

Poetry, Parody, and the Construction of Contrarian Discourse in Franco's Spain

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Abstract:

This article examines how poetry subverted Francoist control over the written word in National-Catholic Spain. Despite the policing of culture by the regime's censors, poets were able to use their works to express their nonconformity with the social and political situation. Spanish poets working under the regime resorted to subtle techniques in order to articulate their dissent. This article explores the political possibilities of one such technique: parody. It evaluates the limitations of parodic discourse as a form of political critique and offers an appraisal of the value of this literary form in the specific context of Francoist Spain. Offering a close reading of a work of parodic poetry by Ángel González, the article analyses how parody is used to appropriate and subvert Francoist discourse. González's work exemplifies how poetry was ideally placed to challenge National-Catholic ideology and how the act of imitating the rhetorical idiosyncrasies of Francoist discourse constituted an effective means of bypassing the regime's censors and of delivering a caustic critique of the regime.

Keywords: poetry, politics, Francoism, censorship, irony, parody

From the vantage point of the twenty-first century, irony and humour appear to be outmoded arms of political resistance. Despite their ubiquity, they have long been regarded as ineffective, compromised by their failure to take a position in response to events that demand seriousness.¹ Now ironic detachment is irremediably tainted by its association with hipsters and other manifestations of millennial culture; it seems a facile alternative to meaningful political

engagement through protest and activism.² Slavoj Žižek argues that humour and irony, far from being subversive, actually serve to perpetuate the status quo. Laughter has no liberating, anti-totalitarian potential in contemporary societies, given that, as Žižek puts it, ‘cynical distance, laughter, irony, are, so to speak, part of the game. The ruling ideology is not meant to be taken seriously’.³ It is not enough to hold up to ridicule the pronouncements of the governing ideology because of a prevailing cynicism, which enables social actors to recognize the fraudulent nature of the ruling ideology and at the same time to go along with it. Laughter in our own age is not a sign of resistance against or transcendence of ideology but is simply a symptom of acquiescence.⁴

Parody marshals both humour and irony, and as a form of political critique, it is open to similar charges of inefficacy, accommodation, and conformity. Linda Hutcheon defines parody as a form of imitation typified by ironic inversion; it is ‘repetition with critical distance, which marks difference rather than similarity’.⁵ Hutcheon’s capacious definition captures the variety of aims and effects of parodic texts and helps to explain why the political pretensions of the genre are viewed with suspicion. As an act of imitation, parody can be reverential in tone and conservative in outlook. It can assume a light-hearted, innocuous stance with regard to its precursors. Alternatively, it can be censorious and revolutionary in its oppositional stance to the imitated text.⁶ Kate Kenny observes an inescapable ambivalence in the relationship of parody to power. While parody appears to relativize power and subvert hegemony by exhibiting multiple perspectives, probing the limits of what is politically possible, and encouraging modifications of audiences’ perceptions, its contravention of norms can generate the illusion of change while actually contributing to the preservation of the existing order by acting as a “safety valve” for the expression of dissent’.⁷

In Franco’s Spain, parodic art was undoubtedly riven by the same contradictions that characterize the political role of this form in contemporary democracies. Subversion in high art

forms was tolerated under Franco because literature was not perceived as a political threat by the regime.⁸ The press was subject to strict supervision, and some literary media, such as plays, essays, affordable editions of historical and political texts, and popular novels were more closely vetted by censors.⁹ The regime's rationalization of its suppressive apparatus meant that dissident energies were channelled into media with a reduced readership. In the 1950s, social protest found expression in poetry, where writers could express ideas that were unthinkable in more widely distributed media. Dionisio Ridruejo, an erstwhile supporter of the regime who later became disaffected and was active in the clandestine opposition to Francoism in the 1950s, argues that the regime's tolerance of its intellectual opponents was calculated to neutralize its enemies:

La generación acusadora se ha formado en el encofrado mismo del sistema y era necesario encajar el hecho con palmaditas paternas que disimulasen la ruptura [...] Absorber, neutralizar, tomar posesión, jactarse de haber engendrado la generación rebelde era, sin duda, operación más hábil que cerrarle el paso. Las defensas se han establecido más bien frente a los maestros de las generaciones anteriores o sus inmediatos secuaces cuyo mensaje era imposible de tergiversar. Lo otro, mientras se mantuviese en el límite de 'escribir para no hacer', no parecía peligroso.¹⁰

(The adversarial generation was given shape by the very formwork of the system, and this fact had to be accommodated with a paternal pat on the back to hide the rupture. To absorb, to neutralize, to take hold, to boast of having spawned the rebellious generation was an undoubtedly more skilful operation than to block its path. The regime's defences have targeted the gurus of the preceding generations or their cronies, whose message could not be twisted. The younger generation, as long as it stuck to art rather than action, did not seem dangerous.)

