Exploitation, fascist violence and social cleansing: A Study of Franco's concentration camps from a comparative perspective.

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Abstract: One of the most noticeable topics within recent Spanish historiography is the analysis of processes of mass violence. Salient among these were the Franco concentration camps, a violent re-educational system comprised of more than 180 camps, 104 of which were permanent. The camps operated from 1936 until 1947, under the control of Franco's army, with its corresponding regime of forced labour and exploitation of prisoners of war. Half a million Spaniards and Europeans experienced firsthand the Spanish version of the fascist concentration camp system. This article offers an analysis of the inside history of Franco's concentration camps and then locates them comparatively within a theoretical and empirical fascist model of internment, exploitation and violence.

Keywords: concentration camps, Spanish Civil war, fascism, violence, comparative history.

There are very few photographs of Franco's concentration camps. One of them, obviously used for propaganda, summarizes every concept, process and purpose involved in their creation and maintenance. We see white barracks and four (visible) lines of shorn, uniformed prisoners, marching. One of them, wearing a different uniform, raises his right arm in a fascist salute. The caption below the photo reads, "Inside the Miranda de Ebro concentration camp: Homeland, Bread and Justice". These last three words, *Patria, Pan y Justicia,* were a classic motto of Spanish fascism. Here we find them attached to a reality of the Spanish Civil War that until recently has remained quietly obscure: concentration camps.

Discovery of their existence came as quite a surprise. Ten years ago, it was virtually unknown that during the Civil War and its aftermath Franco's military government developed the largest and most densely populated concentration camp network in the whole of southern Europe. To date, 188 camps have been identified, 104 permanent and the rest provisional, which housed almost half a million prisoners in deplorable conditions and subjected to humiliating classification and re-education policies[1]. Opened in November 1936, they were the most populated and longest operating camps network of all Southern Europe. Although they began to be closed down in 1939, some camps, such as the one at Miranda de Ebro, cast a dark shadow long after World War II (1947). This was in line with the State of War that was maintained in Spain until 1948. As in many other wars and conflicts, this structured network of internment and forced labour provided a vast legion of slaves to build and re-build the State infrastructures of Franco's New Spain. By reconstructing the central elements of its history, this article argues the need to interpret both the Spanish concentration camp phenomenon and the Spanish Civil war itself in a comparative, transnational way.

Internment.

The specific reality of the Spanish Civil War cannot be understood outside its context, and this context was both national and supra national. What characterised the Spanish Civil War -social breakdown, mutual violence, the civil sphere as a primary and priority objective, punishment of non-combatants as the main military objective, excessive violence on the home front and expulsion of the enemy (real, potential,

[1] Rodrigo, Javier. *Los campos de concentración franquistas, entre la historia y la memoria*. Madrid: Siete Mares, 2003. Rodrigo, Javier. *Cautivos. Campos de concentración en la España franquista, 1936-1947*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2005.

imaginary, imagined) from the very *civitas*- cannot be separated from its historical period or be considered exclusively Hispanic[2]. This large scale, long-lasting conflict – only comparable at the time, in terms of other twentieth-century civil wars, with the Russian conflict of 1918-22 – must be analysed within the historical and interpretive categories that originated in the inter-war years[3]. Fascism, antifascism, mobilisation for total war, terror, war of extermination or in this case the concentration camp, are both historical processes and *categories* that derive from the European experience of war, violence, internment and eradication of the enemy[4]. They must also be applied to any interpretation of the Spanish Civil War.

Concentration camps, as they were designated by the authorities of that period, not mere detention centres, began to operate at the end of 1936 in Franco's Spain within the context of a long and total war. They were established to help standardise treatment of prisoners of war: to intern, classify, re-educate and re-use; also to torture and brainwash male prisoners of war. Women were removed from the front line of the Republican Army prior to the end of 1936. The target profile was clear from the beginning: only prisoners of war captured in occupation movements or who had

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[2] No references, however, to a larger scale or international bibliography, nor to comparative frameworks, nor even the slightest theoretical concern are present in some of the most recent general histories of the Spanish Civil War, such as Ranzato, Gabriele. *L'Eclissi della democrazia. La guerra civile spanola e le sue origini*. Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2004. Bennassar, Bartolome. *La guerre d'Espagne et ses lendemains*. Paris: Editions Perrin, 2004. Beevor, Antony. *The battle for Spain. The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*. London: Penguin Books, 2006. Some examples of problematic and comparative theoretical approaches can be seen in Rodrigo, Javier ed. "Retaguardia y cultura de guerra, 1936-39." *Ayer* 76 (2009).

[3] On wars, large-scale conflicts and massive death, see Slim, Hugo. *Killing civilians. Method, madness and morality in war*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. Bourke, Joanna. *An intimate History of killing: face-to-face killing in Twentieth Century warfare*. London: Granta, 1999. Gelarch, Christian. *Extremely violent societies. Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

[4] On Europe as the mirror for brutalization of politics and warfare in Spain, see Rodrigo Javier. "Retaguardia: un espacio de transformación." *Ayer* 76 (2009): 13—36; on Africa and the colonial experience, see González Calleja E. "La cultura de guerra como propuesta historiográfica: una reflexión general desde el contemporaneísmo español." *Historia Social* 61 (2008): 69—87; Balfour S. *Deadly embrace. Morocco and the road to the Spanish Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002. Preston, Paul. *El Holocausto español. Odio y exterminio en la Guerra Civil y después*. Barcelona: Debate, 2011, and especially "Los teóricos del exterminio", 71—92. Also on the colonial mindset of some of the Francoist officers, see Preston, Paul. "The Answer lies in the sewers: Captain Aguilera and the mentality of the Francoist Officer Corps." *Science & Society* 66, 3 (2004): 277—312.

surrendered to Franco's army, or deserters awaiting political and military classification in order to be sent back to the front lines. The population fluctuated due to the military nature of captivity, but the average time spent in the camps was around six months, according to official documentation. However, there were numerous exceptions.

The historical trajectory of Franco's camps was not linear, nor was it always coherent. Camps were not included in the Rebel plans against the Popular Front government; they were created in response to the need to accommodate growing numbers of prisoners. The first six camps date back to November, 1936 and were established in a context of complete legislative ambiguity regarding treatment of prisoners of war that lasted until April, 1937. In fact, the military authorities themselves did not have clarity on what a camp *was* before mid-1937. Retrospectively, we can define Spanish camps by what they were *not*. They were neither jails nor penitentiary establishments, since the application of a penalty or a judicial punishment as prescribed by a civil or military court was not among their functions[5]. Neither were they extermination camps. There is no official data regarding numbers of deaths, but they have been estimated between 5,000 and 10,000 by extrapolating from the numbers from camps such as San Pedro de Cardeña, Miranda de Ebro (Burgos), La Santa Espina (Valladolid) and San Juan de Mozarrifar (Zaragoza). Categorization of the systematic terror applied by the Rebels in Spain as genocide is more than questionable[6]. However,

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[5] On jails, see Sabín, José M.. *Prisión y muerte en la España de postguerra*. Madrid: Anaya & Mario Muchnik, 1996. Vinyes, Ricard. *Irredentas. Las presas políticas y sus hijos en las cárceles de Franco*. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2002. Associació Catalana d'Expresos Polítics. *Notícia de la negra nit. Vides i veus a les presons franquistes (1939-1959)*. Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 2001. Vinyes, Ricard. *Irredentas. Las presas políticas y sus hijos en las cárceles de Franco*. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2002. Cenarro, Ángela. "La institucionalización del universo penitenciario franquista." In *Una inmensa prisión. Los campos de concentración y las prisiones durante la Guerra Civil y el franquismo*, eds. Carme Molinero, Jaume Sobrequés and Margarida Sala, 133—53. Barcelona: Crítica, 2003. Hernández, Fernando. *La prisión de Ventas: de la República al franquismo, 1931-1941*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003. Gómez Bravo, Gutmaro. *El exilio interior: Cárcel y represión en la España franquista, 1939-1950*. Madrid: Taurus, 2010.

