his opinion, impressive collections.

As a poet, Valente goes on to demonstrate his ability to employ a newfound understanding and share it with others. In the last poem of Section I, "Misericordia", for instance, the poet confronts the poetic "yo" and asks that it be compassionate. He writes:

> Pero a ti, que no estás
> ni sé quién eres:
> misericordia.
>
> Hasta el sueño
> lucho contra el sueño,
> porque no puede revelarte.
> (Cuando
> regresa el día
> están las cosas
> en su lugar de siempre
> más ocultas.) (80)

In confronting his poetic "yo" Valente is paving the way to employ his reflective nostalgia against Franco's restorative nostalgia. He is no longer mired in memory, as was the case when he was suffering in *algia*. In previous poems, he had discussed paralyzing solitude, a yearning for

death, and an unyielding sense of loss. Previous to “Misericordia”, each poem has nostalgic and melancholic undertones in which Valente struggled to understand either himself or the tragic events in his life, such as the death of his aunt. In this poem however, he notes how his original self contrasts his new poetic self. The poem continues:

Con los ojos abiertos
como un muerto,
ciegos y abiertos,
te señalo.
Dime
quién eres,
desde cuándo
existes,
por qué te niego
y creo.
Creo.
Entre verdad y sueño,
agudo el filo
que separa la vida.
¿De qué lado estás tú?
Descubre el brazo
que me hierre. Ten
misericordia. (80-1)

The formation of the poetic "yo" changed the poet immensely. As he escapes the *algia*, he creates stronger connections to his fellow Spaniard, and thus shares the burden of their suffering in Spain's "state of exception". The understanding gained about himself in the earlier poems helped him achieve the necessary perspective to conceive the poetic "yo" before his conversion. Later, with his poetic conversion, he will be able to understand his memories and fully express the aforementioned personal sufferings, as well as those of his compatriots.

As death represented truth in many of his preceding poems such as "El ángel", "Destrucción del solitario" and "Consiento", his open eyes, like those "of a dead person" illuminate the hollowness of his former self when compared to the poetic "yo", who can now see in "Misericordia". The previously introverted Valente, who knew nothing but solitude and mourning, is becoming a prophetic poet that prescribes his ideals onto others. This conversion was made possible by the Franco regime's use of restorative nostalgia. By creating a Spanish "state of exception" where the dead have no place in memory, Valente's reflective nostalgia puts him in a position to express a new perception of reality as he unifies his community through the shared experience of loss.

"Misericordia" is not the first poem that employs a "tú" form, but it does depict the first command in this work. In addition, "Misericordia" also sets the stage for the second of three sections of the collection, one that contains only the poem "Patria, cuyo nombre no sé", in which the poet recalls the horrors of the Spanish Civil War and condemns Spain's present path under the Franco regime.

Section V: Nostalgic Conversion and a Reflective Community

The following poem, "Patria, cuyo nombre no sé", stands alone as the only component of Section II of *A modo de esperanza*. In "Patria, cuyo nombre no sé", Valente chronicles the menagerie of emotions, felt in his reflective nostalgia, while considering Spain as an object of desire and rejection simultaneously. The reader can surmise his calls and orders in the "tú" form are directed at Spain because of the "Patria" in the title and its various references in the final stanza of the poem. Critical departures in this poem include both personal and general observations. Not only does he offer critiques of the Franco regime's Spanish "state of exception", but he also reiterates his poetic "conversion", which gives his insights credence and bolsters his capacity to perceive that which evades the masses. He writes:

> Yo no sé si me miro
> con amor o con odio
> ni si eres más que tierra
> para mí.
> Pero contigo sólo,
> a muerte, debo
> levantarme y vivir. (82)

The initial questioning of his homeland is not unlike the bewilderment he describes when looking at his own reflection in "El espejo". As he found himself unrecognizable in "El espejo", the blood soaked homeland under Franco appears to be stifling any love he once had for Spain.

One critical difference however, is the fact that after his poetic conversion, Valente pushes forward so he can "pick himself up and live". In "El espejo", Valente stood in silent

astonishment before his aged face and was not in a position to understand neither himself nor his place in Spain. Valente continues with the poem critiquing the regime that has disfigured his homeland by stating:

> Aquí es tu piel tirante
> sobre el mapa del alma,
> azotada y cruel;
> allí suave,
> rota en ríos de lluvia,
> inclinada hacia el mar.
> Allí pasa perdido,
> pie puro que anda el sueño;
> aquí cráneo abrasado
> por el peso de Dios. (82)

The personification of the land as a tyrant reflects Valente's festering disenchantment with the Franco regime. He notes the bastardization of a once pure land now polluted with mass graves and monuments to a soulless regime. The "abrasions from God" also illuminate the connection between the regime and Church as has been previously discussed in this chapter and will be continually discussed throughout this dissertation. The regime and the Church worked hand in hand to preserve each other, thus any crimes committed by the regime were in one way or another accepted by the Church or ignored. Many of the most heinous crimes somehow escaped the Church's gaze.

For instance, Carlos Jerez-Farán and Samuel Amago have documented the incalculable murders that occurred both during the Civil War and after. They write, "[t]hese mass burial sites

and the bones they contain are part of the Franco legacy, especially of the years of the Civil War and the dictatorship that followed, when thousands of political detractors were massacred and secretly dispatched to the anonymous graves throughout the Spanish landscape" (1). It is important to note that within a year of completing his first work Valente would abandon Spain for England, and the memories and reminders of the travesties committed by the Franco regime no doubt had a great effect on his decision to leave Spain behind.

In the next lines of "Patria cuyo nombre no sé", Valente explores his poetic conversion by citing his newfound ability to truly visualize and comprehend Spain. He writes:

> Estoy así mirándote
> con un ojo que apenas
> ha nacido a mirar.
> Porque he venido ayer
> y no sé aún quién eres,
> aunque tal vez no seas
> nada más verdadero
> que esta ardiente pregunta
> que clavo sobre ti.
> Vine cuando la sangre
> aún estaba en las puertas
> y pregunté por qué.
> Yo era hijo de ella
> y tan sólo por eso
> capaz de ser en ti. (82)

Through his poetic "yo", Valente documents the unspoken history of Spain under Franco. The "traidores", who fought against the regime and whose blood covered the land like that of the "nacionalistas", here, are recognized at a time when their sacrifice could not be mentioned. Unlike other poets of his time, such as Carlos Sáhagun, Valente goes further than merely documenting the violence and suffering of the Spanish people by assigning blame to the Spanish "state of exception" at his own peril. He recognizes the sacrifice so many made and lays the culpability at the feet of the regime. Valente makes no distinction among those who died for a "truth" that the fallen had sacrificed themselves to secure. "Patria cuyo nombre no sé" continues:

> Vine cuando los muertos
> palpitaban aún próximos
> al nivel de la vida
> y pregunté por qué.
> Yacían bajo tierra:
> tú eras su verdad. (83)

Valente's introduction of an alternate "historia" has been discussed by Juan Goytisolo. In his analysis of Valente's poetry he comments, "…la poesía impone la evidencia de la otra historia, la creada por palabras imantadas a este polo o centro circunstancial a la esencialidad integral humana" (115). This is of critical importance when one considers Debicki's conclusions about Valente's poetry. He argues that because Valente's work "transcends it creator…a poem could keep evolving over successive readings" (103)". Valente challenges Spain's official History under Franco by exposing the most terrible crimes the regime was hiding in its countryside's mass graves.

In addition, the next stanza of "Patria cuyo nombre no sé" will speak out against two pillars of the regime's plan for Spain's sustenance: bread and faith. Valente writes:

Caía el sol, caía
inútilmente el pan,
caía entre la noche
y la sombra de nadie
derribada la fe.
Y sin embargo supe
que tú estabas allí. (83)

In Spain's "state of exception", an important piece of propaganda was his promise that no Spaniard would go without firewood or bread. The regime's famous phrase "No hogar sin lumbre y ningún español sin pan" was merely one example of the regime's shortcomings or blatant lies. In the final lines of "Patria cuyo nombre no sé", the reflective nostalgic poet offers insights as to what should have happened in the past, and introduces a dangerous question about the future of Spain. He contemplates:

Debíais protegerlo.
No lo hicisteis.
Temblad.
Porque debió crecer
para la luz, no para
la sombra, el odio, para la negación.
La tierra había sido removida y arada
con la sangre de todos.

Con la sangre. Era
difícil la alegría;
necesitábamos
primero la verdad.

Hemos venido. Estamos
solos. Pregunto,
¿quién tiene tu verdad?

Tú eres esta pregunta.

Oh patria y patria
y patria en pie
de vida, en pie
sobre la mutilada
blancura de la nieve,
¿quién tiene tu verdad? (84)

Valente's condemnation of Spain's people is particularly interesting. He continues employing the "vosotros" form, thus calling on all of those who lost Spain to recognize their failure. He does not use the "nosotros" form, which would indicate that he also shared some of the blame. He expresses his own inability to participate in the conflict, as he was only ten years old when the Civil War ended. This fact is captured in the line, "Vine cuando los muertos / palpitaban aún próximos / al nivel de la vida" (83). Now, as a man in his mid-twenties, Valente tells his

compatriots they should shake before the shell of their eviscerated homeland, now a "state of exception", manufactured by Franco through restorative nostalgia.

Another point Valente makes, in the final lines of the poem, is the correlation between happiness and truth, the latter being a recurrent object of desire in his first work. Contrary to the connection between death and truth, which was presented throughout Section I, death is no longer a means to secure truth in Section III. Truth is sought so that happiness could be achieved and maintained. The poetic "yo", one that wants to live, also seeks happiness, and his desires are sharply different than those of a man whose only yearning was an end to his mourning via the vehicle of death.

Section III of the *A modo de esperanza* contains twelve poems, many of which mirror previous poems through the continued use of explorations of death, the power and use of words, and the struggle to understand oneself in the surroundings one inhabits. For that reason, only the poems "Carta incompleta", "El santo", "Una inscripción", "El circo: Cinco fragmentos", and "El crimen" will be studied. These poems present Valente's poetic "yo" as it critiques and challenges the Spanish "state of exception" so that all Spaniards can bear witness to the travesties committed under Franco. Furthermore, as Labanyi has been previously discussed for her comments on poetry as a minor literature that received the least amount of attention from the *censura*, these poems are unique literary rarities because they offer a contrasting history for Franco's rule.

His dominion over words is crucial in the poem "Carta incompleta", in which Valente also chastises those who find comfort and complacency in restorative nostalgia. Valente was very critical of all Spaniards, especially his fellow poets, for supporting the Franco regime, swearing allegiance to it, or even those who did not speak out against it. During an interview he

stated, "[o]tros fueron más débiles. Pío Barajo volvió después de estar en Francia. Lo llevaron a una comisaría y le preguntaron si juraba los principios del Movimiento…se caló la gorra y dijo 'Yo juro todo lo que haya que jurar'. El pobre quería volver a España. También volvió Pérez de Ayala…lo metieron en una esquina y no salió de allí" (Quesada) 137.

Valente begins his critique in "Carta incompleta" writing:

> Y sin embargo, qué fácil deslizarse
> por este tenue olvido
> que parece un destino,
> una trampa sagaz y bien dispuesta. (86)

Valente uses these verses to criticize those who shirked their responsibilities in the Franco regime. He exposes those who would say they were doing what they thought was the best for Spain, or those who claimed to merely follow orders. In not accepting their culpability in the situation, Valente challenges, and ultimately judges them. The reflective nostalgia he has shared with his fellow citizens suffering under Franco has created a new consciousness in which reoccurring crimes can be presented and condemned instead of being ignored.

In the poem, "El santo", Valente writes of a man whose actions are blindly directed to a god he obeys without question, until his death, which he is late in achieving. While this poem is explicitly directed to the Christian God, as denoted by Valente's use of "Dios", this poem serves as an allegory to someone living under the restorative nostalgia in Spain's "state of exception", which required the blind and unflinching obedience of its citizens, or as Schmitt states, "…the readiness to die" (xxiv). In constructing a poem in which the protagonist dies tardily, Valente is expressing his unwillingness to submit to Franco. This idea is further supported by Valente's decision to leave Spain and live in exile after completing *A modo de esperanza*. Valente writes:

Él no sabía orar o sólo: <<Dios

mío>>. Ni ella,

o sólo: <<Señor, Señor…>> cuando el hombre partía

del ordenado lecho

a la mañana igual.

<<Señor…>>

Él iba, como todos,

hacia las lentas horas,

el sabido papel,

el timbre urgente,

la decisión de alguien superior

que movía los hilos

de la secreta trama. (93)

As previously noted, Franco himself took numerous steps to connect his own image with that of Jesus Christ, who, with "Dios", formed two thirds of the Trinity. Valente, therefore, offers a clever condemnation of the dictator whose absolute power likened him to a god. This idea of discussing two separate topics through the same text has been suggested by Fernando García Lara. He believes that it is not uncommon that "[e]l texto pretende darse para siempre en dos lugares. De ahí que sea necesario su interpretación, se en la forma que sea: glosa, comentario o crítica sistemática" (33). Several references in the poem can be attributed to conditions experienced under Franco. For instance, the common Spaniard, like a faithful Catholic, could not know the "secreta trama" of "alguien superior". Blind faith and obedience were the necessary qualities of the subservient masses in a Spain of restorative nostalgia. The poem continues:

Respondía

correctamente. Estaba

firme en su puesto.

Si alguien

deslizaba en su oído una palabra,

libertad, por ejemplo, sonreía.

… Nada

parecía cambiar.

La mesa, el pan, ¿qué era

el pan de cada día?

Él no sabía orar o sólo:

…<<Señor, Señor…>>.

Los papeles,

el timbre,

la decisión mayor

de alguien

que movía los hilos

de la secreta trama.

Murió un atardecer.

(La voz: <<¡Señor!…>>.) (93)

Next, Valente's character smiles coyly at the mention of "libertad", an impossibility under the panoptic oppression of the Franco regime. Furthermore, the phrase "pan de cada día", a Francoist

propaganda line parroted from the Lord's Prayer, is questioned, as sustenance was barely achievable for many in the decades following the Civil War. The poem continues:

Fue el único
acto impuntual de su existencia,
demorado por una
larguísima mirada
de amor a todo lo que abandonaba. (93)

Finally, the man dies after taking a long look at everything he was leaving behind. Valente's election to employ the word "abandonar" is indicative of his volition to leave the Spanish "state of exception".

"Una inscripción", the next poem in the collection, continues Valente's veiled criticism of the Franco regime through metaphors of Rome, its abusive leaders, and martyred poets. Valente writes how "simple men" poisoned an "official regime". It was, in fact, the restorative nostalgia perpetuated by the Franco regime that had caused its people so much suffering. Valente allows for a connection to be made, by the reader, to both past and present oppressive regimes. This idea is collaborated by Marina Mayoral. She comments ,"[m]ediante la utilización de expresiones de nuestro mundo contemporáneo, el poeta nos había hecho creer que se trataba de la época actual y, repentinamente, los hechos cobran una profundidad histórica, y se hace patente la pervivencia o la antigüedad, según prefiramos, de una situación evidentemente injusta" (243). In addition to condemning the regime, Valente also elevates the role of a poet once more. Here, he substitutes Rome for Spain in an effort to escape the *censura*. He states:

Fue en Roma,
donde había en aquella época

grandes concentraciones de capital

y masas obreras con escasas posibilidades de subsistir.

Los poetas no acusaron el problema,

porque Roma debió de ser una alegre ciudad

en tiempos de Nerón,

Aenobarbo, parricida,

poeta de ínfima calidad.

Algunos hombres sencillos

envenenaron las fuentes

y se opusieron al régimen oficial.

By stating that the poets did not accuse the Roman leaders of any wrong doing, Valente demonstrates his perception of the role of a poet. He does not lay the blame on the powerful roman upper class, which had sufficient money to raise armies and stop a tyrannical ruler. Nor does he attack Roman politicians for failing to act. In his mind, it is the role of the poet, a role in which he in fact nominates himself, to speak out against those who have great power and abuse it. This occurrence, therefore, supports the claim that the poetry in his collection is far more politically charged than critics have recognized in the past. By insisting in the power and responsibility of a poet, and later working to ensure that he himself is seen as a poet, it is only logical to conclude that Valente's prescription to poets would be self-administered as well. Finally, although he uses Rome in the place of Spain to avoid the *censura*, Valente is working as

an instigator to rile his fellow poets so they can join him in creating a true history of the Spanish State that would stand in sharp contrast to the propaganda offered by the regime.

His engendering of the poetic role is also clear in the poem "El Circo: Cinco fragmentos", in which he calls upon all spectators to not sit idly by while restorative nostalgia destroys the Spanish state, but to truly witness the event and understand why the continued massacre of the Spanish people persisted in Spain's "state of exception". Throughout the poem he cites the illusions created by the circus and the public's willing acceptation of its forgeries. Through his writings of the circus, Valente presents the restorative nostalgia perpetuated by the Franco regime as an empty promise of a past and future that were more imagined than factual. Valente dismisses Franco's ideas and works to help his fellow Spaniards comprehend the reality of their situation. In the first fragment he writes:

> Nada aquí, nada
> del otro lado.
> Nada.
> Escamoteo, juego
> puro de nada.
> Y de todas las nadas
> eres capaz al fin
> de obtener sólo nada.
> De tu bombín, de nada,
> tus naipes o tus pájaros. (95)

Valente, instead of celebrating the spectacle, notes the hollowness of its ritual. He surmises that nothing can come from the absence of something. As a poet, Valente builds on the

foundation of words. As with reflective nostalgia, he works to create meaningful structures that stand apart and deliver insights to those capable of seeing them, so through the metaphor of petty amusements, Valente inserts his message of observance first and action later. He calls on his readers to evaluate past perceived miraculous events and find the inanition and falsehoods in them. This is evident in the fourth and fifth fragments of the work. Valente writes:

IV

El oso, el ursus,
tan digno y tan antiguo,
que ha estado en París,
en Budapest, en Roma,
tan serio en apariencia,
puede bailar el mambo.
La misión del león
es ser el ferocísimo
león de tres colmillos
y tiene un gran bostezo,
demasiado grande
aun para su boca.
El mono es despreciable,
insultante e igual
a cierto conocido.
La foca,

el elefante,

el oso y el león,

el mono, el hombre.

El hombre hace sonar un látigo redondo.

V

¿Y tú, qué haces ahí,

fuera del circo, fuera

del mundo, contemplando

un elefante de papel pintado,

niño de nadie, niño

que jamás ha reído? (96-7)

Valente's analysis of the circus acts culminates in a challenge to the reader. He asks why someone would stand on the periphery and not recognize the utter deception that is the spectacle. His simple question pertains first to the circus, and later to Spain's "state of exception". He questions inaction of his fellow Spaniards in a time when participation is paramount. This is most clear when he challenges the "tú" at the end of the poem, the "son of no one and who has never laughed", in the Spanish "state of exception" that murders its own citizens. While he saw his homeland being rebuilt into a false temple to the past, as is common with restorative nostalgia, Valente cried out, through his poetry, for engagement by those beaten down by it.

In the final poem to be discussed from Section III of *A modo de esperanza*, "El crimen", Valente focuses on murder as a theme. He talks of a faceless "nadie" who has "not perpetuated

his assassination". While the murder of a "yo" is in the foreground of the poem, Valente craftily weaves the occurrence of political assassinations, common under Franco's restorative nostalgia, into the verses. Slipped in two thirds from the poem's commencement, Valente illustrates his true intention by signaling government-sanctioned murders of Spanish citizens. The poem is as follows:

Hoy he amanecido
como siempre, pero
con un cuchillo
en el pecho.

…Por mi parte no tengo
nada que declarar.
Se busca el asesino;
sin embargo,
tal vez no hay asesino,
aunque se enrede así el final de la trama.
…No hay pruebas contra nadie. Nadie
ha consumado mi homicidio. (97-8)

From the initial lines of the poem, the poetic "yo" diminishes the relevance of his own homicide. In the first stanza, the culprit and his or her motives have been discarded. In the second stanza, however, the poetic "yo" incorporates the suffering that comes with death by noting "the cold". This suffering can be transposed to the real victim that the poetic "yo" calls attention to in the fourth stanza when mentioning the death of a man with "antecedentes

políticos". These secret murders are the true items of interest in the poem. By discussing another murder, in which no one is accused, Valente can casually insert a condemnation of a practice all too common in Spain's "state of exception": government sanctioned murders.

Conclusion

Many critics have profoundly discussed Valente's poetic collection. There is analysis of his poetic style, employment of pauses, manipulations of light and shadow, and explorations of life and death. What this critical opus lacks, however, is further contemplation of the role of his inaugural work in his entire collection. While his later works provide innumerable examples of Valente's poetic prowess, few critics note the poetic conversion in his first work that facilitated his success in future collections.

The first section of *A modo de esperanza* focuses on Valente's expression of personal loss. In Section I of the work, an agonized Valente, dwelling in *algia*, wanted to cut his life short because he could no longer stand his suffering. It is Valente's decision to embrace a reflective nostalgia that isolated him from the Spanish "state of exception", which employed restorative nostalgia. By not denying the existence of suffering, as a restorative nostalgic would, Valente was able to confront his own understanding of his identity. He ventured into the darkness of *algia*, and having made it to the other side, Valente was capable of explaining his success to others. His poetry was prescriptive in that it instructed his fellow Spaniards how to overcome their *algia* and reject restorative nostalgia in Spain's "state of exception". The multifaceted nature of reflective nostalgia promoted a confrontation of history that restorative nostalgia neither would nor could attempt. Furthermore, the temporalizing of space and time, another

critical aspect of reflective nostalgia, allowed for a controlled and continued access to the "shattered fragments" of the past instead of destroying them, as would be the case with restorative nostalgia. This revealed a Spain perceived more out of reality than the prefabricated product introduced in government-sanctioned propaganda created by implementing restorative nostalgia. By re-presenting an authentic Spain, Valente's poetic "yo" exposed the "psychotic substitution" that the Franco regime was selling to its citizens in the form of a "state of exception".

After conquering memory and escaping *algia*, Valente becomes a prophetic poet in Section II, a witness whose control over language could convey a truth and reality that the regime was striving to repress. Finally, in Section III, Valente can clearly embrace life and death because, as a prophetic poet, he is not only capable of understanding and experiencing both of them, but he can describe his encounters with them, *vis a vis* reflective nostalgia, through the poetic word. By the end of *A modo de esperanza*, Valente abandons his nihilistic disposition and employment of xeric scenery and ascends to the poet's pulpit. His vision clarifies, and he writes hoping Spain will, in time, benefit from the words that flowed forth from his unique critical consciousness.

As Valente won the *Premio Adonáis* for this poetic collection, it is clear that others recognized the great poetic strides he was able to make in this work. This award was certainly one of the most prestigious accolades he would receive in his career. Aguilar-Álvarez Bay explains:

> El autor obtiene en 1954 el Premio Adonáis por su primer libro: *A modo de esperanza*, el máximo reconocimiento poético en la España de posguerra; al recibirlo, Valente inmediatamente alcanza carta de ciudadanía en el círculo

> literario madrileño, encabezado por Vicente Aleixandre, la gran figura del momento y con quien después entabla estrecha amistad. (16)

His future poetic works continued to be as substantial as his premier work. This is evident in him being awarded the Premio de la Crítica in 1960 and again in 1980, the Premio de la Fundación Pablo Iglesias in 1984, the Premio Príncipe de Asturias de las Letras in 1988, the Premio Nacional de Poesía in 1993, the Premio Reina Sofía de Poesía Iberoamericano in 1998, and the posthumous Premio Nacional de Poesía in 2001. Based on his recognition through various entities, it is clear that José Ángel Valente was one of the most influential Spanish poets in the twentieth-century.

Chapter 2

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán: Trauma-Induced Neurosis

> One writes of scars healed, a loose parallel to the pathology of the skin, but there is no such thing in the life of an individual. There are open wounds, shrunk sometimes to the size of a pin-prick but wounds still. The marks of suffering are more comparable to the loss of a finger, or of the sight of an eye. We may not miss them, either, for one minute in a year, but if we should there is nothing to be done about it.
>
> F. Scott Fitzgerald

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (1939-2003) has an extensive curriculum vitae that includes a multitude of professions and an almost incalculable production of material. His work as a novelist has no doubt received the most attention, as he has published sixteen novels in the Carvalho series, but he is also renowned for his journalistic work as well, having published *Informe Sobre Información* in 1963, a journalism textbook that is still used today. In his obituary, Michael Mullan commented on MVM's work as a journalist. He writes:

> His journalistic output was prodigious in quantity, and of a consistently high standard. Major European titles such as *La Repúbblica*, *Il Manifesto* and *Le Monde Diplomatique* vied for his byline, along with *La Vanguardia* and the Catalan newspapers *El Periódico* and *Avui*, the risqué newsweekly *Interviú* and the Madrid daily *El País*.

As a poet, however, the profession with which MVM identified himself, he has received significantly less attention. He was particularly ardent at one conference when he responded to one colleagues' question by stating, "[m]ire usted, yo soy un poeta" (Castellet 7). His poetic works include: *Una educación sentimental* (1967), *Movimientos sin éxito* (1969), *Coplas a la muerte de mi tía Daniela* (1973), *A la sombra de las muchachas sin flor* (1973), *Praga* (1982), *Pero el viajero que huye* (1990), *Ciudad* (1997), and *Memoria y deseo: 1967-2003* (2008).

As an included poet in Josep María Castellet's anthology, *Nueve novísimos poetas españoles* (1971, 2006), he received critical attention within a decade of publishing his first book of poetry, *Una educación sentimental* (1967).

While Castellet included a brief analysis of MVM's work in his summation of the nine novísimos, it would not be until 1986 when Castellet released *Memoria y deseo*, a compilation of MVM's poetic undertakings, that a more meticulous study of theme and technique in his poetry would be completed. In 2008, a new edition was released, along with a few additions to Castellet's appraisal of the poet's work. Some of Castellet's most critical insights concern his focus on the content of the poetry. He insists the first noticeable aspect of MVM's poetry is its autobiographical nature. Castellet claims, "[l]a poesía de Vázquez Montalbán es, originalmente, autobiográfica. Se expresa a través de la voz del personaje/poeta que narra aspectos de una existencia individual y colectiva" (50). This observation is critical; when considering the depictions of trauma amply dispersed throughout his first literary work, *Una educación sentimental* (1967), it becomes clear that MVM had suffered immensely under Spain's "state of exception". This book of his poems is significant because it demonstrates how he began his literary career by documenting his own confrontations with historical trauma, as explained by Cathy Caruth. This chapter will explore the origins of the trauma of loss in MVM's initial poetical text, *Una educación sentimental*, by discussing how trauma persisted, not only for the poet himself, but also for a significant portion of Spaniards who suffered in the unending loop of subjugation, which was continued by the fantasy smuggled in consumerism that spread in the 1960s or the "años de desarrollo". Furthermore, it remained after the death of the Caudillo and through the democratic period as the transition from Spain's "state of exception" has yet to conclude. The results of trauma have been well documented by Cathy Caruth, Dominick

Lacapra, and Slavoj Zizek, and it will be made clear that the poet's experiences with trauma resulted in not only a great sum of works, but also a representation of personal and historical traumas that the Franco regime worked to obliterate.