Dissident intellectuals were nurtured under the patronage of official organizations such as the Frente de Juventudes and the Sindicato Español Universitario. In its paternalistic guardianship of the new generation, the regime ceded the right to dabble in literary protest so that it might clamp down all the more ferociously on active threats to the ruling order.

Although the Franco regime's permissiveness with regard to literary displays of contrarianism might be interpreted as evidence of the regime's self-assurance and vitality, recent scholarship has drawn attention to artists and thinkers' contribution to the cultivation of democratic tendencies in Spain.¹¹ Viewed in isolation, individual acts of reasserting intellectual freedom might seem negligible, but the sum of these artistic rebellions played an inestimable part in the recovery of liberal tradition. The intellectual rupture with Francoism and the attempt to return to pre-war traditions were significant both as acts of disobedience and as accomplishments that laid the foundations for the restoration of democracy. In Franco's Spain, contrarian art was the site of seemingly irreconcilable tensions. It was both a sanctioned and thus domesticated form of oppositional discourse, and at the same time it offered one of the few available channels for the expression of dissent.

The work of the poet Ángel González exemplifies how writers reconciled the tensions embodied by contrarian discourse under Franco. Contrarian poets were aware that the regime indulged their work because the art form was regarded as elite and inaccessible, and yet they persevered in finding an idiom to undermine Francoism in unexpected ways. Certain codes facilitated a connection between poets and readers that eluded Francoist control and cultivated a community united through opposition and bound together by the process of detecting hidden meanings. Parody played a prominent role among the devices used by poets to evade the policing of culture by the regime's censors and to express their nonconformity with the social and political situation. This article offers a close reading of a poem published by González in 1961 with the aim of illustrating the efficacy of parody in appropriating and subverting

Francoist discourse.¹² González's 'Discurso a los jóvenes' ('Speech to the Youth') illustrates how imitating the linguistic and stylistic idiosyncrasies of Francoist propaganda constituted an effective means of bypassing the regime's censors and of delivering a caustic critique of Franco's regime. The poem brings to light the implications of dissident poetry in National-Catholic Spain and shows the subversive potential of poetic language in regimes in which access to information is subject to strict political control.

Amid the substantial scholarly attention dedicated to Ángel González's poetry, the prevalence of irony has been singled out as one of its salient features.¹³ González himself saw irony as central to his poetic work. The poet wrote of his discovery of the device in the poem 'Discurso a los jóvenes' as a turning point in his trajectory as a poet:

El uso de la ironía fue, en principio, otro imperativo de la situación. Como es sobradamente sabido, los textos irónicos exigen que el lector invierta el recto significado de las palabras; operación mental que, aunque sencilla, desbordaba de hecho la capacidad intelectual de muchos censores, primera ventaja de un procedimiento que implica además la relación y consiguiente comparación evaluativa de dos puntos de vista opuestos. Así, el procedimiento resultaba doblemente útil: permitía burlar las normas vigentes en materia de censura, y era de una gran eficacia crítica. El poema titulado 'Discurso a los jóvenes' cumplió satisfactoriamente, a mi modo de ver, esos objetivos, aunque yo había intentado en él una simple parodia divertida de las irritantes arengas políticas entonces habituales. El poema fue para mí, en ese aspecto, un hallazgo. Desde entonces, la ironía pasó a ser uno de los más constantes componentes de mi poesía.¹⁴

(The use of irony was in essence necessitated by the situation. As is well known, ironic texts require the reader to invert the ordinary meaning of words, a mental operation that while simple actually surpassed the cognitive capacity of many censors, which was the

first advantage of using a procedure that involves, furthermore, making a connection between and undertaking a comparative evaluation of two opposed points of view. Therefore, the procedure turned out to be doubly useful: it made it possible to flout the prevailing censorship regulations and it was very effective critically. To my mind, the poem entitled 'Speech to the Youth' broadly satisfied those objectives, although I had set out simply to write an amusing parody of the irritating political harangues that were common then. In that aspect the poem was a real find for me. From then on irony became one of the most consistent features of my poetry.)