[6] On Francoist terror as genocide, despite the lack of comparative approach and literature from outside Spain in their works, see Espinosa, Francisco. "Julio de 1936. Golpe militar y plan de exterminio." In

even if there was genocide in Franco's Spain, it did not occur in the concentration camps. The camps were set up to transform human beings rather than eliminate them.

Above all, the camps functioned in relation to the discourse and practice of violence. The very first historical and interpretative framework of the history of the camps fell within the history of Rebel political terror. The Spanish Civil War was fought on the front lines, but lost (and won) on the home fronts, by the pressure of violence and terror against the imprisoned civilian and military population, in what Hannah Arendt described as the social form of individual fear[7]. By virtue of the radical dissolution of the classic differences between the military and the civilian, between combatant and non-combatant, the civilian became the combatant and thus a high-priority war objective. The first result of the July, 1936 coup d'état and the rationale of exterminating the adversary was the implantation of policies for cleansing the home front by elimination. In fact, during the first year of the conflict, when the bulk of civilian killings took place, there were more deaths on the home fronts than on the front lines. The overall proportion of non-combatant deaths was over fifty percent: 167,000 combatant casualties as against 185,000 killings on the home front (55,000 on Republican home fronts and some 130,000 on Francoist home fronts[8]).

After the first phase of a violent coup d'état, revolution and warfare of columns, during which most of the fascist killings and revolutionary violence occurred, the Civil

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Morir, matar, sobrevivir. La violencia en la dictadura de Franco, ed. Julián Casanova, 51—119. Barcelona, Crítica.

[7] Arendt, Hannah. *The origins of totalitarianism*. New York, Stocken Books, 1951.

[8] The historiographic evolution of the topic is described in Preston, Paul. *The Politics of Revenge. Fascism and the military in 20th century Spain*. London: Routledge, 1995. Juliá, Santos ed. *Víctimas de la guerra Civil*. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1999. Casanova, Julián ed. *Morir, matar, sobrevivir. La violencia en la dictadura de Franco*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2002. Sevillano, Francisco. *Exterminio. El terror con Franco*. Madrid: Oberon, 2004. Graham, Helen. *The Spanish Civil War: a very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 2005. Rodrigo, Javier. *Hasta la raíz. Violencia durante la guerra civil y la dictadura franquista*. Madrid: Alianza, 2008. Prada, Julio. *La España masacrada. La represión franquista de guerra y posguerra*. Madrid: Alianza, 2010. Preston, Paul. *El Holocausto español. Odio y exterminio en la Guerra Civil y después*. Barcelona: Debate, 2011.

War *proper* began in November, 1936[9]. It was a war of territorial invasion and occupation of the enemy home front, which became a punishment zone for its inhabitants, who were subjected to the exploitation of their economic resources and the famine and privation that ensued[10]. These are features of total warfare, even though the Spanish Civil War has been systematically omitted from that from the list of countries applying terror as a tactic[11]. The concentration camp system contributed to this concept of total war from the bloody moment when the coup d'état became a slow and systematic civil war, known as Franco's war of extermination, between 1936 and 1937[12]. In a conflict intended to be swift and ruthless, as the July 1936 coup was designed to be, prisoners are generally killed rather than sent to camps. In a war that is expected to be drawn out, prisoners are interned, used and exploited. At the end of 1936, with the partial failure of the coup d'état due to the resistance to the occupation of Madrid, codification of the status and treatment of prisoners and escapees began behind Rebel lines.

Many opinions were expressed at that time, including those of the Falangists, or members of the fascist party FE-JONS, which ultimately took charge of political re-education in the camps. They advocated implementation of the National Socialist model of concentration camps for political prisoners. However, it was not so much *political prisoners* but *prisoners of war* who were meant to fill the concentration camp network. It was the continuous capture and gathering of prisoners of war that led the military authorities to set up a fragile system of internment, consisting of just six camps.

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[9] Rodrigo, Javier. "'Our Fatherland was Full of Weeds'. Violence during the Spanish Civil War and the Franco Dictatorship." In *If you tolerate this... The Spanish Civil War in the Age of Total Wars*, ed. Baumeister, Martin and Stephanie Schüller-Springorum, 135—53, Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 2008.

[10] Kramer, Alan. *Dynamic of destruction. Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 41.

[11] Chickering, Roger. "La Guerra Civil española en la era de la Guerra Total." In *Alcores* 4 (2007): 21—36. Also Ranzato, Gabriele. "Guerra civil y guerra total en el siglo XX." In Ayer 55 (2004): 127—48.

[12] Preston, Paul. *The Spanish Civil War: reaction, revolution and revenge*. London: Harper Perennial, 2006.

Subsequently came the need to separate preferential (and thus exploitable) soldiers for the Rebel lines from those who were carrying out prison sentences or awaiting the death penalty after court-martial, which motivated the establishment of political-social classification measures. Finally, the intent to use enemy prisoners or those undergoing the classification process to favour the economic and political interests of the Francoist state led to the implementation of a system of forced labour, that from 1937 on would include almost every geographical area of Franco's Spain.

Thus we see that Franco's concentration camps were not a result of the 1936 terror and political cleansing, but the result of the 1937-39 total war. The regulation of the camp system was continuous with the legal apparatus (exemplary, summary, not at all protective, and irrevocable) established by the Rebels to manage, correct and punish individual and collective actions during the so-called 'domination of the Reds'. Following a series of military victories and anticipating the conquest of large sections of the population and hundreds of square kilometres of territory, the March 1937 *Orden General de Clasificación* was set forth to establish the criteria for grouping prisoners of war as Friendly, Doubtful and Unfriendly to the cause of those who revolted against the Popular Front government. Classification Committees, conveniently installed within the concentration camps themselves, used information and endorsements furnished by 'patriotic entities' such as the clergy, the Civil Guard and the Falange in the prisoners' hometowns.

Prisoners of war could be interned for as long as it took for their classification process to be completed, or as long as was economically feasible for the Francoist state to maintain. The latter criterion was soon easily resolved by subjecting the prisoners to forced labour. Those classified as 'friendly' were immediately sent back to the front, to fight in Franco's army. Those found to be 'unfriendly' were tried before a summary

military court and subsequently sentenced to a prison term or death. In between were all those who could not be investigated due to a lack of evidence. However, since 'everyone was necessary for Victory', the 'Doubtful' lot were subjected to forced labour under a pseudo-legal formula patently influenced by fascist social and labour doctrine in which prisoners were granted the *obligation-right* (*sic*) to work. Assignment to the Workers' Battalions (the name given to the forced labour squads) did not involve any type of judicial sentence. While their classifications were being processed, the prisoners of war were simply put to work. By mid-1937 three Workers' Battalions were operating, though just a fraction of the dozens that would be formed and exploited on Franco's home front until well into 1942[13].

