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EL EXILIO REPUBLICANO Y LOS CAMPOS DE CONCENTRACIÓN NAZIS

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OLD CAMPS, NEW CONCENTRATIONS. 1939 SPANISH REPUBLICAN EXCLUSIONS AND TODAY'S REFUGEES

Viejos campos, nuevas concentraciones. 1939 Exclusiones republicanas
españolas y refugiados de hoy

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Resumen: La moderna tradición de desplazamientos forzados planetarios ha continuado durante este siglo, mientras los sistemas democráticos recortan derechos inalienables. No obstante, en *Manuscrito cuervo* de Max Aub, se lee: "es bien sabido que se acabaron las guerras y los campos de concentración". Esta irónica declaración coetánea a libros de Joaquim Amat-Piniella, Hannah Arendt, o Primo Levi sobre campos y totalitarismos, es premonitory de esta resiliencia del sistema concentracionario como forma generalizada de represión en nuestra modernidad. Mucho antes de que Giorgio Agamben la actualizara para su *homo sacer*, la experiencia de los republicanos de las Españas en campos de concentración de la Tercera República francesa y Vichy ya los había certificado y anticipado como método inherente de exclusión en una modernidad recortada en sus derechos.

Palabras clave: campos de concentración, internamiento, diásporas, memoria, modernidad.

Abstract: The modern tradition of forced planetary displacements has continued during the Twentieth First Century, while democratic systems curtail inalienable rights. Nevertheless, *The Crow Manuscript* by Max Aub, states that "it is well known that wars and concentration camps are long gone". This ironic declaration, contemporary to Joaquim Amat-Piniella's, Hannah Arendt's or Primo Levi's books about camps and totalitarianisms, is premonitory of the concentration system resilience as a generalized form of repression in modern times. Well before Giorgio Agamben refurbished the camp through his *homo sacer*, plural Spain Republicans' experiences in the French Third Republic and Vichy concentration camps had already anticipated and displayed them as an inherent method of modern exclusion and set back in rights.

Keywords concentration camps, internment, diasporas, memory, modernity.

THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES

The modern tradition of forced planetary displacements has not significantly been altered during the Twentieth First Century. Due to our liquid, postcolonial, globalized and transnational societies of the last century, a multitude of diasporas still display their tragic rags while democratic systems curtail their rights¹. All of the above carry the long term traces of the European Empires disintegration after World War One, the post World War Two (1945-1960) and Cold War resettlements (1948-1989), as well as the manifestations of diverse post Cold War and religious fundamentalisms (Islamic, and also Christian within the new Far Right European parties) after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the collapse of the Soviet block (1989-). But while during the Cold War, Western Europe was open to the refugees from the Soviet Bloc, today the European Union paradoxically rejects to its Middle East and African ex-colonies and borders of the former Soviet Empire (Hungary, Ukraine, the Balkans), the present flow of refugees that *new* western sponsored postcolonial *Islamic world* conflicts have exacerbated in Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Sudan, and/or Syria, etc. Furthermore, these rejections attempt to ignore the statutes of refugees backed by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and addressed within the Geneva Convention under the 1951 protection of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)². The

¹ See Zigmunt BAUMAN, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Cambridge, Polity, 1989, and *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2000, Rainer BAUBÖCK & Thomas FAIST. *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2010, Mireille DELMAS-MARTY. *Résister, responsabiliser, anticiper: Ou comment humaniser la mondialisation*, Paris, Seuil, 2013, and *Aux quatre vents du monde. Petit guide de navigation sur l'océan de la mondialisation*, Paris, Seuil, 2018 and Danièle LOCHAK, *Les droits de l'homme*, Paris, La Découverte, 2018.

² The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 guarantees a "right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution", and forbids the arbitrary deprivation of nationality. The Geneva Convention on Refugees of 1951 defined their status, accorded them specific rights, and prohibited their forced return from countries of refuge. Nevertheless, neither text based on individual universal rights, forces the states to admit the refugees who have the burden of the proof: "a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group

images of people flocking to our Eastern pseudo secured European borders (Hungary, Austria), desperately reaching our coasts (Greece, Italy, Spain) or drowning at sea, or being stopped by the *concertina* wires in Ceuta or Melilla, evoke those of close to half million Spanish Republican exiles at the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). In fact, it may be described as a revival of the 1930's refugee crisis that eventually was submerged by the *Final Solution*³. For example, the images of concentration camps along the French-Spanish border after the 1939 January-February Republican *Retirada* (Exodus), or being refused docking for months at the port of Oran in French Colonial Algeria after April of 1939, aboard overcrowded cargo ships like the *Stambrook*⁴.

Faced with human avalanches produced by new civil wars, comparable to those 1936-1939 Spanish distant outlander flows, -- the largest ever to have reached the metropolitan and colonial French soils and harbors --, we now witness the contradictions of national interests in a pseudo transnational space of free circulation through a globalized market. In our theoretical Europe without borders, the twentieth-century of refugees and displaced persons has been replaced by the twentieth-first century of diasporas and migrants: vulgarized euphemism for those newly disenfranchised groups of refugees expelled by the globalized economy and the geopolitical repercussions of violence to whom national states attempt to deny asylum.

or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him— or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution". UNHCR, "The 1951 Convention related to Refugees and its 1967 Protocol", (<http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/about-us/background/4ec262df9/1951-convention-relating-status-refugees-its-1967-protocol.html>) (25/05/ 2018).

³ Closure of borders and Jewish refugees desperately crossing the seas and attempting to disembark then (the Mediterranean and Alexandria, Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Curaçao, Shanghai, and the USA), vs. the Mediterranean today; 1929 economic depression and the post 2008 crisis; the phantoms of the Fifth Column (Communists, Anarchists, Nazis, Fascists), vs. Islamic terrorism; and a diplomatic appeasement with totalitarianisms (Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy) and today's externalization of asylum (Turkey, Khartoum Protocol {Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan}). For Jewish refugees' difficulties in being accepted see: Max AUB, *San Juan: Tragedia*. Segorbe, Anthropos, 1992, Gary, KOSAK, *For Zion's Sake: I Will not Keep Silent*, EE. UU., Xulon Press, 2003, and Olivier de MARLIAVE, *Les terres promises avant Israël: Du Suriname à L'Alaska, Du Kenya à La Mandchourie*, Paris, Imago, 2017, pp. 151-154, 167-175,

⁴ In our digital era, we share and dis-like images similar to Robert Capa's about those Republican refugees of plural Spain. I mean *Las Españas*: a multi-national state with diversified cultures and languages. For a discussion of the differences between state, nation, father-motherland, and empire, refer to José María RIDAO, *Contra la historia*, Madrid, Galaxia Gutenberg-Círculo de Lectores, 2009, and José María NAHARRO-CALDERÓN, *Entre alambradas y exilios. Sangrías de "las Españas" y terapias de Vichy*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2017.

During the last three decades, Spain traded five centuries of traditional emigration for immigration, while re-shifting its flows to the outside due to the 2008 economic crisis. But it has also been reluctant to accept refugees as the rest of the European Union, with the exception of Germany⁵.

The current restrictions due to political, economic and xenophobic pressures include a significant sector of European society, from Sweden Austria, Germany to Greece, and among the French, the voters of the Front National {National Front Party}, the Five Stars and The League amalgam in Italy, or the ultra right party in Spain, Vox, etc. These storms bring back echoes of the early 1900's decades of refugees. On the one hand, *de facto* stateless people from the new First World War *peace* frontiers; on the other, those *de jure* from the many persecutions of the first three decades: White Russians, Armenians, Italian Antifascists, German, Austrian and Czechoslovakian Anti-Nazis, and Spanish Republicans, etc. The latter were coherently fearful of Franco's February 13, 1939 Law of Political Responsibilities. These so-called people without status became undesirable and displaced without rights, visas and passports, and without papers, i.e. undocumented in the abyss of identity coercion⁶. They populated the universe of exclusion and exiles described by Max Aub or Stefan Zweig, and studied by Hannah Arendt⁷.

Therefore, as in the 1930s, many in the European Union, and France in particular⁸, are reluctant to open their doors and uphold the idealism exemplified by the secular universal declaration of Human Rights asylum based on *jus solis* (*quid quid est*

⁵ Spain gained population through immigration from 1986 to 2008, at rates higher than Germany (INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTADISTICA). Germany, in need of labor for its growing economy, accepted around 2015 more than a million qualified refugees from the Middle East. Symbolically, it was also attempting to clear up part of its Nazi past. But this open policy has been dramatically curtailed due to internal xenophobic pressures.

⁶ Identity papers, previously related to letters of presentation for travelers, or passports for criminals, became mandatory after World War One, but useless for most of these groups.

⁷ Max AUB, *El rapto de Europa*, Ed. José María Naharro-Calderón, Madrid, Fondo de Cultura Económica de México, 2008. Stefan ZWEIG, *The World of Yesterday*, Nueva York, Viking Press, 1943. Hannah ARENDT, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Nueva York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1951.

⁸ France, in particular, has been shaken by various recent terrorist attacks, and transformed by transnational African migrations starting in the 1960s' and a new refugee influx from Eritrea, the Middle East and the Balkans of more than two million since 2014.

in territorio est de territorio)⁹. While the flows keep increasing today (65,4 million of world displaced people within and beyond borders with 4.3 of asylum seekers)¹⁰, the semantic, symbolic identity and material space for the refugees returns: the concentration camp. As Hannah Arendt wrote, it became the only country available to the stateless since the early 1930's: "The Second World War and the DP camps were not necessary to show that the only practical substitute for a nonexistent homeland was an internment camp. Indeed, as early as the thirties this was the only "country" the world had to offer the stateless"¹¹.

Therefore, in view of the 1939 Spanish Republican euphemistic *internments*, these pages will attempt to illuminate this refugee Nietzsche's *amor fati*, and the blurring of concentration traces through today's historiography, lip service human rights global externalizing, and discourses of remembrance and exclusion. They will display the continuum beyond the long gone XIX C. idealistic individual exiles open borders, and their replacement *sine die* with concentration type anticipations and responses that have not rendered obsolete Arendt's analysis, or Simone Veil's on the superseding of obligations and the disregarding over rights.

