



*Memory Lab 8th annual study trip and workshop, 17 -23 September 2017:
Madrid, Belchite, Barcelona, La Jonquera, Rivesaltes*

Basic information and reading recommendations regarding the history and the legacies of the Spanish Civil War

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1. The history of Spain in the 20th Century, with a special emphasis on the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939

1. 1. Some basic information

1.1.1. The Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939)

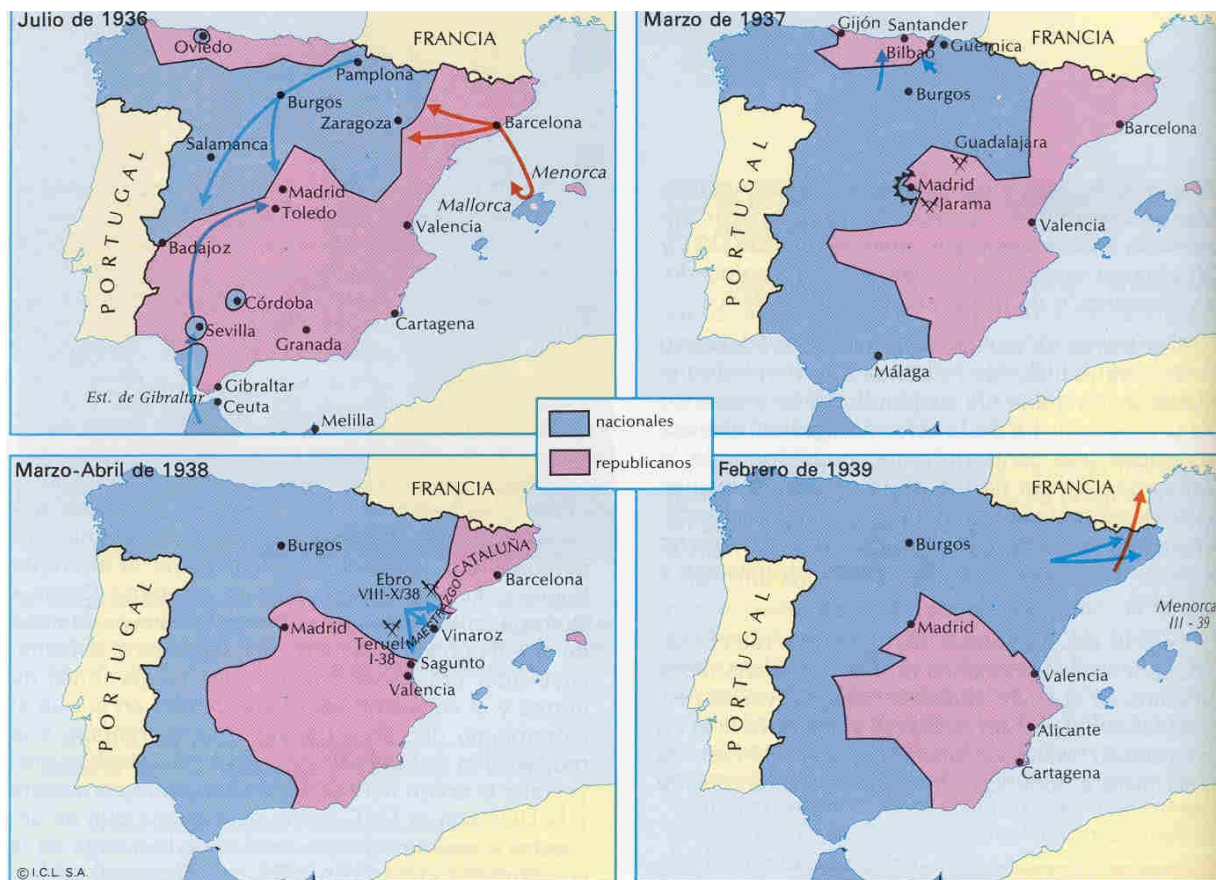
→ 14. April 1931: After centuries of monarchic reign in Spain (with a short Republican intermezzo in 1873/4), the Second Spanish Republic is proclaimed and King Alfonso XIII flees the country, following the landslide victory of anti-monarchist forces at the municipal elections two days earlier.
→ Some characteristics for the following years: many important reforms (for example land reform, right to vote for women, autonomy for Catalonia and other regions) ; political tensions within the republican governing parties, between more leftist and more conservative tendencies, accompanied by strikes and labour conflicts ; at the general elections in February 1936 victory of the Popular Front regrouping different left-wing political organisations, including socialists and communists. Non-acceptance of the new Republican regime by monarchist and nationalist forces.