Consolidation and institutionalization of the camps was fluctuating and problematic. In 1937, as the war shifted north, most internment centres were set up in Navarre, the Basque Country, Galicia and Castile. Among them, the Burgos camp at the Monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, which would soon be used for prisoners from the International Brigades. New regulations enabled the organisation of the first Workers' Battalions in June 1937, and new camps were installed on the home fronts of Aragon, Extremadura and Castile. On June 29, 1937, two days before Franco's troops approached the limits of the province of Santander, Franco set up the Prisoner Concentration Camps Inspectorate (*Inspección de Campos de Concentración,* ICCP), under the command of Colonel Luis de Martín Pinillos. Though no empirical or

[13] On forced labour in Spain, see Badia, Francesc. *Els camps de treball a Catalunya durant la guerra civil (1936-1939)*. Barcelona : L'Abadia de Montserrat, 2001. This is possibly the only monograph published to date on the treatment of POWs in Republican territory. This is, therefore, a subject on which there is an insufficient and inadequate bibliography, not enough to venture, for the moment, a comparative analysis of both concentrationary or forced labour systems. See also Acosta, Gonzalo et. Al. *El canal de los presos (1940-1962). Trabajos forzados: de la represión política a la explotación económica*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2004. Mendiola, Fernando and Beaumont, Edurne. *Esclavos del franquismo en el Pirineo. La carretera Idal-Vidángoz-Roncal (1939-1941)*. Tafalla: Txalaparta, 2006. Rodríguez, Domingo. "Los espacios de reclusión en Galicia. Prisiones y campos de concentración." In *Lo que han hecho en Galicia. Violencia política, represión y exilio, 1936-1939*, eds. Jesús de Juana and Julio Prada, 187—223. Barcelona: Crítica, 2006.

documentary evidence has been found to show any direct relationships or inspiration, this is eerily reminiscent of Eicke's Nazi Inspectorate of 1934. The ICCP was immediately given the responsibility for handling some 11,000 already interned prisoners. They came under centralized control a year after the start of the war and over six months after the opening of the first camps.

With the creation of the Inspectorate, the concentration camp system shifted from a provisional phase to one of stabilisation and growth. The immense majority of prisoners of war taken in the north of the peninsula were held in the camps. Soon after it was set up, the ICCP was already administering a prison population of some 70,000 men. By 1938 over 200,000 prisoners had been interned and classified, according to official figures. By the end of that year, there were 65 Workers' Battalions on the Nationalist home front, with 34,000 prisoners integrated into a war economy that forced them to carry out what in effect was slave labour. As Franco's victory became visible from 1938 onwards, these prisoners, the 'reds' and the 'deluded', became the first link in the long chain of defeat. In January of that year, Franco took fresh initiative and sent Martín Pinillos' ICCP to prepare the way by establishing camps throughout Aragon, Castile and Andalusia. With territorial advances and war manoeuvres, from the collapse of the Aragonese front to the Catalonia offensive, the number of prisoners housed in camps and assigned to work battalions sharply increased throughout 1938. By mid-year, over 166,000 prisoners had passed through camps, in some cases exceeding the 'hygiene' capacities recommended by the ICCP by 140- 230%. This did not seem to concern the concentration camp authorities. In early 1939, what would be known as the 'Year of Victory', a total of 277,103 prisoners were being administered by the ICCP in concentration camps, with 90,000 men in Workers' Battalions[14].

[14] Official sources can be found in military archives (mostly in Ávila), mainly produced by the ICCP and the Francoist Ministry of the Army. The system of forced labor is also described in the military and civil

Franco's camps were set up as needed, in constant step with the arrival of prisoners of war on the Nationalist home front. The advantages of a stable network of camps were soon obvious: they were cheaper, more versatile, more expandable and easier to organise than a prison. It soon became necessary to formulate special rules, intern the prisoners in controlled spaces, and outfit new camps. At the beginning of 1939 the decision was made to set up new camps for the final occupation of Catalonia. Catalan prisoners were evacuated by boat to the opposite end of the Iberian Peninsula. With the fall of Barcelona to Franco on 26 January 1939, over 180,000 prisoners were crowded into the camps. Sixty new provisional ICCP internment centres were set up and filled throughout Spain. As the final defeat of the Republic loomed on the horizon after January, half a million people more found themselves on the road to exile in France. Franco's troops were launched against republican units and found very little difficulty occupying the cities that were still holding out, such as Madrid. By April 1 the entire national territory was in Franco's hands. His war plan, formulated in November 1936 in light of Madrid's resistance to the coup d'état, had resulted in victory. Franco's final war report, 'Red army captured and disarmed', succinctly announced the end of the war.

In less than a month 140,000 more prisoners joined the ranks of those purged by the New Spain. With such an immense backlog, the momentum of classification, repression and exploitation initiated in early 1937 was maintained until at least 1942, when prisoners of war were no longer the responsibility of the winning army. By then, most of the camps had closed down and the last prisoners of 1939 had cleared their 'debt' to Franco's Spain with forced labour. Many had died before the firing squad in

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documents of the Ministries of Labour and Government. Additionally, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs there is much documentation relating to foreign internees in the Spanish camps. All the information here comes from the Ávila military archive, mostly from the *Jefatura de Movilización, Instrucción y Recuperación*, the *Cuartel General del Generalísimo*, and the *Ministerio del Ejército* files, for Civil War and postwar periods, respectively.

the immediate post-war period. Many more had died in prison. Thousands were released on parole and subjected to the closest, most ruthless and humiliating vigilance of all: the scrutiny of their neighbours. The figures alone seem to show this: in the ICCP camps alone in July 1939 there were over 70,000 inmates, which gives an idea of the camp population in the immediate post-war period, while during the war the monthly average in the camps was usually between 35,000 and 45,000 prisoners.

Period	Prisoners taken	Interned in camps
July 1936 - April 1937	Minimum 11,000	
1937-Northern offensive	90,000 estimated.	Minimum 101,000
Through July 1938	Minimum 65,000	Minimum 166,000
February 1939		Minimum 277,000
March 1939	Minimum 100,000	Minimum 367,000
Total Minimum		367,000
1939-Victory offensive	140,000 estimated	
Estimated Total-1939		507,000
Second World War		20,000
Estimated Total-1947		527,000

Sources: personal elaboration from documentary sources: Movilización, Instrucción y Recuperación, Cuartel General del Generalísimo (Ávila Military Archive) and Foreign Affairs Ministry Archive, Madrid.

With the military operations over, the concentration camp system and the ICCP was re-structured. Many camps were closed in November, 1939, leaving the big concentration camp at Miranda de Ebro, a handful (nine) of other centres and a network of forced labour that was maintained until the end of the 1940s. But the impracticality of a rapid dismantlement soon became obvious and international variables also played a part in the rebirth of the Francoist concentration camp system. It was not just the thousands of Spaniards returning from exile, but also the growing number of refugees

from France. Between 1939 and 1947 there were as many as 20,000 inmates in the Miranda de Ebro camp, including civilian refugees (as well as Jews), allied military personnel and, towards the end, German soldiers from the units guarding the Pyrenean border with occupied France in 1944. These centres were no longer fascists camps set up for a civil war, but for a world war. The question of the refugees in Spain thus became a key element in Franco's relations with both Germany and the allies. Franco let the course of the war determine the destiny of Miranda de Ebro; first by siding with the Germans and delivering prisoners across the Franco-Spanish border, later with the allies.

