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Hombres Normativos: The Creation and Inculcation of Martial Masculinity during the Franco Regime in Spain (1939—1975)

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HOMBRES NORMATIVOS:
THE CREATION AND INCULCATION OF MARTIAL MASCULINITY
DURING THE FRANCO REGIME IN SPAIN (1939–1975)

by

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B.A., History, University of San Francisco, 2005

M.A., History, University of New Mexico, 2008

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the Franco dictatorship's construction of normative masculinity through mandatory military service in Spain from 1939–1975. As part of the regime's efforts to normalize its version of Spanish nationalism, it institutionalized a militarized masculinity in the armed forces. For its sources, the project employs military publications such as autobiographies, journals, training manuals, and magazines as well as courts-martial, service records, and military statistics. Using this rich variety of evidence, the study demonstrates that a gendered conception of the soldier occupied a privileged position in the solidification of the Franco regime's power, the intended moral regeneration of Spanish society, and the creation of proper Spaniards. This ideal type of man was the martial, masculine, obedient, and pious member of the nation who fulfilled his role as a dutiful husband and father. Utilizing Foucauldian, post-structural, ethnographic, and feminist theories and situating its findings in the context of Spain's cultural, economic, and social changes during the 1960s and 1970s, the dissertation argues that the regime failed to normalize its version of masculinity. Soldiers utilized alternative forms of knowledge and modes of being that functioned to transform gendered social structures. Paradoxically, however, these transformations helped reinforce patriarchal power.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
The Context.....	1
Conscription.....	6
Historiography of Normative Francoist Masculinity	9
Sources	15
Military Books	16
Military Print Culture.....	16
Pedagogical Materials.....	22
Method & Theory	22
Temporality.....	22
Culture, Society, and Agency	24
Power & Discourse Producers	29
Organization & Arguments.....	32
CHAPTER I MARTIAL, MASCULINE, AND OBEDIENT MEMBERS OF THE NATION: THE CREATION OF IDEAL SPANISH MEN	37
Introduction.....	37
History of the Francoist Military	38
Normative Francoist Martial Masculinity.....	44
Boys into Men.....	44
The Social Function of Military Service.....	48
Society and Economics	51
Military Morality	57

Military Spirit and Virtues	63
The Code of Martial & Masculine Honor	69
Discipline/Obedience/Subordination	77
Conclusion: A Story of Failure & Success	87
CHAPTER II SO[U]LDIERS FOR CHRIST AND MEN FOR SPAIN: THE APOSTOLADO CASTRENSE’S ROLE IN THE CREATION AND DISSEMINATION OF NORMATIVE MASCULINITY	99
Introduction	99
Historiography & National-Catholicism	106
History, Mission, & Goals	111
Initiatives & Publications	113
Three Discourse Producers	117
The Apostolado Castrense & Normative Masculinity	120
Making Pious Men	127
Catholic Morality and Spirit	130
Honor & Chivalry	133
Discipline/Obedience/Subordination	138
The Apostolado & the Failures of National-Catholicism	141
Unintended Consequences & Estrangement between Church and State	143
Miguel Alonso Baquer: Legacy & Reflections of a Discourse Producer	150
Conclusion	157
CHAPTER III THOU SHALT AND SHALT NOT: THE CONDITIONING AND CONTROL OF MALE SEXUALITY	164
Introduction	164

Method	165
Understandings of Normative Male Sexuality.....	169
Normative Types: The Dutiful Husband & Father vs. The Don Juan	171
Sexual Education	177
Sexually Transmitted Infections & Prostitutes	182
Negative Practices: Masturbation & Pornography	189
Homosexuality	194
Conclusion: Failure and Success	196
CHAPTER IV REGIMES OF PUNISHMENT: HONOR AND SEXUALITY IN FRANCOIST MILITARY JURISPRUDENCE	201
Introduction.....	201
Acts & Identities: Part I	203
Codes of Military Justice	205
Delitos Contra el Honor Militar.....	211
Crimes, Courts, Magistrates, and Case Files	211
Codifying and Regulating Martial Honor	215
Courts-Martial for Homosexuality: 1939–1963.....	219
Delineating Homosexual Acts	223
Inconsistent & Varied Punishments.....	225
Extenuating Circumstances.....	230
Acts and Identities: Part II	236
Investigating Resistance.....	240
Conclusion: Queering the Law and Creating Obedient Subjects.....	249

CHAPTER V WOMEN IN THE LIFE OF THE MANLY SOLDIER PART I: THE TREATMENT AND PROTECTION OF WOMEN	253
An Introduction to Parts I & II.....	253
The Importance of Women to Conceptions of Martial Masculinity.....	259
Military Justice and the Defense of Women.....	268
How Soldiers Should Behave With and Treat Women	275
Respect for Women.....	280
Conclusion	283
CHAPTER VI WOMEN IN THE LIFE OF THE MANLY SOLDIER PART II: THE IDEAL TYPE, THE MODERN WOMAN, & WOMEN’S MODERNIZATION	285
Introduction: History, Historiography, and Sources	285
The Ideal Type and its Opposite	292
The Mother-Wife-Housekeeper	295
An Economy of Male Desire	303
Modern Women as Objects of Desire.....	310
Content about Women’s Lives.....	325
Normative Femininity.....	327
Women’s Rights.....	328
Women in the Military.....	333
Women in the Workforce.....	334
Women’s Bodies & Sport.....	336
Women’s Fashion	338

Conclusion	344
CONCLUSION RESISTANCE, TRANSFORMATION, AND OBEDIENCE	346
“Señores y señoras, se acaba la mili.”	346
Paradoxical Epistemes	351
REFERENCES.....	358
Primary Source References	358
Published Primary Source References	359
Secondary Source References	363

Introduction

The Context

On 1 April 1939, after nearly three years of civil war, the Spanish Second Republic succumbed to the rebel forces of Generalissimo Francisco Bahumonde Franco. A ruthless general and crafty politician, he led a victorious coalition of conservative, Catholic, fascist, and monarchist groups that looked forward to creating a homogenous nation purged of liberalism and modernity and forged from the principles of morality and tradition. Yet when Franco died in 1975, Spain hardly resembled the image he and his supporters had for it thirty-six years earlier. At the three-quarter century mark and as a consequence of economic modernization initiated in the late 1950s, Spain had many trappings of modernity and soon thereafter transitioned into a democracy. The liberal and modern aspects of Spanish culture, politics, and society that the Nationalists had risen in arms to defeat and that the regime had struggled to destroy had resurfaced in Spain, including alternate imaginings of Spanish nationalism.

Largely an artificial construct, ruling groups of elites often invent nationalism, which the population imagines as inherently real.¹ Modern states generate legitimacy through nationalism, ensuring popular consent for their rule by creating and inculcating a national identity concordant with the government's actions and policies. These constructions ensure that heterogeneous populations feel deeply connected to each other and the state through the collective bond of national identity. Studies of gender have demonstrated that normative gender roles and sexual identities comprise a fundamental element of national identity. To function as cohesive wholes, modern nations require this

¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London and New York: Verso, 1983); Ernst Gellner, *Nations*

communal sense of a gendered national identity and a shared belief in the legitimacy of the state and its actions.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Spain suffered from not necessarily a lack of nationalism, but rather a gluttony of antagonistic and competing nationalisms. Hostile and incompatible visions of the nation destabilized the Spanish state, fractured politics, and contributed to the outbreak of Spanish Civil War in 1936.² Once the Nationalists defeated the Second Republic three years later, one of the new regime's primary goals was to construct a Spanish nationalism in its own image. Those efforts necessitated the imposition of gender and sexual normativity. The dictatorship defined, through discourse and practice, correct behavior and social organization of Spanish men and women based on their genders and sexualities.

Historians have produced ample and rich scholarship about women and femininity in Franco's Spain. Much of this work focuses on women's mandatory social service in the *Sección Femenina* (Women's Section of the *Falange*, Spain's fascist party co-opted by Franco during the Spanish Civil War). In contrast, little study exists of the Franco dictatorship's exercise of authoritarian dominance through its control of men's gender

² Other important contributing factors include: class conflict, divisions between and within political parties, struggles between liberalism and conservatism and clericalism and anticlericalism, a culture of military intervention in politics, regionalism, the defeat of 1898 in the Spanish American War, and the failures of the Second Republic. As for how the troubles of Spanish nationalism in particular contributed to the problems of the Spanish state and the causes of the Spanish Civil War, there is a large and rich historiography. See for example, Sebastian Balfour, "The Lion and the Pig: Nationalism and National Identity in Fin de Siècle Spain," in *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, eds. Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (Oxford: Berg, 1996); Sandie Holguín, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith, "The Myths and Realities of Nation-Building in the Iberian Peninsula," in *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, eds. Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith, 1–32 (Oxford: Berg, 1996); Enrique A. Sanabria, *Republicanism and Anticlerical Nationalism in Spain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, "The Failure of the Liberal Project of the Spanish Nation-State," in *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, eds. Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel

and sexuality. Revealing how the Francoist state discursively constructed a normative masculinity and inculcated those norms in Spanish men through mandatory military service, this dissertation fills that historiographical lacuna. Through the equivalent to women's compulsory social service, the Francoist state compelled the vast majority of Spanish men to complete two years of active duty in the military—an experience colloquially known as “*la mili*.” During that formative time period in their lives, the armed forces attempted to mold conscripts into a certain type of man.

Masculinity as a gendered construction has great consequence in the military, where normative notions of manhood and male sexuality are fluid, shifting, problematized, challenged, and resisted.³ Militaries are not hermetically sealed from society, and militarized masculinities within the armed forces are often integral to conditioning general cultural and societal conceptions of masculinity. Turnover is

Smith, 119–132 (Oxford: Berg, 1996); and Mary Vincent, *Spain 1833–2002: People and State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³ For scholarship on militarized masculinities see: Jason Crouthamel, “Male Sexuality and Psychological Trauma: Soldiers and Sexual Disorder in World War I and Weimar Germany,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 17, no. 1. (Jan, 2008), 60–84; Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (London: Pandora Press, 1989); Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Marcus Funk, “Ready for War: Conceptions of Military Manliness in the Prusso-German Officer Corps Before the First World War,” in *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, eds. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Geoffrey J. Giles, “The Denial of Homosexuality: Same-Sex Incidents in Himmler’s SS and Police,” in *Sexuality and German Fascism*, ed. Dagmar Herzog, 256–290. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005); Paul R. Higate, “‘Soft Clerks’ and ‘Hard Civvies’: Pluralizing Military Masculinities,” in *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*, ed. Paul R. Higate, 27–42. (Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2003); John Hopton, “The State and Military Masculinity,” in Higate, *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*, 111–124; Christina S. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity During World War II* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004); Marcia Kovitz, “The Roots of Military Masculinity,” in Higate, *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*, 1–14; Thomas Kühne, “Comradeship: Gender Confusion and Gender Order in the German Military, 1918–1945,” in Hagemann and Schüler-Springorum, *Home/Front*, 233–254; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, “Flying and Killing: Military Masculinity in German Pilot Literature, 1914–1939,” in Hagemann and Schüler-Springorum, *Home/Front*, 205–232; Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004); Annette F. Timm, “Sex With a Purpose: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Militarized Masculinity in the Third Reich,” in Herzog, *Sexuality and German Fascism*, 223–

perhaps the most obvious way this process occurs. Paul R. Higate argues in his work about pluralizing masculinities that “gendered performance learned in the military may remain tenacious after discharge from the armed services into civilian life; as such, these ways of performing masculinity can become institutionalized.”⁴ Diffusion also has a discursive component. States utilize the pervasive trope of the ideal military man to construct masculinity in society writ large.⁵ Although notions of hegemonic militarized masculinities find their way into culture and society where the state uses them to build nationalism and legitimize its actions, this development is neither uniform nor uncontested.

Franco’s Spain provides such an example. The dictatorship and the Spanish armed forces consciously sought to use conscription in the gendered endeavor of forming Spanish men by creating, disseminating, and inculcating masculinity. This dissertation labels that masculinity as “normative Francoist martial masculinity.” In other words, as part of the dictatorship’s efforts to mold the Spanish nation in its own image following victory in the Spanish Civil War, it institutionalized a militarized masculinity in the armed forces that it intended to normalize in Spanish men during their required two years of active duty.

Less emphasizing combat or technical military skills but rather discursive and performative ideals, the military viewed men’s active military duty as a preparatory period not for war, but for their behavior after matriculation into society. The Francoist armed forces sought to mold men into what this study designates as the “masculine,

255; Rachel Woodward, “Locating Military Masculinities: Space, Place, and the Formation of Gender Identity and the British Army,” in Higate, *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*, 43–56.

⁴ Higate, “‘Soft Clerks’ and ‘Hard Civvies,’” 28.

⁵ See also Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*.

martial, and obedient member of the nation.” A truncated form of citizenship under a dictatorial form of government, Spanish men’s membership in the nation was predicated upon their embodiment of certain militarized characteristics. Martial values, as authors frequently referred to them, included: military morality, spirit, and virtues; chivalric honor; and discipline, obedience, and subordination. These attributes often came with Catholic connotations, sometimes paralleling but at others conflicting with military discourse broadly speaking. Such influence largely derived from the Spanish Church’s organization within the armed forces, the *Apostolado Castrense* (Martial Apostolate). A male sexuality based on morality played a prominent role in the organization’s especially Catholic notions of masculinity. Wider military and less religiously-based notions couched men’s sexuality in the paternalized terms of the reproduction of the family. Normative masculinity therefore required men to become what this dissertation identifies as the “dutiful husband and father.” When coded with Catholicism, the idealized soldier was a pious man chaste in his sexuality.

Spanish culture and society did not remain static during the Franco regime, and this project investigates how the knowledge and power inherent in discourses of gender functioned within processes of structural transformations. It relies on Foucauldian theorizations of power, ethnographical and post-structural conceptualizations of culture, and feminist theories of gender and heteropatriarchy. Employing such an analysis, this dissertation presents a historically specific argument about the ways in which Francoist soldiers consciously constructed the military to be an institution for the civic education and social regulation of men. It finds that the armed forces ultimately proved unsuccessful in inculcating normative Francoist martial masculinity as an identity, but

that mandatory service was successful in creating obedient subjects and in so doing securing the power of the Franco regime over Spanish society.

Conscription

Mandatory military service in Spain has a long history. Scholars like Fernando Puell de la Villa as well as Cristina Borreguero Beltrán posit the system of *quintas* (drafts) first established by King Felipe V in the eighteenth century as precursors to the obligatory service established in the nineteenth century.⁶ Having a need for larger contingents of soldiers, Carlos III regularized the system of call-ups when he established annual *quintas* in 1770.⁷ Puell de la Villa argues that these changes “established the general mandatoriness of military service” and eventually gave rise to the *soldado de reemplazo* (replacement soldier, or draftee).⁸ In 1912, the Spanish government passed the *Ley de Reclutamiento y Reemplazo* (Law of Recruitment and Replacement), which made it law that nearly all Spanish men would serve in the military. Such a system remained more or less intact by the advent of the Second Republic. After the Spanish Civil War, the Franco regime continued this practice of requiring most men in Spain to serve in the armed forces.

The first specific law of mandatory military service that the dictatorship drafted was a provisional law of recruitment and call-up in 1940, which was then redacted somewhat and approved by decree in 1943.⁹ This law stayed in place until 1969 and established the parameters of obligatory military service during the first twenty-eight

⁶ Puell de la Villa, *El soldado desconocido*, 64; and see also Cristina Beltrán Borreguero, *El reclutamiento militar por quintas en la España del siglo XVIII: orígenes del servicio militar obligatorio* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1989), 345.

⁷ Puell de la Villa, *El soldado desconocido*, 72; and Beltrán Borreguero, *El reclutamiento militar*, 345.

⁸ Puell de la Villa, *El soldado desconocido*, 76.

years of the Franco regime. The first article of the 1940 law required all physically able Spaniards to serve in the military.¹⁰ Article 3 legislated that any Spaniard over the age of twenty-one who had not completed their active duty would lose certain rights and was forbidden from, for example, exercising public functions or owning property.¹¹ Article 18 mandated that military service would last for twenty-four years, with two years of active duty and the remaining twenty-two years spent in the reserves.¹² One exception to these requirements was for university students, who had the option of joining the *Milicia Universitaria* (University Militia) where they would receive *Instrucción Premilitar Superior* (High Premilitary Instruction).¹³ Then, once in the military, members of the *Milicia Universitaria* went to special barracks and training camps, after which time they received the rank of second lieutenant (*alférez*).

In 1969, the Spanish government passed a new law for military service.¹⁴ The law's key points reinforced the goals the Franco regime had for conscription. The first article of the 1969 explicitly demonstrates the paramount impetus behind mandatory military service, stating that conscription provided for "the spiritual, physical and cultural development and the social advancement of the Spanish youth."¹⁵ Similarly, Article 17 stipulated that, "To the extent that it is compatible with active duty military service, the

⁹ *Reglamento provisional para el Reclutamiento y Reemplazo del Ejército: Redactado en cumplimiento de lo establecido en la Ley de 8 de agosto de 1940. Aprobado por Decreto de 6 de abril de 1943 (D.O. núm. 163).*

¹⁰ Article 1, *ibid.*, 11. This article also required that children of foreign parents, if born in Spain, also had to serve in the military unless they could prove that they had served in the military of their parent's country.

¹¹ Article 3, *ibid.*, 11–12.

¹² Article 18, *ibid.*, 15.

¹³ The Navy also had the *Milicia Naval Universitaria* and the Air Force had the *Milicia Aérea Universitaria*. For more on the MU-IPS see Alfredo Isasi García, *La milicia universitaria* (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1959); and Rafael Álvarez Serrano, *La milicia universitaria: Normas y consejos para los Caballeros aspirantes a Oficiales de Complemento* (Madrid: 1944).

¹⁴ *Reglamento de la Ley General del Servicio Militar (Decreto 3087/1969, de 6 de noviembre)* (Barcelona: Edit. Nayer Hnos. Y Cía., 1970). This law was based on law from the previous year: *Ley 55/1968, de 27 de julio, General de Servicio Militar (B.O. del E., de 29 de julio, Jefatura del Estado)*.

three Armies will promote the education and culture of the soldiers, as well as[,] according to their aptitude, the accelerated professional development of those men in specific specialties and offices...”¹⁶ In terms of time of service, this new law changed the duration from twenty-four to eighteen years, with most men still serving two years in active duty. Due to each of these laws, the vast majority of men who came of age in Spain between 1939 and 1975 fell under the influence and jurisdiction of the Francoist armed forces.

Scholars have established that the Francoist military used obligatory service in an attempt to fashion the Spanish nation by inculcating a Francoist martial ideology in men. However, this scholarship has not investigated or analyzed the gendered aspects of that endeavor. Unlike scholarship conducted on women’s equivalent service in the Sección Femenina, historiography on mandatory military service for men lacks this crucial aspect of understanding.¹⁷ Historians have yet to examine how the enterprise of mandatory military service sought to influence men *as men*; that is how military morality, spirit, and values demarcated the parameters of a militarized and normative Francoist masculinity. From a perspective of gender and sexuality, the methodological impetus moving forward should not necessarily be to demonstrate that the military discursively constructed these martial characteristics and values and attempted to inculcate them in troops. Rather, what needs to be examined from this viewpoint is how and why the military defined these

¹⁵ Article 1, *ibid.*, 45.

¹⁶ Article 17, *ibid.*, 47.

¹⁷ One other gap in the wide-ranging historiography of Franco’s military is a specific history of obligatory military service. Sources abound for an in depth cultural and social history of mandatory service. Such a monograph would greatly compliment that already conducted on the civil war. This project does not aspire, however, to be such a work and only addresses a few of the historiographical lacuna in relation to the broader parameters of conscription. Rather, this dissertation focuses specifically on the aspects of gender and sexuality inherent in conscription, extrapolating those findings to help begin painting some of the fine lines and a few broad strokes within the larger picture of mandatory service during Francoism.

gendered qualities and specifically sought to inculcate them in soldiers, precisely because those traits constituted normative masculinity. Without understanding this fundamental gendered aspect of mandatory military service—functioning above and through discourse and practice, and one of the most important driving forces behind conscription—those martial qualities exist in a vacuum. As military discourse demonstrates, the state, armed forces, and Apostolado Castrense consciously sought to inculcate those martial qualities in troops for the explicit purpose of creating normative men. Discourse gendered the ideals of military morality, spirit, and values, making them constitutive of normative masculinity.

Historiography of Normative Francoist Masculinity

Some scholarship exists on the subjects of men and masculinity in modern Spanish history.¹⁸ Stanley Brandes and David D. Gilmore offer two important monograph-length anthropological studies on Andalusia in the 1970s.¹⁹ These works shed light on social norms of masculinity at the end of the Franco dictatorship. Studying rural towns in Andalusia, both scholars argue for the pervasiveness of *machismo*. Placed in conjunction with the findings of this study, Gilmore and Brandes reveal that the normative masculinity propounded by the Francoist armed forces had not been adopted by men in rural Andalusia. In fact, some of the norms of manhood and interaction between the sexes that the regime desired to eradicate still prevailed by the 1970s.

¹⁸ See esp., L. Alonso Tejada, *La represión sexual en la España de Franco* (Barcelona: Luis de Caralt Editor, S.A., 1977); Juan Eslava Galán, *Coitus interruptus: la represión sexual y sus heroicos alivios en la España franquista* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, S.A., 1997); Alberto Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a Chueca: Una Historia cultural de la homosexualidad en España en el siglo XX* (Barcelona: Editorial Egales, S.L., 2004); Juan José Ruiz-Rico, *El sexo de sus señoras* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, S.A., 1991).

¹⁹ Stanley Brandes, *Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980); and David D. Gilmore, *Aggression and Community: Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

Therefore, Brandes and Gilmore provide corroborating evidence for the failure of the military's efforts to inculcate a uniform normative masculinity in Spanish men regardless of regional and ethnic differences.

Outside of anthropology, various historians studying gender and sexuality during Francoism have dealt with the subject of heterosexual masculinity, but without examining it in depth. There are no monograph length works on the subject.²⁰ Those scholars who have analyzed Francoist masculinity view it unproblematically in the paradigm of the "half monk half soldier" in which ideal Spanish men are seen as warriors engaged in or dying for a religious crusade. Mary Nash provides a representative summation of this understanding in her piece on morality, National-Catholicism, culture, and gender during Francoism when she writes:

In the post-war years male gender models were those of outstanding soldiers and fighters, exceptional figures that transcended daily life. The image of the warrior-monk shaped around a combination of *conquistador* and the founder of the Jesuits, Saint Ignatius de Loyola, and combining courage, virility, religiosity, and military values, became the prototype of role models for young Spanish males.²¹

Such an image certainly played an important role in Francoist normative masculinity.

Mary Vincent investigates the concept further, contributing two insightful articles on such a masculinity as it coalesced during the civil war and very early years of the dictatorship.²² In her piece "The Martyrs and the Saints," she argues that Francoists

²⁰ Scholars who have specifically focused on men have primarily investigated homosexual men. See esp. Arturo Arnalte Barrera, *Rededa de violetas*; Alberto Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a Chueca*; and Javier Ugarte Pérez, ed., *Una discriminación universal: La homosexualidad bajo el franquismo y la transición* (Barcelona and Madrid: Editorial EGALES, 2008).

²¹ Mary Nash, "Towards a New Moral Order: National-Catholicism, Culture and Gender," in *Spanish History since 1808*, eds. José Álvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert, 289-300 (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 295.

²² Mary Vincent, "The Martyrs and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade," *History Workshop Journal* 47 (Spring 1999): 68-98; and Mary Vincent, "La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista," *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 28 (2006): 131-151.

masculinity militarized masculinity and linked it to the Civil War as crusade. Vincent understands the ideal Francoist man to be a crusading martyr. Connecting the various strands of rightist thought, the article posits that Catholics, Falangists, and Carlists embedded masculinity and morality in their ideology so that

The moral fervour embodied in these images [of masculinity], which tapped into the enthusiasm and dedication of a generation of right-wing boys, played a crucial role in turning a rather grubby military coup, dependent for survival on foreign aid, into a glorious, Spanish, Catholic, military, and masculine crusade.²³

Focusing on specifically Catholic sources, Vincent delineates the links between rightist and Catholic notions of masculinity on the one hand, and the crusading spirit of martyrdom on the other hand.

Although presenting a portrait of rightist notions of masculinity during the Second Republic and the Spanish Civil War, Vincent does not analyze how such conceptions changed after 1939. She argues that “Franco's was not the only regime in which the soldier's sacrifice reigned supreme, but, while its vision of true manhood may have been reminiscent of that espoused in other authoritarian regimes, the martyr provided its quintessential image.”²⁴ Although an aspect of Francoist martial masculinity, the martyr, however, was not its paradigmatic ideal. The Franco regime glorified such men, but more desired to teach soldiers how to live their lives after completing their service than how to fight and die in combat.

Vincent's other important work on the topic, “La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista,” (The Reaffirmation of Masculinity in the Francoist Crusade), investigates Falangist masculinity before and during the civil war, contending that its

²³ Vincent, “The Martyrs and the Saints,” 71.

²⁴ Ibid., 94.

vitriolic and violent aspects posed a threat to post-war bourgeois masculinity.²⁵ After the conflict, Vincent argues that the regime relied on Carlist notions of paternal masculinity:

The reinterpretation of masculinity during the post-war [period] required a reaffirmation of paternalism and it is here where Carlism found a renewed voice. Although politically eclipsed by the Falange and the army, the Decree of Unification catapulted Carlism to the center of the new state; it was decisive that Carlism could support a model for social order imposed by the “New State” [of] Francoism.²⁶

Carlist paternalism, Vincent writes, was “fundamental to the construction of some type of social accord during the first years of Francoism, being the common denominator between people with different political ideas...”²⁷ Although linked to Carlism in its religious aspects, the masculine ideal of a patriarchal head of household—or the dutiful husband and father—was not necessarily specific to Carlism, having been an aspect of Catholic norms of masculinity held throughout the Spanish Church. This study, however, found no emphasis on Carlism in military sources about masculinity. Contributing to initial perspectives on normative Francoist masculinity, Vincent’s two articles provide the ideological background and historical context for competing rightist notions of masculinity before 1939.

Another work on pre-Francoist norms of manhood is Brian Bunk’s monograph on the commemorations of the October 1934 minor revolt in Asturias.²⁸ In this work Bunk analyzes the foundational notions of masculinity that informed both sides in the Spanish Civil War.²⁹ Tracing notions of martyrdom to before 1926, Bunk, like Vincent, argues

²⁵ Vincent, “La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista,” 131–151.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 148.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

²⁸ This strife involved armed miners fighting for labor rights in the face of poor working conditions and the conservative government. Franco and his Moroccan forces violently quelled the revolt.

²⁹ Brian D. Bunk, *Ghosts of Passion: Martyrdom, Gender, and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007). See esp. Chapter 4, “Grandsons of the Cid: Masculinity, Sexual Violence, and the Destruction of the Family.”

that men's "heroic sacrifice became an integral part of Nationalist symbolism during the Civil War and on into the Franco regime."³⁰ Bunk describes how in the 1930s the Spanish right construed virility, strength, and power as the exemplary qualities of a man, and contends that these ideals became embodied in the historical figure of El Cid.³¹ He demonstrates that the Spanish left relied on working-class notions of what he labels "protective masculinity," or the ability to protect women and children and provide for a family.³² Bunk mentions that such a proletarian masculinity did not, however, necessarily preclude martial qualities.³³

As with Vincent's studies, Bunk contributes important scholarship to pre-1939 notions of masculinity in Spain. However, his analysis of masculinity does not move beyond the Spanish Civil War and Vincent's articles rely strictly on sources from before or during the initial years of the regime. Although these time periods are important, the ideal of the quintessential martyred crusader only sheds light on Francoist masculinity for a small portion of the regime's history and does not incorporate the important social and cultural changes that occurred over the course of the dictatorship. The priestly warrior definitely played an important part in particularly Catholic and Falangist imaginations of martial masculinity, but was only one portion of a complex whole.³⁴ For that reason, normative Francoist masculinity should not be reduced to a descriptor of two words. Rather, it was a complex and polyvalent conception containing many important attributes

³⁰ Ibid., 119.

³¹ Ibid., 89, 91.

³² Ibid., 89–90.

³³ Ibid., 95.

³⁴ The religious character of the idealized Falangist man, and its similarity to Catholic aspirations for normative masculinity (perhaps also demonstrating the problematic nature of Falangism as a type of fascism) is one of the few ways in which the Falange could be argued to have influenced constructions of Francoist masculinity. Even so, this influence was muted because the Apostolado Castrense, and neither the

that fall outside the strict purview of the soldier monk.

The assumption of masculinity during Francoism as easily-definable, unproblematic, and unchanging limits understandings of Francoist masculinity. Feminist scholars made similar arguments about the need to complicate understandings of women in Franco's Spain and by doing so have contributed a wealth of scholarship ameliorating that problem in the historiography of women. These scholars' efforts have demonstrated that women and their experiences in Franco's Spain were diverse, revealing that important categories such as class, region, and ethnicity affected modes and understandings of gender and sexuality.³⁵ Many of the same theories and methodologies that have been utilized in complicating and expanding women's history in Spain should be applied to men and masculinity for a fuller and more enriching historiography of gender and sexuality during Francoism.

Undertaking that task, this dissertation's analysis of men's obligatory military service adds new and compelling understandings of gender and sexuality to modern Spanish history, complementing existing scholarship on women's mandatory social service and creating comprehensive and nuanced historical understandings of masculinity in Franco's Spain. On a foundational level, then, by delving into the production of military discourse this project elucidates the complex and interdependent components of normative Francoist masculinity, which itself is an understudied and underappreciated but pivotal issue in the construction of citizenship and national identity in Spain as well as in the Franco dictatorship's practices of repression and entrenchment of its power. The

Falange nor the Movimiento that it became, was the organization that propounded and disseminated the ideal of the warrior monk.

³⁵ See especially Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff, eds., *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999).

first historical monograph-length study dedicated to discovering the parameters of and analyzing normative Francoist martial masculinity, this dissertation also adds gender as a category of analysis to the historiography of the military during Francoism.

Sources

Applicable to the topics of every chapter, this introduction provides an overall assessment of the dissertation's sources. Aside from military jurisprudence (law codes, courts-martial, service records, and military statistics, which are discussed in detail in Chapter IV), this study delineates three discursive means through which the military created and conveyed its messages about normative masculinity: books, educational materials, and print culture. The method and theory section below offers detailed definitions of these broad terms. Overall, it is important to keep in mind that the three source types are not necessarily distinct. All three could be, and are at times herein, conceived as constituting overall military discourse. The division of sources into these three categories lies in their somewhat separate publication methods.

Discourse is a difficult term to define. This dissertation employs a working definition of discourse that, utilizing Foucault, considers it as ideas that contain "signs, figures, relationships, and structures which could be reused by others."³⁶ Discourses are circulated, valorized, and appropriated; they can be transgressed and transformed; they vary and are modified within their distinctive cultures and are articulated according to social relationships.³⁷ Importantly, discourses set themes and concepts in motion within a given society and culture.³⁸ In the theoretical language discussed in more detail below,

³⁶ Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rainbow, 101–120 (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), 114.

³⁷ Ibid., 114, 117.

³⁸ Ibid., 117.

discourse, as understood in this dissertation, is a broad term describing epistemological understandings of ontology; or forms of knowledge used to create, interpret, and influence modes of being.

Military Books

Book-length studies about military issues, usually written by high ranking officers with a relatively small intended audience of other officers, worked towards creating the discourse of normative Francoist martial masculinity. This project considers all non-book publications (primarily journals and magazines) as print culture, a concept discussed in more detail below. Some of these publications, as with military books, had an audience of mostly officers. In particular, the Apostolado's premier journal *Reconquista* (Reconquest) served as a discursive forum for military and religious matters.³⁹ The Army's largest publication *Ejército: revista ilustrada de las armas y servicios* (Army: Illustrated Magazine of the Arms and Services) contained content accessible to soldiers of all ranks. Its articles served a similar function to those in *Reconquista*. They provided an arena for the discussion, promulgation, and expansion of discursive ideas. Nevertheless, the dissertation's methodology makes a cultural distinction in relation to the form of publications. It understands journals and magazines as cultural mediums, unlike the vehicle of the book or monograph.

Military Print Culture

Publications intended for soldiers helped constitute military print culture. They also comprised (and reflected) overall discourse. At the same time, they were educational in intent. In all these guises, cultural publications created and inculcated normative masculinity. In her study of women during Francoism, Aurora Morcillo Gómez writes

Popular media has been an underrated force in the shaping of modern nations. We think of propaganda as war posters and political cartoons, not soap ads and radio plays. But the new forms of media (i.e., magazines, cinema, television) that gave us these subversive diversions, I argue, played as much a role in shaping the political landscape of countries like Spain as the heavy-handed efforts of state ministries.”⁴⁰

Likewise, military print culture as a form of popular media offers a window into how the Francoist armed forces sought to shape the nation through magazines and periodicals for troops.

Falling in between monographs and print culture, *Ejército* began publication in February 1940, publishes monthly, and still exists today.⁴¹ As an example of its varied content, the title page of its first issue carried this list of subject matter:

general and military history; philosophy and military morality; organization; armaments and material; military art, strategy, tactics, [and] fortification; instruction; general questions about the new state, the great problems of industry, economy, and statistics; Foreign policy: army and politics; geography; colonial issues; fine arts and war; sport and physical military culture; current information, legislation, books, [and] magazines; spreading of professional military culture; study of the lessons of our war; connect with the complimentary officers [i.e., lieutenants] and those in retirement.⁴²

Mostly targeted at officers, but accessible to soldiers of all ranks, this magazine was the military’s largest publication and formed the centerpiece of military print culture in the breadth and scope of its content as well as its wide availability. It represents broad military thought, and many of its themes directly related to establishing the parameters of normative Francoist martial masculinity.

³⁹ For a more detailed discussion of *Reconquista* and its content and history see Chapter II.

⁴⁰ Aurora Morcillo Gómez, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 15.

⁴¹ The name has been changed to Ejército de la Tierra Español (Army of Spanish Territory). All issues from 1940 to the present are available at: <http://publicaciones.defensa.gob.es/inicio/revistas/>.

⁴² *Ejército: revista ilustrada de las armas y servicios*, núm 1 (febrero 1940).

Prior to the 1960s and aside from *Ejército*, the Apostolado more or less dominated the market of publications for troops. A full discussion of all of the Apostolado's publications is included in Chapter II. The organization targeted soldiers of all ranks. Their premier journal and forum, *Reconquista*, was published for officers. *Formación* (Formation, or Development) was a magazine intended for non-commissioned officers that often focused on women and the family. *Empuje* (Push) was targeted at conscripts. The Apostolado had the desire for their publications to be available in barracks nationwide, intending to inundate readers with the specifically Catholic educational messages of the organization.

In the barracks soldiers would have also been exposed to magazines like *Yunque: Boletín Mensual para Soldados* (Anvil: Monthly Bulletin for Soldiers), which began in 1945 and was published in Valencia.⁴³ Additionally, before the winds of war shifted towards the Allies in World War II, the Spanish military provided its troops (especially those in the Blue Division fighting on the Eastern Front) with the Nazi's trans-European publication *La joven europa: Hojas de los combatientes de la juventud estudiantil europea* (Young Europe: Pages of the Combatants of the European Student Youth). For aspiring officers, Spain's General Military Academy in Zaragoza published *Armas: Revista de la Academia General Militar* (Arms: Magazine of the General Military Academy). Beginning in the early 1950s, this magazine for cadets remained in print for the rest of the Franco regime. As a historical source, it provides a window in the elite culture of Spain's military academies.

⁴³ *Yunque: Boletín Mensual para Soldados*.

During the 1970s a veritable explosion occurred in the amount of magazines published for troops. This increase was due to an initiative, beginning in the middle of the decade and under the auspices of the *Servicio Recreo Educativo del Soldado* (Service for Educational Recreation for Soldiers, hereafter S.R.E.S.), to have individual barracks publish their own magazines for troops. These publications were envisioned as facilitating education, rather than mindless distraction, during a soldier's free time. As such, they comprised part of the *Hogar del Soldado* (Soldier's Home) area of the barracks, which themselves were also run by the S.R.E.S. In an *Ejército* article from 1942 an infantry coronel named Vincente Morales y Morales described this service's mandate and duties:

We have to entertain the soldier, but we fundamentally have to educate him, and hence in the [S.R.E.S.] and forming a nucleus (spiritual and occasionally material, with [the soldier]), they gather materials seemingly as diverse as soldier's libraries, choirs, choral societies, theatrical and cinematographical performances, newspaper walls, drawing contests for soldiers, field trips to monuments and historical sites, etc., etc., in a word: everything that has this aforementioned common denominator: educate and entertain.⁴⁴

The *Hogar del Soldado* was a physical space designed to make life in the barracks more bearable in its home-like atmosphere as well as to provide constructive avenues of entertainment. Morales y Morales wrote of the necessity in the barracks of "a cozy intimate place where the soldier, allowed some freedoms that cannot and should not be allowed outside of it," would be able to relax with his *compañeros*, be entertained, play games, not feel the need to leave the barracks, and be instructed rather than distracted."⁴⁵ Indicative of the blurred lines between recreation and education, R.E.S. magazines allow an understanding of how the military disseminated notions of normative masculinity in

⁴⁴ Vincente Morales y Morales, "Hogar del Soldado," *Ejército*, núm 31 (agosto 1942), 19-24: 21.

print culture. The aim of inculcating martial values in troops through these publications was explicit. Speaking of the magazines' usefulness as means of indoctrination and propaganda, an infantry major wrote in 1975 that they were a "complementary and effective vehicle that contributes to the moral development of the soldier...."⁴⁶

R.E.S. publications contained articles on a variety of subjects such as athletes and sports, history, holidays, military parades, religion, and Franco. Each publication also included content on the happenings and history of the regions in which they were published. Similarly to training manuals, these cultural artifacts also discussed the purposes of conscription and how the military attempted to provide men with its notions of masculinity. The components of normative masculinity featured heavily in these magazines, with articles on honor, military morality and values, the triad of discipline/obedience/subordination, sexuality, and women.

This study focuses on five R.E.S. publications in particular: *Bailén* (IX Military Region, Granada), *Diana* (II Military Region, Sevilla), *Honderos* (Palma de Mallorca), *El Palleter* (III Military Region, Valencia), and *Simancas* (VII Military Region, Valladolid).⁴⁷ Two other magazines are grouped with R.E.S. publications because of their similarities. The barracks in Cáceres (Extremadura) published *Santa Ana: Revista Ilustrado del C.I.R. n° 3* (Saint Ann: Illustrated Magazine of the Center for the Instruction of Recruits Number 3). Connected to the *Hogar del Soldado*, the barracks of Numancia in Barcelona (which housed an anti-tank battalion, a Military Health unit, and a Veterinarian

⁴⁵ Ibid., 19.

⁴⁶ Pedro Garcia Zaragoza, "La formación moral en la actualidad," *Ejército*, núm 421 (febrero 1975), 56–58: 58.

⁴⁷ *Bailén: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado; Diana: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado, Segunda Region Militar; Honderos: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de Baleares; El Palleter: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado; Simancas: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de la 7. Region.*

unit) published entitled *Armas y servicios: Órgano del Hogar del Soldado del Acuartelamiento Numancia* (Arms and Services: Organ of the Soldier's Home of the Numancia Barracks).

Beginning in the late 1960s, R.E.S publications carried the most sexualized content of all the material that the military provided troops. They featured numerous pictures of scantily clad women as well as many articles on women and sexuality. *Honderos* is particular notable as the most sexualized of these magazines. Another unique feature of R.E.S. publications was their regional focus. *Diana*, for example, carried large amounts of articles on Gibraltar, and the magazines' sports section heavily tilted towards bullfighting. *Honderos* featured more articles on tourism, for instance. The localized tone of R.E.S. literature is not apparent in more general publications. These sources therefore contribute to understandings of how region affected military print culture.

Another important reason that R.E.S. publications stand out and are different from other literature for troops is that the rank-and-file often produced these magazines' content. An article from *Diana* stated "the mission of our publication is not only to inform, but also to 'form'..." and argued that this development could not take place without the collaboration of its readers.⁴⁸ What these magazines often demonstrate, then, is that it was not just generals or members of the Apostolado who created and disseminated the discourse of normative masculinity. Privates, corporals, and non-commissioned officers contributed to the development of normative Francoist martial masculinity and facilitated its inculcation by disseminating notions of masculinity from the bottom up in a vertical sense. In a horizontal sense, these local foci comprised a mechanism of power embedded in the target audience.

Pedagogical Materials

Training manuals both guided and reflected classroom pedagogy. Martial discourse translated into training manuals, which themselves not only imparted information on technical military matters but also served as conduct guides for a normative masculinity that helped codify Francoist power structures. Gregorio Cámara Villar writes in his book about the socialization of Francoism through the educational system that text books served as “one of the most powerful instruments of the school as an agent [*agencia*] of socialization...” Francoist textbooks provided “a highly systematized discourse of the reality that corresponded to the defined and perused ideological objectives of power through the institutionalization of educational plans.”⁴⁹ Military training manuals functioned in a similar manner. Likewise, conscription paralleled Cámara Villar’s argument that obligatory primary education worked towards incorporating the population into a system of social relations, teaching Spanish children their status and position in that hierarchy.⁵⁰

Method & Theory

Temporality

A dominant archetype of Francoist masculinity was solidified at the beginning, articulated throughout, and stable for the duration of the Franco regime. The dictatorship posited a specific national identity, which it maintained as the years passed. Such consistency problematizes linear understandings of historical temporality because in many regards change over time failed to take place. Internal politics and shifts within the

⁴⁸ “Vuelta a la normalidad,” *Diana*, núm 34 (1971), 3.

⁴⁹ Gregorio Cámara Villar, *Nacional-Catolicismo y Escuela. La Socialización Política del Franquismo (1936-1951)* (Jaen: Editorial Hesperia, S.L., 1984), 294.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 295.

military did not usually alter the content of discursive messages about normative masculinity. Nonetheless, certain events and processes within Spanish politics and society conditioned how the Francoist model of the normative man interacted with and influenced the military during the thirty-six years of Franco's reign. Emergent liberal and progressive attitudes within the armed forces along with the modernization of Spain's economy and concomitant cultural liberalization of Spanish society certainly affected military discourse, but not enough to alter Francoist notions of normative masculinity.

Time within this study is therefore considered as both linear and static. It moved in the sense of beginning with the immediate triumphalism and repression following the civil war, and progressed through the intense cultural, economic, political, and social changes of the 1960s and 1970s that fundamentally impeded many of the goals of Francoism. Time stayed still in the sense that those historical transformations often did not influence the desires and goals of hardline Francoists. The ways in which certain changes impacted military politics often did not in turn shift the parameters of normative masculinity or the purposes for which many members of the regime and military intended it.

William H. Sewell Jr. argues in his groundbreaking synthesis of social and cultural theory as applied to history,

to narrate an event meaningfully, the historian not only must recount happenings in time, but must also break from narration—that is, temporarily suspend time in order to analyze, in a synchronic discursive mode, the skein of relationships that define the nature and the potentialities of the objects and persons about which a story may be told.⁵¹

⁵¹ William H. Sewell Jr., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 219.

Incorporating both a traditional and expanded awareness of the functioning of time within history allows an enhanced investigation of how normative Francoist masculinity functioned. Francoists used it in an attempt to condition national identity during the period of 1939–1975 by reversing changes that had occurred during particularly the Second Republic. Normative masculinity itself changed very little within that temporality, failing to affect significant change over time.

Culture, Society, and Agency

Culture in terms of source analysis as well as a conceptual framework for the dissertation merits detailed explanation. During and after the cultural turn in academia, many scholars have attempted to define and understand what culture is, how it functions, and how it relates to other theoretical conceptions such as agency and structure. This study attempts to push the theoretical envelope of culture and society, expanding their possibilities within a particular historical case study. In particular, this methodology makes more elastic and flexible theorizations of culture and cultural history. When applied to Francoist Spain, the influential works of Sewell, Sherry B. Ortner, and Lynn Hunt help clarify how culture functioned in the military and society.

Deconstructionism makes problematic any elucidation of culture because it can lead to conclusions that the meaning behind any cultural artifact is unknowable or never stable enough to be discernable. As Sewell argues when discussing deconstructionism, “attempts to secure meaning can only defer, never exclude, a plethora of alternative or opposed interpretations.”⁵² All texts can have different connotations for different readers. Such a conundrum implies that an analysis of military sources to discover their meanings

⁵² Ibid., 167.

made by one historian could elicit different interpretations by another historian. This study does not seek not to find generally accepted or uniform meanings.

Yet an examination of meaning is fundamental to discourse analysis. Intention is often a discernable factor and therefore this dissertation's methodology elicits the intended meaning from texts in order to gauge whether and to what degree Spanish society accepted, inculcated, resisted, or transformed intentional meanings. Audience reaction and reception are more difficult to measure, but reading between the lines for discursive silences reveals acceptance or resistance. When intended meaning is accepted as a knowable element, culture itself can also be investigated. Culture, however, can be nebulous in form. Like a disparate cloud of stellar dust and gasses, culture has many conglomerations of meaning.

One conceptualization of culture views it as learned behavior. In this context Sewell defines culture as "the whole body of practices, beliefs, institutions, customs, habits, myths, etc. built up by humans and passed on from generation to generation."⁵³ For the purposes of this study, such an understanding is useful in a condensed version. Although institutions comprise culture, it is best to separate institutionality from culture. In that sense, the military is understood an institution of political power with its own distinct culture through which it sought to change societal culture(s). This method of analysis conceives of military culture as a system of meaning and practice that comprises, as Sewell writes, "humanly constructed practices, conventions, and beliefs that shape all aspects of social life..."⁵⁴ Such an understanding does not situate culture within a mutually exclusive dichotomy of either a system of meaning or a mode of practice.

⁵³ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Rather it views culture, in Hunt's words, as "an articulation of system and practice."⁵⁵

She argues:

Historians of culture really do not have to choose (or really cannot choose) between unity and difference, between meaning and working ... neither must they choose once and for all between interpretive strategies based on uncovering meaning on the one hand and deconstructive strategies based on uncovering the text's mode of production on the other.⁵⁶

The Francoist military constructed a system of gendered meaning in an attempt to transform systems of practice. This dissertation uncovers that process by analyzing various texts' modes of production and intended meanings in their authors' efforts to shape lived subjectivities within society.

Scholars often understand the ways in which culture influences society through the idea that certain rules govern social life. Sewell's terminology labels these rules as cultural "schemas," which include "not only the array of binary oppositions that make up a given society's fundamental tools of thought, but also the various conventions, recipes, scenarios, principles of thought, and habits of speech and gesture built up within these fundamental tools."⁵⁷ Taking a different semantic approach, coming from an ethnographic viewpoint, and utilizing Pierre Bourdieu's social theories, Ortner interprets social life as a game in which, again, culture organizes and constructs the social "in terms of defining categories of actors, rules and goals of the games, and so forth..."⁵⁸ For both Sewell and Ortner, the cultural conditioning of social life takes place within certain structures or games.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 164.

⁵⁶ Lynn Hunt, "Introduction," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt, 1-22 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 16.

⁵⁷ Sewell, *Logics of History*, 131.

⁵⁸ Sherry B. Ortner, *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 12.

Based on these two scholars' in depth interpretations of a large body scholarship from Clause Lévi-Strauss and structuralism to Bourdieu and game theory, this work assumes that culture creates, reflects, reifies, and transforms in an epistemological and ontological sense. That is to say, cultures (designated in the plural because any one society has many separate and distinct cultures) are certain modes of knowledge that in turn affect modes of being. From an epistemological point of view, cultures comprise and are constituted by discourse, having a reciprocal relationship in which neither is distinct from the other. Similarly, discourse and culture influence the social. Forms of understanding drive individual and social subjectivities because they affect modes of being. In other words, the epistemology of discourse/cultures informs the ontology of the social. The various ways through which people understand their world largely determines the manners in which they live in and are able to transform that world. Sewell uses words like schemas and resources to describe, what herein is termed in a more elastic sense, forms of knowledge or epistemologies. A philologically similar and Foucauldian manner of considering these terms would be as epistemes. For Sewell, these forms of knowledge maintain structures, or what this project labels modes of being or ontologies.

Sewell writes that structures “are constituted by mutually sustaining cultural schemas and sets of resources that empower and constrain social action and tend to be reproduced by that action [... but that] the same resourceful agency that sustains the reproduction of structures also makes possible their transformations...”⁵⁹ Accordingly, agency can also be understood in terms of culture. Agency is embodied in the individual or the agent. His or her knowledge of the particular cultural schemas or epistemologies that make up their specific social world empowers the agent to change structures or

ontologies. Put another way, the individual is able to apply the latter to new contexts (different or new epistemologies) as well as to reinterpret those modes of knowledge. Through these applications and reinterpretations individuals transform modes of being (structures for Sewell, ways of playing the game for Ortner, or ontologies according to this dissertation).

Within the framework of the game metaphor, Ortner provides the methodological precaution that

we can never lose sight of the mutual determination(s) of agents and structures: of the fact that players are ‘agents,’ skilled and intense strategizers who constantly stretch the game even as they enact it, and the simultaneous fact that players are defined and constructed (though never wholly contained) by the game.⁶⁰

This study conceives of culture, then, as comprised of discourses, themselves understood as forms of knowledge. Enacting and performing their agency, individuals accept, create, inculcate, resist, and/or transform epistemologies. That agency to transform knowledge then applies to how individuals live their subjectivities within social the modes of being. Some individuals will accept normative forms of knowledge and apply them ontologically—as with many of the producers of normative Francoist martial masculinity. Other social actors will resist impositions of normative epistemology and ontology, utilizing other forms of knowledge to shape their own modes of being.

Such a theorization does not understand the social as a monolithic body. However, for the purposes of gauging agency and the success or failure of the inculcation of Francoist martial masculinity, it is methodologically necessary to examine broad social trends (not comprising the totality of Spanish society but by and large indicating its

⁵⁹ Sewell, *Logics of History*, 151.

⁶⁰ Ortner, *Making Gender*, 20.

direction and larger trajectory). Agency is not only found in the individual in this sense, but is also collective. Individuals coordinate their actions with and against others so that, as Ortner contends, “Personal agency is, therefore, laden with collectively produced differences of power and implicated in collective struggles and resistance.”⁶¹

Analyzing militarized masculinity in the context of Francoist nationalism in post-civil war Spain, this study investigates how such socio-cultural structural transformations occurred. The dissertation applies these theoretical concepts to understand how a social world (in this case the military in Franco’s Spain, the various other social worlds from which soldiers came, and the norms and knowledge about gender and sexuality inherent in post-civil war Spanish society) informed men’s decisions about and embodiment of their masculinity. It also seeks to identify how those men could be savvy actors employing agency, both individually and collectively, to reproduce or transform structures through their understandings of their social worlds. These cultural and social findings are then placed within Foucauldian conceptions of systems of power and knowledge that comprises the larger framework of this study. Understanding how culture and society work both epistemologically and ontologically allows crucial insight into the nature of power and resistance.

Power & Discourse Producers

Employing a discursive analysis of military sources, this dissertation demonstrates that a gendered conception of the soldier occupied a privileged position in the solidification of the Franco regime’s power, the intended moral regeneration of Spanish society, and the creation of proper Spaniards. In that regard, the present work also analyzes the power of the Franco regime *vis-à-vis* individuals and society,

⁶¹ Ibid., 145.

investigating the extent to which military service functioned as a Foucauldian apparatus of control within networks of power. The study employs a methodology of historicization that seeks, in Foucault's words, to "grasp these techniques of power and demonstrate the economic advantages or political utility that derives from them in a given context for specific reasons, [and by doing so] understand how these mechanisms come to be effectively incorporated into the social whole."⁶² Methodologically, the dissertation relies on a Foucauldian interpretation of power. It posits, as Foucault wrote, "Power is constructed and functions on the basis of particular powers, myriad issues, myriad effects of power. It is this complex domain that must be studied."⁶³ Utilizing these theoretical coordinates within a discursive analysis of military sources, this work sheds light on the multidirectional and multivocal structures of power within the Franco regime, military, and Spanish society.

The ideological production of a normative Francoist masculinity that functioned to solidify and entrench the regime's domination over society was achieved through what Foucault called "major mechanisms of power,"⁶⁴ in this case that of mandatory military service. The sources analyzed herein indicate that not only generals and other high-ranking officers but also the rank-and-file itself participated in the production of discourse and ideology. The fact that these ideas were formulated and propagated by men of all military ranks demonstrates the ways in which power does not necessarily function from the top-down, even in the pyramid shaped hierarchical structure of the military. Privates, corporals, non-commissioned officers, and a handful of women also produced

⁶² Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 101.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 102.

normative Francoist martial masculinity. Those authors reveal that along with the upper echelons of the regime and military, smaller nodes of power at the local level similarly articulated and reified normativity.

Biographical information about authors is not always available. Most often these writers were not principal players within the politics of the military, although several who did occupy key certain key positions in the Church, government, and armed forces greatly affected the content and direction of discourse. Regardless, this source analysis exposes how various authors expressed certain groups' collective desires and views. Both discourse producers and their thought can be evaluated utilizing an understanding of how they and their writings fit within segments of the regime and military. An examination of discursive military sources reveals agreement, tension, and resistance. This source analysis incorporates sources' origins and carefully denotes the position of their authors within the larger frameworks of Francoist power.

The construction of knowledge through discourse—taking place at many nodal points within networks of power—became more than just an ideology. Inculcated in troops during their time in active duty, it attempted to become a lived reality. Power in this sense was both regulatory and prescriptive. Military books set the parameters by which educational and cultural materials for troops attempted to shape soldiers' subjectivity through conveying and dictating what they, *as men*, ought not to do and how they should behave. Furthermore, studying the Foucauldian “techniques and tactics of domination”⁶⁵ inherent in military service provides insight into the success or failure of the regime and armed forces in conditioning men's national identity and lived reality based on the inculcation of martial masculinity.

Organization & Arguments

The present dissertation employs a thematic organization. Chapter I investigates the parameters of normative Francoist martial masculinity. The meanings of martial masculinity remained stable and static for the regime's duration. On the most basic level, the paradigmatic Francoist soldier would finish his time in active duty well-groomed, correctly-behaved, literate, and hard working. As a man, he needed to conform to and embody the interconnected and gendered attributes of military morality, spirit, and virtues; and be honorable, disciplined, obedient, and subordinate. This Francoist martial masculinity positioned itself against popular societal norms and practices of *machismo* and *donjuanismo*. In this capacity, conscription served to educate the Spain's young men in the mores of the Francoist military. After placing those findings within an analysis of resistance, the first chapter utilizes theories of resistance to argue that conscription failed as a tool of national homogenization. Reexamining the role of the individual in affecting change (rather than being caught in it) and questioning the success of the Nationalist eradication of liberalism and modernity in Spain, the dissertation as a whole analyzes how authoritarian regimes often cannot stifle human freedom, despite apparent defeat of opposition and control over society.

An analysis of the male body is absent from this chapter and the dissertation. Originally, such an investigation was envisioned as its own chapter, which would have also included an examination of the image of the Francoist man. Time limitations prevented the completion of that chapter. Not wanting to make preliminary findings

⁶⁵ Ibid.

without the full weight of evidence, the dissertation does not include the male body as a category of analysis.

Men and their masculinity played a significant role in Catholicized visions of the nation. Chapter II's presentation of the Apostolado Castrense's contribution to military discourse enhances historical understandings of how the Catholic Church created, disseminated, and influenced the military's notion of manhood. It concludes that the Apostolado's prayers for a Catholicized nation went unanswered and the chapter sheds light on the organization's relationship to the regime's inability to impose its control over the Spanish nation. Adding to historiographical understandings of the relationship of the Catholic Church to the Franco regime, the chapter argues that the failure of the Apostolado was predicated not only on economic modernization and a liberalization of the Catholic Church as a whole in the 1960s and 1970s but also on the individual agency of ordinary soldiers.

Normative male sexuality forms the basis of Chapter III. The Apostolado propounded a Catholic interpretation of sexuality bolstered by misrepresentations of biology. It posited chastity before, and procreative sex within, marriage as the only moral forms of sexual behavior. Conversely, the military provided its soldiers with practical sexual education, especially how to prevent sexually transmitted infections. Both the military and Apostolado held not only positions on when sex was positive but also when it was negative, or what a man ought not to do in terms of sex and sexuality. Creating and inculcating this normative male sexuality, the Spanish armed forces carried out the sexually repressive intentions and practices of Francoism. In a word, the heteronormative institution of the Francoist military imposed and maintained stringent regulations of male

gender and sexual norms to create a specific type of Spanish man and to protect the nation from perceived social degeneracy. In the moralistic, paternalistic, and patriarchal structures of power imposed on Spain by Franco and his followers, male sexuality was conditioned to align with a system that subordinated women to men, and both sexes to God and nation. The armed forces attempted to discredit and eradicate the ideal of the Don Juan (a social norm that threatened to invalidate and undermine Francoist normativity) in order to better control men's sexuality and convert them into obedient members of the nation who conformed to the mandates of marriage and fatherhood.

The system of military justice both disciplined and punished men for transgressions against heteronormative notions of male sexuality. Utilizing court-martial records, Chapter IV investigates how military jurisprudence put into practice discursive notions of a sexualized martial honor. The chapter makes the case that a regime of discipline and the infliction of punishments worked towards both defining and controlling Spanish men's gendered identities and personal sexualities. This bio-power was especially salient in cases of homosexuality. The Francoist system of military justice operated as a regime of discipline and system of power that sought out intimate knowledge about sexual acts to punish men who overstepped the boundaries of masculine heteronormativity.

Employing queer theory, the chapter uncovers how the system of martial justice went against discursive mandates. It concludes that martial jurisprudence subverted its own imperatives by often failing to label same-sex sexual acts as always already constitutive of a homosexual identity. Magistrates often did not discharge soldiers found guilty of homosexual crimes. Allowing those men to remain in the heterosexual

institution of the military, juridical practice paradoxically destabilized notions that sexual acts conferred sexual identities. Correlating those arguments to a qualitative analysis of service records from Granada and a quantitative analysis of military statistics nationwide, Chapter IV argues that interactions between soldiers and the military's justice system do not reveal the armed forces to have been a monolithic institution that imposed a permanent and rigid understanding of heteronormativity on the men under its control. In effect, a paradox existed in which magistrates disregarded the legal imperatives that it was their job to enforce, but at the same time further submitted men to the heteronormative injunctions of military service and life.

Chapter V and Chapter VI investigate women's importance to normative masculinity, utilizing a methodology that investigates how the interplay between men and women—and masculinity and femininity—shaped individual lives and social processes. Both chapters ask the question: How did notions of normative womanhood and presentations of women's modernization affect soldier's manhood and relate to broader societal trends? In analyzing the Francoist military's efforts to educate men about correct treatment of women, Chapter V finds that although implicated in repressive constructions of normative womanhood, military educational material compelled men to treat women with respect.⁶⁶ The morality and chivalry inherent to martial masculinity required men to respect women and their bodies, and martial jurisprudence punished men caught transgressing those boundaries. Nevertheless, the military condoned men's patriarchal dominance over women as long as it occurred within a framework of chivalric respect for women as wives and mothers.

⁶⁶ With the caveat that one should avoid fallen women.

Chapter VI investigates the armed forces' portrayal of women. The Francoist military strove to reinforce ideals of normative femininity by both directing content at women readers and by informing soldiers that the best type of woman to marry was the traditional mother-wife-housekeeper. At the same time, presentations of modern women and women's modernization undermined that normativity. Publications for troops indicate that men increasingly desired the sexualized modern women, especially after the influx of foreign culture and tourists into Spain in the 1960s and 1970s. Just as Francoist martial masculinity paradoxically functioned to improve the ways that men treated women, presentations of modern women similarly worked towards facilitating acceptance among men for women's modernization in Spain. For example, erotic imagery in magazines for troops had political and social implications because it portrayed modernized women as no longer threatening but rather as sexualized objects of male desire. Expanding scholarly understandings of resistance to repressive models of gender and sexuality, both chapters argue that spaces within norms of martial masculinity indicate the complexity of social transformations.

The Conclusion discusses the history of conscription to its abolishment in 2001 and investigates conscientious objection to mandatory military service. It also makes some general conclusions regarding theories of resistance and the legacy of Francoism. Correlating the socio-cultural transformations outlined in each chapter to theories of power, the Conclusion examines the paradoxical ways in which transformations towards modernity and liberalism did not necessarily loosen the bonds of heteropatriarchal power in Spain.

Chapter I

Martial, Masculine, and Obedient Members of the Nation: The Creation of Ideal Spanish Men

Introduction

The Francoist military in large part formulated the tenets of its normative masculinity through discursive means. Generating a cohesive canon of military thought through the mediums of books, conferences, journals, magazines, and training manuals, military authors discussed, elaborated, and promulgated a normative Francoist masculinity based on militarized values. Inculcating its idealized notion of manhood through compulsory military service for men, the Franco regime intended to create martial, masculine, and obedient members of the nation.

One reason why the Spanish military rose up against the Second Republic in 1936 was that large segments of the armed forces felt that the government was destroying certain values within both the military and society. Although notions of the general traits of martial masculinity date to before the Franco regime, the moment after victory in Spanish Civil War holds particular significance because the regime and military knowingly understood and then exploited their opportunity to reconstruct Spanish society. Francoists in the armed forces deliberately intended mandatory military service as a means to instill their normative version of masculinity in generations of Spanish men and thereby (re)create the Spanish nation.

A codependent and multidimensional arrangement of militarized characteristics comprised the normative masculinity that the Francoist military consciously produced

and specifically intended to instill in troops. Imagined and understood by the military, the idealized man and soldier was one who behaved in a proper manner; could read and write; worked hard; possessed military morality, spirit, and virtues; personified honor; and was disciplined, obedient, and subordinate. This militarized masculinity played a fundamental role in the construction of nationalism in Franco's Spain as well as in the dictatorship's practices of repression and the entrenchment of its power. Examining processes of discourse creation and dissemination, this chapter demonstrates the ways in which Francoists imagined the military as an institution for the civic education and social regulation of men.

History of the Francoist Military⁶⁷

Beginning with a brief statement on the armed forces during the Second Republic, a temporal account of the important historical events in relation to the military from 1939–1975 forms the backdrop of this dissertation's analysis of gender and sexuality. Coming to power after seven years of military dictatorship under General Miguel Primo de Rivera, the Second Republic sought to remove the military from its historical position as arbiter of national politics.⁶⁸ After the Nationalist uprising in 1939, the Spanish Civil War profoundly changed the Spanish armed forces in a multitude of ways. Not only was

⁶⁷ The history of the armed forces during the Franco regime in Spain has received extensive scholarly examination. The most comprehensive works are: Mariano Aguilar Olivencia, *El ejército español durante el franquismo: Un juicio desde dentro* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1999); Gabriel Cardona, *El poder militar en el franquismo: Las bayonetas de papel* (Barcelona: Flor del Viento, 2008); Juan Carlos Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista (1939–1958)* (Madrid, Istmo, S.A., 1990), José Antonio Olmeda Gómez, *Las fuerzas armadas en el estado franquista* (Madrid: El Arquero, D.L. 1988); and Fernando Puell de la Villa, *Historia del Ejército en España* (Alianza Editorial, 2005). Each of these works investigates issues pertaining to the history of the military including: the social makeup of the officer corps, the political power of the military within and *vis-à-vis* the state, the key players and important changes that occurred during the course of Franco's reign, and the successes and failures of the military during that time period.

⁶⁸ Such efforts did not prevent the military from assuming that role once again in July of 1936. For more on the reforms of the Second Republic in relation to the Church and military see Chapter II. For a history of

it the first major conflict the military had fought for nearly forty years, but it also shifted the balance of power within Spain's military forces. Juan Losada Malvárez argues in his foundational work on Francoist martial ideology that by 1939 those officers who fought in the trenches had displaced the supremacy of the old military dynastic families. Concomitant with this power shift, Franco became the undisputed leader of the armed forces. The loyalty of these younger officers lay with their Generalissimo, and they believed in the ideology of his regime.⁶⁹ Gabriel Cardona contends in his book on military power in Francoism that the civil war itself always played a large role in Francoism because the conflict constituted the regime's very legitimation.⁷⁰ The armed forces' power in the state greatly expanded after the civil war. Removing a source of competition, the military aided Franco's efforts to neuter the Falange. Along with merging the monarchist Catholic Carlists with the Falange, the regime militarized the Falange, infusing it with the non-fascist values of the military.⁷¹ Franco also made the military into the central institution of political and social repression.

Aside from its primary role in domestic pacification within Spain's borders, the armed forces' major military concern during the regime's first twenty years was to preserve Spain's colonial influence in Morocco. Nevertheless, Spain eventually lost its Moroccan Protectorate by the late 1950s. The military's fortunes worsened as the decades passed. By the beginning of the 1960s, it suffered from declining morale and the generals were slowly losing their political influence and power within the government. The rise of

the military and politics in Spain see Carolyn P. Boyd, *Praetorian Politics in Liberal Spain* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

⁶⁹ Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 12.

⁷⁰ Cardona, *El poder militar en el franquismo*, 245.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

the lay Catholic Organization Opus Dei, and Franco appointing its technocratic members to key ministerial positions, exacerbated the military's waning political influence.

Although eroding the military's influence in the government, reforms initiated by Opus Dei were not especially successful in changing the culture of the military. Cardona demonstrates that the mindset of the military hierarchy remained the same, to the "despair of many young officers, whose disgust was reduced to professional frustration, without entering into political considerations."⁷² Making matters worse, hard-liners better organized themselves as an unintended consequence of reforming measures.⁷³ Known as *los ultras*, and in part representing the so-called "bunker" of die-hard Francoists, these officers fought against the reorganization of the military in 1964 and the ascendancy of Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco and Opus Dei in the government.⁷⁴ Those efforts also confronted attitudes for an *apertura* (opening) and attendant liberalization of the military during the final two decades of the regime.

In 1969, and signified when General Agustín Muñoz Grandes lost his position as head of the *Estado Mayor*, the struggle between Opus Dei and the old military guard was decided in favor of the former.⁷⁵ The military lost more power to the technocrats with a cabinet reorganization that year. Although conserving their social standing and never losing their power as the regime's repressive safeguard,⁷⁶ the generals were by this time mostly isolated from political decisions.⁷⁷ The historically praetorian attitude of the

⁷² Ibid., 244.

⁷³ Ibid., 238.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 271–272.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 281.

⁷⁶ "...the Spanish Military remained fully identified as Franco's own Army to the very end." Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936–1975* (London: Phoenix Press, 1987), 567.

⁷⁷ Cardona, *El poder militar en el franquismo*, 282.

military no longer held sway in the officer corps. Most of the hierarchy had little inclination to be the arbiter of national politics.⁷⁸

By the end of the dictatorship, the military had served two main purposes. First, with a monopoly of state force it maintained Franco's political power. Second, through conscription the armed forces attempted to indoctrinate Spain's male population with the martial values of Francoism. In relation to the regime's use of the military for socially repressive purposes, Cardona argues that the armed forces gave the system of Francoism "inestimable support" in the "nationalization of social structure and the indoctrination of its political project."⁷⁹ The means through which the military carried out this national indoctrination of Francoist ideology was mandatory military service.

Excluding analysis of masculinity, scholars have well documented the parameters of the military's version of Spanish nationalism. Most historians speak of the Francoist military's belief system in terms of morality, values, and spirit. Predating the Spanish Civil War and similar to nineteenth and early twentieth century notions of fighting spirit and *élan*, an important current of Spanish military thought (later dominant in Francoism) held that the human factor was more important in war than the technical.⁸⁰ The military inculcated this attitude in its academies,⁸¹ and in a less theoretical manner in its barracks and training camps. In Losada Malvárez's words, "The martial ideology of Francoism was composed of the memories of the civil war, intermixed with the remains of an old military mentality and the ideology of the regime was going to be configured there and

⁷⁸ Ibid., 572.

⁷⁹ Olmeda Gómez, *Las fuerzas armadas en el estado franquista*, 119–120.

⁸⁰ See for example Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 50–51.

⁸¹ See for example Aguilar Olivencia, *El ejército español*, 296.

then.”⁸² These martial principles not only exalted memories of the civil war, but, as Cardona demonstrates, also combined them with “the greatness of Spain during the Siglo de Oro, the moral values of which had been recuperated by the Crusade, freeing [those values] from the poisons of the Enlightenment and Liberalism.”⁸³

Unpacking Cardona’s argument sheds light on several facets of Francoism. First, Francoists found much of their ideological inspiration in Spain’s medieval, baroque, and colonial past. The honor of chivalric knightly warriors, the morality of pure Catholic women, and the grandeur of Spain’s former colonial empire, formed some of Francoist ideology’s key content. Second, given strong impetus by the extreme anti-clerical violence in the summer and fall of 1936, the Nationalist conception of the conflict increasingly viewed and couched it in terms of religious crusade. Third, the military in part undertook the war effort to uphold Catholic, medieval, and nationalist values against the immoral, irreligious, and anti-Spanish forces of Anarchism, Communism, Liberalism, and secularism. The memory of the war became in significant manners that of a winning crusade against dangerous non-Spanish values linked to modernity. Francoist martial ideology played a prominent role in the history of the regime because it encapsulated many of the attitudes of the Spanish right: anti-modernism; particular conceptions of national identity; conservative political outlook; memories and understandings codified by crusade of Spanish history and the Spanish Civil War; religious conviction; and the desire to maintain tradition.

Military values, often associated with Catholicism, loomed especially large within that ideology. Olmeda Gómez argues

⁸² Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 12.

⁸³ Cardona, *El poder militar en el franquismo*, 181.

military values provided a fundamental ideological nexus for the architecture of the Francoist system as political form. Together with them, it is necessary to emphasize the role of Catholicism, but remembering that this religion [was] consubstantial with the professional subculture of the military men in Spain.⁸⁴

Not all officers were conservative Catholics, nor did they uniformly accept a specific understanding of National-Catholicism. Nevertheless, in examining the influence of Catholicism in Francoist martial ideology, Losada Malvárez argues that religion made military thought especially fanatic,⁸⁵ wherein God and *Patria* were conflated,⁸⁶ and soldiers had to become militants of the faith engaging in combat against dissidents or those who lacked conviction.⁸⁷ Important members of the armed forces had an enthusiasm for evangelization and regeneration that was especially manifest in attitudes towards mandatory military service. The Army, in Losada Malvárez's words, "assumed the task of re-Christianizing society[.]" specifically imbuing those efforts with patriotism and military virtues.⁸⁸

In relation to both martial and Catholic ideology—or in other words, two of the most crucial codifying ingredients of Francoist normativity—the military disseminated and imposed norms. As Losada Malvárez contends, "The armed forces [were] the only organizational support established in all of the nation's territory that provid[ed] the aptitude and methods for the transition of sufficient information to serve the

⁸⁴ Olmeda Gómez, *Las fuerzas armadas en el estado franquista*, 112. See also *ibid.*, 120.

⁸⁵ Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 37.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁸⁸ Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 43. This conception of the armed forces and conscription having served an evangelizing function for the Church and regime is one shared among scholars of the Francoist military. See for example Olmeda Gómez, *Las fuerzas armadas en el estado franquista*, 118; and Aguilar Olivencia, *El ejército español*, 132.

administrative infrastructure of the force of postwar normalization.”⁸⁹ Mandatory military service was the tip of the spear in that endeavor. It was, writes Losada Malvárez, “a method of political intervention and ideological reproduction of the army,”⁹⁰ because “For the Army, military service is the perfect platform, the ideal framework that permitted the transmission of their values to the civil world, and the consequent ‘elevation’ of it. With the ‘mili’ social hierarchy disappears...”⁹¹ Likewise, Aguilar Olivencia argues that for Franco the army was “a firm pillar of the new state, and moreover[,] some commanders, faithful indoctrinators of the rest of society, were going to effectively contribute to the social consolidation of the new order and of its armed forces.”⁹² Most scholars agree that mandatory military service served as a coercive institution of social control. Olmeda Gómez calls conscription, “the basic instrument of the dissemination of national values” arguing that the regime intended it to make “uniform the masculine population” and flatten differences between individuals from district linguistic and cultural backgrounds.⁹³ The regime used mandatory service, therefore, in efforts towards social and political homogenization of the nation.⁹⁴

Normative Francoist Martial Masculinity

Boys into Men

Underlying and buttressing the military’s mission of educating the nation’s male youth, authors made clear that recruits could only become true men by learning how to be

⁸⁹ Olmeda Gómez, *Las fuerzas armadas en el estado franquista*, 107. For more on this normalization see Aguilar Olivencia, *El ejército español*, 23, 25.

⁹⁰ Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 256–286.

⁹¹ Ibid., 257–258. See also Aguilar Olivencia, *El ejército español*, 44–46, 51.

⁹² Aguilar Olivencia, *El ejército español*, 51. See also Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 305.

⁹³ Olmeda Gómez, *Las fuerzas armadas en el estado franquista*, 120. See also ibid., 97; and Aguilar Olivencia, *El ejército español*, 132.

⁹⁴ Olmeda Gómez, *Las fuerzas armadas en el estado franquista*, 121.

good soldiers, and *vice versa*.⁹⁵ Good soldiers and ideal men were consubstantial. Understandings of the motivations behind obligatory military service are limited without unpacking the specifically gendered rationale underpinning the education and training of soldiers. Nearly all interest groups and ranks of soldiers in the military consciously and perspicuously strove for this symbiotic masculinization and militarization of Spain's male population.

The armed forces wanted troops to be aware of the gendered benefits of service, informing soldiers that the military would transform them into men. A typical quote from Sevilla's R.E.S. publication *Diana* reads: "One could say that one day you guys will be that which is the greatest in this world: A MAN."⁹⁶ Likewise, an article from *El Palleter*, Valencia's R.E.S. magazine, entitled "The Whole Man," argued that military service "made [recruits] into whole men."⁹⁷ Another article in the same publication asked what a soldier is and answers, "In the first place, a MAN ... the recruit [*mozo*] must be transformed into a man."⁹⁸ An article in the Balearic Island's R.E.S. magazine *Honderos* interviewed the mayor of Consell (province) and asked him what reactions he noted in the boys that presented themselves for service each year, to which he replied that they possess "an atmosphere of satisfaction as they begin to feel like men."⁹⁹

This discourse asserted that the barracks particularly were a place that produced men. For example, *Diana* carried a piece written by a sergeant stating that the barracks

⁹⁵ See for example, Nicolás Horta Rodríguez, "La educación de la juventud y el Servicio Militar," *Ejército*, núm. 333 (octubre 1967), 3–10: 9.