Section I: His City of Ruins: The Barcelona of MVM's Youth

It is his positioning on the margins of his society as an illegitimate son of a former republican exile that forced him to constantly confront the origin of trauma. Instead of growing up in other parts of Spain less affected by the war, MVM was brought up in the city that was nearly razed entirely. Michael Eaude has discussed the Barcelona that MVM ran through as a child. He declares:

> Barcelona era una ciudad derrotada, culpable para los vencedores de tres pecados capitales: el anarquismo, el republicanismo y el separatismo. Ya lo había pagado caro, pues su población civil fue la primera en Europa en ser sometida a bombardeos aéreos masivos, un presagio de los que ocurriría de forma generalizada en la Segunda Guerra Mundial. En los años 1937-38, se destruyeron 1750 bloques de pisos, principalmente en las zonas obreras de la ciudad. El Distrito Quinto, ahora el Raval, donde se crió Montalbán resultó particularmente afectado. (27-8)

MVM survived in the ruins of this city thanks to the care of his mother. The government incarcerated his father, whom he would not know for the first years of his life. José V. Saval has commented on the conditions of this imprisonment, which occurred because the poet's parents were not yet married at the time of his birth. He claims, "[a]demás no se podía registrar a un hijo

de padres que no estuvieran unidos por el sacramento del matrimonio según la Iglesia Católica. El padre se hallaba en la cárcel a la espera de un juicio en el que se le podía fácilmente condenar a la pena capital" (Saval 29). This abusing act by the government, along with the countless other traumas MVM would witness throughout his life, would lead to the explorations of trauma so prevalent in his poetry.

In fact, MVM's suffering was so burdensome that it hindered his ability to participate fully in his society. This is also touched on by Castellet in the introduction to *Memoria y deseo* where he wrote:

> Se diría que el poeta ha elegido voluntariamente el punto de vista del ciudadano no identificado, del paseante que gusta de mezclarse con otros viandantes que van o vienen de su trabajo, que participan del bullicio de la gran ciudad. Ahora bien, este ciudadano anónimo es más que un observador complacido, es un voyeur cómplice y crítico de su entorno. ¿Qué mira, qué ve? El discurrir de la cotidianidad, su propia inserción en ella, solidaria pero solitaria, porque de algún modo se siente marginal a causa de la no voluntariedad de su origen… (51)

This idea of MVM taking a voyeuristic stance is also discussed by Carmela Ferradáns. She suggests "[l]a mirada que estructura los poemas de Vázquez Montalbán analizados aquí confirma las posiciones tradicionales del sujeto-masculino, que mira y controla la imagen sin ser visto, y del objeto-femenino, que posa para ser (ad)mirado" (19).

His documentation of pop culture is also related to his analysis of the social classes. Having come from the periphery of society, MVM already recognized the unique insights he could gain from viewing the traumas of his childhood from a sociological gaze. José Colmeiro has commented on the poet's experiences and how they influenced his writings. He claims:

> La escritura de Vázquez Montalbán se sitúa en una posición de marginalidad con respecto a las normas culturales, siempre a contracorriente de los cánones literarios y las hegemonías ideológicas. La práctica de escribir desde los márgenes (desde los géneros y subgéneros literarios, desde el mestizaje cultural, desde la periferia peninsular, desde su posición de perdedor de la guerra y luchador de la posguerra) conlleve el intento de resituar los propios márgenes separadores y descentralizar el espacio por el que se mueve. (*Crónica del desencanto* 6)

The argument can be made however, that a man who produced such a gargantuan amount of text for his society, including eight essays on Spanish society that include *Crónica sentimental de España* (1971), must have been an active participant. The poet's own words seem to deny this possibility. Lucia Iglesias Kuntz discusses the poet's tendencies towards immersing himself in work. She states, "Montalbán readily admits that he is a workaholic and that he has written more than he has lived. 'One day I shall have to stop writing in order to remember how to live,' he once told a reporter" (48). Florence Estrade has also cited another instance in which the poet expresses the same sentiment. She quotes, "'[m]i vida no tiene mucho interés: ha sido más historia que vida hasta los años sesenta, y desde entonces, es más literatura que vida'" (17). He tirelessly studied his culture and society through this voyeurism as a result of what Zizek would diagnose as neurosis. He contends:

> The obsessional neurotic aims at complete control over what he is for the Other: he wants to prevent, by means of compulsive rituals, the Other's desire from emerging in its radical heterogeneity, as incommensurable with what he thinks he is for himself. The key ingredient of obsessional neurosis is the conviction that the knot of reality is held together only through the subject's compulsive activity: if

> the obsessive ritual is not properly performed, reality will disintegrate. (*The Metastasis of Enjoyment* 177)

His studies however, were not in vain as Francie Cate-Arries has observed. She states:

> Vázquez Montalbán has repeatedly stated that one of the most successful means of interpreting the national consciousness of a people is by deciphering the signs of popular culture… His first book of poems, *Una educación sentimental*, constitutes a trajectory 'a la recherche du temps perdu' which filters through the codes of mass culture and the experience of the Civil War survivors. (22)

Therefore, his literary accomplishments were due in large part to the trauma-fueled obsession to continue working. One of the most traumatic events of his life would be caused by the terrible treatment he received while a prisoner of Spain's "state of exception". This internment resulted in MVM focusing not only on his personal losses, but also on the losses of his fellow Spaniard through his "compulsive ritual" of writing. Walther L. Bernecker has written about the treatment of the many victims, including intellectuals, of the Franco regime. He writes, "[m]iembros de la oposición política e intelectuales antifranquistas arrastraban numerosos traumas debidos, por un lado, a la violencia de la guerra civil y al terror de la primera fase de la dictadura, y por otro lado, a su incapacidad para hacer caer la dictadura franquista, habiéndose visto obligados a ver morir a Franco en la cama" (Bernecker 77). These traumas, witnessing continued violence and failing to defeat Franco during the war, would go on to affect MVM tremendously, and having had personal horrific experiences with the Franco regime, MVM would attempt to discuss said trauma in detail throughout his numerous and varied projects. In fact, it was only while he himself was imprisoned in 1962 that MVM found the poetic voice necessary to complete his first work. He writes:

> *Una educación sentimental*, publicado en 1967 estuvo escrito desde 1963 y sólo por motivos de represión administrativa y de poquedad económica del heroico editor José Batlló, no pudo editarse hasta cuatro años después. Durante mi estancia en la cárcel de Lérida en 1962 y 1963 encontré mi primera *forma poética* satisfactoria, superada del todo la escasa influencia recibida del mesianismo neorromántico de la llamada poesía social, a la que combatí excesivamente en los años posteriores… (277)

Therefore, it was through these particular traumas, the complete loss of liberty, and the subjugation to the horrific conditions of prison, that MVM developed what he called a "satisfactory poetic style". He would later engage his "poetic style" to attack cultural issues, such as consumerism, which were, in his opinion, only furthering Spain's "state of exception".

Representations of the trauma of loss appear in his work in order to demonstrate how Spain's most pressing issues originated during the Civil War and persisted during the Franco regime, in part, due to the fantasy inherent in consumerism. In an effort to boost Spain's economy, many steps were taken to transform parts of Spain into a tourist destination. Michael Richards discusses this stating, "[c]apital accumulation, aided by the state's regressive and corrupt tax system, would be invested in new economic opportunities offered by tourism and the construction industry in the 1950s and 1960s" (103). One unanticipated side effect of these efforts was the spreading of pop culture, and later consumerism, throughout Spain's "state of exception". These circumstances led to a continuation of the subjugation of people through the introduction of fantasies, inherent in consumerism, in the 1960s or the "años de desarrollo".

This process began in the 1950s with several actions taken by the government in an effort to bolster Spain's economy. Richards writes, "[t]he liberalizing Decree of Economic

Stabilization, introduced in 1959, would dismantle autarky as the economic basis of post-war internal colonization…The Stabilization Plan was effectively the much-delayed Spanish equivalent of Marshall Aid which would herald the unprecedented socio-economic change of the 1960s" (190-1). This economic boost did not, however, overshadow the historical trauma the Spanish government refused to confront, at least for MVM. He, despite the perceived improvement of daily life, fostered by an expanding economy, recognized the fantasy inherent in consumerism. The term fantasy, as it will be employed in Section III, "Pop culture: Fueling the Fantasy of Consumerism" has been explained by Slavoj Zizek. He proposes, "[t]he standard notion of the way fantasy works within ideology is that of a fantasy-scenario which obfuscates the true horror of a situation: instead of a full rendering of the antagonisms which traverse our society, we indulge the notion of society as an organic Whole, kept together by forces of solidarity and co-operation" (5). MVM was able to see the fantasy created through consumerism, and he employed his poetry to expose and confront it. Unfortunately, as Zizek notes, fantasy is a tough beast to slay. Zizek claims, "…fantasy and the horror of the Real it conceals is much more ambiguous that it may seem: fantasy conceals this horror, yet at the same time it creates what it purports to conceal, its 'repressed' point of reference" (6). Fantasy continues the process it is meant to obscure, thus allowing it to continue infinitely and without impediments. Consumerism, while creating a fantasy of freedom and equality, was nothing more than another subjugating element installed in the Spanish "state of exception". Zizek explains fantasy as subjugation when he notes:

> The need for the phantasmic support of the public symbolic order (materialized in the so-called unwritten rules) thus bears witness to the system's vulnerability: the system is compelled to allow for possibilities of choices which much never have

> actually taken place, since their occurrence would cause the system to disintegrate, and the function of the unwritten rules is precisely to prevent the actualization of these choices formally allowed by the system. (*The Plague of Fantasies* 37)

Fantasy thus protects "the system" and restricts the freedoms of those who buy into it. Zizek continues:

> …fantasy works both ways, it simultaneously closes the actual span of choices (fantasy renders and sustains structure of the forced choice, it tells us how we are to choose if we are to maintain the freedom of choice – that is, it bridges the gap between the formal symbolic frame of choices and social reality by preventing the choice which, although formally allowed, would, if in fact made, ruin the system) and maintains the false opening, the idea that the excluded choice might have happened, and does not actually take place only on account of contingent circumstances… (39)

Throughout Section III of this chapter, MVM's presentation of the fantasy of consumerism as a veil of historical traumas will be explored in his work *Una educación sentimental*.

In order to discuss the traumatic elements presented in the work *Una educación sentimental*, the poems from its three sections, "El libro de los antepasados", "Una educación sentimental", and "Ars amandi", will be arranged and analyzed in two sections in this chapter. The section entitled "The Trauma of the Civil War and an Oppressive Regime" will discuss trauma experienced during, and as a result of, the Spanish Civil War. The next section entitled, "Pop culture: Fueling the Fantasy of Consumerism", will present the historical trauma the Franco regime attempted to hide by creating an elaborate fantasy through consumerism. This

subjugating mechanism exploded in Spain's "state of exception" as its economy began to recover in the 1950s as a result of several international inputs before and during the "años de desarrollo".

Section II: The Trauma of the Civil War and an Oppressive Regime

In *Memoria y deseo* (2008) Castellet discussed the poet's profound need to write and an "injury" he experienced that constantly manifested in his work. He postulates, "…esa herida fechada permanece abierta a lo largo de tiempo. Infancia, adolescencia, juventud y madurez del poeta son otros tantos períodos dolorosos que no permiten que se cierre. Sólo la abdicación del escritor podría, quizás, eliminarla. Pero dejar de escribir es una renuncia que no puede plantearse porque es su razón de existir" (59-60).

Castellet introduced the term "herida" as one of the key components in the poet's work. He explains writing, "[d]e una herida profunda que no se cerrará jamás– puesto que éste es el sentir del poeta, lúcida conciencia esclarecida por el fulgor del choque ineluctable entre una muy fina sensibilidad moral y una inteligencia crítica abierta al mundo, pero insobornable frente a él–, de esa herida, digo, surge la poesía de Vázquez Montalbán" (59). This theory corresponds with Caruth, Lacapra, and Zizek's conclusions about trauma. What Castellet called a figurative injury can be more clearly explained as trauma, and that conclusion will assist in the understanding of the prevalence of Vázquez Montalbán's attempts to understant trauma through his poetry. Caruth insists:

> The attempt to gain access to a traumatic history, then, is also the project of listening beyond the pathology of individual suffering, to the reality of a history that in its crises can only be perceived in unassimilable forms. This history may

> speak through the individual or through the community, which in its own suffering, as Kai Erikson makes clear, may not only be the site of its disruption but the locus of a 'wisdom all its own'. (156)

Through the analysis of *Una educación sentimental*, trauma's influence over Vázquez Montalbán will be made abundantly clear.

The first poem of the section "El libro de los antepasados", and the entire collection for that matter, draws the reader's attention to the month of April, the precise month in 1936 in which the Spanish Civil War began. "Nada quedó de abril…" is a poem that discusses the trauma of loss, both on personal and societal levels. He discusses the loss of his mother alongside a multitude of various other personal and shared traumas. Several scholars have already noted the poem's references to the Civil War. Manuel Rico suggests, "[l]o cual quiere decir que el origen de la identidad del sujeto poético está abril. Un abril con una doble capacidad simbólica: el abril de la República y de la luz" (16). He later states, "[e]se abril adquiere distintos matices a través de la sucesión de imágenes y de pequeñas historias que hace del libro un recorrido por los escenarios y por las claves culturales de la posguerra y por las distintas fuentes de formación cultural y sentimental de la generación del poeta" (Rico 16). While he notes the personal sentimentality injected into the poem, further information can be gained through insights offered by the poet himself in an interview with José Colmeiro. He comments, "*Memoria y deseo* se ultima con *Pero el viajero que huye*. El libro comienza con el poema "Nada quedó de abril" y termina con la muerte del personaje, que es la muerte de mi madre; el primer poema está dedicado a mi madre y el último también. Es como se cierre la formación de la memoria" (Colmeiro 296).

The poem begins with a tragic reflection of a now absconded Republic, where daily life was far better than the current conditions in the Spanish "state of exception". MVM writes:

> Era distinto abril, entonces
> había alegría, y rastro de mejillones
> en la escollera, canciones
> a la orilla del crepúsculo… (73)

The bleak tone of the poem continues throughout; instead of celebrating his mother or the rejuvenation of life in the spring season, MVM focuses on the terrible conditions under Franco. Under the regime, the flowers do not bloom but rather, turn to dust. MVM continues:

> nada quedó del Puerto,
> grúas retorcidas, patrulleros hundidos, serones
> cargados de alcaparras y girasoles, cascotes
> de bombas misteriosamente humanizadas, se oían
> caer después, ya de vuelta a la ciudad, como
> una noche impuesta que se impone gritando
> murieron
> pretendientes y nadie descendió a la calle
> al paso de los percherones
> los geranios
> se agostaron en cenizas amarillas
> luego
> volvieron otras tardes de abril, no aquéllas

muertas

muertas ya para siempre
los gitanos perdieron duende, no
cantaban, tosían de noche bajo el relente, cuando
cosíamos tristes arreglos de vestidos viejos
para mutilados cuerpos de posguerra
incivil
inmutables, más allá de esta ventana, de esta
persiana, de estas macetas vacías como planetas
deshabitados, los palos grises para tender
la ropa, azoteas de arenisca y ladrillos desportillados,
negras chimeneas rotas
y amarillos jaramagos sobre tejados en erosión. (75)

This excerpt alone is rife with traumatic imagery of death and destruction. He focuses on "los gitanos" as he empathizes with their peripheral status and historical mistreatment under the Franco regime. Where there was once singing now only a wrenching cough can be heard at night. Also, instead of fertile soil there is erosion. The chimneys, a source of warmth and sustenance for the families, are broken. Perhaps what is most interesting here is the manipulation of the term Civil War. While playing on the other sense of the word "civil", MVM employs its antonym, uncivil. Castellet has noted this literary strategy as well. He writes of the poet's style stating, "[e]ncontraremos, pues, cambios súbitos de plano, como en la visualización de una película; una adjetivación desconcertante o una yuxtaposición de palabras aparentemente sin sentido, debido a la abundante utilización de la asociación libre…" (48). By doing so, the poet

does not allow for any side to claim victory because the loss was too terribly tremendous for all parties in Spain's "state of exception". It is clear that this initial poem depicts a broken past and present that cannot be mended. The trauma of this existence is so profound that it will continue to resonate throughout the three sections of *Una educación sentimental*: "El libro de los antepasados", "Una educación sentimental", and "Ars amandi".

Another poem in which Valente approximates trauma in "El libro de los antepasados" is "In memoriam". This poem highlights the trauma of loss through its portrayal of a desire for escape. MVM writes:

> Aprendí
> la interminable lista
> de reyes godos y el mundo
> no fue mío
> ni tu historia…" (84)

In discussing a history lesson for children, MVM pointedly addresses the fact that the history being presented is not of his own time or country, but that of others. The regime's efforts to control discussion of the Civil War, and any other topic it deemed a threat, left a stranglehold on the Spanish people who were trying to survive both the losses they suffered as a result of the war and the regime's brutal tactics once it established a "state of exception". The poem continues:

> …saber o no saber
> la cuestión era aceptar
> un blanco destino de burócrata
> o emigrar al mundo
> de los que nada habían perdido

nunca… (84)

The excerpt ends contemplating an unnamed destination in which the experience of loss is a foreign concept. The desire expressed here not only demonstrates the necessity of escape in Spain under the Franco regime through its reference of emigrating, but it also notes how there are better places to live than Spain's "state of exception". However, it is his "compulsive ritual" of exploring the traumatic event through writing that prevents his from escaping the Franco regime even after his imprisonment.

The next and second section of *Una educación sentimental*, carries the same title as the collection. This section, "Una educación sentimental", also has various examples of MVM's confrontations with trauma through the writing process as he tries to recall the horrors of the Spanish Civil War and the abominable tactics employed by the Franco regime following the war. For example, the poem "Las masas corales" contrasts Spain before, during, and after the three-year battle that was the Civil War. Of prewar Spain he writes:

Amaban demasiado y los domingos
como nosotros y tuvieron sonrisa
desde niños, manos cálidas después
palpando vida incierta, libros
pocos; mucho martillo o cuerdo
de cáñamo amarilla o blanca, tosca
para izar casas y ahorcar pequeña
vida, interiores de hogares, antes
de la guerra es posible iluminables
por carburo o candiles de aceite. (108)

The innocence and happiness of youth were cultivated and maintained in those prewar years. This would be an absolute impossibility after the trauma brought on by the war. After this depiction of a content existence however, MVM notes the tourists passing over the blood and flesh of Spain's fallen. He states:

> …hicieron el amor
> algunos, otros ya no tuvieron tiempo
> podrida la hombría fláccida de su muerte
>
> porque murieron
> muchos no lejos de las vías de los trenes
> junto a fuentes que constan en la guías
> de España, para turistas de domingo
> donde las flores seguramente enrojecen
> de sangre antigua oculta como ríos
> subterráneos que ya nadie distingue. (108-9)

Here, much in the same manner with which Carlos Sahagún painted the Spanish landscape in his poetic work *Profecías del agua* (1958), MVM draws attention to the unhealed wounds still festering in postwar Spain. The depiction of the casual pedestrians and the bloated rotten bodies, which cannot make love, hint at a more complete depiction of trauma that is impossible to capture. The final blood reddened flowers also leaves an unsettling freshness to the suffering in order to make it as if it were still so very recent. This supports the theories on trauma previously discussed in this dissertation by Caruth that argue trauma is an unhealed wound because it cannot be fully captured in writing nor can its effects be consciously controlled (201). MVM's failure to

fully document the traumatic event sustains his "compulsive ritual" as he is forced to confront traumatic events as they appear.

In part VII of "Ars amandi", MVM notes how many of his fellow Spaniards are mired in a traumatic stasis of loss in Spain's "state of exception". He writes, "…ni siquiera miedo a perder / algo / porque en nuestro fin empieza todo / lo que de gris ayer vestimos…" (118). Here, he references the destruction of the city and way of life that have left them covered in a literal and figurative dust of destruction. The grey of yesterday refers to the battle lost for the city of Barcelona during the Civil War. MVM indicates that Barcelona is a ruin of a city, and what is left of it will later be destroyed through the vacuum of consumerism.

In addition to his poems on the Civil War, several poems in "Una educación sentimental" and "Ars amandi" discuss the trauma that was perpetrated by the Franco regime after the war. First, the poems of "Una educación sentimental" will be studied. These poems include: "Françoise Hardy", "El buen amor", "Otoño cuarenta", "Síntesis", and "Ulises".

First, in "Françoise Hardy", MVM comments on the fascist tactic of creating a perfect race, entirely subservient to its leader. He writes:

> ha estallado
>
> en algún lugar la guerra, dicen
>
> de desinfección, pero canta
>
> Françoise
>
> la canción de una pequeña pequeño-
>
> burguesa, la poca heroica alegría…
>
> penúltimos minutos, algún lamento,

paraísos perdidos… (95)

Here, the positioning of the "war of disinfection" alongside the music positions the trauma of loss as a natural, common occurrence in Franco's Spain. The sadness of the song also relates to the desperation that MVM and his compatriots felt when Spain was lost to the fascists. He no doubt understood that Spain was, in fact, one of the "paraísos perdidos". The trauma associated with loss and inequality continues on in the next poems as well.

For instance, "Otoño cuarenta" and "El buen amor" both discuss the impossibility of love under the Franco regime. In "El buen amor" he writes:

como antes
cuando todavía era posible algún misterio
más allá de los labios besados, silenciosos
ahora como un mundo prohibido sin lluvias,

sin fronteras, un vasto mundo de venas
heladas, ramajes de bosques horrorosos
sin pájaros
ni estrellas
donde no cabe el miedo ni el valor. (99)

Under Franco, Spaniards were inundated with messages that highlighted the valor of the Spanish state and threats, both physical and psychological, which would be administered to those who did not conform to the representation of Franco's ideal citizen. This is a stark contrast to Spain during the Second Republic where Spaniards were able to live their lives free from the

restrictions that would be imposed in Spain's "state of exception". MVM continues to write about further impossibilities under the Franco regime.

In "Otoño cuarenta" he writes, "…no, / no es posible el amor, / es un sueño romántico…" (106). MVM signals what is lacking and or not possible following the Civil War. The Franco regime, despite its inability to provide resources during the "años de hambre" that were the 1940s, continued to place innumerable restrictions on the Spanish people to the point, in the poet's opinion, that love was not even possible. In addition to these aforementioned impossibilities, MVM also discusses how the Franco regime even manipulated its citizens' identities. In the poem "Síntesis", MVM alludes to the changes in laws concerning Spain's autonomies and their language use under the Franco regime. He writes:

> …y en las aras de la marcha
> ascendente de la Historia sintetizaron
> la tesis del olimpo-lirio-ceniciento
> y la antítesis del verbalismo fraudulento
>
> para constituir la célula social fundamental
> de la comisión cívica democrático-
> matrimonial
> de la ambigua zona catalano-mikenico-balear. (104)

These restrictions, cultural, linguistic, and political, further marginalized those living in the Catalan, Basque, and Galician autonomies of Spain. As will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, the future historic nationalities, Galicia, Basque Country, and Cataluña, suffered

exponentially under the Franco regime because of their unique heritages, cultures, and languages.

Finally, in "Ulises" MVM captures the actions, both valiant and mundane, of a man who fought against Franco's forces during and after the war. The *maquis* were punished by the regime after being captured, and "Ulises" highlights the trauma one faced at the hands of the dictatorial regime. He writes:

> El cuerpo de ella se hizo tierra
> en mil novecientos cuarenta y seis
>
> antes él hizo la guerra, perdió la guerra,
> huyó por las montañas
> después la cárcel
>
> volvió al Vallés y se hizo amigo
> de un teósofo libertario y de un abogado
> retirado y viejo que le escribe con frecuencia
> muchos, muchísimos ánimos
>
> de vez en cuando hace gimnasia en el patio,
> resuelve complicados problemas de aritmética,
> nos habla de violentos safaris de tomillo
> y romero, del agua clara junto al camino… (110)

This poem highlights not only the loss of the war, but also the many traumas that followed for those who had opposed Franco. After the war, MVM directs the reader to the loss of the home when escape to the mountains was required. This causes an absence in the family, and the death noted in the poem's first lines could have been brought about by said absence. Upon being apprehended by the authorities, there was a loss of freedom through incarceration. The documentation of the trauma of incarceration, with which MVM had first hand experience, is critical because it supports Castelett's theory on the autobiographical nature of MVM's work and Caruth's theory on trauma as stated earlier in this chapter. MVM's poetry demonstrates that trauma is continuous and total. When freedom was finally awarded again, MVM focuses on the quotidian activities of an older man stuck in the cycle of repetition, or perhaps, a "compulsive ritual" in the Spanish "state of exception". The poem continues:

> o nos increpa por el turbio asunto-nada claro-
> del boicot a las comunidades del Bajo Aragón
>
> -hoy se lo han dicho-
> le han condenado a cinco años
> y ya no caben más canas de sus cabellos blancos
>
> después ha hecho gimnasia
> ha resuelto algún problema de aritmética
> ha contemplado el vuelo de unos pájaros
> hacia el oeste

ha sido entonces

ha sonado la trompeta y se ha echado a llorar. (110)

After relaying various activities such as solving a math problem or exercising, MVM introduces a boycott taking place in Aragon. Immediately after there is a condemnation of five years in prison for an aged man whose hair is already quite white. With the trumpet sounding, the man begins to weep, and the poem concludes. This case, not particularly uncommon under Franco, demonstrates the traumatic experiences that not only occurred during the war, but also what terrors came after as well.

The final and third section of the poetic text *Una educación sentimental* is "Ars amandi". While the previous sections contained a grouping of independent poems, each with their own title, this section holds an extended poem of eighteen parts, connected through various themes all interacting in the background of a story of two young lovers. Castellet has commented on this final section stating, "[e]n efecto, desde la tercera parte de la obra de *Una educación sentimental (Ars Amandi)*, hasta *A la sombra de las muchachas sin flor*, pasando por los poemas amorosos de *Movimientos sin éxito*, su poesía tiene como tema recurrente la relación erótica" (55). While this section contains many of the same foci such as flowers, inequality, an angst towards consumerism, pop culture and anti-Franco sentiment, it presents them in a new format while incorporating trauma. In particular, Parts II, VII, VIII, and XIII of "Ars amandi" also make specific references to trauma that occurred in the aftermath of the Civil War. For instance, part II focuses heavily on cemeteries and darkness to highlight the continuity of trauma of loss in post-war Spain. He writes:

Nocturnas aves ciegas, muere

algún jarrón con rosas de crespón,
subes por el grito y desciendo
al cementerio de tus ojos cerrados,
marfiles diluidos, nenúfares
borrachos de río antiguo, subes
por el grito y desciendo muerto
en un burbuja de vino destilado,
abiertas torres y una ánfora romana,
oleajes de aceite contra el acantilado,
prohibido el mundo, prohibida la noche,
subes por el grito y desciendo
al cementerio de tus ojos cerrados

los abres, cuelgas la risa del aire
y quedas como un Watteau perdido
mitad souvenir hectacrom
mitad pecado.