The final closure of the Miranda de Ebro camp in 1947 ended the Francoist concentration camp model. But that was not the end of forced labour in Spain, or of enclosures and camps that we could probably call labour camps, such as those organized under official structures such as Devastated Regions, Penal Colonies and Penal Detachments. The Franco administration used these for building defensive trenches and bunkers, bridges, mines, roads, hydro canals, entire towns (such as Belchite and Brunete) as well as his own mausoleum at Cuelgamuros, the famous Valley of the Fallen[15]. There was certainly no shortage of manpower.

Social functions.

Francoist camps operated during the Civil War as administrative units under military jurisdiction. Their functional nature defined the *solution* of the Army and the Francoist state-at-war to the problem posed by the enormous volume of military prisoners, as well

[15] Paradoxically, very little historical literature has addressed the issue of the construction of the Valley of the Fallen. Among the few existing highlights the work of the journalist Sueiro, Daniel. *El Valle de los Caídos*. Barcelona: Argos-Vergara, 1989, reed. *El Valle de los Caídos. Los secretos de la cripta franquista*, Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2006.

as the need for social and political purging. In both civil and total war, a prison labourer working on the home front was as important as a soldier on the front line. No one could pass up the chance to put such a large contingent of potential soldiers and slave labourers to work defeating their own cause. Thus, the unregulated violence meted out to prisoners of the partially unsuccessful coup d'état and the column warfare during the first few months gradually gave way to the regulated re-use and eventual consolidation of resources in the ICCP. These somewhat prosaic reasons for creating a structured system of prisoner internment led to social, political or identity-related considerations. In contempt of the 1929 Geneva Convention, anyone who was not friendly to the cause of the New State could be detained. All this camp bureaucracy was directed towards fixed ends, established interests and clear goals, ranging from political to military to ideological to moral. They converged in one purpose: the construction of Franco's New Spain.

Historiographically speaking, the greatest progress in the last few years has been the reassessment of the worth and weight of the phenomena of fascist and revolutionary violence, judicial, political and cultural repression, and moral and political re-education during the 1936 coup d'état, the subsequent Civil War and General Franco's long dictatorship. Violence has proven to be the rock upon which the Franco regime was built, and one of the main reasons for its longevity. Violence was a crucial mechanism for regenerating the nation and community, for separating, excluding or eliminating propitiatory victims and for the fascistization of the State[16]. Terror was the preferred instrument of power during the Civil War and Franco's dictatorship, due to its relational, communicative, novel and pedagogic nature as well as its massive and collective character. However, the murders, elimination and transformation needed a

[16] Gallego, Ferran. "Fascismo, antifascismo y fascistización. La crisis de 1934 y la definición política del periodo de entreguerras." In *De un Octubre a otro. Revolución y fascismo en el periodo de entreguerras, 1917-1934*, ed. Martín, José Luis and Andreassi, Alejandro, 281—354. Barcelona: El Viejo Topo, 2010.

prior and parallel construction of political cultures and identities to define and exclude the *other*, the enemy, and make violence acceptable[17]. Republican civilians or soldiers were not just eliminated, judged or punished for individual actions; lives were forfeit for belonging to the anti-Spain enemy camp or for representing the more or less stereotypical characteristics of it.

Central to the process of political and identitary re-education was the pathologisation of the internees, who were labelled as "feebleminded" but recoverable, in need of political salvation and healing[18]. The Franco camp phenomenon was intended to be re-educative: it was theoretically based on the instrumentation of everyday life through political and religious imposition. In fact, for some theorists involved in organizing the concentration camp system, religion was 'consubstantial', essential to the Hispanic character and the 'Spanish race'. The reports and propaganda sent by the ICCP to General Franco indicate that the 'mission' of introducing religion among prisoners of war was at the heart of the re-education process. Prisoner attendance at Mass on Sundays and holidays was mandatory whenever possible, seen as a way to combat the 'satanic propaganda' that had brutalized the 'real' Spanish people, who needed 'detoxifying with a different propaganda'. The 'apologetic, dogmatic' conference series given by priests and chaplains were very important in this process. They took place twice a day, in every camp, every day. In official documentation they are described as a 'simple but obviously effective' way to appeal to the 'intelligence, even the rarest, of listeners, and their sometimes refractory hearts' that had been

[17] On fascist violence and political culture, see Woodley, Daniel. *Fascism and political theory: critical perspectives on fascist ideology*. London: Routledge, 2009.

[18] Graham, Helen. "The Spanish Civil War, 1936-2003: the return of Republican memory." *Science & Society* 68-3 (2004): 313—28. The idea of salvation was very present in fascist literature in Spain. See Rodrigo, Javier. "Santa Guerra Civil. Identidad, relato y (para)historiografía de la Cruzada." In *Rebeldes y reaccionarios. Intelectuales, fascismo y derecha radical en Europa (1914-1956)*, Gallego, Ferran and Morente, Francisco eds. 181—211. Barcelona: El Viejo Topo, 2010. See in the same volume Gallego, Ferran. "Construyendo el pasado. La identidad del 18 de julio y la reflexión sobre la historia moderna en los años Cuarenta." 281—337. On fascist ideology and identity in Spain, see also Saz, Ismael. *España contra España. Los nacionalismos franquistas*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003.

'poisoned by atheist-Marxist propaganda'. Prisoners had to stand at attention, in perfect military formation for hours and hours, in any weather. God, it was said, had 'reserved his glory for those who keep his law, and the eternal punishment of hell for those who flout it'[19].

Historical literature has demonstrated that the logic of redemption, re-education and exploitation of prisoners of war pertained to a wider vision of the enemy that was reflected in different social, public education or charity policies and practises, including those directed at women or children[20]. The use of prisoner manpower, but also of women forced labour in Franco's jails, fit the pre-established fascist pattern of common exploitation of a specific enemy as a means of achieving the cohesion of the national community. One line of reasoning in fascist violence was the protection of the national community through the separation, isolation and exclusion of the 'sick' part of society. Among the pseudoscientific corpus of this exclusion is Dr. Vallejo Nágera's psychosocial research in the San Pedro de Cardeña camp for International Brigadiers; where he sought to 'find the relationships that [might] exist between the biopsychic qualities' of the prisoners and 'democratic-communist political fanaticism'. Based on his research, 'de-Marxistization' programs were launched with the idea that 'political democratic-Marxist fanaticism' was curable through separation and re-education[21].

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[19] Taken from Ávila general Military Archive, *Cuartel General del Generalísimo*, Armario 1, Legajo 16, Carpeta 3. On the Catholic Church and the Rebels, see Raguer, Hilari. *La pólvora y el incienso. La Iglesia y la Guerra Civil española (1936-1939)*. Barcelona: Península, 2001.

[20] Cenarro, Ángela. "Memories of repression and resistance: narratives of children institutionalized by Auxillio Social in Postwar Spain." *History and Memory* 20, 2 (2008): 39—60. Pinto, Derrin. "Indoctrinating the youth of post-war Spain: A discourse analysis of a Fascist civics textbook." Discourse and Society 15, 5 (2004): 649—667.

