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Nil Santiáñez
Saint Louis University

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Habitus, Heterotopia and Endocolonialism in Early Spanish Literary Fascism

Abstract

This article explores strategies of symbolic production of national space (e.g. technologies of tropological striation) in early fascist works of Tomás Borrás, Luys Santa Marina, and Rafael Sánchez Mazas written à propos the Rif War (1919-27). Considered as perlocutionary speech-acts, these texts conceive Morocco as a heterotopia and embody a fascist habitus produced by a heterogeneous group of writers, intellectuals, politicians and military personnel—in particular the notorious Foreign Legion—posted in Morocco; they all shared the defense of an authoritarian concept of nation as a model for the political organization of Spain as well as an endocolonialist gaze and stance towards their own country. By means of its tropological conquest of Moroccan territory, Fascist writing devoted to the Rif War duplicated the empirical spatial production carried out *in situ* by the army and the civilian administration of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco. Making it intelligible as well as modifying it, such writing brought to the Peninsula an endocolonial project and an incipient fascist habitus. Its development in the 1930s (the theory of fascism, Falange Española, the Falangists' direct action in the streets of Spain, the tactics and strategy followed by the High Command of Franco's army during the civil war) would culminate after 1939 in the empiric production of a new administrative, political and economic organization of Spain's national territory.

Keywords

fascist, national space, Borrás, Santa Marina, Sánchez Mazas, Morocco, heterotopia, endocolonialism, Franco, national territory

Habitus, Heterotopia and Endocolonialism in Early Spanish Literary Fascism

Nil Santiáñez
Saint Louis University

From the outset, I should underscore my skepticism about the heuristic validity of the concept of “national identity,” the frequent scholarly use of which in recent years has paradoxically left it begging for clarity. Accordingly, this essay will not directly explore any sort of “national identity,” and neither will it conceive the corpus of texts here analyzed as “representations” of Spain, that is, as “re-presences” of an extralinguistic entity. Rather, it focuses on strategies of symbolic production of national space in several texts written on the Rif War (1919-27).¹ These strategies of space production, borne out simultaneously with the constitution of a new mentality in some sectors of the Spanish colonial army (Sebastian Balfour 33-4, 65-7, 325-8), embodied an incipient fascist habitus whose insidious development would culminate in the military rebellion of July 1936 and the empiric production of a new administrative, political and economic organization of Spain’s national territory after the victory of Franco’s army in 1939. “National space,” instead of the nebulous concept of “national identity,” plays here a more prominent role. What matters is the relationship between space production, a particular habitus and the political organization of a nation during a decisive historical juncture.² In particular, I will expound four propositions through the analysis of three Africanist works with a strong fascist component, all of them produced by writers who would shortly thereafter join the fascist party Falange Española de las JONS: Tomás Borrás’s *La pared de tela de araña* ‘The Wall of Spiderweb’ (1924), Luys Santa Marina’s chilling novel *Tras el águila del César. Elegía del Tercio, 1921-1922* ‘In Pursuit of Caesar’s Eagle. Elegy to the Tercio, 1921-

1922' (1924), and the series of fifty-three journalistic articles titled "La campaña de África" 'The African Campaign' and eleven war dispatches written by Rafael Sánchez Mazas for the Spanish newspaper *El pueblo vasco* 'The Basque People' between September and December 1921.³

The first proposition could be summarized as follows: the first Spanish fascist works were written in the 1920s *à propos* the Rif War, with most of them being cases of war writing. The second proposition refers to the textuality of fascist literary works; the fascist dimension of a particular text lies not only in the semantic level, namely the political and social thinking expressed by the implied author; it can also be found in the discursive strategies that articulate such thinking. The emphasis on ideology and content-oriented analysis by scholars who study Spanish literary fascism (e.g. Mechthild Albert; Mónica Carbajosa and Pablo Carbajosa; Jordi Gracia; José-Carlos Mainer; Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas; Dionisio Viscarri) has left out of the corpus of fascist literature works that in fact belong to it due to their rhetoric and language. The third proposition has to do with the relationship between linguistic expression and the empiric, non-linguistic world. In this essay, writing is not considered a derivative product of non-linguistic reality (e.g. the Africanism of certain sectors of Spain's colonial army and the colonial administration, as well as of a significant group of politicians and intellectuals), nor as its mere representation (e.g. of the military campaign and the military actions and rituals of the Foreign Legion or *Tercio de Extranjeros*), but rather as an instance of what Stanley Cavell has recently termed "passionate utterance" (153-91), defined as a perlocutionary speech-act produced to have consequential effects on the listener's or reader's feelings, thoughts, and actions. This model is particularly useful to the study of fascist literature, for "texts with moral designs upon their readers ask to be treated" as passionate utterances (Cavell 186). The absorption in the Peninsula—the "home front," one is tempted to say—of the Foreign Legion's mythology created by the remarkably vast literature devoted to this corps of the Spanish Army, as well as the enlistment of young men in the Foreign Legion are two effects of the Africanist writing's perlocution.⁴ In both cases it could be argued that action was affected by speech. Together with this perlocution, fascist works in the 1920s carried

a performative element: in their own way, they made fascism; their production of fascism was no less important than the one carried out by the colonial army. Such performativity cannot be understood as separated from the decisive significance of language in war. Wars begin, are maintained and are remembered through a proliferation of language. The declaration of war, proclamations, parliamentary speeches, hymns, songs, journal articles—to mention but a few—have to be considered as actively participating in the war effort; or as James Dawes says, “[w]ars are born and sustained in rivers of language about what it means to serve the cause, to kill the enemy, and to die with dignity; and they are reintegrated into a collective historical self-understanding through a ritualistic overplus of the language of commemoration” (15).⁵ Finally, the fourth proposition could be considered as the cement holding together the other three: in this essay I argue that in Morocco, during the 1920s, the Spanish fascist habitus was produced vis-à-vis the heterotopic conceptualization of Morocco by a heterogeneous group of writers, intellectuals, politicians and military personnel who shared the defense of an authoritarian concept of nation as a model for the political organization of Spain as well as an endocolonialist gaze and stance towards their own country.⁶ This proposition takes into account a crucial factor in war and its language-space (Carl von Clausewitz 246-48, 621; Sun Tzu 102-10, 124-40, *passim*). The army creates space before, during and after a war (e.g. erection of walls and bastions, building of fortresses, bunkers and nuclear shelters, setting up of defensive positions across the borders of a country, creation of military bases at home and abroad). Hence one could talk—as Paul Virilio does—of the existence of a “military space” (*Pure* 9-10). It is difficult, if not impossible, to understand war writing without considering the topography where the campaign it narrates takes place, nor the overlapping military space. The fascist habitus, or more precisely, the series of acts which molded said habitus emerged from the interstices of what I will call “dual space,” constituted, on the one hand, by Morocco’s topography as well as its heterotopic function, and, on the other, by the reterritorialization of Morocco into a military geometry (division of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco in two military commands, building of blockhouses, set up of encampments, laying out of supply lines, roads and telegraphic communica-