CONCENTRATION CAMP MEMORIES: BLURRED NARRATIVES

These unsettling concentration memories were avoided until the mid 1960s in Germany and the 1970s and 1980s in most of Europe and the United States. Ambivalence, arbitrariness, revisionism, or even denial, subdued the memory of concentration camps used by all totalitarianisms, as well as liberal democracies such as Spain, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, or France of the Third Republic, etc¹². Let's not forget the difficulties that surrounded the publication of one of the

⁹ Initially accepted in the 1920's, and ratified by the said 1951 Geneva Convention, it was inherited from the French revolutionary Constitution of June 24, 1793: "Il donne asile aux étrangers bannis de leur patrie pour la cause de la liberté. Il le refuse aux tyrans" (Article 120). The same idea was incorporated into the 1946 French Constitution and the current 1958 Fifth Republic's.

¹⁰ (<http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/figures-at-a-glance.html>) (25/05/2018).

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pág. 282.

¹² Concentration repression as displacement, seclusion and exploitation of a set group of people goes back to ancient times: in Rome, *damnatio ad metallum*, or corvée labor in Imperial China. During the Spanish Colonization in the Americas, policies of *reducción* and *encomiendas* were established, or

fundamental essays on the concentration universe: Primo Levi's *Se questo è un uomo*¹³. Eventually these extreme but hushed events reemerged through memory as commemoration in the European Union, based on the overcoming of the Twentieth-Century's maximum symbol of intolerance and violence on the continent: the Holocaust or the *Shoah*, a term spread out by Claude Lanzmann's film, but introduced by Ben Gurion¹⁴. Simultaneously, the past became debt and repetition in many states, among other forms, thanks to the strong presence in neighboring France of places of memory as coined by Pierre Nora¹⁵.

But official, institutional memory is only a selective construction and may not encompass, in any way or form, all historiographical discourses. Memory coined as historical is only a saturated oxymoron used by its promoters for their own ideological

Native Americans were removed and displaced from their lands by the USA government during the so called Indian Wars. Forced labor and penal colonies were also used by a multitude of European sovereigns and states against their subjects and citizens. But recent concentration requires, at least, two key elements of modernity: first, the practice of *total war* against civilian populations, a loophole found in the 1863 Lieber Code of Conduct for the US Army, enforced by the Union commander Major General William Tecumseh Sherman against the Confederacy; and second, the 1870s industrial innovation through barbed wire associated with the colonization of the Western United States. Improvement in cattle and sheep enclosures also enhanced military strategies and human repression and seclusion, based on the fenced model prisoner-of-war Confederate camp at Andersonville (Georgia). Later Spanish Captain General Valeriano Weyler, not only imitated Cuban rebel Lieutenant General Antonio Maceo total war tactics, but complemented them with civilian *reconcentración* and barbed wire during his 1896-98 campaign. *Reconcentration* eventually became a major cause for the US declaration of war against Spain. Meanwhile, the Philippines rebels, freed from Spain, also started experiencing in 1899 the new US occupation which used Weyler's *reconcentration* strategies to subdue them. See Andrea PITZER, *One Long Night. A Global History of Concentration Camps*, Nueva York, Boston, London, 2017. The killing modernity of chemical gas was massively used in World War I as a battle weapon. In 1933, Diego Rivera reflected this pre-gas chamber abjection, when he displayed on the North Wall of *The Detroit Industry Murals*, a *Manufacture of Poisonous Gas Bombs* panel. Linda Bank DOWNS, *Diego Rivera: The Detroit Industry Murals*. Nueva York, W.W. Norton, 1999, pág. 109. We may view it as a possible palimpsest for Picasso's *Guernica* (1937).

¹³ Tony JUDT states: "*Se questo è un uomo* was published instead by a small press in just 2,500 copies - most of which were remaindered in a warehouse in Florence and destroyed in the great flood there twenty years later {...} Like his subject, then, Primo Levi remained largely inaudible for many years; no-one was listening. In 1955 he noted that it had become 'indelicate' to speak of the camps". *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*, Nueva York, The Penguin Press, 2005, pág. 807.

¹⁴ For denial and blurring of the Holocaust's persecution, see Serge, KLARFELD, *La Shoah en France*, París, Fayard, 2001.

¹⁵ Pierre NORA, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols, París, Gallimard, 1984, 1986, 1992.

advantage¹⁶. In the early 1970s France, particularly after Marcel Ophüls's documentary *Le chagrin et la pitié* (1969) {*The Sorrow and the Pity*}, or the publication in French of Robert Paxton's *La France de Vichy* (1973)¹⁷, the foundations of a national neo-Gaullist narrative of unanimous resistance began to crumble. This imaginary had also erased contributions by foreigners such as the Spanish Republican exiles. The end of the 1980s opened the trials of memory, particularly with the Barbie case in 1987, a former Gestapo torturer in Lyon, and the reopening of the ones against René Bousquet (1991), Paul Touvier (1996) and Maurice Papon (1998), all three Vichy-Nazi collaborators not "purified" during the postwar period.

Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand has studied the shifting in the memories of the Spanish Republicans within this new climate in France¹⁸. They were previously confined to the struggle and perseverance of their Second Spanish Republic imagery through demonstrations, commemorations and cultural events. Eventually, different "Amicales" from the former concentration camps (Argelès, Le Vernet, Gurs, etc.) were affected by the shift from a national Jacobin memory of citizens to one of identity groups, headed by the victims and descendants of the *Shoah*. This refurbishing and eventual creation of new memory associations among Spanish refugees' children and grandchildren in France occurred alongside the surge of mass graves entombments and *intramemories* groups in the Spain of the late 1990s¹⁹.

President Chirac's speech, on July 16, 1995, at the monument of the *Vélodrome d'Hiver*, the former Drancy Holocaust deportation camp, marked a kind of closure for France responsibilities in the *Shoah*. He recognized the debt of the nation in the deportation and extermination to Nazi Germany of Jews residing in the French

¹⁶ See Paul RICOEUR, *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, Paris, Seuil, 2000 or Régine ROBIN, *La mémoire saturée*, Paris, Stock, 2003.

¹⁷ Robert PAXTON, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, Nueva York, Knopf, 1972. *La France de Vichy*, Paris, Seuil, 1973.

¹⁸ Geneviève DREYFUS-ARMAND, "La memoria en el exilio español en Francia: de una generación a la otra, en un contexto específico", *Migraciones y exilios* nº 15 (2015), pp. 13-27.

¹⁹ *Inframemory* (of the victims and survivors), *supramemory* (blurred memory) or *intramemory* (dialectical memory) are my terms that may be linked to Friedrich Nietzsche antiquarian, monumental and critical history. See *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life*, Tr. Peter Preus, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, 1980 and José María Naharro-Calderón, *Entre alambradas...*, *op. cit.*, pág. 15.

Hexagon (mostly, 1930's refugees), but attributed it also to the pressure of the Nazi administration. But no French authority acknowledged then the arbitrary deprivation of rights and freedoms which lead to other foreigners' deportations and deaths, like the Spanish Republicans, through the concentration camps under French administration, from the times of the Third Republic (1939-40) to the take over by the euphemistic free zone of Vichy and its overseas territories (1940-1944).

Eventually, this void was filled during the commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the Liberation of Paris on August 24, 1944. Thanks to the efforts of the Spanish-born mayor, Anne Hidalgo, the role of the Spanish Republicans of the Ninth Company of the Second Division of General Leclerc (*La Nueve*), the first to arrive at City Hall, was officially recognized. And significantly, on February 20, 2015, during a commemorations in front of the Argelès-sur-Mer camp cemetery for the Spanish Republicans, a French prime minister, Manuel Valls, son of the Catalan expatriate painter Xavier Valls, symbolically accompanied by the novelist Lydie Salvayre, daughter of two Spanish internees, officially assumed a discourse of French self-criticism. Valls described Argèles-sur-mer, using René Grando's expression "camp du mépris" {camp of shame}, and used these terms again during the inauguration of the Museum Mémorial du camp de Rivesaltes (October 17, 2015) where different memories of seclusion are remembered: Spaniards, Jews, Gypsies, German Prisoners of War, and Harkis²⁰.

Meanwhile, despite Spain's erratic memory policies about the Civil War, repression, mass graves, the Valley of the Fallen and Franco's tomb, on June 3, 2015, in a Paris torn between the Islamist and Islamized violence against *Je suis Charlie* magazine, and anti-immigrant xenophobia, Spain King Philip Phillip the Sixth also claimed *La Nueve's* hidden memory. But he never recognized their ideology: mostly Anarchist, Communist or Socialist, and above all, their status as Republicans exiled from the Civil War. On the other hand, he emphasized their values for the post-*Shoah* European moral reconstruction: freedom and tolerance²¹. And despite the Spanish

²⁰ Nevertheless, administrative contemporary French seclusions in Rivesaltes for irregular migrants until 2006 are not addressed in the exhibit.

²¹ At the end of War World II, these had been upheld by another key Spanish Republican exile in Paris and Nazi concentration camp survivor: Jorge Semprún.

Republican Exile claims by Anne Hidalgo, the King's official statements were signaling a certain Franco-Spanish convergence around the softening of exile and concentration camps Spanish Republican memories. Having overcome the phases of mourning, inhibition, rejection or concealment and return, memory obsession²² is also tamed by these pragmatic-commemorative *exile-business* derivations, used by official memories²³.