[21] Vallejo's hypothesis is in Vallejo Nágera, Antonio. "Biopsiquismo del fanatismo marxista." *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra* 4 (1938), 267—277. Conclusions, in Vallejo Nágera, Antonio. *La locura y la guerra. Psicopatología de la guerra española*. Valladolid: Librería Santorán, 1939. See Bandrés, Javier and Llavona, Rafael. "La psicología en los campos de Concentración de Franco." *Psicothema* VIII, 1 (1996): 1—11. Álvarez, Rafael. "Eugenesia y fascismo en la España de los años treinta". In *Ciencia y fascismo*, ed. Rafael Huertas and Carmen Ortiz, 77—95. Madrid: Doce Calles, 1998. Huertas, Rafael. "Una nueva Inquisición para un Nuevo Estado: psiquiatría y orden social en la obra de Antonio Vallejo Nágera". In *Ciencia y fascismo*, ed. Rafael Huertas and Carmen Ortiz, 97—109. Madrid: Doce Calles, 1998. Richards, Michael. "Morality and Biology in the Spanish Civil War:

The proliferation of stereotyped images of the enemy was very habitual during the Civil War. They were developed to identify the 'degenerate, depraved and abnormal' subjects who were refractory to the 'Glorious Movement'. This involved assimilation of recognisable stereotypes that demonized, barbarized and ultimately de-humanized the enemy, justifying elimination. This new framework of opportunities defined enemy and friend, overcoming and sacrificing taboos regarding use of violence on the altar of fascist revolution. The object of this structural and objective violence was similar to the objectivisation that occurred in peacetime Germany, but accelerated by the need for total territorial occupation. It extended to communists, anarchists, socialists, republicans and all who had participated in the revolutionary 'festivities' and transgressions of Catholic habits, including women who questioned conservative stereotypes. The enemy, circumscribed and rapidly de-humanised, would then be prophylactically exterminated, preventively expulsed or paternalistically redeemed within the national community according to individual or supra-individual criteria[22]. As early as 1936, the Chief Inspector of the ICCP committed to the Rebels the task of 're-hispanicizing' these men[23]. The New Spain had its own places for those caught in the various crimes, sins, errors or deviations of society. It was not a compartmentalized system but a network of specialized nodes for greater efficiency, which was the essence of fascist violence[24].

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psychiatrists, revolution and women prisoners in Málaga. *Contemporary European history*, 10, 3 (2001), 395—421.

[22] On otherness and its images, see Ugarte, Javier. *La nueva Covadonga insurgente. Orígenes sociales y culturales de la sublevación de 1936 en Navarra y el País Vasco*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1998. Núñez Seixas, Xosé Manoel. "Nations in arms against the invader: on nationalist discourses during the Spanish civil war." In *The splintering of Spain. Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*, eds. Chris Ealham and Michael Richards, 45—67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Núñez Seixas, Xosé Manoel. *¡Fuera el invasor! Nacionalismos y movilización bélica en la Guerra Civil española, 1936-1939*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006; Sevillano, Francisco. *Rojos. La representación del enemigo en la Guerra Civil*. Madrid: Alianza, 2007.

[23] Ávila general Military Archive, *Cuartel General del Generalísimo*, Armario 1, Legajo 16, Carpeta 3.

[24] Traverso, Enzo. *A ferro e fuoco. La guerra civile europea 1914-1945*. Bolonia: Il Mulino, 2007.

The image of the enemy was the central element in a sort of fascist rearguard war culture articulated around the exercise of violence. The social and identitary substrate from which a Spanish style of fascism germinated involved a cult of the fallen, the exaltation of a charismatic leader, the perception of life and identity as one of permanent combat with an enemy or propitiatory victim, and the construction of a palingenesic narrative that served as a coherent, intelligible legitimiser and mobiliser[25]. Compared to Italy or Germany, the speed and possibility of expelling marginal elements from the fascist national community in Spain were of a different order. Like German fascism, for example, full legitimisation of violence for pillaging and robbing the defeated or propitiatory victims was intended. A strong national community of Victory was constructed on this, one that merged demonization and pillaging of the enemy with exclusion and exploitation of the *other*. Furthermore, as in other fascisms, these cultures served to construct and positively nurture collective loyalties and ideals that translated into a very intense and sometimes euphoric experience of modernity. This included the mobilised and passive civilian population, the rearguard and front line volunteers, pre-war fascists and wartime fascistized society. The concrete, unifying and egalitarian utopias intended for those who lived within but did not *suffer* the process of fascistization were elements of a process that sacralised politics, the nation, the State or ideology, making them objects of cult and devotion, a centre for ritual and belief. In an era of mass politics, in Spain a permanent and expansive bond was forged with the wartime context, the origin and necessary framework for the use and justification of mechanisms of political violence[26].

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[25] Griffin, Roger. *The nature of Fascism*. London: Routledge, 1993.

[26] Gentile, Emilio. *Le religioni della politica. Fra democrazie e totalitarismi*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2001; Saz, Ismael. "Religión política y religión católica en el fascismo español." In *Religión y política en la España contemporánea*, ed. Carolyn P. Boyd, 33—55. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2007. Stephenson, Jill. "Inclusion: building the nacional community in propaganda and

Before completing its first year, the ICCP had implemented a coherent macro project of social transformation. As the first element of the social laboratory that had evolved from the Nationalist punishment system designed to create a new order based on control, mutual interest and coercion, the concentration camps fulfilled a social role of indoctrination, re-education and submission[27]. This crystallised into specific, defined experiences for the internees. Official documentation describes the different dimensions of the social project that was intended: an experience of physical elimination, ideological brainwashing and daily torture that went beyond political-military classification. Through projects such as the 'study of the Marxist bio-psyche', political re-education, re-Catholicisation and de-Marxistisation, they would become a veritable role model for social and identity reorganisation, a field laboratory for the New Spain, run by the victors of the Civil War. Their social and legal role was neither punitive nor reactive, as was the case with simple prison confinement, but rather pre-emptive. Human classification and transformation was the gravitational axis and internment and forced labour the ultimate end. Though it was known that fascist systems of forced labour were generally less effective than unforced labour, forced labour provided total control over the production chain and the work done. Above all, forced labour was a vehicle for extermination or re-education according to the needs of the State and, as in nearly all European fascist exclusion practices, to clearly identify *them* and *us*, which determined integration or expulsion.

Apart from classification, internment, labour and re-education, there was the underlying and horrifying condition of being a prisoner. To be a prisoner was to be

practice." In *Nazi Germany*, ed. Jane Caplan, 99—121. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. Ebner, Michael R. *Ordinary violence in Mussolini's Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

[27] On the culture of violence and submission, see Richards, Michael. *A time of silence. Civil war and the culture of repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998. Cobo, Francisco and Ortega, Teresa María. "Muerte purificadora y regeneración patria. La visión sublimada de la guerra civil y la legitimación de la violencia desde la España nacionalista, 1936-1939." In *Ayeres en discusión. Temas clave de la historia contemporánea hoy*, ed. Encarna Nicolás, electronic format. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.

condemned *sine die* to hunger, winter cold and summer heat, beatings, interrogations, fascist chants and endless line-ups, lice, chronic constipation for lack of water, disease, thirst, boredom, fear of accusation and informers. Prisoners were condemned to physical and moral wretchedness in the hands of lawless captors on a mission to purge, re-educate and exploit the nation's enemies, the *totum revolutum* known as the 'anti-Spain'. This misery was not administered indifferently; physical and moral punishment - through beatings, thirst or hunger - was the currency in which those excluded from the national community were expected to pay their debt[28].