tion between front line and rearguard positions, etc). Africanist war writing did not only duplicate, by means of its discursive conquest of Moroccan territory, the empirical spatial production carried out *in situ* by the army and the civilian administration of the protectorate. It certainly did so, but more decisively, Africanist war writing brought to the Peninsula, making it intelligible while at the same time modifying it, the dual space and the actions that defined said dual space. This double “translation” would ultimately take to the homeland an endocolonial project that was initiated in the protectorate, which I will discuss at the end of this essay.

As is well known, any colonial power requires a “narrative,” a constellation of texts whereby the colonizers institute and reaffirm their common identity, legitimate their right to exploit the colonized land, establish the net of regulations to subjugate the colonized people, as well as organize the administration of the territory (Edward Said, *Culture* 3-190). One could therefore say that colonial centers deploy what I have elsewhere termed as “technologies of tropological striation,” rhetorical and linguistic mechanisms whose function consists of the symbolic, discursive appropriation of the places, of the net of circuits and movements peculiar of a determinate space, in this case a colonized territory (Santiáñez 71-93). The tropological striation plays a valuable cognitive role by expressing the unknown or relatively unknown through its superposition of two levels of signification, the literal and the figurative. By so doing, it performs a conquest of sorts, a naturalization of the *terra incognita* it produces/refers to. The cognition intrinsic to a tropological striation contains thus an illocutionary force, since it produces the territory it refers to. A technology of tropological striation forces a symbolic space upon a physical territory, a performance homogeneous to the technology of striation carried out by the colonial army and the administration. Troops and tropes have interdependent objectives and in fact they need each other: the former attempts to conquer a territory while the latter takes it over symbolically. The tropological striation presupposes a military control and allows for the cognition of a foreign territory. It must therefore be considered a discursive strategy of colonial conquest and control. As we will see, the technology of tropological striation ultimately displaced its point of application from the protectorate to the Peninsula. Colonialism became endo-

colonialism. This reversal would be crucial in establishing the path that led to the civil war of 1936-39.

Borrás's *La pared de tela de araña*, a novel based on the author's stay in Morocco between 1920 and 1921 as a foreign correspondent of the newspaper *El Sol* 'The Sun,' is built upon a systematic technology of tropological striation.⁷ Narrated non-coincidentally by a Spanish officer posted in the protectorate's western military command in 1920, *La pared de tela de araña*'s tropological striation mirrors the campaign undertaken in March 1919 by General Berenguer so as to eliminate the foci of guerrilla resistance in that zone of the Spanish protectorate. The narrator striates space by providing it with meaning: the narrative voice imposes a symbolic order upon a land repeatedly portrayed as lacking a rational organization. As perceived by the implied author, Morocco is what Gilles Deleuze and Cavell Guattari have named in *Mille plateaux* a "smooth" space. The narrator's trip from Tétouan—capital of the Spanish protectorate—to the front in the story of the novel refracts the troops' movements as well as the conquest and occupation of Chaouen, in which the narrator participates. On the discursive level, the narrator provides both an ideological direction and a semantic hierarchy to a purportedly chaotic, irrational land. Aside from the plot, carefully organized in three interconnected parts, there is a fundamental technology of tropological striation, consisting in the cognition of the customs, traditions, people and territory of Morocco by means of the emplotment of the novel through three literary sub-genres from the European cultural archive easily recognizable for the western reader: the orientalist romance, the novel of adventures, and the authoritarian fiction. Borrás employs a romance in the first part, in which the narrator tells an ill-fated love story between two Arab characters. In this part, the diversity of the Moroccan "other" is eliminated thanks to the framing of the story within the conventions of the orientalist romance: the Moroccans are reduced to the stereotypical, orientalized image of the Moor created and developed in some European countries (Said, *Orientalism* 49-110), Spain in particular (Susan Martin-Márquez 101-60). In the second part of the novel, the story is narrated according to the conventions of the novel of adventures. While in the first the "other" is conquered by imposing the generic rules and rhetorical conventions of a specific literary sub-genre,

in the second the “friction” of war, to use Clausewitz’s celebrated concept, is reined in by a particular point of view—the officer who narrates the novel—as well as by the sub-genre that encapsulates it. Finally, the logic of the authoritarian fiction articulates the third and last part; by means of the authoritarian fiction, the implied author confronts Spanish colonialism—unsurprisingly understood as beneficial since it brings modern civilization to Morocco—against some tribes’ recalcitrant resistance, obstinate in their desire to remain in their state of barbarism and ignorance.⁸ Thus, Borrás erases ideological nuances and subordinates the multiplicity of human relationships to a binomial structure constituted by the representatives of the colonial power—the narrator and his fellow officers—and the colonized subjects—the Berbers from the Jebala region and, to a lesser extent, the Arabs who live in Tétouan, some of whom have accepted Spanish rule.