In Part II, Spain is converted into one large cemetery where the cries of mourners shatter the silence of those lost. Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago have shed further light on this topic in their book *Unearthing Franco's Legacy*. They conclude:

> Owing to the conspiracy of silence imposed by the Franco regime and perpetuated even after his death, the whereabouts of the tens of thousands of the General's victims were seldom discussed in private or in public, even though their resting

> places were known by neighboring residents. As is often the case with authoritarian governments, the silence that followed what happened during and after the Spanish Civil War was due mainly to the fear inflicted on the populace by the prevailing ideology. (1-2)

This silence is depicted at the end of the excerpt from Part II when MVM references the image of a cheap smiling souvenir. Like the inanimate object, MVM presents the Spanish people participants in Spain's "state of exception" who maintain their silence and pretend the travesties committed by the regime never occurred. The blind birds noted in the first line of the poem further support this point. The Spanish people, like the souvenir and blind birds, see nothing and say the same in Spain's "state of exception".

Furthermore, in part VIII MVM discusses how life under Franco allows for continued traumatization of a vanquished people. He offers:

> hay
>
> una universal campaña
>
> de desinfección, patógeno el aire
>
> y los recuerdos, la fidelidad,
>
> las creencias, el roce,
>
> la conciencia
>
> y si alguien ha muerto canta
>
> el jukebox universal un regüeldo
>
> universal
>
> no, no, no, hay hechizos
>
> ni sonrisas, ni mármol, sólo

semanas

sin domingos y cantos, despedidos

a la orilla de aluminio…(118-9)

The campaign meant to cleanse Spain is the well-investigated mass murdering, either through work camps or government sanction assassinations, of those who opposed Franco during and after the Civil War. Francisco Ferrándiz attempts to quantify the devastation in his article, "Exhuming the Defeated: Civil War Mass Graves in 21st-Century Spain". He argues,

> "[c]ontemporary historiography places the numbers of those killed by the Republican rear guard at 55,000; as many as 150,000 may have died at the hands of the rebellious, or Nationalist, army rear guard- including an estimated 20 thousand who were executed after the war. These figures do not include those who died in prisons and concentration camps during and after the conflict or reflect the grossly unreported violence against women and children" (40).

The final part that will be discussed in this section, part XIII, also presents the trauma of loss as a result of the Civil War. It comments on the lingering effects of the trauma while a conflicted Spanish people are ordered to forget about what they lost despite the fact they are constantly haunted by the ghosts of the past in a "state of exception". He writes:

…ya

estaba dicho aquello de la pasión

inútil

el hombre, la vida, la muerte, la libertad

luego

los rótulos sobre jarritos de loza,
tréboles azules y San Antonio, ungüentos,
las condiciones subjetivas, las objetivas,
las relaciones de producción, las culatas
cuartearon las sienes de Rosa Luxemburgo,
la hierba luisa, el boldo, la manzanilla,
una cosa es la contradicción de primer plano,
otra cosa es la contradicción fundamental
amanece
lentamente, a veces es un presagio
detenido
el mudo dialogo del creer y el hacer, insuficiente
la sombra que respalda, inmenso el mar
cuando llega algún barco de nombre extranjero,
brillantes las bocas de los nichos
adormecen
burlonas siemprevivas, pensamientos, nomeolvides… (122-3)

Perhaps the most interesting occurrences are the calls coming from the fallen pleading not be forgotten. While their wishes were administered to, others were burdened severely by the trauma of their loss. The poem continues:

ten, ten la pequeña memoria de una vida
porque algún frío ha vencido esa rendija
oculta

por donde se queja Leo Ferre

si tu t'en vas,

si tu t'en vas, un jour, tu m'oublieras. (122-3)

As traumatized individuals in the Spanish "state of exception", they could not control the flashbacks that resulted from their experiences. Although they may have wanted to forget about their losses, as Caruth argues, it is simply an impossibility.

Section III: Pop culture: Fueling the Fantasy of Consumerism

As the poet has explained in his own words, participation in life was always second to the documenting of societal and cultural occurrences. As his symptoms of trauma were both incited and soothed by his literary endeavors, and because, as stated by Cathy Caruth, trauma can never be eliminated, the poet was driven to continue the "compulsive ritual" of recall through his writings. Castellet discused this idea as well. He claims that MVM "sabe que la poesía es su reducto personal, su habitación propia, y sólo caben en ella sus sentimientos, sus vivencias, sus amores o sueños, junto con sus desencantos, sus fantasmas personales o algunos atisbos lejanos de felicidad" (53). In the upcoming poems, collected from all three sections of *Una educación sentimental*, MVM strives to recall the historical trauma hidden by a rabid consumerism stoked in fantasy. Before highlighting what he believed was a dangerous fantasy in consumerism, MVM wrote about the situation that preceded the "años de desarrollo" in the poems "Arguelles", "El hombre que sabía demasiado", and parts I and IV of "Ars amandi".

The second section of *Una educación sentimental*, entitled "Una educación sentimental" contains many other examples of MVM's attempt to discuss the trauma caused by the

inequalities established by capitalism in a consumer society. Although Castellet has mentioned that what he calls "herida" is present throughout the work, what little analysis this section has received focuses more on the aspect of innocence. Florence Estrade suggests that, "Una educación sentimental" se compone de 13 poemas que abordan el tema de la inocencia durante la adolescencia… y la formación sentimental del poeta" (61). While these two themes are present and significant in this section, more analysis is required to see how MVM characterizes life in Spain's "state of exception" prior to the "años de desarrollo".

The anger he felt concerning the trauma of class inequality is evident in the second poem of the section "Una educación sentimental" entitled "Argüelles". He begins the poem by writing:

> Sin nadie a quien darle
> algo, sin nada que darle
> la Moncloa puede oler
> a mar sucio estancado, al frío
> atardecer del otoño… (90)

The desperation and absurdity of conditions in Spain are clear in these opening lines. Later, he notes the futility of life for the poor in Spain. He writes, "trabajar pa los ricos, seguir / de pobres / ésta es España…" (91). His use here of the word "pa" instead of para, exemplifies his rebellion against the regime. The message expressed concerning the lack of equality between classes, along with this form of speech, clearly places MVM with the working class people instead of with those that have power and resources. MVM drives home the point that in the years leading up to the "años de desarrollo", only the rich gained more wealth while the poor found themselves in an ever-worsening situation. Furthermore, the poems "El hombre que sabía

demasiado" and parts I and IV of "Ars amandi" also offer examples of the utter poverty in 1950s Spain.

In the poem "El hombre que sabía demasiado", MVM continues lamenting the existence of inequality and the stagnation it has created for many in Spain. After introducing arithmetic and reason as central focuses of the poem, MVM demonstrates how they are manipulated to create even greater divisions between the social classes, which will be further exacerbated by consumerism in the 1960s. He writes:

> desórdenes misteriosos de una conciencia
> enfrentada a la perversión de los estímulos
> de la sociedad clasista dominada por financieras
> oligarquías
> objetivamente condicionadas por
> la tendencia a la concentración correspondiente
> a la etapa fatalmente agónica del capitalismo. (101-2)

Here MVM includes his clear and utter disdain for an economic system that allows for a few to prosper economically from the misery of the masses. In discussing the oligarchy, he makes it clear that social mobility has slowed to a crawl in Spain's "state of exception". This has been discussed by Erik Sweyngedouw in his study of the history of hydro-related technology in Spain under the Franco regime. He claims:

> The socio-economic and religious alliances that Franco forged generated a maze of power relations that supported the regime and secured its longevity. After his victory, Franco eliminated through execution, imprisonment or exile the most activist parts of the oppositional movements, while securing the loyalty of many

> royalist, nationalist, the church hierarchy, the military and significant parts of the national industrial bourgeoisie. The Falange became the only legal political party and the conduit for Franco's political support. The strong state-economy linkages would cement a corporatist state structure that could count on an endogenous capitalist sector, whose success and profit was closely tied up with the state's investment flows. (15)

Later, MVM ridicules those who take advantage of others through capitalism by sarcastically including a line from a math textbook. He poses, "'porque la suma de dos ideales tiene una sencilla / interpretación geométrica' (Álgebra Moderna-Birkhoff / y Maclane)" (102). As he continues the poem, he depicts the tragic diaspora that took place after Franco's victory. He states:

> y un mal día
> mal interpretadas sus palabras, tuvo que marchar
> a tierras lejanas con la muchacha aleccionada
> experta ya en dibujar coordinadas exponentes
> de la tristeza de los borrachos melancólicos
> porque
> la mala alimentación y falta de yodo suelen
> abocar al hombre en la melancolía
> y al marchase
> con el triste amor ahogado en la zozobra volvió
> el rostro como la mujer de Lot y
> contempló

la tierra que dejaba

y sus problemas eran el fiel reflejo de un país

subdesarrollado que todavía no hizo la revolución

liberal. (102)

This sharp attack leaves little doubt that MVM was completely disappointed by not only the setbacks Spain had faced, but also how they were responded to by the Franco regime. MVM was keenly aware of the large group of intellectuals that escaped Spain after the war. It was due to the trauma of this loss of the intelligentsia, along with the great loss of infrastructure, both during the war and the years following, which caused Spain to be underdeveloped in the eyes of the poet.

In the poem, the "man who knew too much" recognizes that his country is underdeveloped and elects to abandon it. Finally, by signaling that a lack of a liberal revolution would leave Spain backward during his time, and with little hope for the immediate future, he solidifies his position against the regime. His condemnation of social inequality, brought on by the lack of economic growth in the 1950s, is prevalent in the third section of *Una Educación Sentiemental* entitled, "Ars amandi".

In part I of "Ars amandi", MVM reintroduces flowers and fruit into the verses, but his language towards them turns sinister. He writes:

Queda crepúsculo, rodajas

de cielo añil anaranjado, brisa

de otoño, destejo las persianas

no hay vecinos en los balcones,

y nos protege el patio con gatos

y cacharros, pieles de plátanos
deshabitados, mondas de naranja
brutalmente desnudas
en la esquina
mujeres solas, olor de pan dormido,
chocolate a la francesa, niñas
con faldas plisadas, medias
de algodón y blusas blancas
los lirios
agonizaban y seis días hace
en ese jarrón con cigüeñas y nubes
fragancia embalsamada en analgésico
han encendido
los primeros faroles, huele a invierno
el eczema de luz sobre el asfalto,
salen ahora de las puertas de los Bancos
pañuelitos de seda en el bolsillo, huelo
a masaje facial y a sudor de abdominales
en el Club Náutico… (113)

In these initial lines, the poet captures the traumatic plight of the lower class. In their houses they have junk, roaming cats, and discarded fruit. This "brutally naked" and "uninhabited skin" of the fruit injects harshness into the scene that is only compounded by the fall chill that "agonizes" the flowers. MVM also notes the particular material of the clothes between two

groups mentioned. The little girls have cotton stockings while the men leaving the banks have silk handkerchiefs. MVM awards several verses to these men that seemingly have ample resources in a place where many live in squalor. Their fine clothes, facials, and sweat, induced not by labor but rather physical exercise at their club, elevate them into another stratosphere of society. Once again, the subject of class inequality due to capitalism and the trauma it creates is addressed by MVM. The poet then returns to the flowers and their suffering. He writes:

no, no te han visto el rostro
anochecido, anochece y una voz infantil grita lejana
no vale ¿por qué parecen ateridos esos lirios
que veíamos arder en el verano? lentos
crepúsculos
y algo menos sabios cerrábamos
la puerta a doble llave… (113-4)

Here, it is not necessary to mention the people suffering explicitly because MVM discusses the flowers that are dying in the cold. By mentioning the acrimonious conditions in the first lines, followed by the cold in the later verses, MVM depicts a scene where desperation can drive people's actions. Like the flowers that lived during the summer, but which cannot sustain themselves in the winter, the suffering of Spaniards in the cold is meant to expose the inequalities sustained by consumerism in Spain's "state of exception".

Part IV of "Ars amandi" continues discussing the trauma of loss on various levels. It sets its vision on what could have been and what has ceased to be in Spain. In writing explicitly about what could be, MVM is implicitly declaring what is lacking. He writes:

Podrían ser azules las baldosas del lavabo,

algo corinto la alfombra, chimenea roja

y libros encuadernados, una foto

enorme de la Rambla

pero primero

habríamos hecho la revolución, del pueblo

las risas que partimos entre tú y yo

y en el verano

veríamos hundirse en Port Lligat aquel balandro

fantasma

de un viejo terrateniente exiliado. (115)

Several items mentioned in the excerpt require attention. First, he works on improving things on an aesthetic level as well as maintaining necessities. Modifications to the sink would make it look more appealing, and a new rug would also be appreciated. The photo of the Rambla is typical of something that MVM would have due to his deep connection with Barcelona. A new red chimney would enhance the presentation of the apartment as well as provide warmth and consistent ventilation. These changes are all driven into the minds of Spaniards through the fantasy inherent in consumerism. MVM highlights the constant need for the best and the brightest trinkets because of consumerism's persistent and antagonizing nature. Also, by mentioning the sunken boat and exiled landlord, possible only after the cited "revolución", MVM, once again, casts negative light on the upper class. While the lower class cannot achieve the most basic of improvements, the upper class is still able to maintain its excessive tastes through the exploitation of consumerism. The following poems will show MVM's transition from the 1950s to the 1960s, where pop culture and consumerism create a fantasy in the hopes of

masking the lack of freedom in Spain under the Franco regime. These poems include: “Conchita Piquer”, “Jamboree”, and parts IX, XI, and XVI from “Ars amandi”.

In the poem “Conchita Piquer” MVM introduces the United States of America as an unwelcomed guest that will, in his opinion, only worsen the conditions in Spain’s “state of exception”. In addition, MVM assimilates the trauma of death and loss into a dedication to the famous singer. Within the first lines MVM discusses Glenn Miller by introducing his song into the background of the poem. He writes:

y luego

Glenn Miller, recientemente fallecido en la guerra
mundial, llenaba de olor a mil novecientos cuarenta
y cinco con brisas de fox trot o el lánguido… (76)

By employing the death of a single person along with the intangible loss of World War II, MVM contrasts the joy of many social practices such as music and dancing with a country and world plagued with violence. Francie Cate-Arries discusses the multifaceted approach the poet takes in this poem. She suggests that “[t]he overall effectiveness of ‘Conchita Piquer’ rests primarily on its structure. A powerful dynamism is achieved through the fluid oscillation between two levels established in the poem: that of the concrete reality of the average Spaniard in 1945, and the more abstract, illusory one created through the media” (22). MVM ironically discusses the possibility of returning to normalcy with a reference to media again, this time involving Eleanor Roosevelt. He writes:

porque eran

las diez de la noche en el reloj de la Puerta
del sol-Radio Nacional de España-Madrid

Eleonora Roosevelt hacia de las suyas: colectas
con el fementido político, algunas noches pederasta
fulano de tal, profeta de una próxima vuelta
de la normalidad
a España naturalmente… (77-78)

In these excerpts, MVM discusses the intrusion of the United States into Spain. He mentions not only the clock tower in Puerta del Sol, but he advances even further by specifying its location in Madrid. Therefore, he goes great lengths to place this encroachment in the very heart of a city, which happens to be Spain's capital. This poem is a reminder to all that the presence of the United States, although unwelcomed, is everywhere in a globalized world dominated by consumerism. Not even a Spanish celebrity can be discussed without American pop culture figures storming in. Furthermore, MVM notes that while Spaniards now have more access to pop culture in the 1960s, it is merely a fantasy of freedom Spain's "state of exception".

His appreciation for the poor and mistreated is also evident in the poem "Jamboree" through pop culture references. Once again, MVM discusses the American invasion of Spain via pop culture. In "Jamboree" MVM discusses the plight of an African American both within her own country and in Spain. He begins by depicting a scene at a jazz club. He writes:

La muchacha era negra y cantaba
una experiencia agridulce, metálica
de micrófono, metálico el hielo usado
en la penumbra del vaso opaco… (93)

By specifying that the singer is of African descent, MVM subtly draws attention to a subaltern figure, and thus related her to the marginalized people within his own country. Later he adds:

y nadie

intentaba decir a los de la Navy: yankee

go home, porque los yanquis-tal vez

exiliados de algún Harlem blanco- escalaban

el estrado en un salto de tragamillas

o de puntero de rugby en el partido cumbre

para recuperar el jazz amable

en el piano de aquel pianista poeta

sabio como un soltero sin compromisos… (93)

The use of music to facilitate the transition for social and cultural issues is prevalent his first poetic work. In *Crónica sentimental de España*, the poet adds his personal reflections about the music entering Spain from abroad. He states, "entre 1955 y 1960 hay competencia para apoderarse del mercado nacional del disco. Los más pujantes de las subastas eran los italianos y los americanos" (141).

In part IX of the section "Ars amandi", MVM offers one of the strongest examples of his stance against consumerism. Here he elects not to go to Tiffany's because of the utter fantasy it represents. While toying with references to the story and film, *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, MVM injects a litany of pop culture references with the intent to condemn the store, capitalism, and the consumerism it encourages. He begins the poem with a complete rejection. He writes:

Nunca desayunaré en Tiffany

ese licor fresa en ese vaso

Modigliani como tu garganta

nunca

aunque sepa los caminos

llegaré

a ese lugar del que nunca quiera

regresar… (119)

By repudiating this place, MVM denies himself all of the pleasures that it offers through the fantasy in which it is engulfed. He acknowledges the American arrogance, pomp, and glamour it advertises as something that one would never want to lose once they obtain it. This fixation would lead to the sacrifice of others, and having witnessed the suffering of the lower and middle classes in Spain, MVM could not justify the brazen selfishness that neither American life nor Tiffany's requires. He continues rebuffing Tiffany's up to the end of the poem. He states:

y quizá todo sea mejor así, esperado

porque al llegar no puedes volver

a Ítaca, lejana y sola, ya no tan sola,

ya paisaje que habitas y usurpas

nunca,

nunca quiero desayunar en Tiffany, nunca

quiero llegar a Ítaca aunque sepa los caminos

lejana y sola. (119-20)

MVM simply could not stomach the possibility of becoming similar to one of the previously mentioned landlords that would have been exiled if the revolution ever took place. He recognized the resources that Tiffany's would require, and because he observed and lived the

traumas of a society that took advantage of its own people for personal benefit through consumerism, he steadfastly avoided the slightest chance of elevating himself into one of those positions of corrupt power.

In accordance with his rejecting violence and abuses of power in part IX, he once again condemns them in part XI. While noting alluring parts of American culture, such as music, that had penetrated Spain, MVM works to illustrate the darker side of those spectacles. He begins:

Rodajas de limón

zumos de sol, cálido
verano, se digieren
algas
lentas como ahogadas, ya
aprendimos el lenguaje
del jukebox, del amor
fox y sobre todo trot, lento
vivo… (120)

His initial comments towards the United States appear to be that of a gracious person. His references to the dancing and music hint at a possible enjoyment at having observed and perhaps even participated in them himself. In the last line of the next excerpt however, MVM will remind the reader of the great cost these invasions have had on the Spanish people and culture.

adagio corazón
caballo
loco, triste se desploma el cuerpo

como en un poema sentimental

o de los otros

¿qué importa ya

el lento rodar de las naranjas

los senos, los obuses, la bomba

las cabezas

si canta Paul Anka

la antigua historia del Young Alone?

también lo fuimos…(120-1)

The trauma he observed in his country is personalized here, and he expresses the pain felt by himself and his community. Through the inclusion of pop culture, he introduces the idea that a celebrated act in the United States is being used to mask the traumatic experiences of people in Spain through fantasy. He notes here how the Spanish people participated in consumerism as a fantastic escape from the trauma they experienced in Spain's "state of exception". Instead of working to understand the past of the Spanish state, and thus improve it, they elected to live the fantasy, which was considerably easier than facing reality. He writes:

y tal vez por eso

Madre Coraje lleve bikini, cante

espuma sobre el ski acuático

frente a la amenazadora verga

de fabriles chimeneas y cañones

bajo el útero atómico de un B-27

preferible que nos despierten

las sirenas

preferible que húmedamente nos ahoguemos. (121)

In the concluding lines of the poem, MVM makes it clear that like Tiffany's, the benefits of the fantasy do not outweigh the great cost of unadulterated consumerism and militarism. He opts to be ended instead of willingly accepting one aspect of the United States while turning a blind eye to the other. This poem demonstrates the continuation of MVM's "compulsive ritual" that forces him to face the historical traumas of the Spanish state rather than buying into the fantasy of consumerism.

In part XVI of the section, MVM personifies pain by demonstrating the many traumas that had to be faced on a daily basis in a society of consumerism. Here, a vicious cycle keeps him, and other marginalized Spaniards, in a stage of stasis. He states:

Tiene cara el dolor y apellidos

como tiene Tiro escuadras

y cementerios marinos para averías

del oscuro ciclo de la oferta

y la demanda,

del tiempo de lucrar y el tiempo de matar

y el tiempo de amar

hay que ocultarlo a la verdad, a la mentira,

al oscuro ciclo del progreso

y del regreso

porque en amor el que dice sí y el que no

ha deshabitado los jardines y las cloacas

nieva

niebla de un cielo que no existe

y traiciona. (125)

Here, he speaks of a time to kill in the same breath as a time to love. In Spain's "state of exception" these two acts go hand in hand and thus introduce trauma into something that once brought joy and comfort. In this existence, MVM writes of the need of bastardizing the truth through fantasy in order to survive day to day. It is an existence, however, that leads nowhere because any progress is met with the return to the place of conception once again: a Spanish "state of exception". He terminates the poem with an attack on religion by stating that snow and fog comes from a heaven that does not really exists but is merely a betrayal of hope and a fatalistic fantasy. MVM knew this futile and unfulfilling existence sown in consumerism would do nothing to confront the continuation of historical traumas in Spain.

The final poem of the work, part XVIII, brings closure to the thoughts of MVM and acts as a solidifying force for the ideas expressed throughout the last section. Speaking once again of the destruction of his city, the fantasy hidden in consumerism, and the true desolate existence Spaniards have been left with, MVM explores the commencement and end of Spain's historic trauma. He writes:

Duérmete corazón prohibido, duérmete

antes de la hora fronteriza de las doce
en que vuelvas a casa sin haber sido
princesa de cuento, amante de novela,
ni feliz

la ciudad nos olvida, la tripa
oscura del cielo cuelga sobre el estanque
a la deriva
barcos de papel y cáscaras de almendra
mendigos
en los bancos y burgueses con náusea… (126)

Various references are made in this poem that establish a connection with earlier poems throughout the entire work, and especially in the third section "Ars amandi". The poem begins with an order telling "un corazón" to sleep and feel no more, in order for it to escape the trauma once and for all. He talks of the disappointments that ravage each day. He obscures the fantasies offered through pop culture such as being a princess, a lover, or even truly content. These dreams are not achievable in a "state of exception" that has forsaken, and later forgotten, its citizens. The poem continues:

domando Jaguars
en las esquinas, domando
treinta sexos oscuros
como treinta monedas taladradas
los serenos

protegen el regreso de Ulises a casa, los niños

han compuesto la estúpida sonrisa de su ensueño

y en las aceras mataremos despacio el miedo

a llegar tarde

al algún lugar del que nunca

nadie haya querido regresar

duérmete lejana

duérmete, demasiado cobardes para morir

al último acorde del toque de silencio, cierra

los ojos para vivir, cierra

los ojos para matar. (126-7)

MVM talks of the litter on the street being run over by expensive imported cars. He also returns to part IX of the section when he references going to a place that one would never choose to return from. He once again states that he has no desire to go there but knows the inevitability of being forced to comply against one's will in Spain's "state of exception". He also criticizes the silence that permeates his country. No one can condemn Franco without being imprisoned or killed, something MVM knew from traumatic first hand experience. This cowardice silence, he argues, lets some go on living the fantasy while their inaction is inherently part of the traumatization of others as they participate in consumerism, which leads to a miserable existence or death.

Conclusion

In summation, through his poetry MVM delivered his evaluation of the Spanish "state of exception" after the Civil War. In the process of writing, MVM was able to approximate more fully, although never completely, the traumatic experience and loss Spaniards were subjected to on a daily basis. In addition to the trauma that resulted immediately after the Spanish Civil War, MVM discussed how Spaniards were caught in an unending loop of subjugation through subscribing to the fantasy inherent in consumerism. Consumerism ran rabid in Spanish society after the Spanish economy opened to capitalism in the 1950s and witnessed immense growth in the 1960s or the "años de desarrollo". In addition to the entrance of the United States' military industrial complex, many international conglomerates boosted the Spanish economy, and with them, an explosion of pop culture followed. With his poetry, MVM signaled how ignoring historical trauma and buying into fantasy resulted the loss of Spain's past, the selling of its present, and the compromise of its future.

Chapter 3

Leopoldo María Panero: Dark Thoughts and "Docile Bodies"

Mi poesía crucifica a la vida. Mi poesía les enseña lo mal que está la vida.

Leopoldo María Panero

Leopoldo María Panero (1948-2014) has been one of the most outspoken members of Josep M. Castellet's *los novísimos*, and his dramatic lifestyle and mental issues have figured considerably in his poetry. As has been noted with his poetic generation, the use of pop culture, collage, automatic writing, a lack of preoccupation with traditional forms associated with poetry, and the artificial have a prominent position in his poems (Castellet 41-3). Although Panero appears in Castellet's anthology *Nueve novísimos poetas españoles*, besides Tuá Blesa's work *Poesía completa: 1970-2000* (2001), Panero's poetry has received little critical focus. *Poesía completa* is a collection of all of Panero's poetic endeavors up to the year 2000, and contains an introductory chapter of analysis on Panero's poetry by Blesa. Panero's list of poetic works includes: *Así se fundó Carnaby Street* (1970), *Teoría* (1973), *Narciso en el acorde último de las flautas* (1979), *Last river together* (1980), El que no ve (1980), *Dioscuros* (1982), *El úlitmo hombre* (1984), *Poesía: 1970-1985* (1986), *Contra España y otros poemas no de amor* (1990), *Agujero llamado nevermore* (1992), *Poemas del manicomio de Mondragón* (1999), *Suplicio en la cruz de la boca* (2000), *Teoría de miedo* (2000), *Poesía completa: 1970-2000* (2001), *Águila contra el hombre: Poemas para un suicidamiento* (2001), *Esquizofrénicos o la balada de la lámpara azul* (2004), and *Danza de la muerte* (2004).