⁹⁶ "Para ti, soldado," *Diana*, núm. 32 (1971). In the cases of R.E.S. magazines, the city represents the military district in which they were published.

⁹⁷ "Todo un hombre," *El Palleter*, núm. 48 (noviembre-diciembre 1972), 1.

⁹⁸ "¿Qué es un soldado?" *El Palleter*, núm. 59 (septiembre-octubre 1975), 1. See also, "... Y vuelve un hombre," *Simancas* (enero-abril 1969), 3.

⁹⁹ Miguel Vidal Perelló, "En la calle: El servicio militar como tema," *Honderos*, núm. 1 (marzo-abril 1965), 8–9: 9.

were a school of citizenship, “that bequeaths men to us [*que mandamos hombres*] [...]”¹⁰⁰ Another article entitled “The Barracks: Shaper of the Youth,” informed soldiers that they needed to enter the army in order to “acquire complete development,” where “One is made into a complete man.”¹⁰¹ Within these cultural productions often written by lower-ranking and non-commissioned members of the military, the armed forces inundated its troops with this message that the military was going to turn them into complete or whole (read normative) men.

Regardless of rank, military writers believed that mandatory service had the mission of making *muchachos* into *hombres*. High-ranking officers frequently wrote on the utility of military service in this respect. For example, in 1965 a major named Felíu Truyols opined in *Honderos* that “It is the man, the soldier, who structures and gives valor to an army, therefore, [the military] knows perfectly well the importance of the physical and moral education of its men.”¹⁰² This middle-ranking officer is representative of the majority of military authors who believed that the armed forces forged men. Even towards the end of the regime and after dramatic socio-cultural transformations, a book on military ideology from 1972 with an intended audience of officers declared, “It is without doubt that a soldier has to be, before anything else[,] ‘a whole man’ as popular knowledge accurately proclaims...”¹⁰³

Average soldiers echoed these sentiments, with their opinions sometimes mirroring and reifying official discourse. For instance, in 1970 Private Juan Ojeda Sanz wrote in *Diana* “The [barracks] are schools of soldiers and forge men, each as important

¹⁰⁰ “Sargento Intendencia, Fco. Peinado y Andújar, “También hay clases de almas,” *Diana*, núm. 30 (noviembre-diciembre 1970), 10.

¹⁰¹ “El cuartel: Forja de juventudes,” *Diana*, núm. 43 (1974), 7.

as the other, because the army does not only make soldiers for war, but also men for peace, men educated in discipline, sacrifice, valor and effort.”¹⁰⁴ Nine years earlier in a magazine published by the barracks at Numancia (Barcelona), Private Jesús Crispi Escursell argued similarly that soldiers represented the future of humanity and “need[ed] to have an ideal, to strive to be men.”¹⁰⁵ A corporal writing in *Santa Ana*, an R.E.S. publication from Cáceres (Extremadura), admonished new conscripts to “Put to good use the lesson[s] [of military service], so that one day you can say sincerely and with pride: The army taught me to be a man.”¹⁰⁶ Produced in the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, each of these sources represented different regions within Spain. Their content’s similarity indicates that regionalism played little part in the consistent view that military service inculcated masculinity.

Educational literature carried similar messages. Written by a major in the Air Force and a professor at the Air Force Academy, a manual for conscripts entitled *Manual del recluta* (The Recruit’s Manual) with editions published in 1959 and 1972 addressed persistent social perceptions of military service as a burden. The work itself is a summary of various chapters of “The Soldier’s Breviary[:] Moral [and] Military Handbook of the Internal Regime and Regulations, all works declared [to be] of Utility for the Air Force, by Ministerial Orders of the dates 17 June 1954, 17 March 1958 and 31 May 1958. Official Bulletin of the Air [Force] numbers 81, 34 and 67 respectively.” Spanning eighteen years, this source indicates the fixed position in time of the military’s desire to

¹⁰² Comandante Felíu Truyols, “El recluta ante sus Jefes,” *Honderos*, núm. 1 (marzo-abril 1965), 10–11: 10.

¹⁰³ Manuel Cabeza Calahorra, *La ideología militar hoy* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1972), 310.

¹⁰⁴ Soldado Juan Ojeda Sanz, “Los C.I.R.s: Escuela y forja,” *Diana*, núm. 45 (1974), 21. See also Pedro Molina García, “El servicio militar,” *Bailén*, núm. 26 (1970).

¹⁰⁵ Jesús Crispi Escursell, “Nuestra juventud,” *Armas y Servicios*, núm. 2 (marzo-abril 1961).

¹⁰⁶ Cabo Encinas, “Saludo a los reclutas,” *Santa Ana*, Primer Llamamiento Reemplazo (1970), 12.

use conscription to create normative members of the nation on the one hand, and social distaste for “*la mili*” on the other hand. *Manual del recluta* informed its readers that although many people might believe that conscription was “a submission to discomforts, privations and punishments, without any practical purpose[.]” it was in fact a sacred duty that made boys into soldiers. Obligatory service provided conscripts with the tools to serve the *Patria*, become honorable members of the nation, and develop into “the men of tomorrow.”¹⁰⁷ A recruit “can be assured that each day you will be more of a man, you will find your body and soul to be stronger, and you will acquire knowledge that you were far from possessing when you arrived [in the military], with consequent advantages for your family, for you and for society.”¹⁰⁸ Appealing to masculinity and combatting recalcitrance towards conscription, educational materials advocated these familial, personal, and social benefits of military service.

The Social Function of Military Service

The Francoist military specifically intended conscription to be more about creating men and members of the nation than training soldiers to fight wars. Most discourse, educational materials, and print publications paid little attention to the nation’s need for a military or the specifically military benefits of mandatory service. Training manuals and books particularly focused on the benefits of military service to the soldier as an individual, man, father, and member of the nation. In line with the military’s ideas on the utility conscription in creating normative men, educational discourse focused on the social and personal benefits of military service.

¹⁰⁷ Germán Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta* (Salamanca: Gráficas Ortega, 1972), 5–6.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

The armed forces had a specifically social mission to educate Spanish men in the values of Francoism. Rather explicitly, military discourse asserted that in influencing generations of Spanish men, compulsory service would change the very fabric of the nation. Using the language of citizenship, the I.P.S. (*Instucción Premilitar Superior*, Higher Premilitary Instruction, the branch of the armed forces through which university students completed a separate training course and earned the rank of second lieutenant) in the very early years of the regime intended its premilitary instruction “to educate citizens in military discipline...”¹⁰⁹ This idea originated from the highest positions of power as well as emanated from the very lowest. In 1953 Franco wrote in *Ejército*, the army’s premier publication, that the military instilled in Spain’s youth the “always alive and thriving” martial virtues that with each year’s recruitment classes were being imprinted on the entire nation.¹¹⁰

Other authors expressed similar views. In 1952 an article proclaimed in *Ejército* that the “constant [and] transcendent” task of a soldier, from corporal to general, was to “Educate, always educate!” and to “develop patriots and men of military honor.”¹¹¹ A sociological study of the military published ten years later entitled *Influencia del servicio militar sobre la personalidad del soldado español* (The Influence of Military Service on the Personality of the Spanish Soldier), similarly insisted that conscription produced the “mental hygiene” of a population and would combat regionalism and rebellion. Instructing young men in the values of the *Patria*, serving in the military instilled

¹⁰⁹ Enrique Martín Martín, *Manual de instrucción premilitar superior Para la Milicia Universitaria (2.º Curso escolar)* (Madrid: Editorial Bibliografica Española, 1942), 265.

¹¹⁰ Francisco Franco, “Pascua Militar de 1953 en el Palacio de el Pardo: Discurso del Caudillo,” *Ejército*, Suplemento, núm. 156 (enero 1953).

¹¹¹ Francisco Javier F. Trapiella, “Arte nobilísima: Patria, Ejército y educación,” *Ejército*, núm. 154 (noviembre 1952), 49–54: 49.

discipline and a spirit of sacrifice.¹¹² Conscious of negative societal attitudes towards conscription, this book contended that part of the armed forces' mission was to combat [*anular*] the “pernicious psychological effects”¹¹³ of military service by cultivating a favorable attitude towards discipline, authority, and hierarchy.¹¹⁴

These arguments found similar expression in publications for the rank-and-file. R.E.S. magazines emphasized the important social role the armed forces played in creating national identity. José Aroca Sánchez, a sergeant in the I.P.S., wrote in *Bailén* in 1966 that instilling in soldiers the tenets of discipline, duty, obedience, order, work, and hygiene, the army

exercises a precious sociological role, since it fosters what is useful, good, and precious, propagating on the national level methods of coexistence, [as well as] moral knowledge and norms of indisputable value for the life and progress of society, and therefore for the progress of the PATRIA.¹¹⁵

This author argued that socially the armed forces produced the norms by which society and the nation would prosper, especially through inculcating normative performances of manly citizenship.¹¹⁶ The creation of a manly and martial national identity also comprised an important part of the higher education of university students and Aroca Sánchez, as a member of that group, mirrored the views of nearly all other segments of the officer corps.

The military specifically intended mandatory service to provide young men with a civic education, making them proper members of the nation. Training manuals implored officers to educate their soldiers to be good Spaniards. Manuals for conscripts carried

¹¹² José Antonio Escudero Valverde, *Influencia del servicio militar sobre la personalidad del soldado español* (Madrid: Cosano, 1962), 120–129.

¹¹³ Ibid., 122–123.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 107–108.

¹¹⁵ José Aroca Sánchez, “Función social y educadora del Ejército,” *Bailén*, núm. 6 (marzo-abril 1966).

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

similar content. *Manual del recluta* explained in 1972 that the advantages of military service lay in creating citizens trained in combat, physical development, intellectual advancement, and improved morality.¹¹⁷ Appealing directly to conscripts' masculinity, this manual stated in gendered terms that after their time in the armed forces, soldiers would return to their lives "strong and dedicated, made [into] men."¹¹⁸ R.E.S. publications echoed this language of the army creating citizens: "When you leave the barracks, you will already be a perfect citizen..."¹¹⁹ A ubiquitous theme in all forms of military discourse across time, this specific goal of creating members of the nation through mandatory service continued until the end the Franco regime, irrespective of shifts in the government, military, or society.¹²⁰

Society and Economics

Basic to the armed forces' mission of making citizens was teaching recruits and volunteers how to take care of themselves as soldiers and men, as well as how to behave in society and at work. This type of instruction included basic hygiene, how to act with fellow soldiers and superiors, how to read and write, work skills training, how to behave with and around women, proper ways of speaking, and other general norms of behavior.¹²¹ A key piece of educational material was the religiously inspired "Decálogo del soldado" ["Decalogue of the Soldier"], which informed troops that after loving God, the most sacred duty of a man was to defend his *Patria*. Appearing in *Manual del recluta*

¹¹⁷ Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta*, 9–11.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹¹⁹ "La incorporación a filas," *R.E.S.: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado*. 7 *Región Militar*, núm. 2 (marzo-abril 1965), 5.

¹²⁰ See also for example an article in *Ejército* in the month before Franco's death: Carlos Martínez Valverde, "El ambiente en la formación integral de nuestros hombres," *Ejército*, núm. 428 (septiembre 1975), 13–22.

¹²¹ How to behave with women should also be included in this list, and for a detailed survey of this type of advice see Chapter V.

among other educational materials, the Decalogue further instructed soldiers to obey their superiors, avoid vice (which would lead the strong man into a physical and moral ruin) and women of ill repute, remember their mother when around other women, to respect the property of others, and not to spread rumors.¹²²

One small manual written by the Ministry of the Army in 1975 and entitled *Para el soldado: Tu comportamiento* (For the Soldier: Your Comportment), focused in great detail on soldiers' behavior.¹²³ The military intended this book, previously published as "Norms of Conduct for the Soldier," for obligatory distribution to all conscripts and volunteers as soon as they matriculated into the army.¹²⁴ *Para el soldado* informed troops that if they followed its norms of conduct and behavior, their time in the military would be satisfactory and they would have no motive for discord. Reinforcing the mandate to marriage inherent to the regime's, military's, and Catholic Church's notions of normative male sexuality, the manual stated: "Your usefulness does not only have to be reduced to the time that you are in the Army, in the 'Mili,' as you say..." but would be beneficial in the home and at work as well in fulfilling the "great responsibility of educating your children when you start a family."¹²⁵ Outside of the barracks and in public, this instructional manual implored troops to be physically clean, keep their uniforms in perfect order, always maintain a correct and martial air, and not to bother others, especially women and children.¹²⁶ Linking behavioral norms taught in the Army with male behavior in society, this advice implored soldiers to conform to the masculine duty of raising a family. Like discourse generally, *Para el soldado* made consubstantial a

¹²² Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta*, 4.

¹²³ Ministerio del Ejército Estado Mayor Central, *Para el soldado: Tu comportamiento* (Madrid: Imprenta del Servicio Geográfico del Ejército), 1975.

¹²⁴ Ibid., title page.

soldier's comportment with both normative masculinity and the importance of being a productive and heterosexual member of the nation.

Behavioral pedagogy often began with the basics, with training manuals teaching recruits rudimentary hygiene. Dating from 1944 a manual for conscripts stated “It won’t do you any good if you possess all the virtues [of] a good education if your exterior appearance is unpleasant and repulsive [...]”¹²⁷ Many training manuals included the essentials of keeping one’s body clean. This instruction did not wane as modernizations and urbanization increased in Spain. After nearly forty years of mandatory military service, *Para el soldado* tells its readers that they should shower every day, or at least once or twice a week, and to always keep their face and hands clean.¹²⁸ This pedagogy also appealed to masculinity. Connecting a soldier’s smooth face to his manliness, *Para el soldado* states “*The shaved face is a revealing indicator of the cleanliness of the modern and civilized man; you must shave each morning when you wake up[,]*” imparting the overall lesson that “*The clean man breathes health.*”¹²⁹ Teaching habits and practices of cleanliness, especially to conscripts and volunteers, formed an integral component of the Franco regime’s desire to regenerate the nation in a pathological sense.

Historian Michael Richards argues in his groundbreaking interpretation of the early years of Francoism that the regime’s various interest groups shared the biologically coded ideology that Spain was sick and needed to be cleaned and purified.¹³⁰ Dating to at

¹²⁵ Ibid., 8–9.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 46.

¹²⁷ Felipe Sesma Bengoechea, *Cartilla del soldado: De utilidad para los reclutas, individuos de las clases de tropa y subinstructores* (Barcelona: Simpar S.A., 1944), 54.

¹²⁷ Ministerio del Ejército, *Para el soldado*, 29. Emphasis in original.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 28–31.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 29–30. Emphasis in original.

¹³⁰ Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 49.

least 1898 with the loss of the remnants of Spain's colonial empire and contributing to some of the motivations behind the military rebellion against the Second Republic, this "language of purification" became "the medium for articulating 'reconstruction' in the post-war."¹³¹ When considering Richards's arguments in light of the needs that drove military education, teaching conscripts the basics of corporeal hygiene for the purposes of regenerating the nation served as a " 'reimagining' of 'purified' subjects within 'purified' political space."¹³² Cleaning and presenting themselves as hygienic, soldiers performed their manliness. Corporeally clean soldiers and men comprised important components in the solidification of the Nationalist victory and in building a modern nation.

The performance of speaking similarly helped the regime homogenize behavior, in this case by standardizing language. Linguistically, the military adhered to the formal and informal means of address, using the formal *usted* with superiors and those whom a soldier did not already know. One pamphlet from 1967 also cautioned soldiers not to forget that all the regions of the nation understand Spanish (*Castellano*), but that not every Spaniard understands all the regional dialects. Therefore, when there are several people gathered together, one should speak Spanish so that everyone can understand.¹³³ In this case, polite behavior took precedence over regional dialects, linguistically regulating Spanish identity.

A foundational building block in creating proper soldiers, the ability to read and write performatively ascribed membership in the nation, and the military aspired to bring

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 4.

¹³³ Capitanía General de Canarias, *Cortesía y educación: Consejos a un soldado* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1967), 6–7. *Para el soldado* informed troops that while in the barracks they would encounter other young men from different regions of Spain who might have different customs or levels of education and that by following military norms of behavior and conduct there would be no reason for discord between soldiers from different areas of the country. Ministerio del Ejército, *Para el soldado*, 8–9.

literacy to all Spanish men. The armed forces succeeded in this goal. Mandatory service raised the country's literacy rates.¹³⁴ Military training also provided men with specialized skills they could use after their active duty to gain employment in such fields as communications and mechanics. During the early years of the regime in particular, the military's efforts to both increase literacy and improve the skilled labor of Spain's workforce contributed to the government's economic model of autarky.¹³⁵ In this regard, conscription also functioned as a means of modernizing the nation by improving its economic base and overall infrastructure.

Fostering the post-war economic and moral resurgence of the nation, the armed forces attempted to instill in troops the values of duty, sacrifice, and work. Compulsory military service, like Richards' contention in conjunction with the discourse and practice of autarky, "legitimized sacrifice, discipline and national uniqueness, and attempted to silence alternative visions of a future identity."¹³⁶ It played a part in the "continuation of war fought in the pursuit of a particular and social and political project."¹³⁷ An integral component in the social project of creating and inculcating militarized notions of truncated male citizenship, the creation of a normative masculine identity placed value on labor. For example, two training manuals published in 1960 both nearly verbatim discussed the importance of work ethic under their civic education sections. Connecting labor to corporeal hygiene, they begin by stating that a man should maintain a clean and

¹³⁴ Maria Gloria Quiroga Valle, *El papel alfabetizador del Ejército de Tierra español (1893–1954)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 1999).

¹³⁵ For this argument in regards to autarky see Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 23.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 25. See also Miguel Ángel del Arco, "Juan Antonio Suanzes: Industry, Fascism and Catholicism," in *Right Wing Spain in the Civil War Era: Soldiers of God and Apostles of the Fatherland, 1914–45*, eds. Alejandro Quiroga and Miguel Ángel del Arco, 147–176 (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012), 161.

pure body and must study and work.¹³⁸ Labor, as presented by these manuals, formed the foundation for a rich and moral life: “Work is the true fountain of richness; he who works earns; he who is idle and lazy, can achieve little, and drifts towards vice, poverty and misery.”¹³⁹ Such pedagogical messages, combined with the job skills training that soldiers received during their service, attempted to create a masculine subjectivity within which skilled employment and an obedient work ethic played significant roles.

In this manner, military service furthered the goals of the dictatorship by putting into practice the autarkic ideology that the physical bodies of Spanish men needed to be put to labor during and after their time in active duty.¹⁴⁰ The military itself functioned in some ways to impose forced labor—because troops were expected to perform physical duties. Military service also attempted to construct a male identity predicated in part on a strong work ethic. As Latin Americanist scholar Peter Beattie argues in his study of conscription and gender in the Brazilian army during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, viewing conscription as a coercive labor system sheds light on the development of identities.¹⁴¹ Obediently working hard, Spanish men could achieve manhood and became model citizens. The armed forces attempted to create such an identity in the men who would form the industrial labor force after their time in active duty. If workers viewed themselves as obedient contributors to the economy and nation, the military could, hypothetically at least, pre-emptively neutralize working class dissidence. In a Foucauldian sense, Francoist power functioned in intent and tactics at the local level as

¹³⁸ Saturnino Arocas Irisarri, *Libro militar para todos los reclutas*, 33rd ed. (Valencia: Editorial America, 1960), 95; José Lázaro Argiles, *El libro del recluta: Manual de Máxima utilidad para todos los soldados y clases del Ejército* (Valencia: Ediciones Gaisa, S.L., 1960), 207.

¹³⁹ Arocas Irisarri, *Libro militar para todos los reclutas*, 95.

¹⁴⁰ For this argument in regards to autarky see Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 23.

¹⁴¹ Peter Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1804–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 284.

anticipatory control of the individual. Therefore, and as Richards argues was the case with Francoist autarky, martial masculinity contained “Particular ideas of purity and nationalism [that] were the backdrop of sacrifice and social control, the basis of a kind of internal colonization which was the essential condition for Spain’s resurgence during Francoism.”¹⁴² Military discourse suggests that through mandatory service the dictatorship attempted to shape Spain’s workforce and curb working class dissent.

The armed forces’ endeavor of forming the moral and economic backbone of the nation by educating Spain’s young men in the basics of hygiene, behavioral norms, literacy, trade skills, and work ethic cannot be separated from a gendered analysis of the discourse of and impetus behind mandatory military service. Along with those characteristics, the armed forces also sought to educate soldiers of all ranks in military morality, spirit, and virtues, as well as in the importance of the values of honor and the performed subjectivity of discipline, obedience, and subordination. These gendered principles comprised the key tenets of normative Francoist martial masculinity.

Military Morality

When discussing the type of training that would make soldiers into manly members of the nation, military authors stressed the importance of morality. Often regardless of an author’s rank, political position, or religiosity, teaching soldiers to be men and citizens took precedence over combat and technical training. An article from *Ejército* in 1953 stated “our faith [is] in the primacy of moral values, in the predominance of the spirit over the technical.”¹⁴³ Such an attitude reflected the military’s organization

¹⁴² Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 4.

¹⁴³ Victor Arroyo y Arroyo, “Sobre la formación moral de la tropa,” *Ejército*, núm. 161 (junio 1953), 29–32: 30.

of education and training in the barracks, which began with moral instruction and only afterwards moved to technical development.

The officer corps had the explicit mission of instructing troops in morality. In 1960 an article from *Armas*, the magazine for cadets at the General Military Academy in Zaragoza, argued that a good soldier must possess specific moral virtues. Only officers who were good instructors could impart these lessons: “Thus, officers have to be, more than a specialist in the knowledge and means of combat, an educator of men.”¹⁴⁴ Similarly, “The officer, in teaching a man to be a good soldier, also teaches him how to be a more perfect man.”¹⁴⁵ The primary importance of training soldiers in moral virtues demonstrates the polyvalence between masculinity and being a proper soldier and citizen.

Educational material for the rank-and-file parroted this discourse aimed at officers. A training manual for Spain’s marine corps stated in 1970 “*Moral development is the essence of the spirit of the military, which grows and conserves discipline in peace and is the principal weapon for victory in war.*”¹⁴⁶ Another training manual for non-commissioned officers published a year earlier informed its readers that along with material and intellectual forces, the *Patria* was defended with morals. Morality, it stressed, “**has to be the base of an army**, the essential condition with which the other two forces (material and intellectual) have to be supported.”¹⁴⁷ Only when morality was

¹⁴⁴ E.L., “Futuros educadores.” *Armas: Revista de la Academia General Militar*, núm. 45 (febrero 1960), 23–24: 23.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 24

¹⁴⁶ José Cuevas Fernández, *Manual del soldado de Infantería de Marina: Periodo de instrucción* (Madrid: Ministerio de Marina, 1970), 11. Emphasis in original.

¹⁴⁷ Sinforiano Morón Izquierdo, *¡Vencer! Breviario del soldado y de los mandos inferiores*, 16 ed. (Barcelona: Ramón Sopena, S.A., 1969), 17. Emphasis in original. This particular manual uses the historical example of the “miracle” of Spain’s colonial empire as proof of the nation’s need for and success in utilizing its moral force: “**Spain discovered the world. . . Spain conquered the world. . . Spain was the first to go around the world . . . But the fact is that morality, the will to overcome, to believe, to have faith, produces the miracle.**” *Ibid.*, 17. Emphasis in original.

inculcated in troops could they function effectively as combat soldiers, and more importantly, become productive members of the nation.

Not surprisingly, religion influenced definitions of military morality. In the regime's third year of existence, Jorge Vigón (the most foundational author on normative masculinity and a key figure in the *Apostolado*)¹⁴⁸ wrote in *Ejército* that the religious component of morality was paramount in ensuring that soldiers possessed the correct motivations behind their actions.¹⁴⁹ Moral law had its roots in the Judeo-Christian tradition and "one deduces immediately that religious development is the base of moral development for men and that religion is the first path to follow in order to educate morally."¹⁵⁰ Written by such an important producer of military discourse and appearing not in a Catholic organ but in the military's largest publication, this article indicates the cross-pollination of specifically Catholic messages across martial discourse, educational materials, and print culture.

Published twenty-two years after Vigón's piece, a religiously inspired training manual for non-commissioned officers in the navy entitled *Temas de moral militar* (Themes of Military Morality) likewise placed many aspects of normative masculinity under the rubric of military virtues, infusing them with Catholic religiosity.¹⁵¹ For example, this text described patriotism as the rational love for the moral virtues that comprised the *Patria*, stating that military life is essentially religious and that a citizen's duty is to obey the orders of their government."¹⁵² Repeatedly citing religion as integral

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter II.

¹⁴⁹ Jorge Vigón "Educación militar," *Ejército*, núm. 26 (marzo 1942), 19–22.

¹⁵⁰ Alejandro Ibarra Burillo, *El Credo del Soldado* (Madrid: 1958), 39.

¹⁵¹ Emilio Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1964).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 101–107.

to being an ideal soldier, *Temas de moral militar* argued that the religious character of military service conferred dignity upon military work.¹⁵³

Moral education, religious or otherwise, neither existed in a vacuum nor had worth in and of itself. Rather, the importance of military morality lay in the values it imparted, providing troops with the important military virtues integral to normative masculinity such as patriotism, discipline, devotion, and honor;¹⁵⁴ as well as bravery, sacrifice, integrity, and heroic devotion.¹⁵⁵ Demonstrating the establishment of Francoist martial masculinity and fusing notions of the ideal soldier, normative masculinity, and martial mores, in 1941 an author wrote in *Ejército* that military morality “sheltered in its bosom” all the norms that influence a military man’s conduct and light his path.¹⁵⁶ Morality is the “archetype” of a soldier, the “pattern and guide” for his actions.¹⁵⁷ Similarly speaking within a discourse of masculinity, a brigadier general writing in *Ejército* fifteen years later stressed that teaching soldiers the values of the *Patria* would instill in them a correct morality and make them into men.¹⁵⁸

Creating these normative soldiers and men was of utmost importance for the Franco regime. These men would, after their time in the military, constitute the fibers of the specific type of nation the regime aspired to construct. For an artillery captain named Florentino Ruíz Platero writing in *Ejército* in 1966 and echoing the sentiment of the officer corps, the mobilization of moral forces would lead to “a coherent national ideology and extend it to ensure the adhesion of the majority of the components of the

¹⁵³ Ibid., 217.

¹⁵⁴ Ignacio Salinas y Angulo, *Manual para las clases de tropa: Curso de aptitud para el ascenso a cabo, Tomo I, Libro I*, 30th ed. (Madrid: Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, S.A., 1960), 129.

¹⁵⁵ E.L., “Futuros educadores,” 23–24.

¹⁵⁶ Antonio Sánchez del Corral y del Río, “En torno de la Moral Militar,” *Ejército*, núm. 12 (enero 1941).

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Albertro Rodríguez Cano, “Formación moral de los soldados: Propaganda,” *Ejército*, núm. 200

nation.”¹⁵⁹ He wrote that although the army had the important role of protecting the nation, it must also contribute to its construction and development. Captain Ruíz Platero explicitly connected that task to masculinity, arguing for the creation of an archetypal Spanish man. This ideal *hombre* should not be “rowdy,” a “womanizer,” or a “rundown nobleman” who is rigid in his ideas and actions.¹⁶⁰ Rather, the martial man must be broadly prepared while also having deep knowledge of a specific area. Ruíz Platero imagines him as modest, honest, and hardworking. Having frequent contact with the civilian population, this man must love his profession and not be excessively materialistic.¹⁶¹ Working towards shifting social norms, *La ideología militar hoy* presented the matter similarly: Soldiers needed to possess the qualities taught in the armed forces, without which they could not be “exemplary men, archetypes of the military.”¹⁶² The book argued that the “whole man” should not possess the values of “machismo, arrogance [*flamenquería*], alcoholism, or womanizing [*donjuanismo*,]” which society viewed as aspects of “true manliness.”¹⁶³

Conceptions of machismo and the idealized type man in the mold of a Don Juan were anathema to the normative masculinity of the Francoist military. Hyper-masculine representations of the macho and libertine lady’s man comprised an important “other” to which the military contrasted the manly and honorable citizen soldier. Such a contrast helped to establish the boundaries of a normative martial masculinity based on traditional values. This placing of a militarized masculinity within a field of difference suggests that

(septiembre 1956), 21–26: 24.

¹⁵⁹ Florentino Ruíz Platero, “La movilización de las fuerzas morales,” *Ejército*, núm. 312 (enero 1966), 3–10: 3.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Cabeza Calahorra, *La ideología militar hoy*, 310.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

the Francoist military sought to eradicate other normative masculinities within Spanish society and replace them with a militarized normativity.

Machismo is a notoriously difficult term to define, but viewed as competitive and hyper-aggressive sexuality constitutive of manhood, it was a prevalent norm of masculinity in segments of Spanish society.¹⁶⁴ David D. Gilmore's ethnographic study of masculinity in rural Andalusia in the later years of the Franco dictatorship demonstrates the synonymy of machismo and masculinity. He writes: "The matter is clear-cut: being male means being macho: *macho* simply means male."¹⁶⁵ The years of his study, 1971–1983, indicate that cultural norms and mandates of machismo had not been eradicated through mandatory military service. In other words, the Francoist military failed to substitute its version of normative masculinity for a type of masculinity normative in much of Spanish society. That with which the regime sought to replace machismo—namely: morality, honor, and chivalric and Catholic norms of sexual behavior—failed to take root by the time of the dictator's death. Timothy Mitchell argues (although utilizing an essentialist and somewhat reductionist methodology) that "Iberian machismo predates Franco, obviously, but it achieved degrees of intensity under him, as did that quintessence of machismo, *donjuanismo*."¹⁶⁶ In contrast to the macho Don Juan, Spanish men in the Francoist mold needed to be morally pure in their actions, minds, and souls. The existence of this ethnographic evidence and Mitchell's arguments point to a lack in the effectiveness in the military's discourse of martial masculinity. Competing cultural

¹⁶⁴ Drawing a distinction between the meanings of *machismo* in various geographical and national settings, David D. Gilmore defines the term in the context of Andalusia as "a masculine display of complex involving culturally sanctioned demonstrations of hyper-masculinity both in the sense of erotic and physical aggressiveness." David D. Gilmore, *Aggression and Community: Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 130.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

epistemologies and social ontologies proved durable and resisted impositions of Francoism.

Military Spirit and Virtues

To create paradigmatic men, the armed forces educated soldiers in spirit and virtues. Like morality, military spirit held more importance than technical knowledge. It also comprised many of the aspects of normative masculinity. A book from 1951 about military spirit, techniques, and development posited that “To be a soldier is something more than tactics, topography, shooting, or horsemanship ... the missions that must be carried out require a state of spirit that is alive and gives meaning to these military skills [*esta técnica militar*]. This is military spirit.”¹⁶⁷ Not simply valuable in the purely military sense, authors linked this spirit to citizenship and gender norms. One training manual for aspiring corporals published in 1960 informed its audience that

Military spirit is not the exclusive heritage of the soldier; every citizen, before coming to [military] service, must love the Army; and when, completing their [active duty], they return to their home and start a family, it will be inculcated in their children, who, educated with that spirit, will make worthy citizens, who will honor their parents, their pueblo, and their patria.¹⁶⁸

The gendered language of this definition of military spirit indicates that without participating in military service and learning the values it imparted, men could not become good citizens or dutiful fathers. Revealing the regime’s ultimate goals, the quotation shows that the armed forces envisioned men teaching martial normativity to their children. These local power relations in the family would perpetuate paternalist systems of Francoist power.

¹⁶⁶ Timothy Mitchell, *Betrayal of the Innocents: Desire, Power, and the Catholic Church in Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 118.

¹⁶⁷ Francisco Sintes Obrador, *Espíritu, técnica y formación militar* (Madrid: 1951), 30.

Possessing martial spirit could only be achieved if coupled with military virtues. Helping lay the foundation for these notions, in 1945 a magazine for troops presented Franco both as the epitome of a man who possessed martial virtues and as a leader attempting to instill them in Spaniards:

The virtues necessary in all good soldiers—faith, valor, loyalty, discipline, morality, generosity, the sense of command and love for the Patria—are those that delimit and illuminate [*aureolar*] the figure of the Caudillo; the virtues that, from his seat of honor, he has sought to inculcate in the people day by day, in order to persuade them of their duties and [devote their lives] to the good of all.¹⁶⁹

Two years earlier, a training manual presented these virtues as valuable to men in their civil life: “Military virtues do not end with you are discharged, but rather it is when you are back in your town, [that those virtues] begin again to bear much fruit.”¹⁷⁰ In 1958, a book written by an infantry major and intended for officers entitled *El Credo del Soldado* (The Soldier’s Creed) listed patriotism, honor, duty, discipline, bravery, devotion, and heroism as the most important military virtues.¹⁷¹ Nearly twenty years later a training manual stated that devotion, loyalty, and love of glory comprised the essential qualities of martial virtue.¹⁷² In the minds of Franco and his followers in the armed forces, these types of virtues were necessary for men to be proper soldiers and citizens.

Bravery was a crucial military virtue connected to both morality and honor. An article in *Ejército* published in 1941 and written by a lawyer and professor of philosophy with the rank of provisional lieutenant, posited bravery as the cornerstone of military morality. Valor was the primary quality of a soldier: “The entirety of military morality is

¹⁶⁸ Salinas y Angulo, *Manual para las clases de tropa*, 137.

¹⁶⁹ Jesús Vasallo, “Franco, Caudillo de España: Virtudes militares en el caudillaje de Franco,” *Yunque*, núm. 4 (10 octubre 1945).

¹⁷⁰ Ignacio de Otto y Torra, *Reflexiones morales (charlas para el soldado)* (Madrid: Ediciones Ejército, 1943).

¹⁷¹ Ibarra Burillo, *El Credo del Soldado*, 42.

based on this primordial condition of a soldier. The two terms[,] military and bravery[,] are inseparable.¹⁷³ *Manual del recluta* paralleled this language: “Bravery is the virtue par excellence of the soldier...”¹⁷⁴

Military discourse made notions of bravery synonymous with heroism. Brave and heroic Spanish men, like Karen Hagemann argues in the context of nineteenth century Germany, “were supposed to act as role models for ‘average men’ and in this way define the norms of masculinity to which the state, military and society aspired.”¹⁷⁵ In this aspect of normative masculinity and similar to the findings of other historians on the qualities of militarized masculinity in different contexts, the willingness of Spanish men to die for their nation and sacrifice their lives in war played an important role. According to one author writing in *Armas* in the early 1960s, only a “violent death with recognizable merit has beauty. For this writer, the military condition required one to renounce life, imposing sacrifice for the Patria.”¹⁷⁶

Similar to other contexts and times, the Spanish armed forces and Franco regime sometimes posited the image of the fallen soldier as the epitome of this type of sacrificial man. The monument that Franco built to commemorate Nationalist soldiers killed in the Spanish Civil War, *El Valle de Los Caídos* (The Valley of the Fallen), provides an illuminating example of the codification of this aspect of normative masculinity. In a physical space dedicated to the military and to God, the monument’s iconography portrays men as youthful sacrificial figures whose deaths are, as George L. Mosse argues

¹⁷² Salinas y Angulo, *Manual para las clases de tropa*, 128–148.

¹⁷³ Sánchez del Corral y del Río, “En torno de la Moral Militar.”

¹⁷⁴ Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta*, 40.

¹⁷⁵ Karen Hagemann, “German Heroes: The Cult of Death for the Fatherland in Nineteenth-Century Germany,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 117.

¹⁷⁶ J. de Miguel, “¿Morir?” *Armas: Revista de la Academia General Militar*, año XI (enero 1962), 11.

in the context of these types of sites, “not death at all but sacrifice and resurrection.”¹⁷⁷ The cupola, for example, is a scene of the fallen male soldiers of the Spanish Civil War being resurrected and rising to the gates of heaven. This symbolism is integral to a cult of the fallen soldier. Mosse, one of the pioneering and foremost experts on this topic, argues that cemeteries of fallen soldiers subordinate the stark realities of war and death to, “an overriding purpose: to recall those contemplating such cemeteries to an upright and moral life.”¹⁷⁸ Likewise, Franco’s monument became a place of national worship for a symbolic victory won by the role models of strong soldierly men who sacrificed themselves for the good of the collective. In that respect, the monument worked towards solidifying the ideal of the martyred priest-warrior.

Soldiers' mutual interactions as martial men marked their sacrifices as also being for one another. Military authors wrote that *compañerismo*, or comradeship, was another key martial virtue integral to masculinity. In so being, comradeship played a role in the functioning of the military, society, and the nation’s economy. In 1944 one manual defined this concept as a spirit of brotherhood.¹⁷⁹ *El Credo del Soldado* posited that “Comradeship is agreeable coexistence, mutual understanding and reciprocal tolerance; [it] is appreciation and esteem, sincere and disinterested love; [it] is sharing ideals and work, sorrows and joys.”¹⁸⁰ In a book from 1970 entitled *Función social del Ejército* (Social Function of the Army), an infantry captain argued that this “indispensable”

¹⁷⁷George L Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 73.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 80.

¹⁷⁹ Sesma Bengoechea, *Cartilla del soldado*, 17.

¹⁸⁰ Ibarra Burillo, *El Credo del Soldado*, 172.

military virtue constituted the base of the successful functioning of a team in civil society and at work.¹⁸¹ *Manual del recluta* quoted Franco's ideas on the topic:

Comradeship is helping the comrade who needs our help in all that is honorable and legal, it is sharing with him the hardships and sacrifices that benefit [military service], it is running risks during war in order to help your comrade in danger, it is sharing bread and water with him. Comradeship is to rejoice in the progress of others when this progress is the natural consequence of their laboriousness [*aplicación*] and their talent; it is to imitate rather than to feel envious, towards those who works harder and is worth more than us. And, comradeship is having energy with those who are errant, to show yourself to be uncompromising with certain faults that, although committed by a best friend must never be hushed up on behalf of misunderstood comradeship.¹⁸²

Thus, *compañerismo* bound soldiers together in the brotherhood of the military, allowing them to coexist together in peace and endure the hardships of battle in war. Comradeship also required soldiers to report on those who failed to conform to military regulations, implicating this specific virtue within multivocal networks of surveillance within the military.

Contrasting notions of Francoist and Nazi comradeship further illuminates the unique aspects of the former. Notions and practices of comradeship play a subversive role within the heteronormative institution of the military because they can often morph into the feminine or homosexual. An illuminating example of the permeable nature of comradeship is in Nazi ideology, which emphasized not only the masculine aspects of collective fighting strength or drunken frivolity among soldiers but also the feminine and soft altruistic and sacrificial love between men. Thomas Kühne, in his study of this phenomenon, contends that the discursive “semantic polyvalence” of camaraderie “balanced the complicated and tense relationship between the ‘hard’ ideal of masculinity

¹⁸¹ Francisco Bogas Illescas, *Función social del Ejército* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1970), 135.

¹⁸² Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta*, 52.

and ‘soft’ elements of being a man.”¹⁸³ Geoffrey J. Giles argues along similar lines in his study of Himmler’s SS (*Schutzstaffel*), demonstrating that the SS leadership wanted to replicate the intimate camaraderie of WWI trenches within its ranks, while at the same time officially shunning the perceived soft, feminine, emotional, and homoerotic aspects of those relationships.¹⁸⁴

By way of contrast, little to no conversation exists within Francoist military discourse of the emasculating and homosexual undertones of camaraderie. These discursive silences demonstrate that the threatening aspects of heterosexual men’s interactions with one another did not play a large role in Francoist notions of *compañerismo*. Those omissions are noteworthy. They indicate that practices of comradeship morphing into feminine or homosexual subjectivities did not threaten the Spanish military, unlike the *Wehrmacht* under the Nazis.

Values of bravery and comradeship within larger conceptions of military morality, spirit, and virtues worked towards instilling in troops a normative Francoist masculinity. They constituted an idealized type of man with a specific and gendered national identity whom the regime intended to be a dutiful citizen. Along with possessing moral and spiritual purity and embodying of martial virtues, the military also envisioned normative men to be honorable as well as disciplined, obedient, and subordinate. These aspects of martial masculinity furthered the regime’s goal of subduing and refashioning society in the Francoist mold. Men who personified normative manhood would perform themselves into existing as obedient subjects, ready and willing to unquestioningly follow

¹⁸³ Thomas Kühne, “Comradeship: Gender Confusion and Gender Order in the German Military, 1918–1945,” in *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, eds. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, 233–254 (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 249.

the orders of the regime, whether by practicing military regulations, strictly abiding all laws, or conforming to Francoist social norms. The political utility of obedient soldiers made them socially useful as manly members of the nation.

The Code of Martial & Masculine Honor

Not completely separate from and often subsumed by military morality, spirit, and virtues, the military's code of honor played an integral role in creating ideal men. Martial honor performed a regulatory function in preventing men from acting in certain ways. In particular, the *Código de Justicia Militar* (Code of Military Justice, CJM) legislated certain acts as being crimes against honor, and punished men who transgressed those boundaries.¹⁸⁵ The first Francoist CJM came into effect in 1945. Twenty-eight years later in 1973, the Director of the College of the Army (*la Escuela Superior del Ejército*), Lt. Gen. Mateo Prada Canillas stated "The violation of a moral rule requires a swift and forceful punishment to serve as an example. And in this manner, our Code of Military Justice regulates the establishment and organization of the Tribunals of Honor that adjudicate when, in all conscience, there is evidence that some moral rule has been violated."¹⁸⁶

The CJM contained articles under which soldiers of all ranks could be tried for infractions against honor, as well as the special honor courts for officers that General Prada Canillas references.¹⁸⁷ Chapter IV covers the subject of crimes against honor in

¹⁸⁴ Geoffrey J. Giles, "The Denial of Homosexuality: Same-Sex Incidents in Himmler's SS and Police," in *Sexuality and German Fascism*, ed. Dagmar Herzog, 256–290. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 260.

¹⁸⁵ See also Chapter IV.

¹⁸⁶ Mateo Prada Canillas, "Permanente vigencia de los principios morales," *Ejército*, núm. 399 (abril 1973), 22–26: 24.

¹⁸⁷ In relation to the honor courts for officers in particular, they can be compared to the codes of honor in modern France, which worked to both shape and reflect male identity and ideals of masculine behavior, "chiefly by regulating the social relations of men in groups and by providing a basis for adjudicating

detail. Suffice to say here that acts of cowardice comprised the majority of infractions a soldier could commit against honor. These articles in the CJM united bravery and honor as martial virtues. In relation to sexuality, although discursive discussions of honor did not often include the mandate of heterosexuality, the code of military justice legislated homosexual acts between two soldiers as illegal and dishonorable: Heteronormativity demarcated the parameters of the military's version of normative sexuality and comprised another crucial component of the martial code of honor.

Notions of honor often played a foundational role in the connective tissue of Francoist normative martial masculinity. Integrating honor into masculinity, an Air Force training manual from 1962 stated "Above all the soldier must be a *man of honor*," stipulating that this honorable man is animated by elevated moral norms.¹⁸⁸ Nine years earlier, an article in *Armas* linked the masculine honor of cadets to both society and the military: "Honor obliges you, as a man of society, to maintain your personal honor unscathed, arranging your behavior in agreement with the laws of dignity ... [and] as a soldier, to demonstrate suffering, devotion, fidelity, obedience, sacrifice and many other virtues and duties..."¹⁸⁹ This quotation exhibits how honor encompassed many other components of martial masculinity. Stipulating norms of masculine conduct, the military promulgated the consubstantiality between an honorable soldier and a normative man.

Authors during the Franco dictatorship produced much discourse on specific definitions of honor. They often maintained that honor comprised the normative behavior

private disputes between them." Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 8.

¹⁸⁸ Manuel Serrano Expósito and José Vincente Revilla Martínez, *Manual del recluta y del soldado de aviación*, 5th ed. (Zaragoza: Gráficas Iris, S.A., 1962), 225.

¹⁸⁹ Capitán Toribio Ramos Bellido, "El honor como virtud militar." *Armas*, núm. 3 (febrero 1953), 5.

military men should demonstrate.¹⁹⁰ For instance, in 1944 a general writing in *Ejército* stated that honor “advises us on that which we should do and that from which we must abstain.”¹⁹¹ Published fourteen years later, *El credo del soldado* described honor as “the crucible that purifies thoughts and illuminates that immaculate path of worthy actions [giving them] integrity, rectitude and nobility.”¹⁹² This manual additionally stated that in order to cultivate honorable men, particular attention must be paid to their moral development.¹⁹³ In 1964 the training manual *Temas de moral militar* informed non-commissioned naval officers that honor both came from the soul and advises a man in correct behavior.¹⁹⁴ Connecting honor to morality and arguing for its utility outside of the military, a general defined the concept in 1973 as “a profoundly moral feeling or conviction that impels us to always do good, not only in the armed forces but also, and this is very important, in the society in which we live and in the context of the family.”¹⁹⁵ Two generals’ ideas published twenty-nine years apart in the army’s largest publication and educational training manuals from the middle years of the regime demonstrate, across time and source type, that discourse inextricably linked honor and morality.

With the military viewing itself as a “religion of honorable men,”¹⁹⁶ Catholicism, not surprisingly, played an important role in understandings of martial honor. For

¹⁹⁰ Authors often began by separating the concepts of honor and *honra* (honorable pride), arguing that honor emanated from the individual, whereas *honra* was the esteem an honorable man received from others and from society: “*Honra*, contrary to honor, depends on public opinion...” Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 134. See also: General Barrueco, “El mando y la moral,” *Ejército*, núm. 55 (agosto 1944) 9–12: 9; Sintés Obrador, *Espíritu, técnica y formación militar*, 15; Ramos Bellido, “El honor como virtud militar,” 5.

¹⁹¹ General Barrueco, “El mando y la moral,” 9.

¹⁹² Ibarra Burillo, *El Credo del Soldado*, 78.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁹⁴ Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 133–137.

¹⁹⁵ Prada Canillas, “Permanente vigencia de los principios morales,” *Ejército*, 24.

¹⁹⁶ FCO Requena Marco “La milicia, religion de hombres honrados,” *El Palleter: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado*, núm. 45 (mayo-junio). See also: Ramos Bellido, “El honor como virtud militar. 5; and Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 135.

example, the religiously inspired *Temas de moral militar* argued that honor was integral to the Catholic faith.¹⁹⁷ A monograph about military development published in 1951 entitled *Espíritu, técnica y formación militar* (Military Spirit, Technique and Development) linked honor to religion through its “intimate and personal aspects,” which made honor a “radically Christian sentiment” and the “‘patrimony of the soul’.”¹⁹⁸ The Apostolado in particular went to great lengths to infuse the military’s code of honor with religiosity.¹⁹⁹ In fact, Apostolado writers asserted that a soldier could not be an honorable man if he was not also a practicing Catholic. The exemplary image that the Apostolado posited for this religious and honorable soldier was that of the chivalric knights of Spain’s past, in particular the fictional character of Don Quixote. In this case, military authors explicitly connected religious notions of chivalry to conceptions of martial honor.

Although Miguel de Cervantes’s fictional knight might have represented for Francoist military authors a specifically Spanish and historical (rather than literary) model of the ideal military man, the use of such a character and the specific traits of his honor as representative of modern masculinity were not necessarily unique to Spain. Historian Robert A. Nye argues that the sporting honor of athletes in France during the 1870s and 1880s was presented as “The model of the warrior ... that of a man of honor engaged in a noble quest, a heroic knight for modern times.”²⁰⁰ Catholic Francoists similarly employed Don Quixote’s honor. Apostolado discourse especially connected

¹⁹⁷ Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 133.

¹⁹⁸ Sintes Obrador, *Espíritu, técnica y formación militar*, 122.

¹⁹⁹ See Chapter II.

²⁰⁰ Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, 219.

honor to this chivalry predicated on a knightly hero quest. Broader military publications had little to say on the subject.²⁰¹

Although chivalric knights represented the elites of the Middle Ages, honor in Francoist military discourse did not necessarily depend on class or rank.²⁰² According to a certain General Barrueco in a 1944 *Ejército* article, honor was not a “privilege of class or certain social categories, and therefore in the military profession [it] encompasses privates to generals.”²⁰³ Through the egalitarian nature of manly honor, the military worked to bridge class differences by trying to imbue men from different socio-economic levels with the same sense of personal honor. General Barrueco argued that along with comprising an attribute of martial masculinity regardless of a man’s military rank or social class, martial honor was both individual and, just as importantly, collective: Dishonorable acts by one soldier stained the honor of the entire military.²⁰⁴ *Temas de moral militar* stated that “The soldier does not only guard his own honor, but also of the entire community ... The wrongdoing of one of [the military’s] members tarnishes everyone.”²⁰⁵ Likewise, *El Credo del Soldado* informed its readers that the military was founded on individual and collective honor, which represented the dignity of the *Patria*. Although modernity had assailed Spain’s collective honor, the miracle of the “Crusade of Liberation,” as the book called the Spanish Civil War, had saved that honor.²⁰⁶ This source also linked honor with military morality, infusing it with the martial and

²⁰¹ In one of the few examples of non-Apostolado publications discussing the concept, *El credo de soldado* states that chivalry is defined by honor and is an “immutable, superior and eternal principle” that dictates a warrior’s code of conduct. Ibarra Burillo, *El Credo del Soldado*, 85–86.

²⁰² Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 135.

²⁰³ General Barrueco, “El mando y la moral,” 9.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 135.

²⁰⁶ Ibarra Burillo, *El Credo del Soldado*, 82. This sentiment is typical of Francoist understandings of the conflict in a historico-religious sense. See Introduction.

masculine qualities of discipline and obedience as well as bravery and chivalry.²⁰⁷ *Espíritu, técnica y formación militar* stated that a soldier should rather die than give up his honor or that of the *Patria*, for in the army honor is not just personal but national.²⁰⁸ Training manuals for the I.P.S. mirrored these notions.²⁰⁹ Across time, magazines for troops reflected these notions of honor being both personal and communal, as did training manuals for the I.P.S.²¹⁰ These sources date from the 1940s through the 1960s, demonstrating the temporal uniformity of their messages.

Arguing in his study of modern France that men's honor "required constant reaffirmation, and was always open to challenge[.]"²¹¹ Nye takes the position that "masculinity is always in the course of construction but always fixed, a *telos* that men experience as a necessary but permanently unattainable goal."²¹² In contrast, within the discursive boundaries of the Francoist military's code of honor, discourse producers portrayed honorable masculinity as an imminently attainable objective. Although not diminishing the need for reaffirmation—through reiterative performances in particular—men's martial honor was not always or even necessarily open to challenge. Bravery in combat, living morally, acting chivalrously, and possessing a heterosexual identity all remained static markers of manhood. The strict boundaries of the military's gendered code of honor ensured that men could attain masculinity both as individuals and as members of the collective.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 78–86.

²⁰⁸ Sintés Obrador, *Espíritu, técnica y formación militar*, 39.

²⁰⁹ Martín Martín, *Manual de instrucción premilitar superior*, 260.

²¹⁰ See for example, Francisco Cabezas Sanchez, "El valor y el honor es aplicable no solo al soldado sino a todo ser humano," *Yunque*, núm. 28 (noviembre 1948); and Manuel Moraleda Pérez, "Honor Militar," *Bailén*, núm. 8 (1966).

²¹¹ Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*.

²¹² Ibid., 13.

Nye argues that in analyzing codes of honor, focusing on individual historical actors allows a viewpoint into subjectivity: “Honor codes, with their exacting and often brutal exigencies, afford us a chance to glimpse the challenge that faced any man who aspired to honorability.”²¹³ He contends “since codes of honor operate like systems of informal law, the rules, and the sanctions and rewards that compel submission to them must circulate openly, where they may be read by all, including the historian.”²¹⁴ Whether in its prescriptive or punitive aspects, honor played its part within discursive, educational, cultural, and juridical networks of Francoist domination and power that functioned, at least in intent, to create a subjectivity for Spanish men in line with Francoism’s ideals of national identity. The discursive and regulatory nature of honor coerced men to conform to the parameters of normative masculinity and functioned to produce obedient subjects. In performing his honorability, a man was at the same time obediently normative.

In the case of Franco’s Spain, the collective nature of military honor can be counterposed to alternative understandings of manliness within Spanish society. Gilmore’s ethnographical study of rural Andalusia in the 1970s and 1980s is especially useful in this regard. Positing that rural communities made honor intrinsically individual and competitive, Gilmore writes that “Honor for one man must therefore be dishonor for another.”²¹⁵ He contends “In modern Andalusia [1971–1984], if you refer to a man’s honor, men will laugh or they will direct you to the classic morality plays of Lope de Vega—the Spanish Shakespeare. But if you mention his machismo, or if you mention

²¹³ Ibid., 10.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Gilmore, *Aggression and Community*, 128.

manhood or masculinity, that is a different, more immediate and more serious matter.”²¹⁶

Comparing the military’s code of honor with the cultural norms of rural Andalusia in the later years of the Franco dictatorship indicates that in twentieth century Spain, martial honor was not only an outdated notion but competed against other and more persistent cultural norms of masculinity. A sexualized sense of honor in Andalusia meant that only the most masculine in comparison with other men could truly be honorable. The martial honor of the Francoist military dictated that men do not compete to be the most honorable but rather aspire not to tarnish the group’s collective honor. Francoist military authors aspired to erase such competitive practices, making group honor contingent on that of the individual. Yet by the end of Franco’s dictatorship, Andalusia had not witnessed such a shift in notions of honor.

The disconnect between military discourse on the one hand, and the social realities of Gilmore’s study on the other hand, demonstrates the failure of the armed forces, at least in the bucolic south, to significantly influence cultural norms of masculinity in Spain through conscription. Gilmore’s study also lends credence to other of this dissertation’s findings, especially the military’s incapacity to Catholicize, heteronormativize, and de-modernize Spanish men and women. In all those areas, Francoist masculinity failed to produce the results for which it was intended. Spain continued along the path of liberalization, modernization, and secularization.

The cultural meaning of masculinity as synonymous in a performative sense with *machismo* resisted the military’s practical struggle against temporality, that is, to substitute an outmoded conception of non-competitive group honorability for the social persistence of competitions of honor and *machismo*. Despite discursive, educational,

²¹⁶ Ibid, 129.

cultural, and regulatory efforts made by the armed forces, Francoist gender norms did not have “a historically transformative effect,” to use William H. Sewell Jr.’s phrase.²¹⁷ A diversity of temporalities in both a linear and non-linear sense occurred within processes of heavy-handed Francoization following the civil war. Francoism’s archaic notion of male honor failed to establish itself in the socio-cultural structures of Spanish society that had themselves changed significantly since the times of medieval chivalry. Imposing twelfth and thirteenth centuries values on Spanish society during the twentieth century proved a doomed endeavor. Seven hundred years of cultural and social development possessed its own momentum.

Discipline/Obedience/Subordination

Integral to the endeavor of creating obedient subjects, the military sought to instill discipline, obedience, and subordination in soldiers. Like military morality, spirit, and virtues, each of the components of this triad could not be entirely defined without reference to one another. They were often synonymous, not only in military discourse but also in the sense of producing normative men. Educational literature from the 1950s and 1960s often described discipline in particular as a key aspect of military virtues and values: “Discipline is a military virtue that contains all the other [virtues] and is the complement of them.”²¹⁸ *Temas de moral militar* connected discipline to both military virtues and morality: “[Discipline] is the military virtue par excellence ... it is the effect of the customs and of the moral education of the armed forces.”²¹⁹ Military authors went to great lengths within this pedagogical discourse to assure soldiers that discipline, as

²¹⁷ William H. Sewell Jr., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 8.

²¹⁸ Juan Palazón Martorell, *Instrucción militar. Campamento* (Murcia: Editorial La Verdad, 1958), 17. See also Serrano Expósito and Revilla Martínez, *Manual*, 224; Sinforiano Morón Izquierdo, *¡Vencer! Breviario*

well as obedience and subordination, neither entailed servility or humiliation,²²⁰ nor should be based on fear of punishment.²²¹ Rather it should be built on genuine esteem for military duties and the confidence and respect the inferior must feel towards their superiors.²²²

When authors expounded definitions of discipline, they often quoted from the speech Franco gave in 1931 to cadets at the General Military Academy in Zaragoza:

Discipline! Never well defined or understood. Discipline! [It] holds no merit when being commanded is pleasant and bearable. Discipline! [It] displays its true valor, when our thoughts advise us to do the opposite of that which we are commanded to do; when the heart fights and stands up in intimate rebellion, or when arbitrariness, or error, are joined in the actions of commanders. This is the discipline we inculcate in you, this is the discipline that we practice; this is the example that we offer you.²²³

Defined by Franco eight years before the advent of his dictatorship, discipline required a soldier to follow orders, regardless of whether or not (or especially when) he disagreed with either an order or the actions of his commanders.²²⁴ Authors also developed their own definitions, often linking the concept to other components of martial masculinity. For example, in a training manual for Marines published in 1970, discipline encompassed: punctuality; exactitude in obedience; scrupulous respect for laws and

del soldado, 19; and Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 258.

²¹⁹ Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 258.

²²⁰ See for example, Martín Martín, *Manual de instrucción premilitar superior*, 254.

²²¹ Conversely, one book informed soldiers that discipline is maintained through punishment and that it is in fact “blind obedience” to laws, regulations, and leaders. See Morón Izquierdo, *¡Vencer! Breviario del soldado*, 19. Another book defines discipline as “...the blind obedience to the Laws, Reglamentos and Jefes that command us.” Generoso Novo Romeo, *Extracto de conocimientos militares para el recluta : (comunes a todas las armas y cuerpos)*, 7th ed. (La Coruña: 1960), 5. See also, Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 271–272. These examples, however, are exceptions to the rule that discipline should not be blind.

²²² Salinas y Angulo, *Manual para las clases de tropa*, 142. See also, Cuevas Fernandez, *Manual del soldado de Infantería de Marina*, 12. The rank and file wrote similar type pieces in magazines for troops, see Cabo Art. Busquets Coll, “En torno a la disciplina,” *Honderos: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de Baleares*, núm. 62 (mayo-junio 1975), 15.

²²³ Mateo Prada Canillas, “Permanente vigencia de los principios morales,” *Ejército*, 23. Emphasis in original.

²²⁴ Franco’s words proved ironic if not hypocritical in July 1936.

regulations; devotion; and austere dignity in one's subordination.²²⁵ These features of discipline were the means through which to become a perfect soldier.²²⁶

Authors frequently connected obedience and subordination to discipline as well as to morality and spirit. In 1959, *Manual de recluta* defined subordination as, "together with obedience[,] an inherent virtue of discipline ... [it] is not servility, but rather a predisposition towards obedience, respect, deference and submission..."²²⁷ Indicative of the unchanging nature of this message, several training manuals described subordination as analogous to definitions of obedience. In a performative sense in these texts, the concept meant carrying out orders, respecting and showing deference to one's superiors, and being obedient and submissive.²²⁸ According to *Temas de moral militar*, discipline must be absolute, profound, without vacillation, and executed quickly and punctually.²²⁹ As with discipline and obedience, subordination in this manual was not tantamount to servitude: "But you must never confuse this great military virtue with a great defect: servility."²³⁰ In a speech given to senior officers in 1973, a general stated that obedience had a "profound moral base, real and beautiful, proper to a healthy spirit." It elevated the individual above his vanity and pride, allowing him to obey his superiors for the common and social, rather than individual, good.²³¹

²²⁵ Cuevas Fernandez, *Manual del soldado de Infanteria de Marina*, 12. See also, Sesma Bengoechea, *Cartilla del soldado*, 11.

²²⁶ Cuevas Fernandez, *Manual del soldado de Infanteria de Marina*, 12.

²²⁷ Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta*, 34.

²²⁸ Novo Romeo. *Extracto de conocimientos militares para el recluta*, 5; Salinas y Angulo, *Manual para las clases de tropa*, 131–132; Sesma Bengoechea, *Cartilla del soldado*, 12; Arocas Irisarri, *Libro militar para todos los reclutas*, 97; Martín Martín, *Manual de instrucción premilitar superior*, 257.

²²⁹ Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 272. Although this author does argue that obedience should be blind, but not due to the fear of punishment.

²³⁰ Ibid., 12.

²³¹ Mateo Prada Canillas, "Permanente vigencia de los principios morales," *Ejército*, 23.

In the minds of Francoist soldiers, discipline, obedience, and subordination were conclusively inseparable. For example, discipline often subsumed or was itself defined by reference to obedience and subordination, which also represented each other. During the beginning phase of the regime, one training manual published in 1944 informed its readers “Without subordination, obedience is impossible[.]”²³² and “without *obedience there is no discipline*.”²³³ Similarly, another manual defined discipline sixteen years later as

the punctual observance of all military obligations, and [this] is the base of the education of the troops; *subordination, obedience, respect, and deference* towards superiors fall squarely inside of [discipline’s] sphere, along with consideration for citizens and property, hygiene, industriousness, aversion to vice, etc. Discipline is as necessary for the life of the Army as blood is for the human organism.²³⁴

Authors also regularly defined obedience and subordination in relation to each other. In 1964, *Temas de moral militar* stated that subordination imposed the duty of obedience.²³⁵ One training manual’s sixteenth edition published in 1969 defined obedience towards one’s leaders as subordination.²³⁶ Many training manuals, across time, informed troops that obedience, like discipline, assures that orders are always carried out, and that it must be absolute, prompt, and respectful.²³⁷

Military publications made clear that discipline, obedience, and subordination were crucial not only in the armed forces but also to the functioning of the economy and society. Presented in a military magazine in 1945, education in the barracks would teach

²³² Sesma Bengoechea, *Cartilla del soldado*, 13–14.

²³³ Ibid., 12. Emphasis in original.

²³⁴ Salinas y Angulo, *Manual para las clases de tropa*, 141.

²³⁵ Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 275.

²³⁶ Morón Izquierdo, *¡Vencer! Breviario del soldado*, 19.

²³⁷ Salinas y Angulo, *Manual para las clases de tropa*, 132; Novo Romeo, *Extracto de conocimientos militares para el recluta*, 5; Palazón Martorell, *Instrucción militar*, 18; Novo Romeo. *Extracto de*

discipline to previously rebellious workers.²³⁸ Twenty-five years later a sociological monograph on the social function of the army similarly stated: “Discipline seems like a word eminently martial, but without discipline there is no order, [without which] industry, enterprise, [and] the factory cannot yield the greatest fruit.”²³⁹ These class-based economic imperatives of Francoist domination infused notions of discipline with a strong work ethic, furthering the ends of the regime by creating a docile and obedient working class through the means of mandatory military service. The policy of autarky, as mentioned above, fit well with that of conscription because it conjoined the shared ambitions of forcing Spaniards to obey the Franco regime’s authority.²⁴⁰ Arguments for conscription as a means of controlling working class men continued even after the government transitioned away from autarky. In 1970, *Función social del Ejército* advocated the economic utility of a disciplined working class.²⁴¹ A crucial mechanism for inculcating those behaviors in men was deploying masculinity as a tactic of power. If a soldier was not hard working, disciplined, obedient, and subordinate he was in fact not a man. By the same token, outwardly displaying and performing those normative traits expressed a man’s martial manhood.

Militaries compel soldiers to manifest discipline, obedience, and subordination through the compulsory performativity of the salute. Attempting to induce troops to salute based not on regulations but rather on unconscious subjective necessity, Francoist military discourse, educational materials, and print culture informed soldiers of

conocimientos militares para el recluta, 5; Ministerio del Ejército Estado Mayor Central, *Para el soldado*, 25–26; Martín Martín, *Manual de instrucción premilitar superior*, 231

²³⁸ Francisco Vargas Borrego, “Armas y Letras: Disciplina,” *Yunque*, núm. 6 (diciembre 1945), 10

²³⁹ Bogas Illescas, *Función social del Ejército*, 136.

²⁴⁰ See Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 23.

²⁴¹ Bogas Illescas, *Función social del Ejército*, 136.

subordination's inherent value and utility.²⁴² Judith Butler's work on performativity proves salient in this regard. The reiterative performance of saluting forces subordination's materialization "by which discourse produces the effects it names."²⁴³

In addition to performativity, power materializes itself in individuals through corporeal representations of the body politic. The male body clothed in a military uniform particularly signified the triad of discipline, obedience, and subordination. *Manual de recluta* defined the uniform as a "robe of virtue and symbol of valor, authority and sacrifice."²⁴⁴ Authors often linked the uniform to masculinity. *Temas de moral militar* argued "The military uniform is for those who dress for [*lo viste a*] a guarantee of virility."²⁴⁵ Evident in the performance of the salute and mandates of outward decorum, the Francoist military strove to create a society of men who possessed a gendered and militarized subjectivity constituted in part by performing as disciplined, obedient, and subordinate members of the nation.

Deploying, to use Foucault's terms, "this new distribution of power known as discipline, with its structures and hierarchies, its inspections, exercises and methods of training and conditioning[,]"²⁴⁶ the military attempted to establish and solidify the power of the dictatorship. The armed forces made discipline consubstantial with the only "true" form of masculinity a Spanish man could possess. Viewed through the lens of the Foucauldian "obedient subject," this type of man and citizen allows authority to "function automatically in him[,]" implicating individual men in practices of repression. The

²⁴² See for example, Roman Rodríguez Muñoz, "El saludo militar," *Ejército*, núm. 410 (marzo 1974), 64–72; Bogas Illescas, *Función social del Ejército*, 136; Cuevas Fernández, *Manual del soldado de Infantería de Marina*, 12.

²⁴³ Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 2.

²⁴⁴ Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta*, 12–13.

²⁴⁵ Romero Salgado, *Temas de moral militar*, 214.

education and training received during their required time in the military would, on a systemic level, influence individual men to not only unquestioningly obey authority but unconsciously function according to its directives and intentions. Accordingly, the Franco dictatorship utilized conscription to reify its power over and within Spanish society, specifically through the attempted creation of disciplined men who knew and performed their subordinate positions in military, political, and social hierarchies.

Butler argues that materializations of power also open possibilities for resistance.²⁴⁷ In the military, regulations and martial jurisprudence function to curtail resistance. The system of Francoist military justice disciplined and punished those soldiers who did not display or refused to comply with discipline, obedience, or subordination. Discursive mandates as well as legal categories, these aspects of normative masculinity conditioned men's behavior. Mostly, punishment for disobedience would have been meted out in the barracks, and not warranted charges of a major infraction or crime. As Chart I below demonstrates, military courts found very few soldiers guilty of disobedience during the final fifteen years of the Franco regime.²⁴⁸ Out of a military force of roughly 300,000 soldiers each year, even in the peak year of 1973 with 165 convictions, only .00055 percent of soldiers were convicted for crimes of disobedience.²⁴⁹ Similarly, looking at a case study of the recruitment class from Granada in 1962, no more than 4 percent of those soldiers ran afoul of military discipline on any level.

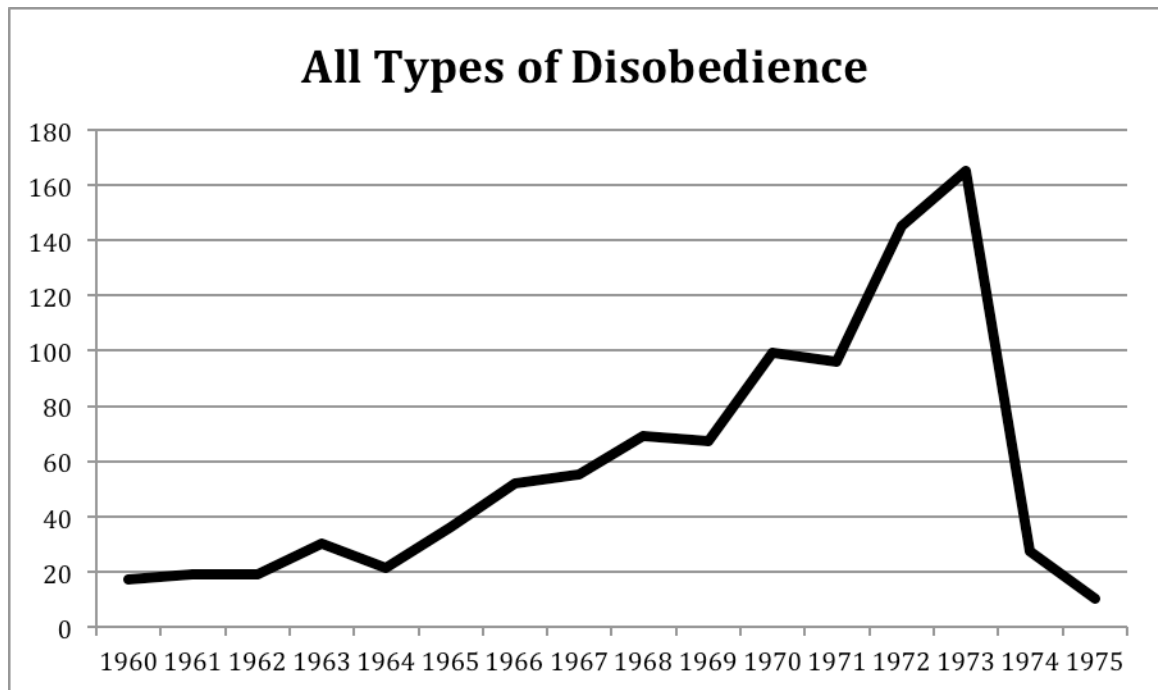
²⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 158.

²⁴⁷ Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, 2.

²⁴⁸ These are the years for which military statistics are available for convictions for specific types of crimes.

²⁴⁹ See also Chapter IV.

Table 1: Convictions for all Types of Disobedience:²⁵⁰



Do these statistics indicate that the military successfully instilled obedience in soldiers because of the infrequency of in-house punishments or court-martial convictions for disobedience? Does the fact that men complied with orders necessarily imply that their lived subjectivity was also disciplined and obedient? Was the Francoist military therefore successful in imposing discipline, obedience, and subordination on soldiers?

In his autobiography, J. Andrade Cola sheds some light on this question from the viewpoint of the officer corps. Born in 1928 in Granada, Andrade Cola's family had a long military heritage and his father fought for the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War.

²⁵⁰ Data for this graph is taken from, Alto Estado Mayor, *Anuario Estadístico Militar*, 1960–1975. The sharp increase in from 1964 to the early 1970s and the immediate decline in 1974 can be explained by the rise of conscientious objection to military service beginning in the middle of the 1960s in Spain. Those men who conscientiously objected to military service were at first charged with disobedience but the military created the new charge in 1974 of “failure to present oneself for military duty.”

Andrade Cola joined the Army three days before his fifteenth birthday in 1943. He then attended the General Military Academy in Zaragoza. After graduation, he served in the Foreign Legion in Morocco. In the 1960s he was an instructor in the *Instrucción Premilitar Superior* (High Premilitary Instruction) for university students. He states that he had the reputation of someone with culture who was somewhat liberal and that his students liked him because they could speak to him without fear of taboos.²⁵¹ He clarifies that he had not fallen out of accord with the regime. Rather, he perceived himself as faithful although also critical.²⁵² At the rank of general, Andrade Cola finished his military career in 1983 as Military Governor of Burgos. Despite his family background and general support for the regime, Andrade Cola represents a freethinking officer whose autobiography offers insight into the officer corps during Francoism.

He writes that for his cohort at the General Military Academy during the 1940s, discipline was strictly “an external rite, far removed from that ‘mental agreement between command and subordination’ called for by [military] regulations. Rather it was a prison-like subjection.”²⁵³ According to Andrade Cola, some cadets served as informants, revealing another aspect of the system of panoptic self-surveillance in the officer corps.²⁵⁴ He believed that such an atmosphere led to a lack of solidarity among soldiers, which contravened ideals of *compañerismo*.²⁵⁵ Going further, he writes that many cadets, “without realizing it, adopted the posture of concentration camp prisoners. Or they collaborated with the torturers, or what is worse, they admired them and served them as

²⁵¹ J. Andrade Cola, *El Ejército por dentro (de la postguerra a la democracia 1943–1983)* (Sevilla: SALDUBA, 1990), 290.

²⁵² Ibid., 291.

²⁵³ Ibid., 57.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 58.

sycophants.”²⁵⁶ Comparing Spain’s most prestigious military academy to a concentration camp is a stretch of Andrade Cola’s imagination. His autobiography does demonstrate that even at the highest level of education for officers, military service functioned to subordinate men, not through the inculcation of values but rather by fear of punishment and reprimand.²⁵⁷

Andrade Cola’s account illustrates that perceptions of discipline and punishment reflected, and were permeated by, gendered and sexualized techniques of power. For example, when referring to a soldier being arrested cadets used language that included phrases such as “to put a pipe in it [*meter un tubo*]” (read to be sodomized) and “they have fucked him.”²⁵⁸ A commander could “demonstrate his determination to ‘fuck’ a subordinate who has committed an infraction, because ‘his balls are bigger’. And the submissive subordinate is assured that when he entered the army he left ‘his balls hanging on a coat rack’”.²⁵⁹ These semantics reveal that soldiers infused imposition of military discipline with the sexual significations of forced sodomy. Additionally, a competition of testicle size took place in which those with the power to wield punishment, to perform the conjectural sodomizing, did so based on having larger gonads than their subordinates.

The sexualization of military discipline and punishment reveals collective submissive attitudes amidst hierarchies of homoerotic heteronormativity, virile manhood, and patriarchal power. Military statistics and service records indicate compliance with the mandates of discipline, obedience, and subordination. Whether or not soldiers continued to behave in that manner when finished with their active duty is beyond the scope of this

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 57.

²⁵⁷ “For [both] fear of arrest and suspense, the atmosphere prevailing then in the Academy was so oppressive, that one cadet committed suicide and two others went crazy. The rest of us lived tensely, dreaming of soon leaving that castle of terror.” Ibid., 52.

study. However, viewing conscripts and soldiers as men with agency and reading texts for instances of criticism rather than strictly as directives of behavior makes possible a determination of how successful (or not) the military was in shaping subjectivity.