La pared de tela de araña eliminates the otherness of the Other by assimilating Moroccan places to Spanish towns. This technology of tropical striation, otherwise common in colonial literature since Columbus’s *Diaries* and the *Crónicas de Indias* ‘Chronicles from the Indies,’ has in this case an additional function not always apparent in that tradition, for its purpose consists not only in the familiarization of the reader with unknown territories; it also carries a strong colonialist direction. This colonialist rhetorical device is based on the paradigmatic substitution of one place for another. The narrator repeatedly identifies some Moroccan places with Spanish towns. Chaouen, for instance, is not a Moroccan town (132-47): “es un pueblo andaluz y no un pueblo puramente marroquí. Es un pueblo andaluz de esos arabizados” ‘it is an Andalusian town and not a Moroccan town proper. It is an Andalusian town of the Arabized kind’ (131; my translation; all translations are mine unless otherwise specified). Further on the narrator elaborates on his spatial substitution: Chaouen “[e]s un pueblo de España rodeado de una muralla que todavía no ha echado abajo el Ayuntamiento y en cuya Plaza Mayor o de la Constitución debe de haber un quiosco para que toque los jueves la banda de la guarnición” ‘is a Spanish town surrounded by a wall still not demolished by City Hall in whose main square or square of the Constitution there must be a gazebo for the garrison’s band to play music every Thursday’ (132). The

citizens of Chaouen who welcome the Spanish troops are in fact, according to the narrator, the Moors expelled from Cordoba. Whereas the outward appearance of Chaouen identifies this town as an Andalusian city, its streets and houses are identical to those in Toledo. Such is the impression the narrator has of the house where he lodges: “Cuando cierro el portón ... no se puede dudar: ésta es una casa de Toledo” ‘As soon as I close the front door ... one can have no doubts whatsoever: this is indeed a house from Toledo’ (147). The paradigmatic substitution determines the meaning of the novel’s syntagmatic relationships. By revealing the Spanishness of Moroccan towns, Borrás re-directs the relationship of alterity between Morocco and Spain (on such alterity see Martin-Márquez). With this discursive strategy Borrás lets the reader assume that the Spanish army is not conquering and occupying a foreign land. On the contrary: it is reconquering Spanish territory “occupied” by Moroccans. For Borrás, as well as for other fascist intellectuals, Morocco constituted a heterotopia, that is, an absolutely other place which related to the rest of the places in the Peninsula in such a way that it questioned, represented and reversed the totality of relationships designated or reflected in and by Morocco. The colonial space is, in *La pared de tela de araña* as well as in coetaneous and subsequent fascist texts, a constellation of other places (*espaces autres* in Foucault’s own words) that reproduces places in the Peninsula, a set of relationships marked by a military conflict that reflected the social and political tensions in Spain, and a “purifying” space from which Spain could be regenerated.

As can be seen, the fascist habitus was shaped in a heterotopic space and in a military geometry, namely in the dual space I referred to at the beginning of this essay. Such habitus transformed a foreign land into a heterotopia, into a Spanish “other space,” an act that was performed simultaneously with the production of a neo-colonial concept of Spain by some key-Africanists. Borrás’s novel is a discursive map that tropologically produces and controls a sector of the protectorate. *La pared de tela de araña* is in itself a “space of representation,” a concept coined by Henri Lefebvre to describe the inventions whereby people imagine new meanings and possibilities to their spatial practices (spatial discourses, imaginary landscapes, cultural artifacts, utopias); according to Lefebvre, these are spaces

experienced directly by their inhabitants (but also by philosophers, artists, and writers), as well as through images and symbols (49-50). Novels like *La pared de tela de araña* have as their ultimate goal the symbolic appropriation of spatial practices; therefore they refract the will to take over, mold and police the totality of spatial practices of society by those who share a fascist habitus. At the same time, they intend to perform certain effects on their readers. As a space of representation, Borrás's novel cannot be dissociated from the colonial undertaking, part of which consisted in the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of Spanish Morocco. Years later some fascist writers—among them Borrás himself—would use technologies of tropological striation to write about Spain. They adapted, for example, the negative image of the Moor to describe the Spanish working class and the Republicans in general.⁹ The Spanish civil war, as is well known, meant for rebel intellectuals the “recuperation” of a territory “occupied” by the Republicans, who were perceived as “foreigners.” Fascist literature written during the war, which was conducted by the rebels as if it were a colonial campaign, applied to the Peninsula the technology of tropological striation present in works on Morocco written in the 1920s.

In Santa Marina's *Tras el águila del César* Morocco is likewise conceived as a heterotopia of Spain, but with an element not directly present in *La pared de tela de araña*.¹⁰ I am referring to the idea of nation which is defended in key passages of this novel on the Foreign Legion. In his foreword to the 1939 edition of the novel, Santa Marina stated that the Rif War brought minimal gains to Spain considering the courage that it demanded. All Spain got was “unos quemados cornijales de tierra” ‘burned pieces of land’ (13). This notwithstanding, on the spiritual level “el botín fue algo esplendoroso: la reconquista del alma española, su vuelta a la ruta del Quijote ... sin aquellas fieras banderas, no hubiesen sido posibles nuestras banderas victoriosas” [by this image the author means Franco's army] ‘the booty was splendid: the reconquest of the Spanish soul, its return to the path of Don Quixote ... without those fierce flags, our victorious flags would have been impossible’ (13). If we are to follow the logics of *Tras el águila del César*, this so-called “reconquest of the Spanish soul,” clearly seen as a spiritual good, was achieved through the practice of evil. Moreover, the legionnaires' evil behav-

ior opened up space for the good, the space articulated by rules of coexistence (political organization, economic order, articulation of the network of cultural and symbolic products) imposed years later by the Franco regime. In Santa Marina's novel, this new Spain rose in the space opened up by the systematic practice of evil.

The legionnaires' evil in *Tras el águila del César* is an actualization of "radical evil," a term coined by Immanuel Kant in the first part of *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* 'Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone' (1793). Kant does not use this term in reference to a type of evil, nor to an inconceivable one, but rather to the propensity (subjective principle of the possibility of an inclination, such as concupiscence) of the person to deviate from the moral law; radical evil is thus the subordination of the moral law to selfish interests. For Kant, the statement "someone is evil" means that the individual is aware of the moral law, in spite of which he has incorporated to his maxims a deviation from such law. "Radical" therefore does not mean a "degree" of evil, but rather that evil lies at the "root" of human nature. Although that propensity is rooted in human nature, the individual is morally responsible for all his acts: the individual does not choose his predispositions, but he does choose the importance he gives them in relation with his duty. Kant argues that the subordination of selfish interests to evil would not be human, but diabolic; accordingly, for Kant there can be no diabolical evil, namely people who practice evil *qua* evil; in such cases, the human actions would present the formal criteria of an ethical act. Hannah Arendt pushed the Kantian sense of "radical evil" beyond Kant by assuming the real possibility of a diabolical evil considered by Kant as not-human. Thus, in the last phase of totalitarianism, which Arendt locates in the extermination camps and in the Gulag, there appears an "absolute evil," a concept that alternates with "radical evil" in Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (viii-ix, 437-59). For Arendt, this evil is "absolute" because it cannot be deduced from motives humanly comprehensible such as selfish interest, cowardice, will to power or *ressentiment*, unless one would ground it in the undeniable idealism of many Nazis willing to sacrifice everything, including themselves, for the sake of their ideas (307-8, 322). In Arendt's own words, "The disturbing factor in the success of totalitarianism is rather the true selflessness of its ad-