Because of his history of having a fragile mental state, Panero's work has often been overshadowed by his personality. In commenting on the poet, Túa Blesa notes that his life "…es la experiencia de los límites y el resultado de lo uno y de lo otro un extenso y variopinto anecdotario de incidentes, que incluye detenciones, cárcel, intentos de suicidio, excesos diversos, etc." (8-9). Furthermore, the fact that he was not heterosexual, a "crime" that would result in

imprisonment in Spain's "state of exception", pushed him deeper into the periphery of Spanish society. This was further complicated by the attention he and his family received due to the fact that his father, Leopoldo Panero, was a famous poet who outspokenly supported the Franco regime until his death in 1962. It was also his family that initially had him interned in a mental health facility.

Frederico Utrera has commented on Panero's sufferings at the hands of several doctors and their medical treatment of his mental conditions as well as his homosexuality. He declares:

> Y ya no solo por el profesor Arasa, divulgador de las teorías y prejuicios de su tiempo, sino por las prácticas que ponían en circulación los miembros de la comunidad científica internacional al atender y estudiar los numerosos casos de homosexualidad que caían en sus manos. Leopoldo María Panero debió sufrir mucho, no es ninguna conjetura ni exageración. Cualquier observador imparcial comprobará que los experimentos médicos llevados a cabo con absoluta normalidad en las carnes de los pacientes presuntamente gays eran muy parecidos a los que practicaban los nazi treinta años antes. (96-7)

This psychosis emanating from Panero can be indicative of his struggles to find his place in a Spanish society soldiering through a delicate transition following the end of Franco's nearly forty-year dominance over Spain. It is his erratic behavior and perspective that led him, in part, to attempt to wield the same power his own father exerted over his family, who faithfully followed his Caudillo's example. His sexual and psychotic peripheral view caused his to see his fellow Spaniards as "docile bodies".

By analyzing how Panero's psychosis prevented him from being what Michel Foucault terms a "docile body", which may be "subjected, used, transformed and improved", in Spain's

"state of exception", this chapter will discuss the unique viewpoint of a "docile" society suffering through the *desencanto* as portrayed by a homosexual psychotic poet (Foucault 136). More specifically, Panero's depiction of Spanish society, as seen through a homosexual and psychotic lens, will be analyzed in terms of how it manifests in a twofold manner: contempt for his fellow Spaniards and a self detrimental behavior and disposition, primarily through alcohol and drug abuse. Thus, this chapter will demonstrate how, in his works *The Last river together* (1980) and *El que no ve* (1980), Panero demonstrates the manner in which Spaniards, having been manipulated into being "docile bodies", would suffer two damning blows: the lack of freedom under the dictatorial regime and the inability to fully realize their newfound democratic freedom in the first years after Franco's death as a new consumerist society continued to mold them into docility. Essentially, Panero presents a more radical view of the transition, arguing that the *movida,* and later the *desencanto*, were merely illusions of the termination of Spain's "state of exception". Furthermore, while the blame for the stifled transition could be placed on the mechanisms left behind by the Franco regime or the lack of unity in political parties in Spain, Panero accuses the "docile bodies" of the Spanish populace whose democratic zeal ignited the *móvida*, but failed to see an end to the *transición*. This chapter will first work to illustrate how the Franco regime created a population of "docile bodies", and then it will discuss how, according to Panero, these "docile bodies" impeded the transition to democracy following Franco's death by allowing the continuation of the Spanish "state of exception".

Section I: Hurdles of the Transition

Recent texts have begun to document Spain's turbulent transition to democracy. Unlike previous studies, they do not celebrate the transition following Franco's death as a complete success. Josep M. Tamarit Sumalla has supported this conclusion. He writes:

> In contrast to what was the prevailing view both inside and outside the country, which saw the Spanish transition as a model example of a peaceful and successful transitional process, several monographs by Spanish authors have analyzed the transition and have recently questioned this assumption from a number of different angles. (81)

It would appear then, that the transition to democracy in Spain was anything but seamless. After nearly forty years of living under an authoritarian dictatorship, most Spaniards, even if they did not fully support Franco, resigned themselves to suffer along while no other option was viable.

The Franco regime was able to achieve such an unbelievable feat through its authoritarian control over its population and its alliance with the Catholic Church. Through this partnership, Spaniards underwent a multifaceted training, beginning in the months following the start of the Civil War. Stanley Payne states "[t]he first formal depositing in recognition of the new regime's Catholicism came on September 4, when it was ordered that school textbooks in the Nationalist zone be revised in accordance with Catholic doctrine and that educational activities be segmented by sex" (198). With more than forty years of dominion over the Spanish people thanks to the blessing of the Franco regime, the Catholic Church would leave an indelible mark on Spanish society of the 20th century. Rafael Díaz-Salazar Martín further explains the Church's relationship with the Spanish state writing, "[l]a estrategia política del poder imperante consistió

en la utilización del aparato religioso para la socialización y la sumisión política. Por otra parte, la estrategia religiosa se basó en la utilización del poder político para la socialización religiosa" (71). This symbiotic relationship endured through the 1970s, when although there were rifts between the Church and the government, the peace was kept in order to maintain the docility of the Spanish population while stifling liberty in Spain's "state of exception". Cristina Moreiras Menor has commented on Spain's precarious position in the 1970s and 1980s with the ghost of Franco looming over the *transición*.

In her work, *Cultura herida: Literatura y cine en la España democrática*, she notes:

> …la transición de la dictadura a la democracia y la instauración de una democracia plana (1975 hasta el presente), como una experiencia que va desde una temprana exaltación (mediados de los setenta hasta comienzos de los ochenta), donde se produce la alegría de la novedad tanto como del desapego de un pasado doloroso y no deseado, hasta una completa desilusión al enfrentarse a la evidencia de que la democracia no sólo ha traído la libertad, sino también un afecto herido cuyo origen se encuentra en la incertidumbre que la propia democracia trae consigo… (15)

The binding of the Catholic Church to Spain's education system was so strong that it became the law of the land. Payne explains stating the "…Law of Primary Education went even further to bring every aspect of elementary education in line with Church doctrine" (366). It is here that the political and spiritual anointing of Franco reaches the pinnacle of its importance. On the two most influential fronts, Franco is put in the position of instructor, or perhaps more suitable, the "father" of the Spanish society, who enjoys the blessing of Holy Mother Church.

Said elevation of Franco is epitomized grotesquely through his tomb in the *Valle de los Caídos*, meant to immortalize his life and legacy while positioning himself alongside Christ.

This action is concurrent with the creation of "docile bodies" in the Spanish "state of exception". According to Foucault, "[t]his carefully measured combination of forces requires a precise system of command. All the activity of the disciplined individual must be punctuated and sustained by injunctions whose efficacy rest on brevity and clarity; the order does not need to be explained or formulated; it must trigger off the required behavior…" (166). Because every societal and religious cue noted Franco's appointment, by force and through God's will, the "state of exception" enjoyed a society mostly compiled of individuals anticipating and reacting to signs delivered from on high. Those who could not or would not be conditioned to behave in such a way were stricken from Franco's society so that the machine would not be corroded by their noncompliance. In fact, his tactics with his own citizens even drew criticism from the Nazi regime. Julius Ruiz notes:

> It even appears that no less a figure than Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler, on a visit to Spain in October 1940, was shocked by the scale of the repression and advised that Franco would be better served incorporating workers rather than punishing them. Yet the Spanish dictator was not interested in Nazi dreams of a Volksgemeinschaft. Rather, he was determined to punish Republicans for resistance during the Civil War. Reconciliation was out of question; as Franco declared in his first postwar New Year speech after the Civil War, punishment was justified… (172)

The Franco regime strived to create a society of coercion in which his will could be carried out without question. In fact, his efforts were so successful that eventually he created a

self-monitoring, or panoptical society, as Foucault would call it. This idea has also been supported by Paul Ilie. He has written that under the Franco regime, "[t]he totalitarian regimentation of Spanish life becomes unequivocal, the territorial borders are real, and an encirclement confines all men, whether they are under surveillance or technically free…all of Spain is a cell without walls" (Ilie 140). This system, with its collusion of the military and police apparatuses, allowed for very little to transpire without the authorities being made aware. The fact that martial law continued so long into Franco's time in power is damning in and of itself. Ruiz writes, "Franco's unconditional victory in the Civil War would see not the derogation but the extension of military justice to the remnants of Republican Spain. Martial law would remain in force until April 1948. Military tribunals were therefore the primary mechanism by which Republicans were punished in the period after March 1939" (172-3). Essentially, Franco continued fighting the Civil War even after his enemy had been utterly defeated by creating "docile bodies" in the repressive Spanish "state of exception".

The death toll in Spain was enormous during the war, and in the years following, even more Republicans and political dissidents would be assassinated, imprisoned, and or tortured. Ruiz offers various statistics from the regime and from investigators with more concrete data on the death toll during and after the war. He states "[t]here is a general consensus that throughout Spain around 100,000 executions had taken place by April 1939 as well as 50,000 after the end of the Civil War" (176). In addition to the explicit violence experienced in Spain under the Franco regime, there was also implicit violence in the form of denying rights to citizens. This was especially true when it came to the incarceration of citizens even in cases of little of no evidence against them. Payne notes:

> By the spring of 1940 there were still more than a quarter-million prisoners in Spanish jails. On May 8 the director general of prisons sent a special report to Franco pointing out that only 103,000 of them were serving confirmed sentences. The military court system proceeded rather slowly and the year after the fighting had ended produced only 40,000 confirmed convictions. In addition to the latter group, another 9,000 had received death sentences. (226)

The floccinaucinihilipilification of its citizens by the Spanish "state of exception can be easily ascertained by the manner in which it treated its supposed enemies. Moreover, undervaluing its labor force in the 1940s and 1950s further demonstrated how misguided the regime was even in the eyes of other oppressive governments.

For instance, in the 1960s, there was an economic boom facilitated by Spaniards while they themselves were used as fodder in the combustion. Pablo Martín Aceña and Elena Martínez Ruiz discuss the role of industry in Spain's economic spurts of that decade. They declare, "[c]hanges affected every sector, but they were especially intense in the industrial one, which grew at an average rate of 9 per cent. Thus industry became the true epicenter of modernization" (31). This industrialization would require a workforce of "docile bodies" that could easily be maneuvered to comply with both the will of the companies and the government's as well.

Industrialization worked to change the rural and urban landscape in Spain. Aceña and Ruiz comment further that "[t]he rural exodus not only provided industry with cheap manpower, but it also permitted an increase in productivity in the countryside and the advance of agricultural mechanization, which broke down and eventually eliminated the traditional agricultural system" (31-2). Antonio Cazorla-Sánchez has also noted this change. He writes, "Spanish society changed vastly under Francoism: far more than the regime that ruled it. The mostly agricultural

economy of the early 1940s had given way by the early 1970s to one in which the secondary and tertiary sectors were the pillars of the country's booming economy" (97). These changes did not lack ramifications however, and their sting could be felt in both the urban and rural communities.

Aceña and Ruiz document on how the rising economy affected the distribution of wealth within Spain. They propose:

> One of the most striking features of the Spanish developmental process is the interprovincial disparity of wealth, measured in per capita terms. In 1959 the main industrial areas of the Basque Country and Catalonia were at the top of the regional rank, followed by Madrid, the Balearic Islands, Cantabria, Navarre, Valencia, La Rioja, Asturias, and Aragón. All of these areas enjoyed standards of living above the national average, which for the first three cases (the Basque country, Catalonia, and Madrid) amounted to nearly 80 per cent of the European average income. At the other extreme, Andalusia, Castile, and Extremadura fell below 40 per cent of the Western European level. (41-2)

The so-called "cheap manpower" was an instrument for manipulation for the Spanish corporations and the government that regulated them.

It was even at work that the Spanish government maintained its firm control over its citizens. By not allowing the workers to unionize, the Spanish "state of exception" prevented the spread of discourse and unity among Spaniards. Aceña and Ruiz note:

> Labor relationships were exhaustively regulated. Non-official trade unions and the free association of workers were prohibited. The government intervened in the establishment of wages, salaries, and working conditions…Labor mobility was restricted and in general the labor market was plagued with rigidities that impeded

> its adaptation to changes in economic activity and to the modifications that were taking place in the economic environment during these years. (38)

This regulation did cause a certain amount of angst, and even unrest, for the workers. Knowing they were esteemed very little and not properly compensated for their labor, the workers sometimes discussed, and even rarely executed, a strike, which always resulted in failure and worked to push them further to docility. Cazorla-Sánchez has written about unrest in the Spanish workforce. He states:

> By 1961, the authorities were already aware of the deep discontent among workers in Asturias and how it 'could be used by the Communist Party to infiltrate them'. The following year, one the first great wave of strikes had been subdued; the governor analyzed what had happened. For him, the workers' discontent existed 'because they are ill-treated by the companies', which had suppressed bonuses, incentives and overtime pay, resulting 'in a considerable reduction of their income' at a time of high inflation. Furthermore, the official unions not only promised improvements that amounted to nothing but the labour situation actually deteriorated, while companies imposed fined on protesting workers. (112)

It is important to remember, as many historians and social commentators have signaled, that the economic growth seen in Spain during the 1960s was on the backs of mistreated workers. Aceña and Ruiz confirm this stating, "…this remarkable transformation in the standard of living occurred within a non-democratic framework in which political freedom and democratic trade union rights were denied, two features that overshadow the economic conquests of these years" (45). That is a particularly significant observation because the issue of unions

would be one that would continue to haunt Spaniards even after the death of Franco. However, because of Franco's looming ghost in the form of Spain's "docile bodies", the transition would be an arduous period filled with pitfalls and stagnation. The persistence of Spain's "state of exception" following Franco's death will be discussed in the upcoming sections.

Section II: The Specter of Franco in the "Docile Body"

Of all of the poems that Panero published in his works *The Last river together* (1980) and *El que no ve* (1980), a majority can be divided and placed into one of two sections: poems showing a contempt for humanity through a celebration of the grotesque and self detrimental behavior that often includes the abuse of drugs and or alcohol. Having a father who was a strict Falangist and a mother paralyzed by grief at the death of her husband, Panero often felt like an orphan despite having his own family. The Panero family was sharply divided, and very little attention was paid to "el loco". While the family accepted the Franco rhetoric and allowed themselves to become docile bodies, Leopoldo María rebelled with all of his faculties against it. This often caused him to act out as a child, and later as an adult, something the family referred to as his eccentricities.

The topics of Panero's poetic works vary from the melancholy of amorous misadventures and drug or alcohol fueled rants to insightful observations on his society and culture. The titles of several of his works illuminate the disdain, to put it lightly, he felt towards various entities, such as the Catholic Church and the Spanish government. One clear example of this would be his poetic work, *Contra España y otros poemas de no amor.* His critiques of the Spanish "state of exception" have consistently been quite severe, and his support of the group ETA is one clear

example. He writes, "[y]o soy un gran defensor de la lucha de ETA. Los de ETA son los hombres más valientes y honorables de toda España. Los de ETA no son asesinos. Los asesinos son los otros. Los de ETA son ateos y por eso están más cerca de la verdad" (Rodríguez). Furthermore, Panero has had some very strong words for the Catholic Church. He has been quoted saying, "[y]o te diré que me cago en la Virgen y en Dios" (Rodríguez). In addition, many of his other poetic works focus on his internment in several different mental hospitals. Examples of his works that adamantly criticize them are *Poemas del manicomio de Mondragón* (1999), *Teoría del miedo* (2000), and *Esquizofrénicas o la balada de la lámpara azul* (2004). It is clear that with more time spent in these institutions Panero had much more fodder, whether his claims were true or results of his mental decline, for his critique of their care and practices.

The current section of this chapter, which studies Panero's documentation of the devaluation of his fellow Spaniards and humanity in general in his work *The Last river together* (1980) and *El que no ve* (1980), works to illustrate how the nefarious practices in Spain's "state of exception" continued to cause cultural and political problems through the democratic period. By creating a population of "docile bodies", the regime worked to maintain a cheap citizen workforce in the hopes of bettering Spain's battered economy. This pre-transition mentality, bolstered by the violence of the Franco regime towards its true and perceived enemies, played on Panero's troubled psyche, and the resulting selection of poems highlight the violent past that most Spaniards, trained "docile bodies", were programed to ignore. This effort to forget was aided greatly by the *pacto del olvido*, which was established after Franco's death. This conscious act of forgetting was perhaps one of the greatest hurdles for the transition. Even more problematic was the incredible number of Spaniards who were in favor of it. Vilarós writes "[l]a política de reforma de aquellos años, ratificada en diciembre de 1976 en un referéndum político

que recogió el 94.2% de los votos emitidos, fue claramente una política de borradura, de no cuestionamiento del pasado" (9). Her stance on the results of the *pacto del olvido* however, can certainly be debated. She argues that the *pacto del olvido*:

> …surgió no como explicitación de una estrategia sociopolítica, sino como gesto a la vez visceral y necesario que, y aquí está una de las claves para entender el fascinante proceso español, permitió a la sociedad española pasar de una brutal dictadura lateralmente moderna y, por tanto, políticamente aislada y obsoleta, al circuito económico, cultural y político que caracteriza al paradigma posmoderno que nos ha tocado vivir. (16)

While she discusses how the *pacto del olvido* allowed Spain to move forward, she neglects to mention how it, among other economic, political and social factors, stifled the transition. The repression of the past only let wounds fester so that they could reemerge, unexpectedly and inopportunely, in the future as the Spanish "state of exception" endured.

In addition, the *pacto del olvido* also allowed for more continuity through the transition than most likely should have occurred. Arnold Hottinger has discussed the events that immediately followed Franco´s death. He writes, of Don Juan Carlos stating, "…like all his ministers and other officials, on taking office he had to swear an oath of allegiance to Spain's Fundamental Laws. These laws had been framed by Franco so as to ensure the continuity of the regime beyond his death – an aim clearly reflected in the provisions for the Council of the Realm enshrined in the Fundamental Laws" (443). Martinez-Alier and Roca have also commented on the issue of continuity with the old regime in the fledgling moments of the transition. They propose:

> Compared to the democratization of Western Germany, Italy, or Vichy France after 1945, or even Portugal after 1974, the political transition in Spain after Franco's death in 1975 shows a high degree of continuity. This continuity is symbolized by the figure of the King himself, whose appointment as successor by General Franco was sanctioned in the first instance by a fraudulent referendum in 1966. (56)

Essentially, the maintaining of Spain's "state of exception" instead of forging a new democracy following Franco's death prolonged the existence of a population of "docile bodies", which continued to be disengaged during the *movida* and throughout the *transición*. Samuel H. Barnes has commented on the precarious political situation following Franco's death. His comments support the idea that the *movida* was not only slow going, but also in part, feared by some Spaniards. He writes "[s]everal factors inhibit the growth of attachment to parties yet permit and even encourage the development of stable general orientations to politics. One of these is the nature of the Francoist dictatorship, which destroyed political parties, trade unions, and other associations but sought only halfheartedly to re-socialize the population" (696). While "docile bodies" were certainly less restricted without the control of a dictatorial leader, as shown by the unprecedented voter turnout in 1976 and 1977, they were also very careful about not being so radical as to create a state of unrest in which a military intervention would be needed. These are merely a few examples of the obstacles to democracy following Franco's death.

Many historians have commented on the hasty composition of the Spanish constitution, a critical document that would further inhibit the progress of the transition. Javier Tussell writes, "[t]he final text of the constitution was the result of an extremely laborious process that had had to deal with significant contradictions and no doubt had had a negative impact on the clarity and

even the grammatical accuracy of the final document" (297). Furthermore, the new leaders in the Spanish government also had to reconcile financial crisis that inhibited their ability to aid Spain's progress towards democracy. Tussell writes:

> The second Suárez government had to deal with numerous difficulties at the same time as embarking on drawing up the Constitution. There was now no alternative but to confront the economic crisis. Indeed, in the summer of 1977 the rate of inflation had reached almost Latin American levels (in the order of 50 percent per annum), unemployment had reached 6 percent, which had been unheard of in the past, and Spain went badly into debt. (294)

This economic issue would go on to deflate the *movida* and lead to a general *desencanto* among the Spanish people. S. Mangen has further expounded on the economic crises. He sheds light on the indicators of the crises that were masked by the Franco regime. He writes, "…the precise timing of his death, in 1975, when the full impact of the two oil crises was being appreciated throughout western Europe, forced attention on to the accumulating problems which the old regime had tried to conceal for fear of unleashing further social unrest" (54).

While the Spanish people favored democracy over a totalitarian regime, it would take the "docile bodies" several years to develop viable parties that were capable of representing the population. Omar G. Encarnación notes that "[b]y 1978, polls showed that 77 percent of Spaniards deemed democracy the best political system for their country; only 15 percent expressed a preference for an authoritarian regime" ("Spain after Franco" 37). The problem however, was that much of the newly created government apparatus was composed of the same components from the regime they were trying to extricate from their lives. This was to be

possible, in theory, by moving on from the past by means of forgetting what had happened in the last forty years.

As much of the foundation for the transition was concocted behind the scenes of the Franco regime, leaders were weary of demonstrations and celebrations by the people. Barnes comments that the "Spanish elites sought to protect the fragile democracy from possible intervention by the military and the Francoist bunker by eschewing demonstrations, rallies, and other instruments of mobilization during the early years of the transition. All the major parties exercised great caution throughout this period" (696). This would certainly account for the UCD having so much support in 1979, but considerably less in 1982. The UCD or the Unión de Centro Democrático was a political party, headed by newly appointed Adolfo Suárez, formed from a menagerie of somewhat similar minded organizations. Paul Preston explains that the "…UCD, under the leadership of Adolfo Suárez was kaleidoscopic, confusing and involved some seedy wheeling and dealing…UCD was the result, in broadest the terms, of an electoral alliance of five main groups, each in its turn composed of several others" (382). Perhaps it was this haphazard organization, given power in the fledgling moments of the transition, which had a negative effect on Spain's ability to move forward after Franco. Charles Powell has commented on the UCD saying, "[c]ontrary to what many had expected, the UCD, a party hastily assembled in early 1977 in an ad hoc fashion, was to remain in power until late 1982. This proved discouraging both to the left, which had made substantial sacrifices for the sake of a widely accepted constitution, and to the right, whose enthusiasm for the latter was initially lukewarm" (157). In giving up on many important ideals for the sake of the constitution, the "docile bodies" in Spain were forced to limp forward through the transition while Panero, in his psychosis, wanted so desperately to run.

Panero's contempt for the "docile bodies" will be made clear in the subsequent analysis of his poetry from *Last river together* (1980) and *El que no ve* (1980).

One of the first poems presented in *The Last river together* (1980), entitled "El lamento del vamprio" draws attention to the "docile bodies" that aided the continuity of the Spanish "state of exception" into the democratic period. The fact that Panero wrote this poem during the *desencanto* is also indicative of his lack of hope in the "docile bodies" that still surrounded him after Franco's death.

In his poem, "El lamento del vamprio", Panero toys with a solitary figure that roams the night looking for humans to feed on. In the presented perspective, there is no humanity for the vampire who is undead, nor for the receptacles of sustenance he seeks out. The poem begins:

> Vosotros, todos vosotros, toda
> esa carne que en la calle
> se apila, sois
> para mí alimento,
> todos esos ojos
> cubiertos de legañas, como de quien no acaba
> jamás despertar, como
> mirando sin ver o bien sólo por sed
> de la absurda sanción de otra mirada… (212)

Here, there are many remnants of the Franco machine visible through the eyes of the vampire. First, the bodies are nothing more than meat. They walk without identity or souls in the vampire's perception. This is not unlike the Franco regime's employment of cheap empty vessels in Spain's factories, working without any chance for finding new possibilities. The line

concerning the unseeing eyes is especially critical of the Spanish "state of exception". These lifeless eyes passing the vampire in the street are not aware of his presence, using them for sustenance, nor were they overtly aware of the presence of the regime, which through its manipulation and control of their lives, had done the same. The final verses of the poem note that only the vampire is aware of the situation. Panero writes:

…sois para mí alimento, y el espanto
profundo de tener como espejo
único esos ojos de vidrio, esa niebla
en que se cruzan los muertos, ese
es el precio que pago por mis alimentos. (212)

By seeing himself in the eyes of what he calls meat or food, which cannot see, the vampire in the poem is the only being that can evaluate himself and reflect. In the poem, the vampire is the only entity capable of knowing which of his actions are completed through his will or, as would be the case of the "docile body", through the will of an Other, which previously had been Franco. The people, lifeless and unseeing through their fogged eyes, are unaware of themselves and the world around them. In this poem, Panero employs the character of the vampire to express his own feelings and struggles. Panero laments, as does the vampire, the lack of life in a country that continues to have slow progress after being so hopeful for a new democratic future. He condemns what he sees is a lackluster approach to the future with a new democratic government whose ideals and practices are still wrought with Francoist ideology. Because his fellows citizens do not adequately act against these forces and participate fully in the creation of what he would claim is a truly democratic society, Panero, through the vampire, reduces the Spanish people to mere sustenance for a hungry predator. In seeking to exert his

influence over the "docile bodies", Panero assumes the role of predator, modeling after his own commanding father who followed the example of the Caudillo, the father of all "docile bodies" (Gabilondo).

Finally, the mention of a mirror is also significant. In the eyes of the vampire, the "docile bodies" are reflected exactly as they are while they drone through their existence. Eugenio García Fernández has commented on Panero's use of mirrors. He states, "[e]xiste entre él y su espejo, la poesía, una correlación íntima, casi obscena" (23). The obscenity created in this poem by reducing people to meat and elevating himself to a position of power is clear and collaborates García Fernández's conclusions.