Thus Francoist camps were vehicles for re-nationalisation, transformation or expulsion through the use of violence. Punishment was not spontaneous; there was a harsh and comprehensive code regulating life in the camps. It began with imprisonment itself, continued through internment and political/religious re-education with 'refutation of Marxism' courses and 'religious-patriotic' lectures, and ultimately led to forced labour, jail, parole or death. Lack of foresight by the camp commanders caused prisoners to be subjected to a living hell, while the punishment that Spanish fascism reserved for the 'anti-Spain' included camp '*sacas*', or shooting gallery-type firing squads with the prisoners on parade, '*parrillas*' (grills), or barbed wire enclosures in the sun where unruly prisoners were deprived of food and water, night-time shootings, along with more mundane things such as lice, severe constipation due to dehydration and disease.

In oral histories, epistolary sources, and secondary and memorial literature there are gruesome examples, such as that of a prisoner flayed in a series of beatings until his

[28] On the idea of national fascist community in Spain, see Morente, Francisco. *Dionisio Ridruejo. Del fascismo al antifranquismo*. Madrid: Síntesis, 2006, in particular page 226. On the construction of fascist national communities deal Falasca-Zamponi, Simonetta. *Fascist spectacle. The aesthetics of power in Mussolini's Italy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, Fritzsche, Peter. *Germans into Nazis*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1998, and Id. *Life and death the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.

lungs were visible in open wounds, then left by his torturers with his shirt sticking to his lacerations. In another camp, San Juan de Mozarrifar, all prisoners who failed to remove their headgear while the fascist anthem *Cara al Sol* was being sung were tied by the wrists to the flagstaff. The commander of the Albatera camp explicitly told his inmates that "for every one that escapes, I will shoot ten. I shall turn this camp into a cemetery". Indeed, in front of 12,000 prisoners he ordered the shooting of one escapee, four anarchists and another inmate who allegedly disobeyed the night curfew to go to the latrines. In the Castuera camp at the end of the war, the prisoners went six days without food. In all the camps, the *cabos de vara* would with impunity beat the internees for the most outlandish reasons. Robert Steck, an American, was beaten until his back was covered in bruises and lesions because he failed to kneel during Mass in the San Pedro de Cardeña camp.

Franco's entire concentration camp system was a risky venture. Illegal and arbitrary, badly managed and with very few resources, it entailed human overcrowding without swift justice, maintaining humiliating conditions in which torture was the order of the day. Lice, cold, hunger, thirst, humiliation and punishment defined the existence of internees in over 100 permanent camps in Franco's Spain. In this respect, they were very similar to other fascist concentration camp systems, as spaces where pain was the therapy against real, potential or imaginary dissidence[29]. The mass exclusion of the vanquished was a foundational model of the Francoist regime, and was implemented in the form of concentration camps. Internment, overcrowding, classification, torture,

[29]Among a long list of memorial literature, see the examples in Elstob, Peter. *Spanish prisoner*. London: Mc Millan, 1939. Leiva, José. *El nombre de dios, de España y de Franco. Memorias de un condenado a muerte*. Buenos Aires, Unión Socialista Libertaria, 1948. Mugueza, José M. *De Euskadi al campo de exterminio (memorias de un gudari)*. San Sebastian: L. Haramburu, 1977. Torres, Manuel. Mis tres años de prisionero. Valencia: J. Marí, 1982. Sorribas, Joan. *Cridaré Visca Catalunya Lliure!* Barcelona: El Llamp, 1988. Agudo, Sixto. Memorias *(la tenaz y dolorosa lucha por la libertad, 1939-1962)*. Huesca, Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1991. Geiser, Carl. *Prisoners of the good fight. Americans against Franco fascism*. Westport: Lawrence Hill, 1986.

cleansing, re-education and re-evangelisation all worked together in the ICCP camps to teach real or potential dissidents their true place in Franco's New Spain.

International and theoretical context.

Following a tradition begun by Hannah Arendt, many historians of genocide have found cultural roots of *eliminationist* policies and annihilation campaigns in colonial practices[30]. Mass deaths such as those of the 1825-1830 Java War (in which some 200,000 villagers died at the hands of the Dutch army), those in 1840 in Algeria, the decimation of the indigenous population of California from 85,000 to 35,000 people between 1852 and 1860, the elimination of more than 100,000 indigenous Mozambicans by the Portuguese army in the late 19th century or the 1898 killing of nearly 11,000 Sudanese soldiers by the machine-guns of the British army are interpreted as complete or partial "genocide"; though perhaps it is stretching a complex category excessively. Unlike the genocide involving identification/forced displacement/confinement/murder carried out against the Armenian population in Turkey during the First World War, the 1904-06 extermination of the Herero people in southwest Africa by German troops is undoubtedly a *colonial* genocide. It was the first 20th-century case to follow the scheme of confinement, occupation of lands, labour exploitation, and segregation. After the unsuccessful 1904 revolt against German farmers, it included deportation and annihilation, reducing the Herero population from 80,000 to 16,000[31].

[30] Gelatelly, Robert and Kiernan, Ben eds. *The spectre of Genocide: Mass murder in historical perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; Baldissara, Luca and Pezzino, Paolo eds. *Crimini e memorie di guerra. Violenze contro le popolazioni e politiche del ricordo*. Naples: L'Ancora del Mediterraneo, 2004; Totten, Samuel and Parsons, William S. eds. *Century of Genocide. Critical essays and eyewitness accounts*. London and New York: Routledge, 2009 [1997]. Langbehn, Volker and Salama, Mohammad eds. German Colonialism. *Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

[31] Zimmerer, Jurgen, Zeller, Joachim and Neather, Edward. *Genocide in German South-West Africa: the colonial war (1904-1908) in Namibia and its aftermath*. London: Merlin Press, 2008.

Interpretation of continuity between colonial, authoritarian and totalitarian camps has been less successful. The concept of the concentration camp refers not so much to a place with a set of uniform features over space and time as to the *status* that has been conferred on such a place[32]. It was consolidated as a regular feature of warfare between the Cuban War of Independence and the Great War. In fact, the history of concentration camps in Europe created a frame of reference, expectations of a result and, in short, a set of objectives that were both *open* and also *predetermined*. This is not a short-sighted, contrived standardisation of the concept, like Kotek and Rigoulot's, but an observation based on the literature and secondary sources dealing with State violence in inter-war Europe[33]. Concentration camps were common wartime responses, though with distinct features in each phenomenon and historical process. In the Spanish case, they accompanied a long-lasting, internal war. They also had a cumulative history, with lessons learned, discontinuities and adaptations to the contexts in which they developed[34].