herents” (307). This disposition to self-sacrifice makes of “absolute evil” a most disturbing phenomenon, for it transforms evil behavior into an ethical act. This is crucial to the adequate understanding of fascism and literary artifacts like *Tras el águila del César*. Referring to this very problem in his book *Tarrying with the Negative*, Slavoj Žižek remarks that in his refusal of the hypothesis of a “diabolical evil,” Kant withdraws from the basic paradox of radical evil, of the possibility of human acts that, although evil in their content, fulfill the formal criteria of an ethical act. These kind of acts, claims Žižek, are not motivated, as Kant would say, by pathological considerations (which in Kant, would mean that in human nature there is a tendency to give priority to selfish and pathological inclinations in regard to the moral law); his “sole motivating ground is Evil as principle, which is why they can involve the radical abrogation of one’s pathological interests, up to the sacrifice of one’s life” (95). To prove his point, Žižek analyses Mozart’s *Don Giovanni* (95-6). The story is well-known: Don Giovanni persists in his libertine attitude even when his own life is at stake at the end of the opera. He refuses to repent, and by so doing, argues quite rightly Žižek, Don Giovanni does something that can only properly be designated as a “radical ethical stance” (95-6). One could say that Don Giovanni inverts the example given by Kant himself in his *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* ‘*Critique of Practical Reason*’ (1788), according to which a libertine renounces the fulfillment of his passions in the very moment he realizes that his licentiousness can lead him to the “galleys.” Far from giving it up, Don Giovanni persists in his licentiousness when he knows that what awaits him are precisely those “galleys” Kant spoke of. To return to Žižek, by taking as a point of reference the pathological interests, what Don Giovanni should do is show repentance, even if that were a provisional, formal gesture; by so doing, he would lose nothing, on the contrary, he would end up winning since he could resume, in due time, his libertine life; that is, he could continue fulfilling his passions outside the moral law. And yet, and—most importantly—by principle, Don Giovanni chooses to persist in his defiant attitude, chooses the difficult, non-selfish path. As Žižek concludes, “How can one avoid experiencing Don Giovanni’s unyielding ‘No!’ to the statue, to this living dead, as the model of an intransigent ethical attitude, notwithstanding its

‘evil’ content?” (96). True: Don Giovanni does not subordinate his predispositions to the moral law, but rather to evil as the only principle of all of his acts; for this higher principle –evil– he is willing to sacrifice, if necessary, his own life. According to Žižek, “If we accept the possibility of such an evil ethical act, then it is not sufficient to conceive radical Evil as something that pertains to the same notion of subjectivity a la par with a disposition towards good; one is compelled to take one step further and to conceive of radical Evil as something that ontologically precedes Good by way of opening up the space for it” (96). Choosing between good and evil is not, in a way, the original choice. The first real choice is choosing between the pathological inclinations and the radical evil, that is, an act of suicidal egoism that opens up the space for the good (96-97). The good, as mask of radical evil, is an attempt, ontologically secondary, to reestablish the lost balance; its ultimate paradigm is the corporatist project to build a harmonious, organic, non-antagonist society (97). Although Žižek does not say it, fascism would be a case in point of such a paradigm.

The evil of the legionnaires consists in the transgression of the forbidden, of the playful violence performed with no constraints on the “other” body beyond any law regulatory of individual and collective life. Their practice of violence is a *modus vivendi* that asserts the supreme freedom of the body from communal values. In Morocco, the legionnaires perform violence with joy, putting themselves in harm’s way for the sake of an erotic of violence; they are therefore “evil” in the sense of the word we have just seen. The legionnaires’ propensity for violence appears from the very beginning, in the chapter that narrates the trip from New York to Spain of 96 volunteers. Although all of them—except the narrator—travel in third class, they are the masters of the ship (21). “Organizábamos *matches* de boxeo, luchas y carreras de obstáculos; trepábamos por los palos, pronunciábamos discursos, constituíanse orfeones” ‘We organized boxing matches, fights and steeplechases; we climbed the masts, gave speeches, formed choruses;’ in sum: it looked like “un buque pirata” ‘a pirate ship’ (21). As was to be expected, they also fought with the passengers: “a un griego que se metió con uno de los nuestros, le dimos tal paliza, no obstante ser pasajero de cámara, que no le quedó hueso sano. Raro era el día sin bronca y sin

relucir de navajas” ‘so hard did we beat up one Greek who teased us that he ended up with all his bones broken. Rare was the day without trouble and without the shining of jackknives’ (21). Once in Morocco, the legionnaires live out violence gleefully. In one of the first vignettes of the first part of the novel, titled “El día de la ira” ‘The Day of the Wrath,’ they receive with jubilant yells (29) the order for a bayonet assault. “Hasta los cuchillos parecían brincar de contento” ‘Even the bayonets seemed to jump for joy’ (29), joy commented thus by a soldier: “Pobrecitos [the bayonets], tienen sed” ‘Poor things, they are thirsty’ (29). During the assault, one of the legionnaires exclaims, elated, “¡La vida en el Tercio es excelente! ¡Alegrémonos de haber nacido” ‘Life in the Legion is excellent! Let’s be glad for having been born!’ (29). The narrator summarizes in one sentence the ensuing hand-to-hand combat: “Realmente, los cuchillos tenían sed, y tardaron bastante en apagarla” ‘The bayonets were really thirsty, and it took some time to quench that thirst’ (29). During the fight, a gigantic black legionnaire stabs the Moors while joyfully singing (29). Bayonet assaults, a commonplace in the coetaneous literature devoted to the Foreign Legion, abound in *Tras el águila del César*.¹¹ The first vignette of the second part of the novel is entitled precisely “El choque” ‘The Clash,’ and narrates a bayonet assault in the Esponja Alta de Taxuda: “Cuando asaltamos la loma, nos esperaron escondidos entre las piedras. ... Fue entonces la hora de las bayonetas. Los ya avezados los heríamos en el cuello o en el pecho, para poder sacar pronto el cuchillo; los otros, al golpe seguro, en el vientre: es mortal y entra fácil” ‘When we assaulted the hill, they were waiting for us hidden between the stones. ... It was then the hour of the bayonets. Those of us with experience stabbed them on the neck or the chest, so that we could pull out the knife quickly; the rest, for the certain hit—in the stomach: it is deadly and enters easily’ (27); at the end of the fight, there were only fifteen legionnaires left. “Rematamos a machetazos a los heridos moros, y como se hacían los muertos, para evitar olvidos, acuchillamos a todos. Se terminó. Algunos les cortaban las cabezas. Otros limpiábamos la sangre de las bayonetas en sus chilabas” ‘We finished off the wounded Moors, and because they pretended to be dead, so as to avoid oversights we stabbed them all. It was over. Some beheaded the fallen; others cleaned the blood from the bayonets by using their