Similar to "El lamento del vampire", "El día en que se acaba la canción" also depicts the failure of the transition in Panero's eyes. Once again, Panero's bleak outlook for the future surfaces in his poetry. He writes:

> Cuando el sentido, ese anciano que te hablaba
> en horas de soledad, se muere
> entonces
> miras a la mujer amada como a un viejo,
> y lloras.
> Y queda
> huérfano el poema, sin padre ni madre,
> y lo odias… (213)

In the first section of the poem, Panero discusses the process of writing, sometimes arduous with his condition, and injects hints of autobiographical information. He talks of losing control of his faculties and thus not being able to think nor write. He, like a poem with no author,

is an orphan. Something particularly interesting in the next section of the poem supports this idea, as it adds to his antics by introducing brutal imagery after depicting the loss of faculties in the first section. This portrayed brutality also further illustrates the low esteem Panero had for the "docile bodies" surrounding him in Spain. He writes:

> aborreces al hijo colgando
> como un hijo aborto entre las piernas, balanceándose allí
> como hilo que cuelga o telaraña,
> cuando el sentido muere,
> como un niño
> castrado por un ciego… (213-4)

The depiction of an aborted fetus and a castrated child are certainly horrific, and Panero caught in his psychosis, flings the images out as if to gauge a reaction or shock for his complacent compatriots. At this point, he engages with the "docile bodies" as a child would act out when his mother denies him a desired toy. It is clear here that he feels normal communication is not possible. In his altered mental state, he resorts to barbarisms that would only further isolate him. This is evident in some of the final verses of the poem. He laments:

> y las palabras
> son todas de antaño, y de otro país, y caen
> de la boca sin dientes como un líquido
> parecido a la bilis… (214)

These final lines, illustrating the agony of the inability to communicate, once again resort to the grotesque to convey their full message. Vomiting bile through a toothless mouth is Panero's reduction of the "docile body" of his fellow Spaniard serving as nothing more than a receptacle

of waste. Verses such as this one, along with many others that will be presented throughout this chapter, are the reason that Panero's poetry has been discussed for its vulgarity by scholars like Blesa.

Another poem highlighting solitary figures is "Himno de la espía". Here the spy is the representative of the panoptic state: an ever-watchful eye over Panero. This spy reminds Panero that he requires constant vigilance in order to protect himself and others. With this poem, Panero attempts to demonstrate that unlike the "docile bodies" that make up a significant portion of Spain's "state of exception", at least from his perspective, he will not be controlled. In fact, he uses the final lines of the poem to gain an identity by differentiating himself from his fellow Spaniards. He writes:

No hay nadie en el mundo, se diría
salvo la Espía.
¿Quién es la Espía?
Olana, se diría.
Posada en el techo hay una mosca
Olana allí me espía.
Miro al cielo, y él me mira:
¿no será Olana que me observa
quizá, tal vez, desde una nube
en forma de Espía?
Porque el cielo a nadie mira.
Recorro el mar con grandes piernas
son las piernas, mas de pronto

descubro al lado una tercera: mía no es,

luego es de Olana, que me espía,

ya no sé qué hacer sin esos ojos

que allí en el frío me vigilan;

mi figurón tiembla y vacila

no sé quién soy ya sin la Espía.

In this poem, the conditioning rendered under the Franco regime, for nearly forty years as a police state, further exacerbated Panero's psychosis. Because he was constantly observed by a multitude of hospital staff and doctors, Panero's paranoia grew to the point in which he began to see everyone who looked at him as a potential threat or enemy.

In the poem, "Los misteriosos sobrevivientes", additional remnants of the Franco regime are presented to the poet and cause him further discomfort in his paranoiac state of psychosis. He begins the poem stating:

Dime si destruye mi mirada, dime si

queman más mis ojos que la furia del tiempo,

y que este espacio vacío en que los sueños

prometen suicidio, y quiénes

en la esquina, devoran aún mi cabeza, y escupen

sobre mi cadáver… (218)

Here, Panero's writing ventures into his hallucinations and talks of his persecution by those he encounters. Because he is not a "docile body", Panero considers himself a target for the "state of exception" and the population it controls. His refusal to bend to the norms, mostly likely due to his psychosis, is both a badge of courage as well as a burden. It was not uncommon to see

Panero walking through the streets engaged in full discussion with himself, and this poem appears to be one such example of the internal dialogue his psychosis facilitates. What is not clear at the beginning of the poem, but will make itself known in the second stanza, is exactly who is haunting his dreams and destroying any possibility for his future. He writes:

> …y ríen
> cuando cae la noche, y lloran
> y gritan cuando por desgracia amanece
> y mienten vistiendo a la vida con el traje del Espectro,
> dime quienes son… (218)

In this section, Panero makes a significant point with the capitalization of the word *Espectro*. Two clues are important to note here. First, this figure is brought into the poet's mind after seeing others in the street. These characters have cued a memory for him that continues to torment him. Furthermore, the capitalization refers not just to any specter, but *the* specter: El Caudillo, the "father" of the "docile bodies" with which Panero is forced to live. It is also worth noting that the specter is the second villainous figure Panero mentions in this collection. Along with the vampire, the specter inspires fear. His use of fear and the macabre is most likely tied to his admiration of Edgar Allen Poe. In an interview with Augusto Rodríguez, the poet states how significant Poe has been for his own literary endeavors. He writes:

> En la poesía existen dos grandes tendencias. Una es la línea de Whitman y la otra es la de Edgar Allan Poe. De Whitman nacieron Los Beat, poetas como Kerouac, Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs y otros más que van por la poética de la experiencia. De Poe podría decir que es una poesía más apegada a la estética y la

> técnica, de esta línea nacieron poetas como Pound. Yo soy heredero de esa vertiente. (Rodríguez)

In the years immediately following his death, Franco's presence continued to be sensed in all of Spain, and his "state of exception", for better or worse, was insured to be sustained through and after the twentieth-century. For Panero, said presence will be felt with his constant confrontations with the "docile bodies" Franco created. The poet's hate for them is so profound that he depicts the "docile bodies" in the most horrendous manners.

For example, the poem "La oración", sets the stage for a new the level of grotesqueness by depicting a mother talking to her son about abusing a corpse. While his language here depicts a horrific physical scene, figuratively, Panero could be discussing the rancidness of the indoctrination from parents to their children. As his father was a famous supporter of Franco, and his mother unquestionably obeyed his father, Panero hyperbolizes his reflections on his childhood domestic situation. His father, upon dying, was sanctified by his mother, and in everyway, she wanted her sons to be like him. This would not bold well for his troubled son, Leopoldo María. Vilarós explains the situation for the Panero family. She writes:

> La saga de la familia, como la saga del franquismo, no tiene ya continuación: Leopoldo María, el hermano mediano, no escapó de su esquizofrenia y de su adicción y siguió recluido en un sanitario mental: curiosa y coincidentemente, Leopoldo María Panero no sale del sanatorio de Mondragón hasta noviembre de 1997, definitivamente liquidada de la transición y Juan Luis, el mayor de los hermanos poetas, precaria y solitariamente continúa insistiendo en ocupar el imposible lugar del padre. (51)

Despite his family's many attempts, through their own actions and his repeated internments, Leopoldo Maria would not let himself become a "docile body". This is clear in "La oración" when he writes:

> Y la madre reprendió al niño, y dijo
> qué haces que no velas el cadáver
> y él puso su boca en aquel falo, y
> sorbió lentamente como de un alimento
> porque el muerto ese era el incienso
> que purificaba los
> sabidos hedores del teatro, su
> turbia agonía de modo que al crepúsculo la madre repetía
> de golpe despertando del sueño Hijo mío ve y mira
> al fondo para ver si duerme o si nos piensa
> y no te olvides nunca de velar el cadáver:
> que nos absuelva, dile, que hemos vivido mucho
> y tropezamos ya con los muebles, y el alma está
> podrida, y huele
> demasiado, demasiado: ve y mira si nos piensa
> y el hijo sorbía de aquel ano abierto. (229-30)

Such matters, like Leopoldo Maria's mental issues or his sexuality, were written off by his family members and almost ignored completely. Their casualness in discussing his behavior is quite perplexing. In a home where little to no attention was given to him, especially after his mother retreated into mourning at the death of his father, Panero took his psychosis to the streets

and suffered many consequences when that behavior conflicted with his society's social and cultural norms. In the end, this would leave him to have an underdeveloped sense of empathy.

In the second section of *El que no ve*, "Unas gotas de semen", Panero begins with a metaphysical renunciation of the "docile body's" value. In the poem, "Diario de un seductor", writes:

> No es tu sexo lo que en tu sexo busco
> sino ensuciar tu alma:
> desflorar
> con todo el barro de la vida
> lo que aún no ha vivido.

Significant here is Panero's desire to ruin and humiliate any "docile body". For him, corporal desecration is no longer adequate, and a more heinous degradation is in order. In dirtying a soul the reader is brought back to the Catholic tradition so prevalent in the years under the Franco regime. Because this indoctrination was so abundant and acute in Spain's "state of exception", Panero, in order to make his point, calls for the immaterial, a most significant part of their entity for a Catholic, to be stained. Panero not only shows his contempt for Catholic teachings, but he also voices his desire to destroy those believers with which he has contact. This is an extreme rejection of the Catholic Church, the Franco regime, and the "docile bodies" both entities conspired to create.

Panero continues toying with the grotesque in the poem "Bello es el incesto". He writes:

> Bello es el incesto.
> Hay torneo de lanzas, y juegos
> y el vino promete su derrame

para alegrar la unión

de los esposos.

Se decapitará a dos niños para saber si es buena

la sangre, y si así augura

una feliz unión para los siglos.

Cándido, hermoso es el incesto.

Madre e hijo se ofrecen sus dos ramos

de lirios blancos y de orquídeas, y en la boca

llevan ya el beso para desposarlo.

Y en la noche

de bodas, invitado

viene también el cielo: lluvia

y truenos

y los rayos, y el mundo entero convertido en lodo

para celebrar la unión

de los esposos. (243)

Once again Panero begins by pushing a horrifying theme onto his reader. The simple statements that "incest is beautiful" and "incest is lovely" make light of the taboo act. If he were to have control of the "docile bodies" surrounding him, the punishment administered would be degrading and debilitating. This poem is unique in that it transcribes Panero's desires to an area unseen previously in Spanish literature prior to its publication in 1980. Túa Blesa has stated, "No recuerdo en este momento ninguna otra obra poética contemporánea que haya llegado a tanto, a una ruptura con los límites de modo tan flagrante como en este incendio del deseo…" (13).

This depiction of the mother and son engaged in sexual intercourse could be indicative of the poet's resentment towards his own mother. Of this relationship Vilarós writes, "[e]n su doble papel de mujer y madre, Felicidad Blanch no podrá darles nunca a sus hijos lo que éstos en realidad le están pidiendo al padre ausente: una identidad, un nombre, una herencia" (52). His concentration on the taboo continues with several poems in the second and third sections, "Unas gotas de semen" and "En aquella esquina, tan solo, todavía me acordaba de Jarry", of *El que no ve*. In the poem "Necrofilia", Panero discusses his interpretations of the sexual act. He writes:

> El acto del amor es lo más parecido
> a un asesinato.
> En la cama, en su terror gozoso, se trata de borrar
> el alma del que está,
> hombre o mujer,
> debajo.
>
> Por eso no miramos.
>
> Eyacular es ensuciar el cuerpo
> y penetrar es humillar con la
> verga la
> erección de otro yo.
> Borrar o ser borrados, tanto da, pero en un instante,
> irse,
> dejarlo
> una vez más
> entre tus labios. (244)

The devaluation of the physical and metaphysical continues in this section of poetry. Panero required the elimination, complete and all encompassing, of the "docile bodies". He saw, in his psychosis, threats all around him. Like the poem "Diario de seductor" he works to "dirty" the "docile body" through the act of sex. The violence introduced to the sex act, whose goal is to "dirty", "erase", and or "destroy" the "docile bodies", solidifies his total disregard for their value. For Panero, the "docile body" is not human, and thus is treated as if it were something that could be destroyed and discarded. Because his psychosis precludes him from being a "docile body", Panero sees himself, as did Franco, as superior to his fellow Spaniards.

The final and fourth section of *El que no ve* is entitled "Orinar sobre la vida (Life studies)" and contains several more poems which include, "Un asesino en las calles", and "El tesoro de Sierra Madre", which also depict his strong feelings against the "docile bodies" of Spain's "state of exception". In "Un asesino en las calles" he writes:

> No mataré ya más, porque los hombres sólo
> son números o letras de mi agenda,
> e intervalos sin habla, descarga de los ojos
> de vez en vez, cuando el sepulcro se abre
> perdonando otra vez el pecado de la vida.
> No mataré ya más las borrosas figuras
> que esclavas de lo absurdo avanzan por la calle
> agarradas al tiempo como a oscura certeza
> sin salida o respuesta, como para la risa
> tan sólo de los dioses, o la lágrima seca
> de un sentido que no hay, y de unos ojos muertos

que el desierto atraviesan sin demandar ya nada
sin pedir ya más muertos ni más cruces al cielo
que aquello, oh Dios lo sabe, aquella sangre era
para jugar tan sólo. (255)

The initial lines of the poem reinforce the idea that for Panero, his fellow Spaniards, which he considers to be "docile bodies", have no worth. Assuming a position similar to that of Franco, Panero depicts the "docile bodies" as if they were merely inputs on an agenda, not unlike a factory workforce without rights or means to better or protect itself. As Franco, in the eyes of the poet, has poisoned the Spanish society by creating a populace of "docile bodies", Panero finds himself with no remedy to live with entities that are so willing to forget and move past the atrocities of the regime. He later comments on how the streets are still filled with slaves, ignorant to their bleak existence. For Panero it is a sin to exist in Spain's "state of exception", and because he does not believe neither in the Church nor the Spanish state, there is no way for the sin to be absolved. He entertains, in this poem, the futility of existence in Spain for those "docile bodies" which, in his mind, foolishly continue the Francoist and Catholic tradition. He believed in the end though, they would learn the truth that "the blood was only to be played with" and nothing more.

This further exemplifies the extent to which his psychosis fuels his desire to exert power over the "docile bodies" by following his father's, and ultimately Franco's, example. He strived to take their place and even exceed them both. This is particularly clear when considering the writings of Vilarós. She claims, "Leopoldo María se aferrará a la creencia de que la escritura (la suya y no la de su padre) pueda sacarle adelante" (52). Therefore Panero wishes to gain control

over the “docile bodies” as his psychotic nature prevents him from being one himself, in order to exercise his will as his father and the Caudillo had done before him (Gabilondo).

The final poem of these works that illuminates Panero’s disdain for his fellow Spaniard is “El tesoro de Sierra Madre”. In this poem he talks of breaking from the pack of “docile bodies” and freethinking as should in his mind, every Spanish citizen. However, as he reflects, his narcissism is always accompanied by his self-deprecation, and he notes the futility of any perceived success or achievement. His jumping between the two poles of self-adulation and self-loathing appears to simultaneously separate him from the “docile bodies” while regarding himself to the same station as the “father” that once controlled them. This occurrence will only bolster the disdain he has for himself. He writes:

> ¿Quiénes son los hombres que se separan del resto
> y andan solos y creen ver en las tinieblas
> y se ríen como si supieran, y andan solos
> como si supieran, quemando
> rostros y con algo de saliva
> escondida tristemente en las bolsas?
> Aspirando a sí mismos y pisando el rojo
> vivo de los labios. Sin mancha,
> persiguiendo ciegos la ilusión del espejo.
> Dime Luna, quiénes son los que te
> adoran y creen, y recorren seguros
> la tela de araña que nadie, nadie ha tejido
> y corren en pos de su imagen, tropezando en el cieno,

acezantes, mordidos en el culo por su sombra

camino del abismo con los ojos vendados

como el FOU de aquel juego

de cartas cuya clave olvidé, oh dime Luna

el nombre secreto de tus fieles, y si saben, si saben

que al llegar por fin no les espera

sin en la muerte su rostro en El espejo. (256)

In this poem, Panero blends a disdain for others with his own self-detrimental behavior and disposition. He remarks condescendingly that those claiming to know themselves, something he repeatedly is unsuccessful at according to Túa Blesa, will only know a death that waits for all. Blesa's analysis on this issue can be explained by her statement: "[u]no de los modos en que esta muerte se escribe, diríase que aminorado, es el de la identidad del individuo puesta en crisis, alterada o directamente perdida, lo que constituye uno de los temas más persistentes de este conjunto poético. Identidad que no es capaz de reconocerse…" (15).

The search for inner peace and self-knowledge was a troublesome one for Panero who, upon not finding it in his writings and reflections, turned to drugs and alcohol in his early years. The poetic documentation of his personal journey with substance abuse will be discussed at length in the upcoming section.

Section III: The Transition: Arriving at the *Desencanto* with a Little Help from His Friends

In contrast to the "docile bodies" who were programmed to consciously repress and even forget the past, Panero chose to delve deeper inward during the *desencanto* to give greater voice to his desires, self-perceptions, and his inexplicable actions caused by his mental condition. The negative self-regard Panero demonstrates is often as strong as the ill-will he expresses for "docile bodies" in the previous section. In order to further comprehend his thoughts, his poetry can be consulted. Poems from his works *Last river together* and *El que no ve*, both published in 1980, can aid in the understanding of his insights and actions. Several of these poems highlight his rejection of the "docile bodies" that surround him and his harsh condemnation for their lack introspection. While he considers himself a free thinker instead of a "docile body", he looks inward in order to gain more understanding of himself. The problem that arises however, is the self-realization about his self-pitying and self-loathing nature. While hating the "docile bodies" for who they are and represent, he hates himself for who he is because of them: a marginalized psychotic homosexual interned in a mental institution who seeks to control them as Spain's "state of exception" had done. The following poems will illustrate the self-disdain he has due to his self-appointment to the position of "father" through his poetry. This drove him to desire to exert his power over the docile bodies, as was the case with his own father and Franco, and by following their example, Panero only augmented the level of disdain he had for himself.

It is also important to note that Panero has celebrated his drug and alcohol abuse while condemning his treatments in the asylums for their methods with pharmaceuticals. Instead of becoming a "docile body" Panero rejected all norms and standards in his journey of self-awareness. This turned out to be very problematic for the poet as he found these kinds of actions

have serious consequences in a population of "docile bodies". In his interview in *El País*, he criticizes the entire institution psychiatry. He states:

> La psiquiatría es una estafa. La psiquiatría delira. Eso lo demostró perfectamente Foucault en su historia de la locura, que es un estudio metodológico de la psiquiatría como delirio. Los manicomios, las cárceles y los cuarteles son lugares de privación de la vida. Los manicomios son el Estado de no-derecho, por eso para mí salir de aquí cada día es como el descendimiento de la cruz. Por la noche vuelven a clavarme. (Marcos)

The fact that Panero is still attacking the institutions and the government that allowed his torture so many years later is a testament to his loss of faith in, and hatred for, Spain's "state of exception" and its "docile bodies". In his eyes, very little improvement had been made in the years before his death in 2014, and for that reason, he expressed on many occasions his desire to abandon Spain altogether.

For instance, in the poem, "El baccarrá en la noche", Panero discusses how it is difficult to exert control over himself or his actions because of the strict regulations the institutions place over him with surveillance and pharmaceutical treatment. He writes:

> ¿Quién me engaña en la noche, y aúlla
> pidiéndome que salga, que salga a la calle y camine,
> y corra, y atraviese las calles como perro rabioso
> las calles desiertas en que es siempre de noche,
> buscando locamente el baccarrá en la noche?
> ¿Quién me despierta, qué hembra mortal o pájaro
> para decirme

que aún vivo, que aún deseo, que tengo

todavía que imprimir una última dirección a mis ojos

para buscar el baccarrá en la noche? (211)

In his psychotic state, his desires come to him as if willed by others. He cannot come to know the inner voice speaking to him. This is yet another stressor for the poet who is unable to explain why it is he acts in a certain way, nor can he identify the aspect of himself that compels the behavior. Here he employs the night as an allusion to uncertainty, most likely referring to the precarious situation Spain was in following Franco's death. His explanations of the hold this unknown entity has over him and the uncertainty it causes are offered in the next stanzas of the poem. He writes:

¿Qué uñas escarban mi vejez, y qué mano que no perdona

tortura mi muñeca, conduciéndome

como a un lugar seguro, al baccarrá en la noche?

¿Qué mano de madre, qué oración susurran

luna tras luna los labios de la luna

gritando en medio de la calle a solas

descubriéndome en la acera, denunciando a todos

mi testamento secreto, mi pavor y mi miedo

sin descanso de encontrarme, no sé si hoy quizás, tal vez

mañana, jugando

ya para siempre al baccarrá en la noche. (211-2)

In the second half of the poem, Panero discusses the idea of safety and a loving figure that should guide him securely, but instead, falsely brings him to *el baccarrá*. This misuse of trust,

obviously denied to the poet even by those who supposedly should be closest to him, will have a lasting detrimental effect on Panero. Railing in his psychosis, there is no one to whom he can turn for protection or guidance. His lack of understanding, concerning himself and others, is a theme that is prevalent in many of his poems where he cries out in fear or hatred of what he perceives to be himself. This is evident in the poem "Para A., again (Y vuelta a empezar)" in *Last river together* (1980). It can be argued that although he made a conscious choice not to be a "docile body", the consequences he faced for his nonconformance were difficult for him to bear at times.

In "Para A., again (Y vuelta a empezar)", Panero is dismayed by the image he sees in the mirror. He observes a man ruined, in his opinion, and struggles to comprehend his course and identity. He writes:

> Digo yo si este espejo vale para que tú seas
> frente a mi imagen arruinada, si este espejo
> vale para los dos y si este cuerpo canta en tu sexo y brilla
> algo la cópula bajo la cúpula del techo,
> digo yo si tú quieres que mi vida sea,
> ahora que mi alma se quiebra entre los dos
> como por un abrazo. (215)

In a work he published in the previous year, *Narciso en el acorde último de las flautas*, Panero begins the work with a dedication to Alicia. He writes, "A Alicia, que recogió el cadáver" (139). It appears here that he is returning to her as he endeavors to comprehend himself. Vilarós has commented on the Panero children and mirrors as they relate to all Spaniards of the *transición*. She writes, "representados todos y todas como Padres e Hijos, formamos con ellos un mismo

texto que si es algo es descomposición y reflejo de un vacío histórico. Los Hijos buscamos en El espejo la figura del padre. Y El espejo nos devuelve, espectral, una figura fantasma" (48).This further supports the argument that Panero was acting as the "father" through his poetry, which is one of the central causes for his self-disdain. In contrast to the last poem discussed, "El baccarrá en la noche", Panero yields his power willingly as if it were his right to do so. In the previous poem, the power exerted over him came from a source not known nor understood by him. Here, it is important to note that Panero will surrender to his insuppressible desire to control.

In the poem, "El Loco", Panero delves deeper into his past to comprehend what has brought him to this point in his life. He consciously chooses to remember despite the pain he feels, and he later reflects on the betrayal, as he sees it, by his family, and ultimately, by the Spanish "state of exception". He writes:

> He vivido entre los arrabales, pareciendo
> un mono, he vivido en la alcantarilla
> transportando las heces,
> he vivido dos años en el Pueblo de las Moscas
> y aprendido a nutrirme de los que suelto.
> Fui una culebra deslizándose
> por la ruina del hombre, gritando
> aforismos en pie sobre los muertos,
> atravesando mares de carne desconocida
> con mis logaritmos.
> Y sólo pude pensar que de niño
> me secuestraron para una

alucinante batalla

y que mis padres me sedujeron para

ejecutar el sacrilegio, entre ancianos y muertos.

He enseñado a moverse a las larvas

sobre los cuerpos, y a las mujeres a oír

cómo cantan los árboles al crepúsculo, y lloran.

Y los hombres manchaban mi cara con cieno, al hablar,

y decían con los ojos 'fuera de vida', o bien

'no hay nada que pueda

ser menos todavía que tu alma' o bien 'cómo te llamas'

y 'qué oscuro es tu nombre'. (224-5)

One aspect of this poem that stands out is the poet speaking on behalf of others. His defending of anyone but himself is particularly important because of its rarity in his poetry. The accusations against parental figures appear here and will reappear throughout his many works. He is also noting the fragility and fear of a child, and how this child was mistreated by his parents. The most critical ramification of this mistreatment is the continued victimization of new people by a former victim as signaled by the line "y que mis padres de sedujeron para / ejecutar el sacrilegio" (225). This is further evidence of Panero assuming the role of the "father" and continuing the travesties he admonished in the previous section of this chapter. However, in seeking this position of power Panero augmented his self-disdain, which he generally tried to sooth with drug and alcohol abuse.

There are four poems in his two books published in 1980 that explicitly celebrate the abuse of drugs and alcohol. They include: "La canción del Croupier del Mississippi", "El hombre

que sólo comía zanahorias", "El suplicio", and "The end". Drawing on the freedom associated with the lifestyle of a pirate, as evidenced by Panero's citation of the song "15 men and a dead man's chest", the poet employs "La canción del Croupier del Mississippi" to celebrate his many vices. He writes:

> Fumo mucho. Demasiado.
> Fumo para frotar el tiempo y a veces oigo la radio
> y oigo pasar la vida como quien pone la radio.
> Fumo mucho. En el cenicero hay
> ideas y poemas y voces
> de amigos que no tengo. Y tengo
> la boca llena de sangre que sale de las grietas de mi cráneo
> y toda mi alma sabe a sangre,
> sangre fresca no sé si de cerdo o de hombre que soy,
> en toda mi alma acuchillada por mujeres y niños
> que se mueven ingenuos, torpes, en
> esta vida que ya sé.
> Me palpo el pecho de pronto, nervioso,
> y no siento un corazón. No hay,
> no existe en nadie esa cosa que llaman corazón
> sino quizá en el alcohol… (219)

It is clear, for Panero, alcohol is one perceived truth that fuels him. Instead of having a heart pump his blood and sustain him, Panero argues that it is alcohol that accomplishes this task.

Panero relishes in this self-destructive behavior and basks in its effects. He later goes on to describe his drinking:

> …Y es que no hay otra comunión
> ni otro espasmo que este del vino
> y ningún otro sexo ni mujer que el vaso de alcohol besándome los labios
> que este vaso de alcohol que llevo en el
> cerebro, en los pies, en la sangre.
> Que este vaso de vino oscuro o blanco,
> de ginebra o de ron o lo que sea
> -ginebra y cerveza, por ejemplo-
> que es como la infancia, y no es
> huida, ni evasión, ni sueño
> sino la única vida real y todo lo posible… (220)

For Panero, inebriation is the only way to feel or experience life. It is not an escape or an avoidance he argues, but rather the true path while sobriety instead is a nightmare for Panero, which removes him from his reality. Even while he notes the negative effects that alcohol has on him, Panero continues to glorify his overindulgences. He writes:

> …Y otras veces
> soy Abel que tiene un plan perfecto
> para rescatar la vida y restaurar a los hombres
> y también a veces lloro por no ser un esclavo
> negro en el sur, llorando
> entre las plantaciones!