González sees irony fundamentally as a way of attacking the regime while evading censorship. But the potential impact of such an attack is diminished by the very nature of the device used to deliver it. In order to achieve its aims, González's irony had to be opaque to censors and yet transparent to his intended readership. As Martha LaFollette Miller points out, the effect of such poetry depends on a 'seamless harmony between the thrust of the poem and the ideology of the readers within González's intellectual milieu, who to appreciate his irony had to be, in a sense, initiates'.¹⁵ In using irony to articulate dissent, González could not therefore aspire to undermine the regime's support but had rather to content himself with fortifying existing hostile attitudes among readers. The ironic voice in González's work displays acute awareness of these limitations. Diane Fisher illustrates how González's irony manifests itself as an agonistic dialogue between an empirical self that exists in the world and a voice of ironic consciousness that recognizes the futility of the struggles of that empirical self.¹⁶ These empirical and ironic selves coexist in a state of insoluble tension: the enlightened ironic voice is poised against its inauthentic counterpart but is unable fully to assert its superiority over the empirical self since it exists only in language.¹⁷ Andrew Debicki argues along complementary lines that González's work is characterized by a dialectic structure that presents readers with a familiar outlook, text, or image in a distorted form and requires readers to disentangle the

poem's transformation of perceptions, ideas, and conventions in order to arrive at its meaning.¹⁸ The ironic structure of González's work reproduces the tensions inherent in contrarian discourse in Franco's Spain. Contrarian art seeks to superimpose its authentic interpretations of socio-political reality on the falsities propagated by the state, but simultaneously it is obliged to reckon with its powerlessness in bringing about change. This art denounces Francoism and yet is published under that very regime, which tolerates its existence because it does not fear it.

González's 'Discurso a los jóvenes' is presented as a rallying call to Spain's youth delivered by an unnamed political leader. The poem is written in free verse with lines of varying length that replicate the rhythms of public oration. The authority projected by the speaker, combined with the emphasis he places on certain words, the subject matter, and linguistic choices, generate the impression that this could be a speech delivered by the Caudillo himself. Franco saw Spain's youth as an important target for indoctrination. The future of the regime was dependent on its young and on the effectiveness of the transmission of its ideology among this social constituent. Franco believed social cohesion could be achieved primarily through education. In his view, unity and solidarity were dependent on the 'total education of children in a political creed that is based on eternal truths: the law of God, service to the Fatherland and the general well-being of the Spanish people'.¹⁹ In his postwar speeches, Franco makes characteristic reference to Spain's 'juventud' ('youth'), to their sacrifices, and to their role in the construction of the new state.²⁰ Derrin Pinto observes that although writers, journalists, politicians, teachers, and the clergy all participated in the creation of an authoritative discourse in Franco's Spain, the progenitor of all political discourse was the supreme leader himself, whose solitary voice of authority filled the void created by the total suppression of political plurality.²¹ Astute observers of the period such as Carmen Martín Gaité write of the ubiquity of Franco's image and voice as the defining feature of public life during the dictatorship. In *El*

cuarto de atrás Martín Gaité records this impression of Franco as ‘unigénito, indiscutible y omnipresente’ (‘one and only, unquestionable, and omnipresent’) Franco had insinuated himself in every home, school, cinema, and café. He was the celestial body around which all other satellites gravitated: ‘yo tenía nueve años cuando empecé a verlo impreso en los periódicos y por las paredes, sonriendo con aquel gorrito militar de borla, y luego en las aulas del Instituto y en el No-Do y en los sellos; y fueron pasando los años y siempre su efigie y solo su efigie, los demás eran satélites, reinaba de modo absoluto’ (‘I was nine years old when I started to see him printed in the newspapers and on walls, smiling in his little military hat with the tassel, and later in the school classrooms and in the newsreel and on stamps; and the years kept going by and still his image and only his image – the others were satellites – reigned absolutely’).²² In appropriating the voice of authority in his poem, González thus implicitly usurps the authority of the dictator himself. His parody of political rhetoric is in essence a parody of Franco’s idiosyncratic tones.