jellabas' (27).

Santa Marina's novel shows the fetishistic perception and function of the bayonet, particularly in the vignette "¡Oh, los cuchillos de los mosquetones" 'Oh, the knives of the muskets.' "Quien le tenía," writes the narrator, "cuidábale como un talismán, que si manejado fríamente, dando, infalible, la muerte, salvaba la vida. ¡Oh, los cuchillos de los mosquetones! Pálidas, blancas hojas de dos palmos largos; remate del corto fusil, los golpes suyos eran rápidos y exactos. ¡Oh, los cuchillos de los mosquetones! En los choques, las gumías corvas alejaron y en pechos y en vientres tatuaron dibujos extraños" 'Those who had one took care of it as if it were a talisman, which, if handled coldly, deadly, saved one's life. Oh muskets' knives! Pale, white, forty-centimeter blades; rifle's spike, your blows were quick, precise. Oh musket's knives! In the clashes, the Moroccan daggers fell away, while the bayonets tattooed strange drawings on chests and stomachs' (164). The phallic symbolism of the bayonet is evident in "La morilla burlada" 'The Deceived Little Female Moor' (36-37); in a hovel virtually in ruins, several legionnaires find, with a still hot rifle next to her, a sixteen-year old Moroccan woman. "No pudo huir... Toda la Compañía, toda la Bandera después, acuchillola al pasar, y a poco las bayonetas herían ya en otras heridas... Y le cortaron los dedos y las orejas, codiciosos de sus sortijas y de sus bellas arracadas" 'She could not escape ... The whole Company first and later the whole Regiment stabbed her, and pretty soon the bayonets hit in already inflicted wounds ... And they cut off fingers and ears, covetous of her rings and beautiful earrings' (37). Bayonet assaults like this one (see also 36, 72) usually end up with the beheading of the enemies, an activity performed with fruition by the legionnaires (27, 28, 34, 35, 36), with the mutilation of corpses (28, 42, 50, 128) or with lynching (42). Sometimes, the beheaded heads are used in macabre games, as happens in a scene ironically titled "Apreciaciones" 'Interpretations' (36). Here the reader is told that in a fortified encampment the legionnaires came up with different ways to use the heads. In another disturbing vignette, "¡Sandías, sandías!" 'Watermelons, Watermelons!' (36), several legionnaires go through the streets of Melilla hawking watermelons, and, when a housemaid asks about them, they take by the hair a Moor's head, which awakens the hilarity of that group of people, one of whom

asks whether they have more fruit like this, and another how one should conserve them so as to not lose their juice (34). In the following vignette, “La última copa de un mojamed” ‘The Last Drink of a Moor’ (35), one legionnaire enters a canteen and orders two drinks from the waitress, one for himself and the other one for his friend. He puts aside his jellaba, and, taking out the head of a Moor, puts it on the zinc counter. The legionnaire encourages his “friend” to drink: “Bebe, bebe, mojamed, que es tu última copa, y la pagarás con tu cabeza...” ‘Drink, drink, Moor, for this is your last drink, and you will pay for it with your head...’ (35).

In their torture and dismembering of the human body, the legionnaires place their victims beyond their symbolic capacity to represent the world. In the suffering of torture, as Jean Améry has told us, reality is experienced without transcendence, without language, because extreme physical pain cannot be grasped by words (46-73). It is for this reason that Elaine Scarry has considered torture as an “unmaking of the world.” And this is precisely what the legionnaires do with their victims: they “unmake” their world. As practiced by the legionnaires, evil subverts all rational conduct based on interest and coexistence. The legionnaire does not incarnate any viable alternative to a world governed by rationality and the dominant classes’ axiology. From this perspective, one has to consider the legionnaires as “sadists” in the sense given by Georges Bataille to this word, namely as individuals who, in their radical negation of the other’s right to existence and to social conventions, proceed toward the destruction of human beings and the world (77-96; compare with Viscarri 306-8).

Considering their notorious reputation among the civilian population, the indifference and sometimes hostility with which they are received in the city does not come as a surprise (“El Tercio en la ciudad” ‘The *Tercio* in the City’ (167-73). This contact between the soldiers and the civilians, as well as the former’s surprise when they realize that in the rearguard life goes on as usual, generate a deep resentment and feelings of alienation. Santa Marina follows here a commonplace of war literature produced *à propos* of the First World War: e.g. Henri Barbussé’s *Le Feu (Journal d’une escouade)* ‘*Fire. Diary of a Platoon*’ (1916); Rebecca West’s *The Return of the Soldier* (1918), Erich Maria Remarque’s *Im Westen nichts Neues* ‘*All Quiet*