Conclusion: A Story of Failure & Success

Many members and supporters of the dictatorship, especially conservative Catholic elements like the Apostolado, sought to completely eradicate what they saw as one of the key reasons for the Spanish Civil War: a moral crisis at the heart of the nation. Forcing the majority of Spanish men to spend two years in the armed forces and receive an education founded on military morality played a key role in assuaging that problem. A few examples certainly exist of authors arguing that the military had in fact improved the country through mandatory service.²⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the majority of military sources on the subject indicate that this crisis of morality actually worsened over the course of the dictatorship. Lamenting the intensification of the very crisis military service was intended to alleviate, authors frequently complained that the armed forces were failing to convince Spanish society of both conscription's intrinsic benefits and martial masculinity's inherent value.

Revealing the existence of widespread societal disapproval, military writings commonly addressed the public's negative perceptions of compulsory service. For instance, verbatim in both the 1959 and 1972 editions of *Manual de recluta*, its author argued that an insignificant minority of bad soldiers with poor conduct had led to the

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 58.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ See for example, Pedro Molina García, "El servicio militar," *Bailén*, Núm. 26 (1970). This article, written by a private, argues that after active duty soldiers have learned responsibility, morality, and patriotism; how to be subordinate and obedient; how to be useful in civil life; how to overcome difficulties; and have left the military as men who are capable of occupying a position in civil life and serving society,

unfortunate belief “that the military man is a drinker, quarrelsome, [a] player, [a] womanizer, and is not well spoken.”²⁶¹ Emphasizing this other masculinity to which that of the military contrasted, *Manual de recluta* implored its readers to be exemplary soldiers and thereby improve public opinions about military men. In the thirteen years between these editions of *Manual de recluta*, societal conceptions of militarized masculinity did not improved enough for the author to change its language in the least. This lack of change over time implies a failure of military pedagogy both to affect performances of masculinity and improve social perceptions of “*la mili*.”

In further illustrative article from *Ejército* in 1966, an artillery captain named Florentino Ruíz Platero contended that creating a certain type of officer would improve the public perception of the Army and of military service.²⁶² For him, the major obstacles to solving “the problem of public opinion between the army and society” were “the stereotypes of ‘the military man’ and ‘the civilian man’ ... Stereotypes that are considered unchangeable and that justify the suspicion [as well as latent opposition and hostility] that exists between both groups.”²⁶³ This article from the mid-1960s sheds light on two important facets of the military during the later decades of the Franco regime. Coming twenty-seven years after the regime assumed power, this piece makes clear (like the two editions of *Manual de recluta*) that conscription had not succeeded in convincing the civilian population of the military’s utility as an institution that created manly citizens for the nation. In particular, social stereotypes of the military man had not progressed to

who understand the importance of military service, and who have learned “that which is most important, [...] to know how to be SOLDIERS OF SPAIN.”

²⁶¹ Germán Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta* (Cartagena: Imprenta Gomez, 1959), 17; Germán Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta* (Salamanca: Gráficas Ortega, 1972), 17–18.

²⁶² Florentino Ruíz Platero, “La movilización de las fuerzas morales,” *Ejército*, núm. 312 (enero 1966), 3–10: 6.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6.

that of the moral, honorable, and chivalrous soldier and civilian. Rather, these sources suggest that Spanish society continued to be more or less disapproving of the stereotypical military man, which in turn contributed to negative attitudes towards the armed forces and conscription.²⁶⁴

This captain's article existed within a growing discourse of an opening of the military to certain changes. Such attitudes within the armed forces formed part of the shift within certain segments of the regime itself as well as in society more broadly towards *apertura*, or the cultural and political liberalization of the nation. In terms of the specific stereotypes associated with military men, Ruíz Platero wrote "The most adequate way to break these stereotypes is the opening [*apertura*] of an objective mutual knowledge. Especially the opening of the problematic and solutions to it, between society and the army."²⁶⁵ Ruíz Platero provides an example, then, of a lower ranking officer making a case in the army's premier publication nine years before Franco's death for an *apertura* between the military and society that would both improve and transform negative attitudes towards martial masculinity.²⁶⁶

These types of arguments suggest the failure of the regime to change societal opinions about military men and their militarized manhood. They additionally demonstrate a shift within segments of the officer corps towards a mindset that society should collaborate in improving the military and that the armed forces needed be more

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 6–7.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 7.

²⁶⁶ This progressive attitude of dialogue and liberalization can also be found in R.E.S. publications. In an article from 1971 in *Diana* about the "new generation," the author argues that it is neither valid that they are worse than before nor that they are more intelligent or responsible. Taking the middle ground between those two views, this piece states that new generation of young people is simply different and that instead of trying so hard to give them counsel, it would be more beneficial for the military to try to see the world from their point of view. Enrique de Monteflor, "La nueva generación: Parte III," *Diana*, núm. 33 (1971), 13.

tolerant and understanding of younger generations. In a gendered sense, negative societal perceptions towards Francoist martial masculinity contributed to a growing desire in the officer corps for a liberalization of the military. Like print culture for troops from the mid-1960s onwards,²⁶⁷ these examples underscore the importance of masculinity to the *apertura* of Francoist politics and the liberalization and modernization of Spanish society that occurred in the regime's later years.

Together with Spanish society's disapproving attitudes towards normative martial masculinity, another widespread lamentation in military publications was of a dangerous and pervasive moral crisis in the world. Authors often presented this crisis as especially prominent in the country's youth culture, arguing that the armed forces had the crucial mission of saving young men from the dangers of the modern world. A lieutenant colonel in the infantry named Francisco Javier Fernández Trapiella wrote in *Ejército* in 1961, for instance, that officers had the duty to protect the nation's youth from the "danger of falling into moral doubt, skepticism, and disorientation." This task, he argued, was the "transcendent labor of the commanding corps of the army in these moments of world confusion..."²⁶⁸ Fernandez Trapiella also stated that replacing egotism and sensuality with altruism and sacrifice through education should not only take place in the military, but must be directed at both men and women and be inculcated in the family, schools, parishes, and youth organizations.²⁶⁹ Then, when men arrive in the army "saturated in these ideas," the country and humanity will be saved from "this crisis of skepticism,

²⁶⁷ See Chapter VI.

²⁶⁸ Francisco Javier Fernández Trapiella, "Instrucción y educación (Temas candentes)," *Ejército*, núm. 254 (marzo 1961), 45–48: 46. Fernández Trapiella also states that this type of education (i.e. replacing egotism and sensuality with altruism and sacrifice) is not only military but must be directed at both men and women and be inculcated in the family, schools, parishes, and youth organizations. *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

mental confusion, and chaos of the soul in which we are living.”²⁷⁰ For example, a book about military ideology published in 1972 bemoaned that a “gigantic confusion is the common and distinctive mark of today’s collective attitudes...”²⁷¹ Authors often presented this crisis as especially prominent in the country’s youth culture, arguing that the armed forces had the crucial mission of saving young men from the dangers of the modern world.

Through these types of writings and unlike Ruíz Platero and the group of *aperturistas* that his views signified, Fernandez Trapiella represented a segment of the armed forces and the regime that held fast to the religious ideals of 18 July 1936. The importance of this colonel’s negative opinion on the moral state of both Spain and the world lies in temporality. Twenty-two years after the foundation of the Franco regime, this “crisis” that had in part led to the civil war, continued to be bemoaned by Francoists. Such lamentations indicate the armed forces’ failure to significantly change national identity.

In a similar article from 1967 that also appeared in *Ejército*, another lieutenant colonel named Nicolás Horta Rodríguez wrote that a crisis in Spain’s youth was the result of a lack of patriotism,²⁷² and an environment of superficiality, frivolity, and sexual obsession.²⁷³ Horta Rodríguez wrote within a discourse of Francoist entrenchment still seeking to bring about Francoist ideals. He viewed *apertura* as the way to do so. Bolstering his contention, Horta Rodríguez cited a National Youth Delegation (*Delegación Nacional de Juventudes*) study from 1960 and 1961 in which young people

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 48. He does optimistically state that while this crisis may not be new to history, it is nevertheless very dangerous for Spain and the western world, but virtue always conquers vice, as does the spiritual over the material and the good over the bad (48).

²⁷¹ Cabeza Calahorra, *La ideología militar hoy*, 194.

were asked to rate a series of values. Those of utility (e.g., earning money) ranked first. What he termed “vital values” (e.g., health) came in second and spiritual values (e.g., patriotism and religion) ranked third. Criticizing the fact that spiritual values placed last instead of first, Horta Rodríguez called for a re-evaluation of education within the Army.²⁷⁴ Speaking in the language of *apertura*, this colonel posited that greater collaboration between the Army and institutions like the National Youth Delegation would aid the military in better comprehending and dealing with the youth crisis. Such an understanding would in turn help better educate soldiers as patriots and, in a gendered sense, as men:

The labor of the educator, and specifically the labor of the military educator (who has to develop men in the most profound sense of the concept), must favor the desire for action and efficiency that exists in the youth and must combat that deforming and sterile self-contemplation that they also possess [...] The youth is a project, the youth is the future. If we know how to bring about that project, if we know how to ‘make’ men and we know how to contribute to the inclusion of our soldiers in many national tasks [...] we can say that we have known how to educate [soldiers] in love of the Patria [...].²⁷⁵

Like many other authors, and commensurate with both his Francoist values and *apertura* attitude, Horta Rodríguez advanced military education as the answer for the ostensible shortcomings of young men’s values. This officer’s writings also indicate the ways in

²⁷² Nicolás Horta Rodríguez, “Patria, mundo y juventud,” *Ejército*, núm. 328 (mayo 1967), 3–8: 7.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

which even *aperturista* attitudes could be used to further serve the ends of the Francoist military. For Horta Rodríguez, opening the armed forces to liberalization would better form soldiers into obedient members of the Francoist nation.

Even in the final year of Franco's life, the perceived crisis in the nation's youth appeared in military publications. In 1975, an infantry major named Pedro García Zaragoza held views characteristic of the group within the regime and military whose attitude had little changed from the anti-modern and anti-liberal stance that pre-dated the Second Republic.²⁷⁶ He spoke out against the poor quality of young people in Spain, blaming the problem on issues such as: a lack of parental authority and patriotic development in the home and schools; fashions that went against more traditional modes of dress and hair style; and "Marxist literature, drugs and eroticism, freedom of customs, [and] a crisis of religious faith."²⁷⁷ For García Zaragoza, the army had to "fill the void that exists in the development of a true National Spirit..." Instructing soldiers in the laws of the state and reinforcing their patriotic sentiments would prevent "subversion" after young men left the military.²⁷⁸

The problems Major García Zaragoza cited as contributing to the poor quality of young people in Spain reveal how changes in Spanish society threatened the armed forces' goal of forming national identity. Francoist nationalism lost ground over the years to several processes: exposure to foreign and more liberal cultural influences through the processes of censorship reduction, consumerism, emigration, and tourism; loosening societal values; the liberalizing effects of Vatican II; and world-wide trends like

²⁷⁶ Pedro García Zaragoza, "La formación moral en la actualidad," *Ejército*, núm. 421 (febrero 1975), 56–58.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

conscientious objection to military service and the sexual revolution and countercultures of the 1960s and 1970s. The military's version of normative masculinity became antiquated and unpopular, if it had not already been so for many Spaniards.

Despite the inexorable changes taking place in Spanish culture, politics, and society in the waning years of the dictatorship, hardline Francoists continued to believe that they could improve the nation's youth through, not surprisingly, moral education in the military.²⁷⁹ For example, the director of the College of the Army (*Escuela Superior del Ejército*) Lieutenant General Mateo Prada Canillas gave a speech in 1973 at a conference for the opening of a Basic Course for Senior Command. The vice-president of the government and Franco's second-in-command, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco presided over this meeting. General Prada Canillas stated that the best way to overcome the world of materialism was the "CONTINUED VALIDITY OF MORAL PRINCIPLES."²⁸⁰ Quoting Franco, he asserted that the best defense against materialism, and that which it seeks to destroy, is "*the supremacy of the spiritual values of man.*"²⁸¹ One of the most powerful men in the realm of military education, General Prada Canillas argued that the armed forces' moral principles provided the bulwark against materialism and needed to be inculcated in all national institutions, social classes, and citizens.²⁸² Here again, two years before Franco's demise, a high-ranking general posited morality as the way in which to stem the tide of modernity.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 58. He also argues that, fortunately, Spanish soldiers thirst for the morality of military spirit and citizenship. Ibid..

²⁷⁹ Military discipline was also presented as a means of solving the "great SOCIAL INDISCIPLINE [...] and the "eclipse of FAITH, SPIRITUALITY, PATRIOTISM." Tte. Ruiz Sierra, "Disciplina y algo más," *Armas*, núm. 60 (septiembre 1962), 10–11: 10. Emphasis in original.

²⁸⁰ Prada Canillas, "Permanente vigencia de los principios morales," *Ejército*, 22. Emphasis in original.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 22. Emphasis in original.

²⁸² Ibid., 23.

General Prada Canillas's views in this speech mirrored those of other officers within a segment of radical Francoists known as "the bunker." Rather than an opening of the military to social criticisms these appeals for military morality reaffirmed the entrenched position of uncompromising Francoists in their calls for moral action against a perceived crisis of values. By the end of the dictatorship, the same and intensified priorities impelled the military's desire to construct national identity and regenerate the nation. Therefore, whether in 1939 or 1975, many Francoists presented unchanged argument for moral education in creating militarized and normative men. This inflexible attitude suggests the military's failure to inculcate Francoist values in Spanish men through conscription. Although agency is difficult to analyze through sources such as military books, journals, magazines, and training manuals, this inability to inculcate martial masculinity in troops indicates that many men did not accept or possess a subjectivity based on Francoist normative martial masculinity. If they had, it makes little sense that authors would continue to complain dating to at least the 1930s about the problems of modernity. A discourse of triumphalism rather than complaint would be present if the military had been successful.

Aside from evidence of refusal to accept, these discursive sources do not divulge how individual men interpreted and understood the concepts and components of Francoist normative masculinity. Nevertheless, the military's inability to solve what it believed to be a profound crisis of values, dating back to before the civil war and continuing throughout the Franco regime, indicates men's agency in their identity formation. By 1975, and after thirty-six years of dictatorship, Spanish society and national identity had not been affected in the ways in which the regime and military had

intended.²⁸³ Men, individually and collectively, did not conform to the mandates of the manly, martial, and obedient member of the nation. If Spanish men had been transformed into model Francoist citizens, a discourse of complaint that they had not done so, would not have existed.

Why, in that case, did Francoist normative masculinity fail to take root in Spanish society, especially with conscription serving as a durable structure of indoctrination? Sewell argues “Durability, then, would appear to be determined more by a structure’s depth than by its power.” Therein lies the crux: normative Francoist martial masculinity, as a mode of knowledge intended to affect modes of being, had little depth despite the structural power of conscription. Francoist epistemology of manhood never became entrenched in society. The military’s normativity failed to penetrate deep into social ontologies that themselves proved resistant to such an imposition.

In other words, both Francoist forms of knowledge about masculinity and modes of being a man failed to supersede other norms of masculinity such as donjuanismo and machismo. Outmoded ideals of Catholic morality and Francoist chivalry and honor could not withstand secularization and historical progression. Processes of liberalization and modernization inexorably shifted national identity away from Francoism. These structural schemas and historical existed, to use Sewell’s language, “in a relatively wide range of institutional spheres, practices, and discourses.”²⁸⁴ They proved too pervasive to overlay with other schemas or to transform their historical trajectories. Such failure can largely be

²⁸³ Even after Franco’s death, similar type of lamentations can be found. In 1977 in a book published by a Catholic press, dealing with moral values within the armed forces, and reflected the type of “bunker” attitude popular in some circles in the military, it is argued that the deterioration of morality is a threat to the military and that society in general is not conducive to the exaltation of moral values. Juan J. Arencibia de Torres, *Los valores morales y las fuerzas armadas* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Editorial Católica, 1977), 9–10.

²⁸⁴ Sewell, *Logics of History*, 146.

attributed to individual and collective agency in refusing to accept Francoist forms of knowledge (schemas). Individual men continued to inhabit other modes of being (alternative structures based on alternative schemas). Spanish Society embraced modern, liberal, and non-Francoist epistemologies and ontologies.

Sewell makes the argument that, “It is characteristic that many structural accounts of social transformations tend to introduce change from outside the system and then trace out the ensuing structurally shaped changes, rather than showing how change is generated by the operation of structures internal to a society.”²⁸⁵ Led by Francoists, the Spanish military sought to introduce change from outside the system of Spanish society by making all men pass through their coercive institution. This study finds that such coercion had little impact on societal norms of manhood. It is methodologically valuable to analyze how more pervasive and resistant social structures as well as historical processes generated this lack of intended change over time.

Such a methodology supports the conclusion that mandatory military service failed to inculcate normative masculinity. This failure is evident in several areas. The history of Spain after Franco’s death is one of a rapid shift to democracy and an acceleration of processes that had already been occurring since the 1960s. In the 1980s and 1990s, socio-cultural processes such as *La Movida* and the gay rights movement further transformed Spain. The increasingly modern Spanish nation relatively quickly appeared similar to the rest of Western Europe.²⁸⁶ These shifts and transformations occurred despite Spain having been under an authoritarian, conservative, religious,

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 139.

²⁸⁶ Each with its own differences and peculiarities to be sure.

rightist, and traditional dictatorship for thirty-six years during the second half of the twentieth century.

Processes of modernity in Spain prior to 1939 had already brought permanent changes to the nation's cultural, political, and social landscape. The liberal, modern, and democratic social and political transformations of the Second Republic could not be erased from Spain's history. As Sewell argues, "A society's cultural structure is a product of the events through which it has passed."²⁸⁷ Francoism proved unable to reverse the changes in Spain's cultural and social structures wrought by processes of modernization. Beginning in the 1930s, arrested for twenty years, and then reviving in the 1960s and 1970s, modernity Spain transformed into that which the Nationalists had fought the civil war to prevent it from becoming. The continued complaints contained in military discourse about the worsening of moral crisis, secularization, sexual promiscuity, and women's modernization would not have occurred had Francoists prevented Spain from continuing on the modern and secular path begun prior to 1936. Thus, this narrative tells the story of an authoritarian dictatorship with a reactionary mandate failing over time to reverse modern socio-cultural developments.

On the other hand, the dictatorship survived for the duration of Franco's life. Was mandatory service successful in diffusing dissent, in creating obedient members of the nation, regardless of whether they conformed to the norms of Francoist martial masculinity or to Francoist national identity? Successful in But did the failure to inculcate masculinity equate to the failure to form obedient members of the nation?

Chapter II

So[u]ldiers for Christ and Men for Spain: The Apostolado Castrense's Role in the Creation and Dissemination of Normative Masculinity

Introduction

One of the more powerful interest groups in the power structures of Francoism, the Catholic Church aspired to influence the identity and values of the nation and played a significant role in the military's efforts to do the same. Both creating and supporting military discourse, the *Apostolado Castrense* (Martial Apostolate), as the Church's representative in the armed forces, positioned itself to shape the lives and gendered subjectivities of generations of Spanish men. José Ramón Rodríguez Lago in his work on the Church in Galicia from 1936–1965 argues

In an authoritarian state in which the weight of the army is fundamental in order to interpret the balance of power and the position of Franco as the final arbiter of the regime, it is essential to analyze the institutional relationship created in those years between the Church and the Army.²⁸⁸

In that vein, this chapter analyzes the Church and military's efforts to inculcate Francoist masculinity in soldiers. It gauges the successes and failures of the Apostolado and sheds light on the role of the Catholic Church within the structures of Francoism and its impact on Spanish society.

Before Franco's usurpation of state power, the Church had been struggling to impose and maintain its influence on the Spanish nation. Mary Vincent interprets this

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 200.

²⁸⁸ José Ramón Rodríguez Lago, *La Iglesia en la Galicia del franquismo (1936-1965): Clero Secular, Acción Católica y Nacional-catolicismo* (A Coruña: Ediciones de Castro, 2004), 491.

process as a politicized recreation of religious identity integral to nationalization. She demonstrates that such a project had antecedents in the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923–1930).²⁸⁹ Situated in the context of the European-wide crisis of the *fin-de-siècle*, Catholics in Spain feared modernity’s intendant liberalization of cultural mores. During the century’s first three decades, calls for a specifically Catholic national identity increasingly led to political division between the right and the left in Spain. This religiously-inspired partisanship became, as Vincent writes, “A fundamental characteristic of Spanish religious history in the twentieth century.”²⁹⁰ She argues that during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship bonds strengthened between groups on the right, which now conjoined defense of monarchy with that of Church.²⁹¹ With the advent of the Second Republic in 1931, conservative and traditional Catholics in Spain increasingly felt their moral, religious, and social order to be crumbling around them.²⁹² Vincent writes that Republican Catholics accepted the separation of church and state. For other supporters of the government, “a Republic neutral on religious matters was an end in itself.”²⁹³ The Second Republic’s first prime minister, Manuel Azaña Díaz, intimated that Catholicism had lost its power in Spain. Although he stopped short of banishing them altogether and aspired to maintain the Church’s social service, Azaña Díaz excluded the religious orders from education.²⁹⁴ These secularizing moves added to the Spanish right’s distaste for the newly-founded republic. The more radical desires of the far left exacerbated their fears, which were not unfounded. Vincent writes “For the liberal or

²⁸⁹ Mary Vincent, “Religión e identidad nacional,” in *Ser españoles: Imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo XX*, eds. Javier Moreno Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, 207–245 (Barcelona: RBA Libros, 2013), 214.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 217.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 219–220.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 220.

socialist, the birth of new society required as a fundamental step the extirpation of Catholicism.”²⁹⁵ Anticlericalism was common ground for many on the left and threatened to reduce the resources and dismantle the power of the Church *vis-à-vis* society and the state.

The republic’s religious reforms also affected and threatened the military. In 1931, Azaña Díaz, in his role as minister of war, required all chaplains to swear an oath of allegiance to the republic and forced other chaplains to retire. Those reforms continued a year later with the abolition of the Army’s and Navy’s ecclesiastic corps, expulsion of most remaining chaplains from the Army, and removal of budget allocations for worship and religious assistance in military hospitals, colleges, and centers.²⁹⁶ Such secularizing moves exacerbated the anxiety of Catholics in Spain, whose fear rose with the election of the Popular Front in 1936 and its promise of more radical reforms.

Historically integral to Spanish politics and national identity, religious conflict contributed to the Spanish Civil War. Paul Preston argues “The civil wars of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were the struggle of a traditional, deeply Catholic, rural society against the threat of liberalism and modernization.”²⁹⁷ Although a multi-causal conflict, which was both internecine and internationalized, the civil war of 1936–1939 cannot be understood, Preston contends, “without some sense of how Catholics felt

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 219–220.

²⁹⁶ See Pablo Sagarra Renedo, *Capellanes en la División Azul: los últimos cruzados* (Madrid: Editorial ACTAS, 2012), 83. For more on the army during the Second Republic, see Mariano Aguilar Olivencia, *El ejército español durante la Segunda República (Claves de su actuación posterior)* (Madrid: ECONORTE, 1986).

²⁹⁷ Paul Preston, “Forward,” in Audrey Brassloff, *Religion and Politics in Spain: The Spanish Church in Transition, 1962–96* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, Inc., 1998), ix. See also José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 77; and Xosé Chao Rego, *Iglesia y franquismo: 40 años de nacional-catolicismo (1936–1976)* (A Coruña: TresCtres Ediciones, 2007), 117–119. Vincent echoes this sentiment, contending that at the outbreak of the civil war, the break between right and left was not just a class issue, but also a of a religious nature Vincent, “Religión e identidad nacional,” 225.

themselves threatened by the secularizing legislation of the Second Republic and some awareness of the way in which the right legitimized its own resistance to social reform by surrounding it with the rhetoric about the defense of religion.”²⁹⁸ Efforts made by the Second Republic to limit the power of the clergy such as separating church and state, assuming control of public education, and enforcing laicization pushed traditional Catholics into a political corner, the escape from which they increasingly viewed as armed military revolt.²⁹⁹

Once the Nationalist war effort was underway in July 1936, the Church quickly undertook the mission of defending Spain from the mores of modernity. That mindset, in combination with the shock of anti-clerical violence, quickly led to the codifying of the war effort as religious crusade. Vincent writes “For the Church, those [clerics] who died were martyrs of the faith, and the blood of the martyrs was that which converted the civil war into a ‘crusade’.”³⁰⁰ This interpretation of the war “was found at all levels of the Spanish Church[,]”³⁰¹ and religion rapidly became a “hegemonic discourse” on the Nationalist side.³⁰²

When the rebel generals launched their coup, chaplains in the nationalist zone presented themselves for duty and those in the Republican zone tried to escape anti-clerical violence.³⁰³ The professional chaplains who had been under the former *Jurisdicción Eclesiástico Castrense* (Martial Ecclesiastic Jurisdiction) re-incorporated

²⁹⁸ Paul Preston, “Forward,” in Brassloff, *Religion and Politics in Spain*, ix.

²⁹⁹ Vincent, “Religión e identidad nacional,” 224. The Church itself played no official role in the uprising of 18 July 1936.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 225.

³⁰¹ Mary Vincent, “The Spanish Civil War as a War of Religion,” in “*If You Tolerate This...* ”: *The Spanish Civil War in the Age of Total War*, eds. Martin Baumeister and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, 74–89 (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2008), 82.

³⁰² Ibid., 86.

into the Nationalist Army and recuperated their jobs and ranks. More members of the clergy joined as conscripts or volunteers.³⁰⁴ These efforts took place in conjunction with the lay Catholic group, *Acción Católica Española* (Spanish Catholic Action). Together with Acción Católica, the Nationalists worked to diffuse religious and martial values in a heterogeneous force.³⁰⁵ According to Pablo Sagarra Renedo's study of chaplains in the Blue Division,³⁰⁶ by the end of 1938 there were 2,140 chaplains in the *Servicio Religioso* (Religious Service).³⁰⁷ Sagarra Renedo argues that Nationalist chaplains were "especially motivated," dedicated to their religious and patriotic tasks, and submitted themselves to rigid ecclesiastical and military discipline.³⁰⁸ By the war's end, most chaplains exited the armed forces, with only 300 remaining in the Army.³⁰⁹ The Church then formally began to re-establish its influence in the Spanish military, eventually leading to the founding of the Apostolado.

Based on the support it lent during the civil war, its legitimizing influence on behalf of the regime, and the deep Catholicism of Franco and many leaders of the new dictatorship, the Church gained advantages following the Nationalist victory that, as William J. Callahan writes in his study of the Catholic Church in modern Spain, it had not enjoyed in Spain since the early nineteenth century.³¹⁰ The government provided financial backing for the clergy in the form of salary subsidies, allocations from the

³⁰³ Sagarra Renedo, *Capellanes en la División Azul*, 83. For a description of chaplains in foreign divisions during the Spanish Civil War see *ibid.*, 85–89.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁰⁵ For soldiers' motivations and efforts to construct mobilizing myths during the Spanish Civil War see James Matthews, *Reluctant Warriors: Republican Popular Army and National Army Conscripts in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), 63–101.

³⁰⁶ A Spanish Army division that fought with the Nazis on the eastern front during World War II.

³⁰⁷ Sagarra Renedo, *Capellanes en la División Azul*, 84.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 85.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ William J. Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875–1998* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 183.

national budget, additional funding from various ministries, and tax exemptions.³¹¹ Franco also awarded the Church control over primary and secondary education. Initial appointments to the Ministries of Justice and Education went to conservative Catholic so that, as Stanley G. Payne writes, “religious norms would be brought to bear on the legal and educational systems.”³¹² Expanding the influence of the clergy into many other areas of government, “religious advisory agencies were established under a number of other ministries and state institutions, becoming a standard feature of the next quarter-century.”³¹³ Franco additionally granted the Church oversight over its own propaganda, placing it for the most part outside the purview of government censorship. Catholic publications and their distribution expanded markedly, providing an important avenue for the cultural promulgation of Catholic discourse.³¹⁴

The regime granted the Church such wide latitude because of the collective desire shared by Catholics and the government to, as Payne describes, “foster a unified broadly diffused neotraditionalist culture that would reanimate Spanish spiritual life and inculcate in the younger generation a strong sense of nationalism, religion, and tradition.”³¹⁵ Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas demonstrates in his work on nationalization during the civil war that during the conflict itself, Francoism featured “the idea to transform Spain into an immense social barracks, where faith and martial discipline should reign...”³¹⁶ These

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936–1975* (London: Phoenix Press, 1987), 366.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ An agreement between the Church and the Spanish state in 1962 “freed official Catholic publications from prior censorship altogether...” Ibid., 421.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 434.

³¹⁶ Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, *¡Fuera el invasor!: Nacionalismos y movilización bélica durante la guerra civil española (1936–1939)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2006), 212.

martial values comprised an integral aspect of the gendered nationalism that Francoists consciously sought to inculcate in Spanish men.³¹⁷

Callahan writes that the Spanish clergy had as its ally “a government ready and willing to act aggressively on behalf of a Church anxious to seize the moment to realize old dreams of religious reconquest.”³¹⁸ A historiographical concept discussed more fully below, scholars have given the term National-Catholicism to this ideological and institutional alliance between church and state in Franco’s Spain. Audrey Brassloff writes in her monograph on the Spanish Church from 1962–1996 that hand-in-hand with this joint Catholicizing mission and predicated upon the ideology of National-Catholicism, “The Church legitimized the ethos, the political structures, the legislation and activities of the State, and was a willing instrument of social control.”³¹⁹ Ideological symbiosis with the regime, its traditional influence in parishes,³²⁰ and access to power in the realms of education, justice, government, and propaganda placed the Catholic Church in an optimal position to begin reconquering the Spanish nation for Christ.

Historians have demonstrated that the Catholic Church and the Franco regime jointly undertook a conscious effort to re-Catholicize Spain. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church slowly drifted away from the regime as the years passed. This chapter

³¹⁷ For a brief historiographical synopsis of Francoist imaginings of the nation see Stéphane Michonneau and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, “Imaginar España durante el franquismo,” in *Imaginarios y representaciones de España durante el franquismo*, eds. Stéphane Michonneau and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, 1–6 (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2014).

³¹⁸ Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 344.

³¹⁹ Audrey Brassloff, *Religion and Politics in Spain: The Spanish Church in Transition, 1962–96* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, Inc., 1998), 7.

³²⁰ “To achieve its goals the Church relied primarily on a pastoral strategy from the past. The clergy emphasized religious practice, devotions associated with ultramontane piety, the folkloric customs of popular religion, instruction in the catechism, missions, spiritual exercises, and rigorous insistence on the observance of Catholic moral standards as the keys to religious restoration.” Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 463–464.

demonstrates that tensions arose and expanded in the relationship between the military and Church, especially within gendered notions of normative Spanish nationalism.

Historiography & National-Catholicism

Historiographical opinion holds that cooperation at most levels of government between the clergy and regime were essential tactics in the Francoists strategy of reconquering the nation.³²¹ Callahan writes “cooperation with the clergy by government officials at every administrative level” encompassed “an essential part of the strategy of reconquest.”³²² The Apostolado, one such institution, has received scant historiographical coverage.³²³ Having members in both the Church and military, the organization provided the components of a martial masculinity inspired by National-Catholicism.

Scholarly debate surrounds the concept of National-Catholicism. Callahan dismisses “the term as nothing more than a cliché, a simplistic cover incapable of portraying accurately the complexities of the Church’s situation under the regime.”³²⁴ Other historians find it an adequate descriptor of the relationship between church and state. They interpret National-Catholicism as having furnished the Franco regime’s ideological coherence and buttressed its legitimacy. Gregorio Cámara Villar provides a beneficial interpretation of National-Catholicism as an ideology. He argues “despite its apparent incoherencies and contradictions[,]” National-Catholicism well-expressed the

³²¹ See for example *ibid.*, 466; and Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 366.

³²² Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 466.

³²³ Juan Carlos Losada Malvárez devotes the most attention to the *Apostolado* as well as its journal, *Reconquista*. Juan Carlos Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista (1939–1958)* (Madrid, Istmo, S.A., 1990), 43, 269–294.

³²⁴ Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 382. Callahan argues that that the ideas of National Catholicism “formed neither a coherent political ideology nor a specific program on which the factions of the Right could agree save for their commitment to the person of General Franco.” *Ibid.*, 383. Other than

guiding principles of the “national bloque” that was united in class interests of domination and profit, desired the integration of society with an omnipresent state, and shared a counterrevolutionary mentality of elitism, spiritualism, and traditionalism.³²⁵ Vincent takes the middle ground, writing “As official ideology, National-Catholicism offered a performative discourse of patriotism and reconstruction.”³²⁶ She historicizes this understanding and argues “Although powerful and omnipresent, National-Catholicism did not represent the nation, or even the totality of Spanish Catholicism.”³²⁷ Although not implying complete ideological and institutional coherence, National-Catholicism serves well as a working model for understanding a significant portion of the Franco dictatorship’s ideology and intentions.

Excluding the Apostolado, the collusion between church, state, and military in inculcating Francoist nationalism has received ample historiographical coverage, although its gendered aspects as they applied to men have for the most part been neglected. Scholarship remains silent on the Catholic Church’s discourse and practice of forging a specifically masculine Spanish national identity. For example, in his book on the Church in Galicia during Francoism José Ramón Rodríguez Lago argues that the Church, focusing on the home in particular, aspired to influence women by developing their identities as traditionally Catholic mothers and wives. He writes “The role reserved for men in this discourse [was] minimal, and even more reduced than that reserved for other related topics....”³²⁸ This chapter demonstrates, however, that the discourse and

Callahan, scholars like Álvarez Bolado would fall into the latter camp and Gómez Pérez could be placed in the former.

³²⁵ Gregorio Cámara Villar, *Nacional-Catolicismo y Escuela. La Socialización Política del Franquismo (1936–1951)* (Jaen: Editorial Hesperia, S.L., 1984), 20–21.

³²⁶ Vincent, “Religión e identidad nacional,” 228.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 231.

³²⁸ Rodríguez Lago, *La Iglesia en la Galicia del Franquismo*, 365.

practice of the Apostolado within the military played a significant role in larger ecclesiastical efforts to inculcate gendered and Christian values both in and outside the home.

Utilizing and summarizing Fernando Urbina's and Alfonso Alvarez Bolado typologies, and combining it with Aurora Morcillo Gomez's study of the Church and women, the components of National-Catholicism can be considered as follows:

1. The hybrid identity of Spanish nationalism and Catholicism: *Patria* and Catholicism are consubstantial resulting in an ecclesiocratic relationship of the Church with civil society, i.e., a Church-State.
2. The ideal model of politics and religion predicated upon:
 - a. Spain's Golden Age.
 - b. Medieval Christianity.
 - c. The historical Roman, German, and Spanish empires.
 - d. Italian and German fascism, but with some reserves about the latter.
 - e. The Spain of the Crusades and as savior of the world.
 - f. The Spanish and Christian knight, whose paradigm is St. Ignatius.
3. Affirmation of the values of the Golden Century (*Siglo de Oro*), and which need to be reproduced in the current world, of: authority, authoritarianism, hierarchy, verticalism, aristocratism, *caudillaje*, service, discipline, obedience, violence, duty over rights, religious and military values embodied in the "half monk, half soldier," and explicit and militant antimodernity.
4. Opposition to the negative values of: liberty, equality, democracy, the rights of man, revolution, liberalism, masonry, and communism.
5. Viewing the Spanish Civil War as the culmination of a struggle between those values, which acquired decisive historical significance as an apocalyptic fight between good and evil becoming a crusade of salvation for Spain.
6. The theological character of reconquest as a uniquely Spanish response to secularization.
7. "True Catholic Womanhood" as the model of normative femininity in which women should conform to the model of wife-mother-housekeeper.³²⁹

The tenets of National-Catholicism provided the regime's ideological structure following the Spanish Civil War.

³²⁹ Ibid., 45, 332; Alfonso Alvarez Bolado, *El experimento del nacional-catolicismo (1939-1975)* (Madrid: Editorial Cuadernos para el Dialogo, 1976), 195-206; Aurora Morcillo Gómez, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000).

Other than understandings of the monk-soldier, scholars of National-Catholicism have not investigated its gendered components as they related to men. Considering its relationship with the Church and military and with members belonging to both groups, the Apostolado provided the components of a normative martial masculinity inspired by National-Catholicism. The eighth component of such a typology of National-Catholicism might therefore be:

8. In part constituted by the model of the “half monk, half soldier,” a heteropatriarchal view of militarized masculinity infused with the Catholicized values of: morality; military spirit; honor and chivalry; and discipline, obedience, and subordination.

An understanding of Apostolado masculinity provides a fuller picture of National-Catholicism.

As a consequence of social transformations in especially the 1960s and 1970s, many of these National-Catholic values became increasingly antiquated. By the dictator’s death in 1975, only a minority of die-hard Francoists continued to uncompromisingly cling to both the ideology of National-Catholicism and efforts to religiously reconquer Spanish society. The Apostolado represented one such faction. It persisted to assert the intrinsic value of and need to inculcate Catholic principles in young Spanish men. In so doing, the organization provides a window into how and why National-Catholicism failed.

National-Catholicism increasingly faced opposition in Spain and reflected Francoism’s internal tensions. Callahan writes “relations between Church and State, even at the height of National Catholicism during the 1940s and 1950s, were characterized less by ‘perfect harmony’ than by what one historian [Guy Hermet] has called ‘conflictive

accommodation.”³³⁰ Friction increased over the years as Spain grew apart from the anti-modern and sheltering tendencies of the regime. The Apostolado demonstrates that within the military, intransigent Catholics held fast to the original tenets and goals of National-Catholicism, especially its gendered aspects. As more members of the military moved towards an *aperturista* (opening) attitude, the Apostolado diverged further from the realities of the Spanish armed forces and ultimately failed to engender its vision for Spanish men. Its failure was not for lack of effort, however, nor does it diminish the significant position the Apostolado occupied in the history of Francoism. The organization’s influence within the armed forces and its access to troops made the Apostolado one of the most influential groups involved in the enterprise of indoctrinating men with a militarized Francoist nationalism.

To carry out its evangelizing mission, the Apostolado involved itself in life in barracks, provided all chaplains for the armed forces, published a variety of magazines and journals, and organized premilitary campaigns that targeted young men of eighteen and nineteen years of age to inform them about military service. Additionally, several of the most prolific producers of military discourse worked for and held key positions within this organization. The initiatives, publications, and authors of the Apostolado contributed to the formation and diffusion of military discourse in general and that of normative masculinity in particular. Its imagining of the ideal man subsumed the key aspects of normative masculinity, stressing the importance of military morality and spirit; honor and chivalry; and the triad of discipline, obedience, and subordination. Focusing on the Apostolado’s version of normative masculinity, this chapter does not contain an in-depth analysis of the organization’s discourse on normative sexuality or women. Other

³³⁰ Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 385.

chapters investigate those subjects in detail.³³¹ Methodologically, this chapter examines Apostolado discourse in its own right as part of broader conceptions of normative masculinity in the military. Historicizing the organization role in the cordial and conflicted relationship between church and state, the chapter also places the Apostolado in the context of how power and knowledge functioned in Franco's Spain.

History, Mission, & Goals

The Nationalist Army incorporated Acción Católica into its ranks during the first months of the Spanish Civil War. Following victory, Acción Católica developed a plan for a specific Church entity within the Army. In 1944, those efforts resulted in the creation of the Apostolado, which then became independent from Acción Católica. Between 1944 and 1951, the Apostolado solidified its organizational structure, integrated itself into the armed forces, and received ministerial approval.³³² An accord signed between Franco's government and the Holy See in 1950 officially reestablished ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the armed forces.³³³ A year later, Pope Pius XII made the highest position within the Apostolado, that of *Vicario General* (General Vicar), into an Archbishopric. He named, with Franco's approval, don Luis Alonso Muñozerro as the Archbishop of Sión and the first Vicario General of the Apostolado Castrense. Father José López Ortiz succeeded Alonso Muñozerro in 1969 and held the position until 1977. Following Franco's death, the Papacy and the Spanish government signed a new

³³¹ See Chapters III, V, and VI.

³³² For an autobiographical history of the organization see, El Apostolado Castrense, *Catolicidad Militar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1959).

³³³ The Spanish government and the papacy ratified this particular agreement with the broader concordat signed in 1953.

agreement in 1979, reestablishing the Church's organization within the Spanish armed forces as the *Arzobispado Castrense de España* (the Martial Archbishopric of Spain).³³⁴

Sr. Dr. Don Luis Alonso Muñozerro was born in Trillo (Guadalajara) in 1888 and died in Madrid in 1968. One of the most foundational figures for the Apostolado, he authored its initial organizational charters and led the organization for most of the regime's history. He earned a doctorate in Theology and Canonical Law and held various posts during his career including Bishop of Sigüenza and the Councilor to High Council of Men of Acción Católica. Perhaps ironically in lieu of his organization's conservatism, he sat on all four sessions of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). Alonso Muñozerro wrote for various Apostolado publications and also published books on subjects like theology and medical ethics.³³⁵ Placed in understandings of the functioning and structures of the Franco regime, Alonso Muñozerro represents a figure who contributed in large part to the discourse and practice of National-Catholicism at the level of the military. His position within both the Church and the armed forces allowed him to shape ideology and put into practice the rechristianization of Spain lying at the heart of Catholic and Francoist desires to reconstruct the Spanish nation after the Spanish Civil War.

Led by Alonso Muñozerro, the Catholic Church's organization in the military viewed itself as the agent of the spiritual transformation of the armed forces and of Spain. In 1954, an article published in an Apostolado journal succinctly phrased the Apostolado's mission: "Synthetically, we can establish that the mission of the Apostolado

³³⁴ <http://www.arzobispadocastrense.com/arzo/ique-es-el-arzobispado.html>. Accessed 13 February 2012.

³³⁵ See El Apostolado Castrense, *Catolicidad Militar*; and "El cadáver del Vicario General Castrense Recibirá Sepultura en la Catedral de San Isidro." *ABC* (martes 24 de septiembre de 1968), 37.

Castrense is the CONQUEST OF THE ARMY FOR CHRIST.”³³⁶ The Apostolado’s autobiographical book on martial Catholicism published in 1959 stated the organization’s aims to be disseminating Catholic culture, combating immorality, developing consciences, and re-Christianizing and reconquering Spanish society by providing a Christian solution to the social question.³³⁷ This work declared publicly, “When each [soldier], is a perfect Catholic, is a man for Spain and for God; when each component of the three Armies are the mystical warriors of our glorious past, then the Apostolado Castrense will see its mission accomplished.”³³⁸ The organization gave itself the mission of instilling in soldiers of all ranks the values of Catholicism as part of regime-wide effort to shape Spanish society by creating a certain type of man. One of the primary goals the Apostolado had in this endeavor was to curb a spiritual crisis it diagnosed in Spanish society. This theme runs throughout the organization’s discourse for the duration of the Franco regime.³³⁹ The Apostolado sought to alleviate Spanish society’s spiritual disintegration through including a Catholicized and militarized masculinity in troops.

Initiatives & Publications

Offering premilitary courses to young men in nearly all cities and small towns in Spain and controlling all religious activities and information within the armed forces and barracks, the organization provided all military chaplains, held conferences, gave talks, and organized pilgrimages.³⁴⁰ The Apostolado profoundly influenced military discourse, pedagogical materials, and print culture. Its pamphlets, training manuals, magazines, and

³³⁶ “El Apostolado Castrense agente de la transformación espiritual del Ejército y éste de la España,” *Guías*, núm. 11 (mayo 1954), 8. Emphasis in Original.

³³⁷ El Apostolado Castrense, *Catolicidad Militar*, 34-39.

³³⁸ Ibid., 8.

³³⁹ See for example, Chao Rego, *La Iglesia en el franquismo*, 411.

journals afforded a forum for discourse creation and functioned as an instrument for the dissemination of its messages.

A centerpiece of the organization's premilitary campaigns, *¡Para ti...soldado* (For you... soldier!), was the Apostolado's most widely published pamphlet.³⁴¹ Intended for the rank-and-file, the organization distributed two national magazines: *Empuje* for conscripts and *Formación* for noncommissioned officers. It also published several local magazines such as *Temple* from Valladolid and *Oriflama* from Barcelona. *Empuje* had a less-religious tone than other Apostolado publications and had much less focus on military morality and spirit. A magazine intended for average soldiers, this publication carried content on subjects such as history, Judo, the Spanish Civil War, the regions and customs of Spain, and the patron saints of the military. It also contained humor and cartoons sections, carried information about military equipment and guns, published many articles on the U.S. military, and informed its readers about general news items.

Unique among all military publications for its heavy focus on women and the family, *Formación's* content and messages are covered more extensively in Chapter VI. *Temple* carried abundant religious content and was more esoteric and intellectual in tone than other Apostolado publications intended for the rank-and-file. It also contained humor and sports sections and published articles penned by average troops. An interesting case, *Oriflama* had a higher production value than most other military publications. It was a modern magazine published on glossy paper with full-color photos, art, and advertisements. At some point before 1966, the magazine appears to have

³⁴⁰ By offering pre-military courses in nearly all cities and small towns in Spain, the Apostolado prepared teenagers for military service by discussing issues like Christianity and the military, the moral dangers inherent in military service, as well as by pontificating on subjects like masculinity and sexuality.

become a Church, rather than strictly Apostolado, publication. It then quickly morphed into a countercultural magazine with very little content on the military, now carrying pictures of women and articles about hippies, music, and the culture of the times. No longer appearing to be run by the Church, by 1967 its content was almost exclusively written in Catalan and focused entirely on youth culture. It is unclear how and why these shifts occurred in an Apostolado publication but *Oriflama* provides an important example of how the absence of rigorous censorship after 1962 resulted in a Catalan countercultural publication.

The Apostolado also published journals that targeted the officer corps, with the intention of transmitting messages and stimulating internal dialogue. These publications included: *Reconquista* (Reconquest), *Pensamiento y Acción* (Thought and Action), and *Guías Información y Directivas del Apostolado Castrense* (Informative Guides and Directives of the Apostolado Castrense). According to a summary of a conference that took place in 1947, the publications of the Apostolado were envisioned as follows:

Guías, of a doctrinal and formative character, predominantly for religious guidance; *Reconquista*, that deals with, from a Catholic point of view, the problems of military spirit in the Officer Corps; *Formación*, similarly committed to non-commissioned officers, and *Empuje*, addressed to all troops, [and] must be supported, discussed and disseminated by the members of the Apostolado Castrense.³⁴²

All of these publications contributed in large part to the construction of a discourse of normative masculinity that the Apostolado anticipated would be to put into practice through education and print culture.

³⁴¹ Aresio González Vega *¡Para ti..., soldado! (Manual del soldado) (Obra declarada de utilidad por el Ministerio del Ejército)* (Madrid, Ministerio del Ejército, 1944). For more on this pamphlet see Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 270.

³⁴² El Apostolado Castrense, *Catolicidad Militar*, 235.

Founded by General López Valencia (later subsecretary of the Army), *Reconquista* was the organization's premier publication. It especially oriented itself towards military matters in their relation to religious spirit. One of the Apostolado's organizational charters gave this publication the task of finding solutions for "gaps in moral education that, due to a lack of a clear concept of contemporary problems ... is notable in the officer corps."³⁴³ A key solution to these problems was for *Reconquista* to become "a *vehicle of ideas and procedures*, into a true magazine of military spirit that covers three levels: spiritual, social, and military."³⁴⁴ Like most of the Apostolado's magazines and journals, *Reconquista* expanded and changed over time. Twenty years after its founding, the organ stated that its goals were to be a journal of military humanism for all officers, serve as guidance "for all military cadres in the confused situation of ideas in today's world," and be a "Window or message to the civil world."³⁴⁵ The journal placed strong emphasis on the spirit. Historian Juan Carlos Losada Malvárez argues that its viewpoints remained true to the values of 18 July 1936.³⁴⁶ The magazine also served as a mouthpiece for criticisms and debate about the military and regime. Losada Malvárez contends that with religious conviction inspiring their criticism, in 1952 young officers began to criticize the military in *Reconquista*.³⁴⁷ Discussed in more detail below, one of the most important Apostolado writers on masculinity ran afoul of the military hierarchy in 1954 and 1955 for publishing critical commentary in *Reconquista*.

³⁴³ El Apostolado Castrense, *Catolicidad Militar*, 234.

³⁴⁴ "Conclusiones de las IV Jornadas Nacionales: Vacíos en la Educación Moral y soluciones," *Reconquista*, núms. 23–24 (noviembre-diciembre 1951), 56–57. Emphasis in original.

³⁴⁵ *Reconquista*, núm. 250 (octubre 1970), 2.

Three Discourse Producers

Through these publications, the Apostolado greatly influenced notions of martial masculinity during the Franco dictatorship. Significant Francoist discourse producers worked and wrote for the organization. Jorge Vigón Suero-Díaz (1893–1978), Miguel Alonso Baquer (b. 1932), and Gonzalo Muínelo Alarcón (1936–2008) were the three most-important Francoist authors on militarized masculinity. These men held high-level posts within the Apostolado, military, and government. Their writings are crucial sources in understanding the discourse of normative masculinity in the armed forces.

Of the three, Vigón played the most foundational role in the construction of military discourse on masculinity. His older brother was minister of the Air Force from 1940 to 1945. Born in 1893 in Colunga (Oviedo), he came from a military family,³⁴⁶ attended the Artillery Academy, and received a promotion to lieutenant in 1914. A monarchist and staunch Catholic, prior to the civil war Vigón held membership in *Acción Española* (Spanish Action), served as secretary of the *Bloque Nacional* (National Block), worked with José Calvo Sotelo, and involved himself in the preparation of the *Movimiento Nacional* (National Movement). He then fought for the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War. By 1952, Vigón was a brigade general. In 1957, Franco named him minister of public works, a position he held until 1965. He additionally served as military governor of *El Ferrol del Caudillo* and as national leader of passive defense. A prolific writer, Vigón came up with the name for and was also director of *Reconquista*. He won the national prize for Journalism in 1949 and for Literature in 1950.³⁴⁹ Vigón died in

³⁴⁶ Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 287.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 294.

³⁴⁸ His older brother was Minister of the Air Force from 1940 to 1945.

³⁴⁹ “Ha muerto el general Vigón,” *Reconquista*, núm. 335 (febrero 1978), 4.

1978. Historian Gabriel Cardona describes Vigón as conservative and reactionary, labeling him “The general with the most polemic pen.”³⁵⁰ Mariano Aguilar Olivencia writes in his book on the Army that Vigón was Franco’s personal friend, arguing that both men advocated for Catholicism as integral to Spanish nationalism.³⁵¹

Although from a younger cohort, Alonso Baquer’s writings paralleled Vigón’s ideas and carried them into the next generation. Both men wrote in high intellectual style, looked to Spain’s Golden Age for the basis of their ideas, and held similar opinions on the importance of Catholicism and spirituality. More than any other authors, they shaped the Apostolado’s discourse on normative masculinity. Born in Madrid in 1932, Alonso Baquer came from a military family. His father was a general, fought for the Nationalists in the civil war, and was personally connected to the upper echelons of the Army. Alonso Baquer rose to the rank of general and worked and taught for the *Estado Mayor*. He earned a university degree in Philosophy and Arts as well as a doctorate in History and Geography. During his career he held posts such as the Advisor for Historical Affairs and Permanent Secretary at the Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies, Director of *Reconquista*, and General Director of the Cultural and Artistic Heritage. After Franco’s death, Alonso Baquer continued to work for the military and the state, becoming a figure in the transition and beyond. His career as an author has spanned six decades and along with many books, he has published a dizzying array of articles on a variety of subjects. He has written for Apostolado publications such as *Reconquista*, *Formación*, and *Pensamiento & Acción* as well as for the military page of *Arriba* (the Falange’s largest

³⁵⁰ Gabriel Cardona, *El gigante descalzo: El Ejército de Franco* (Madrid: Aguilar, 2003), 203–205.

³⁵¹ Mariano Aguilar Olivencia, *El ejército español durante el franquismo: Un juicio desde dentro* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1999), 255. For more on Vigón’s early career see *ibid.*, 27–30.

newspaper). His books earned him the Monte Carmelo Prize, the Army Prize for Literature, and the Prize of Santa Cruz de Mercenado.³⁵²

Different from Vigón and Alonso Baquer in terms of subject matter, writing style, and interests, Gonzalo Muínelo Alarcón represents the third most-significant Apostolado writer on normative masculinity and particularly normative sexuality and women. Born in 1936 in La Coruña, he became a cavalry lieutenant at age twenty-one and two years later was named National President of the Youth Branch of the Apostolado Castrense. He married in 1959 and fathered four children. During his career he became editor-in-chief of both *Formación* and *Empuje*. He also wrote for *Reconquista* and *Arriba*. In 1972, the Academy of the Cavalry granted him a professorship in Military Humanities and French. He has headed movie clubs, written for non-military magazines, and served as a police chief. Along with his numerous writings and involvement in the Apostolado's magazines and journals, he authored more than thirty books on topics such as the military, literature, poetry, and cinema. He retired from military service in 2001 as a Cavalry Colonel and Superintendent of the Local Police of Valladolid.³⁵³ Muínelo Alarcón passed away in 2008.

Although also writing on the general utility and good of military service, Muínelo Alarcón represents within Apostolado discourse the principal author on matters of sexuality, love, and women. His writing concentrated more on normative male sexuality and men's interactions with women as aspects of normative masculinity than on, for example, the esoteric themes of spirituality on which Vigón and Alonso Baquer harped. His running series in *Empuje* entitled "Cartas a enamorados" (Letters to Lovers), which

³⁵² Miguel Alonso Baquer, *Memorias de un brigadier tolerado: Tomo I* (Basauri, Vizcaya: Grafite Ediciones, 2004).

was later published into the book *El soldado y la mujer* (The Soldier and The Woman), represents the clearest military tome on how men should interact with, treat, and be sexual towards women.³⁵⁴ Chapter VI examines his thought more fully.

Vigón's, Alonso Baquer's, and Muinelo Alarcón's work created a distinct discourse of normative masculinity within the Apostolado and also impacted military discourse on the subject more broadly. With a target audience of other officers as well all the rank-and-file, these men established the parameters of normative masculinity. They defined and pontificated upon the subjects of Catholic morality, military spirit and values, and normative sexuality. More than any other authors, they represent the intentions and thought of the Apostolado in its endeavor to create normative men. Through the contributions made by these writers in particular and the organization's initiatives and publications in general, the Apostolado was a major player in establishing, fomenting, and inculcating Francoist military discourse. As sources, the productions of the Apostolado provide a window into these activities and processes, making it possible to reconstruct the organization's discourse, understand its goals, and gauge its successes and failures.

The Apostolado Castrense & Normative Masculinity

Representing the Catholic Church in the Spanish armed forces, the Apostolado invested itself in the gendered endeavor of making normative men out of the raw material of Spanish soldiers. In an especially revealing quotation from *Reconquista's* "Talks with Soldiers" section, the Apostolado's premier publication stated in 1953 that the Army is specifically for men:

³⁵³ Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, *La vida como se ve* (Castilla Ediciones, 2008).

³⁵⁴ Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, *El soldado y la mujer (cartas a enamorados)* (Madrid: 1967).

The Army, on the other hand, is not a great refuge for big babies who want to play at being soldiers without getting hurt.

THE ARMY IS A MATTER FOR MEN, who energetically and generously prepare their bodies and ready their souls to fight [and] sacrifice their lives with the most complete devotion...

See that in the atmosphere of virility, of force, of order, of discipline, in which you are going to live, THE ARMY OFFERS YOU THE FINAL OCCASION YOU WILL HAVE IN YOUR LIFE TO LEARN YOUR ROLE AS MEN...

Note well that MILITARY SERVICE IS A PROOF OF CHARACTER. IT IS GOING TO TELL YOU IF YOU HAVE THE CAPACITY AND MATERIAL OF MEN...

Look: your Spain is what it is because until now SHE has had enough men, capable of carrying out their duty as men, of carrying out all their duties as men, of ensuring their responsibilities as men...

WITH THE CARE THAT YOU PLACE IN CARRYING OUT THESE SMALL DUTIES, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO SAY ONE DAY THAT YOU HAVE BECOME THAT WHICH IS THE GREATEST IN THIS WORLD: A MAN.³⁵⁵

Similarly, another *Reconquista* article about conscription from the previous year called the Army a “transformative factory of men.”³⁵⁶ A common theme in Apostolado writings across time, the conscious intention to make Spanish soldiers into certain types of men—imbue them with normative masculinity—is unambiguous in these statements.³⁵⁷ The content and messages of Apostolado discourse remained static during the course of the Franco regime, representing the unyielding worldview, shared by Franco, of a hardline segment of Catholic soldiers.

³⁵⁵ “Tú, Recluta,” *Reconquista*, núm. 39 (marzo 1953), 50–52. Emphasis in original.

³⁵⁶ “Significado de la incorporación de una nueva quinta: No se trata de tantos analfabetos menos sino de tantos ‘hombres’ mas,” *Reconquista*, núm. 25 (enero 1952), 21–23: 22–23.

³⁵⁷ See also for example “Significado de la incorporación de una nueva quinta: No se trata de tantos analfabetos menos sino de tantos ‘hombres’ más,” *Reconquista*, núm. 25 (enero 1952), 21–23; Teniente Coronel Sotto, “La acción social del Oficial en los Cuerpos Armados,” *Reconquista*, núm. 36 (diciembre 1952), 37–39; “El Ejército como centro de cultura de masas,” *Reconquista*, núm. 39 (marzo 1953), 11–12, 15; *Campaña premilitar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1960); Saturino Moratíel Rodríguez, “El cuartel, centro de formación,” *Temple*, núm. 145 (mayo 1955), 3–4; Capitan R. Touceda, “Nueva fisonomía del cuartel,” *Reconquista*, núm. 166 (octubre 1963), 39–41; Francisco Delgado Piñar, “¿Tenemos una misión social concreta?: Elevación moral y espiritual,” *Formación*, núm. 130 (mayo 1964); P. Tejerina, “Hombres Nuevos,” *Reconquista*, núm. 175 (julio 1964), 10–13; Enrique de la Vega Virguera. “Diana: Y tú, ¿Qué piensas?” *Empuje*, núms. 266–267 (diciembre 1966), 7; “Tu y el Ejército,” *Empuje*,

The same *Reconquista* article from 1952 argued that if similar education had existed in the barracks before the Spanish Civil War, both the conflict itself and a million deaths could have been avoided.³⁵⁸ In 1968, Alonso Baquer wrote in his book entitled *La religiosidad y el combate* (Religiosity and Combat) “It is not necessary to repeat that the Spanish Army, through its victorious action of 1939, finds itself in a phase in which the determination is notable to develop more young people according to traditional norms.”³⁵⁹ The Apostolado’s attempt to create normative men and soldiers represents the post-war desire, itself beginning prior to 1936 and continuing unabated until at least Franco’s death, to fashion a specific kind of Spanish nation.

The Apostolado directed its messages about masculinity at conscripts in particular. Its training pamphlet published in 1960, *Campaña premilitar* (Premilitary Campaign), informed future and current soldiers that going into the Army was a great opportunity to form the human and spiritual qualities of a man.³⁶⁰ “You guys are men now, and men do not always have to be at home with their mothers. They must know the world and know about that which is outside of their town. [Military] service is a beautiful adventure for everyone.”³⁶¹ This work stated that above all, “la mili” was a school of men.³⁶² Muinelo Alarcón, in a 1969 book intended for the rank-and-file, similarly advised his readers that serving in the armed forces was “an authentic trial of manhood.”³⁶³

núm. 278 (segunda quincena de noviembre 1967), 4; “Tu, hombre,” *Empuje*, núm. 279 (primera quincena de diciembre 1967), 6.

³⁵⁸ “Significado de la incorporación de una nueva quinta,” *Reconquista*, 22–23.

³⁵⁹ Miguel Alonso Baquer, *La religiosidad y el combate* (Madrid: Consejo Central de Apostolado Castrense, 1968), 158.

³⁶⁰ *Campaña premilitar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1960), 5.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 41.

³⁶³ Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, *La última diana* (Madrid: Apostolado Castrene, 1969), 84–85.

Their time in the military would help young men discover true masculinity. In his book published in 1967, Muinelo Alarcón tells the fictionalized story of a 1960s counter-cultural recruit (*el recluto ye-yé*) named Tony, who disliked the Army and deserted. When Tony is caught, his rich family attempts to get him out of trouble, but he decides to face the consequences like a man. Upon finishing his prison sentence and returning to service, Tony morphed into an exemplary soldier. The lesson, for Muinelo Alarcón, was that a *recluto ye-yé* had been transformed by military service into “an authentic man.”³⁶⁴ Here, a non-normative cultural identity based on the modern pop music of the 1960s emasculated Tony. Once he shed this unmanly identity and accepted military discipline and punishment, Tony transformed into a real (read normative) man.

The Apostolado, as with the armed forces more broadly, intended to forge these normative men into future members of the nation. The officer corps played a crucial role in this endeavor. According to a *Pensamiento y Acción* article from 1950, officers carried out “the most sacred function of [their] duty, [by shaping] the souls of the men of Spain.”³⁶⁵ Three years later a similar article in *Reconquista* written by a colonel and intended for officers informed its readers that conscripts spend only a small amount of time of their lives in active duty and although the technical military instruction they receive can be forgotten, their development as martial men and citizens will be permanent.³⁶⁶ Therefore, “The officer has to consider this important educational mission, because all the men who pass through the barracks are formed, modeled, [to be] the ideal

³⁶⁴ Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, *Soldados de la Paz* (Madrid: Ministerio de Marina, 1967), 7–13.

³⁶⁵ Tte. Coronel Francisco Delgado Piñar, “Una misión urgente,” *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 3 (marzo 1950), 5–6: 6.

³⁶⁶ Coronel Mantilla, “De la formación de soldados y ciudadanos por el Oficial,” *Reconquista*, núm. 7 (octubre 1953), 4–7.

archetype of a soldier and citizen.”³⁶⁷ A *Reconquista* article from the same year entitled “El Ejército como Centro de cultura de masas” (The Army as Cultural Center for the Masses) similarly portrayed the military as tasked with the cultural development of the nation.³⁶⁸ A year later in 1954 an article from the same publication argued that the armed forces had the chance to convince all Spanish men of the inherent good of the military through educating them in the barracks.³⁶⁹ In 1960, the Apostolado presented itself as preoccupied with the physical and moral health of the nation’s youth.³⁷⁰ *Reconquista* continued to publish similar content into the 1970s.³⁷¹ Important to the armed forces’ mandate and mission after the civil war, these publications dating from the early 1950s to the beginning of the 1970s demonstrate that during Franco’s reign the military viewed itself less as a combat force and more of an institution for indoctrinating male members of the nation. The Apostolado’s self-perception accords with historiographical opinions that the military had the same aspirations.

Significant to early discourse formation, a key impetus behind both the Spanish Church’s and the Apostolado’s mission of and vested interest in forming manly soldiers was alleviating a certain spiritual crisis that Catholics diagnosed in Spanish society. Callahan writes

The Church retained its traditional gloomy view of the country’s moral condition. Spain stood at the verge of being inundated by a sea of corruption, particularly after the period of the Republic, which appeared as a time of unbridled license. Returning Spaniards to the straight and narrow path of Catholic morality occupied a prominent place in the strategy of reconquest.³⁷²

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 5.

³⁶⁸ “El Ejército como Centro de cultura de masas,” *Reconquista*, núm. 39 (marzo 1953), 11–12, 15.

³⁶⁹ Z.Z.Z., “Análisis del momento militar español,” *Reconquista*, núm. 58 (octubre 1954), 30–32.

³⁷⁰ *Campaña premilitar*, 6.

³⁷¹ “El oficial, guía de otros hombres,” *Reconquista*, núm. 254 (febrero 1971), 1–2.

³⁷² Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 467.

In its post-civil war “efforts to protect Spaniards from fleshly temptations...[,]” Callahan cites four areas where the Church particularly concentrated: “dancing, the cinema, beaches, and female dress.”³⁷³ Catholic Francoists also focused their attention on men’s and women’s sexuality in efforts to inculcate a code of masculine morality and “true Catholic Womanhood.”

The specter of immorality particularly haunted Apostolado writers, who often described it as the root cause of the nation’s problems. *Reconquista* interviewed a priest in 1952, asking him about the median level of recruit’s religiosity when entering the barracks. He replied that the immense majority of draftees were ignorant of religion due to “an absolute abandonment of the spiritual order.”³⁷⁴ When leaving the barracks, this priest stated that soldiers had acquired only a moderate religious education, attributing this situation to problems such as a lack of chaplains, a failure of officers to collaborate with chaplains, an absence of assistance for soldiers in their religious instruction, and the granting of weekend passes that placed many soldiers outside of the barracks during religious services on Sundays.³⁷⁵ In 1955, a *Reconquista* article couched Spain’s spiritual predicament in gendered and religious terms as a crisis of men and of faith.³⁷⁶ The organization’s autobiographical charter from 1959 argued that “If all ages have their own characteristic sickness, that of our times is undoubtedly, along with the ignorance and indifference that we just noted, immorality of customs.”³⁷⁷ Authors often lamented the immoral state of conscripts. In 1956, an author in a *Pensamiento y Acción* article entitled “Crisis de moralidad” (Crisis of Morality) condemned the military’s lack of religious

³⁷³ Ibid., 487.

³⁷⁴ “3 preguntas a un pater,” *Reconquista*, núm. 27 (marzo 1952), 14.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ J.L.T., “Crisis de hombres = crisis de fe,” *Reconquista*, núm. 67 (julio 1955), 18–20: 19.

education.³⁷⁸ He complained about the poor moral state of morality in the barracks, stating that even those *muchachos* who came from a good background were often corrupted when they arrived in the military.³⁷⁹ These criticisms reveal tensions between members of the Catholic Church and the military. The former often perceived the latter as deficient in advancing religiosity.

Sexual licentiousness, according to the Apostolado, was the root cause of cultural depravity within the barracks. The organization argued that nation's dire spiritual crisis was the direct result of an absence of Catholic moral education in the barracks. A conference held in 1951 (the conclusions of which were published in *Reconquista*) diagnosed certain "gaps" in moral education. Those problems included a lack of a clear concept about contemporary problems and their influence on the Army; lay, rather than Catholic, moral concepts informing the National Movement; a negative concept of religion; and a lack of understanding of the religious nature of military duties, orders, and regulations.³⁸⁰ These criticisms indicate that although stressing the importance of morality, the military did not necessarily share an identical moral worldview with its zealously Catholic members. During the 1950s, a time period of Catholic ascendancy in positions of power, and before economic reforms led to profound socio-cultural modernizations, the Apostolado faced problems in propagating Catholic morality in the armed forces.

The organization portrayed a renewed emphasis on religion in the military and the creation of a Catholicized martial masculinity as panaceas for the problems it identified

³⁷⁷ El Apostolado Castrense, *Catolicidad Militar*, 55.

³⁷⁸ Juan M. Corominas, "Crisis de moralidad," *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 69 (junio, 1956), 15–16.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

in the armed forces and Spanish society. The Apostolado aimed to fill men's spiritual voids with, according to a *Reconquista* article published in 1954, the "ideas and sentiments that are the source and goal of their future role as citizens, as components of a family, a profession, a Society and also of their individual role as *men*, in the fullest sense of this word, that is to say, as beings created by God in order to serve Him."³⁸¹ The year previously, the leader of the Apostolado stated that the military educated boys on "hierarchy, discipline, spirit of sacrifice, Patria and patriotic love, comradeship and fraternity, etc., etc.: the whole world of ideas that are inspired by the religious ideal [that] constitutes an intellectual and moral heritage and makes a boy more of a man when he enters the military."³⁸² For Alonso Muñoyerro, this education would save the souls of the nation's youth from "the pitfalls of immorality in this critical age of military service."³⁸³ According to the highest echelons of the Apostolado, alleviating Spain's disastrous spiritual crisis rested on teaching boys how to become manly soldiers who embodied Catholic and traditional values.

Making Pious Men

Most simply in both military and Apostolado discourse, to be an ideal or normative man—to truly possess masculinity—a man must be a soldier. For the Apostolado, the manly and martial man had to also be a pious Catholic. Vigón held this opinion, writing in 1956 "A soldier, in effect, cannot be a good Christian if he is not also a good soldier; and he will never be a better soldier than when he lives as a perfect

³⁸⁰ "Conclusiones de las IV Jornadas Nacionales: Vacíos en la Educación Moral y soluciones," *Reconquista*, núms. 23–24 (noviembre-diciembre 1951), 56–57.

³⁸¹ "Entreviú con un Instructor," *Reconquista*, núm. 28 (abril 1954), 12–16: 16. Emphasis in original.

³⁸² Luis, Arzobispo de Sión, "Carta Abierta del Excmo. Y Revdmo. Sr. Arzobispo de Sión, Vicario General Castrense (conclusión)," *Temple*, núm. 125 (septiembre 1953), 1–2: 1.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 2.

Christian.”³⁸⁴ Alonso Baquer similarly wrote twelve years later that “To be a soldier is something more than being a professional. To be a soldier—and we already know that in this manner we mean a whole man—is to have taken an attitude towards life in which the duties of religion, profession and family are hierarchized and ordered.”³⁸⁵ Notwithstanding their circular logic, Vigón and Alonso Baquer make clear that true men were Christian soldiers.

Apostolado authors often looked to Christianity’s past as inspiration for their imaginings of this idealized masculinity. In his 1968 book, *La religiosidad y el combate*, Alonso Baquer presented St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and St. Thomas Aquinas as the three “indispensible milestones for an accurate knowledge of the ideal of perfection that was realized in the middle ages, and that has a precise name and figure: *The prayerful and militant knight*.”³⁸⁶ These three saints, for Alonso Baquer, infused the warrior with Catholicism, contributing to the advent of the specifically Spanish archetype of the priestly knight. As examples of this ideal, he presented El Cid, Jorge Manrique, Américo Castro, and Claudio Sánchez de Castagena.³⁸⁷ Alonso Baquer then argued that the reconquest of Spain forged a uniquely Spanish military spirit, embodied specifically in Hernán Cortes and Don Quixote: “Here [is] the true history of the Spanish military spirit in its dual aspect: the exterior, conqueror and colonizer. . . and the interior, stoic and devoted...”³⁸⁸ Spain bequeathed this legacy to Europe: “The knightly ethic came to Europe from Spain, above all in its transcendent and religious aspect.”³⁸⁹ Having an

³⁸⁴ Jorge Vigón, *El espíritu militar español: Replica a Alfredo de Vigny*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, S.A., 1956), 122.

³⁸⁵ Miguel Alonso Baquer, *La religiosidad y el combate*, 29.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 155. Emphasis in original.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 121–125.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

intended audience of other officers interested in these themes, Alonso Baquer's conceptions of masculinity based on medieval knights and Spain's Golden Age resulted in a cohesive and comprehensive discourse of normative masculinity predicated on the desire to (re)create the modern Spanish nation and fashion men into pious warrior citizens.

Like the military, but with a pronounced emphasis on religion, the Apostolado began their molding of men with teaching soldiers the basics of hygiene,³⁹⁰ manners,³⁹¹ and the values of comradeship and bravery.³⁹² Within discursive notions of real men equating to soldiers and the practice of forging these men through education in the barracks, both military and Apostolado discourse presented a complex definition of the ideal man in which Francoist martial masculinity required qualities less often assumed by scholars to relate to gendered identities. Although military historians have argued for the importance of the traits of morality, spirit, honor, chivalry, discipline, obedience, and subordination to martial ideology, those characteristics cannot be fully understood without placing them under a gendered mode of analysis. Founded on religious morality and spirit, Apostolado books, training manuals, and print culture masculinized those qualities.

³⁹⁰ See for example González de Vega, *!Para ti..., soldado!*, 41–53.

³⁹¹ See for example *ibid.*, 27–65.

³⁹² For comradeship see for example, Bernardo Alberca Baltés, “Ayuda al compañero,” *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 10 (mayo 1951), 11–12. For bravery see for example Comte. Gárate, “El valor del oficial,” *Reconquista*, núm. 51 (marzo 1954), 3–5. Interestingly, and opposed to other writings on the subject, this author presents bravery as being class based. For him, there are three versions of military valor: that of the soldier, “represented by fierceness [*acometividad*];” of the officer, which is “serene bravery;” and of the general, which is “the bold decision.” However, these three forms of bravery can also be mixed because at times a soldier has to take decisive initiative.

Catholic Morality and Spirit

Similar to the system of military pedagogy, the Apostolado placed a premium on moral education for all soldiers. In particular, its Catholicized notion of morality played a foundational role in the Apostolado's conception of normative male sexuality.³⁹³ The organization placed persistent emphasis on the need for specifically Catholic morality in the face of a perceived spiritual crisis. However, as early as the 1950s, the organization criticized the military for its poor moral levels and emphasized the pressing need to improve them.³⁹⁴ Throughout the decades, Apostolado writings warned that immorality, vice, and a loss of religion threatened the foundations of Spanish society.³⁹⁵

Non-Apostolado military discourse typically discussed morality in terms of duty towards the *Patria* (homeland) and the importance of social values like family and work. To this broader and less Catholic discourse, Vigón provides a demonstrative counterpoint. In 1966, he argued in his book *Hay un estilo militar de vida* (There is a Military Style of Life) that a martial ethos is inextricably linked with Christian morality:

*There is not military morality. There is Christian morality and an ethic that provides the ideological justification for that morality. But there is no drawback in admitting that there is a military ethos: that which Ortega [y Gasset] defined as a system of moral actions of a social group and that informs, in fact, their conduct: we would say a style of life.*³⁹⁶

³⁹³ See Chapter III.

³⁹⁴ See for example, "Cara al futuro," *Reconquista*, núm. 73 (enero 1956), 2–3: 2.

