

Impact case study (REF3)

Institution: University of Glasgow (UofG)		
Unit of Assessment: 26A Modern Languages and Linguistics		
Title of case study: Challenging the continuation of censorship under Franco's regime		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2014–present		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Dr Jordi Cornellà-Detrell	Senior Lecturer in Hispanic Studies	2013–present
Period when the claimed impact occurred: 2014–31 st July 2020		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? N		
1. Summary of the impact		
<p>UofG research has demonstrated that the impact of censorship imposed under the Franco regime in Spain from 1939–1976 extends well into the current day, because publishers are still reissuing works expurgated by the censors more than 60 years ago. These findings sparked intense media coverage and public debate in Spain and elsewhere, and within the international literary and human rights communities. As a direct result of Cornellà-Detrell's work, publishers of Spanish-language texts have to date reviewed, amended or commissioned new translations of 12 seminal works by Ernest Hemingway, George Orwell, James Baldwin, Ian Fleming and others.</p>		
2. Underpinning research		
<p>Dr Jordi Cornellà-Detrell's research focuses on the impact of censorship during Franco's regime (1939–1975). Specifically, it focuses on works translated into Spanish and has examined the censorship records kept at the Archivo General de la Administración (Alcalá de Henares, Spain) in order to analyse the context of production of several works representing different genres. The research explored the role of the censor, the publisher and the translator in the configuration of meaning and their role in mediating the reading process.</p> <p>Cornellà-Detrell discovered that Spanish publishers were still re-editing and publishing books (including new digital versions) which bore cuts imposed by censors under Franco's dictatorship. As a result, he embarked on a systematic comparison of newer editions and the original censored texts, to discover what exactly was altered and demonstrate that texts still reproduce the cuts enforced by censors. Although the number of translated works is unknown, there were ~500,000 censorship files, and Cornellà-Detrell studied ~30 cases of translation forensically.</p> <p>In foreign novels, Cornellà-Detrell found that references to Franco's regime, the Spanish Civil War and alternative ideologies were repeatedly censored; as well as sections and excerpts considered to be overly sexually explicit, immoral, or critical of the Church. There are instances of translated texts in circulation which are lacking entire pages from the original. Cornellà-Detrell showed that many of the published translations of classics of English and American literature currently available in Spain and Latin America —such as Ernest Hemingway's <i>Across the River and Into the Trees</i>, James Baldwin's <i>Go Tell it on the Mountain</i> or Ira Levin's <i>Rosemary's Baby</i>— were still the edited versions approved by the Franco-era censors.</p> <p>Cornellà-Detrell produced several outputs (listed below) which demonstrate that the impact of censorship on the Spanish publishing sector extends well beyond Franco's dictatorship [3.3]. A 2001 edition of the Hemingway work, for instance, still reflects the cuts and edits of the Franco-era censors, demonstrating that this practice continues to affect current cultural policies [3.1]. The research has also established that, because of the cultural links between Spain and Latin</p>		

America, the circulation of expurgated texts has affected the Spanish-speaking world more widely.

Cornellà-Detrell showed that, after the regime's demise in 1975, censored works have been subjected to one of four different strategies: a) some were never published again; b) many were reprinted without any modification; c) some underwent a thematic and/or linguistic revision; and d) some were retranslated. Cornellà-Detrell argues that, since publishers have continued to offer expurgated texts to the public, censorship still plays a function in cultural life. It therefore cannot be considered a mere historical episode that bears little or no relevance to the present.

One of his research objectives was to raise awareness of the long-lasting effects of Francoist repressive policies, and promote a debate around the effects of censorship so that readers, translators and the cultural sector, once aware, can devise strategies to address this issue [3.2]. This is the first research to address the question of why the advent of democracy did not stop the production, circulation and consumption of censored books in Spain and to investigate the extent to which this aspect of the cultural legacy of Franco's dictatorship remains uncontested [3.1–3.4].

3. References to the research

3.1 Cornellà-Detrell, J. (2015) [La obra de James Baldwin ante la censura franquista: el contrabando de libros, la conexión latinoamericana y la evolución del sector editorial peninsular](#).

James Baldwin against Francoist censorship: the illegal book trade, the Latin American connection and the evolution of the Spanish publishing sector.

Represura. Revista de Historia Contemporánea española en torno a la represión y la censura aplicadas al libro, 1(1), pp. 32–60. [available on request from HEI]

3.2 Cornellà, J. (2017) [Estratègies contra la censura durant el període democràtic: reedició, reescriptura i polítiques editorials](#).

Strategies against censorship during the democratic period: reprinting, rewriting and publishing policies

In: Bacardí, M. and Godayol, P. (eds.) Traducció i franquisme. Series: Visions (8). Punctum: Lleida, pp. 121-138. ISBN 9788494579059. [available on request from HEI]

3.3 Cornellà-Detrell, J. (2020) 'Circulación, importación, venta y consumo de libros ilegales durante el franquismo'.

Circulation, import, sale and consumption of illegal books during the Franco regime

In: Fernando Larraz, Josep Mengual, Mireia Sopena (eds.), La historia de la edición, a debate (Gijón: TREA), 237–250. ISBN: 978-84-17767-32-7. [available on request from HEI]

3.4 [Cornellà-Detrell, J. \(2016\) 'El terratrèmol de les lletres catalanes': traducció, censura i mercat del llibre en català als anys 60](#).