on the Western Front' (1928); Siegfried Sassoon's *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (1930). In *Tras el águila del César*, the legionnaires' evil-radical freedom of the body, unlimited violence, destruction of the other—contrasts with order and money, values that Bataille ascribes to the "Good." The patriotism of the legionnaires has not been rewarded by the population: those who came "en un impulso generoso a salvar a la Patria" 'in a generous impulse to save the Fatherland' were despised as pariahs (154). "Todas las angustias," complains the narrator, "todos los dolores, los padecimos. Sólo por España seguíamos soportando el martirio" 'All the anguish, all the pain that we suffered: we kept suffering them as a martyrdom only for Spain' (157). It is relevant to note the lack of a solid connection between the discouragement, patriotism and resentment with regard to the civilian population in these last chapters and the experience of evil in previous chapters of the novel. This change in the legionnaires' attitude has to do with a worsening of the conditions at the front and with their visit to the city. At the closing of his novel (199-202) Santa Marina warns of the possible consequences of the legionnaires' resented patriotism. The narrator decides to leave his hometown, where he has returned after his service in Morocco. "Y salí por la puerta del desprecio. ... Y aquellos primeros beneficiados con nuestro sacrificio ... alzaron su voz chillona y engreída para vilipendiarlos" 'I left through the door of despise. ... And those who were the first to benefit from our sacrifice ... raised their shrill, conceited voices so as to vilify us' (201). If we take into account the subsequent history of Spain, the complaint closing the novel sounds quite ominous: "¡Ya estamos hartos de calumnias! El Tercio no es una banda de condotieros ... Formose casi exclusivamente con españoles ... que amaban a España sobre todas las cosas" 'We are fed up with calumnies! The *Tercio* is not a band of *condottieri*. ... It was formed almost exclusively by Spaniards ... who loved Spain over everything' (202). The constant performance of evil deeds establishes, thanks to the legionnaires' patriotism in the last vignettes of the novel, the condition of possibility for the opening up of a space for the good. The resentment towards civilian society is a seed sown precisely in that space from which can germinate, as the novel subtly hints at the end, a new type of society. *Tras el águila del César* does not intend to provide any sense to the legionnaires' evil. Such

evil is simply the manifestation of a habitus. The legionnaires' murderous drive is located beyond any explanatory frame of reference. Paradoxically, in this unsayability of the legionnaires' evil, in this malignant silence of the narrator an empty space opens up, a space filled later on with an ethical and political choice vaguely alluded to at the end of the novel. If the written or spoken word requires silence as its condition of possibility, the construction of the ethics and political thought of fascism had in the ontological emptiness of malignity one of its foundational moments. The fascist habitus of the legionnaires provided, with the unsayable evil that sustained it, a legacy that was later adopted in the Peninsula. The theory of fascism, the direct action carried out by the falangists in the streets of Spain in the 1930s, the tactics and strategy followed by the High Command of Franco's army during the civil war, and finally, the repressive organization of the Francoist State together actualized the legionnaires' habitus, which was spread, and more importantly, discursively modified by a literature favorable to the Foreign Legion that took up the mission of bringing the Rif War to the Peninsula's bookstores. In its paradoxical mission to express with words the unsayable malignity of the legionnaires, this literature constructed a warlike and warrior mythology related to a totalitarian nationalism and to a virulent patriotism. *Tras el águila del César's* perlocutionary speech-act would effect, along with other novels and texts, the internalization among Spaniards of the legionnaires' fascist habitus and its projection to the specific political life in the Peninsula.

The most thorough testimony of the fascist habitus, of the heterotopic conception of Morocco and of the endocolonial project inherent in said habitus, which arose, as I mentioned earlier, in the interstices of the dual space, is to be found in a practically unknown work (only treated in passing in Carbajosa and Carbajosa 32-33) by Sánchez Mazas, the series of chronicles titled "La campaña de África" and the war dispatches he published in *El pueblo vasco* in the fall of 1921. To begin with, Sánchez Mazas does not hide his admiration for the war, nor his profound contempt for pacifism and democracy. Africa and the war, writes the author, have for him a profound charm; both constitute a liberation from a thousand trifles of the civilian order; the climate and the frenzy of the activity at the front are a tonic that has produced "en mi salud un efecto maravilloso, no por

las cosas que hago y el país en que vivo, sino más bien por la serie de cosas ... insulsas que ni veo, ni oigo ni hago, y por la espléndida inhibición que uno experimenta” ‘a marvelous effect on my health, not because of the things that I do or the country where I live, but rather because of the number of insipid ... things that I don’t see, or hear, or do, and because of the splendid inhibition that one feels’ (“Bajo” 1). Sánchez Mazas maintains that the war has a positive effect on the soldier: it purifies the race and it regenerates the country. In an article in which he harangues the Battalion of Arellano, he proclaims that Morocco “es un campo necesario para medir a los hombres, un campo de renovación de virtudes viriles para una raza, una ocasión para mostrar la fuerza de que somos capaces” ‘is a necessary battlefield to test the men, for the race it is a battlefield for the renovation of virile virtues, an opportunity to show the strength of which we are capable’ (“Bienvenida” 1); it is necessary to cleanse here the pettiness, cowardice, vile passions, acts of treason and sins that try to tear the fatherland apart; after passing through the battlefields, “miles de hombres pueden volver a España convertidos en miles de valientes, en miles de cumplidores de su deber, en miles de hombres buenos y fuertes, en miles de renovadores futuros de una historia” ‘thousands of men can return to Spain turned into thousands of courageous men, into thousands of men who fulfill their duty, into thousands of good and strong men, into thousands of men who will revitalize history in the future’ (“Bienvenida” 1).¹²

The purification of the race and the regeneration of the fatherland take place in a territory which has in Sánchez Mazas’s chronicles the same ambiguity that we have seen in Borrás and Santa Marina. Morocco, as heterotopia of the Peninsula, is the place where a purification is realized (“Vuelven” 1). Sánchez Mazas does not limit himself to interpreting the purifying function of the heterotopic space in his articles. He inscribes this function into the very fabric of the text, not only through the “purifying” violence of the strong and provocative language he uses, but also because he discursively transfers the brutality of the battlefield to the intellectual life of the Peninsula, thus making a movement which shares a considerable family resemblance with the brutalization of German politics after the First World War (studied, among others, by George Mosse 159-81). A fundamental element of this discursive operation is the un-

conditional and virulent defense of the military in general and its performance during the debacle of Annual (21 July-9 August 1921). The loss of lives on the battlefield is not the result of wrong military tactics, nor of the lack of strategic planning. “Lo que hace perder más vidas ... es la cobardía, ... es la duda y el titubeo de los de arriba y los de abajo” ‘What causes more loss of lives ... is the cowardice ... the doubting and hesitation of those who are above and below’ (“Empezamos” 1). The troops have been wounded from behind, wounded by Spaniards, wounded by treason perpetrated by imbecile tongues (“La sed” 1). With this last statement he reiterates what constituted a central topos of Nazi doctrine: the *Dolchstosslegende* (myth of the stab in the back).