The rousing apostrophe to Spain’s young in the opening lines of ‘Discurso a los jóvenes’ appeals to the addressees as guardians of the country’s past glories and as the sacred vessel in which the nation’s hopes for the future are deposited:

De vosotros,
los jóvenes,
espero
no menos cosas grandes que las que realizaron
vuestros antepasados.
Os entrego
una herencia grandiosa:
sostenedla.
Amparad ese río

de sangre,
sujetad con segura
mano
el tronco de caballos
viejísimos,
pero aún poderosos,
que arrastran con pujanza
el fardo de los siglos
pasados.²³

(From you, | the youth, | I expect | no fewer great deeds than those realized | by your
ancestors. | I bequeath to you | a glorious legacy: | sustain it. | Shelter that river | of
blood, | hold with sure | hand | the trunk of the horses | ancient though they are, |
powerful still, | that pull with their might | the load of the centuries | that have passed.)

Foremost among the past glories to which the poem alludes is the Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War. Here ‘río | de sangre’ (‘river | of blood’) stands in for the war through metonymy. Allusions to blood serve a similar function in Franco’s postwar speeches. There is the ‘sangre generosa de los mejores’ (‘generous blood of the bravest’) in Franco’s address to the Consejo Nacional de la FET y de las JONS on 17 July 1941.²⁴ In an inaugural speech delivered in Madrid’s Ciudad Universitaria to mark the beginning of a new academic year on 12 October 1943, Franco recalled the fierce fighting around the campus of the Complutense University in the first months of the civil war: ‘aquí se empapó la tierra con la sangre generosa de nuestros caídos’ (‘here the earth was soaked with the generous blood of our fallen’).²⁵ In a characteristically Francoist vein, González’s poem charges the new generation with the conservation of the legacy of the civil war but it does so with unusual word choices that add a progressively comic note to the stanza. The use of the verb *amparar* generates an awkward

impression, as the addressees of the poem are asked to *shelter* this river of blood. The metaphor is sloppy. The speaker strives to amplify the solemnity of this speech with parallel verb conjugations in successive lines – *sostened, amparad, sujetad* (sustain, shelter, hold) – but the device smacks of affectation. The parallelism produces an unfavourable effect because of the laboured construction of its constituent metaphors. In the following lines the speech borders on the ridiculous: the use of the superlative *viejísimos* (ancient), cleaved from the preceding line by enjambment to intensify its anticlimactic effect, introduces a discordant note that undercuts the majestic tone of the speech. Tino Villanueva adduces additional examples of how the sequencing of words and their arrangement in lines expose the speaker to derision in ‘Discurso a los jóvenes’. According to Villanueva, tonal irony arises on occasions where an interpolated word or phrase reveals a deeper satirical intention. The casual cruelty of the parentheses ‘si es preciso’ (‘if necessary’) and ‘así es la vida’ (‘such is life’), interpolated in the speaker’s exhortation to murder political opponents in the fifth stanza, provide a disturbing insight into the immorality of the speaker.²⁶ The emphatic ‘no menos’ (‘no fewer’) inserted in the construction ‘espero | no menos cosas grandes’ (‘I expect | no fewer great deeds’) in the opening stanza generates an unanticipated effect. On a casual reading, the expression seems a rhetorical flourish, but the use of litotes opens the possibility of alternative interpretations, depending on intonation. Villanueva suggests the negative construction reveals the authorial persona’s underlying scorn for these ill-defined ‘cosas grandes’ (‘great deeds’).²⁷ In the case of the superlative *viejísimos* (ancient), the abrupt trivialization of these august horses bearing the weight of Spain’s hallowed past produces a bathetic effect. These unexpected word choices lay bare the polyphonic structure of González’s parody of Francoist discourse. The poem appropriates the themes, language, and tone of Franco’s speeches, but peppered throughout the lines a single word produces a jarring effect that exposes the subject of the parody to ridicule.