This sort of ideological blurring recalled Roberto Bolaño's elegiac strategy in *Antwerp*²⁴, or the real story of a Spanish Civil War "reconciled" memory presented by Javier Cercas in *Soldiers of Salamis*. The life of a top Falangist ideologue, Rafael Sánchez Mazas, was spared by an anonymous Republican soldier, a synecdoche for a sort of a *Nueve* eponym: Antonio Miralles, a survivor of French concentration camps. Cercas closed his novel attributing to Miralles's memory, Oswald Spengler's dictum taken up by the Falangist chief, José Antonio Primo de Rivera: "that squad of soldiers that at the eleventh hour has always saved civilization and in which {Sánchez Mazas} wasn't worthy to serve but Miralles was, about those inconceivable moments when all of civilization depends on a single man, and about that man and about how civilization repays that man"²⁵. Although Cercas seemed to take sides with the Republican Miralles, it was odd that he would use a neo-Falangist statement to save and remember the synecdoche of Republican exile and the *Nueve*. These sort of cultural examples and commemorations may be cases of *exile-business*, or acceptable but shorthanded supramemories: *monos de la desfachatez* (shamelessness overalls)²⁶.

²² Henry ROUSSO, *Vichy: l'événement, la mémoire, l'histoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 2001.

²³ To top it off, French and European memories of the world conflict are also being reinforced by the positive role of the Spanish exiles' memories, as lessons in refurbished assimilation for Jacobin France, disturbed by three postcolonial differences: Islamist and Islamized violence, refugee pressures from the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Africa and neofascist ideology of Marine Le Pen's National Front.

²⁴ Roberto BOLAÑO, *Antwerp*, Trans. Natasha Wimmer, Nueva York, New Directions Pub, 2010.

²⁵ Javier CERCAS, *Soldiers of Salamis*, Trans. Anne McLean, Nueva York, Bloomsbury, 2004, pág. 208.

²⁶ A reference to the blue overalls adopted by the Republican Militia, being used as displaced symbols of a revisionist historical narrative that produced ample cultural and economic benefits to their handlers (both creators and publishers). See José María NAHARRO-CALDERÓN, *Entre alambradas*, op. cit., pp. 14-18.

COLONIALISM, FASCISM, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE SPANISH REPUBLICAN LENSES

Therefore, we may also contemplate three related axes when studying the concentration democratic contradictions in France, the founder of modern Europe, the heiress of revolutionary universalism: colonialism, Fascism and Human Rights. These axes bring us back to concentration exceptionalism²⁷, seen mainly through diverse Spanish Republicans experiences and prisms. Firstly, the colonialist past that seeks to defend its civilizing contributions challenged by postcolonial readings such as Aimé Césaire's, Frantz Fanon's, Langston Hughes's, Manuel Chaves Nogales's or Max Aub's, who assimilated traits of colonialism to Fascism. Secondly the memory of Vichy or the shadow of the autochthonous expression of a French cradle for European Fascism, a theory put forward by Zeev Sternhell, and anticipated by Manuel Chaves Nogales. And thirdly, the contradictions of Human Rights universalism emanating from the French Revolution as deconstructed by World War I camps or Hannah Arendt.

Aimé Césaire put forward in his *Discourse on colonialism* a kind of manifesto in favor of the third world in which he equated the logic of colonialism with the rise of Fascism as its obvious development in Europe. He explains the European's reaction against this totalitarian domination as a consequence of the suffering in their own flesh of some of the methods they had systematically applied through exploitation of the colonial other²⁸. These well-known Césaire's thesis, or later Fanon's, had already been

²⁷ For World War One camps in France, see Jean Claude FARCY, *Les camps de concentration français de la Première Guerre Mondiale, 1914-1920*, Paris, Anthropos, 1995.

²⁸ People are surprised, they become indignant. They say: "How strange! But never mind-it's Nazism, it will pass!" {...} Nazism, yes, but that before they were its victims, they were its accomplices; that they tolerated that Nazism before it was inflicted on them, that they absolved it, shut their eyes to it, legitimized it, because, until then, it had been applied only to non-European peoples; that they have cultivated that Nazism, that they are responsible for it, and that before engulfing the whole of Western, Christian civilization in its reddened waters, it oozes, seeps, and trickles from every crack. {...} the very distinguished, very humanistic, very Christian bourgeois of the twentieth century {...} without his being aware of it, he has a Hitler inside him, that Hitler *inhabits* him, that Hitler is his *demon*, that if he rails against him, he is being inconsistent and that, at bottom, what he cannot forgive Hitler for is not *crime* in itself, *the crime against man*, it is not *the humiliation of man as such*, it is the crime against the white man, the humiliation of the white man, and the fact that he applied to Europe colonialist procedures which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs {sic} of Algeria, the coolies of India, and the blacks of Africa. Aimé CÉSAIRE, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Trans. Joan Pinkham, Nueva York & Londres, Monthly Review Press, 1972, pág. 3.

sketched out in the middle of the crisis of the thirties by the African-American poet Langston Hughes. When visiting Spain and the Civil War front in 1937 during his coming for the Second Congress in Defense of Culture, the Harlem poet read the Spanish Civil War in terms of anti-racism, anti-colonialism and anti-Fascism:

And now, in Madrid, Spain's besieged capital, I've met wide –awake negroes from various parts of the world –New York, our Middle West, the French West Indies, Cuba, Africa –some stationed here, others on leave from their battalions – all of them here because they know that if Fascism creeps across Spain, across Europe, and then across the world, there will be no place left for intelligent Young Negroes at all. In fact, no decent place for any Negroes –because Fascism preaches the creed of Nordic supremacy and a world of whites alone²⁹.

Hughes extended his vision to a critique of the colonialist condition of “los moros que trajo Franco” {Franco’s Moors}, for whom the Second Republic had no anti-colonialist policy, which indirectly fostered the extension of cross-border ethnocentrism when the Spanish Republicans entered into the French concentration camps under the control of the *Spahis*, {North African colonial horseback troops}, and the euphemistic outlook of the *Senegalese*, that is, the amalgamation name given to different sub-Saharan soldiers, denationalized even more by their French command.

On the opposite side of the trenches with Franco, in company of the professional soldiers of Germany, and the illiterate troops of Italy, are the deluded and driven Moors of North Africa. An oppressed colonial people of color being used by Fascism to make a colony of Spain. And they are being used ruthlessly, without pity. Young boys, men from the desert, old men, and even women, compose the Moorish hordes brought by the reactionaries from Africa to Europe in their attempt to crush the Spanish people³⁰.

In fact, Jean-Paul Sartre’s preface to Frantz FANON’s *The Wretched of the Earth*, failed to deconstruct the western violence patronizing the colonialist’s discourse at the root of Fanon’s critique. “Car ce n’est pas d’abord leur *violence*, c’est la nôtre, retournée, qui grandit et les déchire; et le premier mouvement de ces opprimés est d’enfouir profondément cette inavouable colère que leur morale et la nôtre reprochent et qui n’est pourtant que le dernier réduit de leur humanité. Lisez Fanon: vous saurez que, dans le temps de leur impuissance, la folie meurtrière est l’inconscient collectif des colonisés”. *Les damnés de la terre, Préface de Jean Paul Sartre (1961), Préface de Alice Cherki et postface de Mohammed Harbi (2002), Paris, La Découverte, 2002, pág. 26.*

²⁹ Langston HUGHES, “Negroes in Spain”, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War. “This Ain’t Ethiopia, But It’ll Do”*, Toronto, Maxwell Macmillan, 1992, pág. 103.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, pág. 104.

Nevertheless, faced with this prejudice, Manuel Chaves Nogales had also equated in 1938 the Spanish Republican people with the "Moroccan volunteers" in his short story "Los guerreros marroquíes" {The Moroccan Warriors}³¹. Max Aub also bequeathed us the brief postcolonial fictitious testimony of Pardiñas in "El cementerio de Djelfa" {The Cemetery of Djelfa}. This former inmate, who had survived the concentration environment in colonial Algeria, writes to the fictitious author before being shot by the French for joining the struggle for Algerian independence. The former Spanish Republican cemetery with *Christian* roots will be turned into a common grave for Algerian *fellagas* or independence seekers. After flipping over these episodes of neocolonial violence and death, Spanish Republican remnant memories will now be deferred and covered up by Algerian exchangeable inmemory corpses: another ironic and *advantageous* contribution of metropolitan colonial urban civilization to the indigenous world³². Within a farcical repetition that recalls Walter Benjamin's critique of progress, Aub's irony also anticipates through a colonial reading the Fascist seeds engrained within defeated empires and armies, and their tragic consequences for the twentieth-century world.

Todos fuimos colonias y dejamos de serlo. El Asia Menor, ejemplo más ilustre. América, hoy; mañana, esto. El bazuqueo es lo único que ha hallado el hombre para adelantar. La verdad: antes de llegar los franceses aquí no había fuerte ni ayuntamiento ...

Para un país, un ejército vencido es más peligroso que el vencedor ¿Qué hace? ¿Qué va a hacer? Vuelve contra sí la agria vergüenza de la derrota. Hallará siempre culpables civiles que aplastar. Si no la corta, a la larga. Es un movimiento lento pero seguro. El ejército no digiere verse humillado ante civiles. "La revancha"

³¹ A los que hay que fusilar es a quienes los han traído, a los fascistas, cien veces más criminales que ellos.

Porque, en realidad, la exhibición de los moros prisioneros no provocaba en la masa del pueblo una gran irritación contra ellos. El buen pueblo de Madrid consideraba a los moros –que hubieran podido entrar a sangre y fuego por sus calles y plazas- como a instrumentos inconscientes del mal que hacían. Desde su altiva superioridad de ciudadanos conscientes, los madrileños los miraban con más lástima que rencor, como a seres inferiores, pobres bestias azuzadas..Y al verlos prisioneros levantando grotescamente el puño, les daban cacahuets, como hacían las alimañas enjauladas en la casa de fieras del Retiro.

La gran masa popular, que no sabe hacer la guerra ni conoce sus exigencias, se mostraba indulgente con los moros y les hubiese perdonado la vida. Pero la guerra tiene sus terribles leyes, y quienes en nombre del pueblo la hacían decretaron implacables la muerte de los moros prisioneros. Manuel CHAVES NOGALES, *A sangre y fuego. Héroes, bestias y mártires de España*, Madrid, Espasa, 2011, pág. 185.