1.1.2. The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

→ 18 July 1936: Military Coup attempt by a group of nationalist and monarchist generals in the Spanish Army against the government of the Second Spanish Republic. The uprising succeeds in the Spanish protectorate in Morocco, and in various regions of Spain in the south and west, while it fails in other regions, especially in and around the big cities as Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao. Spain is thus left militarily and politically divided, with the Nationalist forces on the one hand, and the Republican forces on the other hand, fighting for control of the country.

→ Military evolutions during the war: By November 1936 the Nationalist troops had advanced to the outskirts of Madrid, laid siege to it but were unable to get beyond the University City area. In the following years, the Nationalist forces succeeded slowly and progressively to gain more and more territories throughout Spain (for example by Fall 1937 they had conquered the Basque territory and held

the whole northern coast), while the Republicans launched various offensives against the nationalist forces but could never convert them into strategic victories. In February 1939, Catalonia was conquered by the Nationalist forces, and in March 1939, the last Republican armies began to disband and surrender, and Nationalist forces entered Madrid end of March 1939.



→ Political evolutions during the war:

On 1 October 1936 Franco was formally recognised as *Caudillo* (leader) for the Spanish *patria* by the “National Defense Committee” (*Junta de defensa nacional*), which governed the territories occupied by the Nationalists. Franco definitely consolidated his position as the dominating military and political Nationalist figure in April 1937, when he merged the various nationalist groups into one organization under his direct authority, which would then become the only admitted political organization in the territories held by the Nationalists and then also after the war during Franco’s dictatorship. - On the republican side, the resistance against the military uprising of July 1936 was first organized on a very decentralized level and in a disparate way, by militias of the trade union and workers organisations, loyal government troops, volunteers and others, the Republican government remaining widely paralyzed in this early stage. In some parts of the territory, especially in Aragon and Catalonia, the fight against the nationalists was accompanied by a social revolution, and the republican camp was marked by significant divisions: On one side anarchists and militant socialists, who viewed the war as a revolutionary struggle and spearheaded collectivization of agriculture, industry, and services; on the other side more moderate socialists and republicans, whose objective was the preservation of the Republic. Within the Republican Government, the more moderate positions prevailed, and, with support of the Communist Party, the government succeeded progressively to regain some of its authority and control, partially through violent fights against anarchist and other leftist forces, as in Barcelona in May 1937.

→ The international dimensions of the war: On 9 September 1936 in London was created the “Non-Intervention Committee” which promised international non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War,

including an embargo on all arms to Spain. The initiative was led by France and Great-Britain, and was officially joined by Germany, Italy and Soviet Union. The three latter countries nevertheless got heavily involved in the war, militarily and politically, with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy supporting the Nationalist forces, while the Soviet Union supported the Republican side. The international involvement concerned not only the governmental level: From the beginning of the war many individuals from various countries wanted to participate in the fight on the Republican side ; many of them joined the International Brigades, which were set up in response to the call of several organisations, and were mainly controlled by the Comintern. Around 35.000 volunteers from more than 50 different countries fought on the Republican side in the International Brigades, and 15,000 others served in medical or auxiliary units. The International Brigades participated in several battles against the Nationalists before being dissolved by the Republican government in Fall 1938.

→ Violence and repression:

On the basis of research made by the historian Francisco Espinosa Maestre and others, the victims of repression and violence behind the front lines can be estimated to approx. 180.000 persons:

- Approx. 130.000 killed by nationalist forces during and after the civil war (approx 1/3 after the war). Until today approx. 110.000 bodies still remain in mass graves.