In a study of Franco's political discourse, Matilde Eiroa San Francisco summarizes the salient rhetorical strategies that appear in the leader's speeches. First, there is exaltation: Franco pays homage to martial virtues, to Spain, to the Movimiento Nacional, to the Gloriosa Cruzada, and to state institutions. Second, Franco strikes fear into his audiences to legitimize his rule by warning of the alternatives. Third, there is the strategy of gratitude and acknowledgement of the sacrifice of the Nationalist fallen in the civil war.²⁸ These same tropes can be found in González's parody, sometimes more or less conspicuously and others in a distorted form that reveals the menacing subtexts underlying these stock Francoist themes. We have already seen how in its opening stanza 'Discurso a los jóvenes' exalts the Spanish nation and its past, and yet the horses entrusted with conveying the ancestors' legacy into the future are envisaged not as gallant steeds but as worn out nags. In the fourth stanza, the speaker pays tribute to the military, to the 'compañero de armas, | escudero, | sostén de nuestra gloria' (p. 76) ('comrade-in-arms, | squire, | buttress of our glory'). However, in the next two lines the celebratory tone of this paean to soldierly valour is undermined by a mocking reference to the colour of military uniform and to the Church's troubling complicity with the Francoist regime: 'joven alférez de mis escuadrones | de arcángeles vestidos de aceituna' (p. 76) ('young ensign of my squadrons | of archangels dressed in olive'). This reference to the symbiosis of the Catholic Church and Franco's militarized state adds fuel to the denunciation of reactionary Catholicism delivered in the third stanza. In his analysis of the poem Villanueva discerns a caricature of biblical language in the speaker's declaration of genealogical lineages in the third stanza – 'Tú, Piedra, | hijo de Pedro, nieto | de Piedra | y biznieto de Pedro' (pp. 75–76) ('You, Piedra, | son of Pedro, grandson | of Piedra | and great-grandson of Pedro') – and points out the allusion to Matthew 16.18, which names Peter as the rock on which the church will be built.²⁹ Derivatives of the word 'piedra' ('rock') are repeated throughout the stanza as González riffs on the etymology of the name Pedro using polyptoton and calls attention to religious oppression.

In the fifth stanza, González turns his focus to economic oppression. Landowners and industrialists – referred to obliquely as ‘dueño | del oro y de la tierra’ (‘owner | of gold and of the land’) – are saluted as the all-powerful motor of economic life and are enjoined to be generous with those whom they need and to destroy those who are resistant to the capitalist order:

Sé generoso
con aquellos a los que necesitas,
pero guarda,
expulsa de tu reino,
mantenlos más allá de tus fronteras,
déjalos que se mueran,
si es preciso,
a los que sueñan,
a los que no buscan
más que luz y verdad,
a los que deberían ser humildes
y a veces no lo son, así es la vida. (p. 76)

(Be generous | with those you need, | but guard against, | expel from your kingdom, | keep beyond your borders, | let them die, | if necessary, | those who dream, | those who search for nothing | more than light and truth, | those who should be humble | and sometimes are not, such is life.)

Dreamers, searchers for light and truth, those who dare to try to escape the social strata and roles prescribed for them in this new order will be struck down. Akin to Franco’s tactic of playing on his audiences’ fears as a strategy of self-legitimation in his harangues targeting freemasonry, Jewry, bolshevism, and liberal politics, González’s poetic speaker promotes a

collective political identity that is defined in opposition to extraneous threats.³⁰ From the outset, the speaker enfolds his addressees into the corporatist social body envisaged in the poem by excluding those who are not present: ‘Nosotros somos estos | que aquí estamos reunidos, | y los demás no importan’ (p. 75) (‘We are those | who are gathered here, | and no one else matters’). The Francoist state caters only to its clients; there is Spain and there is anti-Spain; anyone who is not with the Movimiento is implicitly cast as its enemy. The addressees of the poem are enjoined to discipline those that deviate from their ranks: ‘esfuérate | [...] | para no tolerar el movimiento, | para asfixiar en moldes apretados | todo lo que respira o que palpita’ (p. 76) (‘strive | [...] | not to tolerate movement, | to suffocate in rigid moulds | everything that breathes or beats’). The speaker offers the young a Faustian bargain: he proposes a position of power over others in exchange for their submission. González thus implicitly passes judgement on those who accept empowerment on the tyrannical terms of the regime. The speaker inspires fear through oblique references to the punishment meted out on those who break the mould of this authoritarian order:

sé que no es necesario amonestarte:

con seguir siendo fuego y hierro,

basta.