³² For a critique of colonial symbolism, see Roland BARTHES, *Mythologies*, París, Seuil, 1957.

*no es la venganza. El 98 español engendró el 23; el 18 alemán, el 33; la derrota francesa del 40 mira lo que reservaba*³³.

Zeff Sternhell attributes Gallic ideological origins to Fascism, beyond and before the Italian paradigmatic presence of a movement, a regime and a colonial project. This totalitarianism would have exhibited its intellectual presence prior to its supposed dialectical sprout after the brutality of World War One. Therefore, Fascism represents the great crisis of civilization suffered by Liberalism and Marxism at the end of the nineteenth century that would be abundantly gleaned throughout the hexagon³⁴. Sternhell's theses, partially confirmed by Arendt, regarding the curtailing of rights, and the spread of anti-Jewish racism, were not alien to Spanish optics, if we contemplate them through the exile journalist Manuel Chaves Nogales's prism on the French *Débauche*.

*Se arguye, claro, que el antisemitismo no es privativo del nazi y que las primeras reacciones antisemitas del mundo moderno habían tenido su origen en Francia hace muchos años. Este origen francés de todo lo que en el nazismo puede ser algo más que barbarie pura y simple es invocado constantemente como disculpa a su traición por los intelectuales franceses. Es innegable que no habría nazis en el mundo si los franceses no hubiesen dicho antes lo que es el nacionalismo; ni siquiera habría nazis si ese pobre viejo genialoide de Charles Maurras, que debe de estar a estas horas muriéndose de desesperación e impotencia en un rincón cualquiera de Francia guardado por dos nazis que en vez de vigilarle debían rendirle honores como los han rendido ante la tumba de Napoleón, no se hubiese pasado 40 años enseñándoles lo que es el nacionalismo integral y prestándoles su verbo demoledor para que con sus mismas palabras acometiesen la demolición de su patria. Es verdad que sin el conde Gobineau no habría racismo y es verdad que todo cuanto Alemania no es pura y simple barbarie tiene un origen francés más o menos remoto, pero, precisamente porque es así, Francia no debía haber pasado por la abyección de ir a pedir prestado al hitlerismo lo que, en fin de cuentas, no es sino la escoria del crisol en que la Francia que debía ser inmortal había sido fundida.*³⁵

³³ Max AUB, *Enero sin nombre*, Barcelona, Alba, 1994, pág. 335-336. Max Aub, particularly in "Dice el moro en cuclillas" poem, also acknowledges the otherness of the Algerians muslims and Spanish Republicans, when playing with the euphony of ¡Ay de mi Alhambra" and "¡Mi alambrada!" See *Diario de Djelfa, Obra poética completa*, Vol. 1, Valencia, Biblioteca Valenciana, 2001, pp. 108-109.

³⁴ Zeev, STERNHELL, *Histoire et lumières. Changer le monde par la raison. Entretiens avec Nicolas Weill*, París, Albin Michel, 2014.

³⁵ Manuel CHAVES NOGALES, *La agonía de Francia*, Barcelona, Libros del Asteroide, 2010, pág. 91.

Total war through the displacements of civilian and military contingents, at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, particularly during World War One, will bring forth the generalized practice of enemy populations' concentration in diverse type of enclosures: from ordinary structures (seminaries, convents schools, etc.), military camps, to specifically barbed wire structures. These concentration spaces and their penitentiary logics inherit their regrouping military objectives and are already treated with euphemistic lexicon in France as depots for evacuees and interns. From England to Portugal, Brazil to China, Germany or France, potentially enemy populations and other national suspects were subject to measures of internment that already fluctuate between the tenuous line of exception and exclusion. In France, a legal void was created since internment as a penalty was used by the police authorities without judicial intervention, particularly when dealing with foreigners. Therefore, it opened the gates to a politically motivated repression, reminiscent of *emergency security reasons* {"surêté générale"} against insurrectional movements in 1849 during the French Second Republic, as well as left the traces for subsequent concentrations in the 1930's³⁶.

Hannah Arendt also studied the degradation of certain Human Rights principles that had attempted to support universalism through the 1930's. Her criticism points out to the transformation of divine rights into inalienable Human Rights which supposedly eradicated their national component. But she noticed how Edmund Burke supported a pragmatic stance, in the face of this abstraction that had superseded the inheritance of national rights. Due to the deep crisis of the 1930s, when Europe began to be populated with displaced people, and individuals or groups lost their habitat and social fabrics, as well as the protection of their governments, no entity was willing to protect them because of this abstraction of their fundamental rights, which was not protected by any global protocol. It partially explains why the different national groups also sought to preserve their own highly ideological identities of origin, due to the existing totalitarian tensions, and as a formula to guarantee some kind of subsequent recognition for their lost citizenship rights. It also magnified the horizon of national fears

³⁶ About 60,000 internees in WWI France, mainly Austria-Germans nationals, populated a diversity of camps: distribution {"triage"}, for notables or high classes, for good behavior {"de faveur"}, for families, for priests, for prostitutes, for aliens from Alsace and Lorraine, for undisciplined interns, deserters and convicts in disciplinary enclosures, or for "national suspects" where neutral and French nationals mingled. See Jean Claude FARCY, *Les camps*, *op.cit.* pp. 131-195. 359-364.

in front of the *stateless* members and volunteers of the Anti-Fascist International Brigades, or the Spanish Republicans:

*More and more persons of all countries, including the Western democracies, volunteered to fight in civil wars abroad (something which up to then only few idealists or adventures has done) even if this meant cutting themselves off from their national communities. This was the lesson of the Spanish Civil War and one of the reasons why the governments were so frightened by the International Brigade. {...} The stateless people has already shown a surprising stubbornness in retaining their nationality {...} The International Brigade was organized into national battalions in which the Germans felt they fought against Hitler and the Italians against Mussolini, just as a few years later, in the Resistance, the Spanish refugees felt they fought against Franco when they helped the French against Vichy {sic}*³⁷.

In addition, these new displaced persons (Jews, Spanish Republicans, etc.) ceased to be considered as ordinary refugees for ethnic or political reasons, as their number overflowed the *ad hoc* nature of asylum policies and the meager international protocols on refugees, particularly with the first international conventions about refugees beginning in 1922. These finally collapsed at the ineffective July 6-16, 1938 Conference of Evian about the response to Jewish refugees³⁸, and at the time of the arrival of the Spanish Republicans in France. As the pressures increased from those new groups of stateless persons trespassing the French borders, traditionally open to political asylum through Human Rights or Conventions, "refugees" were transformed into "undesirables", as promoted by the conservative public opinion, and later ratified by the Daladier government after November of 1938³⁹. Suspect mainly for their leftist options, persecuted by Fascist and Nazi totalitarianism, these displaced populations were handled through policies that had switched from the secretariat of Foreign Affairs, Labor and/or Finance to the Interior, while the police was given exclusive powers of

³⁷ Hannah ARENDT, *The Origins*, op.cit., pp. 280-281.

³⁸ The October 28, 1933 on the Status of Refugees for Armenians and Russians, originally signed only by five states (Belgium, Bulgaria, Egypt, France, Norway) stated, among other rights, the principle of *non-refoulement* (forcible repatriation) but did not guarantee, as no Convention has ever done, any state's obligation to admit refugees under all circumstances. WORLD DIGITAL LIBRARY, *Convention on the International Statute of Refugees* (<https://www.wdl.org/en/item/11580/>) (25/5/2018). The July 6-16, 1938 Conference of Evian on Jewish emigration certified the failure of the prior refugee conventions that had attempted, since 1922, to establish some kind of universal admittance rules. See Olivier de MARLIAVE, *Les terres*, op. cit., pp. 147-148.

³⁹ See Paul LABORIE, *Les Français des années troubles: de la guerre d'Espagne à la Libération*, Paris, Seuil, 2001.

control and repression⁴⁰. These shifts explain the rapid deterioration of the tenuous rights of the refugees (Spanish Republicans, Anti-Fascists and Anti-Nazis), during times of political fears and post depression economic scarcity. They became the general target of a police state, one of the foundations for a collaborative totalitarian culture, which spread its suspicions to the French left, particularly, after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact of August 23, 1939, and eventually dug itself into the Vichy regime.

Even before the outbreak of the war, under the pretext of national security, the police of a number of democratic countries had embarked on so close and organized a co-operation with the Gestapo and the G.P.U., that one could well speak of an independent police initiative in matters of foreign politics. The cooperation, for instance between the French police and the Gestapo was never closer and never better than under the anti-Nazi government of the Popular Front. Since the police generally sympathized with totalitarian regimes in which they played a so much more important and powerful role, their emancipation from government control in countries with a sizable refugee problem was one of the reasons that the Nazi found it so shamefully easy to rule most of the conquered European countries with native police forces⁴¹.

THE CONCENTRATION CAMP SYSTEM: HISTORICAL EVIDENCE AND HERMENEUTICAL MANIPULATION

As refugee integration through naturalization dwindled, France repressive policies increased pressure and reduced by two thirds half million displaced Spanish Republicans, through *forced* repatriations or emigration, while keeping them interned within the Southern concentration camps network. These policies based on exclusion did not contemplate granting refugee status to any. It was only the exceptional needs of World War Two which extracted some of these enclosed masses from the camps, due to agricultural, industrial or military shortages: notably, through the Compagnies de Travailleurs Étrangers (CTE) {Foreign Worker Companies} renamed as Groupes de Travailleurs Étrangers (GTE) {Foreign Worker Groups} by Vichy, as well as the military Bataillons de Marche {Marching Battalions} under the Third Republic. Their blurred

⁴⁰ In Spain, one positive policy switch about migrants and refugees during the PSOE José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's presidential tenure (2004-2011) was to consider them all as a potential work force, and therefore, to move their cases from the Minister of Interior and Justice to Labor. See Jacques VERNANT, *The Refugee in the Post-War World*, New Haven, Yale U. P., 1953, p. 19-20.