There is no empirical evidence, only piecemeal information, that points to a *de facto* continuity between Valeriano Weyler's re-concentration policy during the Cuban War of Independence in 1898 and the concentration camp experience in Spain or elsewhere. However, transnational collective learning clearly was and is a possibility[35]. Two main characteristics of 20th century warfare are the targeting of civilian populations and the full-scale emergence of concentration camp systems and forced labour for prisoners of war. The Great War of 1914-18 played a major part in this

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[32] One of the best books on the general history of concentration camps, and its relationships both with the changes within the "art" of war in the 20th Century and with State political violence, is Kaminsky, Andrej J. *Konzentrationslager 1896 bis heute. Eine analyse*. Stuttgart : Kohlhammer, 1982.

[33] Kotek, Jöel and Pierre Rigoulot. *Le Siècle des Camps*. Paris: JC Lattes, 2000. They follow the tradition inaugurated by Rousset, David. *L'univers concentrationnaire*. Paris: Le Pavois, 1948.

[34] Rodrigo, Javier. "Espejos deformantes. Explotación y limpieza social: hacia un modelo concentracionario fascista." *Historia Social* 66 (2010): 81—98.

[35] Mann, Michael. *The Dark Side* of Democracy. *Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

process, as the generator of new schemes, possibilities and learning experiences for collective punishment[36]. Alan Kramer describes how hundreds of thousands of military personnel and civilians were interned in concentration camps during World War I. Civilian and military internees were separated from their territory to prevent (re)incorporation into their armies and subjected to forced labour, exploitation, social humiliation, control and re-education. Thousands upon thousands of men and women - French, Belgian, Russian, Austrian, Polish, Lithuanians- were forced to work digging trenches, or building fortifications, roads and railways[37].

This engendered an acceptance of the concentration camp as a vehicle for confinement and an appreciation of its economic value within the framework of total war. The driving forces behind violence in the interwar years resulted in increasing radicalisation of war, which likewise identified itself with the growing tendency toward systematic and complete exploitation of the civilian enemy and the resources of the occupied territory[38]. The concentration camps symbolised the transformation and radicalisation of the politics of occupation,[39] which extended from the treatment of political prisoners and prisoners of war to the deportation of civilians, from forced labour in extreme conditions to the hunger and misery occupied people were subjected to. Concentration camps also came to serve as a space for social cleansing and internal politics. Good examples of this are the Soviet camps, which pre-date the fascist ones and arose from the two-fold experience of the Great War and the Russian Civil War.

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[36] Bartov, Omer. *Murder in our Midst. The Holocaust, industrial killing, and representation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996; Becker, Annette. "Le deportazioni dai territori occupati." In *Le guerre del Novecento*, ed. Gabriella Gribaudi, 57—66. Naples: L'Ancora del Mediterraneo, 2007.

[37] Kramer, Alan. *Dynamic of destruction*, 45.

[38] On barbarisation, see Mosse, George L. *Toward the final solution. A history of European racism*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons LTD., 1978, and Bartov, Omer. *The Eastern Front, 1941-1945, German troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare*. New York: Palgrave, 1985. See also Herbert, Ulrich. *Hitler's foreign Workers. Enforced foreign Labour in Germany under the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Neier, Aryeh. "War and War Crimes." In *Crimes of war. Guilt and Denial in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Bartov, Omer, Atina Grossmann, Mary Nolan, 1—7, New York: New Press, 2002. Gribaudi, Gabriella (ed.). *Le guerre del Novecento*. Naples: L'Ancora del Mediterraneo, 2007

[39] Kramer, Alan. *Dynamic of destruction*.

Without going so far as to consider them revisionistically as the *fons et origo* of Auschwitz, they do offer lines of continuity which need to be explored, even if only to identify the differences[40].

In the interest of fairness, it is also true that concentration camps began in a society and under political, social and identity criteria that were radically different from the European circumstances that emerged under fascist regimes. In Europe, it was the fascist regimes that took concentration camp systems and forced labour to their apogee and succeeded in identifying these phenomena with the political nature of their power as part of a master plan of radical social, cultural and human restructuring. Force combined with the construction of a strong, standardised national community had sustained the fascist regimes most effectively since 1922, but especially since the almost simultaneous radicalisation of fascism in Italy with the rise of national socialism in Germany; followed by the Rebel triumph in Spain and the expansion of fascism under the aegis of German occupation during World War II in places such as France, Hungary and Romania. In the purest fascist style, fascist national community was constructed on the common exploitation of its enemies, and the connections between the fascist project for society and internment enable us to suggest the existence of a fascist internment policy, in the form of concentration camps as a space for exclusion,

[40] Like most of the fascist camps, they were not exclusively devoted to extermination: the death of approximately 3 million people in the Gulag archipelago, as against the 18 million who passed through it, indicates that forced labor, even though carried out in the harshest of conditions that in many cases easily surpassed those of the fascist camps, did not symbolize a practice of systematic, supraindividual and preventive extermination – compared to other Stalinist policies that openly practiced extermination, such as *dekulakisation* or famine in Ukraine; the Gulags were not so much devoted to extermination as to brutal re-education. Bacon, Edwin. *The gulag at war. Stalin's forced labour system in the ligth of the archive*. London: Macmillan, 1994; Applebaum, Anne. *GULAG. A History*. Doubleday, 2003; Davies, Robert W. and Stephen G. Wheatcroft. *The Years of Hunger. Soviet Agriculture, 1931-1933*. London: Macmillan, 2004.

regeneration of society and collective exploitation of the common enemy. The exception to this would be the extermination policy of the *Aktion Reinhard* camps[41].

The Spanish case demonstrates that not all fascist violence was genocidal, thus not all fascist concentration camp and forced labour systems were designed for destruction of or extreme violence against the *other*. The camp systems had a diversity of mechanisms and met diverse needs; not even in Germany did they all constitute an inexorable remotely-operated descent into the inferno of death camps[42]. However, no fascist regime ever renounced the palingenesic construction of a nation based on a biological and historical community of similar individuals threatened by foreign elements that were effectively, lethally and systematically[43] combated by means of an *eliminationist* power base. The German case and its shift from the *Dachau Model* to extreme labour exploitation and genocide is the best known[44]; but other, quieter processes were occurring in the same timeframe. There were the deportations from camps, such as Ferramonti, in Italy[45]; the *Italianisation*, *de-Balkanisation* and cleansing

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[41] Aly, Götz. "Planning Intelligentsia and Final Solution." In *The Holocaust*, ed. Bartov, Omer, 92—105. Wachsmann, Nikolaus. *Hitler's prisons. Legal Terror in Nazi Germany*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004. Feldman, Gerald D. and Seibel, Wolfgang (eds). *Networks of Nazi persecution. Bureaucracy, Business and the Organization of the Holocaust*. Oxford and New York: Berghan Books, 2006. Allen, Michael Thad. *The Business of Genocide. The SS, Slave Labor, and the concentration camps*. London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

[42] Gellately, Robert. *Backing Hitler. Consent and coercion in Nazi Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Vid. also Aly, Götz, and Sussanne Heim. *Architects of Annihilation. Auschwitz and the logic of destruction*. London: Phoenix, 1991; Aly, Götz. *Final Solution: Nazi population policy and the murder of the European Jews*. London: Hodder Arnold, 1999; Herbert, Ulrich, *National Socialist extermination policies. Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2004; Browning, Charles R. *The Origins of the Final Solution. The evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004. Of course, vid. Friedländer, Saul. *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939*. New York: HarperCollins, 1997 and *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945*. New York: HarperCollins, 2007; Hilberg, Raul. *The destruction of the European Jews*, Yale: Yale University Press, 1961; Sofsky, Wolfgang: *The order of terror: the Concentration Camp*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

[43] Kallis, Aristotle. *Genocide and fascism. The eliminationist drive in Fascist Europe*. Routledge: New York, 2009, 19. Kallis, Aristotle. "The 'Regime-model' of Fascism. A typology." In *Comparative Fascist Studies. New perspectives*, ed. Iordachi, Costantin, London: Routledge, 2010, 215—37.