Es tan bella la ruina, tan profunda
Sé todos sus colores y es
como una sinfonía la música del acabamiento.
Como música que tocan en el más allá,
y ya no tengo sangre en las venas, sino alcohol,
tengo sangre en los ojos de borracho
y el alma invadida de sangre como de una vomitona,
y vomito el alma por las mañanas,
después de pasar toda la noche jurando
frente a una muñeca de goma que existe. (221-2)

In this section, Panero's rants give hints to the title of the poem and to the absurd suffering that he would will upon himself if possible. Here, he expresses the desire to be a slave in the southern United States of America or to become physically ill from poisoning himself with alcohol. He would be anything so long as it would differentiate himself from his own father and Franco. Perhaps the most ironic aspect of these statements pertain to seeking enslavement after waiting countless for a democracy in which every Spaniard could enjoy personal, political, and social freedom. Apparently Panero did not feel this was possible, nor even desirable, in Spain's "state of exception". His continued attacks on Spain repeat throughout the poem. He writes:

Escribir en España no es llorar, es beber,
es beber la rabia del que no se resigna
a morir en las esquinas, es beber y mal
decir, blasfemar contra España
contra este país sin dioses pero con

estatuas de dioses, es

beber en la iglesia con música de órgano

es caerse borracho en los recitales y manchar de vino

tinto y sangre… (222)

Panero employs one of the strongest arsenals of the Franco regime against Spain in this excerpt. By calling Spain godless, he attacks all of those who so vehemently defended the Catholic Church, principally Franco's supporters. He would disrespect the Church by falling down in its vestibules after having taken real sustenance, not in the form of the Eucharist, but rather, in the form of alcohol. He uses alcohol to denounce the false aids of prayer or protest in Spain, where even after the death of Franco, very little has changed for the poet. In another poem, "El hombre que sólo comía zanahorias" Panero discusses addiction, and the ensuing *mono* it brings, in an allegory involving carrots.

In the first half of the poem he jokingly discusses the inconveniences suffered by the addict. He writes:

El hombre que sólo comía zanahorias

ya no podía ni de noche cerrarse los ojos

y eran dos faros abiertos para nada

y no sabía sino mirar, mirar

el hombre que sólo comía zanahorias.

El hombre que sólo comía zanahorias

vagaba por los campos, en la lucha de conejos

en pos de sus malditas zanahorias.

El hombre que sólo comía zanahorias

tenía miedo a tanta luz, a tanto
sol que quema, y destapa y desnuda, y acosa
en medio de campo de las zanahorias,
y vivía
pues en madriguera oscura
y breve, saliendo
sólo de vez en cuando para
buscar sus zanahorias. (249)

This poem, jesting at addiction by making the subject obsessed with carrots, a vegetable whose phallic shape is not to be dismissed, shows the beginning stages of a person succumbing to the *mono*. His play on words is particularly comical, having the subject's eyes as bright and wide as the beams from a lighthouse. In his not so subtle nod to drug addiction and homosexuality, he gives the subject the same qualities of an addict.

In the second half of the poem it is clear that like an addict denied his fix, his subject will do absolutely to achieve the desired object. He writes:

El hombre que sólo comía zanahorias
era capaz de matar, y de robar, y cuentan
que se deshizo de su mujer
por una sola zanahoria.
El hombre que sólo comía zanahorias
salía a la tarde, que es la hora de las zanahorias
y de noche, y de día y al crepúsculo
oía gritar llamándole a las zanahorias.

El hombre que sólo comía zanahorias
tenía el polo rojo y largos
colmillos para
partir mejor las zanahorias
y las piernas largas para correr mejor, porque
tenía miedo de los hombres más todavía que del sol
y así era el hombre que sólo comía zanahorias. (249-50)

By the end of the poem Panero's subject changes completely to fulfill his addition. He loses his wife, his mind, and will commit murder to get more "carrots". This could signal his own self-disdain for desiring to be as controlling as Franco was or an indication of his own addiction to drugs and alcohol.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note the arrival of heroin in Spain, which coincides with the *movida* and *desencanto*, would have a devastating effect on Spaniards in almost no time at all. Juan Gamella has discussed this phenomenon. He states:

> The popularization of intravenous drugs was not a gradual process but an abrupt transformation. As other chronicles of similar phenomena have noted, use of the new pattern went 'through a period of quiet consolidation before it exploded dramatically'. After a year of less visible changes in the patterns of drug use, a critical point was reached at which, in the words of one participant, the new practice spread 'like fire on dry grass.' (135)

Panero, to his credit, has been very open about his addictions in his later years. He has openly discussed his first suicide attempt with Javier Rodríguez Marcos in an interview for *El País*. He states:

> Lo malo vino con un intento de suicidio. Estaba en una pensión de Barcelona y entró la señora de la casa, me vio con las pastillas al lado y me dijo: '¿Pero es que va usted a hacer lo mismo que Marilyn Monroe?'. Me fui a la calle y en la puerta me encontraron en coma. Luego empezó toda esta historia de los manicomios, que me destruyeron más que la bebida. (Rodríguez Marcos)

Gamella has written about this period and what effect the transition, and its lack of progress, had on the youth in Spain. He suggests, "[t]he sustained erosion of the labor market between 1978 and 1986 made access to work networks difficult for many young people, making them more prone to spend more time in the street, to be exposed to the influences of their peers, and to get involved in the illegal drug market (hashish, heroin, cocaine, or pharmaceuticals), which increased considerably in those years" (151). This fresh access to new drugs and friends to share them with led to not only a significant increase in consumption in Spain, but it also would propel the issue of AIDS in the 1980s. Gamella further explains the explosion of drugs. He writes:

> …The political turmoil and confrontation after Franco's death in 1975 and the hopes of the first democratic elections gave way in 1978, after the establishment of the new constitutional order, to a sense of disillusionment (desencanto) and the demobilization of the most active social and political groups, especially among the youth. Both processes (political disillusionment and economic slump) helped to produce a large segment of confused, exasperated, and frustrated young people, who in many cases turned their high expectations to drugs and delinquency. (151)

Panero was among the first, if not the first himself, of the disenchanted Spaniards, however, his psychosis precluded him from feeling as if he was a participant in the movement and thus left

him forever in the periphery of the Spanish "state of exception". While even the rebellious Spaniards would find docility through drugs, Panero's psychosis would not allow for him to forgo is quest for control.

In his poem "El suplicio", Panero tells a poetic tale of suffering through the *mono* of his addictions and his time in mental institutions. He writes:

> La fiebre se parece a Dios.
> La locura: la última oración.
> Largo tiempo he bebido de un extraño cáliz
> hecho de alcohol y heces
> y vi en la marea de la copa los peces
> atrozmente blancos del sueño.
> Y al levantar la copa, digo
> a Dios, te ofrezco este suplicio
> y esta hostia nacida de la sangre
> que de todos los ojos mana
> como ordenándome beber, como ordenándome morir
> para que cuando el fin sea nadie
> sea igual que Dios.

The wretched existence depicted here, not void of vulgar imagery, is a captivating insight to Panero's evaluation of his experience. Because he is not, arguably by choice, a "docile body", he finds himself facing constant rejection and criticism. Furthermore, his psychosis leaves him fighting both real and imagined enemies that endlessly persecute him.

In a final poem depicting his self-reflections, Panero judges not only his own actions, but those of his fellow Spaniards as well. In the poem "The end", he writes:

He fumado mi vida y del incendio
sorpresivo quedan
en mi memoria las ridículas colillas:
seres que no me vieron, mujeres como vaho,
humo en las bocas, y silencio
para lo que no quise ser, y fue
como vapor o estela sobre las olas ociosas, niños con marinera
que en la escuela aprendieron el Error.
No había nadie en aquel pozo, estaba
vacía la cárcel, pienso cuando
abriendo al fin la puerta, y descorriendo
por fin el cerrojo que me unía
inútilmente a las águilas, y me hacía amar las islas y adorar la nada, des
descubro
banal, y sonriéndome, la luz.

What differentiates Panero from the "docile bodies" in Spain's "state of exception" is his self awareness. The population of "docile bodies" was offered the opportunity to drone on and forget the past, and because of their conditioning under the Franco regime, they took it. They, as Gamella suggests, became disillusioned as a result of having very few choices, and they were led to believe that there were in fact genuine solutions to the Spanish transition to democracy, as

opposed to Panero who foresaw the continuity of Francoist practices even after the death of the *Caudillo*.

Conclusion

In closing, Panero is taking his poetry and naturalizing the taboo and the grotesque in order to illustrate, although hyperbolically, that the Franco regime was guilty of the same practice. Self-glorification, a sin committed by the regime, is one of the many hypocrisies Panero works to illuminate through his poetry. While he often tries this method himself, self-glorification, he generally counteracts his outlandish decrees with self-punishing behavior because the possibility of following the example of his father, or of the *Caudillo*, only further incites his psychosis. One clear example of this would be remaining in an asylum that he classified as hell on earth when he had the facility's permission to leave anytime he wanted. His poetry, therefore, is the clearest indication that he could have given to illustrate his hatred for a Spanish "state of exception" compiled of "docile bodies" created by the Franco regime.

Furthermore, his radical view, from both the sexual and psychotic periphery of his society, on the transition as a nonevent seems to be somewhat accurate. The Spanish people were presented with the fantasy of democracy that was built up in the last years of Franco's life. While this was steadfastly anticipated, insufficient groundwork was laid to enable a smooth transition. In addition, the economic crisis in the late 1970s, not only felt in Spain but Europe as a whole, further exacerbated the fragile situation. Therefore, the argument can be presented that Panero employed his poetry not only to grotesquely and uniquely demonstrate the sins of the Franco regime, but also to illustrate how the regime continued to thwart attempts at democracy, even

after it had been dismantled, by sustaining a populace of “docile bodies” in a “state of exception”.

Chapter 4:

Manuel Rivas: Poetry and “Empty signifiers” in Spain’s “State of Exception”

I know it's crooked, but it's the only game in town.

Canada Bill Jones

Manuel Rivas (1957-), a self-identified Galician writing from a national periphery, has come to the forefront of Galician culture and society through his poetic work on Galicia and ecology. Cristina Sánchez-Conejero has written:

> El escritor se considera gallego al cien por cien, lo cual no significa que pretenda hacer de Galicia el centro del mundo. Como explica en 'Galicia contada a un extraterrestre', '¿hay periferia y centro en el universo?'. No se trata de descentrar el centro y colocar en su lugar a la periferia, sino reconocer las distintas variedades como tales en lugar de soterrarlas al baúl del olvido. (228)

His work boasts successful endeavors in journalism, narrative, and poetry. Moreover, studies of his writings reveal there is a consistency present in the style of his work: the use of poetic language. The fact that all of his work, including his prose, has poetic undertones, demonstrates the high esteem Rivas reserves for the genre of poetry. He has even made this explicitly known as he was quoted in 2014 stating that, "[e]l poema es la única noticia que permanece" (Rodríguez 1). Rivas will employ poetry in order to continue the discourse his poetic predecessors began under the Franco regime. Furthermore, the extension of Francoist ideals into Galician politics and culture, in large part by Manuel Fraga who will be discussed at length in this chapter, links Rivas to the poets who engaged the genre to further political discussion in Spain's "state of exception".

In his poetry, Manuel Rivas will create an "empty signifier" through the anthropomorphism of nature in order to unite and gain the attention of this audience. After, he can, upon having their full consideration, disseminate his political ideas to a more receptive and

attentive group. One of the main tools for achieving the anthropomorphism of nature is to reiterate *Galeguidade* into the hegemony, as did one of the main political figures in Galicia's history Manuel Fraga.

Galeguidade has been the focus of Rivas and many Galician intellectuals, but Eugenia R. Romero has concisely explained its more significant aspects. She writes:

> In my view, to understand Galicia's role within Spain's history, politics and culture, and its connections with other places beyond its borders–placing Galicia on the world map–we must consider other elements that also contribute to a contemporary Galeguidade (Galicianness)…I do insist, nonetheless, on the need to consider sociological factors like migration, popular traditions, and myths, and even the effects of globalization when analyzing a wide array of cultural representations of Galeguidade. (xii)

Through *Galeguidade* Rivas gives the land a sorrowful human-like quality that invites pity. Its quiet suffering at the loss of its people who previously lived off the land causes the reader to empathize with Galicia and remember personal losses. While he uses similar tactics as Fraga, the poet's motives are quite different. As Gabilondo has stated, it is important to beware of this kind of "nationalist normalization" because it "…creates neurotic enjoyment precisely by avoiding the traumatic kernel that defines the Spanish state and its violent history" ("The Big Other").

Furthermore, in discussing the myths of the land and its secrets, Rivas gives it an intriguing mystique, which will act as a siren song for the reader. Romero has commented on the necessity to incorporate myths into her comprehensive presentation of Galicia. She argues, "I center my analysis on the idea that Galicia's national history is outside representation. In other words, it is not possible to historicize Galicia's past without the creation of myths or mythical

spaces to interpret history" (xviii). While on one level the inclusion of myths works to create an allure for Galicia, it has also had debilitating effects politically as it allowed for *Fraguismo*, which exacerbated Galicia's mythical past from 1989 until 2005.

In his poetry, Rivas works to disperse his political ideals, despite the fact that they were never congruent with those of Fraga, by appropriating some of his political tricks. In doing so, he will employ poetic language charged with imagery, which will subtly work to condition the reader to change his or her behavior without the forceful manipulation that was previously seen in chapter 3 with the creation of "docile bodies". Rivas' efforts maintain an ultimate goal of sustaining a future for the Galician language, culture, and landscape via political change, thus breaking with the hegemony of the Franco and Fraga eras. He does this by depicting how Galicia has continued to evolve in a globalized Spain, through the use of nature as an "empty signifier", that quietly suffers under the still dissipating shadow of Franco's "state of exception".

La desaparición de la nieve (2009) is Rivas' seventh poetic work, and it is preceded by *Libro de Entroido* (1980), *Balada nas Praias do Oeste* (1985), *Mohicania* (1986), *Ningún Cisne* (1989), *Costa da Morte Blues* (1995), and *O Pobo da Noite* (1996). *La desaparición de la nieve* (2009) is of critical importance because it offers translations of the original Galician in Castilian, Basque, and Catalan. This all-encompassing approach brings Galicia to the forefront for all of those on the Iberian Peninsula and abroad and illuminates the persitance of Franco's "state of exception" so many years after his death.

With his work, *La desaparición de la nieve*, Rivas introduced warnings he still offers today. Upon receiving recognition from *La Real Academia Gallega*, Rivas discussed the 'riesgo de autodestrucción por bioperversidad, frente a la biodiversidad que se trata de conservar' (Europa Press). He also offered the following solution:

> Hay que construir entre todos, de izquierdas y derechas, nacionalistas o no, un hábitat en el que la lengua crezca feliz, un espacio de simpatía para ella y por ello brindo en este lugar de Celanova, que es vivero y para que sea espacio de libertad y solidaridad, brindo por lo local que es universal, por un mundo llamado Celanova, por un nuevo Rexurdimento. (2)

According to Antón Figueroa, Rivas's work should not be taken for granted as he has continually employed his celebrity status to advance political causes he believes in. Figueroa suggests:

> Writers still play a political role in that they speak in the name of the people; as the people's representatives, they are often driven to make political positions. We saw this in 2002, after the sinking of the oil tanker Prestige, when the best-known Galician writers, such as Rivas and Toro, organized and led the popular demonstrations along with other artists, among them Rafa Villar, Luis Tosar, and Uxía Senlle. This commitment to represent reappears especially when it is perceived that the political powers are not doing their job. (51)

It is precisely through *La desaparición de la nieve* that Rivas brings awareness to Galicia's fragile political state in a globalized Spain's "state of exception". This is further supported by the poet's own explanation of the text's title as documented by Miguel Ángel Villena in an article for *El País*. He quotes Rivas stating, "'El título del libro', aclara Rivas, 'significa un grito ecológico en contra de la destrucción del planeta, pero quiere reflejar, por otro lado, que debajo de la nieve desaparece la frontera entre los vivos y los muertos'" (Villena). Throughout *La desaparición de la nieve* Rivas highlights the precarious ecological and cultural situation in Galicia, while working to create unity by celebrating its past through *Galeguidade* and cultivating hope for its future as a stronger *nacionalidad histórica*.

Section I: "Transitioning" to the Future

The previous chapter discussed Spain through the year 1980 when Leopoldo María Panero published *Last River Together* and *El que no ve*. While Panero lamented what he perceived to be a failure of a transition to democracy, eventually joined by others in the *desencanto*, 1981 would prove to be a lightning bolt for Spanish society. This chapter will focus on the first sparks of the democratic period, and later show how Spain has weathered its political transition.

In *Spain in the 1980s*, Robert Clark and Michael H. Haltzel explain, "[b]y 1980 the democratic euphoria in 1977-1978 had been replaced by *el desencanto*, a generalized disillusionment that the new democracy was incapable of dismantling the relics of Francoism in the police, the administrative bureaucracy, and the judicial system" (6). This would result in aspects of Franco's "state of exception" remaining even decades after the caudillo's death. Furthermore, in his work *After the Civil War*, Michael Richards discusses the two events that would go on to shape the 1980s in Spain. He writes:

> The latter stages of the political transition, which had seen the conservative UCD heading the government, were accompanied by a widely recognized sense of political disenchantment. Two events would partially, and perhaps temporarily, put an end to this feeling of disengagement: the attempted military coup in early 1981, known as the Tejerazo, after Colonel Antonio Tejero, who on 23 February had led a group of civil guards which took armed control of the chamber of parliament, and in October 1982, the election of the first socialist government in Spain since the Civil War. (307)

The unsuccessful coup was also indicative of a larger problem in Spain, which was the lingering presence of Franco through the military apparatus he created in his "state of exception". Álvaro Soto has commented on the persistent possibility of military intervention that was rarely discussed but always present during the transition. He suggests, "…la 'amenaza' de una intervención militar siempre estuvo presente durante toda la transición, debido a la fidelidad a Franco que había mantenido el Ejército durante la dictadura, y a la ideología reaccionaria de la mayor parte de los generales, jefes y oficiales en activo" (166).

Following the defeated coup, the military was shown to be divided and beaten. Clark and Haltzel describe the situation:

> In the aftermath of the abortive revolt, both the military and the Spanish political world felt chastened. The tone of Spanish politics, no longer so confident in the consolidation and stability of democracy, swung briefly to the right. This atmosphere helped produce ill-considered legislation to reduce and reorganize aspects of regional autonomy, which aggravated center-periphery relations. (92)

Thus, by moving further to the right, the political landscape in Spain became less inclined towards the freedoms of democracy and more focused on the maintaining of power in a central base.

Vilarós has also commented on the shadow cast by the dictator, which remained long after his death in Spain's "state of exception". She states:

> Franco y/o franquismo alimentaron el cuerpo del país, fueron fuente única, surtidor que de forma inescapable y minuciosa, perversa si se quiere, de año en año, de mes en mes y de día a día dirigió el fluido vital de la sociedad española. En cierta forma entonces, Franco y/o franquismo no fueron únicamente el

> régimen político; fueron también y quizá sobre todo, para nuestro mal y nuestro bien, una adicción, un enganche simbólico y real, una monumental cogida que produjo a su término encontradas y conflictivas reacciones… (18)

On the other hand, joining the European Union in 1986 would become, for many, the ultimate opportunity for Spain to achieve democracy and finally cease to be a "state of exception". Juan Carlos Jiménez Redondo notes its implications stating, "…Europa no era sólo un objetivo económico…sino que tenía una evidente dimensión política, en cuanto la participación en el proceso europeo se identificó claramente con el cambio político, con la democracia y la libertad. En definitiva, con el fin de la dictadura" (106-7). In addition to joining the European Union in 1986, a move that would benefit Spain economically in the coming years, the 1980s were full of reforms that aimed to make amends with those who continued to be punished even after the war had ended. In *Historical Memory and Criminal Justice in Spain*, Josep M. Tamarit Sumalla explains:

> During the 1980s, further reparations were passed in different context and through different legal instruments. In June 1984, years spent in prison were formally acknowledged in terms of contributions to Social Security. Through an Act of 22 October 1984, pensions were awarded for people who had served in the Republican Army, including those who had not previously been covered as they were not professional soldiers. The Act granted these people the same legal rights as other military personnel had at the time. (68-9)

While the economic and political advantages gained by joining the European Union were considerable, hosting the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992 propelled Spain into the world's glance. Soto adds, "…se debe destacar en positivo el año 1992, en el que España se convirtió en

centro de atención mundial al celebrarse cuatro grandes acontecimientos: la Exposición Universal de Sevilla, los Juegos Olímpicos de Barcelona, el Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América y la capitalidad europea de la cultura en Madrid" (279).

The transition to democracy itself has received even more debate today. Scholars have raised the idea of multiple transitions, and some even insist that the transitional period for Spain has not yet ended. Tamarit Sumalla comments on the Spanish transition(s). He argues:

> Other observers have suggested that the transition ended when the Socialist Party won the general elections in November 1982, or when Spain entered the European Union in 1986. There have been subsequent discussions about a 'second transition', referring to the years in which Spain was governed by a conservative majority (1996-2004). This second transition would be characterized by a certain ambiguity, since it implies the idea of democratic normalization through the right coming to power in a democratic way, which is something that it had not previously achieved in the course of modern Spanish history. (63)

These changes would not only result in Spain becoming the focus of attention on the global stage, but would also highlight the myriad of existing problems concerning relations between Madrid and "historic nationalities", which include Galicia, Basque Country, and Catalonia. Kirsty Hooper and Manuel Puga Moruxa, in their work *Contemporary Galician Culture Studies*, discuss how the "historic nationalities" came to be following the death of Franco. They state:

> The subsequent advent of democracy reconstituted Spain as a nation of autonomías, in which Galicia, along with Catalonia and the Basque Country, has the status of a *nacionalidade histórica*. This controversial term was designed to

> appease both centralist (who sought to maintain the unity of the Spanish nation-state and therefore rejected the existence of other nations within Spain) and the Basque, Catalan, and Galician nationalists who were determined to see their homelands recognized in law. (3)

In Spain's "state of exception" the *nacionalidades históricas* are often in a precarious state of limbo with regards to their actual power and rights. Kirsty Hooper has written extensively on Galicia in particular, and she notes, "Galicia's relationship with the rest of the world is complicated, in that while on the one hand, Galicia operates as a major culture, with its own language and institutions, on the other, it remains a part of the Spanish state whose nationhood is disputed and therefore, in the state context, minor" (2). This "minor" role within the Spanish state is further complicated by the damage done by the repressive Franco regime that outlawed all languages but Castilian in his nearly forty year dictatorship. Hooper suggests this was an ongoing issue Galicia writing, "[i]n Galicia, the absence of institutions of state throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries meant that with a few rare exceptions, the cultural sphere long functioned as the only Galician public sphere" (25).

Therefore, given Galicia's history, poetry, especially poetry written in Galician, is of critical importance, not only for Galician society, but all of Spain's "state of exception" as well. Historically, poetry has been one of the very few literary genres documenting an entire region. Hooper has acknowledged Rivas as a particularly important poet in her comments on *La desaparición de la nieve*. She writes, "[t]wo presences dominate Rivas's book, that of the Spanish state that controls the possibilities of contact between the four national cultures and against whose limits the book was conceived, and the presence of the Earth, of Gaia, the

wounded body upon which the scars of history are felt and the words of each poem are inscribed" (35).

Hooper further explains the postnational situation as it relates to both Spain and Galicia. She writes:

> The concepts of nation and national culture are themselves clearly changing in response to a number of factors, from the changing geopolitical world situation and the massive population movements that characterized the second half of the twentieth century to the effects of technology on the consumption of literature and culture. In Spain and by extension Galicia (not to mention Catalunya and the Basque Country), these changes must be seen in the context of the shift from dictatorship to democracy that has been taking place since 1975 and the consequent rising of the tension between the centripetal and centrifugal concepts of culture and identity. Established notions of nation and national identity are becoming increasingly less viable. Nation continues to be a key organizing factor in our experience of culture and identity, but its borders are being questioned, redrawn, and even dissolved. (*Contemporary Galician Culture Studies* 277)

In these "postnational" times, Joseba Gabilondo notes the role globalization has had on what he calls "minority literature", a term he deploys against Deleuze and Guattari's term "minor literature". He proposes, "…only by incorporating the postnational and postcolonial effects of globalization, can we begin to understand the new historical status of minority literatures (Basque, Spanish, French, etc.)" (*Remnants of a Nation* 28). He further uses Basque society to explain "minority literatures" in a globalized world by employing W.E.B. Dubois' concept of "double consciousness". He states:

> In short, the Basques can look at themselves through the eyes of the other in *Obabakoak* and yet, the measuring tape of the 'Basque soul' remains 'otherness': the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. The world looks at the Basques as 'magic and realist others' and forces them to look at themselves as such 'others'. This is the definition of what a minority literature constitutes in globalization. (43)

Galicians, as they share the status of *nacionalidade histórica* with Catalonia and Basque Country, were forced into the same peripheral and postnational situation as their Basque compatriots because they had to also view themselves as the other within the Spain's "state of exception". In coming from a coastal and rural distant corner of Spain, the Galician people have been forced to evaluate themselves in light of their differences to those who live in the central, and perhaps insular, urban environment of Madrid. This also requires modifications for the literary critics as well because as Gabilondo argues, "[t]he political, cultural, and historical formation of Galician literature cannot be approached from a nationalist point of view; the question of the national language cannot decide the location of the literature" ("Toward a Postnational History of Galician Literature" 92). This would be more of a pillar than a crutch for Galicians like Rivas who view themselves as the global citizens trapped in a "state of exception".

Section II: Galicia and *Galeguidade*

Galicia's historical past has been documented by many scholars, but no one has captured its more intricate aspect, such as Galeguidade, as thoroughly as Ramón Piñeiro. In discussing Piñeiro's insights on *Galeguidade* in her book, *Galicia, a Sentimental Nation: Gender, Culture*

and Politics, Helena Miguélez-Carballeira expounds on his contributions to his homeland. She writes:

> Of primordial importance for the preservation of a Galician discourse of national difference, which the *Galixia* intellectuals saw as the only way of salvaging Galicia's political survival in a post-dictatorship future, was the theorization of Galicians' differentiated psychological makeup, for which the trope of sentimentality (encapsulated in the concept of Galician saudade) served as a channel. An often unacknowledged aspect of the discourse of *piñeirismo* – whose legacy is still present today in the cultural institutions created under its auspices – is that one of its chief metaphors shared a history with those repeatedly utilized in centralist/colonist depictions of Galician identity, whilst simultaneously supplying a line of continuity for these metaphors' circulation in present-day discourses about Galicia and Galician nationalism. (26-7)

Rivas will build on Piñeiro's use of *Galeguidade*, quite adeptly in his work, by anthropomorphizing nature, in the present, in order to create a unified coalition among his readers. Upon gaining the attention of his audience, Rivas will then offer his own political agenda as an add-on to the "empty signifier" that nature will become. By gaining a larger group of supporters through the use of ecological awareness as a point of contact, Rivas can claim a stronger and more diverse base as he seeks the assistance of Galicians all over the world that will be, in turn, a stronger force with which to confront Spain's "state of exception".