³⁹⁵ See for example in the 1950s: Comandante Tafur del Estado Mayor Central, "Vacíos en la educación moral," *Reconquista*, núms. 23–24 (noviembre-diciembre 1951); "Conclusiones de las IV Jornadas Nacionales: Vacíos en la Educación Moral y soluciones," *Reconquista*, núms. 23–24 (noviembre-diciembre 1951), 56–7; Luis, Arzobispo de Sión, "Carta Abierta del Excmo. Y Revdmo. Sr. Arzobispo de Sión, Vicario General Castrense (conclusión)," *Temple*, 1–2; Miguel Alonso Baquer, "Bélicos y sociales en el Ejército," *Reconquista*, núm. 66 (junio 1955), 8–12; "Cara al futuro," *Reconquista*, núm. 73 (enero 1956), 2–3. See for example in the 1960s and 1970s: Fernando Rivera Rodríguez, "La acción apostólica en el cuartel," *Reconquista*, núm. 227 (noviembre 1968), 21–24; Jesús Suevos, "Crisis de autoridad," *Reconquista*, núm. 262 (octubre 1971), 11–12; Justo Díaz Villasante, "Elogio del pudor," *Reconquista*, núm. 262 (octubre 1971), 59–61; Gonzalo Muinel Alarcón, "La crisis de valores," *Reconquista*, núm. 267 (marzo 1972), 5–8; José Rivero, "La crisis del espíritu," *Reconquista*, núm. 270 (junio 1972), 56–57.

³⁹⁶ Jorge Vigón Suerodiaz, *Hay un estilo militar de vida* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1966), Note to the First Edition. Emphasis in original.

Vigón's thought demonstrates that for an important segment of the armed forces, Catholic and military morality were one and the same.

Similarly, true Christian men needed to possess a Catholicized military spirit. A gendered notion, this spirit imbued recruits and officers with soldierly qualities, allowing them to become exemplary men. In 1951, an article in *Pensamiento y Acción* posited that like Catholic morality, military spirit allowed a man to triumph over his sins.³⁹⁷ A *Reconquista* article from 1952 stated "The man with military spirit is an ideal type of man, because he is capable of carrying out his duties without being impeded by risk or death."³⁹⁸ *Empuje* verbatim repeated this quotation sixteen years later.³⁹⁹ Paralleling general sentiment within the armed forces on the one hand, the Catholic component of this military spirit differentiated Apostolado discourse on the other hand.

In 1956, Vigón helped solidify the discursive basis for a Catholicized and gendered military spirit in his book *El espíritu militar español* (The Spanish Military Spirit).⁴⁰⁰ Written in an intellectual style (making it difficult reading for any other audience than the well educated), this work interconnects military spirit with the other key aspects of martial manhood. Intending *El espíritu militar español* as a critique to Alfred de Vigny's (a nineteenth century French poet and philosopher) work *Servitude et grandeur militaires*, Vigón uses Vigny as a counterpoint. Vigny's ideas represent the antithesis of what soldier should think and how they should feel in the military. For

³⁹⁷ See for example: Julio Esteban Ascensión, "El militar ante la vida diaria," *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 14 (noviembre 1951), 12–13.

³⁹⁸ See for example "Nos afirmamos en nuestras afirmaciones," *Reconquista*, núm. 30 (junio 1952), 6.

³⁹⁹ "Tu y la disciplina," *Empuje*, núm. 285 (1968), 5.

⁴⁰⁰ Vigón Suerodiaz, *El espíritu militar español*.

Vigón, military spirit encompassed “love for the profession, enthusiasm, energy, love of glory, bravery, disinterestedness, devotion...”⁴⁰¹ It guaranteed a people’s existence.⁴⁰²

Alonso Baquer continued this line of thought twelve years later in his book *La religiosidad y el combate*. He argued that military spirit was a religious and a Christian theme,⁴⁰³ postulating that

To be a soldier is something more than being a professional. To be a soldier—and we already know that this denominates a complete man—is to have taken an attitude towards life in which the duties of religion, profession and family are hierarchized and ordered. The spirituality of the soldier is precisely the Christian answer to this problem of harmony. . . He who must be Christianized is a total man.⁴⁰⁴

Quite clearly in these statements, the Apostolado presented military spirit as an integral component to being a soldier. Men and soldiers with this spirit personified duty and religion, abided by the social mandate to raise a family, and valued hierarchy and order.

Like other Apostolado authors, Alonso Baquer based the inherent good of military spirit on two key passages in the Bible. In *La religiosidad y el combate* he cites Jesus’s quote from the Gospel of Matthew 10:34, “I come not to bring peace, but to bring a sword,”⁴⁰⁵ and quotes from the Book of Job 7:1, “Military service [*milicia*] is the life of man on Earth.”⁴⁰⁶ For Alonso Baquer, an inherently and naturally militant spirituality corresponded to the teachings of Christianity. Military spirit also had uniquely Spanish connotations in his opinion, as it was born in Spain in the heady days of the Reconquest

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 148.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 156.

⁴⁰³ Alonso Baquer, *La religiosidad y el combate*, 14.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 67.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 15.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid. In Spanish: “Milicia es la vida del hombre sobre la tierra.” In English this passage is usually translated along the lines of, “Do not mortals have hard service on earth.”

of Iberia from Muslims and became embodied in personages like El Cid.⁴⁰⁷ Don Quixote provided another key model for Alonso Baquer. In 1960, Alonso Baquer wrote in *Reconquista* that Miguel Cervantes's character possessed the key traits of Spanish military spirit: "Loyalty, fidelity, chivalry, ethics in combat, the capacity to suffer and pray."⁴⁰⁸ He also cited Vigón's, *El espíritu militar español*, stating that this work similarly emphasized the unique qualities of Spanish soldiers. Utilizing both Spain's Catholic history and an interpretation of the fictional Don Quixote as representing a real past, no other military writers spilled more ink than Alonso Baquer or Vigón on establishing the historical and intellectual roots of the notion of Spanish military spirit. Without the qualities provided by this spirit, stressed both authors, neither could soldiers become men nor could men become soldiers.

Honor & Chivalry

Military spirit flowed into other crucial aspects of martial masculinity, including that of honor. Muinelo Alarcón wrote in 1969

Honor, spirit...! How many times has one heard these words during their time in the barracks! Before coming to the "mili" nobody had spoken of the men who had honor and who could do things only because of [their] spirit, without gaining anything in return. Now yes, not only is it known now, but it has also become customary to frequently cite these military virtues and to keep [them] in mind before doing anything that could go against one's honor or that of others...⁴⁰⁹

Notions of honor weighed heavily in Apostolado discourse. Linked to conceptions of Catholic morality, real men possessed honor and the honorable man was a military man. In 1960, a *Reconquista* article entitled "EL Ejército, guardia de honor" (The Army:

⁴⁰⁷ Teniente Alonso Baquer, "IV.—EL espíritu militar español." *Reconquista*, núm. 125 (mayo 1960), 29–34: 34.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, *La última diana*, 71–72.

Guardian of Honor) stated that “honor is the quality that impels a man to conduct himself in accordance with the most elevated moral norms...”⁴¹⁰ A year later, *Pensamiento y Acción* quoted Franco as saying, “If the army is entrusted with being the faithful depository of the essences of the Patria, it has to take care of[,] like its most precious jewel[,] honor and those elevated spiritual values.”⁴¹¹

Catholicism influenced notions of honor. In the late 1960s, *Apostolado* essays emphasized the religious aspect of the martial code of honor: “The true man of honor is, then, a religious man.”⁴¹² In 1961 and 1968, Alonso Baquer nearly verbatim argued that

Honor is the highest concept that man has of his dignity. . . Honor, thus understood, has been decisively incorporated, into the valor and austerity of the genuine mode of being a soldier.

The soldier has to be a man of honor. The soldier works believing that stains [of one’s] honor cannot be cleaned.”⁴¹³

This honor, achieved through religiosity, harkened back to the days of the Christian warriors of the Military Orders. In *La religiosidad y el combate*, Alonso Baquer contended “today’s type of man of honor is calculated on, is a copy, an actual representation of the Christian knight of past times.”⁴¹⁴ Drawing inspiration from this period in Spain’s history, he presented Don Quixote as the exemplar of Spanish military honor.⁴¹⁵

Apostolado writers presented medieval notions of chivalry as integral to honor and fundamental to a soldier’s masculinity. To describe this trait, authors used the words *hidalguía* and *caballerosidad*, both of which roughly translate to chivalry. *Hidalguía*,

⁴¹⁰ Capitan Toucheda Fontenla, “EL Ejército, guardian de honor,” *Reconquista*, núm. 130 (octubre 1960), 22–25: 23.

⁴¹¹ “Al cuidado del honor y de la virtud,” *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 128 (mayo 1961), 3–4.

⁴¹² Francisco Delgado Piñar, “El honor,” *Empuje*, núms. 288–289, 3.

⁴¹³ Alonso Baquer, *La religiosidad y el combate*, 97; and Teniente Alonso Baquer, “4. Visión torcida de las virtudes militares,” *Reconquista*, núm. 134 (febrero 1961), 19–25.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

while connoting chivalry, also means nobility. The noun, *hidalgo*, denotes a nobleman. *Caballerosidad* stems from the word *caballero*, which translates to gentleman, knight, and cowboy. Thus, both terms connote a certain type of man. Apostolado authors ascribed additional meaning to these terms, enmeshing chivalry with many other requirements of the true man.

Alonso Baquer pontificated a great deal on this subject and his writings serve well as a basis for an investigation into the concept of chivalry within Apostolado discourse. In 1959 and 1960, he wrote a running column in *Pensamiento y Acción* devoted to the themes of pedagogy and chivalry. Predictably, Alonso Baquer viewed *hidalguía* as a fundamentally Spanish concept (if not invention) inspired by Christianity that dated back to the Middle Ages.⁴¹⁶ The rise of Protestantism muddled the concept, a time period when European militaries decreased their focus on chivalry and increased their emphasis on efficiency and strength.⁴¹⁷ Although no longer necessary for what Alonso Baquer called “the military mode of being,” chivalry remained indispensable to being a true Spanish man. For Alonso Baquer, *hidalguía* required

a noble consideration of the past. He who feels noble values to the highest degree the source of being moral and physical, venerates those men [soldiers] who came before him, appreciates the glories of the institution that guards [nobility]. Chivalry is a virtue of men established in a noble and clean lineage. It is a virtue of the well-born.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Miguel Alonso Baquer. “Pedagogía de la hidalguía,” *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 109 (octubre 1959), 11–12: 11.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 12.

He further argued that a man acquired chivalric traits through lineage (a spiritual ancestry linked to Don Quixote), counsel (education and mentorship), and example (set by officers).⁴¹⁹

Employing Don Quixote, with whom the lineage of *hidalguía* began, Alonso Baquer viewed chivalry as a heritage of the spirit. For men like the fictional knight, it was enough “to fill the soul with an ideal of service, to take to the roads to redress wrongs, to have a lady and to be faithful.”⁴²⁰ According to Alonso Baquer, those men who subscribed to these precepts belonged to the noble lineage of Don Quixote. Also linked to Cervantes’s character, men both acquired and imparted *hidalguía* through counsel.⁴²¹ His relationship with Sancho Panza demonstrated that Don Quixote was more than simply a leader. The knight was also “an indefatigable educator and a tireless advisor.”⁴²² Relating Don Quixote’s role as a subordinate’s paternal advisor to the history of military life, Alonso Baquer argued that the cultivation of counsel was fundamental to command relationships.⁴²³ This selective view of Don Quixote failed to account for him as mad, outmoded, and Quixotic. Presenting the character as a quasi-historical figure, it did not separate him from his fictional context. Such selectivity was a hallmark of interpretations of Cervantes’s work, with little to no challenges within military discourse to Don Quixote as the chivalric exemplar.

Together with *hidalguía*, chivalry required *caballerosidad*. Alonso Baquer held this opinion, writing in 1968 that the historical examples of the Crusades and the

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Miguel Alonso Baquer, “Pedagogía de la hidalguía: El linaje,” *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 110 (noviembre 1959), 9–10: 10.

⁴²¹ Miguel Alonso Baquer “Pedagogía de la hidalguía: El consejo,” *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 111 (diciembre 1959), 13–14.

⁴²² Ibid., 13.

⁴²³ Ibid., 14.

Reconquest of the Spain were the fullest flowering of medieval chivalry. The *caballero* of those times represented the antecedent and model of western European soldiers.⁴²⁴ Alonso Baquer's discourse inextricably linked the prototypical chivalric soldier with Christianity. The warrior's religious character in armed struggle purified and redeemed in a spiritual sense.⁴²⁵ Put another way by a different Apostolado author seventeen years earlier in *Pensamiento y Acción*: "The Spanish soldier thinks like a Christian and acts like a knight, making effective use of his military virtues, being a model of discipline, devotion and sacrifice..."⁴²⁶ This unchanging synopsis of a real man and ideal soldier within Apostolado discourse demonstrates how a complex notion of chivalry connected to the middle ages included other aspects of normative masculinity.

In its relation to chivalry, the *Apostolado*'s image of the ideal man most resembles that of the half monk, half soldier, or in Alonso Baquer's terminology, "*the prayerful and militant knight*."⁴²⁷ The organization's imagining of masculinity reveals that the priest-warrior was a concept based on medieval chivalry, embodied by the fictional character of Don Quixote, and made manifest in the religious wars of reconquest against Muslims. Being half monk meant that a man lived by a rigidly traditional and moral Catholicism. On the soldierly side, a man fought for the holy cause of righteousness as an honorable, chivalrous, and noble knight. Understanding the content of those terms indicates that the "half monk, half soldier" was an especially Catholic imagining of normative masculinity that did not entirely correspond to that of the military. Outside of the Apostolado, military discourse predicated honor less on religious spirit, chivalry, and nobility and more on

⁴²⁴ Alonso Baquer, *La religiosidad y el combate*, 88.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., This language of purification through violence and struggle within Alonso Baquer's conception of the monk-warrior contained fascistic elements.

⁴²⁶ "Ejército, disciplina e individuo," *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 12 (agosto-septiembre 1951) 1–2: 2.

bravery in combat, being a disciplined and obedient soldier, and not engaging in homosexual acts.

Discipline/Obedience/Subordination

Both the Apostolado and military agreed on the importance of discipline, obedience, and subordination. Authors presented these qualities as inseparable from each other, as well as interconnected with the other key aspects of normative masculinity. For instance, in a four part series in *Pensamiento y Acción* published in 1959 and 1960, Alonso Baquer wrote that obedience constituted the second of the four pillars of military development (the first being heroism, and the third and fourth comprised of chivalry and competence).⁴²⁸ For Alonso Baquer—as always conjoining several conceptions—Spain needed the type of soldier that united within himself “the heroism of the characters of Homer, the loyalty of the medieval warriors, the manliness of the Spanish noblemen and the professional capacity required by modern techniques.”⁴²⁹ Once again, Alonso Baquer employed notions of Spanish history to help lay the foundations for this idea within military discourse. Comparable to general military discourse on the subject, he argued in this series that although obedience must be taught, it did not equate to blind submission.⁴³⁰ Therefore, soldiers must be convinced that what they are ordered to do, or what they are being obedient towards, is logical.⁴³¹

Along with discipline and obedience and comparable to other military writings, Apostolado authors stressed the importance of subordination. In both his 1956 and 1966

⁴²⁷ Alonso Baquer, *La religiosidad y el combate*, 115. Emphasis in original.

⁴²⁸ Miguel Alonso Baquer “Pedagogía de la obediencia: I. —El hombre disciplinado,” *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 105 (junio 1959), 8–10: 8.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Miguel Alonso Baquer, “Pedagogía de la obediencia: IV. —La teórica,” *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 108 (septiembre 1959), 17–19.

books Vigón used etymology, linking subordination to the spiritual: “Subordination—*sub ordinatio*—is the spiritual disposition of those who submit themselves to a superior management; this concept must be a quality of all those who enter the army, from the Commander in Chief to the last soldier.” Typical for writings on this subject, Vigón connected subordination to both discipline and obedience as he continued his etymological argument:

Discipline, which comes from *discere*, to learn, is a type of relation that implies the existence of *disciples* and *teachers*, of those who obey and of those who *teach how to obey*, and, *know how to command*. This is the reason why the obedience of inferior ranks to superior ranks is the essential principle of subordination.⁴³²

A naval captain named Juan Bonelli echoed this argument in *Reconquista* in 1966, demonstrating the influence of Vigón’s thought within the Apostolado.⁴³³

Like Alonso Baquer and in line with military discourse generally, Vigón stated in 1956 that obedience and subordination should not be blind, drawing a distinction between military obedience and servility.⁴³⁴ In 1966 and 1973, *Reconquista* articles presented the same line of thought.⁴³⁵ According to Vigón in 1966, soldiers must voluntarily be subordinate; otherwise they will be continually humiliated.⁴³⁶ Similarly, Captain Juan Bonelli wrote in the same year that obedience should not be blind. Instead, “one is only truly free when they obey and only freedom properly understood allows us [*nos lleva*] to be adequately obedient and disciplined.”⁴³⁷ Similarly to Vigón, this naval captain wrote

⁴³² Vigón Suerodíaz, *Hay un estilo militar de vida*, 92–93; and Vigón, *El espíritu militar español*, 78–79.

⁴³³ Capitán de Navío Juan Bonelli, “La libertad humana y la obediencia,” *Reconquista*, núm. 198 (junio 1966), 22–26.

⁴³⁴ Vigón, *El espíritu militar español*, 92–93.

⁴³⁵ Juan Bonelli, “La libertad humana y la obediencia,” and “Pedro García Zaragoza, “De cara al cuartel: Preguntas con respuestas.” *Reconquista*, núm. 278 (febrero 1973), 33–35.

⁴³⁶ Vigón Suerodíaz, *Hay un estilo militar de vida*, 96.

⁴³⁷ Juan Bonelli, “La libertad humana y la obediencia,” 22.

that “discipline” and “disciple” have the same semantic roots, meaning that a disciple is one who accepts the authority and command of their teacher (*maestro*).⁴³⁸

Another current of thought running through both Apostolado discourse and military pedagogy more generally, held that soldiers manifested their discipline and obedience through performative acts of subordination and the outward decorum of the military uniform. These arguments date to the 1940s and continued into at least the 1960s.⁴³⁹ The performance of the salute demonstrated an inferior’s subordination and respect for his commanders on the one hand, and a superior’s right to command along with his respect for his military subordinates on the other hand.⁴⁴⁰ In 1966, Vigón contended that it would be wrong, however, to think of the salute as an act of military servility. Rather, the man who salutes performs an act of service.⁴⁴¹ Like the salute, Apostolado and other military authors considered the military uniform to be an expression of discipline.⁴⁴² Imparting the values of martial masculinity, one Apostolado article from the mid-1950s stated that masculinity played a role in military regalia because the uniform imparted virility.⁴⁴³

Inducing these performances and manifestations, both the institution of the military and the Church’s representative in it had the goal of creating a certain type of man; what Foucault called the “obedient subject,” who understood both the need for and how to be disciplined, obedient, and subordinate. In this sense, the Apostolado represents an important nodal point in the networks of power within the Church and the Francoist

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 26.

⁴³⁹ See for example Ladislao Río Pérez, “Disciplina militar,” *Temple*, núm. 73 (mayo 1949), 7; and “El saludo militar,” *Formación*, núm. 152 (marzo 1966), np.

⁴⁴⁰ See for example “El saludo militar,” *Formación*, núm. 152 (marzo 1966), np.

⁴⁴¹ Vigón Suerodíaz, *Hay un estilo militar de vida*, 95.

⁴⁴² See for example Victor Marinero Bermúdez, “Breviario incompleto: La disciplina,” *Formación*, núm. 145 (agosto 1965).

military that served to reinforce the ideology of National-Catholicism. The organization should be placed alongside other Catholic organizations that functioned in a similar manner such as Acción Católica and its subsidiaries as well as Opus Dei. Although occupying this advantageous and central position in the endeavor to religiously reconquer the Spanish nation, the Apostolado continued to complain about the poor state of soldiers and their education. These protestations suggest that the effort to instill a particular pious and martial masculine identity in troops was not as successful as Catholic Francoists had hoped.

The Apostolado & the Failures of National-Catholicism

The Apostolado maintained consistency in its discursive rhetoric about normative masculinity for the duration of the Franco regime. The qualities of the ideal man did not vary from those of military morality and spirit, the values of honor and chivalry, as well as the triad of discipline, obedience, and subordination. This consistency across time also applied to Apostolado complaints about a growing social crisis, particularly in the nation's youth, the cure for which was creating normative men by providing soldiers with the spiritual components of a Catholicized and militarized masculinity. Not only did these complaints fail to decrease over time, but as the years passed the Apostolado continued to assert that the problem was getting worse. During the 1970s, Apostolado writers bemoaned such phenomena as encompassing, for example, a profound crisis of human values,⁴⁴⁴ and a sickness of the spirit.⁴⁴⁵ Like it had from the advent of the regime, masculinity played a fundamental role in curbing Spain's spiritual crisis. An infantry

⁴⁴³ Aristo, "Valor humano de la milicia," *Reconquista*, núm. 62 (febrero 1955), 38–40: 39.

⁴⁴⁴ See for example J. Belles Gasulla, "Los valores del hombre," *Reconquista*, núm. 269 (mayo 1972), 37–43.

⁴⁴⁵ José Rivero, "La crisis del espíritu," *Reconquista*, núm. 270 (junio 1972), 56–57.

captain in a *Reconquista* article from 1972 entitled “The Values of Man” provided a laundry list of the attributes that comprised normative masculinity as the model for men to follow, with such men providing the solution to Spain’s problem of declining human values.⁴⁴⁶

Not surprisingly, Apostolado authors continued to posit Catholic morality as the primary solution to the nation’s youth crisis. Writing in *Reconquista* in 1974 and *Ejército* in 1975, an author named Pedro García Zaragoza complained that subversion was a problem in young people, going into detail about how the armed forces, through mandatory military service, would save the country’s youth.⁴⁴⁷ The publication of similar arguments by the same writer in both the Apostolado’s and Army’s premier publications provides a telling example of the cross-pollination of Apostolado ideas into military discourse more broadly. Reflecting negative interpretations of changes within Spanish culture and society during the 1860s, these articles complained that the quality of conscripts had worsened over the years. The author argued that soldiers currently came from an environment of diminished paternal authority; lack of patriotic development at home and in school; relaxed customs; rebellious attitudes; a crisis of religious faith; and exposure to Marxist literature, drugs, eroticism, and pacifism.⁴⁴⁸ Contrasting these modern urbanized recruits to those of the past who came from rural areas, García Zaragoza reminisces about “how easily their clean spirits assimilated to the military

⁴⁴⁶ These values included: liberty, happiness, generosity, honesty, sincerity, will power, tenacity, austerity, friendship, comradeship, and personality. J. Belles Gasulla, “Los valores del hombre,” *Reconquista*, 40.

⁴⁴⁷ Pedro García Zaragoza, “La formación moral hoy,” *Reconquista*, núm. 298 (octubre 1974), 13–15: 14; and Pedro García Zaragoza, “La formación moral en la actualidad,” *Ejército*, núm. 421 (febrero 1975), 56–58: 57.

⁴⁴⁸ García Zaragoza, “La formación moral hoy,” *Reconquista*, 4; and García Zaragoza, “La formación moral en la actualidad,” *Ejército*, 57.

virtues of obedience, subordination, deference, loyalty, spirit of sacrifice, devotion...!”⁴⁴⁹

The accuracy of this author’s image of past conscripts and his argument about the ease of infusing them with military virtues is debatable. The same complaints of spiritual crisis had been levied against conscripts going back to the beginning of the Franco regime.

These grievances reflect poorly on the success of the military’s educational initiatives. Many of those conscript’s fathers served in the armed forces, but had evidently failed, as the military intended for them, to pass those martial virtues on to their male children. García Zaragoza’s proposed solution to problems of subversion in 1974 and 1975 was the same one that the Apostolado and military had been advocating since the dictatorship’s inception:

Sincerely, I believe that, today, moral development must begin with a true ‘cleaning from the bottom up’ [*limpieza de fondos*] ... [by] unmasking falsehoods, hatred, bad faith, hidden objectives, immorality, and crimes of subversion. And once free from [those] scourges[,] young spirits will be in optimal receptive conditions to assimilate with the best intentions, what we could call ‘classic’ moral instruction.

Today, more than ever, moral development has to be continuous and be supported by our irreproachable moral conduct, as much private as professional.⁴⁵⁰

Despite more than three decades of conscription, the Apostolado remained implacable in positing moral instruction as the panacea for Spain’s ills. These articles indicate that cultural and societal shifts in Spain contributed to the failure of indoctrinating conscripts with the values of traditional Catholicism.

Unintended Consequences & Estrangement between Church and State

The intensification of the nation’s spiritual crisis was not simply imagined by Apostolado writers. It was merely the name they gave to the cultural liberalization that

⁴⁴⁹ García Zaragoza, “La formación moral hoy,” 14.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 14.

occurred in Spain during the last fifteen years of the Franco dictatorship.⁴⁵¹ Most scholars attribute the economic reforms made by Opus Dei for this progression of Francoist Spain from an economically antiquated country, sealed off from outside cultural influences and heavily steeped in Catholicism, into a modern, industrialized, Europeanized, and secularized nation. Founded in 1928 by an Aragonese priest named José María Escrivá de Balaguer, this highly conservative lay Catholic organization was, as Brassloff writes, “created to promote the sanctification of daily life and work, but it functioned as an elite pressure group, seeking to control the nerve-centers of national power.”⁴⁵² With cabinet appointments to the main economic ministerial posts in February 1957, members of Opus Dei “aimed to modernize the economy, to end the vain attempt to achieve autarky in Spain, and to incorporate the country fully into the neocapitalism of the West.”⁴⁵³ Their economic reforms spurred the country’s industrialization, reconnected Spain with European and global economies, resulted in large-scale urbanization, opened the nation to tourism, initiated emigration of Spaniards to other European countries, and drastically increased consumerism.

These processes of especially the 1960s and 1970s exposed Spain to foreign, modern, and more liberal cultural attitudes and influences, with the unintended consequence of pushing society even further away from the archaic values preached by the Apostolado and held dear by Franco. In that respect, Payne argues

The first victim of this transformation was not the regime but its primary cultural support, the traditional religion. A highly urban, sophisticated,

⁴⁵¹ Payne writes “Yet certain signs of change began to appear by the late 1950s. A new mood of secularization began to emerge with economic expansion and the partial opening of Spain to foreign cultural and social influence ... Though few observers might have credited it in 1953, the great secularization of the succeeding generation was already establishing its roots.” Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 421. See also Brassloff, *Religion and Politics in Spain*, 7.

⁴⁵² Brassloff, *Religion and Politics in Spain*, 10.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 10.

materialist, nominally educated, and hedonistic Spain, increasingly attuned to the secular and consumerist life of Western Europe, simply ceased to be Catholic in the traditional manner.⁴⁵⁴

These trends, combined with the old fears about the damage done by the Second Republic and the conservative and traditional desire to take Spain back to a baroque age of Catholic values, led to anxiety in those segments of the Franco regime, like the intractable Apostolado, about the exacerbation of a disastrous societal crisis.⁴⁵⁵

Making matters worse, by the 1960s the Apostolado was not only increasingly distanced from the realities of Spanish society, but also those of the Vatican. The ascendancy of the modernizing economic technocrats of Opus Dei in the Franco government coincided with broader reforms made within the Catholic Church as a whole that influenced the traditionally inflexible conservatism of the Church in Spain. Callahan writes that in particular the Second Vatican Council of 1962–1965 modernized Catholicism by recognizing religious freedom, abandoning the “compulsory character” of being Catholic, accepting separation of church and state, and realizing “the incompatibility of a dogmatic conception of authoritative tradition and the principal of freedom of conscience.”⁴⁵⁶ These institutional and ideological shifts flew in the face of the Catholicism held by powerful Francoists. Rome increasingly disassociated itself from its institutional ties with the Spanish government. The changes of Vatican II swept through the Spanish Church, and Catholicism in Spain lost much of its ultra-conservative

⁴⁵⁴ Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 493.

⁴⁵⁵ For example, the reduction of censorship and the influx of foreign cultural attitudes through television and movies resulted in the dissemination of non-traditional ideas in Spain. Reflected in Apostolado writings about the growing spiritual crisis, three articles in *Reconquista* from April and May 1970 lamented the immorality of movies and television and the corrupting influence of those cultural forms. See Victor Espinós “El derecho a la decencia,” *Reconquista*, Núm. 244 (abril 1970), 2–6; Luis Sáez de Govantes, “La mitificación del antihéroe,” *Reconquista*, núm. 245 (mayo 1970), 2–6; and Ramón Sánchez Díaz “La despañolización televisiva,” *Reconquista*, núm. 245 (mayo 1970), 7–10.

foundation and impetus. Ironically, the ultramontane sections of the Spanish clergy were quixotic in fighting for tradition in the face of these Church-wide modernization efforts.

A view of Catholics in Spain as a monolithic block before these transformations fails to account for other historical processes that similarly contributed to spiraling tensions between the Franco regime and the Spanish Church. A generational shift occurred in the Spanish clergy in the 1950s and 1960s, when the ubiquitousness of priests who had lived during the civil war gave way to the influx of men of the cloth who had no direct experience of it. Ideological disparities developed between each group. The former, aligned with the “bunker” segment of the regime and possessing a mentality predicated on crusade and reconquest, lay in opposition to an assemblage of younger clerics more in tune with the realities of modernity and the social initiatives of the Church outside of Spain.⁴⁵⁷

These attitudes, shared by a growing section of the laity and compounded by the initiatives of Vatican II, gradually led to the development of lay Catholic organizations with mandates of social justice and without a sense of the need to convert all Spaniards into devoutly practicing Catholics. José Casanova argues in his comparative work on public religions in the modern world that after 1965 the Christian Democratic sector of Spanish Catholics, led by the former minister of education Joaquín Ruiz Giménez and with the journal *Cuadernos para el Dialogo* serving as an influential mouthpiece, “took

⁴⁵⁶ Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 72. For another synopsis of the effects of Vatican II on the Spanish Church see Mary Vincent, “Religión e identidad nacional,” 233–238.

⁴⁵⁷ Therefore, as Callahan demonstrates, the situation was compounded for Spanish bishops who had to deal with both a “contestational clergy and Catholic activists on the left but also with aggression from the anti-Council Catholic right, who did not want to see an end to the prevailing social and political system. They belonged to what was already known as the ‘bunker’, which included, apart from integrist clerics, the majority of the high-ranking army officers, hard-line Falangists, the ‘ex-combatants’ who had fought on the winning side in the Civil War, and the economic elites, including bankers, industrialists and landowners.” Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 25.

the lead in demanding the institutionalization of the rule of law, the transformation of the regime into a Estado de Derecho (Rechtsstaat), and the protection of the human, civil, and political rights of the Spanish people.⁴⁵⁸ From the late 1950s onwards Catholics played an important role in democratic opposition movements.⁴⁵⁹ Casanova writes that these groups “offer[ed] religious legitimization for democratic principles[,]” and helped establish the foundations of the transition to democracy.⁴⁶⁰

Callahan argues an “acute secularization” complemented Spain’s economic and cultural modernization with many Catholics realizing that Spain was no longer a country to be reconquered, but rather a “*pais de misión*” in which faith had to be inculcated on the level of voluntary individual conversion.⁴⁶¹ This mentality pushed many clerics and lay organizations into conflict with the regime’s crusading evangelization. Increasing support from the clergy, particularly in the Basque Country, for regional self-autonomy led to fissures developing between regional priests and the agents of the carefully guarded centrifugal nature of power emanating from El Pardo. These processes manifested themselves in active resistance on behalf of the clergy. A petition signed by 399 Basque priests in 1960 protested the curtailment of their autonomy. Clerics marched in Barcelona in 1966 protesting the use of torture. Other priests held, to use Payne’s words, “independent politicized assemblies, [with] all of this accompanied by inflammatory sermons and agitation by individual priests.”⁴⁶²

By 1971, these changes and tensions became embodied in the figure of Vincente Enrique y Tarancón, the newly-appointed Archbishop of Madrid and President of the

⁴⁵⁸ Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, 83–84.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 86–87. Eventually, these trends in Spanish Catholicism helped to provide “a symbolic space for the reconciliation of all Spaniards” during the transition to democracy. Ibid., 87.

Spanish Episcopal Conference. A supporter of bipartisan Christian Democracy in Italy, Tarancón's political acuity and fidelity to democracy guided his attempt to bridge the gap between liberal and moderate conservative elements of the Spanish Church as well as between the winning and losing sides of the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁶³ Hardline Catholics holding to the values of 18 July 1936 lost much of their little remaining sway over policy and practice with Tarancón's ascendancy in the power structures of the Spanish Church during the 1970s.

These religious, political, and social issues reflected the trajectory of Acción Católica. This group provides a contrast to the obstinate inflexibility of the Apostolado. Feliciano Montero García, in his study of Acción Católica during especially the 1960s, argues that during Francoism the organization "evolved along with Spanish society, the regime itself, and, above all, the Church."⁴⁶⁴ Paralleling the development of Acción Católica to that of the government, Montero García delineates two major phases through which the organization passed. The first phase was one of Catholic collaboration with the regime, focusing on workers and university students. The second phase began in the 1960s with "significant statutory reform, which aspired to promote the 'specialization' and national direction of labor."⁴⁶⁵ "It is no coincidence," writes Montero García, "that this new phase of [Acción Católica] coincided with the social changes provoked by the stabilization plan, and the first plans of development, and, on the political plane, with the intentions of 'institutionalizing' 'organic democracy' and Franco's monarchial

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 83.

⁴⁶² Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 561.

⁴⁶³ Brassloff, *Religion and Politics in Spain*, 43.

⁴⁶⁴ Feliciano Montero García, *La Acción Católica y el franquismo: Auge crisis de la Acción Católica especializada en los años sesenta* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de educación a Distancia, 2000), 15.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

succession.”⁴⁶⁶ He argues that Acción Católica mirrored the social tensions of that era and was greatly impacted by Vatican II,⁴⁶⁷ which only pushed the organization further in the direction it was already headed.⁴⁶⁸ Acción Católica adapted (not without some internal tension to be sure) to changes within Spain rather than fighting against them.

By the time of Franco’s death in 1975, the Church in Spain had evolved from one bent on the crusading reconquest of Spain in the name of traditional Catholic values to one more in tune with the realities of modernity, the democratizing ideals of Vatican II, and a spirit of reconciliation rather than the righteous triumphalism of 1939.⁴⁶⁹ Unlike the Spanish Church and Acción Católica, the Apostolado continued to rail against and resist modernizing transformations in the 1960s and 1970s. The Apostolado demonstrates that not all segments of the Catholic Church or the Franco regime had given up the ghost of indoctrinating Spaniards with the principles of National-Catholicism.⁴⁷⁰

During the transition to democracy some of these attitudes began to change. Alonso Baquer eventually dropped many of his outmoded visions for the Spanish nation and its men. Examining his career as one of the staunchest supporters of the gendered principles of National-Catholicism and placing it in conjunction with the failure of the

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ “The Catholic church’s final acceptance of the legitimacy of the modern world and the abandonment by the Spanish left of its traditional anticlericalism put an end to the religious-secular cleavage in modern Spain, thus making the other conflicts more susceptible to the politics of negotiation and compromise.” Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, 87–88. For a similar argument see Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *The Sixties and Beyond: Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe, 1945–2000* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 363–364.

⁴⁷⁰ Not all Apostolado publications, however, can be labeled as belonging to an entrenched camp untouched by changes in the Catholic Church or Spanish society. Perhaps occupying the middle ground between older and newer attitudes a Chaplain argued in *Reconquista* that “Today the world suffers a crisis of depersonalization, of automation, a crisis of de-Christianization, patent in the faith of the youth, who are incorporated in the army.” However, although reflecting typical lamentations on the topic, this chaplain argues that because the army is a teacher and educator that develops future generations, the Apostolado

Apostolado's evangelizing mission offers insight into how a man who held such strong views on normative masculinity eventually relinquished his aspirations under the weight of professional and societal pressures.

Miguel Alonso Baquer: Legacy & Reflections of a Discourse Producer

Born in Madrid in 1932, Miguel Alonso Baquer was the son of a military and monarchist family. Deeply Catholic, he strongly believed in the public and private defense of Christian morality.⁴⁷¹ Catholic, moral, and humanist philosophies dominated his thought and writings for the entirety of his professional career. As a cadet in the General Military Academy at Zaragoza he was pulled in those directions after attending meetings about moral issues organized by other cadets and supported by the Apostolado.⁴⁷² Alonso Baquer writes that he and his fellow cadets searched for a balance between ethics and intellectual rigor, an equilibrium that lay in “the expression *half monk* – *half soldier* of the Falangists [*Joseantonanos*]” and “the Pauline doctrine of the *new man*.”⁴⁷³ For their identity formation, Alonso Baquer and his likeminded fellow cadets looked towards martial masculinity and a new man who embodied the morally righteous crusading spirit of Catholicism and the martial values of chivalric knights. Alonso Baquer spent a large portion of his professional life contemplating and defining the specific attributes of that type of man. His family background, the influences he was exposed to as a cadet, and a natural predilection for matters of the intellect, formed the basis of Alonso Baquer's ideas and directly shaped how he lived his life.

needs to evolve, as have the Spanish people and their culture. Fernando Rivera Rodríguez, “La acción apostólica en el cuartel,” *Reconquista*, núm. 227 (noviembre 1968) 21–24: 22–24.

⁴⁷¹ Miguel Alonso Baquer, *Memorias de un brigadier tolerado: Tomo I*, 44.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 115–116.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 117. Emphasis in original.

Alonso Baquer states that in Zaragoza he lived an intensely intellectual life and focused little of his attention on women.⁴⁷⁴ Aided by his religious convictions, he had already by a young age decided to save himself for marriage: “With the same celestial help and bridling my manly heart, I promised myself not to trivialize my dealings with women, but rather to save all my capacity for love for a precise moment.”⁴⁷⁵ His search for a masculine identity as a soldier also sprang from his religiosity, leading to a quest for originality in his “mode of being a soldier.” He writes that he adjusted his thought towards a martial humanism and away from the technical comportment that was popularly perceived as heroic.⁴⁷⁶

Alonso Baquer accurately viewed himself throughout his career as an atypical military man. In his two-volume autobiography, he divides his career into three stages. In the first, from 1955 to 1965/1970, he sees himself as a “heterodox and harmful officer [*oficial heterodoxo y nocivo*].” From 1965/1970 to 1985 he labels himself as an “atypical and liberal officer [*militar atípico y liberal*].” During the final stage from 1985 onwards, he describes himself as “a tolerated general [*un brigadier tolderado*].”⁴⁷⁷ Alonso Baquer views himself as a harmfully heterodoxical officer during the period in which he produced the majority of his writings on normative masculinity. Whether as an apology or explanation, he argues “The *heterodoxy* that I was accused of in the 1950s does not reflect, in my opinion, an objective reality, but rather an atmosphere of susceptibility that

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 127.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 112.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 9–10.

was its own phase of Spanish military life during the second third of the regime of General Franco.”⁴⁷⁸ Alonso Baquer’s heterodoxy is worth exploring and unpacking.

Overly zealous orthodoxy might better describe Alonso Baquer’s ideas than his interpretation of sacrilegious heterodoxy. This staunchly religious, exceedingly intellectual, and prolific discourse producer who focused so heavily on morality and masculinity encountered resistance to his ideas. Early in his career as a writer, Alonso Baquer caused a scandal when he criticized the military in *Reconquista*. Utilizing a discourse of masculinity, he argued in four *Reconquista* articles published in 1954 and 1955 that the old guard had lost touch with the newer generation of officers as well as the needs of Spanish society.

The first article discussed the social mission of the military during peacetime, contending that the Army had fallen into a certain state of complacency.⁴⁷⁹ In the second essay, Alonso Baquer contended that a new man forged in and by the military would help bridge a gap inherent in the officer corps between revolutionary and traditional mindsets. Speaking of the military’s duty to alleviate Spain’s dire spiritual crisis, Alonso Baquer described his version of the new man as one who “will endeavor to prove and demonstrate the efficacy and depth of discipline and hierarchy...”⁴⁸⁰ Heightened spirit would lead such a man to criticize the imperfections he encountered in the Army.⁴⁸¹ In this case, Alonso Baquer aptly described himself and his own criticisms of the military. Continuing this line of argument in the third controversial article, Alonso Baquer in essence contended that the military itself suffered from a crisis of spiritual values, similar

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 11. Emphasis in original.

⁴⁷⁹ Miguel Alonso Baquer, “Modernos y antiguos en el Ejército,” *Reconquista*, núm. 54 (junio 1954), 2–5.

⁴⁸⁰ Miguel Alonso Baquer, “Tradicionales y revolucionarios en le Ejército,” *Reconquista*, núm. 61 (enero 1955), 24–29: 27.

to that of society at large, and which needed to be resolved through the development of a new type of man.⁴⁸²

In the fourth article, Alonso Baquer responded to criticisms he received about the other three essays.⁴⁸³ This final essay reveals a generational shift between officers who had fought in the Spanish Civil War and those who had graduated from Spain's military academies after the victory. Alonso Baquer wrote that the older generation, secure in their orthodoxy and incapable of understanding other viewpoints, had closed itself off to newer officers.⁴⁸⁴ This state of affairs, Alonso Baquer argued, had led to devaluation in the armed forces of spiritual and moral values and education.⁴⁸⁵

These four *Reconquista* articles led to a scandal and placed Alonso Baquer at odds with higher-ranking officers, including Jorge Vigón, with some calling for his arrest.⁴⁸⁶ Alonso Baquer writes in his autobiography that his thought was interpreted by veterans of the civil war as “a direct attack on their professional virtues...”⁴⁸⁷ Although the two men's thought almost always aligned, Vigón, according to Alonso Baquer, believed that the articles went against the current political regime in particular and military spirit in general. Alonso Baquer writes that Vigón was angered because “a young lieutenant did not appear docilely contained in a continuity [of unitary national consciousness].”⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Miguel Alonso Baquer, “Bélicos y sociales en el Ejército,” *Reconquista*, núm. 66 (junio 1955), 8–12.

⁴⁸³ Miguel Alonso Baquer, “Desde mi atalaya: carta cerrada al capitán Sáez de Govantes,” *Reconquista*, Núm. 71 (noviembre 1955), 39–43.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 41.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 42.

⁴⁸⁶ Alonso Baquer, *Memorias de un brigadier tolerado: Tomo I*, 146.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 145–146.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 147.

These criticisms of the military represent a generational conflict. Juan Carlos Losada Malvárez argues in his book about the ideological basis of the Francoist Army that the immediate postwar cohort of officer had been immersed in the triumphalist environment reigning in the military academies and educated with the values of military spirit and prestige. He writes that this “ideological baggage” failed to accord with the state of the armed forces encountered by cadets after their graduation.⁴⁸⁹ Alonso Baquer and other Apostolado authors criticized the military for what they considered as failings in religiosity. They wanted to further button down the hatches of religion and tradition.⁴⁹⁰ Utilizing a discourse of masculinity and arguing for the Army’s social mission of creating a new man who would alleviate a disastrous and growing spiritual crisis, Alonso Baquer overtly criticized the military and the generation of soldiers who had won the civil war. Although the scandal of 1954–1955 taught Alonso Baquer that he needed to temper his critical tone, the ideological content of his messages never wavered. By 1968, Alonso Baquer continued to assert that the Army was an instrument of God and a community of Christians,⁴⁹¹ and that the Church should have a bigger role in converting, evangelizing, and proselytizing in the armed forces.⁴⁹²

After reading the bulk of Alonso Baquer’s writings, little doubt remains that he conspicuously promulgated the idea that Spain faced a dire spiritual crisis. He consistently posited the creation of normative masculinity through mandatory military

⁴⁸⁹ Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 294. Losada Malvárez goes into detail about the broader scandal provoked by Baquer’s and similar articles in *Reconquista*. Ibid., 294–309.

⁴⁹⁰ Interestingly, Vigón was made director of *Reconquista* in 1956 in part to provide an ideological coherence to the journal. In that respect, the tone of *Reconquista*’s publications about the importance of Catholicism, morality, and military spirit did not necessarily change, but much less criticism remained of the Army as not actually embodying those values. Losada argues that Alonso Baquer as well stopped criticizing the army as well at this point and that his writings, when critical, were more focused on subjects exterior to the army such as international politics. Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista*, 309.

⁴⁹¹ Alonso Baquer, *La religiosidad y el combate*, 194, 197.

service as its cure. For him, Catholic moral instruction provided by the armed forces and based on the traditions of Spain's medieval and religious past would provide men with the truly masculine traits of the soldier. Very much an aspect of the postwar construction of a specifically Francoist Spanish nationalism, Alonso Baquer's thought and his concomitant aspirations for the male citizenry of Spain contributed in large part to the coherent creation of normative Francoist martial masculinity.

Alonso Baquer did not, retrospectively at least, consider his work to have been about the militarization of society, Catholic proselytization, or politics generally. He writes "My intention had nothing to do with desire for notoriety or partisan proselytizing."⁴⁹³ In terms of how other soldiers received his thought, Alonso Baquer believes that "My predilection for the relation between military development and Christian existence was worth the price of tolerance or, at least, of curiosity. Not so with my entrance into the search for Spain's real problems."⁴⁹⁴ This attitude helps explain why a prolific writer who so openly criticized the military and had a clear vision for the men of Spain, abandoned many of his goals. Alonso Baquer's career as an officer and writer follows an arc from criticism to apoliticism. He held certain values dear throughout his career, but gradually tempered his dreams for the future. Alonso Baquer appears to have realized that for his career to survive he had to be as politically neutral as possible. His writings served as a lightning rod for both liberals and conservatives in the military, with his superiors preferring "my silence to the presence of my opinions in the press."⁴⁹⁵ Alonso Baquer is better described as an atypical, conservative, and ultra-orthodox officer

⁴⁹² Ibid., 198–200.

⁴⁹³ Alonso Baquer, *Memorias de un brigadier tolerado: Tomo I*, 214.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 215.

whose ideas were tolerated as long as they did not openly criticize the military. In 2004, Alonso Baquer viewed his legacy as having been a “humanist soldier” [*militar humanista*]⁴⁹⁶ who always and exclusively focused on improving the military sector of society.

Holding this self-perception, Alonso Baquer was surprised by how historian Losada Malvárez depicted him. Losada Malvárez contends that Alonso Baquer was one of the staunchest supporters of the army’s important role as an educational institution with the mission of regenerating Spanish society.⁴⁹⁷ Arguing against Losada Malvárez, Alonso Baquer states

There was never (nor will be) in my writings an attempt at the regeneration of the Spanish nation, but rather the eagerness to serve, precisely and only, in the area of my professional responsibilities. I never suggested any idea that could be used so that the army could supplant civil society, even under the euphemism of a ‘social army’.”⁴⁹⁸

Although Alonso Baquer never called for a rebellion within the armed forces or for the military to become the arbiter of politics, he created significant military discourse that advocated for a Catholicized militarization of Spanish society through obligatory military service.

Alonso Baquer gradually dropped many of the ambitions he held for the nation. In a chapter he wrote in 1999 entitled “La profesionalización de las fuerzas armadas” (The Professionalization of the Armed Forces) published in an edited volume about role of the military in the twenty-first century, Alonso Baquer discussed how the military could move away from conscription and towards an all-volunteer professional force. Once

⁴⁹⁵ Miguel Alonso Baquer, *Memorias de un brigadier tolerado: Tomo II* (Basauri, Vizcaya: Grafite Ediciones, 2004), 54.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 259

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 218.

again, he argued that there was a crisis of the sentiments of service and sacrifice in society.⁴⁹⁹ The silences contained in this essay shed light on the failures of his ideas. He no longer presented the armed forces as a school for citizens, a place where men were made, or where all the moral values he harped on so much in the past were inculcated in Spanish men. In 1999, two years prior to conscription's official end in Spain, he examined the problem from a technical point of view, remaining silent on that which was once so important to him.

Despite his assertions to the contrary, Alonso Baquer was one of the most-influential figures in the creation of National-Catholic ideology and the discourse of a Catholicized martial masculinity. Examining him from a discursive perspective permits a window into the individual agency and perspective of discourse producers. He represents a man who consciously based his own identity on the tenets of a Catholicized Francoist masculinity. Although men like Alonso Baquer might not at the time or retrospectively view themselves as creating the discursive epistemology that power wields, evidence points to Alonso Baquer having performed that role. He created knowledge that reinforced Francoist power. Without the abundance of his publications, the historian would have a more difficult time reconstructing the foundations and tenets of normative martial masculinity.

Conclusion

An explanatory model of the failure of the regime to inculcate National-Catholicism—to reconquer and re-Catholicize the nation and its identity—that accounts for broader socio-cultural changes predicated on economic modernization should also

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 220.

include both that endeavor's chances of success and the important role played by individual agency. Such analysis begins by asking how successful the civil war was in the first place at defeating and eradicating the liberalizing, modernizing, and secularizing efforts of the Second Republic. Francoists viewed victory in the Spanish Civil War as their chance to once and for all defeat perceived threats to the Spanish nation.

Assuming that the victory over roughly half of the population of Spain, the systematic elimination of remaining dissidents, and the repression of liberalism, socialism, and modernity provided the Franco regime a blank slate upon which to fashion the nation fails to account for several factors. Callahan argues "Whether religious reconquest could be achieved within an increasingly secularized world in the middle of the twentieth century by a Church historically deficient in its pastoral strategy was another matter."⁵⁰⁰ Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, in his piece on early Francoism, points to flaws emerging in Church policy and practice by as early as the 1940s: "The spiritual reconquest of Spain had little success because it insisted more on outward appearance than on inward conviction, and because the human and material resources upon which it relied were insufficient."⁵⁰¹ The audience to which proselytization would appeal most were arguably those who already supported both the Church and the Nationalist war effort.⁵⁰²

Apostolado lamentations about the state of recruits demonstrate that the majority of Spain's male population was not an especially receptive audience. Casanova argues

⁴⁹⁹ Miguel Alonso Baquer, "La profesionalización de las fuerzas armadas," in *Las Fuerzas Armadas en el siglo XXI*, eds. Miguel Alonso Baquer, Santiago Rodríguez Santafé, Valentina Fernández Vargas, and Manuel M. Dyrán Ros, 15–31 (Cartegena: Fundación Emma Egea, 1999), 25.

⁵⁰⁰ Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 463.

⁵⁰¹ Antonio Cazorla, "Early Francoism, 1939–1957," in *Spanish History since 1808*, eds. José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert, 259–276 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 272.

“To a large extent, the massive re-Catholicization of Spanish society after the civil war was rather superficial, as it was mainly the result of administrative coercion and public pressure. As that coercion progressively diminished, the Catholic revival petered out.”⁵⁰³ Within the military, the Church was able to continue its coercive efforts of evangelization because it retained a continually replenished captive audience of conscripts. Although that coercive power never waned, the Catholic revival within the military nevertheless petered out.

As time moved forward and Spaniards failed to conform to the mandates of National-Catholicism and as a consequence of Vatican II, the Spanish clergy turned to self-criticism and a re-evaluation of their overall strategy. Priests reached the conclusion, according to Callahan, that “a primarily pastoral concern motivated by the realization that the strategy of reconquest had failed and indeed had raised obstacles to the development of effective evangelizing methods based on a pragmatic assessment of Spanish social reality...”⁵⁰⁴ In the military these pragmatic strategic assessments, if made at all, were not put into practice in terms of a shift in proselytizing tactics. The Apostolado held fast to its original ideals, did not incorporate the Church-wide changes of Vatican II, and remained increasingly out-of-touch with the realities of Spanish society.

The military itself, although in part influenced by its Catholic members, was at no point entirely in accord with the vision and goals of National-Catholicism. The military’s sexual education initiatives were especially at odds with those of the Apostolado. The aforementioned *Reconquista* scandal initiated by Alonso Baquer demonstrates how

⁵⁰² “A religious strategy based on observance, devotionism, and moral puritanism appealed primarily to those already practicing their religion.” Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 468.

⁵⁰³ José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, 81.

⁵⁰⁴ Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 490.

unpopular the Apostolado's version, although similar in scope but specifically focused on Catholicism, could be within the military. It substantiates the argument that both the Apostolado's and National-Catholicism's goals of rechristianizing the nation were ill fated. The military ignored the criticism that it was not aggressively enough promoting the Catholicized aspects of normative Francoist masculinity.

The original goals and tactics of Spain's re-Catholicization following the civil war were arguably doomed from the outset, occurring as they did in the world of the mid-twentieth century and not that of an idealized Spanish Golden Age of the sixteenth century. The Apostolado, like Franco and his closest associates, never accepted this reality and continued to blindly pursue their archaic goals. Payne argues "[Franco] expressed great pride in the fact that he had improved the mores of the Spanish people..." believing "to some extent correctly, that he had instilled a greater respect for authority and for religion in the country."⁵⁰⁵ An analysis of the Apostolado reveals Franco's opinion to be an illusion. The Apostolado's continued and growing complaints suggest that Franco and his military had not been very successful in instilling greater respect for religion among men in Spain.

Payne also argues "The real Spanish revolution was not the defeated struggle of 1936-39 but the social and cultural transformation wrought by the industrialization of the 1960s and 1970s."⁵⁰⁶ Yet an examination of the Apostolado reveals that from the outset to the end of the Franco era, the regime and Church proved themselves incapable of alleviating the perceived crisis of modernity they had in part gone to war over in 1936. Both at an individual and society-wide level, the social values of the Second Republic

⁵⁰⁵ Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 401.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 483.

were never completely eradicated. Nationalist victory was less complete than the Franco regime at the time or scholars looking back at it have thought. Simmering under the surface, the economic modernizations of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s gradually allowed those values to reemerge. The *Apostolado* never succeeded in curing the moral and spiritual sickness that Catholics in Spain had diagnosed before the war and that its publications repeatedly saw as worsening during Franco's dictatorship.

Individual agency played a part in that failure. A reading of *Apostolado* sources for instances of contestation—evident in diatribes against an ever-worsening moral and spiritual crisis of the nation—leads to the conclusion that Spanish individual men on a collective level refused to accept, or at least were not especially receptive towards, the messages of the *Apostolado*. Placed in the context of the socio-cultural changes of the last fifteen years of the dictatorship and afterwards, and in conjunction with the argument that those changes were coming to Spain in spite of the Nationalist victory, individual men in Spain appear to have exerted agency. They did not accept religious indoctrination in general and the *Apostolado*'s version of normative masculinity and sexuality in particular.

Some men found resonance with such a masculinity and based their identities on it. The writers of the *Apostolado* provide salient examples of such men. The majority of young men in the military did not, however, comprise a receptive flock. As argued in Chapter I in terms of normative Francoist masculinity, Spanish men utilized other epistemological sources for their identity formation, subjectivities, and modes of being. These sources of knowledge included broader military and other social norms of male sexuality, enduring societal notions of *machismo*, and liberal and modern influences from

the United States and Western Europe. Catholic-minded soldiers had alternative sources of Catholicism they could turn to, especially the broader Spanish Church influenced as it was by Vatican II.

As much a figment of the imagination as Cervantes's Don Quixote, the Apostolado's ideal of the normative man in the Catholicized mold of the moral, honorable, and chivalric soldier proved unworkable in Spain. The fictional knight, whose imaginary world of idealized medieval chivalry needed saving from perceived crisis, provides a fitting parallel to the Apostolado's fearful view of modernity and the organization's fight against the dangers it thought to be menacing the nation. The Apostolado failed to prevent liberal and modern shifts in Spanish society through their influence on military service.

That its discourse ultimately failed to Catholicize the nation was not for lack of effort, however, and the Apostolado definitively and successfully influenced the creation of military discourse. Most significantly, the organization offered important publications to soldiers of all ranks and provided the three most-prolific military writers on the theme of normative masculinity. Bolstering military discourse more broadly, the Apostolado provided the intellectual foundations for Francoist martial masculinity. Apostolado discourse most notably diverged from that of the military in calling for specifically Catholic moral and sexual education. Apostolado writings demonstrate the existence and perseverance of social norms of sexuality that differed from those of the Catholic Church.⁵⁰⁷

Understanding the Apostolado's contribution to military discourse enhances historical understandings of how the Franco regime attempted to instill normative

masculinity in Spanish men, how the Apostolado and military created and disseminated discourse, and how the Catholic Church influenced the armed forces. Developing the normative ideal of man as soldier, the Apostolado engaged itself in the process of discursively creating a Catholicized and militarized Francoist masculinity. Significantly, due to the fact that the majority of Spanish men served in the armed forces, the Apostolado put discourse into practice, and therefore its understanding of martial masculinity did not exist only in the pages of the organization's publications or in the minds of men like Vigón, Alonso Baquer, and Muínelo Alarcón. The Apostolado Castrense's specific contribution to this discourse and practice lies in the spiritual realm. Through a complex understanding of normative masculinity, the Catholic Church's organization within the armed forces attempted to put the soul in soldiers—intending, but ultimately failing, to develop warriors for God and men for Spain.

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⁵⁰⁷ See Chapter III.

Chapter III

Thou Shalt and Shalt Not: The Conditioning and Control of Male Sexuality

Introduction

Modern states condition and control sexuality as a major technique of power in constructing and maintaining gender normativity. Michel Foucault argues that sex and sexuality within modern societies constitute vociferous discourses in which they are constantly pursued, discussed, and categorized.⁵⁰⁸ Such discursive polyvalence allows the state apparatus to formulate and inculcate normative sexual behavior. Often in those endeavors, the institution of the military both prescribes and regulates soldiers' sexuality. The Francoist military was no different. Through the means of obligatory service it attempted to shape a heteropatriarchal society by influencing men's sexuality. Military training manuals, print culture, and jurisprudence formed the support pillars in efforts to mold manly martial, obedient, and pious members of the nation and make them into dutiful husbands and fathers. These aspects of identity formation and reglementation constituted fundamental loci in the dense and complex nexus of Francoist gender norms. Intimately involved in the power implicit in knowledge about health and the body, heteronormative male sexuality also comprised significant features of Catholic morality.

Control over and regulation of men and women's sexuality during the Franco dictatorship occurred in an atmosphere of reaction against the sexual fears engendered by the Second Republic. Women's rights, liberal attitudes towards sex, the increase in the

⁵⁰⁸ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume I, An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 11.

political influence of the proletariat (perceived by some as a sexually dangerous and licentious class), and a sexually infused anti-clericalism caused considerable anxiety for the supporters in Spain of Catholicism, morality, and tradition.

Comprising the most salient feature of the moral panic harped on by many proponents of martial masculinity, Francoists particularly targeted non-normative sexual attitudes for eradication following the civil war. The sexual anxieties engendered by the Second Republic had been partly responsible for the regime's advent and mandate. Retaining Catholic sexual authoritarianism as its ideological basis, Catholic Francoists intended to revert Spain into a nation founded on and permeated with sexual morality. In lieu of the all-encompassing nature of mandatory social and military service, nearly all women and men in Spain (regardless of class, ethnicity, political outlook, and region) fell under the aegis of institutions that actively strove to construct sexual subjectivity. The *Sección Femenina* (Women's Section) of the *Falange* (Spain's fascist party) and the Spanish armed forces attempted to flatten individual sexuality and make it conform to certain institutionalized Francoist norms. Nevertheless, the weight of this chapter's evidence suggests that, like norms of masculinity, the normative male sexuality of the Francoist military failed to dramatically influence Spanish society. Despite the large-scale apparatus of social control that was conscription, Spain adopted many of the liberal and modern values of the Second Republic during and immediately after Franco's reign.

Method

This chapter situates sex and sexuality discursively and institutionally as cultural, historical, ideological, and material constructs. It places that understanding within the larger contexts of normative masculinity, truncated citizenship, Spanish nationalism, and

moral panic. Within an overall assessment of normative models of sexual acts and identities, and bearing in mind historical and cultural circumstances in Spain during Francoism, several key questions foreground the chapter's methodological imperatives. How does normative sexuality illuminate the social regulation of men? How did the normative sexuality of the Francoist armed forces correspond to other notions of sexuality within Spanish society? What was sexuality's relationship to social beliefs and practices? Interrelated to the context and causes of the Spanish Civil War, a significant portion of military discourse presented sex as a moral and physical evil, which raises further questions. Why were especially non-normative sexualities regarded as dangerous and in need of control? Who did they threaten and why?

Foucauldian and post-structural conceptions of power that create, control, and manipulate sexuality serve as the focal point of the chapter, which investigates what the Franco regime demanded of sex and sexuality. That is, this study seeks historical understanding of how normative male sexuality functioned as a linchpin in the varied strategies of the dictatorship. Utilizing Foucault's methodology, it asks "What were the effects of power generated by what was said?"⁵⁰⁹ Analyzing the links between discourses, the chapter clarifies "the most immediate, the most local power relations at work[.]" evaluating how they made possible discourses that supported certain power relations.⁵¹⁰ Conscription served as the major technique of power in this regard. It functioned as an umbrella for specific tactics of domination.

Discursive notions of sexuality informed the regulatory logic and proscriptive imperatives of mandatory military service in Franco's Spain. Judith Surkis argues in her

⁵⁰⁹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 11.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 99.

work on citizenship, masculinity, and morality in late nineteenth and early twentieth century France that “an idealized masculinity and a specific configuration of social and political power were articulated and maintained.”⁵¹¹ Likewise, normative sexuality played an integral role in creating and preserving the type of Spanish nation idealized by Franco and his supporters. Accordingly, this chapter explores the ramifications of sexuality in terms of truncated citizenship and nation building in post-civil war Spain. Throughout the Franco regime, Spanish men’s sexual desire was, to use Surkis’s words, “at once a condition of and problem for their socialization.”⁵¹² Keeping this circumstance in mind, the chapter investigates how, as an apparatus of the state, the Francoist military conditioned sexuality in order to create the obedient male citizenry of a Spain newly forged from the bloody struggle against, in part, expressions of sexualities and sexual practices that many of Franco’s supporters perceived as dangerous, unhealthy, and sinful.

Similar to ideals of normative masculinity and the practice of military jurisprudence in regards to homosexuality, the Foucauldian “obedient subject” comes to the fore as that which the military sought to create through conditioning and regulating men’s sexuality. In other words, the ultimate goal Francoists had for normative sexuality was obedience. Manifesting obedience was the effect of the power inherent in normative Francoist male sexuality. It went hand-in-hand with the indoctrination of martial values and the intention to create a militarized, paternally hierarchized, and heteropatriarchal society. The placement of men as husbands and fathers at the top of their own paternal and patriarchal family structures served to normalize those men’s place in society and the

⁵¹¹ Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870–1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 231.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 9.

power structures of Franco's Spain. As head of their own households, men would know and obediently occupy their subordinate place in the family of the nation.

Herein lies a crucial paradox in understanding the successes and failures of Francoist masculinity. On the one hand, regardless of the impressive potential for coercion and domination inherent in mandatory military service and despite wielding that power for over thirty years in post-civil war Spain, the Francoist military faced many difficulties inculcating normative sexuality. Theorizing that repressive power paradoxically generates resistance to itself within its own structures, this chapter's evidence suggests that the normative sexuality propagated by the Franco regime failed to manifest itself in sexual subjectivities and practices. The discursive relations of power and knowledge in the institution of the military—sites of control, power, and repression—impelled what Foucault terms “matrices of transformations.”⁵¹³ In Spain, such conflict and transmutation resulted in the triumph of many of the gendered identities and sexual values that the Franco regime, from its inception, had striven to eradicate in Spain once and for all.

On the other hand, although the regime was largely unsuccessful in conditioning male sexuality to correspond to all Francoist norms and preventing modern sexual practices and subjectivities, it succeeded in engendering obedience to some forms of normativity and towards the state. Many Spanish men married and had families after their time in the military, helping construct a patriarchal society. As demonstrated in Chapter IV, most men did not rebel against the military during their time in active duty and the Franco regime faced no large-scale social resistance to its rule. Mandatory military service played a role in creating such obedience.

Understandings of Normative Male Sexuality

The ideology of National-Catholicism and the institution of the Apostolado Castrense loomed large in the military's discursive conceptions of sexuality as well as in its policies and practices of sexual repression. Victory in the civil war presented the Church and its organizations the opportunity to advance their view of human sexuality. Conservative Catholics considered non-normative sexual practices to be morally impure sins. They viewed procreation as the only appropriate reason for having sexual relations of any kind. The practicalities of military life and the realities of Spanish society nevertheless challenged the conjugal and procreative sexuality propounded by the Catholic Church in Spain. Catholicized sexuality proved incompatible with broader attitudes in the armed forces towards male sexuality. Sources reveal that the military often considered male sexuality as natural and manly, albeit in need of guidance and regulation. For instance, in the sexual education sections of training manuals, the armed forces portrayed soldiers' heterosexual escapades with women, including sex workers, as normal and masculine. This attitude undermined the Apostolado's efforts to prevent sex outside of marriage. Notions of irrepressible male sexuality and the reality that soldiers frequented prostitutes created an environment in the military that proved impossible to entirely reconcile with Catholicized notions of sexual morality.

Although assuming male sexuality to be voracious, the Apostolado did not judge men's rapacious sexuality to be incorrigible. The organization went to great lengths to help soldiers overcome their "immoral" sexual urges. Success in conquering one's sexual desires comprised, in fact, a key attribute of the Apostolado's version of normative

⁵¹³ Ibid., 99.

masculinity. Linked to *caballerosidad* and *hidalguía* (both connoting chivalry and a chivalric man),⁵¹⁴ Apostolado discourse particularly asserted the importance of *hombria* (manliness). Its 1960 booklet, *Campaña premilitar* (Premilitary Campaign), described *hombria* as “the typical quality of a man,” although stating it should not be “the brute force of a bull or the sexuality of a monkey or a rooster...”⁵¹⁵ Rather, “Manliness requires a predominance of intelligence, of reason. Children, idiots or crazy people will never be examples of manliness.”⁵¹⁶ In fact, men without such reasons impelling their actions would never be model men.⁵¹⁷ In and of itself, therefore, manliness did not a normative man make. In order to be sufficiently manly, a certain type of sexualized manliness conjoined with the other features of normative masculinity had to be taught and inculcated in soldiers

Imploring men to be masculine, one author pronounced in the Apostolado’s journal *Pensamiento y Acción* in 1956 that the true realization of human love required a man to be perfectly masculine and a woman perfectly feminine, not only sexually, but also psychologically.⁵¹⁸ Although society at large disgracefully blurred the lines between the masculine and feminine, the soldier, “more than anything else, must be a man [who possesses] all the proper qualities that constitute an authentic virility.”⁵¹⁹ Two years later in a piece entitled “Facets of manliness” and published in the Apostolado’s magazine for conscripts, *Empuje*, another author opined that “I think that he is one hundred times more

⁵¹⁴ See Chapter II.

⁵¹⁵ *Campaña premilitar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1960), 10-11.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ P. Juan M. Corominas, “Hombria,” *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm 66 (marzo 1956), 13–14: 13.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 14.

a man who knows how to maintain his chastity...”⁵²⁰ These publications from the middle of the Franco regime indicate that a Catholicized discourse of normative masculinity generally affirmed that real men were those who could rise above their sexual passions. Specifically, the Apostolado firmly grounded men’s sexuality within the bounds of marriage and a family. The military similarly desired for men to marry and have children (to whom they would pass along the martial values learned in the barracks), but did not necessarily object to extra-marital and non-procreative sexual relations.

Maintaining a close link between the purpose of a man’s sexuality and the healthy functioning of the nation, military and Apostolado authors discursively epitomized normative sexuality in the figure of the dutiful husband and father, who was placed in contradistinction to the model of the Don Juan. Informed by Francoist ideology and utilizing a mixture of science and religion, training manuals and magazines for troops taught soldiers about the crucial importance of sexual morality, how to avoid as well as navigate the dangers of prostitutes and the risks of sexually transmitted infections (STIs, or venereal diseases in the terminology of the time), and why masturbation, pornography, and homosexuality were pernicious to the individual and society. These aspects of normative sexuality played a significant role in repression of, but also transformations in, gender and sexual norms and practices during the Franco regime and beyond.

Normative Types: The Dutiful Husband & Father vs. The Don Juan

According to many military sources across time, and especially pronounced in Apostolado discourse, a man’s purpose in life was to marry an honest woman and have

⁵²⁰ Luis de Argamasilla, “Facetas de la hombría,” *Empuje*, núms 79–80 (primera y segunda quincena de febrero 1958), 2.

children.⁵²¹ The précis of the Apostolado's attitude in this regard consisted of sex being healthy and natural only when it occurred between a man and a woman during marriage for the sole purpose of procreation.⁵²² Authors inside and outside the Apostolado often connected these notions to Catholicism and marriage. In 1944, the Apostolado's training manual *Para ti..., soldado!* (For You... Soldier!) stated "Jesus Christ has made marriage a Sacrament, a noble vocation, great and beautiful. Prepare yourself to lead an honest and glorious life in this sublime role as leader and head of a family."⁵²³ Twelve years later, a sergeant wrote in a magazine for troops that "Marriage perpetually and indissolubly unites a man and a woman, conferring [upon them] the grace of living together in sanctity and of giving their children a Christian education."⁵²⁴ Thus, an honorable life for a man consisted of marrying, having children, and becoming the patriarch of a family, a life that many Spanish men led after their time in the military.

Obligations of marriage and fatherhood solidified the Catholic and Francoist desire to place men within the paternal structures of not only the individual family, but the larger familial network of the Church and regime. In Foucauldian language, the effect of the power of what was said about masculinity within these Francoist patriarchal conceptions of men's role within familial structures placed women in a subordinate

⁵²¹ See for example Aresio González de Vega, *¡Para ti..., soldado! (Manual del soldado) (Obra declarada de utilidad por el Ministerio del Ejército)* (Madrid: Ministerio del Ejército, 1944); Gonzalo Muínelo Alarcón, *El soldado y la mujer (cartas a enamorados)* (Madrid: 1967); Fernando Ripoll, "El matrimonio y sus cuatro contratos," *Reconquista*, núms 295–296 (julio-agosto, 1974), 19; Francisco Delgado Piñar, "La familia, esa pieza fundamental de la sociedad: ¿Qué es educar?" *Formación*, núm 119 (junio 1963); José María Cases de Ordal and Alvaro Capella Riera, *Hombres de caqui: (Diario de un soldado en la paz)*. 4^a ed. (Madrid: Editorial LUX MUNDI, 1962), 145. This attitude accorded with Francoism generally speaking. As Timothy Mitchell demonstrates, "One type of sex [during Francoism] was authorized: that of a husband and wife specifically intended for procreation, and even this type was morally risky." Mitchell, *Betrayal of the Innocents*, 106.

⁵²² See for example González de Vega, *Para ti..., soldado!*, 67; *Campaña premilitar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1960), 20–21; Luis, Arzobispo de Sión, "La pornographía va a los cuarteles," *Gulías*, núm 17 (septiembre 1955). 3–6: 5.

⁵²³ González de Vega, *¡Para ti..., soldado!*, 75.

position *vis-à-vis* their husbands as well as the state. The local relations of men's power over their wives and children in the family supported, at least in intent, the overall power relations of the patriarchal Francoist nation.

In this discourse, the purpose and worth of male sexuality lay in monogamous procreation. "Responsible fertility," as one author phrased it in the mid-1960s in an R.E.S. magazine (magazines published by individual barracks) from Granada, meant that men should subscribe to Catholic viewpoints on sexuality, not use contraceptives, try to have as many children as possible, and dominate their sexual desires with morality.⁵²⁵ Unlike discourse and education for women and their role as mothers (especially during their time in mandatory social service under the Sección Femenina), men in the military did not receive advice or guidance on how to be good fathers. Men's role was to be breadwinners. In that respect, a man's duties as a parent went no further than providing material resources for their children. Their wives would assume the primary tasks of child rearing.

As the exception to this rule, the military expected men to pass along the values they learned in the barracks to their male offspring. Mentioned in Chapters I and II, military authors for the entirety of the Franco regime lamented that many of the martial values that the military taught its soldiers and that were intended to be filtered into society were neither manifesting themselves in the quality of recruits nor alleviating Spain's perceived social and spiritual crisis. Such continued assertions of failure hint at the military's inability to override other modes of behavior and social values prevalent in Spanish society. Regardless of success or failure, the sexual education men received

⁵²⁴ Sargento Nicolás Anechina Bertoliin, "El matrimonio," *Armas y Servicios*, núm 8 (mayo-julio 1962).

⁵²⁵ José Villalva Gómez, "Fecundidad responsable," *Bailén*, núm 18.

during their time in the military taught them that their sexuality was honorable and moral when realized for the purposes of a family. This message functioned as a technique of power reinforcing local and national power relations.

Placing the ideal type of male sexuality in conjunction with scholarly understandings of Francoist norms of femininity delineates helpful terminology for conceptions of normative masculinity and male sexuality. If the normative woman in the framework of “true Catholic womanhood” was a “mother, wife, and housekeeper,”⁵²⁶ the normative masculinity propagated by the Apostolado can be understood as “true Catholic manhood” and the normative man as the “dutiful and chaste husband and father.” Outside of a strictly Catholic understanding of that normativity, such a husband was not necessarily chaste, but should nevertheless be dutiful to his wife and children. The paradigm of the manly, martial, and obedient member of the nation soldier included this conception of the dutiful husband and father. The act of procreative sex with his wife bequeathed that gendered identity to a man. Serving to reinforce men’s authority in the household and over women, this discursive ideal and the intent to fashion sexual subjectivity placed men’s reproductive bodies in the service of the state.

Content in military training manuals and print culture portrayed the model of the Don Juan as a negative other type of sexuality that soldiers should avoid if they aspired to become ideal husbands and fathers. Discourse presented the Don Juan (the womanizer or the playboy) as anathema to the normative man. His sexuality was based on the sexual conquest of women rather than submission to marriage and fatherhood. Linked to broader cultural discourses about *donjuanismo*, diatribes against Don Juans represent a common

⁵²⁶ Aurora Morcillo Gómez, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco’s Spain* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000).

current of thought within Francoist military discourse dating from at least the mid-1940s. In 1945, a colonel writing in the periodical for troops, *Yunque*, described the Don Juan as a harmful and damaging “chimerical fantasy,” as well as a coward and delinquent.⁵²⁷ This officer also argued that women were in part to blame for the Don Juan because they subjected themselves to this idealized man.⁵²⁸ Military discourse viewed the Don Juan as dangerous because he conquered women for sexual ends rather than respectfully courting one woman for the purposes of marriage. Placed within a Foucauldian conception of the modern world, such a man further jeopardized the regulation of sexuality: “There were two great systems conceived by the West for governing sex: the law of marriage and the order of desires—and the life of Don Juan overturned them both.”⁵²⁹ For Francoists, the sexuality of donjuanismo threatened to undermine their desire for a Spanish nation comprised of men who controlled their sexual urges, were respectful towards women, and submitted themselves to the institution of marriage.

