Review of Louie Dean Valencia-Garcia, Antiauthoritarian Youth Culture in Francoist Spain: Clashing with Fascism

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“Lo que Dante no pudo imaginar” (1946) follows both the Spanish literary traditions of the serialized novel and conversion narrative. Despite the title and form of Amadeo Sinca Vendrell’s personalized historiography, making explicit reference to Dante’s Inferno, Brennis brings his writings closer to the peninsula. Published in exile the same year as Rodríguez del Risco’s memoir, Sinca Vendrell’s narrative mimics Francisco de Quevedos’ seventeenth-century narrative “El sueño de la muerte” (108). When examining twenty-first-century new media texts, Brennis aligns Carlos Hernández’s “@deportado4443” Twitter account with the serialized narration Rodríguez del Risco relied on seventy years prior (245). In addition to weaving a rich tapestry of the interrelatedness of experiences and techniques used by survivors and subsequent generations, Brennis’ alignment of the texts with Spanish literary traditions demonstrates how these works reflect the Spanish experience in Mauthausen.

Today, the location of the camp serves as a memorial, monument, and museum to the memory of the victims of the Nazis. In the final chapter, Brennis grapples with the role of the site as a space of memory-making, but also questions its place in “appropriating sites of genocide as tourist attractions ultimately interested in financial gain over a nuanced exploration of history” (257). The debate raised as a closing to the book exemplifies perhaps the most pressing reason for amplifying the experiences of Spanish survivors at this precise moment. Spaniards in Mauthausen advances historical memory discourse by contributing new voices to the conversation as it brings forth representations of Spaniards from concentration camps to form a part of the historiography of the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship.

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Antiauthoritarian Youth Culture in Francoist Spain makes a lively and innovative contribution to the body of scholarship that explores the origins of the democratic transition in Spain in the emerging civil society of the Franco dictatorship. Like other works in this genre, the book analyzes how the growing pluralism and autonomy in the public sphere of the 1960s and 1970s undermined the regime’s authority “from below”, preparing the ground for the formal institutional transition of the late 1970s. But where most works have focused on political movements and ideologies, this book turns the attention to cultural
practices with no explicit political content, from comic books to the carnivalesque excesses of the Movida. Drawing from cultural studies theory, Valencia-Dean argues that transgressive and non-normative cultural practices contributed to a “revolution of everyday life” that undermined the regime’s authority, particularly with the younger generations. In contrast to what he calls “fascist tendencies” such as nationalism, sexism, queerphobia, and xenophobia, the emerging pluralist countercultures challenged the homogenizing and exclusionary parameters of the regime’s values. These pluralist spaces not only helped young people imagine a different world, he argues, but were necessary preconditions for democracy to take hold.

In linking the word “fascist” to the later Franco regime, the book wades into the complex debates about the nature and evolution of the dictatorship. While this stage of the regime is not institutionally fascist, he argues, there remains an everyday fascism articulated through binary categories of inclusion and exclusion, which manifests along different axes, such as queerphobia or sexism. Likewise, democratic countercultures are defined, not through institutional criteria, but through their embrace of pluralism and diversity. In this cultural contest between fascist and democratic values, young people are both the object of indoctrination and the subject of everyday resistance. In chapter two Valencia-Dean argues that fascist values remained at the core of the Francoist education system, as evidenced by the continuity in children’s textbooks over four decades and the continued strong censorship of children’s literature, even after the liberalizing 1966 Press Law. Although other scholars have written about youth rebellion against this indoctrination in the form of the student movement, Valencia-Dean argues for a more diffuse cultural shift in mentalities beginning with the first generation with no memory of the civil war.

The book is loosely organized along a chronological trajectory from the 1950s to the 1970s, with a focus on youth cultures in Madrid. In the final chapter 7 on the raucous Movida culture of the late 1970s, Valencia-Dean frames it as the moment when the antiauthoritarian countercultures that had developed in “virtual” and underground spaces over the previous decades exploded into the public sphere. For those earlier decades when the smallest transgression could become a form of political protest, chapters 3 and 4 focus on forms of non-conformity that mostly took place in “virtual” or private spaces in the 1950s and early 1960s. Chapters 5 and 6 follow the story into the late 1960s and early 1970s when the regime was losing more control of social and cultural practices, creating the opportunity for more pluralist spaces, especially in print.

Valencia-Dean appropriates Benedict Anderson’s concept of imagined communities to define the process of creating virtual spaces. The ability to imagine a different world was in itself a subversive challenge to a regime that claimed to be all-encompassing. Chapter 3 makes the interesting argument that the memory of
pre-Francoist culture could be mobilized as a virtual space for imagined community. Although the pluralist political-literary café culture of the past had been suppressed by the regime, the memory evoked a different vision of Spanish culture in which liberal philosophers like Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset had been the “masters.” The chapter focuses on a short story written about Unamuno’s last lecture as rector of the University of Salamanca in October 1936, and on the funeral for Ortega in 1955, which turned into a procession through the streets of Madrid. Although the story was published in exile, Valencia-Dean argues that the myth of Unamuno’s last stand was incorporated as part of a narrative of pluralist intellectual culture that preceded and would outlast the dictatorship. By the 1970s, as chapter 5 argues, this pluralist virtual space could be reproduced or reimagined in a more sustained form in the pages of the journal Cuadernos para el Dialogo, which provided a space for “dialogue” like that which used to take place in the tertulias of the café culture. Without launching direct attacks on the regime, the celebration of pluralist “dialogue” was enough to challenge the regime’s values.

Another medium of everyday resistance identified by Valencia-Dean was the comic book. Chapter 4 analyzes the impact of American Superman comics in the 1950s and 1960s, which entered Spain through a popular Mexican edition that was banned by the regime in 1964 in recognition of its subversive values. Drawing on a lengthy critique of the Superman comic from the era, Valencia-Dean analyzes the fear inspired by the protagonist’s feminized and queer qualities, as well as by the manly woman, the fearless Lois Lane. When Spaniards began producing their own underground comics in the 1970s, as explored in chapter 6, they drew on other American auteurs like Robert Crumb to create a carnivalesque virtual space of sex, drugs and debauchery that would later erupt in physical spaces like bars and finally in the public sphere during the Transition. Instead of dismissing the outrageous and irreverent Movida culture as a sideshow to the more serious process of political transition, Valencia-Dean defines it as an “aesthetic of dissent against normative culture” (143) that marked the culmination of two decades of antiauthoritarian youth culture.

While it draws on cultural theorists from Hebdige to Bakhtin, the book is engagingly written and sprinkled with short biographical sketches of protagonists and descriptions of events that help flesh out the parameters of a cultural shift that is mostly teased out from between the lines of a creative variety of sources. It’s hard to tell from the sources how far this revolution of everyday life extended into the population, but the book’s suggestive framing tells a compelling story that provides a new window into the origins of the democratic transition in Spain.

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