- Approx. 49.000 killed by Republican forces, among them more than 6.000 priests/members of the clergy. Most of these victims were later exhumed from their mass graves and buried during the Franco-era.

In the view of serious historians the repression from Republican side was very often a “hot repression”, in the first phase of the civil war, which decreased the more the Republican government regained control in its territory against other republican forces; while on Nationalist side, there was a systematic repression behind the lines, partially in pseudo-legal form through military courts after 1937. In 1939, more than 350.000 persons were held by the Nationalist forces in prisons, concentration camps and working bataillons.

The victims of military battles between 1936 and 1939 is estimated to approx. 170.000 persons.

→ Victory and defeat: The Francoist troops conquered Catalonia beginning of 1939 and finally Madrid beginning end of March 1939, and on 1 April 1939 Franco announced the victory of the Nationalist troops and the end of the war. - In the framework of the conquest of Catalonia by the Nationalist forces in February 1939 a mass exodus of soldiers and civilians loyal to the Republican government took place from Catalonia over the Pyrenees towards France. In April 1939, all together around 450.000 persons were in exile, most of them in France where they were put in refugee camps opened by the French government nearby the border (biggest camp with at least 70.000 refugees in Saint-Cyprien). Until end of 1939, approx. 300.000 returned to Spain, more then 10.000 went to South America and especially Mexico, 4.500 to the Soviet Union, while around 140.000 stayed in France.

1.1.3. The Franco-Dictatorship (1939-1975)

→ Some characteristics: Harsh and systematic political repression ; centralism and abolition of the autonomy of the provinces ; alliance with the Catholic church, one of the main pillars of the dictatorship; economic liberalization in the 1960s but upholding of the political repression.

→ International relations: Rapprochement with the USA and Great Britain at the end of Second World War, followed by a period of strong self-isolation; from end of the 1950s self-presentation as “Guard Post of the West” against communism, in the context of the Cold War. Opening of Spain for tourism from the the 1960s on.

→ Republicans in Exile: During Second World War, strong presence of Spanish Republicans (more than 50.000) in French Army and Resistance. In the same time thousands Spanish Republicans were deported during the Vichy-regime to Nazi camps, especially to the concentration camp Mauthausen in Austria. - Important centers of exile and opposition to Franco after Second World War: Paris, Mexico, Moscow (main seat of the exiled Spanish Communist Party PCE). Many intellectuals are part of the exile (for example Jorge Semprun, Max Aub, Luis Bunuel, ...), which sees a strong cultural production. Maintenance of a Republican exile-government, first in Mexico, then from 1946 (until

1977) in Paris. Recognized by 11 countries, among them Soviet Union, but most of them finally also recognize Franco's government, with the exception of Mexico and Yugoslavia.

→ Partially underground resistance from Republicans against Franco in Spain (sabotage, kidnapping, symbolic actions), especially between 1939 until 1952, by the PCE, also by anarchists (especially in Barcelona)

1.1.4. The transition of dictatorship to a Parliamentary Monarchy (1975 – 1978/81/82)

→ After the death of Franco, process of restoration of democracy in Spain, through a long process of negotiation between the reformist sectors of Francoism and the different political forces of the democratic opposition which work together for political reforms and a new Constitution.

→ Some significant events:

- 20.11.1975: Death of Franco.

- 22.11.1975: Juan Carlos, grandson of Alfonso XIII, is proclaimed King. Franco had designated him in 1969 as his official successor.

- July 1976: Juan Carlos nominates former Franco-Minister Adolfo Suarez as chief of government

- April 1977: Legalisation of PCE, which accepts monarchy, free market, and abandons its request of prosecuting Francoist crimes, and dissolution of the remaining institutions of the "Movimiento Nacional"

- June 1977: First democratic elections – won by the conservative coalition "Union de Centro Democratico" (UDC), second place for the Socialists (PSOE) under Felipe Gonzalez, ahead of the Communist Party (PCE)

- December 1978: Proposal for constitution accepted by 87,1% of the voting population in referendum, and the new, democratic Constitution comes into effect

- April 1979: First municipal elections, PSOE becomes strongest political force, especially in the big cities