By the 1970s, some authors argued that the Don Juan ideal had been successfully eradicated. An article in the R.E.S. publication, *Honderos* (Balearic Islands), written by a private named Oliver Barceló argued that donjuanismo, a problem twenty years prior, had been surmounted within Spanish society. Reproving the Don Juan as both a fictitious symbol and a romantic reality of the conquest of woman, this average soldier argued that the concept and tricks of seduction employed by such men had been replaced by the ideas of equality between the sexes.⁵³⁰ Stating that sexuality was an integral aspect of relationships between men and women, Private Barceló contended that women had

⁵²⁷ Fr. Coronel de Estambre, “Lo que vale de ‘Don Juan Tenorio’,” *Yunque*, núm 5 (10 noviembre 1945).

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, an Introduction*, 39–40.

become less objects of pleasure for men, with a consequent shift in the nature of relationships between men and women as this new type of woman demanded equality in her romantic relationships: “The ‘Don Juan’ is not the type [of man] for this updated woman.”⁵³¹ In fact, “[the Don Juan’s] force is discredited because today women require intelligence [in men] and something that is not fleeting, the seriousness of a possible life together demands [such a man].” According to this author, the Don Juan had perished by 1971, giving rise to “to a sincere man, without tricks, who asks as much as he gives.”⁵³² Such genuine men who sought equality in their relationships with women would, in effect, lead to a better society.⁵³³

Private Barceló’s thoughts on changes in courtship customs and relationship values demonstrate how military discourse contained the seeds of its own resistance, especially in R.E.S. publications. He does not denounce the Don Juan for his threat to patriarchal structures of courtship and marriage. Appealing to men’s masculinity in arguing for why they should not look to donjuanismo as a model of sexuality, this private employed women’s power as the active chooser of their romantic partner (and not their passivity as an object of conquest) to compel men to treat the opposite sex with equality and respect.⁵³⁴ Shifts both in women’s attitudes towards men and social perceptions of romantic relationships (predicated upon Spain’s cultural and economic modernization) resulted in a private in an R.E.S. publication informing his audience that equality, rather than conquest and submission, was the attribute women sought most in their relationships with men.

⁵³⁰ Oliver Barceló, “Temas juveniles: Superación del ‘Donjuanismo’,” *Honderos*, núm 37 (marzo-abril 1971), 9.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Ibid.

In any case, male sexuality served as an injunction to marry and procreate: dutiful husbands and fathers—with their sexuality controlled by Catholic morality and their reproductive bodies placed in the service of the state—would become the epitome of the manly citizen soldier. The regime and military intended that such men would form the regenerated backbone of a morally pure Spain freed from the specter of the rampant and uncontrollable sexuality of the macho Don Juan and the threats of masturbation, pornography, and homosexuality.

Sexual Education

Military training manuals make clear that a young man's time in the barracks was one of sexual learning and exploration. This sexual development could be dangerous, according to military authors. Without proper education, military service had the potential to develop bad sexual habits in soldiers (read non-normative sexuality). For example, one piece of Catholic educational literature published in 1965 entitled *Tú y servicio militar* (You and Military Service) discussed this crucial time in a soldier's life. It stated “many young men have had a healthy sexual life up until their entry in the barracks, [but] when they leave the [barracks] their bodies are fatigued with so much sexual disorder.”⁵³⁵ This manual's author spoke of his own experience of military service, writing that the talks given to troops on sexual themes, the books provided on sexual education, and discussions with other soldiers helped many young men to stop themselves from engaging in “immoral and dangerous” sexual acts.⁵³⁶ According to this

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ See also Chapter V.

⁵³⁵ Rafael Hinojosa, *Tú y servicio militar* (Madrid: Ediciones J.O.C., 1965), 67.

⁵³⁶ Hinojosa, *Tú y servicio militar*, 66–67.

manual, which was similar to many expositions on the topic, education and examples within the barracks could either corrupt or supportively guide a soldier's sexual life.⁵³⁷

Surkis argues in relation to the creation of hygienic male citizens in modern France that "The army thus held out an ideal opportunity to morally form men, while simultaneously menacing to 'deform' them."⁵³⁸ To wit, Apostolado discourse affirmed both that real men were those who could defeat their sexual passions and that the barracks, although permeated with a dangerous atmosphere of sexual licentiousness, were a moral proving ground. The Apostolado feared the examples set in the barracks by less-religious young men who spoke about and possessed a rampant and wanton sexuality.

These dangerous pitfalls could, however, be overcome with Catholic sexual morality. A *Pensamiento y Acción* article from 1956 stated "But yes[,] we can assure that, disgracefully, in the barracks [one] encounters an atmosphere saturated with sensuality to the point that it is difficult to immunize even those who up to that point had happily overcome the [sexual] crisis and have had a noble and healthy concept of life and of man."⁵³⁹ R.E.S. publications parroted this language into the 1970s. In 1972, *Honderos* published an article entitled "La mente del recluta" (The Mind of the Conscript). This piece argued that when young men arrived at the barracks they were not completely psychologically or physically developed. Like Apostolado discourse from two decades earlier, the article stated that during this developmental phase of life in the military, men were exposed to both good and bad influences.⁵⁴⁰ New conscripts should avoid following poor examples and work towards possessing good "mental hygiene" by, for example,

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen*, 231.

⁵³⁹ Juan M. Corominas, "Más sobre la hombría," *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm 67 (abril 1956), 11–12.

⁵⁴⁰ "Galeno," "La mente del recluta," *Honderos*, núm 42 (enero-febrero 1972), 25.

dominating their sexual passions.⁵⁴¹ Although sexual virgins might be made fun of by their fellow soldiers, he who returned home with his chastity intact would be a total man, “a magnificent husband, a good father and a model citizen.”⁵⁴² Reflecting the interconnectedness of the manly, martial, and obedient member of the nation with the dutiful husband and father, this language reveals the tactic of appealing to masculinity in efforts to control sexuality, fashion an obedient male citizenry, and construct the paternal familial structures that would reinforce the patriarchal power that created them.

Appeals to masculinity ran alongside those to health and hygiene. The medicalization of normativity comprised another important technique that the military utilized to advocate its notion of male sexuality. Within the historical context of modern militaries, medicine as a technology of sex has utilized Foucault’s fourth strategic unity of the, “*psychiatrization of perverse pleasure*.”⁵⁴³ Using this conception, Foucault demonstrates the historical process of how sex became a biological and psychical instinct wedded to a categorization of sexual anomalies on the one hand, and standards on the other hand. The latter assign behavioral normalizations. The former pathologize non-normative desires and behaviors, with the corollary of corrective and punitive technologies intended to ameliorate sexual deviations. The influence of the Apostolado in the military bolstered medical discourses of pathologization. It provided Catholic morality as the basis for heteronormative sexuality, with medical instruction on sexuality often skewing towards Catholic interpretations.

In 1944, *Para ti... soldado* similarly described the purposes of sex in a combination of biological, heteronormative, and religious terms: “God has created two

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Luis de Argamasilla, “Facetas de la hombría,” *Empuje*, 2.

different sexes, that are also provided [*provistos*] with different organs, called genitals, so that, through the union of the man and the woman, the human species perpetuates itself.”⁵⁴⁴ As pleasure accompanied the “procreational act,” *Campaña premilitar* informed soldiers that although it might be tempting to seek sex for the sake of gratification, in doing so a man avoided the “end for which it was established.”⁵⁴⁵ Accordingly, “each time that this act takes place outside of [a] marriage sanctified by the Sacrament, or within marriage [but] done trying to avoid the propagation of the species, one gravely sins.” The manual imparts the lesson that with sex, “the law faithfully observed is a source of life and the abuse [of that law] is the abyss of death.”⁵⁴⁶ This final word of advice further demonstrates how the military in the 1940s sought to make men obediently follow sexual norms in particular and the laws of the Franco regime in general.

At the beginning of the 1960s, *Campaña premilitar* included a section entitled “Plena Hombría: Vida Sexual Sana (A desarrollar por un médico) [Full Manhood: Healthy Sexual Life (Developed by a Doctor)], which interpreted human sexuality as a strictly reproductive function. Having sex was not (like the functions of breathing and eating) necessary for the existence of the individual.⁵⁴⁷ The manual argued that the liberty inherent in the individual differentiates humans from animals, giving man the ability to overcome his sexual desires. Any sexual conduct was therefore a sin when not between a man and a woman for the exclusive purpose of the reproduction of the species. Sexual acts that lacked a monogamous reproductive and heterosexual relationship (especially

⁵⁴³ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, an Introduction*, 105.

⁵⁴⁴ González de Vega, *¡Para ti..., soldado!*, 67.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

those of masturbation and homosexuality) were contrary to nature.⁵⁴⁸ Conflating these interpretations of human sexuality with nature, normativity, and sin, *Campaña premilitar* informed future conscripts that such abnormal practices led to a wide range of physical ailments. The manual lists non-procreative sexual practices as comprising abnormal forms of sexuality, citing onanism as particularly dangerous and harmful to both men and women. For women, it could lead to nervous problems and “grave genital diseases of the uterus and ovaries[,]” and in men result in “nervous irritability” and impotence.⁵⁴⁹

The Apostolado posited chastity—a truly manly quality connected to Catholic morality—as the best way to avoid the dangers inherent in sexuality. To defend against other malicious influences that might lead a young soldier away from chastity, like the example of the Don Juan, *Para ti..., soldado* warned in 1944 that anyone who argues that the genitals are natural and should be used often, or who contends that after twenty years of age it is impossible to stay chaste, was actually attempting to justify their own depraved conduct.⁵⁵⁰ These messages, dating to the 1940s, were not strictly disseminated by the Apostolado. According to a non-Apostolado military instructional pamphlet from 1944, the Don Juan or womanizer was less of a man despite his litany of sexual conquests: “Do not suppose that he is more of a man who goes with many women, on the contrary, [he is more of man] who guards his chastity”⁵⁵¹ In this case, rather than a common societal conception of the strength of one’s masculinity being tied to a man’s sexual prowess with multiple women, this author proposed that the fewer times a man had sex, the stronger his masculinity.

⁵⁴⁷ *Campaña premilitar*, 20.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 21–23.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁵⁰ González de Vega, *¡Para ti..., soldado!*, 67.

Again appealing to masculinity, *Campaña premilitar* advised in 1960 that when a man failed to be celibate outside of marriage: “[h]e is not more of man, but less of a man....”⁵⁵² The logic in this case is “that which is truly masculine... is to produce, to act,” implying that not producing children through each and every act of sex demonstrates an absence of masculinity.⁵⁵³ Furthermore, “The lack of strength to guard [one’s] chastity reveals a lack of the desire to guard it, a weak will, a scarcely masculine character. He who is not able to guard his chastity does not want to.”⁵⁵⁴ This Apostolado manual utilized Catholic interpretations of biology and health to argue for abstinence: “As the sexual function is not vital for the individual, a man, using his liberty, can abstain from executing sexual acts without going against nature and without certain danger for his health.”⁵⁵⁵ Messages about chastity, informed by Catholicism and appearing decades apart, carry the implication that the inability to remain chaste is emasculating, sinful, and unhealthy. Utilizing masculinity and hygiene in particular, entreaties for chastity served a sexually repressive function. The power implicit in these messages couched human sexuality in negative terms, with the intent of placing men and women’s sexuality in the strict services of the Catholic Church and the Franco regime.

Sexually Transmitted Infections & Prostitutes

Although the Apostolado and its magazines provided soldiers with a Catholic brand of sexual pedagogy, *Para ti... soldado* warns that a young man is not taught these Christian values when first arriving in the military.⁵⁵⁶ The manual informs conscripts that

⁵⁵¹ Felipe Sesma Bengoechea, *Cartilla del soldado: De utilidad para los reclutas, individuos de las clases de tropa y subinstructores* (Barcelona: Simpar S.A., 1944), 59.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 28. Emphasis in original

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 27.

⁵⁵⁵ *Campaña premilitar*, 27.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 65–66.

doctors will give them talks about venereal diseases from a sanitary, rather than moral point of view. This description of pedagogy inspired more by health and hygiene than morality and religion aptly describes the larger focus of the military's sex education initiatives. In general, the Catholic message of sex and sexuality conflicted with both that of the military and Spanish society. Sexual education for troops in training manuals or the talks *Para ti... soldado* referenced reflected the reality that soldiers often had sex before and outside marriage. The military provided sex education that acknowledged those facts. Making matters worse, the Apostolado found itself swimming against the current of the Spanish Church when in the 1960s, as William J. Callahan argues, the "reforming tendencies [of Vatican II] introduced a more positive view of marriage and sexuality..."⁵⁵⁷ By Franco's death in 1975, the Apostolado had proven itself a weak link in the chain of Francoist power, which was itself incapable of binding the Spanish nation to the values of Catholic sexual morality.⁵⁵⁸

Non-Apostolado military pedagogy of this nature was often clear and straightforward, focusing predominantly on STIs. Usually falling under the rubric of hygiene, training manuals discussed STIs in detail. Instructional literature most frequently referenced syphilis, and to a lesser degree gonorrhea (*blenorragia*), as the two most prevalent STIs. Although some manuals for troops explained the symptoms of these diseases, in the main, educational material spoke broadly about STIs discussing how they were acquired and could be avoided.

⁵⁵⁷ William J. Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875–1998* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 486.

⁵⁵⁸ In his brief discussion of the *Apostolado*, Losada Malvárez makes the similar argument that even in the 1950s "there is evidence of anxiety in the military that the messages transmitted during military service do not at all interest the recruits, and do not achieve the transformation of their consciences as desired." Juan Carlos Losada Malvárez, *Ideología del Ejército franquista (1939–1958)* (Madrid, Istmo, S.A., 1990), 270–271.

Training manuals asserted that soldiers contracted STIs from prostitutes.⁵⁵⁹ Typical for military discourse throughout modern history, the Francoist military viewed prostitutes, and not their clients, as vectors of disease.⁵⁶⁰ Educational material informed troops that prostitutes would “rot your body, poison your blood, and rip out your heart.”⁵⁶¹ Even if a soldier used condoms, these women were dangerous. According to *Campaña premilitar*, “there are public women who tend to break them secretly.”⁵⁶² Especially treacherous were those prostitutes who loitered near the barracks.⁵⁶³ By the same token, educational material informed soldiers that avoiding prostitutes was one of the best ways to prevent STIs:⁵⁶⁴

In order to avoid sexual infection as much as possible, it is important to know that [illegal prostitutes] are the most dangerous, more so than those who are [legally] registered in such vile traffic, be particularly suspicious

⁵⁵⁹ See Base Aérea de los Llanos, *Manual del recluta* (1964), 75; José Cuevas Fernández, *Manual del soldado de Infantería de Marina: Periodo de instrucción* (Madrid: Ministerio de Marina, 1970), 288; José Lázaro Argiles, *El libro del recluta: Manual de Máxima utilidad para todos los soldados y clases del Ejército* (Valencia: Ediciones Gaisa, S.L., 1960), 210; Saturnino Arocas Irisarri, *Libro militar para todos los reclutas*, 33rd ed. (Valencia: Editorial America, 1960), 98–99; Juan Palazón Martorell, *Instrucción militar. Campamento* (Murcia: Editorial La Verdad, 1958), 338; Ignacio Salinas y Angulo, *Manual para las clases de tropa: Curso de aptitud para el ascenso a cabo, Tomo I, Libro I*, 30th ed. (Madrid: Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, S.A., 1960), 324–325; Manuel Serrano Expósito, and José Vicente Revilla Martínez, *Manual del recluta y del soldado de aviación*, 5th ed. (Zaragoza: Graficas Iris, S.A., 1962), 217; and Sinforiano Morón Izquierdo, *¡Vencer! Breviario del soldado y de los mandos inferiores*, 16th ed. (Barcelona: Ramón Sopena, S.A., 1969), 17.

⁵⁶⁰ See for example Philippa Levine, “Race and the Regulation of Prostitution: Comparing Public Health in the U.S. and Greater Britain,” in *Gender, Labour, War and Empire: Essays on Modern Britain*, eds. Philippa Levine and Susan R. Grayzel, 51–71 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Lenore Manderson, “Colonial Desires: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in British Malaya,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 3 (January 1997): 372–388; Douglas M. Peers, “Privates Off Parade: Regimenting Sexuality in the Nineteenth-Century Indian Empire,” *The International History Review* 20, no. 4 (December 1998): 823–854; and James Francis Warren, “Prostitution and the Politics of Venereal Disease: Singapore, 1870–98,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 21, no. 2 (September 1990): 360–383; The exception to this rule of always stating that a man acquired STIs from prostitutes is found in a training manual that, while naming prostitutes as the first and foremost danger, states that venereal disease can be obtained by contact with women in general or persons of the same sex as well as through objects that have been contaminated like razors and towels. See Cuevas Fernández, *Manual del soldado de Infantería de Marina*, 288.

⁵⁶¹ Arocas Irisarri, *Libro militar para todos los reclutas*, 99.

⁵⁶² *Campaña premilitar*, 27.

⁵⁶³ Ignacio Salinas y Angulo, *Manual para las clases de tropa*, 324–325; and Morón Izquierdo, *¡Vencer!*, 35. Arocas Irisarri, *Libro militar para todos los reclutas*, 98–99.

⁵⁶⁴ See for example Serrano Expósito and Revilla Martínez, *Manual del recluta*, 217; Lázaro Argiles, *El libro del recluta*, 210; and Palazón Martorell, *Instrucción militar*, 338.

of those who are younger, barmaids in cash cafes and other similar establishments, those [women] who compete at certain parties and dances, and, above all, those who frequently roam [near] the barracks and seek to enter your home [*procuran ocultar su domicilio*].⁵⁶⁵

Military discourse created a hierarchy of sex workers and denoted other women as suspicious, if not incognito prostitutes.

Campaña premilitar stated that the best way for a soldier to avoid STIs was to abstain from sex with “suspicious people,” especially avoiding “[all] public women who traffic their bodies and solicit men, [they] are certainly suspicious of contagion, as it is statistically demonstrated that 90 out of 100 of them, a few years after dedicating themselves to their disgraceful trade, have already contracted venereal diseases.”⁵⁶⁶ These ideas—which conflated sexually active women with prostitutes—correspond to scholarship arguing that promiscuous women also fell under the category of “fallen women” in Franco’s Spain.⁵⁶⁷ Military educational content categorized women perceived as sexually active to be dangerous for men. Such literature also acknowledged that soldiers might have sex with women who were not prostitutes. Further demonstrated in Chapter VI, training manuals and magazines for troops strove to teach men to avoid such women.

To that end, training manuals often sought to convince recruits that their masculinity was at stake in avoiding sex workers and STIs. A training manual stated in 1958 that those who engaged in sexual vice were “CRIMINALS WITHOUT CONSCIENCE. IT IS NECESSARY TO KNOW HOW TO KEEP ONESELF

⁵⁶⁵ Salinas y Angulo, Ignacio, *Manual para las clases de tropa*, 324-325.

⁵⁶⁶ *Campaña premilitar*, 26.

⁵⁶⁷ For more on the codification of “fallen women,” see Aurora G. Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 90–131.

HEALTHY SO THAT LATER ONE CAN ENJOY A HEALTHY FAMILY AND HAVE CHILDREN WHO ARE THE PRIDE OF THE PATRIA...” The lesson imparted in this case is that a “CLEAN AND HEALTHY SOUL PROVIDES HEALTHY CHILDREN.”⁵⁶⁸ Linking the avoidance of prostitutes to masculinity, hygiene, and morality, a manual for conscripts argued in 1960 that all men who respected their familial and social relationships “must flee from the tavern, as well as from prostitution. Both are caverns of perdition and [lead to the] relaxation of good hygienic and moral manners.”⁵⁶⁹ In the same year, another book for conscripts similarly advised its readers that when considering visiting a prostitute to “Think about your mother, your sister or your girlfriend; think of your house and your family; think of your future children, and seek to preserve a healthy and strong body and clean and pure blood.”⁵⁷⁰ A manual for Air Force soldiers argued in 1964 that “venereal diseases,” “along with being repugnant and painful produce degeneration, debilitate a man’s virility and constitute a true plague because they are so easily contracted.”⁵⁷¹ Likewise, a Marine Corps training manual stated in 1970 he “is infinitely more of a man who reaches marriage without having had this unnecessary and dangerous experience [of having had sex with prostitutes].”⁵⁷² Interconnected to the mandates of marriage and fatherhood, this educational content from the middle years of the dictatorship strove to make soldiers avoid sex outside of marriage in general and sex with prostitutes in particular. To reach the moral and patriotic pinnacle of normative masculinity, a man had to guard his sexuality against immoral temptations.

⁵⁶⁸ Palazón Martorell, *Instrucción militar*, 339. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁶⁹ Lázaro Argiles, *El libro del recluta*, 210.

⁵⁷⁰ Arocas Irisarri, *Libro militar para todos los reclutas*, 99.

⁵⁷¹ Base Aérea de los Llanos, *Manual del recluta*, 75.

⁵⁷² Cuevas Fernández, *Manual del soldado de Infantería de Marina*, 288–289.

Helping prevent soldiers from contracting STIs, the military utilized notions, dating to the 1940s, of patriotism, morality, and masculinity. An article published in 1948 from the regional Apostolado periodical, *Temple* (Valladolid), warned that gone uncured, STIs could be passed along to one's wife and children.⁵⁷³ As the nation needed healthy and strong children, this article imparts the lesson that a man served his *Patria* by not contracting STIs.⁵⁷⁴ Citing chastity as the only way to avoid STIs and appealing to its readers' masculinity, this piece stated "The chaste man is strong in body and spirit[.]" and "He is more of a man who best dominates his passions than he who submits his will to that of others."⁵⁷⁵ The Apostolado cautioned soldiers about engaging in sex with prostitutes from a perspective of masculinity. A pamphlet from 1962 contained a section entitled "Ni Hombre ni Cristiano" (Neither a man nor a Christian), warning that going to a house of prostitution even once was enough to lose one's manhood and religion.⁵⁷⁶ The message was clear: "*He who enters a house of prostitution leaves at the door everything that makes him a man.*"⁵⁷⁷ Like other Apostolado publications and military pedagogy, the implication here appeals to masculinity: Real men do not have sex with prostitutes. These messages continued across time and outside of the Apostolado. A training manual published in 1969 informed non-commissioned officers that "the best prevention belongs to the moral order: a healthy and logical joy of youth, totally divorced from vice, will be the sure path of developing ourselves in a virile manner, preparing ourselves to make a

⁵⁷³ "Lucha contra las enfermedades venereas," *Temple*, núm 67 (noviembre 1948), 4.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Cases de Ordal and Capella Riera, *Hombres de caqui*, 87.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 86. Emphasis in original.

home: with healthy children for the good of the Patria: **he is more of a man who triumphs over vice than he who is vanquished by it.**”⁵⁷⁸

Although training materials nearly ubiquitously propounded the message that sex workers were vectors of disease and that the best way to prevent sexual health problems was to avoid having sex with them, educational discourse also provided more practical information on disease prevention. The military did not necessarily want its troops to have sex with prostitutes, but accepted the reality of such conduct and provided soldiers a sexual education that taught them which sex workers to avoid and what to do if they contracted an STI. An Air Force training manual from 1962, for example, advised the use of condoms as well the “prophylactic ointments that are sold in pharmacies,” along with washing with soap and water and urinating before and after having sex.⁵⁷⁹ An Army training manual from the same time period, although stating that soldiers should eschew sex workers, similarly counseled that if a conscript did have sex with a prostitute, he should “observe the maximum cleanliness with their genital organs.”⁵⁸⁰ Frequently, this literature recommended visiting a doctor if any symptoms of STIs appeared.⁵⁸¹

Discourse on prostitutes presented a conundrum of conflicting messages. On the one hand, the Apostolado and the military informed soldiers that having sex with prostitutes was injurious to the *Patria*, personally emasculating, morally repugnant, and dangerously unhealthy. On the other hand, troops received practical sexual education, had sex with prostitutes, and lived in a sexually-charged environment in the barracks wherein sex was a popular topic of discussion. These opposing influences corresponded to and are

⁵⁷⁸ Morón Izquierdo, *¡Vencer!*, 35. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁷⁹ Serrano Expósito and Revilla Martínez, *Manual del recluta*, 217. Also see, Arocas Irisarri, *Libro militar para todos los reclutas*, 98-99; and Sesma Bengoechea and Blanco Cabezon, *Cartilla del soldado*, 58.

⁵⁸⁰ Lázaro Argiles, *El libro del recluta*, 210.

explained by the discourse and practicalities of the Francoist military. Although a Catholicized message of chastity and morality held sway within certain segments of the armed forces, it was not influential enough to overcome the reality that soldiers had sex out of wedlock. Neither could it surpass the prevalent attitudes of male sexuality as needing an outlet and recourse to prostitution as an inevitable expression of masculine heterosexuality. In the case of Franco's Spain, the armed forces advised soldiers that having sex with prostitutes was morally repugnant and hygienically dangerous. Although the Francoist military sought to control the kind of women with whom troops had sexual relations, it did not regulate prostitutes themselves or take strong measures to prevent soldiers from utilizing prostitutes as sexual outlets.

Attempting to control the sexual energies of its troops for the healthy functioning of the nation, such conceptions made male sexuality not necessarily the fuel of the military machine, but that of society itself. Understanding that the Franco regime utilized mandatory military service not for the purposes of war, but more so for indoctrination and social control, clarifies how concern over the sexuality of soldiers in the Francoist armed forces was more about social reproduction and national regeneration than military prowess or combat on the battlefield. The Spanish armed forces under Franco represent a case in which the capability of the military as a fighting force did not factor into gendered understandings of imperial expansion or national regeneration.

Negative Practices: Masturbation & Pornography

Controlling men's sexuality for the interconnected purposes of inculcating nationalism and exercising power, the military and Apostolado concerned themselves not

⁵⁸¹ See, for example, Serrano Expósito and Revilla Martínez, *Manual del recluta y del soldado de aviación*, 217; Morón Izquierdo, *¡Vencer!*, 35.

only with issues such as sexually transmitted diseases and prostitutes but also masturbation and pornography.⁵⁸² Apostolado educational material in particular often included information on the practices of masturbation, declaring that engaging in such activities would lead to health problems and moral depravities. For example, targeting young men before they officially matriculated into the armed forces, *Campaña premilitar* sought to condition them to believe that masturbation of any kind was highly dangerous. It labeled solitary sexual practices (personal or reciprocal masturbation) as abnormal forms of sexuality with “grave dangers.”⁵⁸³ This source from 1960 informed its readers that along with impotence, the masturbator habituates himself to sexual satisfaction in a capricious manner, which debilitates his will power and leads to apathy.⁵⁸⁴ Like impotence, “apathy can progress and [lead to] nervous disorders—neurosis or insanity—that incapacitate a man or drag him to the asylum or to suicide.”⁵⁸⁵ The desire to curb sexual self-gratification as well as practices of genital arousal and stimulation outside of procreative intercourse reveals the ways in which the Catholic Church, through the Apostolado and in collusion with the military, sought to condition the private sexual practices of Spanish men.

Especially in terms of self-gratification, both the Apostolado and the military informed young men that masturbation was physically, mentally, and spiritually

⁵⁸² Homosexuality should also be added to this list. In general, however, the Apostolado did not engage much in discussions about homosexuality in their discourse or pedagogy. *Campaña premilitar* is the source that alludes to homosexual acts most directly, again warning of their dangers: “Homosexuality, in whichever of its forms, constitutes a grave aberration that, being contrary to nature and morally as well socially repugnant,” puts those who engage in homosexuality at the margins of society and leads them to crime (*Campaña premilitar*, 24). In general, the Apostolado’s attitude of intercourse within marriage only for procreation being the most masculine, moral, and healthy form of sex implies that homosexuality is unmanly, immoral, and unhealthy. For a conclusive investigation about homosexuality, see Chapter IV.

⁵⁸³ *Campaña premilitar*, 23

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

debilitating. *Para ti... soldado* asserted in 1944 that the “solitary vice” would result in a litany of disasters. Madness, for example, resulted from such brutish practices, with one’s willpower debilitated to such an extent that a man would become “a slave to sin,” incapable of all higher and generous feelings, and would fall into egoism. According to this Apostolado source published by the Ministry of the Army in the early years of the regime, masturbation was a path that easily led to “a thousand other disorders,” as well as misery, shame, and desperation. Masturbation dissipated a man’s health, wasting away strong men. The direst consequence of sexual self-stimulation was that “above all, he who has surrendered to impure vice has been lost as a son of God.”⁵⁸⁶ Here, the Apostolado and the military engaged more in a discourse of health and morality than of masculinity: masturbating might not erode masculinity, but it would lead to physical and mental problems as well as forfeiture of one’s relationship with God.⁵⁸⁷ In terms of broader strategy, the Church’s obsession with masturbation was not limited to the barracks. Its efforts in the military went hand-in-hand with its work in the educational system and individual parishes to eradicate practices of masturbation.

Pornography represented another serious problem according to the Apostolado, especially in the barracks. For example, in an article from 1955, the leader of the Apostolado declared pornography a vice “opposed to the moral and physical health of a man.”⁵⁸⁸ In general, the Apostolado had a broad definition of pornography that remained static across time. Illuminating this point, an illustration from *Reconquista* published in

⁵⁸⁶ González de Vega, *Para ti... soldado*, 70–71.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸ Luis, Arzobispo de Sion, “La pornografía va a los cuarteles,” 5.

1959 and then again in *Formación* in 1967 portrays a soldier being reprimanded for possessing a calendar with a woman in a bathing suit:⁵⁸⁹



This definition of pornography as including images of women in one-piece bathing suits, and the struggle to keep such sexual imagery out of the barracks, lost ground to shifts in Spanish society and the military. By the 1970s scantily clad women were a mainstay of

⁵⁸⁹ *Reconquista*, núm 111 (marzo 1959). This image was also republished in: Gonzalo Muínelo Alarcón, "Tony el recluta ye-yé," *Formación*, núm 163 (febrero 1967). In general, the Apostolado reprinted its various illustrations in all its publications.

R.E.S. publications.⁵⁹⁰ The contrast to the Apostolado illustration above and its intentions are clear.⁵⁹¹



R.E.S. content sexualized modern women, placing them within an economy of male desire and creating a culture of erotics. Chapter VI covers these subjects in more detail. Suffice to argue here that such imagery, if not also contributing to or facilitating masturbatory practices, more than likely led to some form of sexual arousal in many of the soldiers who read R.E.S. magazines. In any case, although the Apostolado attempted

⁵⁹⁰ For a fuller analysis of these sources and images see Chapter VI.

⁵⁹¹ Top middle: José Vilanova, “‘Calor’ de verano,” *El Palleter: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado* (III Región Militar), núm 46 (julio-agosto 1972), 20–21). Bottom left: “Galería de Beldades,” *Honderos: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de Baleares*, núm 42 (enero-febrero 1972); Bottom right: *Santa Ana: Revista Ilustrado del C.I.R. n° 3* (Cuarto Llamamiento Reemplazo 1971), 29. This particular image is of the miss “C.I.R.” of the fourth recruitment class for the year 1971 in a

to keep sexualized images of women out of the hands of recruits, individual barracks produced that very imagery. A gulf developed between Apostolado publications and those of the military. Certain shifts in Spanish society, like tourism and the resulting influx of foreign women in bikinis on Spain's beaches, influenced military publications and the sexuality of average troops.⁵⁹² The Apostolado proved unable to prevent those social changes from influencing the Spanish armed forces, or from keeping what it deemed pornography out of the hands of men in the military.

Homosexuality

Fundamental to the agenda of Francoist heteronormativity, both the Apostolado and military sought to eradicate practices of homosexuality. Discourse for the most part remained silent on issues of same sex desire and practices. Military sources contained less material about homosexuality than other non-normative sexual activities. Regardless of discursive dearth, a general message crystalizes in military training manuals and print culture: same sex sexual acts were as pernicious to men as frequenting prostitutes or masturbating. In 1960, *Campaña premilitar* informed its readers that "Homosexuality, in whichever of its forms, constitutes a grave aberration that, contrary to nature and morally and socially repugnant" will drive "those who practice it to the margins of society ... and to even worse situations of crime and other forms of offenses."⁵⁹³ Along with such statements, the general mandate of heterosexuality and the specific law against same-sex

barracks in Cáseres. C.I.R. stands for Centro de Instrucción de Reclutas (Instruction Center for Recruits), which is what the army officially called its barracks.

⁵⁹² See especially, for example, the R.E.S. publication out of Palma de Mallorca, *Honderos: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de Baleares*. See also Chapter VI.

⁵⁹³ *Campaña premilitar*, 24.

sexual acts within the code of military justice created a situation of stringent homophobia within the military.⁵⁹⁴

Homosexuality in the military has historically been a site where Foucault's "*deployment of sexuality*" manifests, where forms of control are "proliferating, innovating, annexing, creating, and penetrating bodies in an increasingly detailed way, and in controlling populations in an increasingly comprehensive way."⁵⁹⁵ The Francoist military's code of justice sought out the most intimate details of homosexual encounters between soldiers, serving as an effective tool for the surveillance that enforced heteronormativity.⁵⁹⁶ Homosexuality in the military creates problems in conceptions of camaraderie.⁵⁹⁷ Notions of comradeship in the Francoist military, however, did not include undercurrents of homosexuality. This omission suggests that the Spanish military was not threatened by practices of comradeship morphing into homosexual acts. *Compañerismo* did not include contradictory aspects of masculinity, such as feminine caring or male snuggling, that challenged heteronormativity.

Anti-homosexual stances and practices within the Francoist armed forces mirrored and reinforced social pressures outside the barracks. In accordance with definitions of normative masculinity and its importance to a healthy body politic, Francoism codified male homosexuality as dangerous and insidious. Consequently, the military, state, and society persecuted homosexual men.⁵⁹⁸ In concert with the

⁵⁹⁴ See Chapter V.

⁵⁹⁵ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 107. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁹⁶ See Chapter IV.

⁵⁹⁷ See for example Geoffrey J. Giles, "The Denial of Homosexuality: Same-Sex Incidents in Himmler's SS and Police," in *Sexuality and German Fascism*, ed. Dagmar Herzog, 256–290 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

⁵⁹⁸ See esp., Arturo Arnalte Barrera, *Rededa de violetas: La represión de los homosexuales durante el franquismo* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, S.L., 2003); and Alberto Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a*

heteronormative boundaries of the regime's power, normative martial Francoist masculinity discursively mandated heterosexuality and pathologized homosexuality.

Conclusion: Failure and Success

The overall evidence of this study suggests that the sexual norms propagated by both the Apostolado and Francoist military for the most part failed to take root in Spanish society. For example, men had sex before and outside of marriage and donjuanismo persisted as popular form of masculinity. The inability to achieve the goals of normative Francoist masculinity and sexuality resulted from a combination of several historical factors: economic modernization, the concomitant influx of foreign cultural influences and resulting social changes, and the legacy of Vatican II with its liberalizing effects on the Catholic Church in Spain. The phoenix of modernity slowly rose from the ashes of the Spanish Civil War, despite the best efforts of the Franco regime to make the Second Republic and its legacy a Carthage and sow salt on its ruins.

In a Foucauldian sense, these historical processes comprised the “plurality of resistances” that made it impossible for normative sexuality to take hold in Spanish society, ultimately being replaced by that which it sought to destroy.⁵⁹⁹ Gradually overtaking the dictatorship's vision of the nation, the realities of Spanish society and the changes wrought by economic modernization went against both the interests of the Franco regime from its inception and the values of the Catholic Church in Spain. Mirroring broader societal patterns, military publications make clear that men visited prostitutes, had sex before marriage, had multiple girlfriends, looked at pornography, and masturbated.

Chueca: Una Historia cultural de la homosexualidad en España en el siglo XX (Barcelona: Editorial Egales, S.L., 2004).

This irrepressible state of affairs conflicted with the goals of the Apostolado. The Apostolado's and the armed forces' ideas about sexuality remained static as the years passed. Despite its influence within the military and its sophisticated discursive appeals to masculinity, morality, and physical health, the regime failed to control and shape the sexuality of several generations of Spanish men. Although Apostolado and official military discourse on sexuality show little change over time, the times themselves changed. Normative Francoist male sexuality was left to languish in modernity's wake.

A summary of a presentation by Dr. Don Francisco José Flórez (at the time Director of the Internal Medical Services of the Military Hospital of the Generalissimo) published in *Pensamiento y Acción* in 1971 reveals the Apostolado's view on social transformations and sheds light on the organization's inability to stem the tide of modernity.⁶⁰⁰ Mentioned in Chapters I and II, Spain's perceived social and spiritual crisis was in part predicated on a supposed sexual licentiousness in society. Dr. Flórez makes this point clear. He argues that materialism had led to a crisis of sexual morality in contemporary society. A surge in erotics and pornography, along with the sexual revolution, had the negative corollaries of the disintegration of "the human couple," the advent of the birth control pill, and the refuge of utopian thought: "There is a new praxis oriented towards mysticism of sex and what is new seems to be the magnification of the sexual instinct."⁶⁰¹ Dr. Flórez feared that such a society would become progressively infirm, have mounting hereditary and congenital anomalies in its citizens, and would cause the ruin of mankind.⁶⁰² According to this doctor, a more magnanimous and

⁵⁹⁹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 97.

⁶⁰⁰ "La pareja humana: Acotaciones biológicas," *Reconquista*, núm 261 (septiembre 1971), 61–62.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

transcendent solution will, “save the love between the human couple...”⁶⁰³ Dr. Flórez’s thoughts reveal that by the last four years of Franco’s life, the Apostolado—in a medicalized pathologization of human sexual expression—continued to fulminate against many of the sexual menaces of the Second Republic. To make matters worse for the organization, although the Francoist military sought to instill a conjugal, heteronormative, and reproductive sexuality in soldiers, it did so based on a view of male sexuality irreconcilable with that of the Apostolado.

The Apostolado’s intractable sexual moralism contributed to the Spanish Church’s failure on the broader front of reconquering all aspects of the nation for Christ. Callahan argues in his study of the Catholic Church in modern Spain that “The Church’s commitment to defending the family in accord with Catholic moral teaching would have been more persuasive had it not been linked so directly to a preoccupation with sexual matters that viewed human nature in the darkest terms as a swamp of corrupt tendencies ever ready to drag Spaniards into eternal perdition.”⁶⁰⁴ Worse still, in the 1960s the Apostolado found itself in opposition to its own umbrella organization when, in Callahan’s words, the “reforming tendencies [of Vatican II] introduced a more positive view of marriage and sexuality...”⁶⁰⁵ By 1975, the Apostolado had proven itself a weak link in the web of Francoist power structures that was itself incapable of overlaying Spanish society with the values of Francoism.

Within the overall context of attempting to control sexuality during the Franco regime, the military’s efforts paradoxically contributed to a sexual liberalization of the nation. The armed forces provided one of the few avenues of practical sexual education

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 486.

in Spain and placed young men in an environment where they could discuss and explore their sexuality. These men created a culture of sexual exploration, superseding that of religious morality. As presented in Chapter VI, R.E.S. publications and their sexually charged content created a culture of erotics in the military that promoted non-procreative male sexuality. The sexual atmosphere of the barracks reflected social attitudes towards sexuality that remained unchanged after the Spanish Civil War. These currents coincided with and facilitated the impact of the sexual revolution in Spain during the 1960s and 1970s. The failures of the military, and especially of the Apostolado, to instill in men the values of Francoist sexual morality indicate that understandings of male sexuality in the case of Spain during the Franco regime were a product of agency, negotiation, and struggle. Evidence does not suggest that Spaniards' sexuality during and after the dictatorship corresponded to normative ideals. A reading of military training manuals and print culture suggest that Spanish men never adopted Francoist normativity. Evidenced by these sources, individual soldiers aspired to be Don Juans, visited prostitutes, had sex before marriage, or were homosexual. Finding spaces for sexual subjectivity (i.e. practices of non-normative sexuality), most men's lives failed to align with the normative prescriptions of the Church and military.

Sexual norms propagated by those institutions, whether prescriptive or reglementary, sought to mold human sexual desire in the interests of conditioning men to obediently accept Francoist power. Although in part failing at the social control of men's sexuality as an integral aspect of nation building and national identity, the regime, military, and Apostolado retained their power until Franco's death. Spanish men may not have behaved obediently towards normative sexuality, especially as far as non-normative

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid.

sexual practices are concerned, but they did often obey the mandate to marriage and the political power wielded over them by the Franco regime.

Chapter IV

Regimes of Punishment: Honor and Sexuality in Francoist Military Jurisprudence

Introduction

During the early 1940s, Sergeant Manuel M. O. and another man, Francisco G. R., took several vacations with one another, exchanged gifts, and were caught in bed together by Francisco G. R.'s mother.⁶⁰⁶ In 1944, a military tribunal sentenced Manuel M. O. to six years in military prison and discharged him from the armed forces for this crime against martial honor. After his release from prison, his conviction stigmatized him for more than ten years. Collecting and presenting certificates of good conduct from several different authorities, he was able to get the conviction—and its corresponding designation of him as a homosexual man—erased from his record in 1960. Due to mandatory military service, Manuel M. O. was one of the millions of men who fell under the jurisdiction of military law during the Franco regime in Spain. Although most soldiers completed their military service without finding themselves in front of a tribunal, those who did, like Manuel M. O., had their lives disciplined and punished by Francoist military jurisprudence.⁶⁰⁷

Utilizing court-martial records of crimes against honor (especially crimes relating to homosexuality) from the years 1936–1963 and military statistics from 1954–1975,⁶⁰⁸ this chapter investigates martial justice in the Francoist armed forces. First, it outlines the

⁶⁰⁶ Archivo General e Histórico de Defensa: Justicia Militar: Contra el Honor Militar: sumario 1333, legajo 321, año 1960.

⁶⁰⁷ Homophobia and anti-homosexual repression were not new to the Franco regime, having ideological roots in Spanish as well as broader European history. See Javier Ugarte Pérez, “Las bases ideológicas de la represión,” in *Una discriminación universal: La homosexualidad bajo el franquismo y la transición*, ed. Javier Ugarte Pérez, 49–78 (Barcelona and Madrid: Editorial EGALES, 2008).

⁶⁰⁸ These are the years from which those sources were available.

system of justice and analyzes judicial practice as a disciplinary, regulatory, and proscriptive technology of power. Second, the chapter examines how the Francoist system of military justice promulgated appropriate gendered and sexual behavior and punished soldiers who transgressed those juridical boundaries. Third, it employs Foucauldian conceptions of resistance as well as queer theory to analyze how discipline and punishment, an economy of identity ascription (or lack thereof), and resistance to norms of gender and sexuality functioned within the Francoist armed forces.

Crimes involving homosexuality form the bulk of the chapter's source base. This study is the first to examine homosexuality within the system of military justice in detail. It adds important information to the overall historiography of homosexuality in modern Spain, revealing a more nuanced picture of how the persecution of homosexual men functioned under Francoism. The court-martial cases analyzed below add to historiographical understandings of the experiences and lives of homosexual men in the Francoist military.

Military jurisprudence in practice defined a wide variety of interactions between men as homosexual acts. Nevertheless, courts often considered extenuating circumstances, and magistrates' verdicts meted out inconsistent and varied punishments. Judges did not necessarily discharge for soldiers found guilty of homosexual acts. This chapter argues that despite the code of military justice defining a wide variety of same-sex sexual acts as homosexual, the law in practice did not always affirm discursive and juridical notions of sexual identities. The system of Francoist military justice paradoxically submitted men to, but also simultaneously contested, the imperatives of Francoist heteronormativity.

Acts & Identities: Part I

The Spanish military's system of justice codified homosexuality as anathema to normative martial masculinity and persecuted homosexual men accordingly. This codification aligned with martial discourse on homosexuality, as well as with Francoist ideology and practice outside of the military.⁶⁰⁹ Military books, training manuals, and print culture presented homosexuality as contrary to nature. Martial discourse understood sex in a heteronormative manner—whether as a necessary outlet for masculine virility or in a marriage for the purposes of procreation.⁶¹⁰ Homosexual acts between two men contradicted sex's purpose and threatened the fabric of society. As the Apostolado Castrense's pamphlet *Campaña premilitar* (Premilitary Campaign) stated in 1960: "Homosexuality, in whichever of its forms, constitutes a grave aberration... contrary to nature and morally as well as socially repugnant..."⁶¹¹ Demonstrated in Chapter III, military discourse codified heterosexual intercourse as the most masculine, moral, and healthy form of sex, construing homosexuality as unmanly, immoral, and unhealthy.

The Francoist code of military justice placed homosexual crimes under the rubric of crimes against honor. Notions of honor played a constitutive role in normative Francoist martial masculinity. Without honor, a soldier could not possess true martial masculinity. Honorable heterosexuality conferred the identity of a masculine, martial, obedient and pious member of the nation. Men consummated their sexual role in society by becoming dutiful husbands and fathers.

⁶⁰⁹ For the persecution of homosexual men outside of the military see Arturo Arnalte Barrera, *Rededa de violetas: La represión de los homosexuales durante el franquismo* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, S.L., 2003); Alberto Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a Chueca: Una Historia cultural de la homosexualidad en España en el siglo XX* (Barcelona: Editorial Egales, S.L., 2004); and Javier Ugarte Pérez, ed., *Una discriminación universal: La homosexualidad bajo el franquismo y la transición* (Barcelona and Madrid: Editorial EGALES, 2008).

⁶¹⁰ *Campaña premilitar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1960), 20.

Homosexual identity ipso facto precluded membership in the heteronormative brotherhood of the armed forces, explaining why punishments for same sex sexual acts carried a discharge. Conferring a homosexual identity was a crucial result (intentional or not) of verdicts that discharged soldiers. The heteronormative institution of the armed forces could not include homosexuals in its ranks. Notions of martial honor often equated to group honor, wherein one man's dishonorable actions stained the honor of the collective. Engaging in sexual relations with a member of the same sex was such a dishonorable crime that it made a man no longer worthy of belonging to the military. This chapter argues that verdicts including a discharge not only punished men for homosexual acts but concomitantly ascribed homosexual identity. Conversely, if a verdict did not include a discharge and magistrates allowed a man to remain in the military, this chapter makes the theoretical argument that such verdicts did not confer a homosexual identity. If soldiers in those cases had been labeled as homosexual, they would have been discharged because they were incompatible with and threatened martial heteronormativity.

This argument corresponds to Margot Canaday's findings in her analysis of homosexuality in the U.S. military during the twentieth century. As part of a larger study on sexuality and citizenship, Canaday contends that the state's understanding of sexual behavior as a basis for exclusion from military service "was a catalyst in the formation of homosexual identity. The state, in other words, did not merely implicate but also constituted homosexuality in the construction of a stratified citizenry."⁶¹² Examining court-martial trials of sodomy from the 1920s and 1930s Canaday finds that the military considered but ultimately decided against shifting its "emphasis from court-martialing

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 24.

soldiers for sodomy to administratively discharging perverts (policing homosexual status rather than acts alone).”⁶¹³ After World War II, the U.S. military added administrative discharge as punishment for homosexual acts. Canaday argues that this new policy “thus shifted the fulcrum of military law ... from acts to status. It would no longer be homosexual behavior that the army and navy penalized, but homosexual people.”⁶¹⁴ The Francoist military adopted similar policies. Scholars like Canaday have demonstrated that in discharging soldiers for homosexual acts, modern militaries confer homosexual identities on men.

Conversely, Francoist military jurisprudence in practice did not always or often result in considerations of homosexual behavior as constitutive of a definite sexual identity. Court-martial records indicate that only a tenuous connection existed between acts and identities. Even in cases of sodomy, for example, the act of anal sex did not itself always confer a homosexual identity. Francoist martial jurisprudence therefore constructed sexual orientation as a mutable category. Participation in homosexual acts warranted punishment, but not always or necessarily to the fullest extent of the law because those acts did not *a priori* mark men’s identities as immutably homosexual.

Codes of Military Justice

The code of military justice in place during the majority of the Franco regime was that of 17 July 1945 (*Código de Justicia Militar: de 17 de julio de 1945*, hereafter CJM).⁶¹⁵ This law replaced the earlier code of 1 November 1890.⁶¹⁶ Both codes

⁶¹² Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 4. Emphasis in original.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁶¹⁵ The CJM of 1945 was replaced in 1980 with both the *Ley Orgánica 9/1980, de 6 de noviembre* and the *Ley Orgánica 2/1981, de 4 de mayo*.

underwent minor changes throughout their tenure.⁶¹⁷ Unless otherwise noted, this study focuses on the CJM of 1945. The Francoist military did not enact an entirely different law code upon assuming power and much continuity existed between the 1890 and 1945 codes of military justice. For example, little was new in the Franco regime's CJM regarding homosexual crimes.⁶¹⁸ This study does not seek to prove or disprove that the Francoist code of justice in relation to sexual infractions was unique, but rather investigates how military justice functioned during the first twenty-five years of the dictatorship.

Together with laws of obligatory military service, both codes of military justice placed most Spanish men under the jurisdiction of military law for long periods. During their two years of active duty in particular, the military minutely controlled men's actions and behavior through the general techniques of military instruction and discipline as well as with threats and impositions of harsher punishment through its system of justice. After active duty, military law could technically be invoked against men for the remainder of

⁶¹⁶ It also unified the codes of justice for the three branches of the armed forces, which had previously had their own legal codes. For a summary of the new code as well as the differences between it and that of 1890 see Pascual Vidal Aznarez, "El nuevo Código de Justicia Militar," *Ejército*, núm 70 (noviembre 1945) 3–8.

⁶¹⁷ For the purposes of this study and its focus, no significant changes took place within the CJM of 1945 during the Franco regime. For a good synopsis of the redactions that did take place see Marco Abelardo Algora and Hernandez Orozco, Joaquin. *Código de Justicia Militar: de 17 de julio de 1945, con notas, concordancias y una selección de jurisprudencia, complementado con las disposiciones vigentes de mayor interés* (Madrid: Aguilar S.A., 1963).

⁶¹⁸ In one case from 1945 the military invoked both codes of justice for a charge against military honor for having engaged in homosexual acts. In this instance, a twenty-year-old and married infantry sergeant from the Cádiz region named Rodolfo S. I. ordered a recruit to go to his room to look for some papers. When the other soldier was in his room, Rodolfo S. I. proceeded to initiate "dishonest actions" with the man. The tribunal found Rodolfo S. I. guilty and sentenced him to one year of prison and a discharge. The infraction had taken place in 1945 under the previous CJM, but because the case was tried in 1946 under the new CJM, the military charged Sanchez Infantes under both codes for the crime of "committing dishonest acts with an individual of the same sex." This dual invocation of both codes demonstrates continuity between the two as well as military jurisprudence's use of them. Archivo General Militar de Guadalajara: 4. Unidades, Centros y Organismos (UCOS): 4.1 Prisiones Militares: 4.1.11 Castillo de Santa Catalina (Cádiz), Expedientes Personales: legajo 114, sumario 6749, causa 885/45 (hereafter: AGMG: CSC: 114/6749, 885/45).

their time in the reserves.⁶¹⁹ Mandatory military service placed the majority of Spanish men under the jurisdiction of military law for twenty-four years (1943 military service law) to eighteen years (1969 military service law).⁶²⁰

Being found guilty of a crime, and in particular the sentence of a discharge (*separación del servicio*), negatively affected men after their military service because of the Military Service Card.⁶²¹ These booklets contained general information on every soldier including their date and place of birth, their call-up date, where they served in the armed forces, relevant medical information, their time of active duty, reductions in time of military service, the date that they finished their active duty, and when they completed their military service. Identification cards were important for employment opportunities as well as important benefits of citizenship (which were contingent upon a man having completed his active duty). All men in Spain had to present their cards to various employers and authorities until they passed the age of forty-three or, after 1969, thirty-seven. Men with discharges in their service cards would to some degree have been stigmatized within Spanish society.

⁶¹⁹ It should also be kept in mind that due to Article 6 of the CJM, several offenses that could be committed by ordinary civilians fell under the jurisdiction of military law. This article stipulated that any crime committed against the military from robbery or outright attack to piracy or insulting a member of the armed police (who, along with the Civil Guard, belonged to the military) could land a man or woman in military court. Alternatively, Article 16 of the CJM stated that a soldier could be tried under the common penal code for certain crimes such as attacking non-military authorities or counterfeiting. This article also stipulated that the crimes of adultery, statutory rape (*estrupo*), abortion, or family abandonment did not pertain to military jurisdiction but rather that of the Common Penal Code (*Código Penal Común*, CPC). However, the military could and did try active-duty soldiers in military courts for crimes committed under the CPC as well as sentenced them to military prison if found guilty.

⁶²⁰ See *Reglamento provisional para el Reclutamiento y Reemplazo del Ejército: Redactado en cumplimiento de lo establecido en la Ley de 8 de agosto de 1940. Aprobado por Decreto de 6 de abril de 1943 (D.O. núm. 163)* (Madrid: Servicio Geográfico del Ejército-Talleres, 1943); and *Reglamento de la Ley General del Servicio Militar (Decreto 3087/1969, de 6 de noviembre)* (Barcelona: Edit. Nayer Hnos. Y Cía., 1970).

⁶²¹ Legislated under Article 5 of the *Reclutamiento y Reemplazo del Ejército* and Article 4 and section 4.12 of the *Reglamento de la Ley General del Servicio Militar*.

Aside from death or retirement, men in Spain completed their military service either by being discharged or by finishing their active duty and time in the reserves. A discharge from the armed forces went in a man's military service card. If they completed their service, men received an "absolute license" (*licencia absoluta*), which was effectively a diploma for their military service card. Although not classifying discharges as honorable or dishonorable, any *separación del servicio* from the Spanish military would have been equivalent, for instance, to a dishonorable discharge in the U.S. military. Colin J. Williams and Martin S. Weinberg argue in their study of homosexuals in the U.S. armed forces that "insofar as post-service effects are concerned it is claimed by many that any discharge from the service which is other than honorable is likewise punitive."⁶²² The consequences of discharges for homosexual crimes are compounded in heteronormative societies. Some men in Spain went to great lengths to expunge their records of such information, as is evident Manuel M. O. 's efforts to remove his conviction.

The Francoist code of military justice distinguished between minor offenses (Articles 443–446), major (*grave*) offenses (Articles 431–442), and crimes (Articles 258–413). For minor offenses the military could simply discipline soldiers in-house, meting out punishments within the barracks and without trying soldiers by tribunal. Minor offenses included such actions as failure to comply with orders, not dressing properly, being drunk, leaving the barracks without permission, insulting fellow soldiers, negligence, and many more.⁶²³ On an ascending scale and with varying amounts of time for each based on the severity of the offense, the armed forces had four types of non-

⁶²² Colin J. Williams and Martin S. Weinberg, *Homosexuals and the Military: A Study of Less Than Honorable Discharges* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 33.

judiciary disciplinary measures for minor offenses. A soldier could be given *compañia* (sequestering within the barracks), *prevención* (sequestering in the guard-room after completing one's daily duties instead of having free time with the other soldiers), *calabozo* (the brig, or a jail cell within the barracks), or *Principal de la Plaza* (normal military prison).

Those infractions considered major offenses included desertion (if a soldier, on their first time deserting, voluntarily returned with fifteen days), not reporting for military service in times of peace, mistreating an inferior by deed, not carrying out orders when doing so did not constitute a crime or minor infractions, and officers who tolerated insubordination in their soldiers. Major offenses carried a punishment of military arrest. Recidivism of minor offenses could also result in a charge of a major offense.⁶²⁴ For example, a second charge of drunkenness while on-duty, or a third charge of drunkenness while off-duty warranted the charge of a major offense.

Articles 258–413 of the CJM delineated infractions considered as crimes, which carried sentences of military prison and were organized into several categories: crimes against the security of the *Patria* (homeland), crimes against the security of the state and army, crimes against military discipline, and crimes against the ends and means of the army. More specifically, these crimes included: treason; espionage; crimes against human rights; rebellion; sedition; insulting the armed forces; attacks, threats, disrespect, insults, and slander towards military authorities, the nation its flag or national anthem, or insults

⁶²³ For a list of all the minor offenses see Article 443, CJM 1945.

⁶²⁴ In 1942, Sergeant Julio Gomez Moro, for example, received a six-month prison sentence for the accumulation of minor offenses (Article 339, CJM 1890). In 1938, he committed the infraction of irregularities in the quartermaster's payments (*irregularidades en el cargo de furriel*); in 1939, he created a scandal while in the hospital; in 1941, he was late to formation without a reason (*retrasarse sin motivo a formación*); and then in 1942, he initiated a public scandal, which then meant that he was also charged with Article 339. AGMG: CSC: 38/2450, 573/42.

towards the armed forces; insubordination; insulting a superior; disobedience; abuse of authority; crimes against military honor; abandoning one's duties (*abandono de servicio*); voluntary disablement for duties (i.e., self-inflicted wounds); desertion; negligence; fraud; unlawful destruction of military documents; and multiple major infractions.

Several of these offenses and crimes related directly to gender and sexuality. In other words, military jurisprudence had the ability to both discipline and punish those soldiers who did not comply with many of the key tenets of normative Francoist martial masculinity: discipline, subordination, dignity, honor, and the treatment of women.⁶²⁵ Complying with the rules of discipline and subordination was integral to being a manly soldier. Men who transgressed those aspects of normative masculinity infringed upon norms of manhood.

Dignity as a key aspect of martial masculinity, for example, had specific legislation within the code of military justice. Soldiers could be punished for "acts contrary to military dignity" (a minor infraction legislated under Article 443). This charge could be brought against a soldier for an infraction as simple as attempted escape from the brig.⁶²⁶ In one instance, a military tribunal sentenced a soldier to a month of military prison for a minor infraction of "making commentaries contrary to military dignity" because he had made remarks that a tribunal considered as disrespectful to "the sacred rite of mass and to his *compañeros* and services."⁶²⁷ Here, a military court ruled that disrespecting Catholic mass as well as other soldiers and the armed forces went against the dignity of the military. The discursive codification of dignity as integral to

⁶²⁵ For how the system of military justice adjudicated infractions related to the treatment of women see chapter V.

⁶²⁶ See for example AGMG: CSC: 40/2645, 241/62; and AGMG: CSC: 47/3134, 241/62.

military decorum and martial masculinity functioned within the system of military justice to punish men who transgressed those boundaries. Martial jurisprudence included conforming to dignity, considering transgressions against dignity as minor infractions.

Delitos Contra el Honor Militar

Crimes, Courts, Magistrates, and Case Files

A crucial component of martial manhood, honor particularly functioned as a means to impose heteronormative masculinity through forms of discipline and punishment. Falling under the rubric of crimes against military discipline within the CJM, crimes against honor legally codified discursive notions of masculine and martial honor. These crimes included several types of violations (Articles 338–352).⁶²⁸ For the purposes of this study, the most important of these infractions was Article 352, which punished those soldiers who committed “dishonest acts with a member of the same sex.” Codifying gender and sexual norms by prohibiting same-sex sexual contact between soldiers, this final article under crimes against honor carried a punishment from six months-and-a-day to six-years-and-a-day in prison and the option, at the discretion of the court, of a discharge from the military.

According to Article 103 of the CJM, if the military tried a soldier for a crime against honor, the court-martial would have taken place in the *Sala de Justicia* (Hall of

⁶²⁷ AGMG: CSC: 20/1307, 339/45. For the same incident he also received a year of military prison for an abuse of authority charge and a month of prison for “manifestations of displeasure in his service” (*manifestaciones de disgusto en el servicio*).

⁶²⁸ These infractions were: running away in the face of the enemy (Article 338); faking sickness or injury (Article 339-1); surrender without, for example, employing “all the methods of defense required by the Laws of honor and duty” (Articles 339-2-7, and 340); avoiding contact with the enemy (Article 341); deliberately losing, damaging, abandoning a ship or aircraft (Articles 342-345); not engaging or persecuting the enemy (Article 346); abandoning a command, squadron, or division (Articles 347-348); “The soldier that does not maintain discretion and reserve due with respect to duty or campaign operations” (Article 349); helping prisoners escape (350); “excusing oneself from carrying out one’s duties” (Article 351); and “[a] soldier who commits dishonest acts with a member of the same sex” (Article 352).

Justice).⁶²⁹ This court was composed of four *Consejeros* (councilors or advisors) and three *Togados* (judges).⁶³⁰ Soldiers tried for a crime against honor would sit in front of a tribunal made up of seven officers serving as magistrates, with the *consejero* of superior rank acting as the lead judge. In cases of military crimes, the judicial system afforded soldiers a *defensor* (defense attorney), and a *fiscal* (military prosecutor) who tried cases against defendants.⁶³¹ Defense attorneys, voluntarily chosen by defendants, could be either military lawyers who had jurisdiction in the military district in which the court was held or an officer with the same jurisdiction.⁶³² Prosecutors held the rank of officer and a judicial authority named them to specific cases.⁶³³

Judges either had legal education or were advised by lawyers and as officers belonged to the *Cuerpo de Justicia Militar* (Corps of Military Justice). Due to the absence of secondary sources on military magistrates as well as time constraints preventing primary source investigation (especially of service records), this study does not investigate the biographies of attorneys, prosecutors, or judges. Court-martial records do not contain information on magistrates' deliberations (which would provide a window into motivations), but as is discussed below, the consideration of extenuating circumstances in particular illuminates judges' motivations behind particular verdicts.

⁶²⁹ The *Sala de Justicia*, along with the *Tribunal de Justicia* (Tribunal of Justice), was under the jurisdiction of the *Consejo Reunido*, itself under the auspices of the *Consejo Supremo de Justicia Militar*, which was the highest military authority for all three military branches of the Spanish armed forces. It was headed by either a field marshal or a lieutenant general from the Army, and comprised of councilors and advisors from the *Cuerpo Jurídico* (Juridical Corps) of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. See Susana San Cristóbal Reales, *La Jurisdicción Militar: De jurisdicción especial a jurisdicción especializada* (Granada: Editorial COMARES, 1996), 71–2.

⁶³⁰ See also *ibid.*, 73.

⁶³¹ For information on the nature of defense attorneys and the assignation of prosecutors see Teniente Coronel Auditor Julian Iñiguez de la Torre, “Aplicación del nuevo Código de Justicia Militar,” *Ejército*, núm 73 (febrero 1946), 20–22.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶³³ For more information of military prosecutors see Comandante Auditor Pascal Vidal Aznarez, “El fiscal militar,” *Ejército*, núm 77 (junio 1946), 61–64.

Susana San Cristóbal Reales' study of military jurisprudence in Spain from the eighteenth century to the Spanish Constitution of 1978 provides some information on Francoist magistrates. She demonstrates that in the armed forces a "military judicial career" did not exist as such. Judges were "themselves commanders who, with the advice of a technician, exercised judicial power." Magistrates were not necessarily on a strict career path of military justice and carried out other military functions.⁶³⁴ In that sense, San Cristóbal Reales argues that military justice, "was a cooperative justice, integral to executive power, as well as excessively broad."⁶³⁵ Members of a mutual martial milieu, magistrates wielded extensive juridical power wedded to the purposes of the Franco regime.

This chapter's investigation into judges' verdicts privileges results over motives. Magistrates' actions speak louder than their intentions in reading verdicts for how they inscribed or circumvented the discursive and juridical notion that homosexual acts equated to a homosexual identity. A verdict's consequences constitute the most important factor in this theoretical analysis. Punishments in court-martial verdicts delineated homosexual acts and could ascribe sexual identities. In so doing, juridical practice reified but also subverted discursive and legislative intentions.⁶³⁶

⁶³⁴ Ibid., 82.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 81.

⁶³⁶ These arguments seek to address a criticism of Foucault that Charles Upchurch made in his article about the methodological framework of studying homosexuality under a Foucauldian lens: "Foucault is now regularly faulted for using evidence in an impressionistic way, for not subscribing to the rigors of accepted historical methodology, and for placing too much emphasis on the abstract accumulation of power by institutions as a causal factor in explanations. Institutions may have gained power over time due to the processes that Foucault has pointed to, but individuals working through institutions also had their own more concrete motivations. If from a distance this process seemed to result, for example, in the accruing of social power by the medical profession at the expense of the church, it should be counted as an insufficient and generic explanation of motivations. Charles Upchurch, "Liberal Exclusions and Sex between Men in the Modern Era: Speculations on a Framework," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19, num. 3 (September 2010): 409–431, 410.

Some limitations exist for a researcher trying to access court-martial records. Due to Spain's laws regarding personal information, all files pertaining to individuals are sealed for fifty years.⁶³⁷ That temporal endpoint limits this study's incorporation of courts-martial to the years 1936–1963, making it difficult to gauge if, or how much, incorporating courts-martial from the final twelve years of the Franco regime might influence the conclusions contained herein. The integration of juridical statistics from the period 1954–1975 helps alleviate that temporal limitation within the overall data set. Military statistics before 1954 are unavailable, but courts-martial from 1939 onwards help fill those statistical lacunae.

Courts-martial for particular crimes are especially difficult to find because of how they are categorized and dispensed in Spanish military archives. These records are not organized by crime, but rather by the name of the accused. Archival policy at military archives in Spain does not permit access to full boxes of these records, which would allow a researcher to sift through records for types of courts-martial. Currently, investigators may only request a single court-martial, which an archivist then takes from a larger box of records. This system makes it difficult to quantitatively investigate evidence contained in court-martial records. This study utilizes prison records, which contain facsimiles of verdicts in courts-martial, as a means to gain access to judicial evidence. Enough documents relating to crimes against honor from the archive of Santa Catalina Prison (Cádiz) exist to conduct a qualitative investigation into how military jurisprudence disciplined and punished men for breaking laws related to martial honor. Soldiers serving their terms in Santa Catalina were from all ranks of the military. Most of

⁶³⁷ Two laws (*la ley 16/1985, de 25 de Junio, de patrimonio historico español* and *la ley 15/1999, de 15 de diciembre, de protección de datos de carácter personal*) stipulate that legal records of less than fifty years

these men had been carrying out their military duty in Andalusia and were generally from that region. Many prisoners had served in the Foreign Legion.

Records involving crimes of homosexuality provide sufficient qualitative representations of martial jurisprudence. Courts-martial for crimes against honor permit an investigation into how the system of military justice employed, on a systemic level, its ability to discipline and punish men for transgressing normative boundaries. Multiple experiences surface through these historical sources, revealing how military jurisprudence in Spain during the Franco regime adjudicated the imperative of instilling a heteronormative Francoist martial masculinity in men through mandatory military service.

Qualitative conclusions from courts-martial, along with quantitative analysis from military statistics, offer insight into the role of military law. Evidence contained within those sources empirically provides results that parallel, challenge, and expand theoretical understandings of the history of homosexuality and resistance to heteronormativity. Considering courts-martial as sources that reveal multiple viewpoints and individual experiences, this chapter's methodology investigates macro-systemic trends over time and provides historicized and theoretical conceptualizations of how the inculcation of normative masculinity and the inscription of sexual identity functioned in the Franco regime and military.

Codifying and Regulating Martial Honor

Infractions relating to cowardice made up the majority of crimes against honor in the CJM. The code of military justice infused codes of honor with the requirement of courage. In a negative equation in which honor equated to not being a coward, acting or

old are inaccessible to the public or scholars.

being cowardly muddled one's military and masculine honor. Similarly, Robert A. Nye argues in his study of *fin-de-siècle* France that "Personal courage, which was the most precious of these [military] virtues, thus became a crucial component of the sex—the masculine identity—of men who aspired to honor."⁶³⁸ The culture of the Spanish officer corps had for centuries been steeped in similar ideals of manliness.

Although cowardice dishonored a soldier, honor within military jurisprudence comprised more than simply being courageous in one's duties. Dating to the beginning of the Franco regime, military justice adjudicated the act of having supported the Republic during the Spanish Civil War as contravening the code of martial honor.⁶³⁹ In 1936, for instance, a tribunal sentenced an air-force sergeant who failed to present himself for service in the Nationalist army to eight-years-and-a-day of military prison for a crime against honor.⁶⁴⁰

The military also tried soldiers for crimes against honor when they insulted their superiors or inferiors. In 1952, a military court found an infantry sergeant, Eustaquio L. H., guilty of a crime against honor for having written a derogatory letter about a captain.⁶⁴¹ He had sent this letter to his colonel, writing that the captain "has a heart of a hyena and the worst human sentiments that sadly celebrate Landrú and his ilk."⁶⁴² On a few other occasions when Sergeant Eustaquio L. H. was imbibing with his troops, he

⁶³⁸ Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 217.

⁶³⁹ This study found no evidence of homosexual crimes being utilized as trumped-up charges for Republicanism or other unacceptable political outlooks or behavior, perhaps because these types of transgressions had their own articles within the CJM.

⁶⁴⁰ AGMG: CSC: 41/2728, 120/39.

⁶⁴¹ AGMG: CSC: 54/3524, 303/52.

⁶⁴² The Landrú referred to here is probably Henri Désiré Landru, an early twentieth-century Frenchman who conned, robbed, and murdered widows and who was widely suspected as being a serial killer of women in general. For a brief summary of his crimes see Dirk C. Gibson, *Serial Murder and Media Circuses* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2006), 1–14.

referred to the same captain in sexualized language as a “bastard” and a “son of a whore.” For these infractions, which a military tribunal felt went against martial honor, Eustaquio L. H. received a sentence of six-months-and-a-day in prison.

In another case from 1963, the military charged an officer with a crime against honor for insulting an officer of inferior rank.⁶⁴³ In this instance, Major Ricardo S. L.-L. got into an argument with Captain Edmundo T. M. in front of several witnesses. At the end their verbal altercation, the major told the captain, “I do what I want here and you can go fuck yourself in the ass,” to which the lower-ranking officer replied, “Listen, listen it is you who is going to fuck yourself in the ass.” The major responded by slapping the captain on his left cheek and knocking his hat to the ground. The military charged both officers with infractions: the captain with a charge of a minor infraction of “heedless replies to a superior,” and the major with a crime against honor.

Major Ricardo S. L.-L. ’s defense argued that the captain had been disrespectful and the major lost his temper, which was why he told Captain Edmundo T. M. to fornicate with himself. The captain’s reply warranted the slap, the defense suggested, because the major needed to reestablish his authority. The defense then argued that the charge should be considered a minor offense with fourteen days of arrest, whereas the actions of the captain should warrant a major offense with three months of arrest. The case records do not reveal the court’s ruling on Captain Edmundo T. M., but Major Ricardo S. L.-L. received a sentence of eight months for a crime against military honor.⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴³ AGMG: CSC: 114/6761, 60/63.

⁶⁴⁴ He spent six of those eight months under house arrest.

In neither of these two cases is it clear why Sergeant Eustaquio L. H. or Major Ricardo S. L.-L. were not alternatively charged with insulting a superior or inferior.⁶⁴⁵ The gendered nature of the insults may have influenced the military in charging these men with a crime against honor. Not only did Sergeant Eustaquio L. H. openly disrespect and insult a superior in his letter and comments, much of his language was gendered and sexualized. Writing that the captain celebrated a serial killer of women and publically stating that he was an illegitimate child whose mother was a prostitute, belittled the captain's masculinity. Similarly, Major Ricardo S. L.-L. and Captain Edmundo T. M. telling the each other to have anal sex with himself, insulted both officer's masculine honor because doing so comprised a homosexual act. The Eustaquio L. H. and Ricardo S. L.-L. courts-martial demonstrate the elasticity of the specific charge of crimes against honor. Honorable soldiers should not insult each other. In these two extant cases, military justice punished soldiers for contravening honor as an aspect of martial masculinity. Notably, the gendered and sexualized language contained in these sources reveals that slighting a soldier's manhood was particularly dishonorable, going beyond the boundaries of simply insulting an inferior or superior in rank.

Conversely, when homosexuality constituted a key factor in an infraction, the military would not necessarily bring charges of a crime against honor. For example, in 1943 two corporals named Joaquín Ramón P. M. and Eusebio S. P. were charged with

⁶⁴⁵ The officer corps had its own courts established specifically to adjudicate cases involving honor. Unfortunately, obtaining the records for those courts fell outside the means of this study. Julio Ponce Alberca and Diego Lagares García published a monograph on these honor courts, but did not utilize the records of the courts themselves, citing difficulties in obtaining records. They argue that the military used honor courts to ensure the moral, social, and ideological homogeneity of the officer corps. Julio Ponce Alberca and Diego Lagares García, *Honor de oficiales: Los Tribunales de Honor en el Ejército de la España contemporánea (siglos XIX-XX)* (Barcelona: Ediciones Carena, 2000).

abuse of authority for attempting to make fellow soldiers commit homosexual acts.⁶⁴⁶ Knowing that two other soldiers of lower rank had previously engaged in dishonest acts with each other, Joaquín Ramón P. M. and Eusebio S. P. ordered the two men to take off their pants (apparently to humiliate them), an order with which they refused to comply. For this infraction, the military found Joaquín Ramón P. M. and Eusebio S. P. guilty of abuse of authority and sentenced them to two-months-and-a-day in prison. Conceivably, the military did not invoke the specific charge of dishonest acts with a member of the same sex because Joaquín Ramón P. M. and Eusebio S. P. had not themselves engaged in homosexual behavior. The performance of making other men carry out homosexual acts as a means to humiliate them did not contravene military honor. Rather, those homophobic actions helped reinforce heteronormative conceptions of male sexuality.

Courts-Martial for Homosexuality: 1939–1963

Homosexuality in the military makes problematic and threatens normative heterosexual masculinity and comprises an important site where states and militaries control, define, regulate, and shape men's sexuality. Systems of martial justice in particular function as technologies of knowledge and power that seek out intimate details of sexual desire in order to eradicate homosexual acts and identities from the hyper-masculinized and heteronormative institution of the military. Often, this regulatory and proscriptive system fails to function in the manner for which it is intended.

Until 1954, with the passing of the *Ley de Vagos y Maleantes* (Law of Vagrants and Villains, hereafter LVG),⁶⁴⁷ the CJM was the only law in Franco's Spain that

⁶⁴⁶ AGMG: CSC: 83/5167, 1072/43.