In his chronicles, Sánchez Mazas proposes a very specific program of endocolonial action: the projection of the battles and the colonization of Morocco onto the Spanish Peninsula. According to him, it is necessary to create a spiritual army that returns to Spain to annihilate the traitors and the cowards (“Hacia” 1).¹³ Morocco plays a crucial role in the formation of this spiritual army. It is there where the soldiers learn the “hermosa técnica de pacificar los caminos y barrer con fuego las montañas” ‘beautiful technique of pacifying the roads and sweeping the mountains with fire,’ a technique which has to be applied later on to the Peninsula without leniency (“Hacia” 1). The colonizing enterprise of the military should have two objectives: first, to colonize Morocco, and then, to colonize Spain. Sánchez Mazas articulates this double operation through a trope: the comparison between the *harkas* of the Berber tribes and what he calls in several of his articles the parliamentary, journalistic and working class *harkas* which form part of the “uncivilized” front.¹⁴ In his chronicle “Empezamos o acabamos” ‘We begin or we finish’ he expresses this idea with the utmost clarity. It is worthwhile quoting this paragraph because of the reverberations it had on the subsequent history of Spain:

Esa ‘harca’ rebelde parlamentaria y periodística es harto semejante a la ‘harca’ de beniuirriagueles y gomaras. ... En todo las dos harcas se parecen. Son dos enemigos crueles para martirizar, profanadores de muertos insepultos, propicios a la huida ... tan pronto unidos como tiroteándose entre sí, por la primera o

la segunda internacional. Es malo herirles y acorralarles, como pasa con los moros. Vale más ponerles ‘puente de plata...’ A veces pienso si no serán en España un retraso africano de nuestra raza, que lleva al mundo moral la misma táctica de los ‘pacos’ por las escabrosidades del Rif.

This rebel parliamentary and journalistic *harka* is very similar to the *harkas* of the tribes of Beni Urriaguel and Gomara. ... The *harkas* resemble each other in every aspect. They are both cruel enemies who martyr [others], profane the unburied dead, are ready to flee ... one moment [they are] unified, the next they are shooting at each other for the First or the Second International. It is a bad idea to wound or to corner them, just as it is with the Moors. It is better to build them a ‘silver bridge...’ Sometimes I wonder if in Spain they are not an African backwardness of our race which brings to the moral world the same tactics used by the snipers in the rugged Rif. (1)

Both the parliament and the editorial departments of the newspapers are full of moral and political *harkas*, banditry, and piracy; Sánchez Mazas concludes that in Spain there is only one civil war which extends from the shores of the Nervión to the shores of the Muluya (“Una mañana” 1). In another chronicle, Sánchez Mazas pens the following sinister paragraph:

en el Rif aprenderemos a barrer la harca. Ya hemos empezado a tener éxito con las ametralladoras nuevas, veremos si en la segunda etapa [the one centered on colonizing Spain] tienen el mismo éxito las antiguas escobas. Y los que no hemos sido valientes para ir a la Legión, haremos delante de la basura que amenaza a España un acto de valor. Y dejando las letras que hemos amado toda la vida, haciendo un especial sacrificio de estómago, tendremos que venir a una legión de higiene, como barrenderos voluntarios frente a la chusma.

in the Rif we will learn how to sweep the *harka*. We are already being successful thanks to the new machine guns, let’s see if we are as successful with our old brooms in the second phase. And those

of us who have not been courageous enough to join the Foreign Legion will do an act of bravery with regard to the rubbish that is threatening Spain. And leaving behind the words which we have loved all our lives, we will make a special sacrifice of the stomach, we will have to come together as a legion of hygiene, as voluntary road sweepers of the rabble. (“Interrogaciones” 1)

And he predicts:

Es probable que frente a la impopularidad creada en ciertas zonas alrededor de la campaña, frente a la continuada permanencia de miles de hijos burgueses en África y frente a la actividad izquierdista halagadora del miedo ... la tensión de ciertas clases conservadoras ceda, el ambiente español se desmoralice, la situación económica se agrave. Entonces en las capitales de provincia y en la Puerta del Sol surgirán harcas obreras, opositoristas, pacifistas y revolucionarios Entonces se pedirá a voces el arreglo. Surgirán centenares de interesados Y se pedirán Berengueres [in reference of General Dámaso Berenguer, prime minister of Spain between January 1930 and February 1931] y se pedirán poderes personales y dictaduras, como siempre ... Podemos seguir un camino tal, que traslade el frente africano a los alrededores del Palacio Real.

It is likely that in view of the unpopularity that has been created in certain places towards the campaign, in view of the continuing presence of thousand of bourgeois young men in Africa, and in view of the leftist activity that courts fear ... the tension of certain conservative classes will give in, the Spanish environment will demoralize, the economic situation will worsen. Then working-class *harkas*, the opposition, pacifists, revolutionaries will rise in the capitals of the provinces and in the Puerta del Sol ... Then they will loudly demand an arrangement. Thousands of those seeking only their own interests will emerge ... And they will ask for Berengueres and for personal powers and dictatorship, as always ... We could follow such a path that moves the African front to the Royal Palace. (“Interrogaciones” 1)