Romero has also discussed the dispersion of Galician culture, but through the topic of emigration. She argues:

> That is, Galician cultural practices highlight the direct connection between the emigrant and the homeland. Most of these representations reconfigure the emigrant's absence and wrap it in a halo of nostalgia as the result of detachment and loss. Such nostalgia (*saudade* or *morriña*, as it has been called in Galician) mythifies the concept of the nation because as Susan Stewart asserts 'the present is denied and the past takes on an authenticity of being'…In other words, the idea of the nation becomes idealized by the longing for a concrete geographical place left behind. Therefore, absence and loss maintain a connection with a past life that does no longer exists… (7)

This will certainly aid Rivas as he further attracts attention to Galicia by anthropomorphizing nature.

The topic of Galician emigration has been investigated by Francisco Seijo in his article "¡Modernización o Emigración!". He claims, "[d]esde 1951 hasta 1991 emigraron 817.382 gallegos a áreas urbanas del Estado Español, el norte de Europa, y América Latina (Carabajo, 1996). Se estima que un 40% de la nueva clase trabajadora industrial urbana española surgida tras los años cincuenta y sesenta estaba formada por individuos provenientes del medio rural (Fusi, 1986)" (60). Sharif Gemie has furthered the discussion of emigration adding:

> This was the period during which many left the land: by 1975, for the first time, the majority of Galicia's population lived in towns and cities. At the same time, this meant a renewed shift westwards, as people left the agricultural areas in Lugo and Ourense for the towns along the coast. A new mixed, peasant culture developed among those who remained in the villages. Women became full-time farm managers, taking care of both the animals and fields, and guaranteeing a

> basic minimum of food for their families. Men tended to travel more widely, looking for work, but they were now more likely to go to Switzerland for construction work than to Argentina or Cuba. (126)

Leaving the land not only created a *saudade* for the Galicians, but it also had a detrimental effect on one of their major economic bolsters: agriculture. Fernando Ojea has noted the vastness of the emigration from Galicia. He writes, "[e]n 1982, el sector primario ocupaba a 459.000 trabajadores, lo que suponía el 43 por cien de la población activa, pero diez años después sólo quedaban 285.000 personas en estas tareas, un 28 por cien de las activas" (129).

It must also be noted, the government itself has also caused irreparable damage to the Galician landscape. Francisco Seijo has pointed out the effect of the introduction of a non-indigenous plant to the Galician countryside. He comments:

> Atípicamente, la crises del ecosistema en cuestión no fue provocada por una de las causas anteriormente citadas, sino por la repoblación masiva y forzosa por parte del Estado de una gran parte del territorio gallego con especies forestales de crecimiento rápido con el *eucalyptus globulus* o el *pinus pinaster*. Estas repoblaciones tuvieron como consecuencia ecológica, en parte intencionada, el colapso de la economía agrícola y ganadera tradicional de numerosas comunidades rurales gallegas y contribuyeron a la emigración de muchos de sus habitantes a zonas urbanas del Estado Español, Europa y América Latina. (59)

In addition to the agricultural issues caused by emigration and the introduction of non-indigenous plant species, other factors also abated Galicia's advancement. For example, several argue that some nationalist myths, adopted officially into *Galeguidade*, have hindered Galicia's impetus. While Galician intellectuals would not have all myths removed from their heritage, they

do advocate for a renovation of the myths to be employed henceforth. So far there has not been any documentation on the prevalence or absence of myths in Rivas' poetry, but in her article, "De la identidad gallega nacional a la identidad gallega global", Cristina Sánchez-Conejero discusses Rivas' approximation to the cultural myths of Galicia in his narratives. She writes:

> El concepto de identidad gallega que propone Rivas en su obra se opone a todo tipo de 'grandes narrativas', ya sea por parte del nacionalismo español o por parte del nacionalismo gallego. Es por esta razón que Rivas considera imperativa no sólo la desmitificación de la imagen castellana de Galicia como comunidad de segundo orden, sino también la revisión de la supuesta identidad celta gallega. Ambos discursos, tanto el del nacionalismo español como el del nacionalismo gallego tienen un claro carácter 'metanarrativo' y, además, adolecen de reduccionismo –cuando no de falsedad- en su presentación de la identidad gallega. (227)

For Rivas, according to Sánchez-Conejero and a textual analysis of his works, it is imperative to capture what Galicians are now and what they were in the not too distant past, without interference from Spain's "state of exception". This is because the reliance on the Franco regime's nationalist agenda for Galicia has been costly according to some researchers. Ángel G. Loureiro contends:

> Another consequence of Galicia's weak past can be seen in the fact that in contrast to the stability of organized nationalist parties in Catalunya and Euskal Herria, which can trace their roots and even their existence to the beginning of the twentieth century, in Galicia, and especially in the post-Franco era, there have

> proliferated a number of minuscule nationalist parties that needed the sieve of time in order for the most viable one to impose itself. (167)

Where Cataluña and País Vasco chose newer parties, Galicia found itself trapped in a watered down version of Franco's "state of exception" under the long political life of Manuel Fraga. Gemie explains Fraga's rise to power in detail. He states:

> The process of reform in the mid-1970s was more nebulous and opaque than it had been in 1931. Francoist bureaucrats and politicians publicly issued calls for modernization and *aperturismo*- literally opening-up, but the Russian word *glasnost* probably better captures the resonances of the term. Manuel Fraga played an important part in this process. From 1973 to 1975 he was Spain's ambassador to the United Kingdom. In October 1973 he issued a call from London for the creation of a vast reform coalition, stretching from the 'modern right' to Catholic-inspired social democrats. Fraga was rapidly establishing himself as one of the most clear-thinking and forward-looking of the last Francoists, and his proposal now carried some weight. In March 1977, he led seven political organizations into the formation of a new party, the Alianza Popular. Fraga was elected general secretary of this organization and became its president in 1979. (132)

Later, Fraga served as president of the Xunta for Galicia from 1989-2005. His long tenure in Galician politics has left behind an imperfect record when considering how he nurtured Spain's "state of exception" in Galicia.

In the end, Fraga's inaction caused numerous political problems for him, and it would take one of the greatest environmental crises in world history to have him voted out. Indeed, the

crises was met by a grassroots movement called "Nunca Máis", of which Rivas was a cofounder. Kirsty Hooper and Manuel Puga Moruxa explain:

> Just as Fraga's rule of Galicia began to look as if it would never end, the wreckage of the Prestige oil tanker in 2002, which covered the whole Galician coast with fuel, provoked an unprecedented mobilization of Galician civil society as a reaction to the disastrous management of the ecological crisis by both the Xunta and the central government. It is this mobilization, organized and led mainly by intellectuals and artists under the banner of *Nunca Máis* ('never again'), that eventually led to the downfall of the Fraga government in the 2005 Galician election… (12)

In continuation, Roseman has commented on the Galician government's lack of action when it comes to preserving its language. She states:

> Catalan nationalists have traditionally perceived their language as a vital cultural symbol and the vehicle of a celebrated centuries old tradition, while other Spaniards have deemed it a threat to national integrity…Over the years these conditions generated substantial literary legacy and more recently have sparked a noteworthy Catalan cultural renaissance. On the other hand, Basque and Gallego-Spain's other significant minority languages- have not generated analogous bodies of literature and their linguistic development lags behind Catalan. (313)

In addition, Earl L. Rees explains how laws in Galicia have also worked against their native dialect stating:

> In, 1986, a Galician court annulled an article of the Linguistic Normalization Law requiring students to learn that language. The Education Advisory Board could

> only 'recommend' that students know the indigenous language. Since that moment, a vaguely defined program of 'bilingüismo armónico' has emerged wherein 90% of the populace now knows Galician. Absence of immersion programs does not satisfy strident nationalist groups seeking to impose Galician as the language of instruction and everyday use…Interestingly enough, many students in rural zones begin their schooling with Galician as their first language. In urban areas, on the other hand, its use is much more limited. (318-9)

Many of Galicia's aforementioned historical and political issues have not escaped the poet, as they are the focus of various texts he has authored. He has worked tirelessly, both through narratives such as *¿Qué me quieres, mi amor?* and *El lápiz del carpintero*, and in the news print to document Galicia's conversion process in a globalized world. In "Galicia, sociedad clientelar", he infers:

> Los factores que explican por qué la sociedad clientelar ha extendido tan rápida y eficazmente sus tentáculos en Galicia son tantos y de tan variada índole que no pueden ser abordados aquí. De todos modos, habría que recordar, primero, que la sociedad gallega ha sido históricamente dependiente, y que sus élites, básicamente desempeñaron funciones de intermediación con el exterior, sin un proyecto propio apreciable, y segundo, que ese extensión del clientelismo se produce en un arco temporal en el que coinciden la creación del Gobierno autónomo, las repetidas mayorías absolutas del PP y la avanzada transformación de una sociedad rural en una sociedad terciarizada. La diferencia entre el viejo caciquismo y el clientelismo actual se cifra en ese cambio social y político que ha vivido el país en los últimos veinticinco años, importante, pero incapaz de provocar una

> redefinición de los objetivos estratégicos colectivos que superarse el localismo y la desarticulación.

Roseman has also commented on the ramifications of maintaining an economic structure that allows for the caciques to continue in Galicia. She writes:

> The power of cacique families has therefore extended beyond their direct extraction of labour and products from socially subordinate individuals for whom they proffered 'favors'; their existence in each local area and their links to the bureaucratic mechanisms that can seal class oppression has also been an effective intervening force in the reinforcement of an economically differentiated countryside. (38)

The issue of *caciquismo* is one that will be raised in *La desaparición de la nieve*. While Rivas will relish in the hard work of the peasant farmers, he will condemn the Spanish "state of exception" that has driven the agricultural workers from rural areas in utter poverty to find themselves being employed as nothing more than cheap labor for Spain and other European nations.

Therefore, I will explain how, through *La desaparición de la nieve*, Rivas will advocate for the preservation of the Galician language, culture, and ecology by uniting his fellow Galicians. Upon creating an "empty signifier" through the anthropomorphism of nature, Rivas will later offer his explicit political agenda to a captive audience with an end goal of finally ridding Galicia of all aspects of Franco's "state of exception".

Section III: *Galeguidade* and the "empty signifier"

The first section that will be analyzed from this work include the poems: "La enigmática organización", "Entierro campesino", "Hierba de ciego", "Cantiga de amor", "Viento Tehuelche", "Tierra de fuego", and "Boh". These poems range from page 79, the beginning of the text in Castilian, to page 124, nearly two-thirds through the entire work. These poems were chosen for this section based on the prevalence of *Galeguidade* in the form of an anthropomorphized nature, which Rivas will employ as an "empty signifier" to create an attentive audience to which he can later indoctrinate with his own political agenda.

The first poem of the work, "La enigmática organización", presents a theme critical to *Galeguidade*, which is *saudade*. The poet begins the first poem anthropomorphizing the words. He writes, "Vienen las palabras a reclamar lo suyo, / lo substraído" (79). The strong commencement for the work illustrates the poet's confidence in the written word, poetically in this case, to highlight issues that require attention. He then employs a simile to demonstrate how exactly these words can be employed. Instead of using great force, Rivas depends on a persistently non-abrasive subtlety. He writes, "Fuera de los campos de trabajo, / se mueven cuidadosas como la porcelana / o el primer día de abril" (79). He also documents the power of literature by using simile once again. He writes, "Existe la boca de la literatura, / la loca que habla sola / como una medusa" (79). He mentions the power of words algonside the fields of the Galician countryside. In doing this he demonstrates the true purpose of his words: to help a suffering natural world and cause political change. He wants the reader to know that there is hope for the future, but it must be gently cultivated instead of strewn upon the masses without

restraint. Rivas himself has commented on his own hopefulness for Galicia. In an interview with Mateo Rello he states:

> Como dijo un marinero en relación con un naufragio, 'tengo esperanza, pero una esperanza negativa'. Algo así siento ahora mismo sobre la perspectiva de una biodiversidad real. En términos de geopolítica y de poder cultural, en la Península no parece una prioridad para nadie, o para casi nadie. Por eso son tan importantes iniciativas individuales como la de vuestra revista. Hay que practicar el contrabando, abrir pasos. Y es una tarea poética extraer esperanza de la desesperanza.

It is well suited then, he begins this work creating hope, which is not unrelated to *Galeguidade*. As he gives so much weight to poetry, he will use the "powerful words" to anthropomorphize nature in order to create sympathy for it. There is also a reason why his hope is tempered, and this is evident in the final section of the poem. He writes:

> Existe otra saudade.
> Existe el tren donde viaja una saudade
> desposeída.
> Duermen las palabras
> bajo el alzheimer de los puentes.
> En las alcantarillas se desarrolla la historia:
> los falso testigos torturan a los poemas. (79)

The premier poem of this work is indicative of Rivas' use of manipulation of nature and it works to connect with the reader by presenting a problem, which can be solved through collaboration. Later, he will use it as an "empty signifier" to promote his political agenda. His inclusion of the

malady Alzheimer's as an anthropomorphism of nature is particularly effective as he references the jaded histories that exist in Spain. With a history created in the "sewer" as Rivas put it, Galicians will have much reflection and investigation to do before they can move forward. The poem continues:

> En el tormento de asfixia, pierden el aire,
> la valiosa información.
> Se salvarán los que simulen la muerte
> en un esplendor de hierba.
> O los que recuerden un romance de ciego
> donde todo se cuenta
> sin esperanza y sin miedo.
> O aquellos que rescaten la enigmática organización
> de las palabras en vilo. (79-80)

Loureiro has also discussed the issue of history in Galicia as well. In his article, "Imperfect past", he comments, "[t]his lack of history and its resulting uncertainty regarding the future points to the absence that underlies Galician nationalism" (168). Apart from Spain itself, Rivas knows that Galicia, with the well-documented emigration of its citizens all over the world, can survive the complications created by a figurative "Alzheimer's" because if something is forgotten in one place, it will still remain in the other. The dispersion of its citizens ultimately ensures Galicia's survival, even in a "state of exception".

In the next selection of poems, he continues to explore *Galeguidade* by reminding the reader of the figurative sentiment held in the land itself. As Galicia has been noted to have so many emigrants, this is certainly a point that Rivas will stress to show a *saudade* for an

anthropomorphized nature. Romero further explains the connection between nostalgia and *saudade*. He offers:

> The topic of longing and nostalgia, *saudade* or *morriña* as it is called in Galicia, as a distinctive trait of practical identity, and its role for understanding the past and constructing Galicia's future is central…I argue that despite how Galicians perceive themselves as a nation of emigrants, the desire to return home becomes the inherent characteristic that haunts *Galeguidade*. (xix)

Rivas uses several of his poems to highlight the importance of the land and those who work it. The anthropomorphism of nature works to create a stronger connection between people and a natural world endowed with human characteristics in the poems "Entierro campesino", "Hierba de ciego", and "Cantiga de amor".

In "Entierro campesino", Rivas portrays the return of the farmer to the soil he spent his life working. He writes:

> Solo sonaban los cencerros
> con una alegría animal
> colgada de las nubes,
> abriendo huecos en la hierba,
> en el silencio abismal,
> inhumano,
> que soltó la campana. (101)

The inclusion of this event is clearly homage to a profession Rivas esteems. It is important for him to recognize those who retain their connection with the land of Galicia. Here the cows make music, which brings happiness to all those who are positioned to hear it. It is as if nature is

rewarding those who take the time to appreciate and care for it. The high value that Rivas places on land is also apparent in another poem in the collection, “Hierba de ciego”. Here, Rivas connects the land and its products with Nicolás Poussin, who is challenged to capture the most beautiful gift for a Roman museum.

In “Hierba de ciego” he writes:

> Un puñado de tierra,
> una costar de sangre,
> una pútrida alma
> salada
> con el polvo de mármol de las estatuas.
> Un puñado de tierra,
> un rescoldo de los inviernos,
> un mundo antiguo soñando
> con la elevación de la ortiga,
> de la hierba de ciego,
> en el molde de una mano. (81)

The land, with all of it winters and its products, is combined with what man himself has to offer, a putrid soul, to create the gift. Here the anthropomorphized nature is the generous giver while humans have nothing by destruction to offer in the form of rot.

In commenting on the abandonment of the land, Rivas anthropomorphizes nature by indicating the suffering that Galicia has had to face in the poem “Cantiga de amor”. He writes:

> Se moverán los cuerpos
> como maquis

por los límites de la noche.

Entrarán nadando uno en el otro,
Ma Senhor,
como entraba el hambre en Galicia. (87)

Rivas's simile draws attention to the guerilla fighters, los maquis, who fought against Franco's forces even after the bloody Civil War had ended. As they were forced to hide during the day and carry out their attacks at night, he equates them to those agricultural workers who are forced to leave Galicia, and the farms that may soon rot instead of growing sustenance for a people. With this simile, Rivas illustrates the continuity of Franco's "state of exception" and the suffering of the Galician countryside.

In some cases, as is apparent in the poem "Viento Tehuelche", the anthropomorphism of nature has a spectral effect. In "Viento Tehuelche", Rivas also looks to the pain of the past by focusing on the atrocities committed by Spain even hundreds of years before the poet lived. In this poem, he anthropomorphizes the wind and creates and analogy in which it is a vessel of infinite communication of past crimes. He writes:

Un par de orejas de tehuelche
valía una libra esterlina.
Hubo cazadores de indios
que decidieron ahorrar munición
y cobraron por orejas de vivo…
El viento,
el viento sin orejas,

el viento de nadie,

bramando la palabra infinita. (100)

These verses resonate strongly in a poem that depicts the ghoulish practice, carried out by the conquistadors, of cutting the ears from indigenous people and saving them as trophies. This is made clear in the first verses of the poem in which Rivas writes, "Un par de orejas de tehuelche / valía una libra esterlina" (100). Clearly here the *saudade* of *Galeguidade* is bastardized further by Spain's unique history. Furthermore, while this may be merely a colonial memory for Spaniards, for Galicians who have emigrated throughout South America, Spanish travesties of the past are evident to them in their new settings. One could argue that in the case of Latin America, the continued defacing of nature through deforestation and overgrazing sustains the Spanish legacy of destruction in the Americas. This is especially true for the land formally inhabited by the disfigured subjects of "Viento de Tehuelche". Conservación Patagonica states that the land there is facing dire threats. They insist, "[s]tocking rates were consistently over 60% above the estimated carrying capacity of the land. Domestic animals, particularly sheep, inflict far more damage on grasses as they graze than do native herbivores. The result: vast areas of remote and undeveloped Patagonia approach irreversible ecological collapse" (Overgrazing and Desertification).

Another poem in the collection that can be grouped into this section is "Tierra de fuego". One of the most interesting aspects of this poem is the manner in which Rivas juxtaposes fire and ice in the body and title of the poem. Rivas documents global warming in these verses by anthropomorphizing the glaciers, and he brazenly displays humanity's hypocrisy towards impeding doom. He writes:

Los turistas se desperezan y excitan

cuando la cresta del glaciar se resquebraja.

Ese derrumbe de la naturaleza gótica

provoca exclamaciones de jubiloso espanto.

Tal vez retrocede por vergüenza,

tal vez por los disparos de los flashes,

tal vez por los lamentos de asombro.

El éxito, la extinción.

La naturaleza, sí, imita al arte. (137)

This poem portrays a touristic expedition to a glacial site where the onlookers wait with anticipation for the cracking of ice and the falling of immense sheets into the frigid waters. However, Rivas is quick to note that the frigid waters are no longer frigid enough to maintain the glaciers, which are quickly melting and disappearing from the face of Earth. This presentation of global warming, a phenomenon that is predicted to bring an end to all life on Earth, is celebrated by the tourists who find themselves in the good fortune of being present at such an incredible event.

He offers a depiction of an anthropomorphized natural world that suffers due to humanity's callous decisions. He presents the glaciers as victims, and this has a powerful effect that is meant to inspire political change and cause readers to reflect on their impact on the environment. This poem has particular importance because all of humanity contributes to the destruction of the glaciers by contaminating environments all over the world, and all suffer the elements when a steady rise of sea levels and a constant warming of the oceans continues to lead to more devastating natural disasters. Rivas highlights this by speculating about the cause for the collapse. He provides ideas on what could have caused the crash, avoiding the obvious assertion

that the persistent warming of the Earth due to human action has contributed to this catastrophe. Perhaps they retreat to the ocean out of embarrassment, he suggests. Maybe it is the flashes that force the camera shy glaciers to hide themselves. Finally, he speculates they might have been scared off by the tourists' jubilant cries. Most intriguing is how Rivas presents the glaciers like natives stalked by anthropologists and tourists. The poet portrays the tourists, who come as indignant intruders, as contributors to the very spectacle they have come to observe, albeit uninvited.

Rivas's comments on the environment and the negative effect humans have on it have been documented in his poetry as well as his newspaper articles. As previously mentioned, it is important to note his flair for irony and agility with the written word is not absent in his prose. In the article "Adeus medio adeus ambiente" he condemns the Galician government for actions he perceives to be harmful to the environment. He writes:

> No novo organigrama do Goberno galego, a xestión de Medio Ambiente, que tiña unha consellería de seu, vén de ser incorporada á mesma área de Infraestruturas e Obras Públicas, onde ten ponte de mando o señor Agustín Hernández. En rigor, habría que informar así: Medio Ambiente é engulida polas Forzas da Maquinaria Pesada.

The indicated construction project is presented as a positive action by the government, and Rivas is quick to agree sarcastically. His stating that the environment is being "engulfed by heavy machinery" highlights the damage being carried out by humans for a short-term fiscal benefit. He once again moves to anthropomorphize nature as a victim so that action can be taken in order to sustain the guarded hope for the future.

In “Boh”, the final poem to be included in this section, Rivas navigates the landscape of Galician culture through the eyes of a man trespassing the streets of a city, taking in the nightlife around him. The second stanza of the poem contains an example of anthropomorphism that relates directly to points previously made in this section: the altercations between Galician history and *Galeguidade*. Rivas writes, “También hacía esquinas, / justo al ángulo que necesita un hombre / para que no le dispare la Historia por la espalda” (124). In this depiction, history lurks around each corner ready to pounce on an unsuspecting victim. This portrayal of a dangerous, anthropomorphized official History draws the reader back to Franco’s “state of exception” and is meant to create fear and distrust. In doing so, Rivas continues to build more credence for poetry. It also returns the reader’s attention to the first poem of the collection, “La enigmática organización”, which claims Spanish History was conceived in the sewers.

By employing verses from the first stanza, this fear of a false, official, History can be justified as the poet gives an approximate date of the events. He writes:

> Era de un andar lento,
> pensativos pies escrutadores
> de un hombre sorprendido de estar vivo.
> La última obra fue la maquina asombrosa
> un carro del país
> extraño a nuestros ojos como un aeronave
> medieval
> que él construyó en una covacha urbana.
> Era el tiempo de ir a la luna,
> pisarla, herrarla,

pero él afinó el transporte

para llevarla

por las rutas del estiércol y las algas.

Decía: ¡Boh, boh, boh, boh! (124).

The historical moment of the moon landing in 1969 gives the reader a firm basis for establishing the exact time period Rivas is focused on in this poem. This particular historic moment falls under the rule of the Franco regime and sheds further light on the first two verses, which hint at a certain apprehension for the subject of the poem. Another point to notice is the careful steps the subject takes on earth, but Rivas, within several verses, discusses the trampling and branding of the moon. Here Rivas anthropomorphizes the moon and shows how it has been made a victim by humanity. Because the United States of America, a country with a checkered past concerning environmental responsibility, was the nation that first landed a man on the moon, this could be a subtle critique on that country's less than stellar environmental record.

The third stanza of the poem introduces a new analogy that sheds further light on Galicia's, and Spain's, uncertainty towards the end of the Franco regime, and thus reminds the reader that Spain continues to be a "state of exception". He writes:

Hacía con las manos cada cigarro

y el humo leal,

pesaroso,

era la cordillera

que sostenía un desconocido país

encima de las nubes.

Un infinito centenal

injertado

en los últimos pájaros.

Decía: ¡Boh, boh, boh, boh! (125)

In this analogy, the smoke forms a figurative mountain range that "sustains an unknown country". The distribution of aspects of *saudade* onto this figurative landscape is further evidence of its deep roots in the poet's own disposition and in the disposition of his fellow Galicians. Rivas finishes the poem with verses highlighting the solitude of the subject and himself. The anthropomorphism of nature here indicates the importance of the creatures that have Spain's true identity "grafted" on their beings. They are authentic while humanity is not. This inward reflection sets an example for the reader to question his/her own actions and positions in a "state of exception". The penultimate stanza contains the verses, "Amé aquella música, / el gorgorear de la soledad", and the final stanza decrees:

Nunca nada pidió el carpintero, todo lo hizo él

con las manos.

Incluso la sombra para andar

el día de la marcha final.

Decía: ¡Boh, boh, boh, boh! (125)

Rivas stresses independence and self-sufficiency in these lines. This independence and self-sufficiency alludes to the necessity to care for oneself and family in an earlier Galicia with limited resources. Through the anthropomorphism of nature Rivas stresses high esteem he has for the precious natural resources that are not to be wasted but carefully maintained by all Galicians and Spaniards. Now that Rivas has the reader's attention, he will convert nature into an "empty signifier" so that he can disperse his own political views to a receptive audience. He does

this because if he merely started out with politics instead of the generally accepted environmental awareness movement, he would have garnered far less support.

Section IV: A Call to Action

This final section will focus of Rivas's use of implicit and explicit political views, which are meant to inspire action on the part of his readers. Here, Rivas offers his own political agenda to his unified audience in the hopes of producing visible change in the world around him. Essentially, the whole purpose of this work is to cause political change, and through these poems, Rivas will indicate exactly what modifications are required to complete the transition from Spain's "state of exception" to a new Spanish state where *nacionalidades históricas* have true political autonomy.

The first poem of this selection is "Una llamada perdida", and it has a very forceful message: "*Galicia-Liberdade-Amor*".

He begins the poem writing:

> Ahí está, en un ring interior.
> *Repito posición:*
> *Golf Alfa Lima India Charlie India Alfa*
> Aunque creo que tú,
> precisamente tú, quién lo diría,
> tienes algo de esperanza.
> Hay en tus ojos un letrero de neón.
> El neón pertenece a la vanguardia de la esperanza.

¿Recuerdas? (122)

The poem begins with an interior ring indicating the emergence of a problem based on the verses offering a military code. This alludes to a need for a rescue. The neon sign also draws attention as if to warn the reader. It serves as a signal of a failed communication that was meant to avoid some kind of catastrophe.

El mensaje era:

Lima India Bravo Echo Romeo Delta Alfa Delta Echo

Las fotografías capturaban el jazz de la luz.

Los amantes se mecían

en el acordeón de *L'Atalante*.

El neón brillaba

con la memoria de un río

en el traje blanco de Dita Parlo.

Los besos eran largos,

duraban más que el fin.

Por ellos se perdían los tranvías

y los barcos.

¿Cómo era el mensaje?