⁶⁴⁷ For an overview of the LVM see Jordi Terrasa Mateu, "La legislación represiva," in Ugarte Pérez, *Una discriminación universal*, 79–107: 96–98.

expressly punished homosexuals.⁶⁴⁸ In 1970, the government passed the *Ley de Peligrosidad y Rehabilitación Social* (Law of Social Danger and Rehabilitation, hereafter LPRS) that in effect replaced the LVN as the key law against homosexuals within the common penal code.⁶⁴⁹ With the passing of the Constitution in 1978 all anti-homosexual laws fell by the wayside. Article 14 prohibited discrimination based on sex, race, religion, or other social conditions.⁶⁵⁰

Little scholarship exists on the armed forces as a key site where the Francoist state persecuted and punished homosexual men.⁶⁵¹ In his study of anti-homosexual legislation Jordi Terrasa Mateu mentions the CJM as one of the repressive laws.⁶⁵² Two other scholars have examined the CJM, courts-martial, and homosexuality in the military. Arturo Arnalte Barrera, in his thorough study of homosexuality in Spain, includes a brief analysis of six courts-martial from the 1940s involving officers that were held in the *Consejo Supremo de Justicia Militar* (Supreme Court of Military Justice). He concludes that if those cases can be considered as representative, some officers, under the effects of alcohol, yielded to the force of their desires and used their rank to obtain sexual

⁶⁴⁸ However, as Javier Ugarte Pérez points out in the introduction to the volume he edited about discrimination towards homosexuals during Francoism and the transition to democracy, homosexual men could be charged and punished under other crimes under the Penal Code of 1944 such as dishonest abuses (*abusos deshonestos*), public scandal, and corruption of minors, for which, he argues, homosexuals received higher penalties than did heterosexuals for the same crimes. Javier Ugarte Pérez, "Introduction," in Ugarte Pérez, *Una discriminación universal*, 13–47: 18.

⁶⁴⁹ For an overview of the LPRS see Terrasa Mateu, "La legislación represiva," 99–104.

⁶⁵⁰ See *Ibid.*, 104.

⁶⁵¹ Homosexual men's experiences under the Franco regime and the rise of homosexual rights movement in Spain have received comprehensive historiographical coverage. The two best monographs on those subjects are Arnalte Barrera, *Rededa de violetas*, and Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a Chueca*. An important edited volume in this historiography is Ugarte Pérez, ed., *Una discriminación universal*. Other important works include: Albert Ferrarons Font, *Rosa sobre negro: Breve historia de la homoseualidad en la España del siglo XX* (Barcelona: Editorial Egales, S.L., 2010); and Juan Vicente Aliaga, "Como hemos cambiado," in *Identidad y diferencia: Sobre la cultura gay en España*, eds., Juan Vicente Aliaga and José Miguel G. Cortés (Barcelona: Editorial Gay y Lesbiana - Egales, 1997).

⁶⁵² See Jordi Terrasa Mateu, "La legislación represiva," 89.

gratification from other men.⁶⁵³ Albert Ferrarons Font contends in his monograph on homosexuality in twentieth-century Spain that “Some superiors used their rank to force soldiers to maintain sexual relations, others used the exchange of favors that benefited both those involved and some relationships existed between the rank-and-file for [reasons of] mere desire.”⁶⁵⁴ Congruent with Arnalte Barrera’s and Ferrarons Font’s arguments, some of the cases discussed in this chapter are laden with rank as a class- and power-based hierarchical means of soliciting homosexual sex.

Scholarship on homosexuality during the Franco regime makes clear that the state persecuted homosexual men in a myriad of ways such as punitive medical and psychological treatments, encouraging homophobia within society, and discursively codifying same-sex sexual desires as antithetical to normative masculinity. Similar to other states and militaries in the modern era, the Francoist military and its code of justice codified homosexual acts as antithetical to both martial honor and the normative masculinity it inscribed. Corresponding to martial discourse, honor and masculinity equated to heterosexuality within the Francoist military’s legal code. Significantly, the impetus behind courts-martial for same-sex sexual acts was not only proving guilt but also minutely examining the specifics of homosexual encounters. The system of military justice used those considerations to hand down corresponding verdicts. Some punishments banished from the military those soldiers who went beyond the bounds of a

⁶⁵³ Arnalte Barrera, *Rededa de violetas*, 55. Only one of the sentences in the cases that Arnalte Barrera examined carried a maximum sentence, aligning with the findings of this study. One soldier who was charged with a crime against honor for a homosexual crime immediately before the outbreak of war in 1936 was exonerated for that infraction because during the war he demonstrated many examples of his martial honor. In this instance, he was in effect able to clean the slate of his honor by demonstrating courage in battle. See *ibid.*, 43–45. This soldier’s story also mirrors the argument of this study that homosexual acts in and of themselves did not irrevocably tarnish a man’s honor.

⁶⁵⁴ Ferrarons Font, *Rosa sobre negro*, 76.

heterosexual identity, further stigmatizing and negatively impacting their lives because those discharges would appear in their military service cards.

Court-martial records involving homosexuality demonstrate that military law in practice often defied its own letter and spirit. For jurisprudence to have aligned with martial discourse, or even its own legal code, discharges would have been standard. Instead, a gradation existed: men deserved punishment for their homosexual transgressions, but not necessarily that of a discharge. Keeping such a situation in mind, this chapter reveals that sexual identities are not always or strictly defined and shaped by discourses or technologies of power. An analysis of the results of verdicts indicates that the apparatus of martial law frequently failed to conform to its heteronormative underpinnings.

Examining individual agency within such a system, the methodological imperative is not necessarily to analyze if or how individual Spanish men constituted their sexual subjectivities. Gleaning such information is often a crucial aspect of studies of sexuality. Unfortunately, how soldiers who participated in same-sex sexual conduct, or those whom were found guilty of such acts, viewed themselves or constructed their identities remains unclear from court-martial and statistical records. Those sources do not provide evidence to make such conclusions. Rather, this chapter analyzes how the system of military justice delineated and meted out punished for homosexual acts. It then correlates those findings to theoretical understandings of acts and identities within systems of power.

Delineating Homosexual Acts

Military jurisprudence created broad parameters of what constituted homosexual acts. Simply touching another man's body, or having one's body touched by another man, could result in charges of a crime against military honor. In 1953, for instance, a soldier on guard duty observed Manuel R. E., a twenty-two-year-old artillery gunner second-class from Montilla (Córdoba), touching "in an impudent manner" the body of Antonio D. P., a twenty-three-year-old corporal from Trigueros (Huelva).⁶⁵⁵ For this crime against honor—deemed as "lewd contacts" between the two soldiers—the prosecution requested a punishment of three years in military prison. The defense argued that there was not enough evidence to convict either defendant. Finding that both men had personally, directly, and voluntarily participated in "acts of homosexuality," the tribunal sentenced the soldiers to eight months of military prison, and afterwards sent them to different disciplinary units.

In this illustrative case, military justice codified "impudent" touching between two men as constitutive of a homosexual act. Accordingly, it convicted Manuel R. E., and Antonio D. P. of a crime against honor. Nevertheless, this same-sex touching resulted in neither the maximum penalty of prison time nor a discharge for either soldier. This particular verdict did not stipulate that the soldiers' actions warranted forfeiture of the masculine honor of military service. It failed to codify their identities as homosexual but submitted both men to further punishment and discipline for their homosexual actions.

In another revealing case, a sexual encounter involving a soldier, a prostitute, and a male civilian resulted in the soldier being tried and convicted of a crime against honor for a homosexual act. In 1955, a thirty-nine-year-old married infantry captain (then a

lieutenant) named Manuel S. M. went to a brothel “in the company of some individuals publically accused [*tachado*] as [sexual] inverts.”⁶⁵⁶ After drinking, singing, and dancing until the early hours of the night, Manuel S. M. went to a room with a prostitute, Dolores L. L. (a.k.a. La Loreña), where they remained for half an hour “without carrying out any carnal act.” Dolores L. L. then asked Manuel S. M. if he would like her to invite “the Invert,” Francisco R. S. (a.k.a. El Sevillanito), to come to the room. The lieutenant answered in the affirmative. Although the prosecution proved unable to establish if any “dishonest touching” had occurred between the men after the three were in bed together, the court found that it was nevertheless necessary that the men’s bodies touched while under the covers. Whatever occurred between the two men, Manuel S. M. had “normal coitus” with Dolores L. L. ten minutes after Francisco R. S. entered the bed.

The court’s unearthing of these intimate details of a sexual encounter between three people and its exclusive focus on homosexual acts indicates that two men having sex with one prostitute at the same time was not necessarily non-normative enough to warrant punishment. Unconcerned with both his visit to a brothel and his participation in group sex, the court ruled that Manuel S. M. had searched for the presence of an individual of the same sex with whom he necessarily had to have had physical contact—construed as a homosexual act. The pathologized semantics of the tribunal discussed an “abnormality” in Manuel S. M., revealing the influence of European-wide trends in sexology and medicine on Spanish magistrate’s conceptualization of homosexuals as having an inverted identity and codifying their behavior as conferring an abnormality.

⁶⁵⁵ AGMG: CSC: 24/1519, 84/54.

⁶⁵⁶ AGMG: CSC: 120/7106, 94/55.

For his misconduct, the tribunal sentenced Manuel S. M. to six-months-and-a day of prison and a discharge. His deviant actions, along with what the magistrates deemed as the defendant's psychological abnormality (demonstrated by those acts), inferred upon him a homosexual identity. Heterosexual intercourse with a female prostitute neither mitigated his actions nor conditioned his identity. This particular case demonstrates how a tribunal's verdict functioned to label Manuel S. M.'s identity as a homosexual, with the consequence that he no longer deserved to remain in the military. Although such cases reveal that verdicts could and did ascribe homosexual identities to men who participated in homosexual acts and discharged them from the military for possessing the identity that those actions assigned, such ascriptions of a homosexual identity and corresponding punishments were not the norm. Verdicts and punishments in cases of homosexuality were inconsistent and varied.

Inconsistent & Varied Punishments

Homosexual acts, including anal sex, did not always result in maximum penalties. In 1960, for example, a military tribunal tried a twenty-two-year-old private named Juan B. S. for "the crime of having committed dishonest acts against military honor."⁶⁵⁷ He and a twenty-three-year-old corporal named Eusebio S. M. (a married man) engaged in anal sex and Juan B. S. suffered a tear to his anus. The defense asked for and the judges handed down sentences of one-year-and-six-months for Eusebio S. M. and one year for Juan B. S. Although the court found that the men had anal intercourse, it only gave them about one-sixth of the maximum sentence. The case record does not provide evidence for why the tribunal gave Eusebio S. M. six more months than Juan B. S. Perhaps due to his role as the active partner in a homosexual act that resulted in an injury

to Juan B. S.'s anus, Eusebio S. M. received a slightly longer sentence. Neither soldier's participation in anal sex warranted a discharge and the concomitant ascription of a homosexual identity.

Methodologically, studies of justice and homosexuality often analyze how active or passive partners are juridically adjudicated. This analysis of courts-martial indicates that the Francoist military lacked a hierarchy in which, as Peter M. Beattie argues in his analysis of sexuality in the Brazilian Army during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "the 'penetrator' dominated the penetrated; the passive partner attained an emasculated femininity or, at best, an attenuated masculinity as a 'boy.'"⁶⁵⁸ Although punishment in some cases was harsher towards the active pursuer of a homosexual act, a lack of evidence that Francoist judges considered active and passive roles in their verdicts places this study in accord with the findings of David Halperin. In his influential work on the history of homosexuality, Halperin argues that in the modern world "Homosexual relations cease to be compulsorily structured by a polarization of identities and roles (active/passive, insertive/receptive, masculine/feminine, or man/boy)."⁶⁵⁹ Likewise, absence of identity and role dichotomies reveals change over time in attitudes towards homosexuality in Spain.

Cristian Berco, in his article from the *Journal of the History of Sexuality* about sodomy in early modern Spain, contends

The active partner in sodomy, the penetrator, represented the dominator, the one who imposed his masculine will on an emasculated object of desire. If anything, then, the penetration of other men acted as the ultimate

⁶⁵⁷ AGMG: CSC: 10/641, 124/60.

⁶⁵⁸ Peter M. Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 200.

⁶⁵⁹ David M. Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 133.

sign of virility. Patriarchal thinking, feeding on codes of masculinity, encouraged a penetrative valuation of sexuality, and thereby sodomy, as a means of forging hierarchies among men.⁶⁶⁰

By the time of Francoism and within the Spanish military, the act of sexual penetration of one man by another no longer strictly reified heteropatriarchal power but tended to undermine it in its nature as a homosexual act.

Court-martial records with varied sentences exhibit juridical inconsistency in imposing Francoist norms of sexuality. Juan B. S.'s sentence of one year in prison for having engaged in anal sex, for example, contrasts in the degree of punishment in relation to the kind of infraction to another instance in which a military court sentenced two soldiers to three-years-and-a day of military prison for sodomy. In 1962, a sentry caught two Legionaries, Francisco M. T. and Domingo B. P., having anal sex in an abandoned hut.⁶⁶¹ The sentry testified that he saw the former penetrating the latter's anus with his "virile member." Francisco M. T.'s defense argued that although he had the desire to commit homosexual acts with Domingo B. P., he did not actually do so. His lawyers further contended both that the sentry's testimony was untrue and that the defendant had never previously had sexual relations with Domingo B. P. The court judged the testimony of the sentry as sufficient proof to convict both soldiers, giving each man three-years-and-a-day of military prison. Domingo B. P. was also sentenced to a disciplinary unit afterwards. In contrast to the verdict against Juan B. S., in this case the man who was sexually penetrated received the harsher punishment. Although both men were found guilty of having had anal sex with another man and Domingo B. P. was sentenced to

⁶⁶⁰ Cristian Berco, "Producing Patriarchy: Male Sodomy and Gender in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, num. 3 (September 2008): 351–376, 358.

⁶⁶¹ AGMG: CSC: 65/4172, 49/62.

further discipline after his prison sentence, they were not punitively cashiered from the military and were thus not constituted or stigmatized as having a homosexual identity.

Examples exist of more severe temporal punishments for soldiers engaging in anal sex acts with other men, but without accompanying discharges. In 1962 a corporal in the Foreign Legion from Valencia named José L. V. had anal sex with another Legionaire from Lugres (Granada) named Eugenio M. S., who at the time of the crime had been seventeen-years-old and a minor.⁶⁶² The prosecution requested the maximum sentence for José L. V. and the median sentence for the other man. Accepting the case as proven, the defense asked for one year for the José L. V. and six months for Eugenio M. S. The court sentenced José L. V. to four years of military prison and the other soldier to six months. After serving his prison term, José L. V. then had to serve out the rest of his re-enlistment contract (which had about a year remaining) in a disciplinary unit.

Opposed to the Francisco M. T. case, the man who was sexually penetrated received the lesser punishment in this instance. The case record does not reveal if the other soldier being a minor resulted in a harsher punishment for José L. V. or a lesser one for the other man. The court did take into consideration that the defendant, although not previously court-martialed, had been sanctioned multiple times for infractions related to his duties. José L. V. had been in the military for eleven years, and his misconduct during that time resulted in the tribunal treating him harshly. The magistrates did not discharge him from the military, however, signifying that he was not completely or irredeemably homosexual. His actions warranted a harsh temporal prison sentence as well as further punishment in a disciplinary unit.

⁶⁶² AGMG: CSC: 53/3463, 75/62.

In another particularly salient case from 1962, a military tribunal found a corporal in the Foreign Legion named Juan M. C. guilty of a homosexual crime against honor and sentenced him to the maximum prison sentence, but without an accompanying discharge.⁶⁶³ In October 1962 Juan M. C. made “dishonest propositions” to another soldier, which that man reported to his superiors. Soon thereafter, Juan M. C. propositioned a private named Alejandro S. N., whom he was caught fellating. For this homosexual act, the tribunal sentenced Juan M. C. to six-years-and-a-day in prison and Alejandro S. N. to half of that time in prison. The rather long prison sentences in cases like those of José L. V. and Juan M. C. represent a minority. Most of the cases that this investigation found and utilizes fail to indicate that long prison terms were the norm for these types of crimes against honor. This case is especially noteworthy because not only had Juan M. C. recently propositioned another soldier before engaging in oral sex with the Legionare, but his conviction for that infraction was the second time he had been found guilty of a crime against honor. In 1945, the military had convicted him of the same charge. Seventeen years later a tribunal failed to discharge a recidivist homosexual offender.

Martial discourse codified engaging in homosexual acts as staining the honor of the individual soldier as well as the military as a whole. Hypothetically, discharges for homosexual infractions should have been frequent. Records of courts-martial like those of José L. V., Juan M. C., and others reveal lack of consistency. Even in the case of Juan M. C., a tribunal did not discharge him despite evidence of his having made several homosexual advances towards other soldiers and after finding him guilty of his second charge for the same dishonorable crime. Consequently, when the military eschewed

⁶⁶³ AGMG: CSC: 76/4800, 317/62.

punitively discharging soldiers its system of justice did not consider or define the guilty party as being completely, immutably, or irredeemably homosexual. In contradiction to its own legal code, military justice in practice often went against discursive and juridical categorizations of what constituted a homosexual identity.

Extenuating Circumstances

Magistrates often deliberating on extenuating circumstances in crimes involving homosexuality further explains the breadth of when, how, and why verdicts resulted in homosexual acts being constitutive, or not, of homosexual identities. These deliberations influenced and help clarify the lack of uniformity in individual sentences for particular cases of crimes involving homosexuality. Individualization of verdicts and sentences often relied on the consideration of the specific actions of each soldier involved in cases of homosexuality, which could either be in favor or against defendants. Tribunals weighed whether a man's mental state had allowed him to be cognizant of his actions; if soldiers had voluntarily and willingly participated in homosexual acts; and, conversely, whether violence, coercion, or abuse of authority had been used to make a soldier engage in homosexual behavior.

Court-martial records indicate that in deciding guilt, military tribunals often used the criteria of conscious or voluntarily participation in homosexual acts. In some cases courts asked medical doctors to decipher culpability. Doctors weighed in on whether or not soldiers were aware of and responsible for their actions. In 1936, a doctor found that a second lieutenant quartermaster, José I. I., had no mental abnormalities that could excuse him from responsibility for his crime of "carrying out manifestly dishonest acts, such as

touching the genital organs [of other men] and [mutual] masturbation.”⁶⁶⁴ Taking these medical considerations into account, the court sentenced José I. I. to two years of military prison and a discharge. A doctor’s opinion that José I. I. was mentally capable of his actions factored into a verdict in which a soldier received a discharge from the military and the concomitant stigma of a homosexual identity.

In a similar case from 1945 involving three soldiers who had engaged in anal sex, a military court found that two artillery gunners second-class, twenty-two-year-old Juan R. P. and twenty-three-year-old Pedro A. R., had (separately) participated in sodomy at the request of a thirty-three-year-old sergeant named Manuel O. M. The court ruled that the artillery gunners had engaged in anal sex with the sergeant voluntarily, “without opposition,” and with no coercion or physical violence on the part of Manuel O. M.⁶⁶⁵ For these repeated sexual offenses (the sergeant had participated in anal sex with each of the defendants at least three different times), the court sentenced Manuel O. M. to six-months-and-a-day of military prison along with a discharge, and the other two soldiers to prison sentences of six-months-and-a-day but without discharges. The magistrates deemed the active pursuer of anal sex to be unworthy of remaining in the military. They decided that the other two defendants required punishment but did not consider their actions to be worthy of a discharge. Participation in homosexual acts (in this case at least three different times for each man) did not in and of itself make a man a homosexual, even if that man had voluntarily engaged in those acts.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁴ AGMG: CSC: 48/3185, 386/36.

⁶⁶⁵ AGMG: CSC: 82/5116, 8/46.

⁶⁶⁶ Juan R. P. and Pedro A. R. having been the parties who acquiesced rather than initiated the homosexual acts, might have played a mediating role in the verdict not cashiering them.

Similarly, in a case from 1941 a private named José B. O. serving in a Falangist regiment was tried for a crime against honor. Two years earlier a male civilian had masturbated José B. O., who was at the time wearing his military uniform.⁶⁶⁷ The court found that these acts had taken place without “violence, intimidation, or publicity.” Although admitting guilt, the defense asked for six-months-and-a-day of prison, making the argument that the act had only been attempted (*en grado tentativa*) and not actually carried out. The court gave José B. O. a sentence of one year in prison with the rest of his time in active duty to be spent in a disciplinary unit. If the infraction had been committed under threat of violence or intimidation, the judges might have looked differently on it, demonstrating another instance of military jurisprudence qualifying homosexual acts.

As a corollary to these qualifications, guilty verdicts did not always result in maximum punishments. For example, on 26 June 1957 a twenty-eight-year-old lieutenant in the I.P.S. (*Instrucción Premilitar Superior*, a separate service for university students in which they qualified to be lieutenants [*alféreces*]) named Francisco A. R. invited a twenty-year-old private named Rafael D. E. to shower naked with him.⁶⁶⁸ While in the shower, the lieutenant proceeded to masturbate himself in front of the private. Two days later he again invited Rafael D. E. to bathe with him. When both were naked, “the officer, taking the penis of the private, put it into his mouth and then afterwards masturbated...” The defense argued that Francisco A. R. had been drunk on both occasions, which influenced his actions. Therefore, his infractions warranted the minimum sentence of six-months-and-a-day of prison. Rafael D. E.’s defense cited his “youth and inexperience” and contended that he was “morally coerced” by the fact that Francisco A. R. was an

⁶⁶⁷ AGMG: CSC: 12/777, 1255/39.

⁶⁶⁸ AGMG: CSC: 7/383, 118/57.

officer as reasons to take into consideration for also sentencing him to the minimum prison term. Although the defense proposed separate mediating factors for each defendant and argued for the same minimum sentence, the court ruled that the specific circumstances of each man warranted different sentences. In particular, it handed down a punishment for Francisco A. R.'s that was harsher than what the defense had requested. The tribunal sentenced Francisco A. R. to one year of military prison and a discharge, and Rafael D. E. to six-months-and-a-day of military prison but without expelling him from the military.

The verdict's sentences accorded with the actions of each soldier, as well as with their relationship to each other. The soldier of superior rank who had initiated homosexual contact with an inferior in rank received the longer prison term and was cashiered from the military. Francisco A. R.'s actions, carried out as a superior in rank as well as a member of the heteronormative armed forces, were apparently so dishonorable that he no longer deserved the masculine privilege of membership in the military. Evidently, the court saw Rafael D. E.'s behavior as not warranting the same punishment, with the parallel conclusion that his actions were neither irredeemable nor made him definitely homosexual.

In another case that illustrates both inconsistent punishment and defense strategies of arguing for extenuating circumstances, a military court tried a twenty-four-year-old sergeant in the I.P.S named Antonio D. O. for "the crime of having committed dishonest acts with a person of the equal sex."⁶⁹ In 1952, he and another soldier, Luis R. E., engaged in "inappropriate acts" while both were in a military hospital. Afterwards, Antonio D. O., in "a state of drunkenness," got into Luis R. E.'s bed where he took out

his penis and tried twice, it seems, to have sex with the other man. Luis R. E. defended himself and shouted in order to prevent those advances. The prosecution requested the maximum penalty of six-years-and-a-day, whereas the defense asked for an acquittal because Antonio D. O. had been “temporarily insane” (*trastorno mental transitorio*). Although he did not receive the maximum sentence, but rather the minimum of six-months-and-a-day of prison, the tribunal discharged Antonio D. O. as well as sentenced him to another month of arrest for his first minor offense of having been drunk while off-duty.⁶⁷⁰ In this instance the court judged that the extenuating circumstances of Antonio D. O.’s drunkenness and his defense of temporary insanity to have not justified his actions. He was no longer worthy of remaining in the military.

The Antonio D. O. case demonstrates that tribunals heard defense arguments for qualifications negating culpability. A case in which forty-three-year-old infantry sergeant named Juan R. G. forced himself sexually on another soldier reveals that magistrates also considered extenuating circumstances to have been aggravating.⁶⁷¹ Verdicts in these cases carried both harsher prison sentences as well as discharges, particularly if a soldier had used force or coercion in pursuing his homosexual desires, as did Juan R. G. After having eaten dinner, Juan R. G. “pressed [another soldier’s] arm, in a suspicious or equivocal form” and later got into bed (*el nave*) with a different soldier named Manuel O. G. While in that man’s bed, Juan R. G. covered the other soldier’s mouth with one hand and proceeded with his other hand to touch Manuel O. G.’s “virile member” on top of his underwear. Later, Juan R. G. “respectfully” requested that the other soldier reciprocate

⁶⁶⁹ AGMG: CSC: 22/1420, 302/52.

⁶⁷⁰ The case file does not contain information on whether or not the military charged Luis R. E. for his involvement in the infraction.

⁶⁷¹ AGMG: CSC: 111/6597, 107/56.

the sex act, a request for which he also received a charge of a major offense of mistreating an inferior by words. For the crime against honor, the tribunal sentenced Juan R. G. to six-months-and-a-day of prison and a discharge, and for the second charge he received a sentence of two-months-and-a-day.

The tribunal in this case also took into consideration the further aggravating circumstance that Juan R. G. had previously been charged with “immoral acts” in 1953, although the charges had been dismissed for lack of evidence. Based on that previous (albeit unproven) charge, the tribunal had “knowledge of the personality of the accused” and considered the “possible certainty” of the other infraction having taken place. The case file states that these considerations then “influenced” the tribunal’s decision. Although receiving only the minimum jail sentence for a homosexual act in which he essentially forcibly masturbated another soldier, the military discharged Juan R. G. for both the crime he was currently found guilty of as well as the aggravating circumstance that he had previously been charged with a similar crime. The latter influenced the court’s view of him as a repeat homosexual offender and the magistrates’ knowledge of the defendant’s previous transgressions guided and motivated their verdict, which ascribed homosexual identity (personality in the language of the court-martial) by banishing a man from the heteronormative institution of the military. Although a tribunal assessed Juan R. G. to be a recidivist offender with a homosexual personality, cases like that of Juan M. C., who was twice found guilty of a crime against honor but was not discharged for either conviction, reveal that military justice in practice did not consistently judge homosexual acts to confer homosexual identities.

Acts and Identities: Part II

The ways in which military justice functioned during the Franco regime in Spain indicate that the theoretical conception of sexual acts always constituting finite identities in the modern era is a partial misconception. Halperin, for example, has engaged in a project to enhance and expand Michel Foucault's distinction between the sodomite and the homosexual, arguing for a clear demarcation between how homosexual identities were constituted before and during the modern period. He argues that particularly in the modern world,

sexual object choice attaches to a notion of sexual orientation, such that sexual behavior is seen to express an underlying and permanent psychological feature of the human subject. Hence people are routinely assigned to one or another sexual species on the basis of their sexual object-choice and orientation.⁶⁷²

Although this description may be accurate for modern constructions of homosexual identities, it should not be assumed as applicable to all situations. This chapter demonstrates that modern systems of power do not uniformly attach identities to sexual acts.

Similar to Halperin's conception of acts equating identities, Carl F. Stychin argues in his study of the United States military in the latter half of the twentieth century that "the military subject, like all subjectivities, is established and maintained through its repetition. It thus becomes essential for the military and for the Court to restore the naturalness and coherence of the subject."⁶⁷³ Employing a system of military justice that functioned to reestablish this subject identity, Stychin writes "the [U.S.] military shifted its focus from a sexual act to a sexual identity, and it is that identity—a lesbian or gay

⁶⁷² Halperin, *How To Do the History of Homosexuality*, 134.

⁶⁷³ Carl F. Stychin, *Law's Desire: Sexuality and the Limits of Justice* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 99.

identity—rather than a same-sex sexual act which, under this mode of analysis, must be continually erased from the forces.”⁶⁷⁴ Somewhat conversely, Judith Butler contends that in the early 1990s the Pentagon’s new policies on homosexuality in the U.S. armed forces made a distinction between discharging soldiers for sexual conduct rather than sexual orientation.⁶⁷⁵ She concludes that the ways in which the new policy defined homosexual behavior in fact “proliferate the possibilities of homosexuality.”⁶⁷⁶ The U.S. military inflated a singular act into conduct, which “tacitly and actively imagines the singularity of the event as a series of events, a regular practice, and so imagines a certain force of homosexuality to drive the one-time practitioner into a compulsive or regular repetition.”⁶⁷⁷ In Butler’s model of the U.S. military, therefore, an act equals conduct equals orientation equals identity.

This study demonstrates that military justice during the Franco regime in Spain did not always, as would be the case in Halperin’s model and to use his phraseology, deem “same-sex *sexual object-choice*” or “*sexually deviant behavior*” as conferring “a permanent psychological feature” upon soldiers found guilty of homosexual acts because soldiers were not always discharged for those acts.⁶⁷⁸ It was not necessarily those men who initiated or participated in forbidden sexual acts that had to be banished from Spain’s armed forces, but rather the homosexual act itself that had to be eradicated. In contrast to Halperin’s, Stychin’s, and Butler’s theorizations supporting what could be labeled the “sexual act = sexual identity model,” Francoist military jurisprudence from the 1930s to

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid, 91.

⁶⁷⁵ Judith Butler, “Contagious Word: Paranoia and ‘Homosexuality’ in the Military,” in *Readers in Cultural Criticism: Queer Theory*, eds. Iain Morland and Annabelle Willox, 142–157 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., 146.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality*, 131. Emphasis in original.

the early 1960s destabilized discursively and juridically imposed subjectivities by not always dictating, through the results of verdicts, that sexual acts constituted sexual identities. In other words, jurisprudence did not necessarily function, to use Halperin words, as “a means of personal individualization: [assigning] to each individual a sexual orientation and a sexual identity.”⁶⁷⁹ The findings of this chapter complicate theories establishing the ascription of homosexual identity to be always already a consequence of how discourse, knowledge, and power function in the modern world. This chapter’s evidence suggests that moving beyond the “acts = identities” paradigm would be rewarding, especially conceptualizing less rigidity in the theoretical model and allotting more space in it for historicity and variation.

Such a nuanced and historicized model addresses Halperin’s methodological imperative of foregrounding “the definitional incoherence at the core of modern notions of homosexuality.”⁶⁸⁰ This incoherence existed in the Francoist military. Although discourse and the code of military justice delineated homosexuality as dishonorable and unmanly and discursively regarded same-sex sexual acts as constituting a homosexual identity, magistrates’ verdicts did not uniformly define homosexual acts as constitutive of a homosexual identity. Paying more attention to what Halperin calls “the changing social and discursive conditions in which the desires of homosexual subjects are constructed,”⁶⁸¹ this study reveals that the historicized conditions of the Francoist system of military justice often resulted in the failure to both regulate the desires of homosexual subjects and ineludibly demarcate those men as homosexual.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid, 134.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 12.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., 9.

Magistrates, for a variety of reasons, did not systematically discharge men for transgressions against martial heteronormativity. Conceivably, tribunals lacked the desire to stigmatize men as homosexual and negatively affect their lives once discharged from the military. Perhaps the priorities of not increasing discharge rates and keeping men in the armed forces took precedence over the discursive and institutional imperative to equate sex acts with a sexual identity. At any rate, the ways in which judges applied the system of military justice in cases of homosexuality demonstrate the absence of a monolithic rulebook for the law in practice, even in the military. The power that the flexibility of punishments gave to magistrates in courts-martial indicates the latitude judges had to choose which military goals were more important at the moment such as rooting out non-normative sexual behavior, cracking down on homosexuals, maintaining a discipline army, or further submitting men to military discipline. Little evidence exists suggesting that magistrates *intentionally* determined that the best way to eradicate homosexual acts or identities was to further subject men to military discipline.

Situating the results (intentional or unintentional) of judges' verdicts within larger theoretical models of how power functioned in the Franco regime, this chapter concludes that sentences often went towards creating obedient subjects, rather than sexual identities or subjectivities. Although verdicts in courts-martial for homosexual crimes denominated some men as homosexual subjects, martial justice was a technique of power more concerned with producing obedience than subjectivity. More exactly, the Francoist system of military justice attempted to restore through its techniques of correction, to use Foucault's words, "not so much the juridical subject, who is caught up in the fundamental interests of the social pact, but the obedient subject, the individual subject to habits, rules,

orders, an authority that is exercised continually around him and upon him, and which he must allow to function automatically in him.”⁶⁸² Permitting men found guilty of homosexual acts to remain in the armed forces after their punishment of prison time, military justice fashioned the obedient subject, rather than establishing a juridical subject identity of homosexuality. Power generated its effects by giving men more opportunities to comply with the military authority exercised upon them, to make heteronormativity function automatically in them. If power had marked soldiers with homosexual identities and expelled them from the military, it would have eliminated the opportunity to impose further discipline and obedience on them. Through this technique, the military gave itself the ability to further correct homosexual desires and reconstitute men with those desires as obedient subjects. Foucault argued that an “individualization of sentences,” “appears to be the ultimate aim of a precisely adapted code.”⁶⁸³ This adaptation in the case of Francoism would apply only to a juridical code, rather than the discursive code of martial and masculine honor that military jurisprudence had the power to enforce. In other words, varied and inconsistent verdicts and sentences along with the consideration of extenuating circumstances and the corollaries of an absence of maximum punishments and inconsistency in discharges indicate that military justice in practice failed to uniformly impose the discursive code of Francoist martial honor.

Investigating Resistance

Francoist military jurisprudence in part defied both its own mandate and the system of bio-power in and for which it operated. Placed under the analytical lens of socio-historical resistance, the inquiry then becomes: Did individuals, as historical agents

⁶⁸² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 128–129.

and savvy players within the game of challenging, defining, and establishing sexual subjectivities, resist the military's imposition of normative masculinity? To answer this question, the theoretical imperative incorporates individual men's actions into a model of how the law and resistance to it shaped notions of honor and sexuality. This aspect of the study utilizes a methodology that investigates the macro-conditions of resistance to the military and then focuses on the micro-context of resistance to norms of gender and sexuality.

Millions of Spanish men went through military service during the Franco regime. A case study from the 1962 recruitment class from Granada and military statistics from the period 1954–1975 indicate that most of those soldiers completed their two years of active duty without running afoul of either in-house disciplinary procedures or the system of military justice. Service records contain a rap sheet (*hoja de castigo*) that recorded every disciplinary action. If a soldier was court-martialed, the rap sheet also contained that information along with a facsimile of the verdict.⁶⁸⁴ With enough time and resources a full investigation could be conducted into how many men in total were disciplined and punished by the military during the Franco regime. Comparing rates of disciplinary action and courts-martial for all available years would also shed light on military discipline.

The scope of this project is limited to a case study for the recruitment year 1962 from the province of Granada. The year 1962 was chosen because it fell in the latter half

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 99.

⁶⁸⁴ Interestingly, service records also contained a page for officers to include grades for: valor, conduct, love of service, disposition, character, and personal hygiene. Thus, the military had a system to grade many aspects of normative masculinity in each soldier. It would be useful to quantitatively analyze these reports to determine how successful the military was in inculcating those aspects of masculinity. However, the vast majority of these sections are blank in service records. In and of itself, this speaks to the average officer's unwillingness or lack of desire to grade their soldiers in those areas.

of the Franco regime, after twenty-three years of Francoist control over the military. Granada was selected because it is in one of Spain's largest provinces that has diverse geography, a mid-sized city, and rural, agrarian, mountainous, and coastal areas.

The recruitment class from Granada in 1962 had 3,280 recruits, comprising 2.6 percent of the total of 124,526 recruits for that year.⁶⁸⁵ Most of these men were born in 1941 and ended their military service in 1979. Out of the 3,280 recruits in the Granada region, six men were convicted by courts-martial (two of those for car accidents) and another nine were charged with crimes but were either found not guilty or the charges were dropped.⁶⁸⁶ Thus, 0.45 percent of that recruitment class was charged with a court-martial, with 0.18 percent of recruits found guilty. In comparison to statistics from the period 1954–1975, this percentage is slightly above the average of around 0.3 percent of soldiers found guilty of crimes in military courts each year.⁶⁸⁷ 99 records, or 3 percent of the recruitment class, contained rap sheets with either minor or major infractions. These findings demonstrate that the military did not punitively discipline or punish any more than 4 percent of this recruitment class. Put another way, resistance (active or passive, and broadly defined as any instance of a disciplinary infraction) against the military's system of discipline and punishment accounted for no more than 4 percent of recruits

⁶⁸⁵ Archivo General Militar de Guadalajara: ZOR 91, Granada, R/1962, Expedientes Reglamentarios de Tropa. For total numbers of recruits for that year see Alto Estado Mayor, *Anuario Estadístico Militar: Núm 5, Año 1962* (Madrid: Imprenta Heroes, S.A., 1962), 79.

⁶⁸⁶ One exception is Antonio P. V. His rap sheet states that he was in prison for four-months-and-a-day but does not contain any other information or a facsimile of a court-martial. Therefore, his case is not added to the total tally of courts-martial for that year.

⁶⁸⁷ Overall numbers of active duty soldiers in the military are not included in statistical records. The total number for any given year (1960–1975) of all officers of the rank of colonel or below as well all non-commissioned officers and recruitment classes is available. However, statistics on how many men reenlisted but never made the rank of sergeant are not included in military statistical records. Leaving room for that missing percentage (which would not have been high enough to significantly skew overall numbers) and adding the number of recruits in the previous year's call-up to the number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and the current year's recruitment class, an estimate of the total number of men in the military can be reached.

from the Granada region during their two years of active duty in the armed forces from 1962–1964.⁶⁸⁸

Military statistics tell a similar story. Extant statistical records of military justice begin in 1954. These records contain the total numbers of people convicted under military law, including women and civilians. Records of convictions based on specific crimes begin in 1960.⁶⁸⁹ In the years 1960–1975, 4.7 percent of all convictions were for crimes against honor.⁶⁹⁰ General fluctuations between years make difficult the formation of any concrete conclusions about numbers of convictions for crimes against honor. A general decrease did occur over that fifteen-year time period: from 46 convictions in 1960 to 27 in 1975, with 1971 being the lowest year with 17 convictions and 1960 the highest year with 46 convictions.⁶⁹¹ 1971 also had the lowest number overall, with 581 convictions for military crimes, and 1960 the highest, with 1,035. Going back to 1954, the trend is that about 1,000 military personnel each year were convicted of crimes in military courts.⁶⁹² Again, with a military force of roughly 300,000, only about 0.3 percent of soldiers were convicted of crimes in military courts.

⁶⁸⁸ Including the margin for error in the up to 5 percent of records without rap sheets and taking 4 percent as representative of the amount of that 5 percent that would have had rap sheets, only 0.2 percent would be added to the total of 3.18 percent or 3.45 percent of men whose records indicate a disciplinary or criminal infraction of some sort, still making the no more than 4 percent analysis hold true.

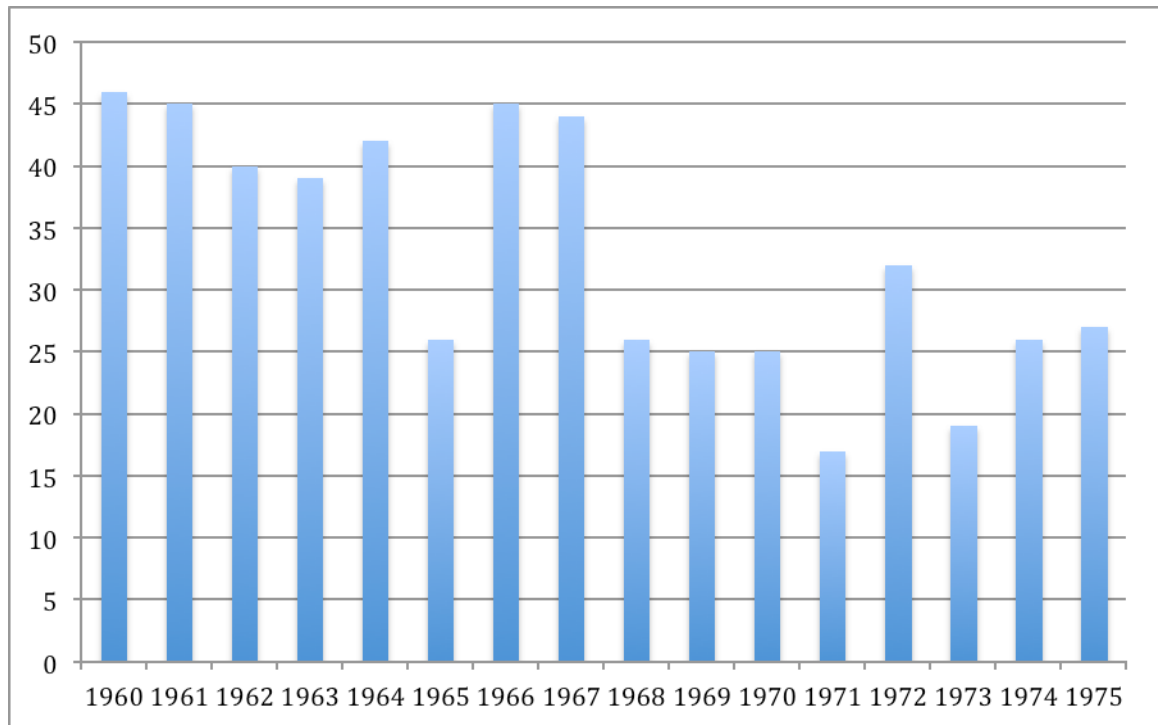
⁶⁸⁹ In that year, for example, 1,674 people were convicted of crimes by military courts, with 1,035 of those convictions having been for specifically military crimes (and thus committed by only soldiers): the largest numbers of convictions for specific crimes were 347 for desertion and 119 for rebellion. 46 soldiers were found guilty of crimes against honor, or 4.4 percent of all convictions for military crimes. See Alto Estado Mayor, *Anuario Estadístico Militar: Núm 3, Año 1960*.

⁶⁹⁰ 11,324 total and 530 convictions for crimes against honor (4.68 percent).

⁶⁹¹ See Table 3.

⁶⁹² See Table 2.

Table 2, Convictions for Crimes Against Honor:⁶⁹³



⁶⁹³ Data for all graphs is taken from Alto Estado Mayor, *Anuario Estadístico Militar*, 1960–1975.

Table 3, Total Convictions for Military Crimes & for Crimes Against Honor:

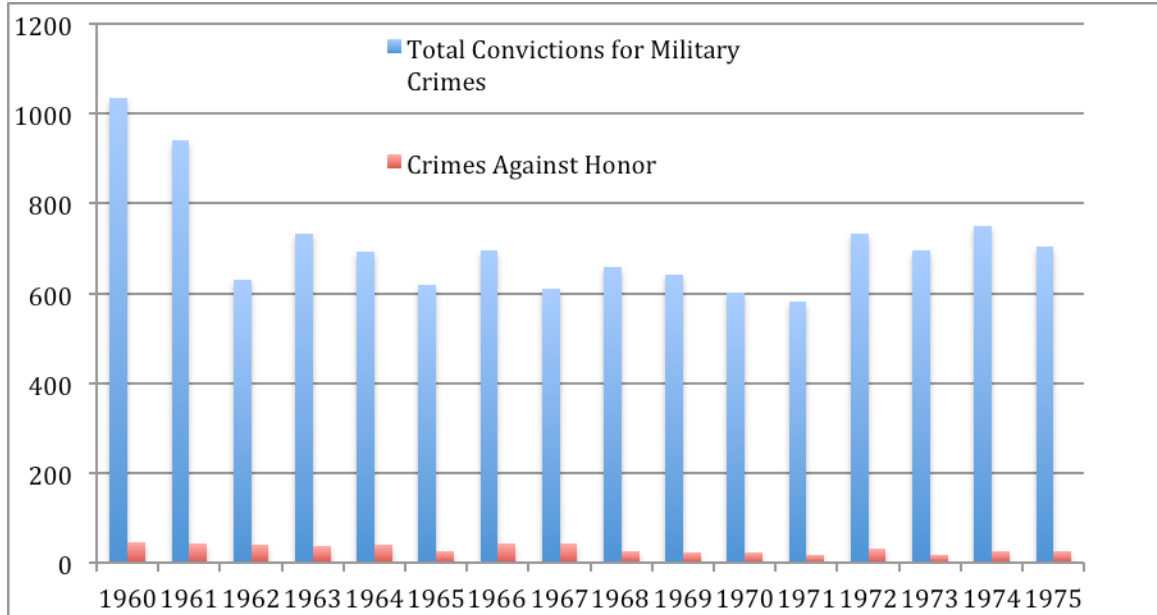
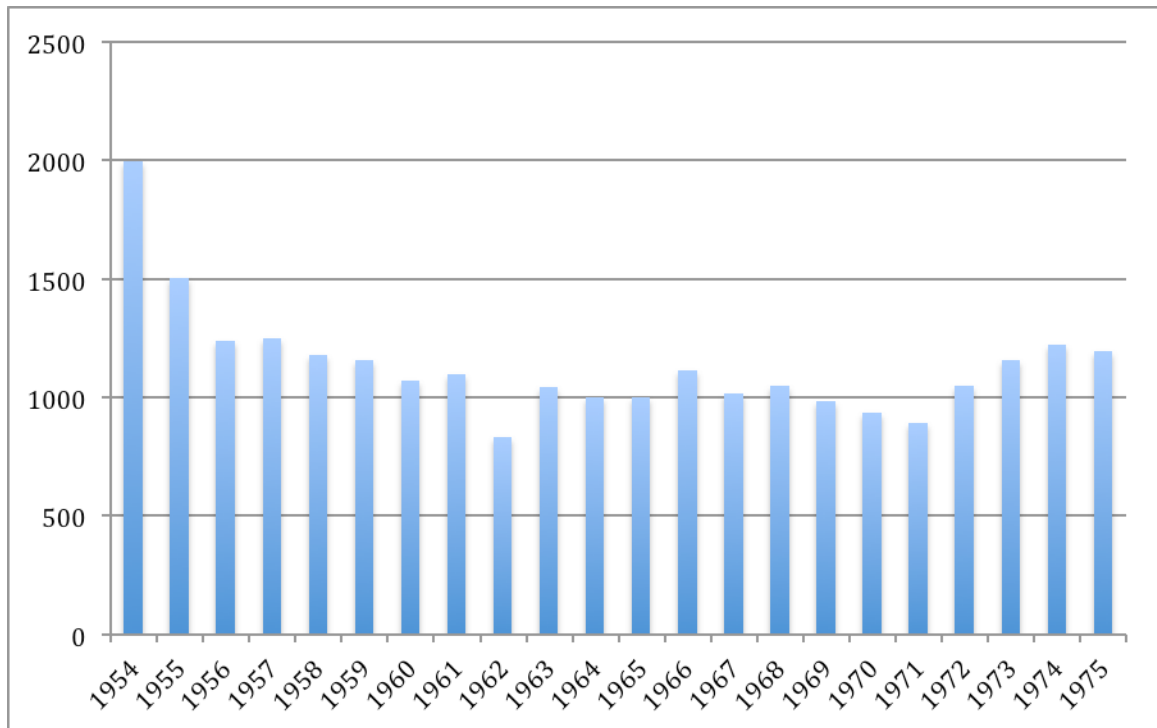


Table 4, Convictions of Military Personnel by Year:⁶⁹⁴



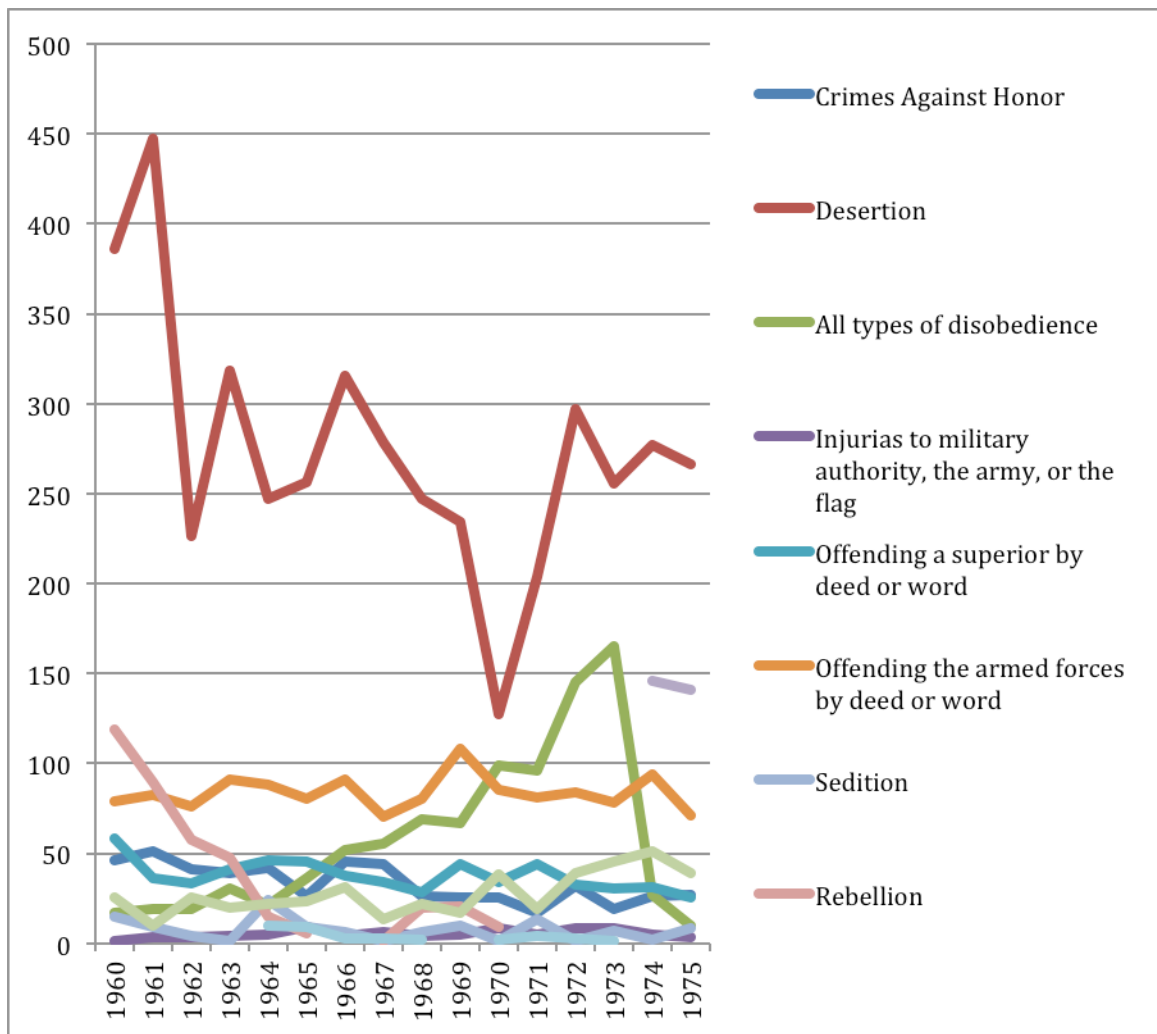
⁶⁹⁴ Here, it would be interesting and useful if statistics included these numbers before 1954 because of the nearly double of the average convictions that took place in 1954. This shift occurring after 1954 raises the possibility that the military prosecuted and convicted many more military personnel during the first fifteen years of the regime.

Several conclusions about resistance in general can be made from an analysis of all military crimes occurring between 1960 and 1975 that could be considered forms of resistance—because they contravened martial norms of conduct or flouted the military’s control over an individual’s body and time. These crimes include: desertion; disobedience; disobedience to the armed forces; insults (*injurias*) to military authority, the army, or the flag; offending the armed forces by deed or word; offending a superior by deed or word; resistance to the armed forces; self-injury; crimes against honor; failure to present oneself for military duty; sedition; and rebellion. Desertion was by far the most common conviction, with a significant decrease occurring in the year 1970. Convictions for disobedience steadily increased over that fifteen-year period, especially between 1971 and 1973. Reaching its peak in 1973, disobedience convictions sharply decreased, hitting their nadir in 1975. The rise in the early 1970s in the numbers of conscientious objectors to military service explains the increase in convictions between 1971 and 1973.⁶⁹⁵ These men were at first charged with disobedience, but then in 1974 the military levied the new charge of “failure to present oneself for military duty” against those men who refused to comply with mandatory military service. The number of men tried for that specific crime accounts for the sharp decline in conviction numbers for disobedience. Aside from disobedience, all other convictions relating to resistance maintained their levels

⁶⁹⁵ Towards the end of the Franco regime some men actively resisted military service. A significant segment of these types of resisters were Jehovah’s Witnesses, who, although presenting themselves for duty, refused to wear the military uniform. Finding their inspiration from the international conscientious objector movement, by the late 1960s another group of men in Spain refused to report for duty based on moral grounds. Both Jehovah’s Witnesses and conscientious objects are discussed in the Afterword. Suffice to say here that their resistance resulted in the ability for men in Spain, after Franco’s death, to choose social service instead of serving in the military. This conscious resistance to military service through conscientious objection to violence represents a crucial movement against the military and military service

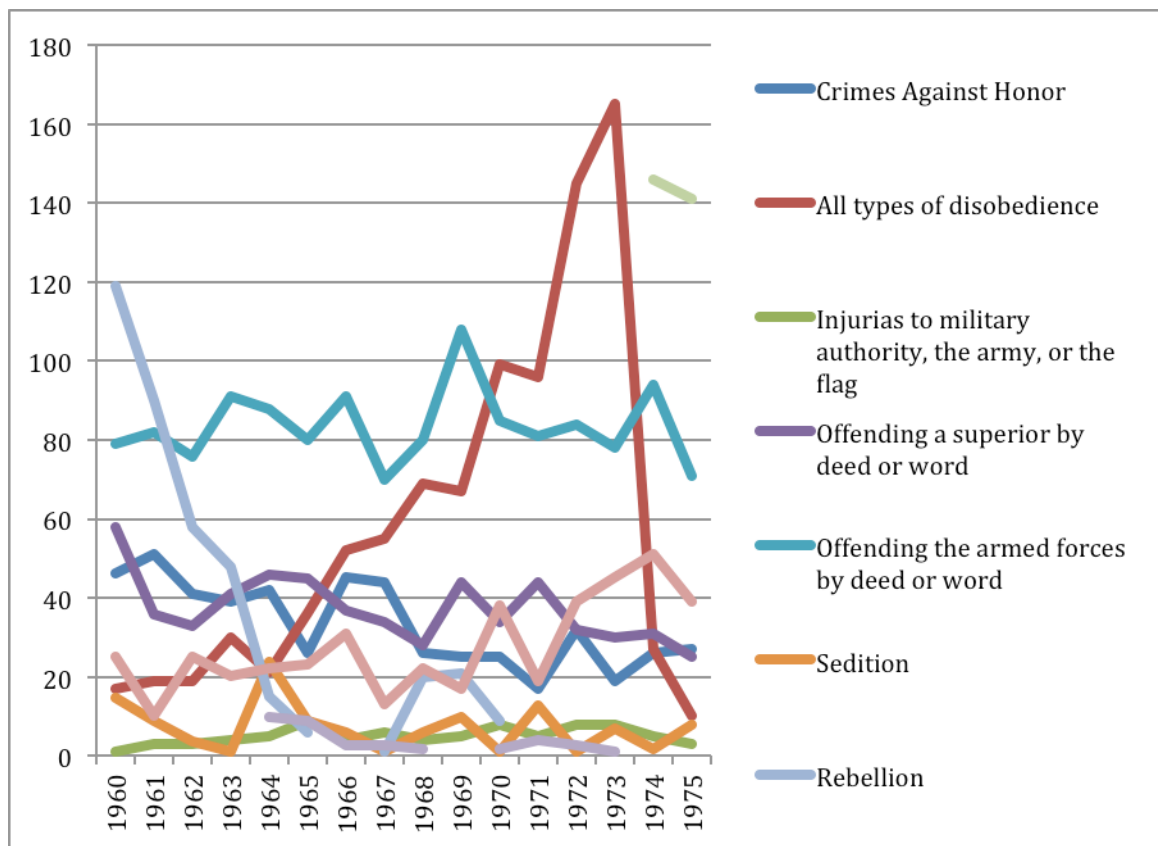
throughout the period in conjunction with an overall decrease in convictions in general, and, as seen above, crimes against honor decreased somewhat over this sixteen-year time period.

Table 5, Convictions for Crimes Considered as Resistance:



in Spain, but came too late to have a significant impact on how military service and justice functioned

Table 6, Convictions for Crimes Considered as Resistance Excluding Desertion:



For a military force of roughly 300,000 soldiers each year, crimes specifically related to resistance remained relatively low. Even for cases of desertion, when looking at the maximum number of 447 cases in 1961, or the average of 274 convictions per year, these numbers are truncated in terms of overall men in the military (average of 300,000 active duty soldiers, so roughly 0.09 percent of soldiers deserted over that time period). Desertion does not represent large-scale resistance to military service. Like convictions for all military-related crimes, and specifically those for crimes against honor, statistics do not suggest that the Francoist military faced heavy resistance to military service, discipline, or order.

during the Franco regime. See also Conclusion.

Conclusions made from this case study of the 1962 recruitment class from Granada, combined with an analysis of military statistical records, indicate that forms of military punishment did not affect most men between the years 1954 and 1975. Nevertheless, mandatory service in the armed forces affected men in other ways such as instilling discipline in soldiers, the threat of punishment, and inundation of the tenets of normative masculinity through educational initiatives and print culture. This study illuminates the fact that little resistance to the military and conscription existed during Francoism. The modest resistance that did occur appears to have had no tangible impact on the power of the state and military during the Franco regime in Spain.

Conclusion:

Queering the Law and Creating Obedient Subjects

Engaging in whatever action contrary to authoritarian norms, laws, controls, and regulations could constitute resistance broadly speaking. This conception is situated on the plane of individuals acting on the basis of subjective identity, whether that be, for example, as men who viewed machismo as constitutive of masculinity, men and women who had sex outside of marriage, or large-scale societal adoption of modernity. This theorization broadly construes resistance as Spaniards utilizing epistemologies and constructing ontologies contrary to those promoted by Francoism. In that sense, all courts-martials involving homosexual acts presented in this chapter contain an element of resistance because men broke authoritarian heteronormative laws. These moments of individual counter-practices represent expressions of desires that did not completely submit to institutional directives.

Examining how systems of punishment on a systemic, rather than individual, level complicate this broad understanding of resistance. In line with Foucauldian understandings of the function of law, Stychin argues in his study of sexuality and justice,

While law may be (and has been) a repressive force, it is also a regulatory one that plays a role in constituting and maintaining coherent sexualities. At the same time, regulation is never entirely successful, for gaps and inconsistencies are left within legal discourse. This creates spaces for resistance against, and opposition to, the legal and sexual hegemony.⁶⁹⁶

In this conception, weak points in the regulatory system itself allow ordinary people to resist and oppose the norms that the law imposes and regulates. Yet gaps and inconsistencies do not necessarily constitute acts of resistance. Court-martial cases of homosexuality in the Francoist military do not tell a story of resistance by homosexual soldiers, who, because they knew of these weaknesses within the system of military justice, were able to actualize their sexual desires and resist the law's heteronormative intentions. Individual men did not necessarily or on conscious level find inherent flaws in the law in order to exploit them. Their actions in part had those consequences, however, because the flexibility of the Francoist system of military justice as employed by magistrates and when applied to crimes of homosexuality disrupted discursive notions of sexual identities.

The law, therefore, defied part of its own mandate. In other words, those judges who applied jurisprudence through their verdicts did not uniformly conform their sentences to either strict interpretations of the law or the military's discursive, educational, and cultural imperatives. Magistrates maneuvered the law in a manner that exploited gaps and inconsistencies, working against both the juridical intentions inherent in anti-homosexual laws and jurisprudence's obligation of "constituting and maintaining

coherent sexualities,” to use Stychin’s phrase. Jurisprudence vested magistrates with the wide discretion necessary—which they wielded with apparently no fear of retribution from the military hierarchy—to hand down sentences that often functioned to defy the ascription of sexual identities based on sexual acts. The absence of consistency and uniformity in discharges for crimes involving homosexuality reveals the willingness of judges to impose minimum sentences and particularly not to stigmatize men by discharging them for homosexual transgressions. Inconsistency in sentences and the fact that tribunals often did not mark men with a homosexual identity by giving them a discharge, demonstrate that judges and their sentences implicitly challenged sexual identity as a coherent and immutable category. These sentences worked against the intentions of the legal code as well as discursive definitions of martial and masculine honor that codified same-sex sexual acts as constituting a homosexual identity.

In a sense, then, the law queered itself. Stychin argues

legal reasoning can inadvertently contribute to the development of a ‘queer’ political stance and identity. In this regard, legal discourse often inscribes sexuality in a queer fashion and, in the process, legal reasoning itself becomes a queer phenomenon. That is, opportunities for resistance within the legal realm may be opened up through the spaces in reasoning left by the law and it is through these gaps that the weakness in the system might be subverted and even queered.⁶⁹⁷

Going both with and against Stychin’s analysis, it was not so much that soldiers themselves queered the law through their resistance, but that the law queered its own intention of dictating and regulating heteronormative sexual identities. Stychin contends that “Queerness ... challenges the fixidity of the categories of gender and sexual identity and the binary opposition of hetero and homosexuality.” If techniques of

⁶⁹⁶ Stychin, *Law’s Desire*, 1.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 140.

heteronormativity do not take, they can be read as moments where the law queers its mandate. Applying those conceptions to the case of Francoist military jurisprudence, court-martial records suggest that the law in practice both challenged and deconstructed fixed categories and rigid dichotomies of sexual orientation. Francoist military jurisprudence partly defied its own intentions by destabilizing heteronormative categorizations and identities because verdicts in court-martial cases of homosexual infractions tell a story of magistrates applying the law in a manner that went against discursive imperatives.

Although symptomatic of the law's self-queering, sentences in cases without discharges were concomitantly implicated and intertwined in systems of power and techniques of correction. Gaps and inconsistencies, although symptomatic of the law's self-queering, do not necessarily constitute acts of resistance. Despite opening spaces for resistance and transformation, these weaknesses in Francoist martial jurisprudence functioned to produce obedient subjects. When not discharging soldiers, magistrates opened spaces for further submission to heteronormativity through disciplinary techniques. The law, therefore, only queered part of its mandate. Individual resistance and agency was limited and remained within frameworks that functioned to further instill in men heteronormativity and obedience.

Chapter V

Women in the Life of the Manly Soldier Part I: The Treatment and Protection of Women

An Introduction to Parts I & II

“Woman, girlfriend, mother, are the common themes during the entirety of military service for the recruits and soldiers who give a period of their lives in Service to the Homeland.”⁶⁹⁸

Published in 1974, this statement from an R.E.S. article entitled “La ‘MILI’ tiene nombre de mujer” (The ‘Mili’ has a Woman’s Name)⁶⁹⁹ makes evident that women, in a variety of guises, occupied a prominent position in soldiers’ lives. The way in which the article’s title feminizes military service alludes to Spanish soldiers’ preoccupation with women, hinting at a space and time during a man’s life in which his actions and thoughts often revolved around the opposite sex. Linguistically, and also in a literal sense, “the woman, the girlfriend, the *Patria* [homeland], everything that is most important in the life of a man, has the name of a woman.”⁷⁰⁰ The article suggests that soldiers would do well to focus the kind of love they have for women on the feminized homeland (*la Patria*). Like women and their fertility in continuing the human species, the homeland “must be fertilized by the men who constitute it[;] those who, when the moment arrives, can claim to defend and honor the homeland with their own life if that is the price, as [they would]

⁶⁹⁸ Fernando Martínez Sánchez, “La ‘MILI’ tiene nombre de mujer,” *Santa Ana* (Primer Llamamiento Reemplazo 1974), 44.

⁶⁹⁹ “*La mili*” was a colloquial expression denoting mandatory military service.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid.

their own mothers.”⁷⁰¹ This statement sexualizes the nation as a woman who needs a man to fertilize her and simultaneously maternalizes the *Patria* as a soldier’s honorable mother who requires protection. Sexualization, mother figures, and patriotism are linked in this sense, characterizing manhood as necessitating both the consummation of male sexual fertility and men’s performance of martial honor and sacrifice.

Suggesting that women played a key role in many aspects of soldiers’ lives, these messages in military sources demonstrate that the Francoist armed forces utilized men’s relationships with women to condition and control actions and behavior. Discursive conceptions about women helped demarcate the boundaries of normative martial masculinity, and men’s performative relationships with women effectuated their manhood. Training manuals and military print culture sought to make soldiers treat all women with respect as an aspect of their masculinity. Martial jurisprudence punished men who transgressed those behavioral mandates. Included in the following chapter, presentations about types of women as well as military cultural content about women’s lives (specifically: women in the workforce and military, women’s rights, and women’s fashion) contributed to transformative, but always patriarchal, dialogues both in the military and Spanish society about women’s modernization.

Scholars have paid only a modicum of attention to the interconnectedness between men and women in understandings of Francoist gender norms. Addressing this historiographical deficiency in Hispanist scholarship, this and the following chapter analyze the interdependence of men and women in constructions and transformations of gender normativity. The chapters are divided along thematic lines, making a separation between educational material’s and print culture’s directives about the treatment of

⁷⁰¹ Ibid.

women on the one hand, and presentations in those same sources about different types of women on the other hand. Both chapters utilize a methodology that investigates how the interplay between men and women—and masculinity and femininity—shaped gender norms, individual lives, and social developments.

Not only does investigating women in relationship to men enhance understandings of masculinity, but an evaluation of military sources contributes to women's and gender history as well. The relative abundance of discourse about women in the sources utilized by this dissertation makes such an investigation possible. Content dealing with women, their relationships with men, and their roles in society appears often enough in training manuals, military print culture, and court-martial cases to form the basis of two chapters in a dissertation about men and masculinity. This study's analysis and methodology add women as a vital component in the history of masculinity in Franco's Spain. Expanding gender studies, these chapters provide an example of the fruitful ways in which the history of men does not preclude but rather supplements the history of women and *vice versa*.

The Apostolado Castrense's magazine *Formación* and R.E.S. publications (magazines published by individual barracks for their troops) stand out as prominent vehicles for the dissemination of knowledge about women. *Formación* targeted non-commissioned officers, military families, and female readers. It not only contained a section devoted to women's issues, but women also wrote for the magazine and sat on its editorial board. It provides insight into women's agency within military print culture. R.E.S. magazines, and *Honderos* in particular, ran stories about and carried images of women, as well as contained humorous cartoon sections that often dealt with subjects

related to women. Although individually having the small audience of one barracks, R.E.S. publications taken as a whole had a significant and geographically diverse readership comprised mostly of the rank-and-file. Young recruits also provided much of their content. These publications indicate how the agency and mentalities of lower ranking soldiers manifested in military print culture.

The source criticism and methodology laid out in the dissertation's introduction apply to these sources as well. Unique to the dissertation's chapters on women, visual representations in the forms of cartoons and erotic imagery add a further component to the analysis of source material relating to women. Sexualized photographs of women, which comprised both an economy of male desire and a culture of erotics, are discussed in more detail in the following chapter. Both chapters analyze cartoons, warranting a methodological and conceptual explanation of cartoons as historical sources.

This study conceives of cartoons as inherently political. Journalism and mass communication scholar Linus Abraham argues in his article entitled "Effectiveness of Cartoons as a Uniquely Visual Medium for Orienting Social Issues" that cartoons comprise "part of a mediated filtering system that helps construction and framing of social reality." Due to their exaggerated quality, they "also reveal themselves as more explicitly political and constructed rather than as attempts at objective renditions of social events."⁷⁰² Similarly, Patricia Gilmartin and Stanley D. Brunn write in their article on representations of women in political cartoons,

Comprising a regular feature of most contemporary newspapers and news magazines, political cartoons provide trenchant commentary on social and political conditions of the day. These graphics are highly effective, conveying their message almost instantly through the use of caricature,

⁷⁰² Linus Abraham, "Effectiveness of Cartoons as a Uniquely Visual Medium for Orienting Social Issues," *Journalism Communication Monographs* 11, no. 2 (summer 2009): 117–165, 120.

visual metaphor, and cultural symbols, combined with humor based on exaggeration, incongruity, satire, or irony.⁷⁰³

In a more complex sense and within culture broadly conceived (as systems and practices constructed by historical actors that shape and are shaped by the social), cartoons serve as vehicles of agency. They reflect, within their historicized milieu, the hyperbolic viewpoint of their illustrators. Abraham argues

Cartoons are intended to transform otherwise complex and opaque social events and situations into quick and easily readable depictions that facilitate comprehension of the nature of social issues and events. In doing so, they present society with visually palpable and hyper-ritualized depictions (selectively exaggerated portions of 'reality') that attempt to reveal the essence and meaning of social events.⁷⁰⁴

Cartoons reflect a humorous if not ironic exaggeration of their illustrator's subjective view of his or her world—his, in the case of cartoons in Francoist military sources. They also permit the historian a glimpse into social processes, from which meaning can be gleaned.

The cartoons in Francoist military print culture from the 1960s and 1970s provide insight into the significations of social practices and transformations relating to women in the later years of the Franco dictatorship. At the same time, and similar to Alice Shepard's argument in her study of illustrated portrayal of women's suffrage in the United States, cartoons in military print culture "perpetuated male precepts and reflected the male subculture to which they belonged."⁷⁰⁵ Cartoons, as well as the articles and erotic imagery of R.E.S. magazines, reveal men's understandings of women, permitting a glimpse into how men received, understood, and filtered official regime discourse.

⁷⁰³ Patricia Gilmartin and Stanley D. Brunn, "The Representation of Women in Political Cartoons of the 1995 World Conference on Women," *Women's Studies International Forum* 21, no. 5 (September-October 1998): 535–549, 535.

⁷⁰⁴ Abraham, "Effectiveness of Cartoons," 119.

Abraham employs a methodology that allows him to “find out how cartoons, as uniquely visual forms of communication, signify their meanings and manage to offer 'deep reflection,' rather than simple 'passing chuckle' on social issues.”⁷⁰⁶ Such a methodology (and a problem inherent in discourse analysis) does not, however, necessarily clarify “the specific effect of cartoons on readers...”⁷⁰⁷ Yet, Abraham argues, the power intrinsic in a cartoon’s ability to orient social issues and reveal collective attitudes means that “It is critical to try to understand how this visual mode of communication, in the pictorial turn in society, constructs its meanings, manages to engage in deep social criticism and commentary, and therefore manages to orient the public's understanding of issues within its limited space.”⁷⁰⁸ Cartoons about women in military print culture engaged in this process of critique and commentary on the social that in turn shaped epistemological understandings of gender norms and mirrored ontological social transformations. Analyzing women in cartoons, Gilmartin and Brunn examine “how political cartoonists represented ... issues, themes, and results, as well as how the women and men who populate the cartoons are represented both individually and in relationship to each other.”⁷⁰⁹

As historical sources, cartoons also allow space for ambiguity as well as alternative and indeterminate meanings. As Abraham writes, “It is the nature of cartoons to be complex. They are intended to condense and reduce complex issues into a single memorable image often pregnant with deeply embedded meanings.”⁷¹⁰ This study’s methodology seeks to incorporate many of the possible, shifting, and sometimes

⁷⁰⁵ Alice Shepard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 41.

⁷⁰⁶ Abraham, “Effectiveness of Cartoons,” 128.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., 162.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

contradictory or unfixed meanings located in military cartoons about women, placing them under a historicized and Foucauldian analysis of their symbolic forms.

Military educational material introduced soldiers to suitable women. Women's presence in court-martial records provides insight into how martial jurisprudence punished men for not treating women appropriately. Reflecting juridical practice, training manuals taught men how to treat women appropriately. Military cultural publications, especially magazines for troops, enhanced those educational initiatives. Presenting alternative forms of knowledge and modes of being than those of Francoist gender normativity, military print culture by the 1960s and 1970s reflected and played a role in Spain's socio-cultural transformations. Pedagogical material and military print culture indicate a gradual shift, beginning in the late 1950s and gaining increasing momentum thereafter, from uniform mirroring of Francoist gender norms within the Spanish armed forces to a growing distance away from that normativity.

The Importance of Women to Conceptions of Martial Masculinity

Ideas about women and their relationships to men played an integral role in shaping the contours of normative Francoist martial masculinity. For example, military publications utilized contrasts between men and women to establish gender norms. Attempting to make men correspond to the ideals of the martial, masculine, obedient, and pious member of the nation and the dutiful husband and father, military training manuals and print culture depicted the failure to emulate such a model as emasculating and feminizing. In 1959, Gonzalo Muínelo Alarcón (the Apostolado's resident expert on

⁷⁰⁹ Gilmartin and Brunn, "The Representation of Women in Political Cartoons," 535.

⁷¹⁰ Abraham, "Effectiveness of Cartoons," 121.

women and sexuality) argued in *Empuje* that “The mission of a man in life is to work; that of a woman, to love.”⁷¹¹ Here, Muinelo Alarcón reified men’s masculinity as contingent upon perceived differences with women, buttressing notions of normativity for both sexes. An Article in *Diana* from 1974 verbatim used the language of *Campaña premilitar* (Premilitary Campaign, the Apostolado’s widely published pamphlet from 1960). The article discussed women’s role in a soldier’s life and presented the sexes as having defining differences:⁷¹² Men are physical forces (implying their bodily strength) whereas women are steadfast in their daily chores; men have reason whereas women have heart; men are made to work and earn a livelihood whereas women are made for love, sacrifice, maternity, and privations; women compliment men through love and men compliment women through work.⁷¹³ The appearance of the same messages in an Apostolado training manual from 1960 and an R.E.S. magazine published fourteen years later indicates the organization’s influence in broader military publications and how its earlier messages informed later discourse. Spanning a decade-and-a-half, this discourse reified patriarchal power structures and imparted the message that gendered differences required men to respect women.

Difference was not the only tactic of persuasion. In its efforts to condition masculinity, the Spanish armed forces also appealed to men’s desire for women. The military clearly imparted to its troops that true manhood hinged upon how attractive women found a man, with the corollary that women were only attracted to soldiers. Thus,

⁷¹¹ Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, “Cartas a enamorados (II) Agasajos,” *Empuje*, núm. 111 (primera quincena de junio), 6.