[44] Marcuse, Harold. *Legacies of Dachau. The uses and abuses of a concentration camp, 1933-2001*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. The best works on this topic belong to Wachsmann, Nikolaus. "The policy of exclusion: repression in the Nazi State, 1933-1939." In *Nazi Germany*, ed. Caplan, Jane, 122—45, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

[45] The Italian Jews experienced a a deportation process that ended up with the same percentages of deaths as in France: a quarter of the Jewish population: Mayda, Giuseppe. *Storia della Deportazione dall'Italia,*

of Slovenia (the replacement and transformation of occupied Slavic society by means of racial violence at the hands of Roatta's army)[46]; the political cleansing of Ante Pavelic's Croatian Ustaše, not only its own population but also the Slovenes expelled to Croatia; the elimination and re-education of the Spanish *reds* on a home front that had been fascistized by violence; the *Romanisation*, through murder and internment, of the Ukrainian territory handed over to Antonescu's Romania to avoid the dispute with Hungary over Transylvania[47]; or the *Magyarisation* of Horty's Hungary by means of the standardisation of identity, language and race[48].

Each of these unique experiences were heavily influenced from the outside, and taken as a whole composed a panorama of violent expansion of fascism in Europe. The fascist violence in Croatia, Hungary, Romania and Serbia, geographical areas allied with the fascist Axis or occupied by the Reich and where concentration camps such as Kirstacsa, Nish and Sajmiste proliferated, should be included in the analysis of the dynamics determining the nature of fascism in Europe, along with the classic examples of Italy and Germany. Spain should also be included, at least in the period until 1945. There were clear differences between the various European fascisms due to specific historical and power characteristics, but these differences were essentially of *degree*. The study of fascist violence with the concentration camp as a model leads us to believe

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1943-1945. Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2002; Matard-Bonucci, Marie-Anne. *L'Italia fascista e la persecuzione degli ebrei*. Bolonia: Il Mulino, 2008; Di Sante, Costantino. *I campi di concentramento in Italia. Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940-1945)*. Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001; Capogreco, Carlo Spartaco. *I campi del Duce. L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940-1943)*. Turin: Einaudi, 2004. Capogreco, Carlo Spartaco. *Renucci. Un campo di concentramento in riva al Tenere (1942-1943)*. Cosenza: Fondazione Ferramonti, 1998.

[46] Di Sante, Costantino. *Italiani senza onore. I crimini in Jugoslavia e i processi negati (1941-1950)*, Ombre Corte, Verona, 2005; Kersevan, Alessandra. *Lager italiani. Pulizia etnica e campi di concentramento fascisti per civili jugoslavi 1941-1943*. Roma: Nutrimenti, 2008. Capogreco, Carlo Spartaco. "Internamento e deportazione dei civili jugoslavi." In *I campi*, ed. Di Sante, Costantino, 134—61.

[47] Nagy-Talavera, Nicholas M. *The Green Shirts and the Others. A History of Fascism in Hungary and Romania*. Iasi-Oxford-Portland: The Center for Romanian Studies, 2001. Solonari, Vladimir. *Purifying the Nation. Population exchange and ethnic cleansing in Nazi-allied Romania*. Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

[48] Mazower, Mark. *Hitler's Empire. Nazi rule in occupied Europe*. London: Penguin Books, 2008.

that it is concerned with processes seen as being parts of a whole, with a high degree of external influence, but also coherent with domestic traditions[49].

Concentration camps in Franco's Spain during and after the Civil war contributed a few developments to the general history of camps. As in World War I, they were the result of total war; but they also represented a fascist model of violence and coercion. Purging, protection of the fascist community, and transformation of society by violence were constants in both Spanish and European fascist camps. The Spanish Civil War was not an isolated conflict, impervious to its historical context. Writings about the 'European Civil War' have given prominence to the two world wars, but its defining features were at work in the various European civil wars or paramilitary confrontations of the twenties, thirties and forties[50]. These involve war between fascism and antifascism, the elimination of civilian populations, the escalation of violence, exceeding points of no return, and racial, social, political, cultural and identity-related relocation[51].

Thus, a model or fascist template for concentration camps and forced labour would have its own characteristics related to the European war, and dependent on the nature of fascism for its successful outcome. Furthermore, it would include characteristics related to the fascist potential for genocide; which was exercised by Germany on the Eastern Front during World War II and latent in the all-embracing control, re-education and extreme exploitation by fascist systems such as those of Spain,

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[49] Costa Pinto, Antonio. *Os Camisas Azuis. Ideologia, elites e movimentos fascistas em Portugal, 1914-1945*. Lisboa: Estampa, 1994, 309. On Greek camps under Metaxas and during the Civil War, see Voglis, Polimeris. *Becoming a subject: political prisoners in Greece in the Civil War, 1945-1950*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002. Also Voglis, Polimeris. "Between negation and self-negation: political prisoners in Greece, 1945-1950." In *After the war was over. Reconstructing the family, nation, and state in Greece, 1943-1960,* ed. Mazower, Mark. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

[50] Ranzato, Gabriele, ed. *Guerre fratricide. Le guerre civili in etá contemporanea*. Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1994, and Mazower, Mark. *Dark Continent. Europe's Twentieth Century*. London: Allen Lane, 1998.

[51] Paxton, Robert. "The five stages of Fascism." In *Journal of Modern Histoy*, 70 (1998), 1—23, also in *The Anatomy of Fascism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.

Hungary and Croatia[52]. The camps were used by fascist regimes at war as power bases for the palingenesic rebirth and cleansing of the nation; they also served to generally fulfil a unifying function, in the varying degrees of misery experienced by the inmates, from distress to dehumanisation.

Expiation, redemption, and suffering were the principles on which fascism based its claims on its victims. Fascism raised the European concentration camp experience to its purest form, combining economic, political and identity interests with the mechanisms of de-individualization and de-personalization in the internment setting. Obedience, total surrender, transformation and extermination were the common denominators, objectives and practices of Fascist concentration camps. Overcrowding, hunger, disease and punishment made daily life a ragged struggle not to *succumb*. Succumbing was the essence of European fascism and its darlings: concentration camps and forced labour. Surrender was the simplest thing to achieve, wrote Primo Levi; it required nothing more than following orders, and complying with discipline. The palingenesic fascist rebirth of a Nation required violence to cleanse society and safeguard the national community.

Half a million Spaniards and Europeans were to experience firsthand the Spanish version of the fascist concentration camp system.Concentration camps fit the bill perfectly: they were cheap, lawless, and adaptable. They were the perfect laboratory for Franco's New Spain. Rather than 'Homeland, bread and justice', the experience of the Francoist camps in wartime was one of disease, overcrowding and labour exploitation, re-education, hunger and violence: little bread, even less justice, and an exclusive Homeland.

[52] Kallis, Aristotle. *Fascism*.

The Miranda de Ebro Camp, Burgos.