⁴¹ Hannah ARENDT, *The Origins...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 285-286.

stateless status also facilitated the deportation by the Nazis of about 12 000 Spanish Republicans from prisoners of war *stalags*, and later, as resistance prisoners, to several concentration and extermination camps: Mauthausen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Ravensbrück, etc.

Paradoxically, as Celso Amieva ironically certified it, a French concentration camp like Le Barcarès continued to be the only homeland for those Spanish Republicans, inept and useless enough for the various extra-concentration tasks, until their puzzling *liberation* by the Nazis. When the *free* Vichy zone was occupied in November of 1942, the Spanish prisoners now found themselves transformed into a neocolonial workforce within the GTE:

Allí estuvimos hasta mediados de noviembre de 1942. Los alemanes, al ocupar la zona sur del país, suprimieron los campos del Rosellón... para que los franceses nos encuadraran –a nosotros, inaptos- en grupos de trabajo. Decididamente, no querían soltarnos aquellos franceses que vivían de “servirnos” de custodios.

Pero se cumplió, a pesar de todo, lo paradójico de aquella profecía que un soldado español, analfabeto inteligente, emitiera al entrar en Argelès un día de febrero de 1939:

-De aquí sólo saldremos cuando vengan los alemanes a abrirnos las puertas.

Tres años, nueve meses, una semana y un día duró exactamente mi cautiverio. Ni dictada la condena por un juez meticuloso.

Los franceses siguieron explotándonos. En realidad, no éramos tan inaptos. Ni mucho menos fuimos ineptos. Lo demostramos en los grupos de trabajo.

Y en el Maquis⁴².

In his memoirs, with the added perspective of time and the knowledge of history, Carles Fontserè focuses on the anti-universalist irregularities of the period when autonomous police abuse fed into exclusionary state politics⁴³. The Daladier government November 12, 1938 decree which opened the gates of the camps for "undesirable aliens", was ratified by the law of November 18, 1939, which allowed "the

⁴² Celso AMIEVA, *Poeta en la arena*, Ed. José María Naharro-Calderón, Llanes, El Oriente de Asturias, pág. 70.

⁴³ Carles FONTSERÈ, *Un exiliat de tercera. A París durant la Segona Guerra Mundial*, Barcelona, Proa, 1999.

internment of all French or alien individuals dangerous for the national defense or public security". Both decrees gave way to a definite policy of persecution against the stateless, which Fontserè, in a sort of second-degree Catalan-independence wink, equated with the Francoist repression. *L'Indépendant*, linked to center-left politicians such as Albert Sarrault, Édouard Daladier or Georges Mandel, also printed their glaring repressive language: "undesirable, (Daladier), "concentration" (Sarrault), "deportation to the bottom of the Pacific" (Mandel)⁴⁴. The latter had suggested to mimic, with the Spanish Republicans, the XIX C. United Kingdom massive convict removal to Australia, or toyed with an idea that the Nazis contemplated in 1940 through a Jewish deportation to Madagascar, before the gas chamber exterminations⁴⁵.

Nevertheless, the Nazi concentration system is considered as the most criminal of all. Therefore, scholars have descended through a Dante's inferno concentration scale towards that zero degree of the *Lager*. However, some question this maximalist position when they observe the heavy burden of the Soviet system and the implied inadequacy of this concentration paradigm:

Principalmente parece necesario rebajar el nivel de la generalidad de las comparaciones de unos campos del siglo XX con otros. También sería conveniente regresar a una denominación homogénea de los fenómenos parecidos. Por ejemplo, el término "campo de concentración" adquirió como resultado del genocidio nazi una connotación decididamente negativa. Por otra parte, por razones ideológicas se llama muy raramente "de concentración" a los campos comunistas, entre ellos los soviéticos. Resulta paradójico que a estos últimos se les domine campos de trabajo forzoso de reeducación, mientras que en realidad tuvieron mucho más en común con los campos hitlerianos que con los establecidos por las dictaduras autoritarias⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ Mandel would later fall victim to his own medicine. He was excluded from the succession to prime minister Paul Reynaud in favor of Marshall Pétain. And he would be killed after passing through the Buchenwald concentration camp.

⁴⁵ Paul de Lagarde, a XIX C. German anti-Jewish writer and model for Nazism, defended in his *German Writings* a German and Christian Mitteleuropa, while recommending a Jewish deportation to Madagascar. The idea was contemplated by the Polish Government, the French Popular Front headed by Leon Blum, and finally in 1940, by the Nazis before the *Final Solution*. They were hoping to use the *British fleet* after the anticipated English surrender. See Olivier de MARLIAVE, *Les terres*, op. cit. pp. 177-190.

⁴⁶ Jan Stanislaw CIECHANOWSKI, "Los campos de concentración en Europa. Algunas consideraciones sobre su definición, tipología y estudios comparados", *Los campos de concentración franquistas en el contexto europeo*, Ayer nº 57 *Revista de Historia Contemporánea* (2005), pág. 77.

Although concentration strategies were used through ancient empires (China, Egypt, Rome, etc.) as an effective way to manage slave labor, it is only at the time of the French Revolution with the creation of the nation-state, when a specific discourse emerges in this regard. Article 7 of Buonarotti's *Conspiracy pour l'égalité, dite de Babeuf*, a fragment of a police decree from the Convention period, refers to the implementation around Toulon, Valence, Grenoble, Mâcon, Metz, Valenciennes, St Omers, Angers, Rennes, Clermont, Angoulême and Toulouse of "camps destinés à maintenir la tranquillité, protéger les républicains et favoriser la réforme" {camps in order to maintain tranquility, protect the Republicans and favor reforms}: an answer to the question of mass dissidence in democratic, colonial and/or nationalistic times⁴⁷.

Nevertheless, when we study the Nazi concentration camps origins and objectives, taking Dachau as an initial sample (1933-1945), we may conclude that it did not differ from similar concentration structures decreed, for example, by the French Third Republic Daladier government: a space of control for potential opponents who could endanger "the security of the state"⁴⁸. In fact, "most systems arose from similar political crises and possessed parallel early goals"⁴⁹. Consequently, the cold statistics of murder and deaths are neither really quantifiable nor represent an exclusive or definite taxonomical tool for evaluating the scale of dehumanization within the concentration system. Its exceptional nature usually prevents scholars from determining the exact mortality, for example, in a camp like Dachau. If we were to compare proportionally the *known* deceased at Dachau with those at a French camp in colonial Algeria such as Djelfa (1941-43), we would find in the latter of about 800 detainees and 35 *officially* deceased, a false larger projection of the official deaths (4.5%) for about three years if we were to spread it over the twelve years of Dachau⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ Joël KOTEK & Pierre RIGOULOT, *Le siècle des camps*, Paris, J.C. Lattès, 2000.

⁴⁸ *Concentration Camp Dachau, 1933-1945*, Bruselas, Comité International de Dachau, 1978, pág. 60.

⁴⁹ Andrea PITZER, *One Long...*, *op. cit.*, pág. 8.

⁵⁰ At Dachau, the relationship between the incomplete census of 206,000 inmates, and the deceased (31,951 accounted for between 1933-45), would render approximately 13% of casualties over a period of 12 years. The zero degree universe of death accelerated, without reliable records, during the final years due to epidemics, and the Nazi exponential increased brutality (1944-1945). For Djelfa, see Bernard, SICOT, *Djelfa 41-43. Un camp d'internement en Algérie*, Paris, Riveneuve, 2015, pp. 145-151 and 271 et al.

Consequently, in order to posit a concentration taxonomy, quantifying casualties may not only be, ethically dubious, but epistemologically useless. Or using the Nazi concentration bench mark with manipulated quotes from Arthur Koestler's *Scum of the Earth*, Benjamin Lubelski, "ce n'était quand même pas un camp allemand" {however, it was not a German camp}, reveals Bernard Sicot's revisionist study on the *non-place* nature of Djelfa⁵¹. It also points toward the same stance upheld by some French historians like Denis Peschanski who have upheld a scholarly fire wall against the concentration evidence, by defending the French difference of the term *internment*, an official administrative nomenclature, which is reductive and suspiciously exceptional. Peschanski builds up an euphemistic *constructio* in order to justify the distinct evolution logic of the French camps: exception between the November 12 1938 law until Vichy, exclusion of Jews and Gypsies (June 1940-Spring-Summer 1942), and finally, deportation complicity (1942-1944)⁵².

Despite the internees' seclusion and Nazi intoxication, the news of the repression at Dachau surfaced rapidly through French and British publications. And paradoxically, the first Dachau deaths were the subject of initial inquiries by the German justice system. The chief prosecutor of Munich, Wintersberger, attempted an investigation on June 1, 1933, finally withdrawn by the Bavarian Interior Minister and his justice homologue in Munich, Dr. Frank, as well as by the prosecution on September 27, 1934⁵³. No death in the French *internment* was ever the subject to any judicial inquiry, as proof of the rigor and exclusion in the French concentrations that depended

⁵¹ *ibidem*, pág. 274. The rebuttal to the unscholarly manipulation of my ideas and quotes by Sicot may be traced in José María Naharro-Calderón, *Entre alambradas...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 and 182-186.

⁵² Denis PESHANSKI, *La France des camps: l'internement (1938-1946)*, Paris, Gallimard, 2002, Peshanski is responsible for a similar narrative in the Musée Mémorial du camp de Rivesaltes where he has displayed the same exceptional separation between internment and concentration. "Jamais les camps n'auront été aussi nombreux qu'au XXème siècle, sur tous les continents et sous tous les régimes. Jamais ils n'auront pris des formes aussi différentes, du camp d'internement fait pour exclure au camp de concentration marqué par le travail forcé et la volonté de déshumaniser, jusqu'aux centres d'extermination conçus pour assassiner en masse". As noted above, at Rivesaltes, no mention is made of an island in the camp used until 2006 for irregular aliens. Or the presence of camps such as the one of Arenc near Marseilles as during the Algerian War, where Algerians and Moroccans irregular aliens were confined. Interestingly, expulsions were not decreed during the Spanish republican exile or colonial times except for security reasons, but began to be implemented by the Ministry of the Interior under Michel Poniatowski or Bonnet. See Danièle LOCHAK, *Face aux migrants: Etat de droit ou état de siege? Paris, Les Éditions Textuel*, 2007, pp. 37-38.