⁷¹² “La mujer en la vida del soldado,” *Diana: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado, Segunda Region Militar*, núm. 44 (1974), 12–13; and *Campaña premilitar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1960), 14–15.

⁷¹³ La mujer en la vida del soldado,” *Diana*, 12.

for a man to obtain the woman of his dreams he first needed to become a proper soldier:⁷¹⁴



In the above cartoon, published in 1967 in the R.E.S. publication *Simancas*, the beautiful, sexual, and voluptuous woman sitting at a bar at a dance tells her suitor, “I’m sorry *caballero*, but I only dance with those who have completed their military service.” Caricatured as physically developed, the woman’s age and sexual maturity contrast with the skinny and underdeveloped man. The woman is more physically imposing than the man. He lacks the sculpted body of a soldier ready for combat. The woman’s outstretched arm physically blocks the advance made by a representation of adolescent puerility and naïveté. The drawing style of the image makes evident another contrast: the woman is less cartoonish than the man. To use a more contemporary example, she is better suited

⁷¹⁴ “Humor,” *Simancas: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de la 7. Region* (enero-febrero 1967), 28–29.

for a graphic novel whereas he might appear in the Sunday comics. These juxtapositions humorously indicate that the man's advances towards the woman are hopelessly doomed from the outset. The intended message of such content is apparent: exceptionally sexy women like the one depicted in this cartoon are only available to and attainable for those men who have matured into soldiers.⁷¹⁵

Buttressing efforts to obtain men's acquiescence to mandatory military service and make them into manly and martial members of the nation these messages explicitly stipulated that women desired soldiers more than any other man, but also that women needed men to be a specific type of soldier:⁷¹⁶



From 1965 in *Empuje*, the image on the left portrays a mother and daughter working in tandem to literally and figuratively land a soldier for the daughter. It conveys its message

⁷¹⁵ In terms of officers, Pilar Primo de Rivera (the leader of the *Sección Femenina* and sister of the founder of Spain's fascist party) stated in 1974 in *Armas* (the General Military Academy's publication for cadets) that woman, as was normal in the natural order, always loved soldiers. Primo de Rivera, in the same statement from *Armas*, stated that women wanted officers who served the *Patria* with more intelligence and generosity than women. "Pilar Primo de Rivera," *Armas : Revista de la Academia General Militar*, núm. 74 (febrero 1974), 4-5: 5.

⁷¹⁶ Left image: *Empuje*, núms. 222–223 (enero 1965); Right image: *Empuje*, núm. 175 (segunda quincena de febrero), this cartoon also appeared in *Empuje*, núms. 204–205 (abril 1964), 15.

without words: women pursue paratroopers who are both an object of desire for young women and acceptable to mothers.

Published in two issues of *Empuje* in the early 1960s, the cartoon on the right states “He who dresses correctly gives great satisfaction.” In this image a properly dressed soldier pleases women, who are depicted as desirous of him with hearts above their heads. The woman with the baby carriage could be married with children. Despite those responsibilities, she nonetheless has hearts over her head as signifiers of romantic desire. The other woman could be single and thus as a potential mate for the soldier. Both women find attractive the appropriately dressed and confident soldier. Conversely, the bottom half of the cartoon implies that women (and even a baby) would laugh at and find unattractive a slovenly soldier whom “certainly makes one feel the neglect in his appearance.” The explicit female desire for a particular type of soldier conveyed by this cartoon demonstrates how military sources used women’s approval of proper soldiers as an influential motivational factor for men to conform to the specifics of normative martial masculinity. Underneath this message that a man must be a proper soldier in order to be attractive to women, lies the assumption that women choose their partners. In that sense, military sources did not strictly portray women as passive objects of conquest but also as active selectors of their romantic partners, a position from which they could affirm or deny a man’s martial masculinity.

Linked to finding a marriage partner, this material supported the underlying assumption of men’s expected conformity with the mandate to marriage. Reinforcing these marriage directives, the military sought to educate soldiers about a normative understanding of the nature of love. As with women, men had to search for a specific

kind of love. This discourse stressed that a soldier should seek pure and spiritual love, rather than physical or sexual love. In 1960, for example, the Apostolado's *Campaña premilitar* coded love with religion, making it the "attraction of souls through the medium of the body."⁷¹⁷ In the early 1960s, Apostolado content often sought to appeal to men's religious convictions: bolstering the obligation to marry, once pure love for a woman led to engagement and marriage, a man's spiritual destiny could be fulfilled.⁷¹⁸ The aforementioned article from *Diana* re-published this message in 1974.⁷¹⁹ Two Apostolado articles appearing eleven years apart argued that marriage and families providing the foundation for a man's relationship with God and also comprised the bedrock of society.⁷²⁰ A *Honderos* article appearing in 1972 reiterated these Catholicized messages: Only through morality, God, and marriage could true love be obtained.⁷²¹ The lowest rank in the military often parroted such messages. From the mid-1960s into the 1970s, privates penned articles in *Honderos* imploring their fellow soldiers to find appropriate love.⁷²² Becoming a patriotic dutiful husband and father, therefore, required non-sexual spiritual love for and a moral marriage consummated within the bounds of procreative sexuality and a nuclear family with a traditional woman.

⁷¹⁷ *Campaña premilitar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1960), 17.

⁷¹⁸ See for example, *Campaña premilitar*, 17; Juan Ruiz Calonja, "Hablemos de Amor;" and *Oriflama*, núm. 20 (enero 1962).

⁷¹⁹ "La mujer en la vida del soldado," *Diana*, 12–13.

⁷²⁰ Francisco Delgado Piñar, "La familia, esa pieza fundamental de la sociedad: ¿Qué es educar?" *Formación*, núm. 119 (junio 1963); and José Antonio Galera, "Matrimonio indisoluble," *Reconquista*, núm. 298 (octubre 1974), 6.

⁷²¹ Pladevall Moya, "Temas Juveniles: A vueltas con el amor," *Honderos*, núm. 46 (septiembre-octubre 1972), 21.

⁷²² See for example several articles written by privates in the "Themes of Youth" section of *Honderos*: Verd Noguera, "En torno al amor," *Honderos: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de Baleares*, núm. 2 (mayo-junio 1965), 10; Campoy Orriols, "Temas Juveniles: El noviazgo en serio," *Honderos*, núm. 40 (septiembre-octubre 1971), 7; Matas Boix, "Temas Juveniles: El amor con humor o líos para dos," *Honderos*, núm. 44 (mayo-junio 1972), 6.

Military print culture did not always portray marriage or potential spouses for men in a positive light. Humor sections of R.E.S. magazines, and that of *Honderos* in particular, poked fun at the institution of marriage and at certain women. In so doing, this content both undermined the mandate to marriage and patriarchally disparaged women. In the early 1970s, *Honderos* portrayed marriage to be something about which a man had little choice, or it could ruin a relationship.⁷²³



In the cartoon on the left entitled “Wedding” the judge leans over the bench and tells the groom: “Listen, young man, ‘There is no other remedy’ is not a response!” The reluctant groom and the seemingly pregnant bride insinuate a shotgun marriage. The man has run out of all other options except to get married, humorously suggesting some men’s lack of nuptial desire. The cartoon is charged with various meanings, providing social commentary that reinforced but also went against the grain of normative behavior for men and women. Revealing an instance in the early 1970s of alternative cultural norms superseding those perpetuated by religious Francoists (in a publication that paradoxically also published Apostolado-inspired content), a judge presides over the marriage in a

⁷²³ Left image: *Honderos*, núm. 34 (1970), 30; Right image: *Honderos*, núm. 42 (enero-febrero 1972), 30.

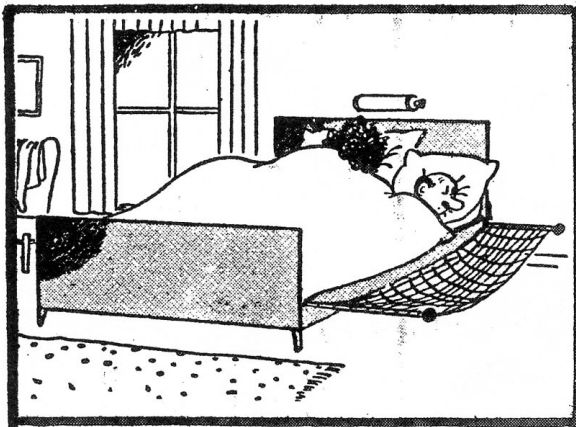
courtroom rather than a priest in a religious ceremony. Despite the couple having had pre-marital sex and the man's apparent reluctance to get married, they are nevertheless conforming to the social norm that if a man impregnates a woman he should marry her. He is saving her from becoming a single mother, discursively stigmatized and coded as a "fallen woman" in Francoist discourse.⁷²⁴ At the same time, the cartoonist could be implying that the woman has trapped the man, portraying women in a negative light as manipulatively forcing men to marry them. Although depicting the social practice of pre-marital sex implied by the pregnant bride, the cartoon presents conforming to normativity as the solution to problems created by non-normative heterosexual conduct. These divergent meanings both reflect the social practices of the 1960s and 1970s in Spain but also, in a hyperbolic manner, reinforce gender normativity, the mandate to marriage, and patriarchal criticism of women.

Entitled "Promise," the caption for the *Honderos* image on the right reads: "Always together, until marriage separates us." Taking a critical stance towards marriage, the cartoon humorously conveys the message that after a wedding relationships become less pleasant, so much so that boyfriends and girlfriends will not want to spend time with each other after becoming husbands and wives. The couple appears happy, but the caption implies that their happiness will dissipate with marriage. Criticizing the institution of marriage, the caption semantically projected a cynical attitude towards marriage in its juxtaposition to the visual image of a happy couple. The couple's body language could also imply that the woman, who has her body shifted towards the man

⁷²⁴ For more on the codification of "fallen women," see Aurora G. Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 90–131.

and is clinging to him, is invading the man's space and instigating the couple's eventual unhappiness.

More explicitly criticizing women, cartoons suggested that certain women could make worse spouses. Women who talked too much could cause problems. In a joke from *Honderos* in 1967, one man ask another man how it is possible that he has not spoken to his wife for two years, to which the man replies that he has not had the chance because he has not interrupted her.⁷²⁵ Larger women could also be problematic.⁷²⁶



In this *Honderos* image from 1970, the man is in danger of being pushed out of the bed by his wife's girth. Her size causes problems for the man's sleep. In another sense, she dominates their marital bed, making the man her inferior.

Through these messages, *Honderos* provides a compelling example of a military publication that harped on normative marriage ideals in articles often written by average soldiers, but at the same time humorously presented the negative aspects of married life. Opposition between messages indicates the erosion of Francoist ideals during the later years of dictatorship. Although the normative obligation for both men and women to marry remained widespread in the 1960s and 1970s, military cultural productions by that

⁷²⁵ *Honderos*, núm. 13 (marzo-abril 1967), 33.

time also disparaged the traditional marriage norms of Francoism. By and large, the mandate to marriage in military print culture reinforced educational efforts to have soldiers marry proper women as soon as possible. Magazines for troops contained content that portrayed the adverse sides of matrimonial life and criticized women. Cartoonists used humor in these cases to make a cultural imperative bearable, thus more supporting than undermining it.

Military Justice and the Defense of Women

Discussed in greater detail below, educational content in military training manuals and magazines for troops throughout the Franco regime conveyed the message that men should respect women. These attempts to generate respect for and proper behavior towards women did not exist in a discursive vacuum. During at least the dictatorship's first twenty years, the military's desire for men to respect women manifested in practice through martial jurisprudence. Courts-martial involving the treatment of women reveal that beginning in the regime's first year in power and continuing through the 1940s and 1950s, the system of martial justice defended women from ill treatment by soldiers and disciplined and punished men for such transgressions. Although the Code of Military Justice (CJM) did not specifically contain articles regarding comportment towards the opposite sex, soldiers could be and were charged with crimes due to altercations involving improper conduct towards women. Acceptable and unacceptable comportment were intricately linked with performances of masculinity.

These cases involved soldiers verbally insulting women. Demonstrative of how the military utilized non-gendered facets of its penal code to punish soldiers for

⁷²⁶ *Honderos*, núm. 34 (1970), 30.

mistreating women, in 1939 a tribunal found a marine named Jesús F. J. guilty of disobedience and causing a public scandal after he transgressed the limitations of how a soldier should act around women.⁷²⁷ Jesús F. J. had been in an ice cream store singing “dishonest songs” that an artillery captain who was present felt were disrespectful to the “señoritas” in the store. The captain ordered Jesús F. J. to leave and go to the artillery barracks. The soldier disobeyed and sat back down with his friends, at which point the captain forcefully removed him from the establishment. Jesús F. J. then failed to go to the artillery barracks as ordered. The military charged him with disobedience, the “offense of perversity,” and causing a public scandal. Finding him guilty, the tribunal sentenced Jesús F. J. to six-months-and-a-day of military prison for disobedience and eight days of military arrest for the public scandal charge. Due to his having been a marine for ten years with good conduct, the court dropped the charge of perversity.

In this case, an officer defended women from another soldier’s disrespectful actions and the military then prosecuted that soldier for contravening military and social conventions. The tribunal’s invocation of perversity and public scandal indicates that martial jurisprudence bolstered respectful treatment towards women in conjunction with military and societal understandings of acceptable social norms. This argument does not imply, however, that uncouth and menacing actions and language towards women were not pervasive in Franco’s Spain, but that martial gender norms and some instances of courts-martial worked towards preventing and punishing such behavior.

Not only verbal but also physical abuse went against both notions of masculine martial comportment and the respectful treatment of women. In 1940, a tribunal

⁷²⁷ Archivo General Militar de Guadalajara: 4. Unidades, Centros y Organismos (UCOS): 4.1 Prisiones Militares: 4.1.11 Castillo de Santa Catalina (Cádiz), Expedientes Personales: legajo: 25, sumario: 1560,

employed a gendered understanding of military decorum when it sentenced a soldier to a month of military prison for insulting, punching, and injuring a female acquaintance during a domestic altercation.⁷²⁸ The court ruled the soldier's actions as constitutive of "a minor infraction that affects the decorum [*decoro*] with which those of the military classes must set as a public example of composure." The language of this charge indicates that violence towards women went against a soldier's *decoro* (which could also be translated as decency or dignity), directly relating to the gendered performance of soldiers displaying themselves as examples of composure. Not to argue that the military prevented domestic violence on a large scale (and how much might have been ignored or brushed aside is another pertinent question and the sentence of one month in prison seems light in this case), when soldiers were caught misbehaving, gendered understandings of men's comportment necessitated punishing those soldiers who physically abused women.

Like decorum, the Francoist armed forces invoked the specifically gendered notion of a military man's dignity in cases involving the treatment of women. In 1944, Fernando M. R. "in a state of drunkenness," verbally insulted a woman.⁷²⁹ Although the court ruled that those actions did not constitute a crime or major infraction, it did find Fernando M. R. guilty of his first drunkenness while off-duty and "performing acts contrary to military dignity." The tribunal sentenced him to one month for each of these two minor infractions. In this case, insulting a woman explicitly and specifically went against the dignity of military men. A component of Francoist martial masculinity, dignity in this example of juridical practice meant treating women with respect.

sentencia: F° 85, 1939 (hereafter: AGMG: CSC: 25/1560, 85/39).

⁷²⁸ AGMG: CSC: 109/6492, 201/40.

⁷²⁹ AGMG: CSC: 66/4227, 1830/44.

In another case of protecting a woman's body, a tribunal punished two soldiers for having intercourse with a mentally handicapped young woman.⁷³⁰ In 1945, Private José C. E. and Corporal Miguel Z. C. had sexual intercourse with a twenty-two-year-old woman who "seemed abnormal, from a mental point of view." While on guard duty, the two soldiers started a conversation with the young woman, Josefa F., and convinced her to go to a hidden area in some bushes to "carry out immoral acts." While in this location, each soldier separately engaged in "coitus" with the woman. The court established that although both soldiers had been on guard duty, the place to which they had retired with Josefa F. fell within their zone of custody, and therefore they did not "neglect their service." As for having sex with her, the tribunal took issue not with the act of intercourse *per se*, but rather with the mental cognizance of the woman to affirm or deny the soldier's sexual advances. The tribunal found that due to her mental condition, Josefa F. was "deprived of intelligence to the point of lacking discernment or willpower." Declaring that the soldiers were unaware of the woman's mental handicaps, the court found that their actions did not constitute a military crime or serious offense. Rather, it ruled that the two men had committed the minor offenses of "incorrectness in compliance with regulatory obligations" and "Executing acts contrary to the good example of decency and morality of which our military class must provide." The court sentenced both soldiers to a month of military prison for each infraction, their total time of incarceration being two months.

This case is telling of several key components of military justice and their relationship to norms of gender and sexuality. Finding that Josefa F.'s handicap prevented her from making cognizant decisions, the court defended her. It ruled that

⁷³⁰ AGMG: CSC:15/1017, 1275/45.

regardless of the two soldier's knowledge or lack thereof about her mental capabilities, José C. E. and Miguel Z. C. had by having sex with her, behaved in a manner unbecoming to a soldier's decency and morality. The exact language of the offense is revealing. Like dignity, and as aspects of normative masculinity in their own right, decency and morality pertained to the treatment of women. They could be invoked under military law to punish men for not conforming to the gendered regulations that protected women.

Verbal abuse cases continued into the 1940s and 1950s. In 1946, a military court sentenced three soldiers to one month of military arrest for an altercation resulting from having insulted some young women.⁷³¹ The men had directed verbal comments at some women that resulted in an argument between the soldiers and some civilians who viewed those actions as inappropriate. The military found the three soldiers guilty of "taking part in a quarrel," "spending the night outside of the barracks or accommodations," and being drunk while off-duty. Again in this case, the armed forces employed its code of justice to punish drunken soldiers who stepped beyond acceptable social and military boundaries by insulting women.

In a similar case from 1959, Salvador A. M. and another soldier were drunk in the streets of Cádiz and directed a *piropo* (flirtatious remark), at a young woman (*les piropoaba*) who was working in a stand on the corner of a street.⁷³² "[G]iven the state that they were in they formed somewhat of a scandal," and a civilian called the Municipal Guard. When the guards arrived, the two soldiers adopted an insolent attitude to the point that one of the guards slightly injured Salvador A. M. For these infractions, a military

⁷³¹ AGMG: CSC: 5/311, 890/46.

⁷³² AGMG: CSC: 2/112.

tribunal sentenced the soldier to thirty days of military prison for the minor offense of first time of drunkenness. It gave him another fifteen days of prison for causing a public scandal. The case record makes evident that the latter infraction of causing a public scandal by drunkenly and improperly flirting with a girl resulted in the need for police intervention and eventual punishment. The citizens who called the guards, the police themselves, and the magistrates on a military tribunal all deemed the soldier's actions towards the young woman as inappropriate and felt it necessary to both defend the woman from those advances and punish the man who made them. In both of these cases coming thirteen years apart, judicial practice and social norms aligned with the military's educational efforts to prevent *piropos*, and the lewd public sexuality that such comments represented. Civilians defended women because they felt that soldiers had gone beyond the acceptable treatment of women. By all appearances neither the civilians nor the soldiers knew the women prior to the altercations, suggesting that the salient point in this case was not to insult another man's woman, but women in general.

Outside military laws and guidelines, if soldiers committed a crime that fell under the jurisdiction of the *Código Penal Común* (Common Penal Code, hereafter CPC) they could be tried by military tribunal and sentenced to time in a military rather than civilian prison. These infractions sometimes involved crimes against women. They demonstrate how the armed forces charged soldiers with the specific crimes against women delineated in the CPC. For example, a military tribunal convicted Sub-Lieutenant Juan O. P. of "dishonest abuse" for molesting a ten-year-old girl.⁷³³ On the afternoon of 29 November 1953 fifty-year-old Juan O. P. encountered María P. P., a girl with whose father he was friends, and invited her to go to the movies with him. During the film, he repeatedly

touched her buttocks and also put her hands on his genitalia. Afterwards he took her to another movie at a different theatre where he repeated his actions. Following the second movie, he led her to some gardens where he “impurely” touched her again. María P. P. then went home and told her parents about the soldier’s actions. At trial, the prosecution requested two-years-four-months-and-a-day of prison. The defense denied that the facts constituted a crime and argued for acquittal. Finding Juan O. P. guilty for the sexual conduct between an adult and a minor that was illegal under the CPC, the court sentenced him to one year of prison. Although not handing down a harsh sentence, a military court deemed the sexual abuse of an underage girl to be worthy of punishment, invoking the CPC and the military’s jurisdiction over all soldiers to punish the sexual abuse of an underage girl.

All of these cases provide examples of the military utilizing its system of justice to punish soldiers for a variety of offenses originating from the ill treatment of women. How often or uniformly military justice punished the mistreatment of women is unclear from court-martial records. Those sources do reveal that when brought to the attention of the authorities, such conduct was not tolerated. This study found no cases of acquittals for these types of courts-martial, not to say that such instances might not have existed. Normative masculinity entailed treating women with dignity and respecting the sanctity of their bodies. The underlying impetus behind defending women indicates that martial jurisprudence worked towards maintaining Francoist norms of masculinity by punishing soldiers who failed to appropriately treat women. The light sentences indicate that although punishing men for mistreating women, such conduct did not warrant the harsh punishment that came with, for example, engaging in homosexual acts with another man.

⁷³³ AGMG: CSC: 82/5088, 27/54.

How Soldiers Should Behave With and Treat Women

To condition normative masculine behavior, the Francoist armed forces taught its soldiers about the proper ways to behave with women, attempting to ensure that men treated women with respect. Working towards that goal, pedagogical materials instructed troops in proper conduct. For example, appearing in a training manual from 1960 entitled *Manual del recluta* (Manual for the Recruit), the ninth commandment of the *Decálogo del Soldado* (Decalogue of the Soldier) required soldiers, when in front of women, to never forget their mothers.⁷³⁴ Similarly, another training manual published fifteen years later and entitled *Para el soldado: Tu comportamiento* (For the Soldier: Your Comportment) mandated that troops treat women with “much deference and think of them as future girlfriends or mothers of soldiers like yourself.”⁷³⁵ The aforementioned *Diana* article from 1974, “La mujer en la vida del soldado,” likewise informed troops that when dealing with women it “would be enough to remember that our mother is a woman and could be a victim of the reckless delinquent [*desaprensivo*] that today you aspire to be.”⁷³⁶ These examples of military educational messages utilized the motif of the mother, employing men’s affection for their mothers to implore soldiers to treat women appropriately. The fusion of mothers and girlfriends, and the protective attitude that soldiers were supposed to take towards the feminized *Patria*, equated appropriate treatment with respect. The supposed effect of a soldier thinking of his mother when he encountered a woman would help mitigate *donjuanismo* and its treatment of women as objects of sexual conquest.

⁷³⁴ Germán Rodríguez González, *Manual del recluta* (Salamanca: Gráficas Ortega, 1972), 4.

⁷³⁵ Ministerio del Ejército Estado Mayor Central, *Para el soldado: Tu comportamiento* (Madrid: Imprenta del Servicio Geográfico del Ejército, 1975), 47–48.

⁷³⁶ “La mujer en la vida del soldado,” *Diana*, 12–13.

A ritualized arena of courtship, dances comprised dangerous public performances that the military sought to control. Decried as dangerous by the Spanish Church and the Apostolado, within this common cultural practice in Franco's Spain it was relatively acceptable for young men to meet, interact with, and physically touch young women. Muinelo Alarcón wrote in 1959 that while not necessarily a sin, a soldier must know how to appropriately dance with women. They should respectfully treat their dance partner as they would their sister, mother, or future wife.⁷³⁷ A training manual from 1967 informed its readers not to dance with a woman they did not know unless they had first been introduced to her and that although there may be young women who were "not too beautiful[.]" to be polite and dance with them as well.⁷³⁸ Imparting contrary advice, a different training manual from 1975 informed troops not to take women whom they did not know to dances. It did state that they could dance with any woman at the dance itself but they should treat them with delicacy and courtesy.⁷³⁹ If at the house of friends or acquaintances, soldiers should only to dance with women with whom they had a romantic interest.⁷⁴⁰ Although contradictory and having changed over time, this behavioral instruction functioned to condition how young men and women behaved at the acceptable, although potentially sexually dangerous, atmosphere of a dance.

Men treating women with the disrespect or sexual objectification of a Don Juan constituted a problem in other public spaces, in particular exhibitions of sexuality and verbally or physically accosting women on the street. Relegating sexuality to the private sphere, the armed forces targeted public displays of affection. A training manual from

⁷³⁷ Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, "Cartas a enamorados (V): Tarde de Baile," *Empuje*, núm. 121 (primera quincena de noviembre 1959), 4 and 6: 6.

⁷³⁸ Capitanía General de Canarias. *Cortesía y educación: Consejos a un soldado* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1967), 45.

1967 entitled *Cortesía y educación: Consejos a un soldado* (Courtesy and Education: Advice for a Soldier) entreated soldiers not to make spectacles of themselves in movie theatres by putting their arm around or kissing their date.⁷⁴¹ This public and implicitly sexual conduct would make other people “contemplate scenes of dubious taste.”⁷⁴² In 1975, *Para el soldado* considered public displays of affection to be animalistic.⁷⁴³



Does this not seem to you typical
of animals?

Published in the final year of Franco’s life, the above image reveals the military’s ongoing efforts to condition men’s performative behavior towards women. Portraying the man as a beast, the image and its caption attempt to influence the reader’s judgment. The woman in the background covering a child’s eyes implies that such public sexual behavior was unsuitable for and had negative consequences on children. Whether imagined as providing sexual fodder for the public’s imagination or as engaging in bestial courtship customs, soldiers’ physical affection for and advances towards women in public represented improper conduct. Confining sexuality to the home and presumably out of view of children, these messages for soldiers provide an example of the local foci of

⁷³⁹ Ministerio del Ejército Estado Mayor Central, *Para el soldado*, 59-60.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., 61.

⁷⁴¹ Capitanía General de Canarias. *Cortesía y educación*, 41.

⁷⁴² Ibid., 37.

power and knowledge that reinforced the traditional society that many members of the Franco regime intended to uniformly create in Spain.

Not all of this pedagogy about public comportment functioned in a repressive manner, however. Revealing some of the disrespectful, if not predatory, ways that men could treat Spanish women in public and how the armed forces sought to curb that behavior, military print culture and training manuals implored troops not to make improper comments towards or inappropriately touch women.⁷⁴⁴



Published in the 1970s and from an R.E.S. magazine and a training manual respectively, these images criticize both the public hounding of women and the more permissive sexual attitudes of that era. The cartoon on the left from *Honderos* demonstrates that touching a woman's buttocks was improper, leading to a man being slapped. It indicates that men inappropriately touched women on the street. The woman's act of self-defense imparts the message that women did not enjoy being touched in such a manner by strangers in public.

⁷⁴³ Ministerio del Ejército Estado Mayor Central, *Para el soldado: Tu comportamiento*, 48.

⁷⁴⁴ Right image: *Honderos*, núm. 32 (mayo-junio 1970), 31; Left image: Ministerio del Ejército Estado Mayor Central, *Para el soldado: Tu comportamiento*, 14.

Similarly, the image on the right from *Para el soldado* depicts a ragged hippie-looking man and contrasts him to the soldier whose arm the woman holds for support and safety. Making a *piropo*, the hippie calls the woman “HOTTIE!” and the caption asks the reader, “Would you do that?” The image carries the implication that soldiers would not and should not behave in such a manner. *Piropos* were a common feature of Spanish culture before, during, and after the Franco regime. Often unwanted by women, they could be demeaning or threatening. Muinelo Alarcón, as part of his early 1960s series in *Empuje* (published into a book in 1967) about soldiers’ relationships with women, informed his readers that decent women were not going to appreciate such comments. He wrote: “The *piropo*, soldier, is one of the most lamentable manifestations of the sexuality of some people... [It] is not a tribute to the beauty of a woman.”⁷⁴⁵ Attempting to dissuade soldiers from making *piropos*, Muinelo Alarcón implored his readers to remember that those women to whom they might make a remark were a man’s mother, sister, or girlfriend. In a prescriptive rather than restrictive manner, he wrote that such attention and desire was better conveyed with the eyes. Appealing to notions of masculinity, he argued that martial gallantry and the prestige of the uniform dictated that Spanish soldiers, even in public, must treat women correctly and without making *piropos*.⁷⁴⁶

Regardless of perceptions of these comments as innocent compliments on the one hand, or the sexually threatening nature of *piropos* on the other hand, the military sought

⁷⁴⁵ Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, “El soldado y la calle: Pasa una chica,” *Empuje*, núm. 146 (segunda quincena de noviembre 1960), 2. Also see Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, *El soldado y la mujer (cartas a enamorados)* (Madrid: 1967). Flirting in general could be portrayed in a negative light, with one R.E.S. article informing its readers that flirting was bad, more or less equating it with toying with a woman and with adultery, and arguing that the flirt did not actually know how to love a woman. J. Llorente, “El flirt,” *Santa Ana* (tercer llamamiento reemplazo 1973).

⁷⁴⁶ Muinelo Alarcón, “El soldado y la calle: Pasa una chica,” *Empuje*, 2.

to eradicate a common social practice that also functioned as a performance of men's sexual desire for, as well as patriarchal power over, women. One source, however, blamed women for instigating mistreatment by men. An article from the Apostolado's journal *Pensamiento y Acción* entitled "Besos públicos" (Public Kisses), opined that if a woman went into public displaying parts of her body, it was her fault if a man said something unpleasant to her because she would have awakened certain instincts in that man.⁷⁴⁷ Revealing aspects within military cultural productions of negative critiques of women and utilizing notions of men's irrepressible sexuality to shame women who received unwanted attention in public, this article provides a counterpoint, albeit a rare one, to the military's efforts to compel soldiers to refrain from publicly demonstrating their sexual attraction for women.

Respect for Women

Whether on the street or at dances, one of the most important reasons to treat women in a correct manner was because they deserved respect. In combination with court-martial records from the 1930s through the 1950s, the dates of the sources mentioned below (1959–1975) indicate that for the duration of the Franco regime, the military continued to make troops treat women with respect. An *Empuje* article from 1959 informed troops that all women, whether they are "good or bad, rich or poor, accessible or formal...", have a heart, dignity, and feelings.⁷⁴⁸ According to this author, when men ignore or scoff at this fact, they can morally if not physically kill women.⁷⁴⁹ In

⁷⁴⁷ Francisco Rodríguez Roá, "Besos públicos," *Pensamiento y Acción*, núm. 70 (julio 1956), 30–31.

⁷⁴⁸ Felix Arbolí Martínez, "Las chicas," *Empuje*, núm. 110 (segunda quincena de mayo 1959), 2.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

the final year of Franco's life, *Para el soldado* told troops that "*In your relations with women, do not make a scandal of yourself; all women deserve great respect.*"⁷⁵⁰

In 1974, the Diana article entitled "La mujer en la vida del soldado" utilized a gendered conception of women's bodies to dictate how and why they should be treated in certain ways.⁷⁵¹ Women must be treated with care, with men remaining conscious of "the important function that God has entrusted them[,]" meaning that women's reproductive biology made them physically frail.⁷⁵² In a gendered statement further reinforcing perceptions of women as weak, this manual dictated that men must treat women with charity (*caridad*), being perceptive of the "innate weakness with which [women] were conceived."⁷⁵³ Women must be treated with respect because "God desired that [they] be a living temple on the earth."⁷⁵⁴ This final statement, although allowing for women's bodies to be perceived as holy temples and treated with respect, further reduced women to corporeal fragility. Here, a discourse of difference versus equality emerged in which the latter took priority because the respectful manner in which women must be treated directly related to their physical differences with men.

Similarly, *Cortesía y educación* informed its readers in 1967 that "*Women are not inferior to men, but rather, only, different.*"⁷⁵⁵ This manual utilized supposed gender differences to argue for equality, arguing that "women are exactly equal to men in terms of rights, dignity, responsibility, liberty, importance, bravery, and therefore must be respected, appreciated, esteemed and considered in the same manner as one appreciates

⁷⁵⁰ Ministerio del Ejército Estado Mayor Central, *Para el soldado: Tu comportamiento*, 47. Emphasis in original.

⁷⁵¹ "La mujer en la vida del soldado," *Diana*, 12–13.

⁷⁵² Ibid.

⁷⁵³ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁵ Capitanía General de Canarias. *Cortesía y educación*, 49. Emphasis in original.

and esteems a friend, parent, teacher, or companion.” Differences between the sexes nonetheless meant that more than anything else, men must understand that they should avoid acting based on a “masculine mentality,” which “hurts feminine sensitivity.”⁷⁵⁶ Placed in conjunction with norms of *machismo*, this advice functioned to challenge socially pervasive behaviors and performances in which masculinity was predicated on the sexually aggressive treatment of women.

Cortesía y educación not only cited common courtesy (based on perceived gender differences) as a reason for men to behave correctly towards women but also employed women’s desires as a tactic to condition men’s comportment: “Women always desire, in whatever circumstance, *gentleness, kindness, goodness*, and not capricious [or] violent manners, impositions of force, the feeling of being treated as an inferior to a ‘master.’”⁷⁵⁷

Rather, by

treating [a woman] as an equal, asking for her counsel, appreciating her intelligence, considering her proper level, not neglecting small attentions of delicacy (a flower, a friendly word, a look, etc.), one will establish a full and lasting understanding, a profound union of the spirit, a firm union, a true and indestructible affection.⁷⁵⁸

Implying that treating women correctly would lead to strong relationships and happy marriages, this content bolstered the mandate to marriage for both sexes.

The military conveyed the message that proper treatment would lead to positive results, but that improper conduct towards women had dire consequences. Revealing soldiers’ predilection towards sexual exploration while attempting to mediate the negative consequences of male promiscuity on women, an *Empuje* article from 1959 implored soldiers, who in the absence of their girlfriend might search for “the pastime of

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

a love[.]” to think about how their actions would affect the women with whom they had such relationships.⁷⁵⁹ The author specified that the women involved would have trouble dealing with the disgrace and stigma of such affairs, falling into an abyss. Addressing the soldier, the article stated that he might return home happy with pure love for his girlfriend, considering his dalliance with another other woman to have been simply an adventure or episode of military service. Yet he would not have considered the consequences of his actions. He would have failed to take into account that he might have a child he will never see and who has the shame of not knowing their father. The soldier would also not have considered that the woman and child might be homeless. In this case, a man will have “played with what is most noble in a woman, her heart, her dignity and her feelings and all for the indulgence of instinct, for a misguided and repugnant manliness, for ignoring the most rudimentary principles of morality, dignity, and chivalry.”⁷⁶⁰ Casual sexual relationships while on active duty, in this article, not only negatively affected women but also true masculinity. As with the pejorative model of the Don Juan, normative manhood did not include amorous conquests of women in the pursuit of sexual pleasure.

Conclusion

Rather than total repression of women, a more complicated picture emerges in which Francoism attempted to make men more respectful towards women. Constructing and maintaining a patriarchal understanding of manhood that repressed both men and women, martial masculinity concomitantly entailed having Spanish men respect women.

⁷⁵⁷ Capitanía General de Canarias. *Cortesía y educación*, 49.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., 49–50.

⁷⁵⁹ Arbolí Martínez, “Las chicas,” *Empuje*, 2.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid.

The tactics used in this endeavor included appeals to masculinity; compassion for women's plights; the desire for happy relationships; and affection for sisters, mothers, and girlfriends. Nevertheless, the military's efforts functioned to reinforce patriarchy because they did not loosen men's control over women. As demonstrated by this chapter's evidence and analysis, the military wanted men to respect women, but within a schematic of women as subordinates. Thematically linked to Apostolado conceptions of chivalry, this discourse attempted to make men into obedient members of the nation. A component of that obedience was correct comportment with women. A soldier validated his manhood by obeying the mandates of normative masculinity to treat women with respect. This obedience would lead to a happy heterosexual marriage and authenticate the masculine and martial man as a dutiful husband and father.

This analysis of military sources relating to women reveals a contradictory and paradoxical notion of normative martial Francoist masculinity as it related to women. Francoist conceptions of masculinity opened spaces that challenged some, but not all, aspects of men's dominance over women. Nevertheless, the reasons behind such considerations were biologically reductive, self-serving, and reinforced heteropatriarchy. Respect for women rested on their subordinate position in paternal notions of gendered social hierarchies.

Chapter VI
Women in the Life of the Manly Soldier Part II:
The Ideal Type, the Modern Woman,
& Women's Modernization

Introduction: History, Historiography, and Sources

Women played a significant role in both demarcating the boundaries of, and validating, normative Francoist martial masculinity. Further examining women's influence on men and their manhood, this chapter assesses messages about the normative ideal type woman; an economy of male desire; presentations of the modern woman; and issues relating to women: women's rights, women in the workforce and military, the female body, and women's fashion. The armed forces promulgated the Francoist and traditional concept of the normative mother-wife-housekeeper who complimented and completed the manly and martial member of the nation. Spanish men did not necessarily find such women to be their ideals, however. Magazines for troops suggest that men desired a variety of women, including the traditional Spanish woman, but that soldiers increasingly found sexualized modern women especially attractive. Not merely focusing on a male readership, military magazines directed content at women in efforts to construct and inculcate normative femininity. Reading sources through an analytical lens that assesses how such material impeded or expanded women's modernization in Spain, a picture emerges in which conflicting and competing discourses about women reaffirmed Francoist gender normativity, but also increasingly undermined it.

The Second Republic and Spanish Civil War irrevocably altered women's history in Spain. During the 1930s women gained suffrage, had more employment opportunities,

undertook non-normative gender roles, and served as combatants in war. Following its victory, the Franco regime made great efforts to turn back the clock to not only before 1931, but back several hundred years to Spain's Golden Age of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The dictatorship especially aspired to eradicate the modernization that Spanish women had experienced during the twentieth century.

Although anachronistic to utilize the term modern woman—who first appeared in Europe around the turn of the twentieth century and was an object of cultural concern in the interwar era—to describe European women in the 1960s and 1970s, Spain provides an exception. The Franco dictatorship's reversal of women's modernization makes it apt to both describe the non-traditional women that reappeared by those decades as modern women and to interpret that reemergence as a modernization of women's roles and identities in Spain. This vocabulary accords with the historiography of Franco's Spain. Aurora G. Morcillo argues in her monograph about the female body and Francoism that "The consumerist economy that Spain gradually adopted in the 1950s and 1960s opened the way to this new, modern, Western woman; a sexualized consumer flaunting herself in front of the official doctrine of 'True Catholic Womanhood'".⁷⁶¹ As Morcillo alludes, the Franco dictatorship set out to create an identity for Spanish women in which they would be quintessential Catholic mothers, wives, and housekeepers. Although indubitably the regime's prototype for Spanish women, feminist scholarship in the last few decades has revealed the ideal Spanish woman to be a problematic paradigm.⁷⁶²

⁷⁶¹ Aurora G. Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 14.

⁷⁶² See especially Jessica Davidson, "Politics, Policy, and Propaganda of the Sección Femenina in Francoist Spain, 1934-1977" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2005), 115–116; Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela

Several interrelated themes stand out within this historiography. The Francoist state expended great effort to make Spanish women correspond to its ideal type, especially through mandatory social service for women in the *Falange's Sección Femenina* (Women's Section). The fragmented nature of the Franco regime in combination with the changing nature of Spanish society produced challenges to normative womanhood. Several interest groups within the dictatorship of Catholics, traditionalists, the military, and Spain's fascist party competed for power relative to Franco, each with somewhat different notions of true Spanish identity. Ostracized by the World War II Allies for collusion with the Axis, and failing at self-imposed disassociation from the western economy, by the 1950s Franco sought to change his economic policy of autarky. He and the newly appointed technocratic government ministers of the lay Catholic group Opus Dei initiated economic modernization and pursued more involvement with the international economy. These efforts led to the opening of Spain's cultural borders to influences from Western Europe and the United States, with resulting changes in Spanish society in general and the status of women in particular.

Feminist scholars have challenged the originally dominant notion of women under the dictatorship as having been silent, repressed, rigid in their identity, and without

Beth Radcliff, "General Introduction: Contesting Identities/Contesting Categories," in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, eds. Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff, 1–16 (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999); Victoria Lorée Enders, "Problematic Portraits: The Ambiguous Historical Role of the *Sección Femenina*," in Enders and Radcliff, *Constructing Spanish Womanhood*, 375–397; Julia Hudson-Richards, "'Women Want to Work': Shifting Ideologies of Women's Work in Franco's Spain, 1939–1962," *Journal of Women's History* 27, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 87–109; María Teresa Gallego Méndez, *Mujer, falange y franquismo* (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones S.A., 1983); Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal, "El debate feminista durante el franquismo," in *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: Sociedad, economía, política, cultura*, ed. Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal, 269–297 (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, S.A., 2003); Inbal Ofer, *Señoritas in Blue: The Making of a Female Political Elite in Franco's Spain* (Portland, Oregon: Sussex Academic Press, 2009); and Mary Vincent,

agency. After Franco's demise in 1975 and under Spain's new democratic atmosphere, feminist scholarly opinions of normative Francoist womanhood held it to be strictly oppressive. When the post-dictatorship mood of polarized politics gradually wore off, feminist scholars began to take a different view. They utilized feminist theories and investigated sites of resistance and agency, thereby expanding understandings of gender and sexuality under Francoism.

In one of the most important contributions to this historiographical turn, Victoria Loreé Enders and Pamela Radcliff propose new theoretical models inspired by feminist theories with which to re-conceptualize women's history.⁷⁶³ Interested in sites of contestation, Enders and Radcliff call for investigating "the balance between constraint and agency, subjugation and subjectivity."⁷⁶⁴ They echo Denise Riley's deconstruction of the category "women" and cite Judith Butler's idea that by "releasing the category women from a fixed referent [is how] something like 'agency' becomes possible."⁷⁶⁵ Enders and Radcliff argue that such an approach dismantles and deconstructs categorizations that drown out voices of women's identity and agency. Their method "acknowledges the permeability of boundaries and categories, rather than reinscribe their rigidity," revealing the dialectical relationship between hegemonic gender discourses of separate spheres and the complex lived reality of Spanish women. Enders and Radcliff write that

By uncovering the fluidity of gender roles and ideology, even in a case like Spain which appears to be such a textbook case of rigid dualisms, we

"Spain," in *Women, Gender, and Fascism in Europe, 1919-45*, ed. Kevin Passmore, 189-213 (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

⁷⁶³ Enders and Radcliff, eds., *Constructing Spanish Womanhood*.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., 4.

⁷⁶⁵ Quoted in Ibid.

hope to contribute to the current exciting project of redefinition being undertaken by a broad spectrum of gender scholars and historians.

Enders' chapter on the Sección Femenina in particular goes beyond the ideal image of mother-wife-housekeeper to investigate how conceptions of womanhood were constructed and problematized during the Franco regime.⁷⁶⁶

Investigating training manuals and cultural publications for troops, this chapter utilizes these expanded theoretical conceptions to analyze the codependency of men and women—and masculinity and femininity—in reifying men's patriarchal control over women but also in expanding possibilities for women's modernization. Sherry B. Ortner argues that when searching for instances of women's subordination, cultural evaluations provide evidence of women's position in societal power structures.⁷⁶⁷ She cites three types of cultural data that permit such an analysis: "(1) elements of cultural ideology ... that *explicitly* devalue women; (2) symbolic devices ... [and] (3) social structural arrangements that exclude women from participation in or contact with some realm in which the highest powers of society are felt to reside."⁷⁶⁸ Within this data set and in order to discover women's inferiority within a given culture, "Certainly, explicit cultural ideology devaluing women (and their tasks, roles, products, etc.) is sufficient evidence."⁷⁶⁹ The sources utilized in this chapter supply such evidence. They expose devaluations of women. Nevertheless, these sources provide proof of the opposite. Utilizing Enders', Radcliff's, and Ortner's methodologies and reading texts for symbolic devices, this chapter examines training manuals and print culture for instances of positive

⁷⁶⁶ See also Ofer, *Señoritas in Blue*.

⁷⁶⁷ Sherry B. Ortner, *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 23.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

evaluations of women that, to a certain degree, implicitly or explicitly gave women cultural esteem. At the same time, the chapter's methodology relies on Carole Pateman's notion of the "sexual contract." Pateman argues that at the moment when modern society took shape with the social contract in which the state was tasked with protecting civil freedoms, a sexual contract also arose under which men controlled women: "Men's domination over women, and the right of men to enjoy equal sexual access to women, is at issue in the making of the original pact. The social contract is a story of freedom; the sexual contract is a story of subjection."⁷⁷⁰ This chapter combines this idea with Foucauldian theorizations of structures of power to analyze how positive messages about women and their modernization in Francoist military print culture also functioned to reinforce men's domination over women.

The variety of these sources' content, and the rich messages embedded within them, lend themselves to drawing conclusions about how a martial and masculine print culture reveal men's perceptions of women. Cartoons in R.E.S. publications (magazines published by individual barracks with much of their content created by average soldiers), often dealt with subjects relating to women and offer an avenue of insight into men's perceptions of women. Likewise, erotic imagery played a significant role in the themes examined by this chapter and warrants a historicized discussion of a culture of erotics in Spain.

Like the modern woman, erotic imagery had a history in Spain before the Spanish Civil War, but was subsequently suppressed following Franco's victory. Maíte Zubíaurre demonstrates in her monograph *Cultures of the Erotic in Spain, 1898-1939* that "a sudden proliferation of erotica [occurred] at the end of the nineteenth century in Spain, which

⁷⁷⁰ Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 2.

continued well into the 1930s.”⁷⁷¹ She uses the term *sicalipsis* to describe this “explosion of erotic artifacts and discourses on sexuality that infused Spanish popular culture...”⁷⁷² Zubíaurre unveils the “highly eroticized and irreverent Spain that, before succumbing to the stifling circumstances of the Civil War and Franco’s dictatorship, served as a subversive counterbalance to the orthodoxies of Spain’s official (high) culture.”⁷⁷³ This discursive uncovering reveals the importance of erotic images in Spanish popular print culture prior to Francoism. The Franco regime, writes Zubíaurre, was deeply threatened by “sexual freedom and erotic desire—with their implicit rejection of non-normative sexual orientations and traditional gender roles...” After 1939, the newly-founded dictatorship eradicated Spain’s flourishing culture of erotics.⁷⁷⁴

Ignoring the consequences of tourism in the 1960s and 1970s in Spain, Zubíaurre contends that erotic imagery only reappeared “in old forms as well as new media” after Franco’s death and with the transition to democracy. Morcillo argues that the dis-robed female body facilitated women’s political agency during that time period as well. This chapter’s sources indicate that erotic imagery and the political signification of the female body reemerged in military print culture by the late 1960s. Such content had political and social implications because it portrayed modernized women as no longer threatening but rather as sexualized objects of male desire.

This culture of erotics within an economy of male desire presents a welter of contradictions that when untangled and placed in conjunction with Enders’ and Radcliff’s methodology expands and enriches the historiography of women, gender, and sexuality in

⁷⁷¹ Maíte Zubíaurre, *Cultures of the Erotic in Spain, 1898–1939* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012). 5

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Ibid., 28.

Franco's Spain. Erotic imagery and the sexualized female body in military print culture objectified women and placed them firmly under patriarchal structures of power. Ironically, content produced for and by men served contestational and transformational roles in repressive systems of power. Portrayals of women and femininity within military print culture demonstrate the ways in which the armed forces paradoxically functioned to undermine traditional and normative notions of womanhood.

Another paradox lies in the fact that until after Franco's death the military continued to propound its orthodoxy about womanhood, yet as cultural and social change intensified modernization in the last fifteen to twenty years of the dictatorship, military print culture for troops moved away from official regime discourse. Demonstrating individual agency, this process occurred in sources created by the rank-and-file and therefore reveals pervasive non-normative attitudes about women and sexuality held by ordinary soldiers. This content permits a glimpse into ordinary men's mentalities. Beginning with an examination of educational messages about proper woman (through training manuals and the pedagogical intent of cultural publications), this chapter investigates how the military presented normative women in relation to the manly soldier. It also analyzes the threatening opposites to which ideal woman were contrasted and explores presentations of women that mitigated such threats.

The Ideal Type and its Opposite

Although the military preferred that its soldiers find a woman to marry, not any woman would do. Educational content cautioned against those women with whom men should avoid forging a relationship. The same sources advocated that soldiers marry

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid., 335–336.

normative women who would make ideal wives. As with the Sección Femenina and normative Francoist femininity, the military posited the mother-wife-housekeeper as the superlative woman for a soldier. Often utilizing an interpretation of biological differences between the sexes that reinforced Francoist-coded patriarchal power structures, the armed forces instructed its soldiers that ideal women should be docile, simple, and traditional.

The opposite to which the military contrasted this ideal type was the modern, liberated, and feminist woman who, by her putatively unfeminine nature, would make a poor mother and housekeeper as well as bring misery upon her husband. Prostitutes and the category of “fallen women” (under which modern women often fell) represented inadequate if not also dangerous women whom soldiers should avoid.⁷⁷⁵ During the 1960s and 1970s, modernity re-emerged in Spain and influenced how Spanish women lived their lives. Martial discourse gradually also reflected this cultural and social change, becoming incongruous in its presentation of ideal women.

Putting into practice these educational and cultural directives about ideal women and wives, the armed forces regulated when and whom soldiers could marry. For the rank-and-file rules entailed a prohibition on getting married while on active duty. Regulations for the officer corps—as a different class of soldiers—strictly demarcated specifically who officers could marry, as well as what kinds of women with whom they could spend their free time. J. Andrade Cola’s autobiography provides a telling example of how these regulations manifested in practice.⁷⁷⁶ When he attended the General Military Academy at Zaragoza (Spain’s most prestigious military academy) during the late 1940s, regulations forbid cadets to “accompany girls who were [not very] elegant, or

⁷⁷⁵ More related to male sexuality than marriage or women’s impact on men *per se*, this dissertation discusses the ramifications of those discourses in Chapter III.

[were] rough looking [*de aspecto basto*].”⁷⁷⁷ He cites an example of a guard detaining one soldier for accompanying some girls who were “‘improper’ for the dignity of a cadet.”⁷⁷⁸ Humorously in this case, the cadet informed the guard that the girls were the daughters of the colonel in charge of studies at the Academy. Andrade Cola states that he knew the young women and although they were nice, they dressed very poorly.⁷⁷⁹ In this case, female fashion determined assumptions about gender and class that in turn dictated appropriate women for officers as a higher class of soldiers.

Andrade Cola himself had to meet the standards of the officer corps when he decided to marry.⁷⁸⁰ Demonstrating the military’s panoptic control over officers’ personal romantic relationships, if an officer wanted to marry a woman he first had to have her approved following an investigation into her and her family’s character. Andrade Cola filled out an exhaustive informational form about his fiancée, who would “join the ‘military family.’” An officer needed this material to “certify a woman’s good manners, piety, and adhesion to the Regime.”⁷⁸¹ Andrade Cola’s account demonstrates that the military guarded its upper echelons from the influence of certain women. Normative comportment, active practice of Catholic religious convictions, and submission to Francoist ideology played a particularly important role, therefore, in the gendered composition of the officer corps as a bulwark of the regime’s power.

Although the military allowed Andrade Cola’s to marry his fiancé, in some cases it withheld approval for potential spouses. For example, Andrade Cola recounts the story

⁷⁷⁶ For a description of Andrade Cola and his autobiography, see Chapter I.

⁷⁷⁷ J. Andrade Cola, *El Ejército por dentro (de la postguerra a la democracia 1943–1983)* (Sevilla: SALDUBA, 1990), 55.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 140.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., 180.

of a certain lieutenant “S,” one of whose family members was a minister in the government. This officer, “With an absolute contempt for the rules, decided to get married to a known whore and, naturally, was not granted permission. Something that did not bother him in the least.”⁷⁸² After he married this woman the military discharged him. Andrade Cola believes that the lieutenant became a lawyer and lived happily with his wife, a woman who “behaved herself with much more modesty than other [women] who passed the exam [and were allowed to marry an officer].”⁷⁸³ This story reveals an act of individual resistance on the part of the lieutenant, who chose to circumvent military and social standards and marry a woman codified as “fallen” by Francoist discourse. Andrade Cola’s opinion that the woman herself was better behaved and more modest than many of the women whom the military deemed acceptable indicates his own ability to judge character regardless of the discourse and education to which he was submitted as an officer in the Francoist military. The lieutenant’s understanding of and acting upon his own desires (despite the repercussions) and both men’s utilization of personal judgment about women demonstrates the Army’s tenuous ability to mold behavior and thought.

The Mother-Wife-Housekeeper

Connected to the exertion of power through marriage regulations, the Spanish armed forces for the duration of Franco’s rule went to great discursive lengths to posit traditional women who would make good mothers, wives, and housekeepers as ideal women. According to a book written in 1958 by an infantry major and intended to educate officers, Spanish women had traits that made them especially suitable as mates, such as their “pure piety,” industriousness, bravery, devotion, patriotism, love for their

⁷⁸² Ibid., 180–181.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 181.

children, and their ability to be a steward of and bring happiness to the home.⁷⁸⁴ In the penultimate year of Franco's life, an article in the R.E.S. publication *Honderos* posited that the women of the Sección Femenina deserved soldiers' gratitude and admiration.⁷⁸⁵ Similarly, an article from 1971 appearing in the Apostolado's premier journal, *Reconquista*, proposed as ideal women those who helped others.⁷⁸⁶ These presentations of altruistic and nurturing qualities implied that paradigmatic women should exemplify the maternal instincts intrinsic to normative femininity.

The military's advice for soldiers to marry women with strong maternal qualities suggests the importance of motherhood to both the tripartite mother-wife-housekeeper ideal and martial masculinity. For example, a *Reconquista* article published in 1955 entitled "El culto a la mujer" (The Cult of the Woman) argued that mothers were model women venerated by all men.⁷⁸⁷ This piece posited that a mother's care during childhood was the foundational reason for why all men respected women.⁷⁸⁸ Aspiring for men to treat women respectfully and in accordance with martial masculinity, the military often implored soldiers to think of their mothers when interacting with other women and to show women the same respect they would their own mothers.

Further linked to martial manhood and also buttressing ideals of womanhood, military discourse promoted the value of mothers' sacrifices for both soldiers and the

⁷⁸⁴ Alejandro Ibarra Burillo, *El Credo del Soldado*. (Madrid, 1958), 30.

⁷⁸⁵ Ballester Moragues, "Las chicas de la Sección Femenina," *Honderos: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de Baleares*, núm. 56 (mayo-junio 1974), 14.

⁷⁸⁶ E. García Cidón de Freire, "Mujeres ideales," *Reconquista*, núm. 257 (mayo 1971), 17–18. *El Credo del Soldado* militarized femininity, presenting ideal women as those who "encourage and help men, care for the wounded and sick, and if necessary, to take up arms." This pious mother-wife-housekeeper who also cared for soldiers, and could herself fight if need be, presents an interesting picture of an ideal woman in a militarized sense. Such an ideal does accord in some ways with the popular images of both the pious military nurse and the soldier's sacrificial mother, but also conjures images of female anarchist soldiers during the Spanish Civil War. Ibarra Burillo, *El Credo del Soldado*, 30.

⁷⁸⁶ "El culto a la mujer," *Reconquista*, núm. 64 (abril 1955), 28–30.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid..

nation. The monument that Franco built to memorialize the Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War, *El Valle de Los Caídos* (The Valley of the Fallen), provides an example of the Francoist state utilizing a site of memory and mourning to integrate sacrificial mothers into normative conceptions of masculinity and femininity. A memorial built by and dedicated to men—celebrating and constructing an identity of idealized martial masculinity—the monument prominently includes women and female figures. Women in this ritualized space are docile and secondary. Their sacrifice is not of their own lives but the lives of their sons. The iconography of the *Pietá*, the Virgin Mary grieving over the dead Christ, is particularly prevalent at El Valle de Los Caídos. As Daniel J. Sherman argues in the context of World War I memorials in France, the site portrays women’s mourning “not simply as a distinctly feminine activity but as a tribute paid by women to men[,]”⁷⁸⁹ wherein “the cultural work of commemoration involved not simply a coming to terms with loss but also a reaffirmation of the primacy of men in both society and politics.”⁷⁹⁰ The memorial’s presentation of women as sacrificial mothers and secondary members of the nation mirrored and reinscribed normative gender identities and roles within Spanish society.

In conjunction with motherly qualities, physical and moral attributes also played a role in which women a soldier should pursue. In 1960, *Campaña premilitar* (Premilitary Campaign, the Apostolado’s widely published pamphlet for young men at the threshold of military service) listed physically attractive qualities that a soldier should seek in a woman as beauty, elegance, and sympathy. It cited moral attractive qualities as character,

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 29.

⁷⁸⁹ Daniel J. Sherman, “Monuments, Mourning and Masculinity in France after World War I,” *Gender and History* 8, no. 1 (April 1996): 82–107, 98.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 85.

personality, education, and religiosity. These lists came with the caveat that when selecting a woman, a man should consider her moral attributes as more important than her physical features because “That which is moral lasts forever. That which is physical dies sooner or later.”⁷⁹¹ Lacking any other positive attributes aside from “having been born [pretty],” Apostolado author Gonzalo Muínelo Alarcón warned that physical attractiveness could lead women to employ “all classes of sophism and coquetry.”⁷⁹² Such women should not be trusted because “behind a pretty face or body[,] a bad, vacuous or unfaithful woman can be hidden...”⁷⁹³ Indubitably representing one of the three most prolific discourse producers about martial masculinity, Muínelo Alarcón spent his career working towards creating and reinforcing Catholicized gender norms as part of his social aspirations for the nation. He posited, for example, that one of the best places to find an ideal woman was at church.⁷⁹⁴

Despite calls for looking beyond a woman’s physical beauty or lack thereof, educational material and cultural productions often portrayed ideal women as physically beautiful but at the same time as good mothers, wives, and housekeepers. In 1966, for example, *Formación* discussed competitions in Franco’s Spain for the “Ideal Spanish Woman.” The attractive and married twenty-eight-year-old Pilar Páramo won that year and *Formación* presented her as a perfect housewife.⁷⁹⁵ In the same year, *Empuje*’s front page carried a picture of an attractive young blonde woman with the caption: “A young and beautiful face adorns our first issue of this year. She represents the girlfriends of all Spanish soldiers, these women who one day will share a Christian home and [will be]

⁷⁹¹ *Campaña premilitar* (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1960) 17.

⁷⁹² Muínelo Alarcón, “Cartas a enamorados (II) Agasajos,” *Empuje*, 6.

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

exemplars of Spanish women.”⁷⁹⁶ Similarly, an article in the same publication from 1964 described the perfect woman as “pretty, but truly [pretty], not artificial; nice, but natural, not feigned; simple in education and manners, not convoluted [*rebuscada*]...”⁷⁹⁷ Such a woman would make an ideal wife with whom to build a magnificent family.⁷⁹⁸ In these instances, beauty did not preclude the possession of traditional qualities, implying that men could marry appropriate women whom they also found physically attractive.

Imperatives for soldiers to choose certain women mirrored the life of one of the most prolific and prominent military authors on normative masculinity. Miguel Alonso Baquer provides an example of a discourse producer who seemingly abided by the prescriptive mandates that he himself helped to create. A man who married later in life, he writes in his autobiography that he never considered women as “mere object[s] of pleasure or entertainment.” Alonso Baquer believed that the “feminine ideal could be, and should be, a specific person who agrees to walk by my side in order for both to achieve that which they considered an indispensable union [of] convictions or beliefs, hopes or desires and preferences or predilections.” According to him, such an aspiration came true when he met his wife.⁷⁹⁹

Muñelo Alarcón, who by all evidence also lived according to the normative ideals he promoted, implored troops in an *Empuje* article from 1959 to find wives in their hometowns. He argued that a woman was someone whom God desired a soldier to have.

⁷⁹⁴ Muñelo Alarcón, “Cartas a enamorados (IV): Una Fiesta,” *Empuje*, núms. 115–116 (primera y segunda quincena de agosto, 1959), 6.

⁷⁹⁵ “La mujer ideal espla,” *Formación*, núm. 159 (octubre 1966).

⁷⁹⁶ *Empuje*, núms. 246–247 (enero 1966).

⁷⁹⁷ Francisco Delgado Piñar, “Carta de Coronel: ¿Quieres casarte?” *Empuje*, núm. 198 (first quincena de enero 1964), 3, 5: 5.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁹⁹ Miguel Alonso Baquer, *Memorias de un brigadier tolerado: Tomo I* (Basauri, Vizcaya: Grafite Ediciones, 2004), 176.

Wanting to be the mother of a man's children, the idealized woman was "simple, rustic, bucolic, but innocent, pretty, healthy, and only yours."⁸⁰⁰ Muinelo Alarcón warned, however, that a soldier had to be careful and avoid women would lead men to "fall, impotent [and] defeated in their manhood. ... There are many sirens; during [military] service you will meet them, elegant, pretty, nice, but frivolous, vacuous, bitter [*ajadas*], withered, dull."⁸⁰¹ This dichotomous typology of women sheds light on the desire held by some members of the regime to conserve patterns of rural life. Muinelo Alarcón argued that the pretty, innocent, and simple women of Spain's small towns were much better than the sirens of the city who might be beautiful and nice but possess negative attributes not found in rural women. Here, like his warnings about the dangers inherent in pretty women, Muinelo Alarcón disparages and devalues non-normative women.

Apostolado writings also applied positive and negative values to traditional and modern women, respectively. A *Honderos* article from 1975 makes this differentiation clear. Written under the pseudonym "Resueño" and entitled "La mujer, ese delicioso enigma" (The Woman, That Delicious Enigma), this piece went to great lengths in classifying certain women as appropriate on the one hand, and on the other hand discrediting liberated, modern, and especially feminist women.⁸⁰² According to the article, modern women considered themselves as men's equals. They acted like men in their dress, hairstyle, habits, and manners. Their sexual liberation made them easy to have sex with, supplanting the idea that female chastity equated to honor and virtue with the notion that virginity virtually represented "a symptom of inferiority." The article posited

⁸⁰⁰ Gonzalo Muinelo Alarcón, "Cartas a enamorados (III) Tu pueblo natal," *Empuje*, núm. 112 (segunda quincena de junio 1959), 6.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

that living with such women would result in a man having no time to relax at home. He himself would have to cook, clean, take care of the children, and do other household chores, all the while living under the rigid and vigilant justice of the “perfect woman.” This husband would have to “listen to a series of lamentations, complaints, and accusations, that the modern woman, despite her advances has not managed to learn to overcome...”⁸⁰³ Appearing in a publication that also often portrayed modern women as potential sexual mates, this article demonstrates not only incongruity in messages but also typifies anxiety over modern women and feminism turning men into housewives.

Presenting a typology of certain women (traditional, intellectual, feminist, the business woman, beautiful, artistic, and happy), the article investigated women’s character, aspirations, abilities in the home, children, employment, health, types of husbands and marriages, and matrimonial prognoses. Not surprisingly, the author presents the traditional woman comes as the best. According to the typology she is romantic, feminine, and religious; keeps a perfect home; her children are her life and treasure; her marriage is a “perfect institution[;]” and she can be a good wife if kept disciplined.⁸⁰⁴ Utilizing this reasoning, the article advocates the primacy of virginity and portrays women as needing men’s protection. It also alludes to men wanting women’s maternal qualities directed not only at children but also at husbands.⁸⁰⁵ The logic in this article reduces women to physical weaknesses, maternal instinct, and sexual purity. The feminine in this sense signifies the model of a motherly virgin in need of men’s protection.

⁸⁰² “Risueño,” “La mujer, ese delicioso enigma,” *Honderos*, núm. 62, (mayo-junio, 1975), 17–20. Information about this author is lacking other than his pseudonym. *Resueño* means smiling or cheerful in Spanish.

⁸⁰³ *Ibid*, 20.

In contrast, the article's other categorizations do not hold a candle to the traditional woman. Non-normative women neither make excellent housekeepers nor wholesome wives in a happy marriage. They do not have good children. A businesswoman's house only affords a place for her to do extra work. Pretty women will have children who, although beautiful and photogenic, will be fat and for whom someone else will care. An artistic woman's marriage is "a parenthesis between two divorces." No woman, however, was as pernicious as the feminist. Her character is violent, fanatic, and incomprehensible. She aspires to have women lead and men obey. Her home is "a warehouse of propaganda." Usually either taking birth control pills or having abortions, if she does have children they are placed in a nursery. The feminist's husband is a victim and her marriage is one of equality of rights. The matrimonial prognosis states that her husband should leave running.⁸⁰⁶

This article worked towards negating and undermining women's modernization as well as feminism in Spain. It utilized the intended audience's assumed comprehension of gender norms to demonstrate how and why modern women boded ill not only for men's happiness but also for the preservation of patriarchal power. In lieu of these threats, the author beseeched Spanish women to conserve their femininity and suggested they not aspire to overcome men in an aggressive manner or put men under their orders. Despite such entreaties made to both men and women to maintain the gendered *status quo*, the life of the modern woman nevertheless became a reality for some women in Spain. Sexually objectifying these women, men gradually viewed them as immanently attractive rather than a threat to the social order.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., 18–19.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., 17.

An Economy of Male Desire

Changing in unison with the modernization of women occurring in the 1960s and 1970s, military sources demonstrate that Spanish men's desire for women did not strictly conform to the discursive guidelines of the normative mother-wife-housekeeper. Regardless of the traditional or modern and in spite of calls to look beyond beauty, military print culture often portrayed physically attractive women as those whom men most desired. Manifested in cultural content for and frequently created by average soldiers, these presentations reflect the agency of individual men. This material produced an economy of male desire, itself revealing a disconnect between discourse and educational materials on the one hand, and cultural magazines created for and by the rank-and-file on the other hand. For example, a cartoon from 1971 in *Honderos* imparted the message that if a man had an attractive wife he would be less likely to desire other women, with another cartoon positing the opposite:⁸⁰⁷



"My wife allows a maid like this in the house because she is still much more attractive [than the maid]."



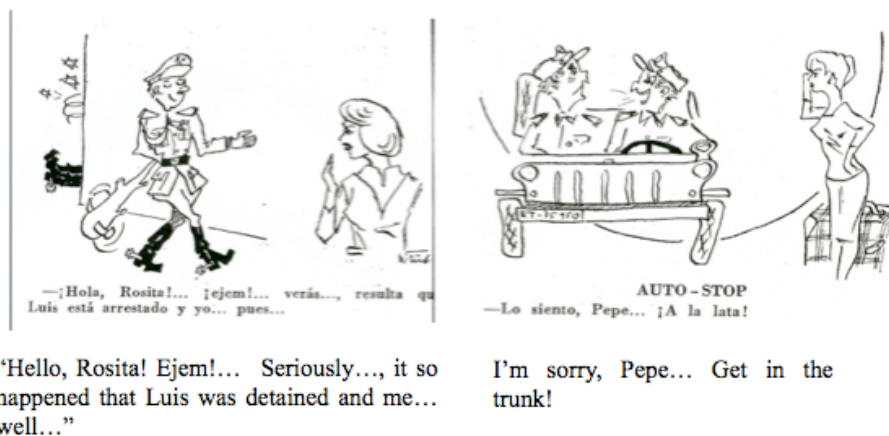
"Now I understand why you give me so many flowers....!"

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid., 18–19.

⁸⁰⁷ Left image: *Honderos*, núm. 39 (julio-agosto 1971), 30; Right image: Ibid., 31.

Neither woman conforms to the normative mother-wife-housekeeper. Their need for employment codes them as working-class. The men in the cartoons sexualize the women, demeaning their work. Irrespective of a man's attraction, or lack thereof, towards an idealized maid or florist, the cartoons convey the message that women who dressed in a manner revealing of their long legs and buxom attributes were especially attractive. The captions humorously imply that if a man's wife was less physically appealing, he would desire the more attractive woman.

Indicating their appeal, physically attractive women also served as sources of competition between soldiers:⁸⁰⁸



In the form of blonde and skinny women (two in maids outfits and two in more traditional garb), physical beauty in the above cartoons played a prominent role in ideas about women's attractiveness to Spanish soldiers. These cartoons imply that physically attractive women are always sexually available to men—whether as maids, florists, hitchhikers, or if they already in a relationship. Their availability contrasts to both depictions of women as selective choosers of their mates and to instances of court-martial cases in which the armed forces prosecuted soldiers who did not respect women or failed

to abide by the parameters women set for their sexual relationships.⁸⁰⁹ This contrast reveals mutually exclusive if not antagonistic discourses existing side by side. Martial culture both mirrored and impacted broader gender and sexual norms, in this case reflecting assumptions of, or at least wishes for, women's sexual availability.

Conversely, some men desired non-physical or traditional qualities. Military sources reveal that in accordance with discursive prescriptions certain soldiers sought wives in the mold of the mother-wife-housekeeper. For instance, published in *Empuje* in 1966 a survey of thirteen soldiers stated that although conscious of the impact of modernity on Spanish women, soldiers coveted the traits of the traditional woman.⁸¹⁰ Its publication in a Catholic organ, and a lack of knowledge about both the motivations behind question selection and criteria for choosing the respondents, limits the article as a source. Nevertheless, the thirteen men provided a rich variety of answers and the survey provides insight into an economy of male desire. It afforded men latitude in their answers, provided for more than just yes or no responses, and allowed the soldiers to choose their own vocabulary. It also included answers that went against normative ideals for women.

When asked about their ideal woman, several men answered that she be "good and formal." One soldier wanted a "perfect housekeeper" and another man answered "the Virgin." Two soldiers, Julio Eiro (a carpenter) and Ramón Montes (a farmer), focused on both physical and moral traits. They wanted their ideal woman to be "dark-haired and dark-skinned [*morena*] and good." Corporal Baldomero Morales focused exclusively on

⁸⁰⁸ Both images: "Humor en la Academia de Caballería," *Armas: Revista de la Academia General Militar*, núm. 49 (diciembre 1960), 40.

⁸⁰⁹ See Chapter V.

⁸¹⁰ "La mujer moderna y el hombre de hoy," *Empuje*, núm. 252 (abril 1966).

the physical. He replied: “dark hair and dark skin, big eyes, and medium height.” Answers varied about the virtues these men desired in their ideal woman. Six soldiers responded “formal” (probably meaning traditional or well-mannered). Corporal Feliciano Villaescusa wanted his ideal woman to be feminine and a good cook. Angel Montalvo (a tractor driver) answered: “good, caring, and a good mother to her children.” Victor Diaz (a printer) desired his ideal woman to be “sincere and not too heavy.” Joaquin Fejido (a polisher) wanted her to be preoccupied with the home. Corporal Morales responded: “purity, kindness, and docility.” Similarly, Francisco Vela (an accountant) desired “purity, kindness, and love for home life.” Despite negative connotations, attributes the soldiers said that they would excuse in a woman included: lack of great beauty; dancing the twist; being a flirt; using makeup; some small defects; “curiosity, timidity, and flirtatiousness[;]” and defects “without wickedness.” Four soldiers said they would not pardon a woman for any undesirable qualities. Vela replied that he would excuse all flaws because “God said that he will pardon that which will be pardoned.”

The survey also enquired about the men’s opinions towards modern women. Asked if they thought it was appropriate for women to drink, smoke, and dance the twist, eleven of the thirteen respondents answered in the negative, with Eiro answering in the affirmative. Vela replied that if men could partake in such activities, why could women not do the same? Revealing discomfort with women joining the workforce, eleven soldiers explicitly replied that they opposed women working outside of the home to support household income. Two men, including Vela, answered that such a situation should only be dependent on circumstances.

Queried whether or not they would mind if their girlfriend wore a bikini, eleven soldiers responded that they would be opposed. Fejido answered that he would not mind and Villaescusa stated that he did not have a girlfriend and did not know if he would permit it. Similarly, all but one soldier responded that they would not want their girlfriend or sister to follow current fashion trends and wear skirts with hemlines above the knees. Vela replied that everyone was free to do what they wanted, but he would not be happy if his sister or girlfriend wore those skirts. The language of permission in the responses to these questions provides insight into Spanish men's perceived and real power over Spanish women in regards to fashion trends. The nature of the questions themselves as well as the responses indicate that men assumed they had the power to dictate what their girlfriends or wives could or could not wear.

The answers provided by the thirteen soldiers, with the exception of Vela, suggest that some men desired more traditional women and disliked the modernization of Spanish women. A survey conducted three years earlier in the Apostolado magazine *Formación* contained similar attitudes. Revealing of an economy of male desire, this survey found that the qualities that men looked for in a future wife were those of "honesty, kindness, simplicity, love for children, [and the] qualities of an ideal woman." Men wanted an honorable woman who was a housekeeper and a good mother and administrator.⁸¹¹ Suggesting that in the 1960s Spanish men coveted traditional women, out of the four hundred men surveyed only two provided answers that deviated from the norm. One respondent desired a wife who was beautiful, young, and elegant. The other man answered that he wanted a woman with "big breasts" and a "voluminous butt." The conductors of the survey wrote that the former answer was more or less natural. They

lamented that the desire for those physical attributes was not accompanied by other more concrete qualities because physical beauty did not last indefinitely. The latter answer for them, “that which prefers enormous feminine protuberances, is not worth comment.” Not wanting to pay heed to a response based on physical cravings, the authors silenced the man’s purely corporeal desires.

Although less than 1 percent of the survey’s respondents emphasized beauty in what they preferred in a woman, physically attractive women nevertheless comprised a key aspect of what Spanish men desired. A *Honderos* article published in 1967 and entitled “Cómo me gustan ellas” (How I Like Them), suggests that a dichotomy of beautiful versus unattractive might oversimplify Spanish men’s subjective desire for women.⁸¹² Also written under the pseudonym “Risueño” and similar to his article published seven years earlier, this essay undermined women’s modernization by presenting modern women in a negative light. It stereotyped women in an economy of male desire and the author perpetrated *donjuanismo*, viewing all women as potential sexual conquests.

Using a demeaning and sarcastic tone, Risueño grouped women into several categories based on age, physique, and hair color. Young women’s tight skin and youth made them attractive. Although their power over men could be intimidating, mature women’s great self-confidence made them extraordinarily alluring. Older women’s attractive qualities lay in their knowledge of life and understanding of men’s virtues and weaknesses. Physically large women, for this author, were attractive for their energy, logic, serene attitude, and helpfulness. Advisable for the timid, these women would make

⁸¹¹ “Ecuesta ‘habla la juventud’,” *Formación*, núm. 124 (noviembre 1963).