To a certain extent, one could argue that Sánchez Mazas is anticipating a phenomenon that, according to Paul Virilio, took place in advanced societies after the Second World War. For Virilio, the growing influence of the military in civil society has to be understood in conjunction with the process of decolonization that began in the post-war. Lacking, according to Virilio, a place for maneuvering both their equipment and their whole apparatus, “l’institution militaire se répand dans l’État civil, et cela jusqu’à ce qu’elle le capture intégralement, recréant une dernière fois à domicile les conditions paraciviles qui étaient celles de la société coloniale” ‘the military disseminated into the civil State until it captured it entirely, thus recreating at home the paracivilian conditions characteristic of colonial society’ (*L’Insecurité* 154). Spain, the first modern imperial country to lose its empire, was also the first one to convert its colonialism into an endocolonial military and political praxis. Some sectors of the dominant class and of the military redirected their tactics and strategies of colonial control towards the civil society of the Peninsula. Sánchez Mazas’s call for the military, moral and political colonization of Spain has to be understood in this context. It is, most certainly, a tropological striation of Morocco and the expression of a fascist habitus that found its first locus in the interstices of the dual space constituted by a heterotopic territory and by a military geometry. It is, too, a passionate utterance produced to affect the feelings, thoughts and actions of its readers. But we also have to see Sánchez Mazas’s symbolic production of Spain and his endocolonial attitude as a primitive discursive forerunner to a wider, more threatening and immediate phenomenon, a phenomenon of which Dwight D. Eisenhower warned in his final televised Address to the Nation (17 January 1961) as President of the United States, that is, the political and economic hegemony of the military-industrial complex in the civilian life of advanced societies.

Notes

1 See Balfour; Carlos Martínez de Campos y Serrano; Servicio Histórico Militar; and Federico Villalobos.

2 Pierre Bourdieu defines the concept of “habitus” as an acquired system of

“long-lasting (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action” (“Habitus” 43). The habitus enables the production of individual and collective practices within the limits inherent to the specific conditions of such production. It is a net of acquired characteristics “which are the product of social conditions and which, for that reason, may be totally or partially common to people who have been the product of similar social conditions” (“Habitus” 45; on the concept of “habitus,” see Pierre Bourdieu, *Le Sens* 87-109, “Habitus” 43-9). I have chosen to focus on the “habitus” because this procedure is in our case more effective than the analysis of a fascist “mentality” or “ideology,” in my opinion two concepts not precise enough, by themselves, to understand the appearance of fascism before the emergence of a full-fledged fascist political doctrine in Spain in the early 1930s. The first of them is methodologically not very operative due to its psychological reading of complex social processes irreducible to mental structures; the second is problematic because of the tendency to reduce “ideology” to “political ideology.” In the wider European context, one of the shrewdest studies of fascist habitus is to be found in Heinrich Mann’s masterful novel *Der Untertan* ‘*The Patrioteer*’ (1918).

3 There are few scholarly works devoted to the Spanish literature written on the Rif War: Antonio Carrasco González (71-141); Juan José López Barranco (94-358); David López García; Martin-Márquez (161-219); John C. Miller; Vis-carri.

4 See for instance José Asenjo Alonso; José María Carretero; Julián Fernández Piñero; Francisco Franco; Rafael López Rienda; José Millán-Astray; Carlos Micó España; Juan B. Ros Andreu; Santa Marina; Francisco Triviño Valdivia. The corpus of literature on the deeds and rituals of the Foreign Legion has been studied by Carrasco González (136-8) and López Barranco (95-121). On the Foreign Legion, see José Álvarez; Balfour (121-3, 331-4, 388-98); John H. Galey (47-64); Togores (112-257); and most particularly Rodríguez Jiménez.

5 See also Elaine Scarry (63, 129).

6 “Heterotopia” is a concept coined by Michel Foucault (2, 1571-81) to describe those places (e.g. cemeteries, museums, gardens, garrisons) that relate in a special way with the rest of places in a determinate society.

7 On this novel see Albert (160-8); Carrasco González (102-5); López Barranco (137-8, 144-6).

8 The belief that Spain could modernize and hence civilize Morocco was—quite predictably—a key component of Spanish Africanism from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. On the history and ideas of Spanish Africanism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Lécuyer and Serrano (229-92); María Rosa de Madariaga (104-12); Eloy Martín Corrales; Martin-Márquez; Victor Morales

Lezcano (181-201); José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez (19-50); Villalobos (55-88).

9 See for instance the characterization of the “reds” in Agustín de Foxá’s *Madrid, de corte a checa* ‘Madrid, from Court to Cheka’ and Felipe Ximénez de Sandoval’s *Camisa azul* ‘Blue Shirt.’ The practical effects of this inversion of the colonial discourse and military practice (e.g. the deadly performance of the Civil Guard against workers and peasants participating in demonstrations, the savage behavior of the *Regulares* during the military operations against the miners in Asturias in 1934, the tactics of terror employed by the Nationalists during the civil war) have been studied by Balfour (348-80). Gustau Nerín has compiled examples of the perception of the “reds” as Moors by Africanist officers who participated in the civil war (see for instance 208).

10 Compare my analysis of the novel with Carbajosa and Carbajosa (35-41); López Barranco (109-10, 120-1); Martín-Márquez (198-202); Rodríguez-Puertolas (1, 109-10); Viscarri (249-342).

11 See, for instance, Asenjo Alonso (121-6); Micó España, *Los Caballeros* (89, 120-1); Ros Andreu (82-3); Triviño Valdivia (247-8). On the meaning and function of such assaults in an international context see Joanna Bourke (41-3, 77-80).

12 Like other fascist intellectuals (e.g. the Italian futurists) or writers whose literary production has been associated with fascism (e.g. Ernst Jünger, most particularly in chapter 6 of his book *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* ‘*Fighting as Inner Experience*’ (1926) defending war, Sánchez Mazas radicalizes in fact a vision of war and conflict borne out in the political discourse (e.g. the Girondists during the sessions of the National Assembly in the winter of 1791-92) and in the philosophic thinking (Herder, Kant, Fichte and Hegel in Germany, Joseph de Maistre in France) of the end of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century (a good overview of this “renaissance of war” is in Johannes Kunisch and Herfried Münkler).

13 Sánchez Mazas was certainly not alone in proclaiming this attitude. Articles by Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, Baldomero Argente and Millán-Astray published in the *Revista de Tropas Coloniales* ‘*Journal of Colonial Troops*’ display a habitus whose messianism was addressed at rescuing Spain from its “decadence.” In an article published in that journal in February 1924, Queipo de Llano claims that Spain can only be regenerated from the outside by the army, for it is not tainted by the lethargy and corruption of the metropolitan culture (quoted in Balfour 328; for an analysis of this attitude so common among Africanist officers, see Balfour 65, 237, 303-04, 311-12, 321, 325-28, 331-34, 346-47).

14 The “harkas” were Moroccan irregular troops.

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