⁵³ *Concentration Camp Dachau, op. cit.*, pp. 185-193.

exclusively on the arbitrary competences of the police, the Prefects and the Ministry of the Interior: a fully structured concentration operational network. On the other hand, judges only intervened in order to hand out harsh prison sentences in order to cut down resistance and rebellions inside the camps.

In the case of French camps such as Rieucros (for women), and Le Vernet d'Ariège (for men), and its deportation African branch of Djelfa, we may also locate during the Vichy period, documents that specify and ratify their official concentration nomenclature and nature. A memorandum from the Secretary of the Interior, Marcel Peyrotoun, asserted on January 19, 1941 that Le Vernet was "une formation répressive, devant recevoir des étrangers particulièrement indésirables ou dangereux {...} Les formations du Vernet et de Rieucros doivent être appelés Camps of Concentration, les étrangers qui s'y trouvent sont des internés" (a repressive structure for foreigners particularly undesirable and dangerous {...} Le Vernet and Rieucros camps must be referred as Concentration Camps, where the foreigners present are internees).⁵⁴ Subsequently, on March 12, 1941, a memorandum from the Vichy Deputy Prime Minister, François Darlan, to the Governor of Algeria, allowed for forced labor among the internees. It was not only written with indifference about the deportees' confinement and status: *simple internés administratifs* {simple administrative internees}. It also invoked the reason of state in order to implicitly support the arbitrariness of their freedom deprivation without any judicial charges: *l'impossibilité de continuer leur action néfaste* (impossibility to pursue their harmful actions). And finally, it circumvented the administrative confinement and transformed it into labor concentration: *qu'ils ne demeurent point inactifs, {...} latitude sur ce qui concerne l'utilisation de main d'oeuvre* {do not let them remain inactive {...} with the leeway vis à vis their use as workforce}⁵⁵.

This official French concentration nomenclature that decries the internment euphemism used thereafter for other *camps d'hébergement* (housing camps), the stripping of fundamental rights from rootless foreigners and other French nationals,

⁵⁴ ARCHIVES NATIONALES, MIC/3W/310.

⁵⁵ ARCHIVES NATIONALES D'OUTRE-MER, Aix-en-Provence, 9H 120. A German national of Jewish confession that fled to France through Italy in 1940, joined the resistance and was imprisoned at Argelès-sur-Mer, remembered his arrival at Djelfa and the reception by Caboche, the Camp Commander: "You all came here to die. It's a matter of time. Some will live a little longer, some won't, but you all came here to die. That is my job and I am good at my job". Harry ALEXANDER, "Oral History interview with Harry Alexander" (<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn504525>)(25/05/2018).

their deportation, mistreatment, forced labor, hunger, and/or death for lack of the most elementary humanity, or the open unleashing of torture as in Djelfa, Hadjerat M'Guil or Djenien Bou Rezg, are more than enough reasons to revise the nature of the French *internment* universe and its mirroring examples for today⁵⁶. Many of those camps did border or were in the purgatory category described below by Arendt. We may also place them within the totalitarian intentionalism posited by Saul Friedlander for the Nazi concentration system, in order to decry the functionalists' theses, who defend an accumulative and arbitrary radicalization paradigm through a set of circumstances, that would have eventually lead to the *Final Solution* as an unplanned repression⁵⁷.

A deportee through the French system, Harry Alexander, described graphically being thrown into one of those *housing camps*, at Antibes, near Nice. "They called it internment camp but don't you believe it, settlement camp, but don't you believe it ... These were concentration camps ... the sense of the word, concentration camps, with all their pitfalls, all their filth, all their dirt, and all their nastiness, and brutality"⁵⁸. Among the many French concentration camps Spanish Republican testimonies, the survivors of the *Nueve*, unanimously denounced the conditions that affected those concentrated in Francoist or French camps⁵⁹. In the latter, forced labor and arbitrary exclusion went hand in hand. For example, the Spanish Republicans had to build or refurbish *their* Southern *reception* camps of 1939. Furthermore, except for those who emigrated to the Americas, or were able to join the French economy due to the war labor shortage, the majority only was able to trespass the barbed wires through a double exclusion: either returning to repressive Francoist Spain, or as exploitable members of the CTE, GTE, and/or as soldiers without rights in the Marching Battalions⁶⁰. Later, part of the latter

⁵⁶ "Francesc tuvo que decirse que no era la primera vez que pasaba hambre. Ya la había conocido, y no poca, en los campos franceses". Joaquim AMAT-PINIELLA, *K.L.Reich*, Tr. Antonio Padilla Esteban, Barcelona, El Aleph Editores, 2002, pág. 69.

⁵⁷ Saul, FRIEDLANDER, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, Nueva York, Harper Collins, 2007.

⁵⁸ Harry ALEXANDER, "Oral History ...", *op. cit.*

⁵⁹ See Evelyn MESQUIDA, *La Nueve. Los españoles que liberaron París*, Barcelona, Ed. B, 2008, pp. 169 y ss.

⁶⁰ "Recuerda {...} la posterior etapa francesa, donde el hambre y los piojos de los campos de refugiados le llevaron a enrolarse en una compañía de trabajadores militarizados, para luego los alemanes le capturasen cuando llegó la derrota definitiva; más tarde, en el campo de prisioneros, cuando le faltó valor para evadirse como tantos de sus compañeros; y ahora, en el campo de concentración del Reich, donde millares de desgraciados como él, tan impotentes como él mismo ante el curso de los

and/or CTE's ended up in Mauthausen, as well as other Spanish Republicans, deported in 1941 from the Angoulême Camp, due to Vichy officials' complicity, and well before the French *Nacht-und-Nebel*⁶¹,

Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand, highlights the importance of the term "concentration" for the Spanish Republicans' memory. Unable to settle this nomenclature controversy, she adds significantly, referring to Robert Antelme's *L'espèce humaine*, that "l'expression *camp de concentration* a été employée tout au long du XX^e siècle pour désigner des réalités diverses mais toutes synonymes de privation de liberté et de non-droit"⁶². Hannah Arend was also interned in 1940 in the French Camp of Gurs, before managing to emigrate to the United States through the Marseilles Varian Fry's network in 1941. In her initial essay on the camps, she was clear cut about integrating all the three modern concentration examples into a unique varying degree category, and setting within all three the chasm for the non being:

Concentration camps can very aptly be divided into three types corresponding to three basic Western conceptions of life after death: Hades, purgatory, and hell. To Hades correspond those relatively mild forms, once popular even in nontotalitarian countries, for getting undesirable elements of all sorts – refugees, stateless persons, the asocial and the unemployed- out of the way; as DP camps, which are nothing other than camps for persons who have become superfluous and bothersome, they have survived the war. Purgatory is represented by the Soviet Union's labor camps, where neglect is combined with chaotic forced labor. Hell in the most literal sense was embodied by those types of camp perfected by the Nazis, in which the whole life was thoroughly and systematically organized with a view to the greatest possible torment.

acontecimientos, mueren de la forma más espantosa, mientras otros refugiados que por casualidad han permanecido en suelo francés viven y trabajan con normalidad". Joaquim AMAT-PINIELLA, K.L.Reich, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301.

⁶¹ See Montse ARMENGOU & Ricart BELIS, *El convoy de los 927*, Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 2003. "En el campo de Mauthausen quedó, pues, un colectivo de personas que no habían sido militarizadas por Francia en la guerra contra Alemania (en el caso de los mutilados, difícilmente habría podido ser así) y que en muchos casos ni siquiera habían hecho la guerra en España (por ejemplo, los adolescentes y niños). De los 430 presos de este convoy murieron en Mauthausen 357, en torno al 83%". Benito BERMEJO, *Francisco Boix, el fotógrafo de Mauthausen*, Barcelona, RBA, 2002, pág. 54.

⁶² Geneviève DREYFUS-ARMAND, "De quelques termes employés (camps d'internement, de concentration, d'extermination): de leur signification historique à leur poids mémoriel", *De l'exil et des camps. Écrire et peindre, de Max Aub à Ramón Gaya*, Ed. Bernard Sicot, *Regards* 12 (2008), pág. 30. She does not mention the more repressive camps of Le Vernet or North Africa.

*All three types have one thing in common: the human masses sealed off in them are treated as if they no longer existed, as if what happened to them were no longer of any interest to anybody, as if they were already dead*⁶³...

She contended what Primo Levi stated later about the tenuous frontiers of dehumanization: "Part of our existence lies in the feeling of those near to us. This is why the experience of someone who has lived for days during which man was merely a thing in the eyes of man is non-human"⁶⁴. Joaquim Amat-Piniella and Jorge Semprún also ratified all of the above by invoking radical evil through Kant: "Evil is one of the possible designs of the freedom essential to the humanity of man – the freedom- from which spring both the humanity and inhumanity of man"⁶⁵.

The dehumanization of the Twentieth-century camps allowed to place prisoners in a bind where chance undoubtedly played its role: hygiene, density of concentration, epidemics, hierarchies and national origin. The network of concentration *rights* depended particularly on national divisions, or political militancy that could guarantee a better adaptation and role for resistance. For example, through Communist solidarity in Le Vernet d'Ariège Sector B camp, when compared to its lack in the Csection, where individuals were not specifically identified for their politics. Or in camps such as Dachau, Buchenwald or Mauthausen-Gusen, etc. where Communists and/or Spanish Republicans eventually took over the *kapo* structure⁶⁶. Above all, administrative arbitrary concentrations begin by blocking the hopes of a normalized life and transforming the interns into potential corpses⁶⁷: progressive *arenitis*, *arenosis* or psychosis and/or dementia denounced by Celso Amieva, photographed and commented by Agustí Centelles in the Bram camp, and ratified by Harry Alexander

⁶³ Hannah ARENDT, "The Concentration Camps", *The Partisan Review*, nº 15.7 (1948), pp. 749-750.