'The ground zero of Catalan literature': translation, censorship and the book market in Catalan in the 1960s

In: Vilardell, L. (ed.) Traducció i censura en el franquisme. Series: Biblioteca Milà i Fontanals (62). Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat: Barcelona, pp. 97–126. ISBN 9788498838183. [available on request from HEI]

Quality: Key publications 3.1 and 3.2 were published in peer-reviewed journals, and the research has been influential in the field, e.g. 3.4 was published in a prestigious academic series and has been cited multiple times. The research is expected to meet or exceed the 2* threshold.

4. Details of the impact

Under Franco's dictatorship between 1939–1976, translators and publishers in Spain were subjected to harsh methods of control and surveillance aimed at impeding or restricting the circulation of foreign ideas among the reading public. In 1977, Spain attempted to draw a line under decades of dictatorship through the Pacto del Olvido (Pact of Forgetting), and there are now at least two generations of adults who have grown up and been educated in a system of democracy. Despite this, Cornellà-Detrell's work has revealed the extent of the continuing cultural influence of the dictatorship, and wide dissemination of these findings and his call for a change of practice have sparked debate around the wider legacy of the Franco era. Both the public and the publishing sector are now more aware of this cultural legacy, and publishers are addressing the presence of dozens or possibly more censored works in their current catalogues.

4.1 Cultural impacts: stimulating awareness and debate in the literary world

Cornellà-Detrell's research has received extensive media coverage and attracted the attention of the cultural sector, especially in Spain and the UK. Up to 2020, the research findings have been discussed in more than 40 press articles, in some of the most influential and widely-circulated newspapers in the world. This includes the [Financial Times](#), [Sunday Times](#), [Frankfurter Allgemeine](#), [Folha de São Paulo](#) (Brazil), [De Groene Amsterdammer](#) (Netherlands), [El Financiero](#) (Mexico), [La Vanguardia](#) and [El País](#), [5.1] a highly prestigious Spanish newspaper (on two different occasions). Leading cultural publications ([Quimera](#), [l'Avenç](#), [ArtsFreedom](#)) have extensively discussed the research [e.g. 5.2, 5.3]. Cornellà-Detrell was interviewed on Radio Nacional (Spain's national public radio) (18 September 2014) and Cadena Ser: La sombra de la censura franquista es alargada (September 2016) (~3.2 million listeners). More recently, Cornellà-Detrell was interviewed on Radiocable by Emilio Silva (13 May 2019) and on Radio Nacional by Keri Phillips (ABC Network, Australia's national broadcaster, 27 October 2019).

The revelation that a significant percentage of the translations published following the end of the Franco regime still bear the marks of censorship has great cultural resonance, illuminating the long-term effects of the regime's repressive policies and how censorship has been reproduced over the years [3.1 and 3.2]. The findings have contributed to cultural and political debate in Spain, for example sparking interest on social media [5.4].

In November 2016, following a meeting with Cornellà-Detrell, the influential Spanish NGO *Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory* (ARMH) submitted a petition to the Spanish Parliament requesting that the government promote the publication of censorship-free editions of censored books (reported in the media: [EcoDiario](#), 3 November 2016; [Informativos TeleCinco](#), 3 November 2016; [El Plural](#), 4 November 2016) [5.5]. The president of ARMH commented [5.6]: *'Cornellà's research has brought this practice of continuing censorship to light, which is why, in November 2016, ARMH submitted a formal petition to the Spanish Parliament requesting, among other measures, that the government promote the publication of censorship-free editions of books and establish a commission to help restore the books censored by Franco's dictatorship'*.

Cornellà-Detrell is also contributing to a documentary film on Franco's repression ([Sin Rencor](#), director José Ramón Rebollada) [5.7] and a podcast on censorship in contemporary Europe (by Dutch journalist Pamela Kalkman). Director Rebollada commented [5.8]: *'this research clearly demonstrates that Francoist cultural repression extends its tentacles well beyond ... Franco's dictatorship. This [exemplifies] the seriousness of the past and present negative impact of*

Franco's fascist regime on Spanish society. This aspect is of vital importance to us and we will endeavour to firmly address this point in our documentary'.

4.2 Influencing publishing practices and spurring new retranslations

Tens of thousands of books were published during Franco's regime, and approximately 500,000 censorship files relating to publication during this time have been preserved. It is therefore extremely challenging to estimate how many censored books are still in circulation, but to date twelve works have been retranslated or are in the process of being retranslated as a result of Dr Cornellà-Detrell's research, including Ian Fleming's *Dr. No*, Ira Levin's *Rosemary's Baby* and Carson McCullers' *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter*. The final chapter of *Dr. No*, for example, was distorted by having two pages removed because of sexual references.