Fuego para quemar lo que florece.

Hierro para aplastar lo que se alza. (p. 76)

(I know there is no need to admonish you: | simply continuing to be fire and iron, | is enough. | Fire to burn what blossoms. | Iron to crush what rises.)

The political vision presented by the speaker is dispiriting in its bleakness, but the rhetoric and syntactic play are designed to divert our attention from the content to the form of these utterances. Prosopodosis is used in the repetition of ‘fuego’ (‘fire’) and ‘hierro’ (‘iron’), as the speaker returns to the two words yoked in the earlier line with the conjunction ‘y’ (‘and’) and

parses out their significance in parallel phrases. The violence of the images is eclipsed by the artistry of the verbal acrobatics. In these lines, González's poem replicates the rhetorical sleights of hand of the regime and its use of obfuscatory and grandiloquent language. Franco used abstract terms to elevate his message to a quasi-spiritual plain: words such as *destino*, *paz*, *unidad*, *autoridad*, *moralidad*, *misión*, *orden*, *glorias*, *interés supremo*, *justicia*, *jerarquía* (destiny, peace, unity, authority, morality, mission, order, glories, supreme interest, justice, hierarchy) recur in his speeches and invest the National-Catholic project with a sense of righteousness and immutability.³¹ These abstract terms are scattered throughout the poem and appear notably in its final lines in the promised Eden that the audience will attain if it submits to the iron-fisted authority projected by the poetic speaker:

Seguid así,

hijos míos,

y yo os prometo

paz y patria feliz,

orden,

silencio. (p. 77)

(Continue thus, | my children, | and I promise you | peace and a blessed fatherland, | order, | silence.)

In return for their acquiescence, for their disposition to burn and trample the seedlings of all that is alien to the regime, the audience is assured 'paz' ('peace'), 'patria feliz' ('blessed fatherland'), and 'orden' ('order'), the oft-repeated promises given by the Franco regime. And yet the final word in the depiction of this utopian future – 'silencio' ('silence') – stands out from the rest. The suggestion that silence awaits those who submit to this authoritarian ideology connotes the censorship of self-expression and the brutal suppression of dissent, which the

regime will use as mechanisms to ensure its survival. Silence also implies something deeper here: a kind of automatism and living death for those who acquiesce.

González thus uses parody to poke fun at the regime and to probe the sinister implications of its ideological postulates. The poem delivers its message with humour in places; in others it exploits the arrangement of the parodied features of Francoist discourse and juxtaposes incongruous terms in such a way as to create an ironic distance between the voice of the speaker in the foreground and the implied critical voice in the background that denounces that speaker's ideology. To parody Spain's dictator was a dangerous business in the mid-twentieth century. González achieves his aims because of his medium and because of the subtlety of his ironic construction, which was likely to be read and understood only by readers who shared the poet's views. Parody was arguably a low-stakes medium for the expression of dissent in Francoist Spain. We have seen how the genre can be interpreted as a token of accommodation with the status quo and an instrument in its preservation. Parody operates through a carnivalesque inversion of norms and acts as an outlet for oppositional energies, while serving to channel and neutralize them. González himself was certainly aware of the limitations of poetry as a means of effecting social change. The possibility of accurately decoding the denunciation of Francoism delivered in his poetry presupposes the existence of shared values among the recipients of the message. But the act of reaching out and creating an invisible community of like-minded accomplices for his resistance was undoubtedly an important motivation behind this work. Even while the impact of such literary endeavours is difficult to gauge, it is clear that their publication played some part in increasing the visibility of tacit opposition to Francoism. From the latter half of the 1950s, strikes and student protests were the highly conspicuous counterpart to more muted expressions of resistance against the regime. Contrarian poetry was more cautious in its exhibitions and more modest in its aims, but it played an important part in the ideological battle against Francoism.

NOTES

¹ Tom Grimwood, 'The Problems of Irony: Philosophical Reflection on Method, Discourse and Interpretation', *Journal for Cultural Research*, 12:4 (2008), 349–363 (p. 350).

² Maria Brock, 'Political Satire and Its Disruptive Potential: Irony and Cynicism in Russia and the US', *Culture, Theory and Critique*, 59:3 (2018), 281–298 (pp. 282–283).

³ Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, second edition (London: Verso, 2008), p. 24.