⁶⁴ Primo LEVI, *Survival in Auschwitz*, Tr. Stuart Woolf, Nueva York, Macmillan, 1993, pág. 172.

⁶⁵ Jorge SEMPRÚN, *Literature or Life*, Tr. Linda Coverdale, Nueva York, Viking, 1997, pág. 88.

"Los monstruos también forman parte de la humanidad". Joaquim AMAT-PINIELLA, *K.L.Reich*, *op. cit.*, pág. 314.

⁶⁶ On the role of the Spaniards at Mauthausen, see *ibidem*.

⁶⁷ "L'horizon bouché par l'absence de perspective d'élargissement caractérise l'enfermement sur décision administrative, sans motif, sans contradiction et sans durée fixée d'emblée". Sylvie THÉNAULT, *Violence ordinaire dans l'Algérie coloniale: camps, internements, assignations à résidence*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2012, pág. 312.

when deported to Djelfa⁶⁸. All mirrored the fate of the *musulmaner* in the *Lager*, described by Amat-Piniella, Semprún, and feared by Primo Levi who managed to keep part of his human identity through *cleanliness*: “it is most important as a symptom of remaining vitality, and necessary as an instrument of moral survival”⁶⁹.

THE CAMPS: TODAY'S ABYSS

The existence of camps, then and now, from Dachau to Guantánamo, points decisively to the disturbing element of the reason of state that so often justifies national measures of exception⁷⁰. They make us slide inexorably, when facing the present Islamist and Islamized threats, the hoax about a national emergency for immigration calling for the building of border walls, for example in the USA, on the slope toward the unlawful state and the concentration universe, which Primo Levi forcibly pointed out to:

*The Nazi Lagers were the apex, the crown of European Fascism, its most monstrous manifestation; but there was Fascism before Hitler and Mussolini, and, in forms both open and disguised, it has survived the defeat of Second World War. Anywhere in the world, if one begins by denying the fundamental freedoms of Man, and equality between men, one is heading toward a concentration-camp system, and this trajectory that is difficult to stop*⁷¹.

⁶⁸ Celso AMIEVA, *Poeta en la arena*, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-48 and Agustí CENTELLES, *La maleta del fotògraf*. Barcelona, Destino, 2009, pp. 42, 58-60, 64-67, 96 y 100-101, and *Diari d'un fotògraf, Bram, 1939*, Ed. Teresa Ferré, Barcelona: Destino, 2009, pág. 98. Harry Alexander declares: “You just give up. Let them kill me. You did not care anymore. There was just so much you could absorb, there was so much abuse, and beatings, and starvation, and thirst, and cold, and heat, that you could accept, that you could take. This was just enough. Many times you thought, I wish I don't get up tomorrow. The hell with it. You did not give a damn anymore”. “Oral History ...”, *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ Primo LEVI, *Survival in Auschwitz*, Tr. Stuart Woolf, Nueva York, Macmillan, 1993, pág. 40. Joaquim AMAT-PINIELLA, *K.L.Reich*, *op.cit.*, pág. 213.

⁷⁰ *Raison d'état* appeals -rightly or wrongly, as the case maybe- to *necessity*, and the state crimes committed in its name (which are fully criminal in terms of the dominant legal system of the country where they occur) are considered emergency measures, concessions made to the stringencies of *Realpolitik*, in order to preserve power and thus assure the continuance of the existing legal order as a whole. In a normal political and legal system, such crimes occur as an exception to the rule and are not subject to legal penalty (are *gerichtsfrei*, as German legal theory expresses it) because the existence of the state itself is at stake, and no outside political entity has the right to deny a state its existence or prescribe how it is to preserve it. Hannah ARENDT, “Excerpts from *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil*”, Joel E. Dimsdale, Ed., *Survivors, Victims, and Perpetrators: Essays on the Nazi Holocaust*, Washington, Hemisphere Pub. Corp., 1980, pág. 323.

⁷¹ Primo LEVI, *The Voice of Memory: Interviews 1961-1987*, Ed. Marco Belpoliti & Robert Gordon, Tr. Robert Gordon, Nueva York, The New Press, 2001, pág. 194.

Far from blurring without justification a repressive system with another, a testimony with another, the study of the Francoist⁷², French, Nazi, Soviet, etc. concentration regimes show the systematic contempt for their inhabitants' humanity. In the case of the French camps, we may also unmask the responsibility of the state in the forced treatment and abuse of prisoners. As Spanish Republicans' testimonies pointed out, time after time, death and repression took place in these precincts. Ramón Moral i Querol ratified in a *housing* camp like St Cyprien that "els homes cauen morts per manca d'atenció. Què passarà? Una massa tan enorme no pot deixar-se així, abandonada de tot i de tothom! {...} es aquí al Comissariat on veig de prop les misèries del Camp: famílies dividides, morts (m'encarrego del registre dels morts del Camp). Porto també el control de tots els qui han estat passats a l'Hospital general de Perpinyà"⁷³.

Nevertheless, the euphemistic *internment* French administration nomenclature, consistently ratified by a blurring historiography and museography (Peschanski, Sicot, etc.), may distort the nature of concentration⁷⁴. Despite all evidences, Memory Associations in France are being confronted with current denials, notably, with the official refusal of remembering the Noé camp at a Memorial site, as a concentration one⁷⁵. As pointed out by Paul Ricoeur, it is imperative to use memory as a moral tool

⁷² Javier RODRIGO. *Cautivos: Campos de concentración en la España Franquista, 1936-1947*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2005.

⁷³ Ramón MORAL I QUEROL, *Diari d'un exiliat. Fets viscuts (1936-1945)*, Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1979. Statistics on deaths in these camps are lacking.

⁷⁴ Eliane Ortega Bernabeu presents a long list of alternative terms for the camps, found in official documents under the French administrations of the Third Republic and Vichy: "Dispositif de prévention, centre de rassemblement spécial, centre d'hébergement, centre d'exclusion, centre d'emprisonnement, centre de séjour surveillé, centre de rétention {provisionel}, centre de rééducation pour mutilés, camp de prisonniers, camp de regroupement, camp de réfugiés, camp de châtement, camp disciplinaire, camp surveillé, camp d'internement, colonie pénitencière, CTE and GTE". "Conferencia de Eliane Ortega: El exilio republicano en Argelia". (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hlwOWRJ3Gal&feature=youtu.be&fbclid=IwAR0Pri3TCkq0HpBrewieMeAR8IUsVo_Vk-JZV46x6kU4tx3wWwTmL0p74YI) (20/2/2019) For WW I camp terminologies, refer to Jean Claude FARCY, "Les camps ...", *op. cit.* As Danièle LOCHAK points out, based on her studies on the Anti-Jewish Legislation under Vichy, the use of certain terminologies, particularly if they denote a judicial category "produisent un effet d'accoutumance: on s'habitue d'abord aux mots, puis aux représentations qu'ils véhiculent et on finit par trouver normales, acceptables, les situations et les pratiques qu'ils désignent". The same practice is found today with legislation about aliens: "retention administrative", "reconduite à la frontière", la "zone d'attente". *Face aux migrants...*, *op. cit.*, pág. 67.

⁷⁵ "Sollicitée par l'association Mémorial de Noé, la Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah a fait connaître en avril 2017 qu'elle conditionnait son concours financier en ces termes : 'Après avoir consulté

for human dignity. Therefore sound scholarly research must deconstruct and denounce this deceitful lexicon used by the administration of the Third Republic, or the *free France of Vichy*, and perpetuated by a neo-structuralist fragmentary historiography and museography. As Andrea Pitzer has recently stated:

*But where the camp exist predominantly to isolate refugees and relegate them to dangerous or inhospitable terrain, serve as de facto detention areas to discourage border crossing, or become permanent purgatory for detainees unable to return home, they begin to take on characteristics of concentration camps. With refugee populations, a clear line does not always mark the peripheries of concentration camp definitions*⁷⁶.

Therefore we systematically need to refer to *concentration* as a historically sound but complex term when we certify that “government{s} hold groups of civilians outside the normal legal process sometimes to segregate people considered foreigners or outsiders, sometimes to punish”⁷⁷. Concentration camps certainly vary with their diverse degree of human evil: Nazi systematic extermination (Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, etc.); arbitrary extermination through slave labor (Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen, or the *Gulag*, etc.); various degrees of arbitrary repression and forced labor (Le Vernet d’Ariège, Djelfa, Second Spanish Republic and Franco’s Albaterra, etc.); relative dehumanization and retention (1939 French camps for Spanish or foreign

des historiens spécialistes sur les camps en France, je vous confirme que le Camp de Noé ne peut être considéré comme un camp de concentration: c’est un camp d’internement. Il est reconnu que le Struthof est l’unique camp de concentration sur le sol français. Dans ces conditions nous ne pourrions soutenir un monument sur lequel l’information historiquement non valide ‘camp de concentration’ serait apposée”. (http://www.mer82.eu/wa_files/GUERRILLEROS_20n_C2_B0146.pdf) (25/05/2018).

⁷⁶ Andrea PITZER, *One Long...*, *op. cit.*, pág. 7.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, pág. 5. “La tipología de los campos es abundante. Se los puede clasificar según los tipos de trabajo, nacionalidad de los prisioneros o régimen (grado de represión). No obstante, no se puede olvidar que la tipología de los campos, una u otra, constituye sólo un instrumento auxiliar. Lo fundamental es analizar qué relación se produce entre la existencia de un campo y la escala y métodos de la represión o terror; es decir, si para un régimen los campos son necesarios como métodos de represión. Además, los campos de concentración no se establecen como un fin en sí mismos, son el resultado de una bien pensada y planificada – en la mayoría de los casos criminal en mayor o menor grado - política de un país que aspira al aislamiento provisional de un grupo de personas, a la explotación de su trabajo como esclavos, al amedrentamiento, y, en los casos extremos, a su destrucción física. Por eso es muy importante el contexto histórico del establecimiento y funcionamiento de los campos determinados”. Jan Stanislaw CIECHANOWSKI, “Los campos de concentración en Europa. Algunas consideraciones sobre su definición, tipología y estudios comparados”, *Los campos de concentración franquistas en el contexto europeo*, *Ayer* nº 57 (2005), pág. 78. For Second Spanish Republic camps, see Julius RUIZ, “Work and don’t loose hope’: Republican Forced Labor Camps during the Civil War”. *Contemporary European History*. Vol. 18, No. 4 (Nov., 2009), pp. 419-441.

refugees as Antibes, Argelès-sur-Mer, Bram, Judes-Septfonds, Les Milles, Rolland-Garros, etc., or USA's for people of Japanese origins, Guantánamo, etc.) Therefore, it is paramount to identify with utmost rigor any concentration preliminary conditions that open the gates to inhumanity and its abuses, within the modern paradigm that has perfected the camps, maintained and/ or revised and/or negated their existence⁷⁸.