Rather than publishers actively enforcing an ideological agenda, as some publishers have acknowledged, the retranslation and republication of works is primarily an economic challenge. However, with debate over the subject and growing political awareness widely stimulated in the press by Cornellà-Detrell's work, the cultural importance of ending the legacy of decades of censorship is now being accepted and changes in practice have followed. Five Spanish publishers – Planeta, ECC, Tres Puntos, Edicions 62 and Seix Barral – are now in the process of reviewing translation policies, amending works and commissioning new translations of works by Ian Fleming, Ernest Hemingway, George Orwell, James Baldwin and others, which had been censored during Franco's regime (1939–1975).

In an article in *Ara* and in personal communication, the publisher ECC Ediciones notes that Dr Cornellà-Detrell's research inspired the company to commission new translations of Ian Fleming's novels (*Ara*, 28 December 2015 [5.9]). Calderón stated concerning Dr Cornellà-Detrell's research on censorship '*Me parecía, lógicamente, un valor añadido, pues no sería una reedición más*' [It provided added value as this would be more than just another reprint]. Planeta, the most important Spanish publishing house, has responded positively to Dr Cornellà-Detrell's research findings and is in the process of publishing censorship-free editions of major works. As their spokesperson stated in September 2016 [5.10] '*With this new information, any self-respecting publisher will be delighted to issue a new version.*'

In 2019, the family of Ira Levin, author of *Rosemary's Baby*, contacted Cornellà-Detrell regarding the research, which revealed that translations of this important novel were still in censored form [5.11]. Cornella found that 20 different Spanish-language editions were all missing extended passages that, according to the censors, 'glorified Satan'. Levin's family commented:

It recently came to our attention through an article written by ... Jordi Cornella-Detrell that the original 1968 Spanish-language translation of Rosemary's Baby had been a victim not of witchcraft, but worse — censorship. And that that censorship had carried over, unbeknownst to us, into the present day. Dr. Cornella-Detrell shared two major expurgations with us... after which we ourselves found ... two smaller ones, as well as the removal of the occasional entirely non-Satanic line...

On this basis, Levin's family are calling for '*a completely new, fully faithful, and entirely uncensored Spanish translation of Rosemary's Baby*'. Although publishers have initially been resistant, Nicholas Levin, Ira Levin's son, told Cornellà-Detrell that '*we really feel a full new translation's needed, and nothing short of that*'.

5. Sources to corroborate the impact

- 5.1 Examples of media coverage of the research, including public comments in response, for example 45 comments in (a), corroborating public interest and debate. [PDF]
- a. Financial Times: [Spain fails to turn page on Franco's legacy of censorship](#), 23rd September 2016;
 - b. El Pais: [La censura franquista sigue presente en los libros de Hemingway](#), 22nd July 2018 and
 - c. La Republica: [El Financial Times alerta que la censura franquista encara està vigent a Espanya](#), 24 September 2016
- 5.2 Article in cultural magazine Quimera: *La persistencia de la censura franquista durante el periodo democrático* [PDF], corroborating attention of leading cultural publications.
- 5.3 Article in cultural magazine L'avenc: *Barcelona, la Ciutat dels llibres prohibits* [PDF], corroborating attention of leading cultural publications.
- 5.4 Article in [The Conversation](#), evidencing the research shared by hundreds of users accompanied by screenshot of website to capture almost 900 social media shares [PDF]
- 5.5 Examples of media coverage of the petition brought to the Spanish Parliament by ARMH
- a. El Plural: [Los memorialistas piden al Congreso que se disculpe con las víctimas del franquismo](#), 4th November 2016
 - b. ARMH: [Piden al Congreso una condena "contundente" del golpe de 1936 y disculpas para las víctimas del franquismo](#), 3rd November 2016
 - c. Europa Press: [Piden al Congreso una condena "contundente" del franquismo y disculpas para las víctimas](#), 3rd November 2016
 - d. Informativos TeleCinco: [Piden al Congreso una condena "contundente" del golpe de 1936 y disculpas para las víctimas del franquismo](#), 3rd November 2016 [PDF]
- 5.6 Testimonial letter, President of ARMH [PDF], corroborating the role of Cornellà-Detrell and his research in bringing the continued censorship to their attention and leading them to take action in the form of a government petition.
- 5.7 Website of film *Sin Rencor*, evidencing Cornellà-Detrell credited as contributor [PDF]
- 5.8 Testimonial letter, director José Ramón Rebollada [PDF], corroborating the role of Cornellà-Detrell and his expertise in the making of a documentary film on repression during the Franco era.
- 5.9 Email from publisher ECC, confirming that the research inspired him to retranslate several novels [PDF]
- 5.10 Comments by Planeta in response to the research, stating that action should be taken by the company as well as the wider publishing industry, quoted in [Financial Times](#) 13th Sept 2016 [PDF]
- 5.11 Comments made publicly on behalf of Ira Levin's family and estate on their website, and an email to Jordi Cornellà-Detrell [PDF], corroborating the impact of the research in making the Levin family aware of the censorship of *Rosemary's Baby* and their commitment to a retranslation.