⁸¹² Risueño, “Como me gustan ellas,” *Honderos*, núm. 16 (septiembre-octubre, 1967), 24–25.

a man's decisions for him.⁸¹³ Thin women had less sex appeal, for which they compensated with innate elegance. Doing well in society, dressing nicely, and moving graciously, these women provided men with a spiritual, dignified, and artistic relationship.⁸¹⁴ The “well-fed woman” (*la mujer llenita*) was aware of her attractiveness. She was caring, feminine, complacent, understanding, and created an atmosphere of happiness in which a man could breathe with pleasure. Obese women, full of “indescribable goodness” and “after all the hours of supporting her massive structure, have the courage to endure anything ... For a man disposed to support her weight and abundant size, the company of a fat woman is a certificate of happiness, simplicity, home, and family.”

Although describing them as attractive and having strong inner character, Risueño presented blonde women as outwardly cold, stating that they could be dangerous because they made men forget virtue. Brunettes had the ardent femininity of an inflamed heart and “when she possesses a man she won't let him abandon her... alive.” The brunette's man was flattered to have been chosen and loved by such a spectacular feminine exemplar, but he was always frightened by her continued allusions to killing him in case of infidelity. Risueño stated: “In short[,] the brunette, especially the Mediterranean, is dangerous.”⁸¹⁵ Sarcastically stereotyping women based on their physical characteristics, this opinion piece indicates how men could find a variety of women attractive regardless of typical or normative ideals of corporeal female beauty.

Risueño did not, however, find modern women attractive. They adopted traits he considered masculine: “I do not like the strong and manlike woman, with little

⁸¹³ Ibid. 24.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid., 24–25.

femininity, with a cigarette hanging on her lips, dressed in any which way and employing masculine clothing and language; of these, I prefer to speak no more.”⁸¹⁵ Paralleling both the aforementioned survey from *Empuje* and his other typology, Risueño makes clear that affectations of modernity, regarded as masculine, negated a woman’s attractiveness. Opinions like his implicitly emphasized that regardless of physical features or characteristics, modern qualities in women represented that which men should find most unattractive. This article conjured threatening images of the “New Woman” of the early to middle twentieth century with her short hair, cigarettes, and less-feminine clothing.

Modern Women as Objects of Desire

The military attempted to steer men clear of modern women. Within that institutional technique of power, spaces nevertheless existed in which alternative and transformative, but still patriarchal, attitudes manifested. Modern modes of femininity arose as corollaries to Spain’s economic modernization, burgeoning consumerism, and the opening of its borders to tourism, emigration, and U.S. and western European cultural influences. Attendant upon this influx of modernity, the image of the modern woman expanded in Spain to become a significant ideal type. An analysis of military print culture suggests that Spanish men increasingly and especially viewed modern women as sexualized objects of desire.

Evident in the pages of cultural productions for troops, this growing popularity exposes the tension that Morcillo notes between “the regime’s attempt to control and discipline women’s bodies in the service of its National Catholic ideals, and the economic

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., 25.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid.

and social changes that threatened and weakened that control.”⁸¹⁷ Although normative Francoist femininity did not altogether lose its appeal in Spain, a hybrid between the modern and the traditional did emerge. Within this model, the modern woman with a beautiful face and body who led a life outside of the home could at the same time also be a paragon, in a sexualized sense, of the mother-wife-housekeeper. Hybridity comprised a discursive step towards bringing modern non-normative women out of the shadows of Spain’s past. By the 1960s and 1970s, military print culture no longer presented them as a threatening opposite to the normative and traditional. Within an economy of male desire that objectified, sexualized, and stereotyped the modern woman, as her attractiveness increased her menacing nature declined.

Especially prevalent in R.E.S. publications—and thus more reflecting common social norms than prescriptive military discourse—the modern woman developed into an ideal type for a variety of reasons, foremost of which was her beauty. R.E.S. content especially depicted the modern woman’s worth as lying in the sexual attractiveness of her body. Discussing Francoism, Morcillo contends “Women’s bodies are ... ‘real’ physical organisms and the loci of historically specific cultural inscriptions of femininity.”⁸¹⁸ As such, an investigation into the portrayal of women’s beauty and their bodies in military print culture reveals the ways in which men’s depictions of women employed contrived and patriarchally-coded images and situations to project the inherent attractiveness of the modern woman.

Concomitantly, the modern woman’s desirability played a role in furthering the use of the female body as a site of resistance. Speaking of when in the 1960s “magazine

⁸¹⁷ Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, 14.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

and movie stars presented a new and glamorous female image[.]” Morcillo argues “The female body became an ideological weapon against the regime’s moral/sexual politics that changed the whole fabric of society and led eventually to the collapse of the Francoist ideological hold based on Catholic values.”⁸¹⁹ Likewise, imagery in military magazines of skimpily-dressed women starkly contrasted the regime’s former censorship efforts in which women’s bodies were, as Morcillo writes, “portioned and labeled ... in sinful and virtuous parts, dissected to preserve Christian order and political immovability.”⁸²⁰

Contrary to this prior censorship, military cultural productions by the late Franco regime contributed to a partial disrobing and objectified exhibition of the female body. In the masculine realm of military print culture, like Morcillo writes about the transition to democracy,

The commodification of the female flesh became the sign by which to measure the degree of political freedom. In the process, the female body became associated with female identity—an object of exchange in political discourse. Women’s political persona, their citizenship and partaking in the democratic process was fashioned around the symbolic marking of their bodies.⁸²¹

Revealed by this chapter’s investigation of military print culture, these symbolic significations had a history before 1975. The process of *destape*—a word meaning “to uncover” and describing a phase during the transition to democracy in which eroticism inundated the Spanish media and women’s nudity played a role in their political agency—had antecedents in military cultural productions of the 1960s and 1970s. These

⁸¹⁹ Ibid., 192.

⁸²⁰ Ibid., 224.

⁸²¹ Ibid., 240.

precursors, however, lacked the overtones of women's agency present after Franco's demise.⁸²²

Utilizations of the female body within an economy of male desire reflected the re-emergence of women's modernization in Spain. Appropriated for men's sexual desires, this representation of women's bodies, as with *destape* and to borrow Morcillo's phrases, "appropriated and subverted" those bodies in an "misogynist exchange" of images that revealed patriarchal sexism.⁸²³ Employing Morcillo's methodology and building on her arguments, this chapter's reading of women's bodies in military cultural productions during late Francoism sheds light "on the way gender relations were redefined in the transition to democracy."⁸²⁴ The methodological imperative taken herein answers Morcillo's call to study further "how the counter-images of seductive womanhood that appeared in popular culture from the 1960s to the end of the dictatorship undermined the regime's gender discourse and prepared the way for the transition of the 1970s."⁸²⁵

By the early 1960s, military print culture contained content indicative of men's desire for the modern woman's body. As an image from *Armas* appearing in 1963 makes evident, cadets desired women with attractive bodies who, in the modern mold, wore skirts above their knees, smoked cigarettes, and donned fashionable hats.⁸²⁶

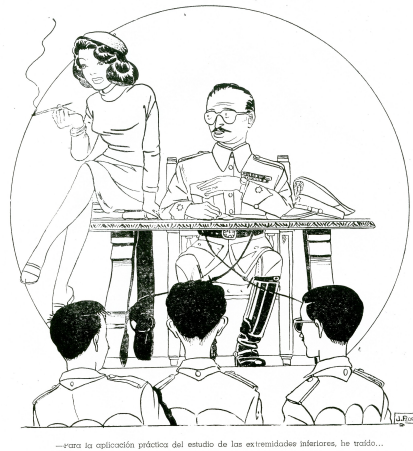
⁸²² Ibid., 266–272.

⁸²³ Ibid., 204.

⁸²⁴ Ibid., 259.

⁸²⁵ Ibid., 265.

⁸²⁶ *Armas*, núm. 64 (abril 1963), 37.



“For the practical application of the study of the lower extremities, I have brought...”

The objectified woman in this cartoon serves as an anatomy model because of the beauty of her lower extremities. Modernity marks her as sexually available: her modern fashion sense and affectation of smoking a cigarette present an image of sexiness. Using a woman’s legs as a hyperbolic signifier for human anatomy demonstrates a loosening of Francoist values. Morcillo argues in her analysis of the cinematic censorship of women’s bodies that censors especially sought to expurgate women’s legs from movies.⁸²⁷ Here, in an image from a magazine targeted at future officers, censorship of that part of a woman’s body is absent. Although sexualized by the male cartoonist, the attitude of the instructor, and the gaze of the soldiers, the cartoon does not portray the woman as a menace to men or society.

Cartoons often contrasted these sexualized women with more unattractive traditional women. For instance, in one cartoon from *Honderos* published in 1969, even though a man’s Spanish-looking female companion is wearing a bikini, he (playing into

⁸²⁷ Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, 226.

the old Don Juan norm) prefers a younger, blonde, and perhaps less typically Spanish woman.⁸²⁸



This cartoon demonstrates that by the late 1960s military cultural productions portrayed non-traditional women as physically more desirable than traditional women. Another cartoon from *Honderos* in 1971 makes this contrast evident. A man in a car pulls up next to two women—one, wearing a skirt down to her ankles, is homely, short, and plump and the other, wearing a mini skirt, is pretty, tall, and thin yet voluptuous.⁸²⁹ The man tells the two women he can only pick up one of them:

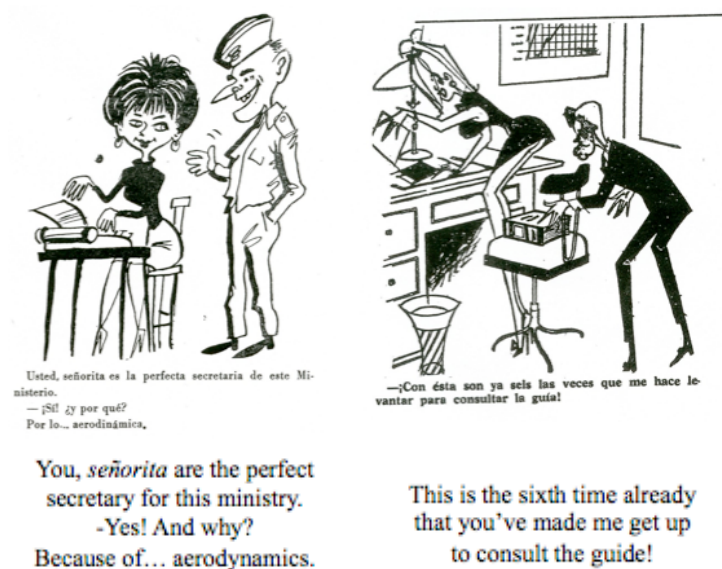


Whether or not he has room in his car for both might be a moot point in this case, the implication of the cartoon is that men will obviously choose beautiful and more scantily-

⁸²⁸ *Honderos*, núm. 28 (septiembre-octubre 1969), 30.

clad women over less-attractive and more traditionally-dressed women. Additionally, the trope of the female hitchhiker perpetuated stereotypes of women's dependence on men.

The sexualization and objectification of women was also evident in presentations of women who worked. Denigrating white-collar women and especially the motif of the sexy secretary, a woman's ability to perform on the job directly related to her physical attributes:⁸³⁰



These cartoons suggest that women's skills as secretaries as well as the tasks that male employers gave them, were often reduced to sexual appeal.⁸³¹ The secretaries in these images work in a subservient role to a man, in a context where he construes her to be sexually accessible.

Women's sexual availability comprised a key component of an economy of male desire, and was further evident with non-Spanish women. When bikini-clad foreign women inundated the nation's sunny coasts and pristine beaches in the 1960s and 1970s,

⁸²⁹ *Honderos*, núm. 36 (enero-febrero 1971), 31.

⁸³⁰ Left Image: "El humor y la Aviación," *Empuje*, núms. 222–223 (enero 1965), 2. Right image: *Honderos*, núm. 29 (noviembre-diciembre 1969), 31.

⁸³¹ Today such actions would be considered sexual harassment.

Spanish men had in front of their eyes manifold examples of women not in the mold of the normative and traditional mother-wife-housekeeper. Soldiers found these women to be extremely attractive not only for their physical qualities, but also a presumed sexual access to their bodies. An article from *Honderos* in 1974, for example, went into detail about the specific types of foreign women arriving on Spain's beaches and why they could be either good or bad for a man.⁸³² Written by a private named Jarque Viguera, this article classified French women as being admired as they were criticized, arguing that it was more myth than reality that they were not particularly concerned about morality. They were, however, less timid and reserved than other women and had the inclination to "flirt in a spirited manner ... The French woman, with some exceptions, knows how to make herself very feminine and at the same time be an excellent companion." The article depicted Italian women as jealous and temperamental. Physically speaking, they had very good figures and "with cute eyes, [they] complete the picture of transalpine beauty." The piece warned that Italian women married early and the legend of the "*dolce vida*" usually applied only to rich men.

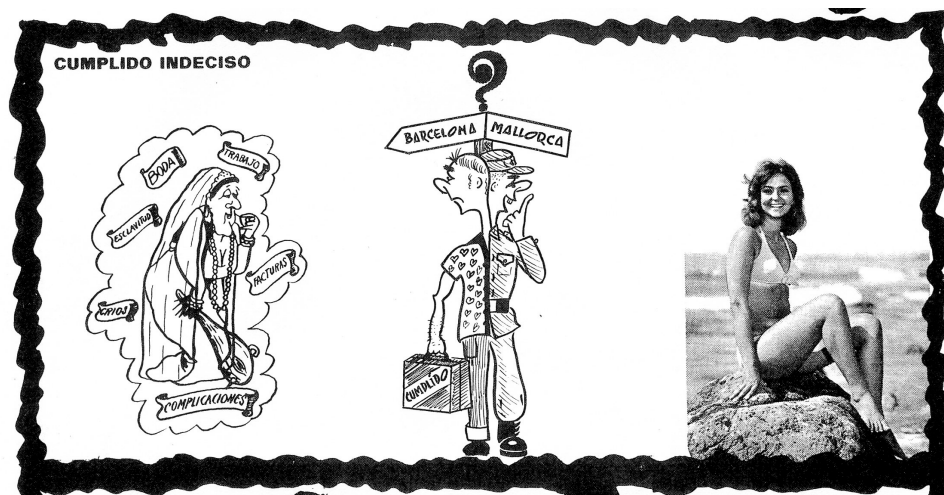
In contrast to the French and Italians, Private Viguera portrayed Dutch women as not generally very flirtatious. He stated they did not enjoy "fleeting love," usually returning home to marry and have many children. The article described Swiss women as very physically attractive due to their blonde hair, long legs, and lusty reputation. Presenting them as the most modern of foreign women, Private Viguera depicted Swiss women as emancipated at a young age and living in accord with their ideas. He wrote they are intimate only with the man they love, having no interest in "fleeting relationships." The article also discusses Spanish women, who "are adorable with their

⁸³² Jarque Viguera, "El turismo y las turistas," *Honderos*, núm. 56 (mayo-junio 1974), 16.

authentic gait [*castizo caminar*], their luminous smiles, and their graceful vacillation [*graciosos tibubeos*].” Spanish women wanted to get married, and like all women they liked flirting.⁸³³

Unpacking the advice that a private, as representative of the mentalities at the bottom of the military hierarchy, imparted about women makes evident that soldiers were interested in information about foreign and Spanish women’s sexual availability as well as the dangers inherent in pursuing them. Contributing to a culture of *donjuanismo*, these attitudes went against martial, and especially Catholic, norms of male sexuality in which chaste soldiers should marry traditional Spanish women with whom to fulfill the mandate of becoming dutiful husbands and fathers.

Among other factors, such interest contributed to attractive foreign tourists and women in bikinis gradually developing into ideal types, superseding Francoist norms of the ideal woman.⁸³⁴



As this cartoon from 1972 in *Honderos* illustrates, traditional Spain (represented by a geriatric bride with the words: children, slavery, wedding, work, and bills) was much less

⁸³³ Ibid.

⁸³⁴ *Honderos*, núm. 42 (enero-febrero, 1972), 30.

appealing than modern Spain (represented by a beautiful woman wearing a bikini on a beach in Mallorca). Grounded in culturally understood caricatures and semantics describing the life of the normative dutiful husband and father, this image contrasts the attractive modern woman and her beautiful body to a representation of the normative mother-wife-housekeeper and the burdens that life with such a woman would entail. Portraying her as a burdensome hag, the cartoon diminishes the latter's credibility through an absurd caricature that also challenged gender normativity.

Indicative of both the inability to inculcate Francoist values in men and the failure of entreaties to pursue normative women, presentations such as this cartoon with its negative connotations about marriage, children, and work directly opposed many of the messages that the armed forces had been advocating since the inception of the Franco regime. Educational material and the messages of the Apostolado make clear, by the late 1970s the regime continued to advocate the exact same ideas it always had about women, marriage, work, and becoming a dutiful husband and father. Those concepts did not change with the times. Yet cultural publications intended for, and often written by, average troops promoted new and different viewpoints. Variation in messages occurred concurrently and in opposition to a lack of change over time. Certain aspects of Francoist gender norms transformed in spite of official ideology not fluctuating. Revealing the repercussions of slackening censorship, these anti-normative messages in ostensibly regime-approved military publications demonstrate that men in Spain integrated modern women into an economy of desire and rebelled against the mold of the dutiful husband and father married to the normative mother-wife-housekeeper. Although a monolithic

agenda still existed by the mid-1970s, the regime could no longer successfully or even practically pursue it.

Erotic imagery of the modern woman played a role in this erosion of Francoist power. Particularly R.E.S. publications by the 1970s were replete with photographs of the opposite to the normative traditional woman. There is little to no evidence of erotic images, especially photographs, of women in any military publication prior to the advent of R.E.S. publications. This newfound eroticism in military print culture helped create a new ideal woman, often a foreigner in a bikini and an object of desire both for her contrast to traditional Spanish women and for her sexualized body.⁸³⁵



Some barracks even had centerfolds gracing each of their issues:⁸³⁶

⁸³⁵ José Vilanova, “‘Calor de verano,’” *El Palleter: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado*, núm. 46 (julio-agosto), 20–21. See also: *El Palleter*, Núm. 45 (mayo-junio), 26–27; José Vilanova, “Calor... Las refrescantes ‘niñas’ del verano 73,” *El Palleter*, núm. 47, (septiembre-octubre), 24–25; and “Cine y TV,” *Simancas* (mayo-junio 1966), 20–21.

⁸³⁶ “La guapa del CIR,” *Santa Ana* (Tercer Llamamiento Reemplazo 1971).



As mentioned in Chapter II, this visual content contravened the goals of particularly the Apostolado, demonstrating a failure to censor or control content that heightened heterosexual desires at the expense of religious chastity.

Within an economy of male desire and further weakening efforts to prohibit pornography and prevent masturbation, much imagery in R.E.S. publications by the 1970s could arguably have been used as pornographic material to facilitate masturbatory practices. Robert Darnton argues in terms of early modern French pornography that “The issue is not whether pornography was meant to arouse sexual desire or meant to arouse only males, but rather whether it can be reduced to its function as masturbation material.”⁸³⁷ The viewer’s response to sexual content in R.E.S. magazines could certainly have been heterosexual arousal at a minimum. With women in erotic poses often leaving little to the imagination, these publications could easily have served as material for masturbation.

Virginia Rutter and Pepper Schwartz in their analysis of gender patterns in sexual practices conceptualize similar content as an “arena for examining gendered sexuality is sexual fantasy as portrayed in pornography and other material designed for sexual

⁸³⁷ Robert Darnton, “Sex For Thought,” in *Sexualities in History: A Reader*, eds. Kim M. Phillips and Barry Reay, 203–221 (New York: Routledge, 2002), 213.

arousal.”⁸³⁸ R.E.S publication in particular sexualized the modern woman. This economy of male desire served to diminish the threat of the modern woman: not turning men into housemaids as feared, she had become an object of sexual conquest and gratification. Considering R.E.S. content as pseudo-pornographic material, the meaningful pattern that emerges is the desirability of sexually available non-traditional women. In their objectifying gaze, these images in R.E.S. publications also testify to women’s subjugation.

As with foreign tourists and modern women in bikinis, images of attractive models, singers, and especially actresses became prevalent in R.E.S. magazines. By the 1970s, these publications were replete with photo spreads of scantily clad actresses. Famous actresses from Spain, Europe, and the United States graced the pages of these publications. Rosa Moreno,⁸³⁹ Marylyn Monroe, Bridget Bardot,⁸⁴⁰ Ana Belen,⁸⁴¹ and Ursula Andress,⁸⁴² were some of the more famous of these actresses. R.E.S. publications carried stories and picture spreads on less well-known European actresses as well.⁸⁴³

⁸³⁸ Virginia Rutter and Pepper Schwartz, *The Gender of Sexuality: Exploring Sexual Possibilities*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 65.

⁸³⁹ “Ritorama: Una sección se Bernardo de Sisto,” *Diana*, núm. 31 (enero-febrero 1974), 35.

⁸⁴⁰ *Diana*, núm. 35 (1972), inside back cover.

⁸⁴¹ Bernardo de Sisto, “Cosas del cine,” *Diana*, núm. 36 (1972), 28.

⁸⁴² “Ellas son noticia,” *Diana*, núm. 31 (enero-febrero 1974), 34.

⁸⁴³ Left image: “Galería de Beldades,” *Honderos*, núm. 43 (marzo-abril 1972), 35; Right image: “Galería de Beldades,” *Honderos*, núm. 44 (mayo-junio 1972), 35. See also, Bernardo de Sisto, “Cosas del cine,” *Diana*, núm. 37 (1972), 34; “Las guapas de ‘Cosas del Cine’,” *Diana*, núm. 44 (1974), inside back cover ; Pedro la Peña, “Cine: Ver cine en Valencia, no es tan difícil...” *Diana*, núm. 44 (1974); José Vilanova, “Katia Tchenko y Chantal Beaucon: Dos francesas ambiciosas,” *El Palleter*, núm. 44, (marzo-abril), 22–23; “Cine y TV,” *Simancas* (mayo-junio, 1966), 20–21; “Cine y TV,” *Simancas* (julio-agosto 1966).



This content in military print culture presented actresses as paragons of the modern woman for their beauty and sexuality. R.E.S. magazines did not present those non-traditional women pursuing such a career as immoral or fallen but rather as non-threatening objects of desire.

By the early and mid-1970s, beautiful women who failed to conform to traditional female roles had become immanently attractive. For example, *Diana* in 1972 presented the actress Lisa Leonardi as not only beautiful but also a teacher, pilot, model, and actress.⁸⁴⁴ Similarly, according to a *Honderos* article from 1974 the modern woman was “the boss of herself, sporty, elegant and simple.”⁸⁴⁵ Especially prevalent in Spain because of “always increasing tourism,” she was an intelligent woman of the future who despite appearances had morals and was not an easy target for men. Like all women she “likes to [go out], [would] delightfully accept a flower, a dinner or a dance.” Men had to play by her rules and the modern woman would indicate a man’s next move.⁸⁴⁶ These examples

⁸⁴⁴ Bernardo de Sisto, “Cosas del cine,” *Diana*, núm. 36 (1972), 28.

⁸⁴⁵ Jordana Pastrana, “Temas Juveniles: Las chicas ‘Jet’” *Honderos*, núm. 54 (enero-febrero 1974), 23.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

suggest that men also found attractive women's performance of non-traditional roles as well as their embodiment of traits like athleticism, control, independence, and intelligence. The article circumvents the threats these qualities might pose to social customs or patriarchal control. It imbues these women with more traditional traits like simplicity and elegance, stating that they enjoyed certain normative courtship customs. Despite occupying a middle ground between the modern and traditional, the idea that Spanish soldiers would find attractive women who were athletic, independent, smart, and difficult to court conflicted with the regime's normative initiatives.

Alternatively, an investigation into soldiers' desires reveals that some men certainly aspired to marry a woman in the normative Francoist mold of the mother-wife-housekeeper and that the military worked towards inculcating such aspirations for the duration of the Franco regime. In any case, this analysis of cultural sources indicates that Spanish men desired many women with a wide variety of physical characteristics and personality traits, from the traditional to the modern and from Spanish women to foreign women. This economy of male desire reserved pride of place to physically beautiful women. Although some men certainly desired women who embodied normative Francoist femininity (as evidenced in the aforementioned surveys and the lives of discourse producers like Alonso Baquer and Muínelo Alarcón), other men by the last two decades of the regime were attracted to modern women who did not meet the criteria of normativity (as demonstrated through the erotic imagery and articles of R.E.S. publications). Portraying her as a sexualized somatic metaphor representing modernity, military culture in significant ways, therefore, did not necessarily impede the reemergence of the modern woman in Spain in the waning years of Francoism.

Contextualizing these findings in the history of Spain prior to the Spanish Civil War and placing them within theoretical conceptions of erotic imagery, an argument emerges in which military print culture paradoxically served as a vehicle for women's modernization. The dictatorship's last fifteen years witnessed the reemergence of a culture of erotics in Spain. Although sexualization does not equate to modernization, Zubíaurre argues that erotic images of the modern woman can help expand possibilities for modernity:

Popular visual erotica stresses hybridism and non-being. It reflects patriarchal anxiety in the face of modernity and its many inventions. But popular erotics also makes modernity possible, as it shows a crucial aspect of modernity that high culture systematically ignores. The modern woman is amply represented in sicaliptic images and texts.⁸⁴⁷

Likewise, sexualized modern women comprised the central aspect of erotic imagery contained in R.E.S. publications. This economy of male desire went against and resisted normative gender imperatives. Appearing in magazines for troops, the modern woman reflected the expansion of Spanish men's acceptance and desire for non-normative women. Her sexualization mitigated her menacing nature. In so doing, erotic imagery made the modern woman a non-being. It codified her as a non-subjective object of patriarchal male sexual desire.

Content about Women's Lives

Presentations in military print culture of normative femininity, women's rights, women in the military and workforce, the female body, and women's fashion similarly reinforced Francoist discourse while also contributing to its ultimate transformation. On the one hand, these messages facilitated the establishment and reification of normative

⁸⁴⁷ Zubíaurre, *Cultures of the Erotic in Spain*, 253.

Francoist femininity. On the other hand, content for and about women in military publications, as with mainstream cultural productions aimed at women, functioned to restrict women's modernization in Spain. María del Carmen Muñoz Ruiz demonstrates in her study of the popular press that magazines during the Franco regime promoted the model of the mother-wife-housekeeper, ignoring the possibility that women could aspire to other types of lives.⁸⁴⁸ Articles on fashion, for example, were not meant for women to enjoy and appreciate clothing in and of itself, but were rather aimed at helping them attract a man and keep him as a husband. Muñoz Ruiz argues that women's magazines nevertheless reflected an adjustment made by the Franco regime to the onset of mass consumer society in Spain when they began to present women outside the home as consumers. Yet with an emphasis on how such activity could improve their mission inside the home, these portrayals limited the transformational power of such material.

Although military publications mirrored this trajectory, much of their content about women by the last decades of the dictatorship did not necessarily reduce women's engagement in the public sphere to the benefit it held for the private sphere. This study indicates that military print culture also functioned in limited, but nevertheless transformative, ways because it established the intrinsic value of the modern woman, expanded avenues of resistance against normativity, and created possibilities for women's modernization. Analyzing this military cultural discourse adds a key element to scholarship on Spanish women during the Franco regime, and reveals the fruitfulness of historiographical perspectives that include both men and women. The masculine domain of the military and the strong institutional technique of power that was mandatory service

⁸⁴⁸ María del Carmen Muñoz Ruiz, "Las revistas para mujeres durante el franquismo: Difusión de modelos de comportamiento femenino," in *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: Sociedad, economía,*

shed light on norms of gender and sexuality. The rich content about women contained in military sources indicates normativity's malleability nature.

Normative Femininity

The intended audience for content about women was not just men. In its efforts to establish and maintain gender norms, the Spanish military utilized its publications for troops in an attempt to construct normative femininity. The armed forces consciously targeted a female readership in an effort, running parallel to those of the Sección Femenina, to compel women who read military publications to conform to gender normativity. It is unclear how many women read this material (and it is unlikely that those numbers were considerable) and therefore success cannot be determined with readership numbers. Instead, the methodology analyzes the content and intentions of messages for and about women within larger discursive frameworks.

Parallel to other institutions and initiatives, the Francoist armed forces asserted that women should aspire to and ultimately become exemplary housewives. In 1960, for instance, a regular woman author in *Formación* named Vivi Jiménez informed women that “most of the hours of the day are spent between the white walls of the kitchen.”⁸⁴⁹ Another regular author on women's issues in *Formación* who also sat on its editorial board, Mercedes Carnevali, informed her readers in the same year that a woman's mission was to “simplify the life of the home[,] relieving their husband of the worries that [women] can solve [themselves].”⁸⁵⁰ Similarly in 1958 Carnevali utilized women's perfume as an analogy for their work in the home: “We sincerely believe that there is not

política, cultura, ed. Gloria Niefra Cristóbal, 95–114 (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, S.A., 2003), 105.

⁸⁴⁹ Vivi Jimenez, “Rincón del Hogar: Al amor de la lumbre.” *Formación*, núm. 78, (enero 1960), 59–60: 59.

⁸⁵⁰ Mercedes Carnevali “Rincón del Hogar: La mujer optimista,” *ibid.*, 60–61: 60.

a better perfume than that which is employed in impregnating our home with devotion, sacrifice and sweetness, that our children and husbands feel happy.”⁸⁵¹ Jiménez and Carnevali represent the two most important female authors on women’s issues within military publications. They demonstrate the agency of those individual women, like the ardent members of the Sección Femenina, who believed in and worked towards the gendered goals of Francoism.

Although the military promoted women’s work outside the home, certain cultural content demonstrates that, like Jiménez and Carnevali, some male discourse producers preferred women to conform to norms that restricted them to the private sphere. In 1962, a man wrote a letter to the editor of *Formación* in response to an article that discussed women working in traditionally masculine industries.⁸⁵² He claimed to support women joining the workforce, but argued there were not enough jobs for men in Spain and that men, as heads of households, needed work more than pretty women. Employing women’s roles as mothers, a male author opined in the same magazine seven years later that when women leave the home to work, they lose much of the energy needed to care for their children.⁸⁵³ Prescriptive advice both confining women to the home and their roles as housewives, as well as men’s notions that women’s work outside of the home threatened masculinity and damaged society, buttressed the regime’s goal of women conforming to norms of femininity.

Women’s Rights

Alternatively, norms of femininity advocated in military print culture sometimes promoted women’s rights. Although contingent on normativity, these messages indicate

⁸⁵¹ Mercedes Carnevali, “El perfume y la mujer,” *Formación*, núm. 64 (noviembre 1958), 61–62: 62.

⁸⁵² C.G.S., “Cartas al buzón: Mujer y trabajo,” *Formación*, núm. 106 (mayo 1962).

that the armed forces made a gradual move away from tradition and Francoism and towards modernity. Scholars like Enders, Mary Vincent, Jessica Davidson, Julia Hudson-Richards, and Inbal Ofer argue the Sección Femenina worked towards improving women's position in society because the organization sponsored projects that advanced women's rights.⁸⁵⁴ Most significantly, the Sección Femenina and its leader Pilar Primo de Rivera played an instrumental role in the 1961 passage of *la Ley de Derechos Politicos, Profesionales, y de Trabajo de la Mujer* (The Law of Political, Professional, and Labor Rights for Women). This legislation mandated equal pay for equal work between men and women, made sexual discrimination illegal, and officially allowed married women to work. It also brought new opportunities for women, allowing them to run for political office, compete with men for civil service jobs, and have equal access to all levels of education. Attempting to make women's roles in society align with regime ideology, the Sección Femenina consistently advocated the ideal of the wife-mother-housekeeper but also fought for women's rights outside the home and in the workforce. Placed under Enders' and Radcliff's aforementioned methodology of balancing constraint and agency, the Francoist military paradoxically advocated women's rights and expanded their role in the workforce, despite tensions between restrictive and progressive tendencies similar to those in the Sección Femenina.

Narrow interpretations of women's rights facilitated Francoist gender normativity. Written in 1973 by a woman named Maria Pilar Sainz-Bravo, a *Reconquista* article entitled "Derechos femeninos" (Women's Rights) reveals how this author employed

⁸⁵³ Pedro-Santos Gómez Velaseo, "La mujer y el trabajo," *Formación*, núm. 162 (enero 1967).

⁸⁵⁴ For more on the Sección Femenina working towards women's rights see Enders, "Problematic Portraits," in Enders and Radcliff, *Constructing Spanish Womanhood*, 375–397; Vincent, "Spain," in Passmore, *Women, Gender, and Fascism in Europe, 1919–45*, 189–213; Jessica Davidson, "Politics,

perceived differences between the sexes to construe women's rights as pertaining to their roles in the home rather than political or social rights. In this case, an individual's intrinsic value lay in conforming to the norms of their gender.⁸⁵⁵ Utilizing implicitly sexualized language, Sainz-Bravo reasoned that men are creators, "the carriers of the seed of life, but they cannot create without women, who are their wonderful receptacle [*maravilloso receptáculo*]." The article posited that by providing their bodies as depositories for men's seed, women obtain their dignity, grandeur, and glory, from which a wide and deep river flows with the feminine duties of being a wife, companion, and mother.⁸⁵⁶ Based on these assumptions, Sainz-Bravo maintained that women's rights were those of educating, caring for, guiding, and loving their children; caring for, entertaining, and loving their husbands with "authentic passion;" administering and taking care of their homes; maintaining the holy fear of God in their house; working and sacrificing for their "sweet homes;" and "The right to heroically complete [their] duty."⁸⁵⁷ Appearing in the last years of the dictatorship this article differs from other non-Catholic military magazines, which by that time had veered more towards advocating women's rights in a modernizing sense as well as presenting modern women's value as lying in her sexuality. Coming from the Apostolado's premier journal and written by a woman, this piece sought instead to use the language of sexual difference and dogmatic religiosity to argue that women derived rights from their biological and God-given nature as mothers, wives, and housekeepers. This attitude related not to politics or the public

Policy, and Propaganda of the Sección Femenina in Francoist Spain," Ph.D. diss., 115–116; Ofer, *Señoritas in Blue*; and Julia Hudson-Richards, "'Women Want to Work'."

⁸⁵⁵ María Pilar Sainz-Bravo, "Derechos femeninos," *Reconquista*, núm. 279 (marzo 1973), 55–57.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

sphere, but rather to the privileges women already received under a regime that encouraged them to conform to the mandates of gender normativity.

Both tradition and modernity could follow the same trajectory. An article from *Formación* in 1973 entitled “Evolución de la Mujer” (Women’s Evolution), argued that since time immemorial women had existed in a state of slavery. They knew no other way of life and could not imagine a change in a situation that they viewed as logical and natural.⁸⁵⁸ Currently in Spain, however, women had been liberated and left the exclusive domain of the home.⁸⁵⁹ In a positive sense, this liberation meant that women had to share with men in the responsibility and hope for the future, making life more intimate and pleasant. According to the author, equality with men did not necessarily mean that women should shed their normative femininity: “Women must be, and this is a fact of our time, the inseparable companion of men, in any place or terrain, but without losing their essential condition or character.”⁸⁶⁰ Here, the argument moves towards women’s equality with men and subsequent improvement in the lives of both sexes. It simultaneously calls for women to maintain their normative gender identity.

This article demonstrates efforts within the military and the Apostolado to balance the oppositional tendencies of the social impetus for women’s modernization and the discursive mandate of gender normativity. Throughout the regime’s history, some ideas in military discourse worked towards defending and reifying traditional roles for women. Eventually, other messages attempted to bridge the gap between tradition and social change. Moving in a third direction and evidenced by a culture of erotics, an economy of male desire, and presentations of modern women and women’s work, content in military

⁸⁵⁸ O. Sand, “Evolución de la Mujer,” *Formación*, núm. 244 (noviembre 1973), 45–46: 45.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid.

print culture by the mid-1960s reflected transformations in Spanish society towards women's modernization.

By the 1970s this shift towards presenting women's modernization as positive grew to become an important aspect of military print culture. One technique authors used to demonstrate the value of women's modernization was contrasting Spanish women to women of color in other parts of the world. Reinforcing racial stereotypes and hierarchies, this discourse provides one of the few but important examples of race as a factor in military discourse concerning gender in Spain. A female author writing in *Formación* in 1962 presented Congolese women, for instance, as poorly treated and lacking a voice in their world.⁸⁶¹ In another article from the same publication and year, a woman named María Teresa Martín wrote that a marriage between a Kenyan politician and a Kenyan woman educated in the U.S. would help women's rights in Kenya and improve their social standing.⁸⁶²

Military publications presented Asian women as oppressed due to their gender. An article in *Formación* from 1959 argued that the Chinese had bound women's feet not for ascetic reasons but rather to keep women in the home.⁸⁶³ Similarly, a piece written by a corporal named Francisco Serna Giménez in the R.E.S. publication *El Palleter* examined women of the third world, arguing that although their position in those societies had changed they had yet to enjoy equal rights and were still living in frank inferiority to men.⁸⁶⁴ Implying that in some areas of the third world the expansion of

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., 46.

⁸⁶¹ María G. Santa Eulalia, "Mujeres sin voz ni voto: Entrevista con el P. Moreno, misionero en el Congo," *Formación*, núm. 103 (febrero 1962), 23–24.

⁸⁶² María Teresa Martín, "Tules blancos sobre piel negro," *Formación*, núm. 104 (marzo 1962).

⁸⁶³ C. Sigüenza, "La mujer china," *Formación*, núm. 73 (agosto 1959), 29.

⁸⁶⁴ Cabo Francisco Serna Giménez, "La mujer del III mundo," *El Palleter: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado*, núm. 54 (noviembre-diciembre 1974), 6–7: 6

women's rights could be detrimental, Serna Giménez contended that although the Maoist revolution had given women rights in China, they had lost their femininity by having to work in the hardest enterprises and remaining away from their children who were raised in state centers.⁸⁶⁵ The article carries the implication that women's freedom to work could be detrimental to themselves and their children.

In Japan, the article stated that women's position had improved considerably. Modern Japanese women were "happy like an American woman and free like a French woman." They had begun to supplant the traditional image of Geishas encased in kimonos. Japanese women played a role in politics and important administrative positions and furthermore they were currently free and practically lived "in similar conditions to men."⁸⁶⁶ Serna Giménez found such liberation impressive. In each of these cases, stereotyped women in Africa and Asia are implicitly utilized as counterpoints, inferring that women of different races (aside from the Japanese) had not reached the same level as Spanish women in their modernization.

Women in the Military

During the Franco regime, women's integration into the armed forces did not go beyond their traditional roles as nurses.⁸⁶⁷ Nevertheless, by the 1970s there are a few instances of R.E.S. magazines presenting the positive value of women assuming non-traditional roles in militaries outside of Spain. A *Honderos* article from 1971 portrayed Israeli women as soldiers who were needed to save their country.⁸⁶⁸ Although assigned to

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid., 6–7. Similarly women's industrial labor during the Republic and Spanish Civil War was, for the Nationalists, a putative danger for women and society.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid., 7.

⁸⁶⁷ For articles that reinforced women's traditional role as nurses in the armed forces see, for example, González Ozones, "La mujer en el ejército." *Honderos*, núm. 28 (septiembre-octubre 1969), 22. This article posits women's utility as nurses in a gendered conception of their feminine kindness and physical beauty.

⁸⁶⁸ Pons Pascual, "Muchachas soldados," *Honderos*, núm. 37 (marzo-abril 1971), 7.

the auxiliary services and neither being Catholic or Spanish, the article implies that female soldiers who received six weeks of basic training comprised an important aspect of the Israeli armed forces. Another article from the same publication and year entitled “Chavalas uniformadas” (Uniformed Girls) delineated the history of women and war, explained women’s typical role as nurses, and described how during World War I they worked as police, military auxiliaries, and anti-air defenders. The article also discussed women’s current roles as soldiers in the Israeli army and as guerrilla fighters in the Middle East.⁸⁶⁹ In the pages of the same publication, this discourse existed alongside material that reinforced traditional gender norms and roles for women. Such a paradox demonstrates a minor shift in military publications from uniformly paralleling Francoist viewpoints to expanding conceptions of women’s roles in the military outside of Spain.

Women in the Workforce

Beginning in the early 1960s, presentations in military print culture of women’s various and expanding roles in the workplace indicate acceptance within military print culture of women’s modernization. Although reinforcing normativity, gendered conceptions of women’s uniqueness increased the value of women in the workforce and troubled stereotypical roles for women. Typically neglectful of working-class women and their participation in labor-related jobs, this content mostly addressed middle-class women and white-collar employment.⁸⁷⁰ A *Honderos* article from 1971 cited the secretarial profession as first allowing women into the workforce in Spain, where they

⁸⁶⁹ Valdés Alorda “Chavalas uniformadas,” *Honderos*, núm. 40 (septiembre-octubre 1971), 26.

⁸⁷⁰ For a recent and brief analysis of working-class women’s work as sex workers, domestic servants, and laborers in factories see Pilar Díaz Sánchez, “Trabajadoras, sindicalistas y amas de casa,” in *Represión, resistencias, memoria: Las mujeres bajo la dictadura franquista*, ed., Mary Nash, 105–117 (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2013).

continued to work “with more vigor than ever.”⁸⁷¹ Their addition to “the world of work” had a positive impact. Regardless of environment, women had a civilizing and tempering presence, “reminding us that there are other worlds outside and even within this world of work.” According to this article, the only problem was that secretaries, in a further demonstration of their feminine heart, resigned from their profession to get married.⁸⁷² Although demonstrative of the importance that female secretaries held to the functioning of the workplace, this depiction reinforced gender norms and mandates in which married women did not (and perhaps should not) work outside the home, although they had the legal right to do so after 1961. Emphasizing gender normativity, this article attributed women’s positive influence on the workforce to the impact their femininity had on men.

Although women made inroads into the workforce in Spain, military print culture often gendered women’s potential jobs, presenting women’s work as needing to be feminine in nature. *Formación* often ran articles that provided those female readers interested in finding employment advice on appropriate jobs for women. In 1960, Carnevali wrote an article entitled “Una profesión muy femenina” (A Very Feminine Profession) in which she cited interior decorator as a profession that allowed women to “work with dignity.”⁸⁷³ Especially applicable because women already knew so much about it, Carnevali announced that this occupation would interest those who were of “fine spirit, of intelligence and aspirations...” Interior decorator was especially suited for either married women who wanted to help their husbands or single women who needed work to help pay their bills. Within this conception of women’s work, to “work with dignity”

⁸⁷¹ M.D.I., “El mundo de las secretarias,” *Honderos*, núm. 42 (enero-febrero 1972), 17.

⁸⁷² This statement also reinforces norms and mandates for women in which married women do not (and perhaps should not) work outside of the home.

⁸⁷³ Mercedes Carnevali, “Una profesión muy femenina,” *Formación*, núm. 80 (marzo 1960), 62–64: 62.

implied that a woman had to abide by the obligations of feminine normativity. Carnevali's efforts to have women find dignified jobs functioned to allay the menacing nature of middle-class women in the workforce by attempting to lead them towards gender-specific work.

Along with secretarial work and entreaties for dignified feminine jobs, military publications also presented more non-traditional jobs as an aspiration and reality for Spanish women. In the mid-1960s *Formación* presented these jobs as including advertising technician,⁸⁷⁴ language teacher,⁸⁷⁵ and private detective.⁸⁷⁶ A *Honderos* article from 1972 discussed women holding the position of traffic police in the newly formed women's unit of Madrid's municipal police force.⁸⁷⁷ Utilizing gendered conceptions of feminine traits, the article stated that if these "pretty uniformed women [*chicas*]" were going to be "sweet and delicate" and would "smooth out the rough edges of traffic," then they were a welcome addition to the city. Again employing a gendered language that objectified women, this article further concurrently normalized women's non-traditional work.

Women's Bodies & Sport

Also using gender normativity in a manner that accepted aspects of women's modernization in Spain, military cultural productions presented sports as beneficial for women, but relied on traditional norms to promote the value of healthy female bodies. An article from *Formación* in 1963 provided visual instruction for women's abdominal muscle exercises and portrayed women as wanting to conserve their figures. It posited

⁸⁷⁴ "Una profesión para la mujer: Técnico publicitario," *Formación*, núm. 135 (octubre 1964).

⁸⁷⁵ "Un oficio para la mujer: Profesora de idiomas," *Formación*, núm. 134 (septiembre 1964).

⁸⁷⁶ "Una profesión para la mujer: Nada menos que... Detective," *Formación*, núm. 140 (marzo 1965).

⁸⁷⁷ *La Unidad de la Policía Municipal Femenina de Madrid*.

that abdominal exercises would not only facilitate that goal but also physiologically improve that area of the body.⁸⁷⁸ Important in pregnancy and deserving special attention, exercises for the abdominals, the article assured, help both in childbirth and with aesthetic recovery afterwards. Although similar training for men was beneficial in producing muscles that helped the soldier in combat, in this case physical fitness aided women with their physiques and in having babies. These presentations align with Morcillo's investigation of women's physical education. She argues that the Franco regime attempted "to maintain a hold on women's domesticity in the transition from autarky to consumerism."⁸⁷⁹ For both men and women, the body and its muscles constituted markers of a normative gender identity that served the interests of the Franco regime: for men to be masculine, martial, and obedient members of the nation and for women to be mothers, wives, and housekeepers.

Part of the economy of men's desire within military print culture of the late 1960s and early 1970s, magazines for troops portrayed female athletes as attractive. An article from 1971 in *Honderos* written by a private named Brau Borrell contained an exposé on six Spanish women athletes. It stated "The evolution of feminine sport in our country in the last few years is admirable."⁸⁸⁰ Three years later another article in *Honderos* portrayed Shane Gould (an Australian swimmer who won five individual medals in the 1972 Olympics) as both an idol for young female athletes and as "The Siren of the

⁸⁷⁸ Luís Hernández del Pozo, "Deporte para la mujer: Gimnasia femenina: Ejercicios abdominales," *Formación*, núm. 116 (marzo 1963).

⁸⁷⁹ Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, 184.

⁸⁸⁰ Brau Borrell, "Supercampeonas esplas," *Honderos*, núm. 40 (septiembre-octubre 1971), 28. Those athletes were: Mari Paz Corominas (swimming), Anelen Sánchez Blume (gymnastics), Mari Pepa Salgado (athletics, track), Conchita Pulg (skiing), Ana Maria Molina (athletics, weight throwing), María Coro Fuentes (athletics, track).

Century.”⁸⁸¹ This article cast a modern woman who used her body for athletic competition as both a positive role model for women and an object of desire for men. Similarly, a *Simancas* article from 1968 profiled Mary Carmen Ormeño (the daughter of an Air Force soldier) and wrote about her winning the national skydiving championship.⁸⁸² Such content about attractive woman athletes reinforced the patriarchal nature of Francoism. Morcillo argues the regime used women’s bodies as metaphors, signifiers, and buttresses for the body politic—constructed and constituted “by a creative act, by a work of art or artifice, that uses the human body as its model or metaphor.”⁸⁸³ In the mold of an athlete and placed under men’s gaze, the female body in military print culture constituted a metaphor for men’s control over women’s corporeality, even as it ironically demonstrated an aspect of women’s modernization.

Women’s Fashion

The ways in which women clothed their bodies likewise comprised an attribute of the patriarchal restraints of Francoism. An investigation into military print culture about women’s fashion demonstrates the nature and repercussions of antagonism between traditional Francoist norms and women’s increasing modernization. When modernity returned to Spain as a characteristic of the cultural, economic, and social changes that began in the 1950s and gained momentum during the 1960s and 1970s, the clothed female body offered a visual representation of those transformations. It constituted an arena of debate about, and avenue of resistance to, gender normativity. Discourse about

⁸⁸¹ Moreno Fernández, “La sirena del siglo,” *Honderos*, núm. 56 (mayo-junio 1974), 27.

⁸⁸² “Marí Carmen Ormeño: Hija de un militar de aviación, se pasa al cine.” *Simancas* (julio-agosto 1968), 27.

⁸⁸³ Moira Gatens, “Corporeal Representation in/and the Body Politic,” in *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*, eds. Katie Conboy, Nadia Medina, and Sarah Stanbury, 80–89 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 80.

fashion in military print culture by that time period had competing and paradoxical characteristics.

In opposition to modernity, authors often complained about modern women's fashion trends. One article written by an Apostolado author in 1956 negatively portrayed modern modes of dress and suggested that Spanish women did not consider heat, freedom of movement, or aesthetics in their fashion choices, stating that they copied what they saw in movies or imitated impure women.⁸⁸⁴ Subtly expressing that women should dress according to comfort and morality, this article implied that cinematic culture had a poor influence on women and that those who failed to dress according to traditional fashion norms were in fact immoral (read fallen, i.e., of less worth as women). Muínelo Alarcón penned similar criticisms in 1960.⁸⁸⁵ As these complaints about women dressing impurely indicate, pontifications on women's fashion often included a moral component.

Some military authors in *Formación* during the mid-1960s tried to forge a middle ground in which following certain fashion trends could be acceptable as long as doing so did not constitute vice or depravity.⁸⁸⁶ In 1962, Jacqueline Kennedy represented such a fashionable but also moral woman who permitted no extravagance in her wardrobe.⁸⁸⁷ Moral judgment nevertheless reemerged within these attempts to assuage the ostensibly pernicious effects of modern women's fashion. Pessimistic portrayals of fashion, as well as those bridging the gap between negative and positive, couched the clothed female

⁸⁸⁴ F. Martialay, "La moda que se ve," *Formación*, núm. 39 (octubre 1956), 8-9.

⁸⁸⁵ See for example, Gonzalo Muínelo Alarcón, "Sombreros de pelo," *Formación*, núm. 81 (abril 1960), 45-46, 56.

⁸⁸⁶ Augustine Baena Chaves, "La moral y la moda: Lo que va de la virtud al vicio," *Formación*, núm. 135 (octubre 1964); and Augustine Baena Chaves, "La moral y la moda: Santa conformidad," *Formación*, núm. 136 (noviembre 1964).

⁸⁸⁷ María Teresa Martín, "Jacqueline, primera de las doce elegantes," *Formación*, núm. 104 (marzo 1962).

body in moral terms, attempting to maintain power over women's bodies through appeals to morality.

The mini-skirt and bikini especially represented this struggle within women's fashion. A *Formación* article from 1964 unequivocally stated that women in bikinis threatened to undermine men's morality: "*We have the duty to shout to you that your [wearing bikinis] is the cause of moral—and sometimes physical—ruin of thousands of adolescents...*"⁸⁸⁸ The questions in the abovementioned survey in *Empuje* from 1966 demonstrates that some soldiers found mini-skirts and bikinis unacceptable and inappropriate. These negative perceptions persisted into the 1970s. Appearing in *Honderos* in 1971, the cartoon below, in a humorous reflection of male anxiety, indicates that Spanish women adopting those fashion trends made some men uncomfortable.⁸⁸⁹



"How do you find my bathing suit?"
"I don't find it, I'm looking for it!"

Regardless of such uneasiness, the popularity in publications for troops of the modern woman in a bikini increased in the late 1960s and early to mid-1970s. Women who wore

⁸⁸⁸ "Mujer, tenemos que decírtelo," *Formación*, núm. 133 (agosto 1964).

these bathing suits comprised a crucial component of an economy of male desire. In a *Honderos* article from 1972, for example, a private named Canal Gomara thanked Louis Reard for his “great invention, the attractive bikini...”⁸⁹⁰

These debates surrounding women’s fashion hint at a generational struggle. One article in *Formación* from 1964 directly addressed this situation.⁸⁹¹ Written by a man named Augustine Baena Chaves and entitled, “La moral y la moda: Un invento eterno y universal” (Morality and Fashion: An Eternal and Universal Invention), this piece intervened in debates over the morality inherent in women’s fashion, arguing for the importance of perspective and the need to keep in mind “age, temperament, state, and [the] epoch in which one lives.” Baena Chaves reaches the conclusion that older generations always view as excessive and depraved that which they did not enjoy during their youth, while young people consider anything that impedes their desires as ridiculous and strict. Not necessarily seeking to resolve this conflict, Baena Chaves argues that these “different and even conflicting points of view” are an intrinsic aspect of fashion.

Generational clashes continued into the 1970s.⁸⁹²

⁸⁸⁹ *Honderos*, núm. 39 (julio-agosto 1971), 30.

⁸⁹⁰ Canal Gomara, “El bikini a la orden del día,” *Honderos*, núm. 45 (julio-agosto 1972), 11.

⁸⁹¹ Augustine Baena Chaves, “La moral y la moda: Un invento eterno y universal,” *Formación*, núm. 134 (septiembre 1964).

⁸⁹² *Honderos*, núm. 39 (julio-agosto 1971), 30.



The above *Honderos* cartoon from 1971 demonstrates this conflict between generations (as perceived by the male cartoonist). A group of young, skinny, and modern women carrying a sign reading, “Long Live the Mini-Short” face off against a group of older, frumpier, and heavier women who in opposition to younger women’s fashion carry a sign reading, “Death to the Mini-Short.” Baena Chaves’ article and this cartoon make evident that female fashion represented a key point of contention in generational struggles occurring in Spain during the last fifteen years of the Franco regime. Spanish women adopted modern fashion trends that went against the values of the Francoism and members of the generation that supported it. Such resistance against traditional modes of fashion is important to this specific era. Although the modernizing efforts of the Second Republic had been halted and in some respects reversed after 1939, the impetus for modernity was not so much stifled in Spain as it was delayed. The generational clash over fashion in the 1960s and 1970s when compared to the history of the Second Republic reveals a certain *rigor mortis* in those members of the old guard rigidly trying to preserve tradition in Spain.

Such discrepancies between generations were not necessarily antagonistic, however.⁸⁹³



In this *Honderos* cartoon from 1971, the older and heavier woman (ironically described by the title as an optimist) appears eager to adopt modern fashions for herself. She improbably asks the saleswoman, “Where can I try on these ‘shorts’?” Reflecting a symbolic mixing of the traditional and modern imported to meet the male cartoonist’s attempt at humorously presenting women’s fashion, this cartoon facilitates the reader’s, as well as the historian’s, understanding of social change. It is laden with a multiplicity of meaning and possible interpretations. Is it poking fun at obese women? What are the implications between the attractiveness of each woman? Does one woman’s ability to fit into a small mini-skirt and the hopelessness of the other woman’s wish to wear modern shorts indicate sexism on the part of the cartoonist? Is the illustrator simply caricaturing women’s fashion itself as ridiculous? What implications do women as consumers on the one hand, and as store clerks on the other hand, have on men’s portrayals of women in military print culture?

⁸⁹³ *Honderos*, núm. 39 (julio-agosto 1971), 30.

Demonstrating the rich yet perplexing nature of cartoons as historical sources, the answers to these and other possible questions depend often upon subjective factors such as historicity and the cultural background and biases of the reader and interpreter. This particular cartoon, in the context of the ages of the two women, humorously indicates a certain acceptance on the behalf of some older women for younger women's fashion in Spain. With all three of the above cartoons, it is unlikely that their cartoonists would be strictly portraying a fantasy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, illustrators often engage in an exercise of distilling reality rather than creating fiction. These cartoons suggest change over time. They depict the reemergence of women's modernization, represented by modes of fashion younger women adopted and supported. Some elder supporters of Francoism opposed modern female clothing. Nonetheless, other members of the older generation accepted such fashion trends. In all these cases, conflict over fashion reveals the deeply embedded significance of the clothed female body to cultural change in the modern era.

Conclusion

This chapter's narrative has largely been one of military publications mirroring broader cultural and social changes. Such a process should not be understood as simple parroting. The military and the Apostolado worked hard to stem the tide of modernity by both harping on its dangers and continuing throughout the entire course of the dictatorship to reify Francoist values. The fact that some military sources reflected women's modernization at all, then, is significant. With the advent of R.E.S. publications in particular, the regime no longer invoked its prerogative to monopolize content. It permitted the rise of an economy of male desire and a culture of erotics (both comprised

in large part by the sexualized modern woman) that undermined gender normativity. Reducing censorship and allowing average soldiers to create content resulted in alternative discourses filtering into the armed forces. Magazines for troops shaped and reaffirmed those alternative epistemological modalities, themselves reflecting and reinforcing non-normative and socially transformative ontological realities.

Portrayals of the modern woman as well as women's rights, employment, and fashion often paralleled the shift in Spanish society away from tradition and towards modernity. Although reinscribing patriarchy by, for example, sexualizing the modern woman and deriding women's fashion, the sources this chapter analyzes complicate the military's historical legacy in terms of women. Repressive tools of the Franco regime, both mandatory social service for women and military conscription for men served patriarchal ends, helping to construct a gendered national identity based on the ideals of the winning side in the Spanish Civil War. Like the Sección Femenina, however, the military was not an institution of strict oppression but rather of complexity and contradiction. Complicating the ethics of its legacy, the Francoist armed forces in a limited manner positively portrayed women's modernization and rights, especially and increasingly from the early 1960s onwards. Keeping both these repressive and transformational tendencies in mind, military educational material and print culture therefore readjusted, but did not surmount, women's subordinate position in patriarchal understandings of gender and sexuality.

Conclusion

Resistance, Transformation, and Obedience

“Señores y señoras, se acaba la mili.”

In March 2001 Spain's defense minister announced the forthcoming abolishment of conscription with his statement, “Ladies and gentleman, mandatory military service has ended.”⁸⁹⁴ Twenty-six years after Franco's death and two hundred and thirty-one years since King Carlos III established conscription, it officially ended in Spain on 31 December 2001. A struggle that began during the later years of Franco's reign, Spanish men who conscientiously objected to military service played an important role in these changes.⁸⁹⁵ Their story is of conscious resistance to military service.

In the 1950s Jehovah Witnesses were the first men who resisted obligatory military service. Although presenting themselves for service, they refused to wear the military uniform. Sentenced to prison for disobedience under the Code of Military Justice, after their initial incarceration they continued refuse to wear their uniforms and were again sentenced to military prison. This situation continued under what was called, “*condenas en cadena*” (chains of convictions), until those men reached the age at which they completed their total time of military service. They therefore faced twenty-four years and, after the passing of the 1969 military service law, eighteen years of military prison for their actions.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁴ <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2001/03/09/espana/984145280.html>. Accessed 31 December 2015.

⁸⁹⁵ See Víctor Sampedro Blanco, *Movimientos sociales: debates sin mordaza: desobediencia civil y servicio militar (1970-1996)* (Madrid: centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1997); and Movimiento Objeción de Conciencia, *En legítima desobediencia: tres décadas de objeción, insumisión y antimilitarismo* (Madrid: Proyecto editorial traficantes de sueños, 2002).

⁸⁹⁶ Anselm Roig i Ribas, *Escapar de la mili: Todos los medios legales para no hacer el servicio militar* (Barcelona: Impresión Tesys, S.A., 1990), 200.

In 1971, the first non-Jehovah's Witness refused military service. Voicing a peaceful understanding of Christianity, Pepe Beunza (José Luis Beunza Vázquez, b. 1947) was the first official conscientious objector in Spain. He served as a lightning rod for the regime and media and was an inspiration to others in Spain.⁸⁹⁷ Defining himself as a non-violent Catholic, Beunza's trial and imprisonment brought conscientious objection into the public arena and his supporters began a campaign for his and other conscientious objector's freedom.⁸⁹⁸

Conscientious objectors, including Beunza, advocated alternative conceptions of the *Patria*, Christianity, and military service in letters they penned from prison to military authorities. Beunza wrote, "For me, the Patria is Humanity..."⁸⁹⁹ Contrasting the Apostolado usage of the Bible to reinforce military service, a man named José Antonio Monteserín stated that, "I see in all acts of violence exercised against any human being ... a radical denial of [a] message based only love and universal fraternity."⁹⁰⁰ An objector named Ovidio Bustillo wrote "I have renounced depersonalization, to be a number, to wear a uniform, to be converted into a robot that follows orders, to have my conscience militarized..."⁹⁰¹ These conscious acts of resistance found their inspiration in alternative forms of knowledge.

Beunza's case sparked international outcry and in 1971 his supporters organized a march from Geneva, Switzerland to Valencia, Spain. They stated their opposition to

⁸⁹⁷ See Pedro Oliver Olmo, *La utopía insumisa de Pepe Beunza: Una objeción subversiva durante el franquismo* (Barcelona: Virus Crónica, 2002).

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid., 200–201.

⁸⁹⁹ José Luis Lafuente del Campo and Jesús Viñas i Cirera, *Los objetores: Historia de una acción* (Madrid: Editorial CARES, 1977), 6.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., 9.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid. 10.

conscription and the purposes of the Spanish military in a letter written to the Ministers of Justice of the Army:

Letters of the Travelers of the 'March to the Prison' to the Ministers of Justice of the Army.

Toulouse, 27 March 1971

Distinguished Gentleman[,]

...

We do not believe that the army and the preparation of citizens for war are the best ways to promote peace and to defend the spiritual values and materials of the nation ... We do not believe—and perhaps many soldiers do not believe it either—that the principal function of our army is to defend us against exterior attacks. An armed defense against an attack of great potential in the atomic era, would be suicide ... The Spanish army, today, cites as justification, explicit or implicit, the function described as 'the defense of the homeland against its interior enemies'. For us, this is equivalent to saying the defense of some Spaniards against other Spaniards.

The objectors of conscience ... say 'no' to the army whether the regime that it serves is of the right or of the left. They know that supposed 'popular armies' are converted with too much ease into instruments of oppression of the people.

Because we hold these ideas[,], that are so opposed to those of the military, it is impossible that we can be admitted into the army.⁹⁰²

Part of the contemporaneous world-wide conscientious objector movement, these ideas countered the intentions of not only conscription but of the military in general, posing a threat to the values held dear by Francoist soldiers and the regime itself.

Discursively, conscientious objection did not go unchallenged by the military. Articles in military publications discussed the movement and the Apostolado especially attempted to reconcile conscientious objector's religiously-inspired arguments against conscription with the organization's belief in the efficacy of obligatory service. Initial discourse in the Apostolado's journal *Reconquista* appearing in the early 1970s did not unequivocally portray conscientious objection in negative terms but nevertheless sought to disparage the movement and advocate for the necessity and utility of conscription. For

one author volunteers were preferable in times of peace because well-instructed troops were always better than those who were only in the military for a short period of time.”⁹⁰³

Nevertheless,

military service today is not only a service in preparation for war, it is a service in which the ‘encounter’ between all social classes can be important for the development of a awareness of solidarity between all men regardless of distinction. Devotion, bravery, *compañerismo* and love for the *Patria*, which is the community of all, accentuate that formative and social sense of military service.⁹⁰⁴

Advocating the nation’s need for conscription, this author advanced the same ideas in the early 1970s that the Apostolado and military had promoted for the duration of the Franco dictatorship. He and many other military authors continued to believe that mandatory service played a vital role in national homogenization and the inculcation of Francoist martial values.

In a *Reconquista* piece that ironically employed conscientious objection to argue for military service, a self-described conscientious objector named Gregorio Martín Olmedo wrote in 1971 that he was enthusiastic about dissolving militaries worldwide and using their resources for education and development. Qualifying his statement, Martín Olmedo affirmed that such a plan would not work in Spain. After a few months of an absence of a military, Communists “would return to burn our churches and murder our priests and rape our nuns and daughters; and among their ranks we would find many who are now called [without actually being] objectors; and that is why we are here disposed to impede [conscientious objection], because we are authentic objectors. For ethical and

⁹⁰² Ibid., 230–232.

⁹⁰³ “Apuntes para un programa: Objeción de conciencia y solidaridad nacional,” *Reconquista*, núm. 258 (junio 1971), 11–12: 11.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., 11–12.

religious reasons.”⁹⁰⁵ Employing the well-worn trope of the specter of Communism, Martín Olmedo wrote that Spain was in “perpetual distress before the inhuman harassment of international Marxism,” and therefore the nation needed a military. In this author’s opinion, although a man was entitled to forsake the right to his own defense, he could not renounce the right of others to defense.⁹⁰⁶ Similarly advancing arguments against conscientious objection, a *Reconquista* article from 1972 argued that after foregoing service in the armed forces, conscientious objectors would next ask for a discount in their tax proportion to the national defense budget.⁹⁰⁷ This piece’s author imagined other types of conscientious objection to syndical organizations, education, public works, and foreign policy.⁹⁰⁸ Opposing conscientious objection, military authors employed fear-invoking tactics about why the Spanish nation needed conscription.

Despite the military’s efforts to preserve its control over Spanish men through mandatory service, the conscientious objector movement had success in Spain. Spanish men continued conscientiously objecting to military service after Franco’s death, and in December 1984 their efforts led to the approval of the *Ley de Objeción de Conciencia* (Law of Conscientious Objection) and the ability to substitute military service with social service through the *Prestación Social Sustitutoria* (Social Service Alternative to Military Service). Utilizing alternative understandings of citizenship, religion, nationalism, and the need for martial power, this form of conscious resistance paved the way for the eventual establishment of an all-volunteer military force in Spain by the end of 2001.

⁹⁰⁵ Gregorio Martín Olmedo, “Objetores,” *Reconquista*, núms. 263–264 (noviembre-diciembre 1971) 29–32: 30–31.

⁹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁹⁰⁷ Angel Santos Bobo, “Objeción de conciencia,” *Reconquista*, núm. 266 (febrero 1972), 17–21: 17.

Paradoxical Epistemes

Conscious and unconscious, individual and collective, and systemically inherent to the institutional power structures of the authoritarian Franco regime and its military, resistance, of which conscientious objection concludes the story, played its part in conscription failing to inculcate the values of normative Francoist martial masculinity. Large-scale rejection of Francoist values resulted in this partial failure, not in terms of continued social repression or obedience to Francoist power, but as a means of gendered identity prescription and regulation. In the end, the creation of obedient subjects did not require the total control of their gendered identities.

The normative masculinity outlined in this dissertation's first chapter never took root in Spanish society, but it nevertheless created subjects obedient to Francoist power. The Apostolado Castrense failed in its mission to re-Catholicize the nation and turn back the clock to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the organization helped engender obedience to Francoism through its influence in the military. Understandings and practices of male sexuality did not shed the prevalent social model of *donjuanismo* and men did not conform to the norm of strictly having heterosexual procreative sex within a marriage. Yet many men became husbands and fathers in a patriarchal society ruled by a paternalist regime. Martial jurisprudence defied its heteronormative mandate but in doing so furthered the creation of obedient subjects through submitting men to further discipline. Francoist martial masculinity required respect for women. The system of military justice punished men for transgressing those boundaries, but only within frameworks of women as weaker than and subordinate to men. An economy of male

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., 18.

desire within a culture of erotics facilitated men's acceptance of the modern woman in Spain, but in so doing made modern women into sexualized objects in webs of patriarchal power.

Professor of Spanish Justin Crumbaugh's monograph about cultural representations of tourism during the Franco regime helps in an understanding of these paradoxical theorizations of Francoist power. He argues that encounters with tourists as well as Spaniards' understandings of sexualized foreign women and homegrown Don Juans indicate the perversion of Spanish culture and society.⁹⁰⁹ Crumbaugh contends that despite appearances to the contrary, this perversion permitted the dictatorship to wield a perverted type of authority and entrenched rather than undermined its power. Eschewing "The commonplace association between sex with tourists and opposition to Franco[.]" Crumbaugh argues "it is equivocal to assert a categorical equivalence between sexual transgression and opposition to dictatorship."⁹¹⁰ Reinforcing the dictatorship's economic goals and neither running "contrary to the regime's objectives [nor] precipitat[ing] its demise[.]" "the promotion of sexual transgression with tourists became part and parcel of Francoist rule itself, a condition of its articulation."⁹¹¹ In Crumbaugh's analysis, Minister of Information and Tourism Manuel Fraga's policy of loosening censorship strengthened the government's power. Neutralizing dissent, it permitted a social evolution that itself was a prerequisite for further economic development.⁹¹² Crumbaugh conceptualizes *aperturista's* and hardliners as two sides of the same coin of Francoist power,

⁹⁰⁹ Justin Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 89.

⁹¹⁰ Ibid, 91.

⁹¹¹ Ibid.

⁹¹² Ibid., 95.

complementing rather than opposing one another.⁹¹³ He posits that whether advocating openness or continuity, members of the government sought to preserve their own power.

Individual Spaniards acting according to the perversions of modernity further perpetuated Francoism in Crumbaugh's opinion. He proposes an understanding of "both official regime rhetoric and commercial entertainment as commentary components of a larger cultural logic that takes Spanish modernization to be perverse."⁹¹⁴ Therefore, "By the late 1960s, Spanish mass culture had laid the symbolic grounds for citizens to be, similarly, at once blindly obedient and sadistically hedonistic."⁹¹⁵ Transgressive actions made by individuals did not undermine authority because the transgressive agent reinforced Francoist power.⁹¹⁶ Crumbaugh argues that by engaging in the perverse trappings of modernity, Spaniards aligned themselves with and furthered the regime's policies of diplomatic and economic integration with Western Europe and the United States.⁹¹⁷

Not accounting for several historical developments, this analysis only partially explains the nature of Francoism and the socio-cultural-economic transformations of the 1960s and 1970s in Spain. Dating to the beginning of the economic reforms, the technocrats in the government believed they could initiate economic modernization without unleashing social liberalization. Many Francoists had extreme fear of and hatred for modernity and they never relinquished their strong desire to create and entrench their version of Spanish nationalism. Despite entrenching power and providing financial profitability, modernity and non-normative expressions of sexuality directly opposed

⁹¹³ Ibid., 96.

⁹¹⁴ Ibid., 91–92.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid., 93.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid., 92.

important Francoist values. This model of sexualization and perversion also ignores the rapid demise of Francoist power following the dictator's death and the subsequent advent of democracy in Spain.

Yet as Crumbaugh indicates, "The interrelationships among the representation of tourism, sex, authority, and political economy during the final stages of the Franco dictatorship prove far more complex and deserve further scholarly consideration."⁹¹⁸ Integrating agency, resistance, and Foucauldian conceptions of systems of power into an understanding of the changes of the 1960s and 1970s and the transition to democracy in Spain sheds light on transformative potentials on the one hand and also helps clarify Crumbaugh's argument that those transformations helped entrench Francoist power on the other hand.

The Franco regime held a stake in the sexualization of consumerism and tourism. Sex sold, and the government profited from economic and socio-cultural modernization. Economic gains proved more important than ideology and the need to improve the economy superseded the imperatives of Francoist values. Nevertheless, the perverse nature of modernity—the perversions of modernization—provoked much fear in hard-liners. For the moral alarmists of late-Francoism writing in military publication, the transformations they saw around them represented the culmination of fears engendered by modernity. Although Francoism did not eschew all aspects of modernity and some segments of the regime benefitted from economic reforms and modernity, other important groups held fast to Francoist ideology and witnessed their vision for the Spanish nation slipping forever from their grasp.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., 93.

⁹¹⁸ Ibid., 91.

This argument does not dismiss their fears out-of-hand as an expression of what Michel Foucault describes as an “outmoded prudishness.”⁹¹⁹ Caught in the progression of the Western world, these die-hard Francoists were among those who were, to use Foucault’s words, “taken unawares by a process which had begun long before and by which, unbeknown to them, they were already surrounded on all sides.”⁹²⁰ In 1936, they went to war against their fellow Spaniards to halt a process that had already enveloped them, halting it for a time but unable to hold it at bay for long. Franco and his supporters had the goal of creating a nation based on the traditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through instilling Catholic morality and traditional gender norms. Although some Francoists changed their visions for the nation and newer generations embraced less-rigid models of Spanish nationalism, the Franco regime by 1975 had failed to prevent the rise of that which it had in part fought against and ostensibly defeated in 1939: modern socio-cultural values. Spaniards acting both as individuals and part of a collective consciously and unconsciously exploited systemic flaws, which themselves operated to undermine the very system of authoritarian power upon which they rested. Transformation away from Francoism and towards the values of the Second Republic resulted.

Employing Foucault’s precepts in his *The History of Sexuality*, this dissertation tells a story of the difficult struggle to remove a censorship and overcome a repressive regulation, which raises the question of whether or not Spaniard’s liberation was in the balance? Resistance against gender norms, expressions of non-normative sexuality, transgressions against heteronormativity, and systemic flaws helped liberate Spain from

⁹¹⁹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume I, An Introduction*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 158.

Francoist power. In certain regards, by saying “yes” to modern sex, Spaniards implicitly said “no” to the ideology of Francoist power. Utilizing alternative forms of knowledge based more on modernity than Francoism, Spaniards created modes of being that undermined the values of 18 July 1936.

Foucault, however, contends that the irony of the deployment of sexuality lies in its conferring belief in liberation, when in fact the ruses of sexuality sustain the organization of an economy of bodies and pleasures that controls individuals for the ends of entrenching and sustaining bio-power. Foucault might argue that overcoming Francoism and transitioning into modernity and liberalism did not necessarily free Spaniards from the deployment of sexuality. The episteme transformed and traditional gender norms gave way to a degree, but sexuality as a mechanism of power remained in Spain as it did in the rest of the modern world. In line with Crumbaugh’s analysis, the Franco regime utilized those very transformations to entrench its power, at least until the death of the dictator.

Exacting confessions from the shadows and exposing the specifics of the deployment of sexuality as a mechanism of power allows for the development of nuanced tactics to advance liberty for all humans. These strategies go beyond gender and sexuality. Such knowledge allows for broader understandings of system-wide issues. Conceiving of authority without the king and as a three-dimensional web indicates power’s nature as a self-perpetuating system even as it allows for positive transformations. Lust for power at all levels and nodal points sustains mechanisms of repression whether they be based on gender and sexuality, class, race, or any other form of knowledge used to categorize, differentiate, and hierarchize. Although systemic flaws

⁹²⁰ Ibid., 159.

and individual agency permit transformation, the problems lies in desire for power, which always already enables and perpetuates the system. The underlying drive for power must be addressed before the system no longer transforms for better or worse but disappears altogether, before humans are no longer trapped in the Foucauldian episteme.

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