Well before Giorgio Agamben extended his *homo sacer* analysis, Max Aub, the former inmate from Rolland Garros, Le Vernet d'Ariège and Djelfa, had ironically stated in *Manuscrito cuervo*, through his unreliable alter ego, J. R. Bululú (a sort of hoax onomatopoeiac name): "es bien sabido que se acabaron las guerras y los campos de concentración" {"it is well known that wars and concentration camps are long gone"}⁷⁹. Despite his human socialism, Aub was stating that his experience in French concentration camps had seriously dented his beliefs in humanity, and that he also understood the fallacies of the democratic project, as ratified by the shared Spanish Republican concentration experiences whose anticipatory discourses we have attempted to display here⁸⁰.

Unfortunately, Aub's predictions about the longevity of camps and wars still stand today⁸¹. If we deconstruct the geometrical symbolism of the blue triangle that

⁷⁸ As in the recent case of the Polish president Andrzej Duda signing a bill where "whoever accuses, publicly and against the facts, the Polish nation, or the Polish state, of being responsible or complicit in the Nazi crimes committed by the Third German Reich ... shall be subject to a fine or a penalty of imprisonment of up to three years". "Poland's Senate passes controversial Holocaust bill." <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-42898882> (25/05/2018).

⁷⁹ *Manuscrito cuervo: historia de Jacobo*, Segorbe, Fundación Max Aub-Universidad de Alcalá, 1999, pág. 47. Giorgio AGAMBEN. *Homo Sacer: El archivo y el testigo*. Vol. 3, *Lo que queda de Auschwitz*, Valencia, Pre-Textos, 2010.

⁸⁰ "El liberalismo político, en boga y mando en el siglo XIX, se ha visto arruinado por sus contradicciones heredadas de los postulados de la Revolución Francesa. Dejando aparte la Fraternidad, que es un sentimiento y no un fin político, los liberales del siglo pasado basaron su ideología en el bazuqueo de Libertad e Igualdad. Max Aub, "El falso dilemma". *Hablo como hombre*. Ed. Gonzalo Sobejano. Segorbe: Fundación Max Aub, 2002, pág. 92. "{...} la importancia radical del texto aubiano {*Manuscrito Cuervo*} es la que han puesto de manifiesto estudios como los de Agamben: ¿Qué sucede con esta conversión si el espacio ocupado no es solo el del campo o, mejor dicho, si resulta que las fronteras se difuminan para progresivamente ocupar todo el espacio social?" José Ramón LÓPEZ-GARCÍA, *Fábula y espejo: Variaciones sobre lo judío en la obra de Max Aub*, Sevilla, Editorial Renacimiento, 2013, pág. 120.

⁸¹ As well as my foreshadowing commentaries, two decades ago, to his predictions: "Así, la escritura de Aub busca defender una ética basada sobre un "algo más". Porque si leemos *Manuscrito Cuervo* con una perspectiva transhistórica, nos muestra su desconfianza, no sólo hacia el episodio que tocó en

identified the Spanish Republicans as stateless prisoners inside the *Lager*, besides two of its dehumanizing and denationalizing edges from the Nazi and Franco regimes, we find the third *democratic* blocking tip: the one that initially concentrated the Spanish Republicans and other refugees during the Third French Republic in so called *internment/concentration camps*.

Those democratic fallacies keep opening the gates to repeated concentration stateless deviations, particularly as the European Union or the United States display worrisome signs of turning a deaf ear to their obligations when facing refugee rights while blurring fundamental rights under the pressures against sovereign states transformed into states of fear by international terrorism.⁸² The *Mare Nostrum*, and its paradoxical specular humanistic tradition, have shifted *again* to the new *liquid* wire metaphor for a sort of Scylla and Charybdis drowning concentration, while the EU even prevents NGO's from rescuing migrants and refugees sinking as victims of the returning *amor fati* of endless conflicts and globalizing shortcomings, while externalizing the concentration away from witnesses in third parties' non-places and territories.⁸³

Francia a miles de detenidos en los campos de la infamia. Lo que *Manuscrito Cuervo* magnifica es lo inconcluso de su redacción, es decir, la posible repetición de episodios similares. Más allá del referente, el texto se alegoriza como un manual de sospecha ante las incoherencias del universalismo y los excesos que se pueden cometer en su nombre, cuando además se le aplican dosis de nacionalismo para elegidos, frente a la disolución cosmopolita de la persona que experimentaba el propio Aub: "¿Qué soy? ¿Alemán, francés, español, mexicano? ¿Qué soy? Nada".

Capítulos de una misma pesadilla que releemos en nuestro presente occidental ante la presión de los "otros", ante las tensiones de los ultranacionalismos míticos que llevan a políticas de exterminio y de "laissez faire", o de intervenciones selectivas e hipócritas por estos mismos poderes occidentales que vuelven a mancillar su "misma" historia. Historia con nombres familiares que resuenan, no en la frontera "africana" de los Pirineos de 1939, sino en la de la costa andaluza de la Europa globalizada del 2000, en los campos de Ceuta y Melilla, o en los de la ex Yugoslavia, por citar sólo algunos ejemplos más cercanos. *Manuscrito Cuervo* no ha evitado que la historia se repita, pero su lectura sí debe hacernos reflexionar sobre las causas de su retorno, sobre ese "algo más" que se nos escapa y que apunta a la inercia ignominiosa a la que Aub pudo escapar y ante la que tuvo la fuerza y el ánimo de levantarse como persona y como escritor. Epílogo de José María Naharro-Calderón, "De 'Cadahalso 34' a *Manuscrito Cuervo*: el retorno de las alambradas", Max Aub, *Manuscrito cuervo*, op. cit., pág. 254-255.

⁸² "Le contournement de l'État de droit, moins visible que la suspension, est à la fois permanent et extensible car il consiste en un dédoublement du système pénal entre un droit commun respectueux des principes et un circuit parallèle qui s'en affranchit peu à peu par un durcissement des règles de procédure et de fond {...} le seul obstacle juridique qui s'oppose encore à un tel naufrage de l'État de droit est la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme {mais} ne supprime pas la raison d'État". Mireille DELMAS-MARTY, *Aux quatre...*, Op. cit., pp. 29 & 33.

⁸³ As anticipated by Arendt, and ratified by Lochak, former president of the GISTI (Groupe d'information

All of the above, ratifies Simone Weil's early critique, even before Arendt's, on the necessity to radically flip over the metaphysical stance of human rights to the obligations of individuals and states, and the criminal nature of a behavior that would avoid the inalienable obligation to help one another: the only requirement that truly equates us within the world.

The notion of obligations comes before that of rights, which is subordinate and relative to the former. A right is not effectual by itself, but only in relation to the obligation to which it corresponds, the effective exercise of a right springing not from the individual who possesses it, but from other men who consider themselves as being under a certain obligation towards him. Recognition of an obligation makes it effectual. An obligation which goes unrecognized by anybody loses none of the full force of its existence. A right which goes unrecognized by anybody is not worth very much {...} The only thing that is identical in all men is the presence of a link with the reality outside the world {...} The possibility of indirect expression of respect for the human being is the basis of obligation. Obligation is concerned with the needs in this world of the souls and bodies of human beings, whoever they may be. For each need there is a corresponding obligation; for each obligation a corresponding need. There is no other kind of obligation, so far as human affairs are concerned {...} This obligation cannot legitimately be held to be limited by the insufficiency of power or the nature of the responsibilities until everything possible has been done to explain the necessity of the limitation to those who will suffer by it. {...} No combination of circumstances ever cancels this obligation⁸⁴.

Old Camps, new concentrations...

et de soutien des immigré·e·s): "Le terme d'externalisation a été forgé par des militants et des chercheurs réunis au sein du réseau Migreurop, qui s'est donné pour objectif de mettre au jour les mécanismes par lesquels l'Europe organise la mise à l'écart des étrangers et d'alerter sur la généralisation des camps. Le mot a été choisi pour rendre compte de deux choses: la délocalisation qui consiste à effectuer les contrôles ailleurs que sur le territoire européen, et la sous-traitance, qui consiste à faire peser sur d'autres – les transporteurs ou les États tiers – la responsabilité du contrôle des frontières et de l'accueil des demandeurs d'asile. L'objectif, c'est le maintien à distance des migrants, de tous les migrants, demandeurs d'asile compris. Le but, c'est d'empêcher à toute force les gens du Sud d'accéder aux frontières de l'Europe, parce que, une fois présents, il devient plus difficile de les refouler". *Face aux migrants, op. cit.*, pág. 91.

Sait Faik Abasiyanik refers how radical and steady dehumanization operates as an erasure rights leveler that anticipates genocidal behaviors and policies. See Vincent DUCLERT, Stéphane AUDOIN-ROUZEAU, Dominique SCHNAPPER and Henry ROUSSO, *Rapport de la Mission d'étude en France sur la recherche et l'enseignement des génocides et des crimes de masse*. Paris, CNRS, 2018.

⁸⁴ Simone WEIL. *An Anthology*. Ed. Sian Miles, Londres, Penguin, 2005, pp. 106, 223-225.

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