Alfa Mike Oscar Romeo (122)

Several other verses in the poem work to indicate a loss that can be folded into *saudade*. There is the memory of a river and a white dress of Dita Parlo, a German actress who died in 1971. Next there is a long kiss between two people that "lasts longer than the end" which points to a

permanent separation after a final farewell; these two people have sacrificed transportation for one final kiss that will last for what time they have left.

Otra vez:

Alfa Mike Oscar Romeo

Y los padres vomitaban la factura eléctrica,

boxeadores sin bistec en los pasillos de la noche noche.

Desde entonces,

noto que tienes algo de esperanza,

una araña ebria en el trueno

que prende en las espinas de las nubes de abril,

una brizna de arco iris en el ojo

como los pescadores de Fisterra,

un pez boca de fuego,

un pez que cría las huecas entre los dientes.

Repito posición:

en un ring interior,

emitiendo para un sistema exterior.

¿Cuál es el mensaje? Cambio.

¿Cuál es el mensaje? (122-3)

Within these verses of the poem, the author paints an almost apocalyptic scene where people suffer to the point of starvation and illness in Spain's "state of exception". In the verses, boxers are deprived of protein, and parents, in their desperation, are vomiting to pay electric bills. This regurgitation seems on par with a bulimic person who overindulges to the point of

becoming ill. The parents Rivas depicts are culprits of overindulgence, or at least they allow their children to overindulge. Either way, this verse is an explicit condemnation of those who put themselves under fiscal stress while wasting precious resources. He brings the reader back to the idea of a natural world being consumed and destroyed by greed and gluttony in the Spanish "state of exception".

Beginning with this poem, there appears to be a forceful effort on the part of the poet to communicate directly to the reader. His unmistakable message spelled out from the first letters of the code spell *Galicia*, *Liberdade*, and *Amor*. In this message, Rivas expresses his conceptualization for an ideal future free from the Spanish "state of exception". He has hope for his homeland and its resources, and he also has faith in his fellow Galicians.

The next several poems, instead of imparting knowledge and opinion on the reader, thus implicitly communicating, attempt to alert the reader, so that the most important political ideas from this work can be noticed and understood. He will begin to elevate poetry with the final poems so that his overall message of stepping away from the quotidian and making clear and adequate political changes for the future can be prominently signaled.

Where "Una llamada perdida" worked steadily to explain the problems of the present and express hope for the future, the next selected poem is a clear call for help. "Mayday" is an allegory to the precarious, present day situation in Spain's "state of exception". His ominous foreshadowing creates fear meant to inspire the necessary political changes that can sustain Galicia's natural resources. "Mayday" begins with the italicized stanza signaling alarm. He writes:

Mayday, mayday, mayday!

Pan-pan, pan-pan, pan-pan!

Securité, securité, securité! (126)

The exclamation and repetition are clearly denoting the urgency of the situation. Later in the poem, the poet employs anthropomorphism in his depiction of the sun to indicate a change is occurring. He writes: "El sol lame las heridas del crepúsculo. / El sol clava los ojos con hastío / en el coágulo de su sombra granate" (127). His peculiar word choice alludes to a less than seamless change because of the presence of wounds that must be mended. This is not a peaceful transition but a bloody one, once again signaling the Spanish "state of exception" to the reader. He continues with ominous imagery introducing the metaphor: "La luna es una candela / en la calabaza del miedo" (127). This fantastic imagery will continue to the end of the poem. Rivas stresses the need for political change as he plays on fears from childhood and builds on them with biblical and literary references. The poem continues:

Mayday, mayday, mayday!

Pan-pan, pan-pan, pan-pan!

Securité, securité, securité!

Miedo mío,

amigo de la infancia,

perro del anochecer

vomitando los colores del vacío,

los huesos de Dios,

en las esquinas con filos de navaja.

Nubes de los cien mil estorninos de Coruña

voy a deshacer con vosotros,

dijo Pucho Boedo,

ese nudo que nos ata.

Voy a ponerme en el ojal,

como flor delgada,

la bala que nos mata. (127)

This section of the poem sustains the dire need to leave the "state of exception" as it discusses vomiting profusely, the bones of God, and a bullet in the form of a flower, which kills a collective group. Rivas, in plain language, is discussing how Galicia has been damaged by depicting the carcass of "God's bones". In noting this, he works to shame the reader into political action.

Through the conclusion of the poem, the poet will use the image of bones to create fear on the part of the reader. Rivas' continued dark premonitions work to change the perceptions about humanity's dangerous ecological position and inspire political change in Spain's "state of exception". He concludes:

Mayday, mayday, mayday!

Pan-pan, pan-pan, pan-pan!

Securité, securité, securité!

Hay un cetáceo ametrallado en la Zambella,

al lado del Portiño.

Duro es de roer el hueso de la saudade.

Voy a limar una llave con el hueso de la saudade,

la aguja del vinilo,

los dos dedos de Django salvó del infierno

de las flores de plástico. (127)

Following the third *Mayday* call, the poet once again employs the image of bones in an analogy. This analogy of chewing or gnawing the bone of *saudade* highlights what the poet perceives as masochistic tendencies prominent in the Spanish "state of exception". Rivas acknowledges that Spaniards will bring about its own ecological destruction by not uniting to make the necessary political changes in their state. This is not the first time Rivas has presented this type of behavior, as references to vomiting are present in "Una llamada perdida". The behavior portrayed in these two poems can certainly be an indication that the poet calls on his readers to self-evaluate and reflect on the Spanish "state of exception".

Los inviernos tenían tanta hambre tanta
que roían las raíces de las lámparas,
las brasas que pisaban los faquires,
las bandadas de pésames,
el acento de los goznes,
el dorso de la aurora en la morera.
Y luego el entenebrecer,
el rudimento de no ser. (127-128)

In the course of the poem, a trifold *Mayday* cry is sent out four times. There is no one point in which the reader can be at ease because the poet does not permit the dissipation of the tension. In doing so he recreates the quotidian sensation of living in Spain's "state of exception".

One of the lingering points behind this poem would be the source or identity of the security force on which the poet calls. His lack of trust in the ability of the Spanish "state of exception" to properly regulate its citizens, along with his guarded hope in people themselves,

leaves one to wonder in whom so much trust could be placed. While some his fellow man pick away at the bones of *saudade*, there appears to be very limited options of anyone who can care for the natural world Rivas lives in. He brings the reader back to the first grouping of poems studied in this chapter in which the anthropomorphism of nature highlights the victimization of the natural world. This is the point Rivas is making through this poem, as he calls his fellow citizens to action. There is no group or entity that he can rely on. Instead, he calls upon individuals to step forward instead of waiting on organizations. He goes even further in this poem than with "Una llamada perdida", however, as he presents the option to not continue living under the present circumstances and even offers the possibility of "no ser". This establishes a theme that will manifest in the last poem of the work which will be the only means to break the Spanish "state of exception": free will.

Throughout this entire collection of poems presented by Rivas, the poet offers snapshots of a future in which some people are suffering, as will the rest of his society and global community if all parties fail to act. The anthropomorphism of nature into a victim illuminates his efforts to organize a group of supporters that can cause political change and inspire action. This is especially true in the poem, "La bruja en la esquina de la barra". Rivas writes:

> Amé en aquella mirada
> lo que había de sospecha.
> Y el miedo de la cosas
> tenía en aquel espejo la ilusión
> de disentir del futuro. (99)

In this poem, he presents an old woman in Spain's "state of exception", portrayed as a witch due to her haggard and sickly appearance, and through analogy he uses her as a mirror

directed at the reader. Instead of seeing him or herself, the reader is forced to look at this woman as his or her own reflection. As this woman is destitute and without a future, the reader is forced into an empathetic situation upon seeing the reflection. This transition is significant because after spending so much time anthropomorphizing nature, Rivas realigns human suffering with that of the natural world and thus creates en "empty signifier" from nature. Now the people he has united in the first group of poems can recognize the need to address human suffering as well as ecological problems in the "state of exception". Once again, Rivas is toying with disconcertion in order to signal an ominous future while calling readers to action. He does everything to maintain hope for the future so it does not become a time of guilt or shame, as is the case with the present. He continues to argue that in a "state of exception", the suffering of one is indicative of the suffering of all people.

Another similar poem is "La mano vacía". Here, the poet once again manipulates the prospects of the future, but in this instance, he does so through a journey to the past. He writes:

> Ahora entiendo
> por qué hace miles de años
> en el cosmos del invierno
> tú fuiste hacia el fondo de la cueva
> y pintaste la mano vacía
> con el pigmento en llamas
> de la onomatopeya más helada. (117)

In this poem, Rivas plays on the wonder of an early humanoid subject while soliciting the same in contemporary humans as well. He takes the reader back into the caves during a moment of unsolicited self-expression outside of the "state of exception". What exactly called this entity to

document its existence is unknown, and only the evidence of its time on Earth remains. In illuminating this momentous occasion, Rivas connects this brilliant form of expression through its incorporation into his poetry.

The poem continues:

Así quedó
en el vientre de la custodia
el tatuaje de tus ojos amputados,
el beso de tus labios desollados.

En la mano vacía
se abrió un pasadizo
al campo de lo imborrable,
a la madre de los ojos.

Aquella mano
puso fina a la pintura de los bisontes,
a las escenas de caza,
a la magia, a los sagrado, a la decoración,
al gabinete de curiosidades.
Tu mano vacía era una forma extraña.
Lo contenía todo
y en ella lloraba, en cuclillas, la nada. (117)

Like the cave person, Rivas is trying to illustrate his point through the use of symbols, in his case verses and stanzas compiled of words, so that others can learn from him. The presentation of a hand that contains all potential or, the reverse, nothing at all, perhaps indicating complete loss, is also a clear signal from the poet to the reader. Furthermore, Rivas continues to glorify people who lived off the land and sustained it, as he has previously done in the first section with *saudade*. Unlike their modern brethren, the humanoids took only what they needed and left nothing to waste. This stands in sharp contrast to the people of today he presents in several poems in this work, whose waste knows no historical equal. Rivas continues to offer guarded hope for the future outside of the Spanish "state of exception", but it is not without warning of the possibility of the continuation of the present's guilt and shame brought on by a lack of political action.

In addition to the political shortfalls that have affected Galicia, Rivas also signals another institution that has not always helped Galicians: the Catholic Church. In two poems, "Espiritual" and "Resurrección" he employs analogy to show how the Church has taken advantage and even misled its parishioners. Also, through his critique, he elevates himself as an educated poet who works to better both the people and environment around him. Essentially he argues, as a poet his words, unlike the hollow offerings of the Church, can have lasting effects. He writes:

> En lo alto, en el púlpito,
> el sacerdote se interroga sobre la forma
> de la tercera persona,
> del Espíritu Santo.
> Y flota en el silencio de todos una nostalgia.
> La del loco de Conxo

que movía las alas

a ras del templo

piando:

-¡Soy yo, soy yo! (107)

In these verses, he is critical of the Catholic Church for its past actions, and he reminds his readers that those actions had been facilitated by the Spanish "state of exception". He notes how the priest assumes a position of authority over the people and how he steers the conversation and can label sins and virtues. While parishioners are meant to be considering his homily, they are drawn into a past where people were alienated and forced into labor camps against their will. They often died there in the terrible conditions. During this time, the Church did little to help those unfortunates, and for that reason, a *saudade* envelopes the parishioners as they contemplate their losses in Spain's "state of exception". This contemplation is broken, however, with the flapping of the wings and chirp of a bird, which the poet ironically depicts as an affirmation of the Holy Spirit. In condemning institutions such as the Church, as he will do the same with others throughout the work, Rivas lowers the esteem of those with political agendas at odds with his own, while at the same time, he elevates poetry to a position of power from which political change can be inspired.

The poet continues to use irony to discredit the Church in his next poem, "Resurrección", by alluding that the resurrection of Lazarus by Jesus was a hoax. He writes:

¡Levántate y anda!

Ahí el Mesías estuvo magistral

y Lázaro no tuvo más remedio

que rendirse a la ironía.

¿Resucitar, resucitar, resucitar?

Levantarse, andar.

Otra vez todo eso.

Y, además, con publicidad. (108)

Having one of the worlds most renowned pilgrimage sites, Galicia falls under the deep shadow cast by the Catholic Church in Spain. In this poem, Rivas takes one of Jesus' most prominent miracles and reduces it to an orchestrated spectacle of phoniness. Therefore, in condemning the Church, Rivas anoints poetry as one of the only contacts for true enlightenment. The topics he discusses are not whimsical but practical. By reminding the reader of the missteps of the Catholic Church he can highlight politica issues that result in human suffering and environmental destruction, which he perceives to be abundant in the "state of exception".

The final two poems in the selection work to further manipulate *saudade*, which could be shared by all people, not just Galicians. In doing so, he works to unite all citizens of the Spanish "state of exception" so that they can resolve the environmental and humanitarian issues through political change. In the poems, "Huesos y tejas" and "El cuervo de Noé", the poet exhibits themes of rejection, isolation, and fear. He begins "Huesos y tejas" stating:

Bebe, pardal, las nubes

en el búcaro de las calas.

Deja, Señor,

que gobierne mi soledad.

Arboles de las carreteras,

sicomoros,

pasad de mano en mano

este fardo de culpa, los huesos de la palabras, hasta llegar

a la secciones de los badajos,

a la fundición subterránea del sino.

In this first section, we see an analogy between the "burden of guilt" and the "bones of words". The words, a poet's strongest weapon, must go to the foundry to produce the keys that will impress them on the written page in order to display the sad message the poet offers. It is joyless to share his message, but Rivas feels he has no choice but to do so. Unlike the "badajos" that merely discuss the problems of the present, Rivas reminds the reader that one must take political action to prevent further damage. This sharing of information clearly damages the poet, as he too feels the guilt and shame for the actions in the present that continue to damage the environment, and it leads him to seek solitude as indicated in the first verses of the poem.

He continues writing:

Permite, Señor,

que sienta el estremecimiento

de ese otro metal,

la llave del destierro.

Bebe pardal, las nubes

en el búcaro donde la nada construye la simetría

boca abajo.

Concédeme Señor,

una libra de sal

para salar el miedo que atesoro.

Deja que gobierne mi soledad.

Y hueco a hueco,

retejar el destino.

Here, it is important to note the salt requested. In requesting enough salt to "salt his accumulated fear", the poet wishes to preserve his fear and prevent it from dissipating. This is consistent with his past sentiment expressed in his poems in this work. Rivas continues to cultivate fear, guilt, and shame in the present in order to inspire political action that will protect the future.

In the final poem of this selection, and in the collection written by Rivas, there is a mixture of ecological and biblical references that highlight some of humanity's best and worst features. In "El cuervo de Noé", Rivas speculates about the episode of Noah's ark, filled with the biblical character's family and animals, which will repopulate Earth after God decided to destroy humanity for its sins. He writes, "La paloma cumplió la misión. / Volvió al arca / y posó el signo en la mano de Noé" (139). Rivas begins with a celebration of success on the part of the dove, which returns to Noah with signs of earth in its claw indicating that the waters have receded sufficiently to find habitable land. This festive event is cut short though, as Rivas moves from the dove to discuss a raven that was sent out but did not return. He writes:

Pero el cuervo se alejó

en una ráfaga de viento,

salió de la historia

del escarmiento divino

con un trazo desastrado,

pintó con alas el autorretrato

del volar harapiento,

signo él mismo

del fermento inmortal del despojo,

y fue a posarse en la identidad prófuga de la nieve. (139)

The perplexing consideration offered here is that either the raven flies into the abyss to escape God and Noah, finds land and remains there instead of returning as the dove did with the foliage, or God used wind to blow it off course where it would become lost in the abyss and later killed. In order to decide, the reader must consider the role of the Catholic Church in Spain's "state of exception" and the fact that the raven has unique tendencies in this poem. He paints his own self-portrait in the fog through flight and, for unclear reasons, does not return to the ark. All of this information is guarded in the "nieve", which holds the history of all. Concha Carrón has quoted Rivas in *Lainformacion.com* where he describes his conceptualization of "la nieve". She writes, "'[l]a nieve es un abrigo dónde late la primavera, dónde está la memoria adormecida', aseguró el escritor gallego, quien se mostró convencido de que escribir 'es un deshielo dónde vas describiendo cosas que antes no se veían, pero estaban ahí'" (Carrón).

The poem continues:

Todo está en esa voz

leal a la soledad.

Grajea con humor negro el desertor.

Parodia el estilo marcial de Dios.

Roncas voces de mando,

y una piadosa maldición injertada en el viento,

esa lápida nómada

que de todo hombre debería decir:

Murió porque él quiso (139)

The anthropomorphism of the raven in this poem can lead the reader to determine the raven's own disposition caused it not to return to the ark and either perish in the sea or live elsewhere. Finally, he also refers to the raven as a *desertor*, thus implying its own responsibility in the succession of events. With this reference Rivas draws the reader's attention to Galicia's history of emigration causing the remembrance of his compatriots who have never returned to their homeland and therefore have possibly escaped the Spanish "state of exception". Furthermore, the theological debate of this topic is made possible by Rivas' own tradition of discussing God in his writings.

In the past, when Rivas has made references to God, he has always used capital letters in the words *Señor* and *Dios*. Following this logic, if he had meant to say that God wanted the raven to die, Rivas would have written *Él* instead of *él* in the poem's final verse. In fact, by writing of the raven using *él* in the middle of the poem following the design of its own self portrait through flight and at the end of the poem where it chooses to die, he elevates the position of the raven for its exercising of free will by choosing to abandon its master and its creator.

Moreover, it does not say when or how the raven dies, but merely infers that it does die at some point. In the actual Bible verses the raven flies "until the waters were dried up from off the earth". This could be an indication that the raven stayed where it was, and was able to sustain itself because of its foraging nature. In doing so, the raven rejects Noah and God, and in effect, Spain's "state of exception. Rivas condemns the "state of exception" that has imposed its will and superiority on its citizens, once again injecting his political views into his poetry. This subtle nudge, when considering his past messages such as "*Galicia-Liberdade-Amor*" in "Una llamada perdida", is indicative of Rivas's sentiment concerning Galicia's relationship with Spain and

principally its center, Madrid. His collection of veiled statements concerning Galicia's independence reflect his desire for Madrid to be less intrusive in Galician politics.

Furthermore, based on the evidence in Rivas' poem, one could make this argument, and his articles in *El País* can substantiate such a claim. In "La huelga de Job", Rivas offers several insights on the Bible. He writes:

> Es verdad que en la Biblia está todo, o casi todo. También las primeras piezas del policial de 'serie negra'. El libro de Job es desesperante, un relato donde 'enloqueció la lógica', con un personaje, Dios, que por veces parece el terrible jefe de *Poisonville*, la ciudad corrupta de *Cosecha roja*. Sobre ese Dios que martiriza a Job no se hicieron pesquisas policiales pero sí acusaciones tremendas…En conclusión, Dios también creó las tinieblas, la desgracia, y el mismísimo mal.

Having considered his previous statement, upon returning to the poem it is not surprising that Rivas' raven would trust in itself and go forth to forge its own path, independent of authoritative figures that would control its every action. In this poem, Rivas celebrates the entity that abandons the known for the unknown when it chooses independence over subjugation. Like the raven, Galicians, following the writings of the poet, would relish the prospect of a future of "*Liberdade*" and "*Amor*" removed from the Spanish "state of exception".

Conclusion

Therefore, with his work, *La desaparición de la nieve* (2009), Rivas brings Galician politics to the forefront. He presents a text, written from a Galicia, and thus according to

Gabilondo, a more privileged vantage, to explain exacerbated environmental issues that effect all citizens in the Spanish "state of exception". He presents Galicia as a springboard for social, cultural, and political change in Spain though his multilingual text.

First, Rivas anthropomorphizes nature to celebrate *Galeguidade,* and through *Galeguidade* the past, in order to highlight its dispersion throughout Spain and the world. In doing so, he works to portray the nature world as a victim that must be rescued by humans exercising political change. Upon achieving that goal, Rivas takes his anthropomorphized depiction and turns it into an "empty signifier" so that his true intentions of furthering his own political agenda can manifest. By first focusing environmental awareness, typically by noting destruction, Rivas worked to unite Spaniards to fight for more action to be taken against the "state of exception" that would harm the environment. Once he has the attention of his fellow citizens in the Spanish "state of exception" he shares his own political views and attaches them to the "empty signifier" so that the necessary political changes can be addressed and supported, and ultimately the transition from the Spanish "state of exception" can be finalized.

Final Conclusions

The goal of this dissertation has been to illustrate how poetry, as a minority genre, depicts Spain's "state of exception", which continues to be culturally and psychologically problematic in the 21st century. Valente, Vázquez Montalbán, Panero, and Rivas, come from varied poetic generations and offer unique perspectives, but despite these differences, they all employ poetry to address the Spanish "state of exception" through discourse on trauma, nostalgia, docility, and "empty signifiers". These poets are particularly important when considering the full breadth of their gaze. Valente and Vázquez Montalbán, in discussing nostalgia and trauma, offer a more inclusive snapshot of the past. Unlike the Franco regime, which worked to create a tailor made official History that would incorporate its own political agenda, these poets created a dialogue on what was generally inexpressible in the Spanish "state of exception": suffering as a result of a totalitarian regime. Moreover, Panero continued this tradition during and after the Franco regime by documenting political and cultural repression in his present day Spain. As a psychotic interned in mental institutions, he had an opportunity to voice his opinions to an audience that already assumed he was crazy. Therefore, in his often very caustic poetry laden with grotesque imagery, Panero exposed the continuation of the Francoist ideals in Spain's "state of exception" after the death of the *Caudillo*. He signaled the failures of the transition, and warned the population of the ramifications that would arise due to the enduring docility within the Spanish population. Finally, Rivas, a man heralded as "El Santo" for his ability to appease both the central Spanish government and his compatriots in Galicia, has also employed his poetry to discuss divisive political matters concerning Galicia and Spain's future. While the poets have particular techniques that have allowed them to voice their opinions, they have all worked to challenge Spain's "state of exception" in very specific ways.

This is very apparent in the first poet discussed, Valente, whose reflective nostalgia in *A modo de esperanza* (1955) put him at odds with the regime's restorative nostalgia. Restorative nostalgia, which led the regime to focus more on regaining an empire and falling back to what were seen as the golden years in Spain, caused resistance to any effort to compile a viable history of the Spanish Civil War and the nearly forty years in which Franco enjoyed complete power in his "state of exception". As it is more occluded than reflective nostalgia, restorative nostalgia would fail in the age of shared cultures, economies, and politics. As stated in this dissertation, reflective nostalgia differs from restorative nostalgia because "...it can present an ethical and creative challenge, not merely a pretext for the midnight melancholic." and it "...dwells in algia, in longing and loss, the imperfect process of remembrance" (41). Valente devoted a significant portion of his life this "imperfect process of remembrance" because he knew that the true events of the past would never appear in the official Spanish History as long as Spain's "state of exception" persisted. By cultivating a "yo poético", Valente was able to present the conditions in Spain's "state of exception" at a time when explicit discussion of political dissidence could result in imprisonment or death. His writings, with metaphysical undertones, largely escaped the *censura* and allowed his message to be relayed to the small group of Spaniards that consumed the minority genre that is poetry.

Furthermore, the second poet analyzed, Vázquez Montalbán, has been studied in light of theories of trauma offered by Caruth and Zizek. His work, *Una educación sentimental* (1967), was published fifteen years after Valente's *A modo de esperanza* during the "años de desarrollo". At that time, MVM found himself bombarded by pop culture in a society engorged by consumerism. This forced MVM to constantly confront the traumas of the past through the "compulsive ritual" of writing as they were reintroduced to him over and over by consumerism

in the present. His obsessive nature further exacerbated his exposure to trauma, and while trying to capture and understand trauma through the writing process, he was caught in a web of traumatic self-reflection. As Caruth argues, "[t]he pathology consists, rather, solely in the structure of its experience or reception: the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it" (200). It is clear then, that the poet would spend much of his life confronting trauma that would never be fully comprehensible because trauma "…does not simply serve as record of the past but precisely registers the force of an experience that is not yet fully owned…The phenomenon of trauma, as they suggest, both urgently demands historical awareness and yet denies our usual modes of access to it" (Caruth 151). This, according to Castellet and the poet himself, led him to create an almost incalculable corpus of literary production. He not only worked tirelessly to expose Spain's "state of exception", but he shared his own insights on the trauma it created.

Similar arguments can be made for Leopoldo María Panero and his poetry of 1980. Like MVM, Panero felt isolated due to the fact that he found himself surrounded by the "docile bodies" that were incapable of acting out against their "state of exception" and thus would facilitate its continuance even after the *Caudillo's* death. This is made clear by reanalyzing Foucault's explanation of the term. He states:

> …discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an 'aptitude', a 'capacity', which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the

power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection. (138)

It is this blind obedience during the Franco regime and lack of introspection in the years leading to and following the death of Franco that led to the stagnation of the *móvida* and later the communal *desencanto*. Valente, MVM, and Panero foreshadowed the political missteps in Spain's "state of exception" that caused the *desencanto*. They, unlike the "docile bodies" or the Spanish government, constantly confronted the past in order to better understand it. Panero in fact, vehemently signaled the continuity of the Franco regime even after the *Caudillo's* death and condemned all those who would not fight for political change and freedom. For their complacency, Panero's Spanish compatriots would be dealt his poetic wrath for what he perceived as a failure to act.

Finally, Manuel Rivas, with his quadrilingual text, continues the tradition of the aforementioned poets by documenting the political missteps that are damaging the Spanish state and its *nacionalidades históricas* in the present and future. By presenting environmental awareness as an "empty signifier", Rivas garners more support both within his *nacionalidad histórica* and on the Iberian Peninsula as a whole. Concerning "empty signifiers" it is necessary to return to Laclau's explanation. He states, "[t]his emptying of a particular signifier of its particular, differential signified is, as we saw, what makes possible the emergence of 'empty' signifiers as the signifiers of a lack, of an absent totality…The presence of empty signifiers – in the sense that we have defined them – is the very condition of hegemony" (42-3). In presenting the anthropomorphism of nature as an "empty signifier" Rivas illuminates the lack of political action both in Galicia and in the Spanish state in general. The nationalist agenda perpetuated in Galicia has cost the *nacionalidad histórica* dearly, and Rivas continues to work to reverse that

for the future. What is perhaps most intriguing is the action that Rivas takes after winning the support of his audience. Not unlike Franco and Fraga, Rivas employs political tactics of persuasion to inspire Galicians and Spaniards alike to fight for the political changes for which he is advocating. Despite the fact that he was so critical of Fraga's leadership in Galicia, Rivas, through the use of an "empty signifier" that is the anthropomorphism of nature into a victim, directs his audience to align themselves with him on the issue of environmental awareness, and later with his entire political agenda, which endeavors to establish an independent Galicia that is not encumbered by Spain's central government. Like his poetic predecessors, Rivas recognizes the importance and effectiveness of a minority genre in the process of challenging Spain's "state of exception".

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