⁴ Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, pp. 24–27.

⁵ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms*, second edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), p. 6.

⁶ Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, p. xii.

⁷ Kate Kenny, "'The Performative Surprise": Parody, Documentary and Critique', *Culture and Organization*, 15:2 (2009), 221–235 (pp. 225–227).

⁸ Jo Labanyi, 'Censorship or the Fear of Mass Culture', in *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 207–214 (p. 214).

⁹ Andrew P. Debicki, 'Poetry and Culture, 1936–1975', in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture*, edited by David T. Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 187–197 (p. 191).

¹⁰ Dionisio Ridruejo, *Escrito en España* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1964), p. 225.

¹¹ See, for example, Jordi Gracia, *Estado y cultura: El despertar de una conciencia crítica bajo el franquismo, 1940–1962* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2006) and Samuel O'Donoghue, 'In Search of a Lost Culture: Dissident Translations in Franco's Spain', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 52:3 (2016), 311–329.

¹² Ángel González, 'Discurso a los jóvenes', in *Sin esperanza con convencimiento* (Barcelona: Colliure, 1961).

¹³ For general studies of irony in González's work see, for example: Douglas Benson, 'La ironía, la función del hablante, y la experiencia del lector en la poesía de Ángel González', *Hispania* 64 (1981), 570–581; Andrew P. Debicki, 'Ángel González, 'Transformation and Perspective', in *Poetry of Discovery: The Spanish Generation of 1956–1971* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), pp. 59–80; Diane René Fisher, 'The Voices of Irony in the Poetry of Ángel González' (doctoral thesis, Ohio State University, 1990). For a categorization and analysis of the different types of irony used by González specifically in 'Discurso a los jóvenes' see Tino Villanueva, 'Censura y creación: Dos poemas subversivos de Ángel González', *Hispanic Journal*, 5:1 (1983), 49–72.

¹⁴ Ángel González, *Poemas*, fourteenth edition (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008), pp. 20–21.

¹⁵ Martha LaFollette Miller, *Politics and Verbal Play: The Ludic Poetry of Ángel González* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995), pp. 50–51.

¹⁶ Diane R. Fisher, 'The Deconstruction of Irony in the Poetic Trajectory of Ángel González', *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, 46:1 (1993), 141–156.

¹⁷ Fisher, 'The Deconstruction of Irony', p. 145.

¹⁸ Debicki, 'Ángel González', p. 60.

¹⁹ Javier Tusell, *La dictadura de Franco* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), p. 135.

²⁰ See, for example, 'Two Speeches by General Franco', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 18:72 (1941), 210–219.

²¹ Derrin Pinto, 'Indoctrinating the Youth of Post-War Spain: A Discourse Analysis of a Fascist Civics Textbook', *Discourse & Society*, 15:5 (2004), 649–667 (p. 650).

²² Carmen Martín Gaité, *El cuarto de atrás*, edited by José Teruel, fifth edition (Madrid: Cátedra, 2020), pp. 206–207.

²³ Ángel González, ‘Discurso a los jóvenes’, in *Poemas*, fourteenth edition (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008), pp. 75–77 (p. 75). Subsequent references to this work will be given in the main body of the article.

²⁴ ‘Two Speeches by General Franco’, p. 210.

²⁵ ‘Discurso pronunciado por S. E. el Generalísimo Franco, Jefe del Estado español con motivo de la inauguración del presente curso escolar y de la Ciudad Universitaria de Madrid’, *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, 1:3/4 (1943), 357–372 (p. 360).

²⁶ Villanueva, ‘Censura y creación’, pp. 62–63.

²⁷ Villanueva, ‘Censura y creación’, p. 61.

²⁸ Matilde Eiroa San Francisco, ‘Palabra de Franco: Lenguaje político e ideología en los textos doctrinales’, in *Coetánea: Actas del III Congreso Internacional de Historia de Nuestro Tiempo*, edited by Carlos Navajas Zubeldia and Diego Iturriaga Barco (Logroño: Universidad de la Rioja, 2012), pp. 71–88 (p. 74).

²⁹ Villanueva, ‘Censura y creación’, pp. 54–55.

³⁰ Eiroa San Francisco, ‘Palabra de Franco’, p. 75.

³¹ Eiroa San Francisco, ‘Palabra de Franco’, p. 75.