- 23.2.1981: Attempt and collapse of a military coup led by Lieutenant-Colonel Antonio Tejero

- October 1982: The PSOE wins the general elections, Felipe Gonzales becomes chief of government

1.1.5. The development of democratic Spain (1982 until today)

→ Some characteristics and events of this period:

- Political alternance between the two dominating parties: on the one hand the governments led by the social-democrat PSOE, from 1982 to 1996, led by Felipe Gonzales, and from 2004 to 2011, led by Jose Luis Zapatero; on the other hand the governments led by the conservative "People's Party" (PP), from 1996 – 2004, led by Jose Maria Aznar, and since 2011, led by Mariano Rajoy

- 1986: Spain joins the European Economic Community, and decides per referendum to stay in the NATO (which Spain had joined in 1982)

- A strong economic development especially in the 1990s, and severely hit by the economical crisis 2008-2013

- The permanence of the dispute around autonomy-status and independence movements of certain regions, especially Catalonia and Basque country ("peripheric nationalism" against "central nationalism")

- The appearance of new political parties and movements, as *Podemos*, founded in 2014

1.2. Reading recommendations regarding the history of Spain in the 20th Century, with a special emphasis on the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939

1.2.1. Basic overviews / introductions

- Pierre Vilar, *Histoire de l'Espagne, Que sais-je*, 2009 (first published in 1947, now the 22nd (revised) edition); English version: *Spain. A brief history*, Pergamon Oxford, 1967 (a classic)

- Pierre Vilar, *La guerre d'Espagne, Que sais-je*, 2013

- Helen Graham, *The Spanish Civil War. A very short introduction*, Oxford University Press, 2005 ; German translation: *Der Spanische Bürgerkrieg*, Stuttgart, Reclam, 2008

1.2.2. Going deeper

- Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*. London, Harper Collins, 2012. Reviews of the book:

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/mar/09/spanish-holocaust-paul-preston-review>

<https://newrepublic.com/article/102134/spanish-holocaust-francisco-franco>

- On the participation of Yugoslav volunteers in the International Brigades see Vjeran Pavlakovic, *Yugoslav volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, Belgrade, 2016, available as pdf:

<http://www.rosalux.rs/all/yugoslav-volunteers-spanish-civil-war>

- A series of books (contemporary accounts, academic books, contemporary novels) in English about the Spanish civil war, recommended by a Spanish website:

<https://www.thelocal.es/20160718/spanish-civil-war-books-must-read-best>

- A comprehensive list of films about the Spanish civil war and the Franco-years:

<http://www.imdb.com/list/ls052786052/>

- Another list of films, with trailers of the movies:

<https://theculturetrip.com/europe/spain/articles/5-films-that-tell-you-about-the-spanish-civil-war/>

2.1. Legacies and memories of the Spanish Civil War, from 1939 until today: Basic info

2.1.1. Under Franco: An imposed and aggressive narrative about Victory and Peace

2.1.1.1. The Francoist memory of the Victory (1939-1950/1960s)

→ Some characteristics: elimination of any positive memory of the Second Republic, demonization of the Second Republic, presented as time of chaos and terror, dominated by Communists and Anarchists / the war presented as *Alzamiento Nacional* (national uprising) or as *Cruzada*, as crusade “for God and Spain” against communism. One-sided, aggressive victory-narrative ; strong dichotomy between victors and defeated: most of the dead of the winners are exhumed, honoured and commemorated, while the defeated cannot bury their dead and are presented, persecuted and judged as the only ones who committed crimes and as those who are guilty for everything.

2.1.1.2. The partial shift from “Victory” to “Peace” (1950/60s-1975)

→ Some characteristics: While the aggressive victors/vanquished-discourse continues to prevail, it is partially attenuated by a more conciliating peace-discourse, which partially includes the idea of “shared guilt” between different sides, but which continues to be very one-sided and to refuse the expression of Republican memories. Leitmoto: “Franco is the one who brought peace and reconciliation to Spain which has until then always been divided by violence”

2.1.2. Dealing with the past during the transition to democracy (1975 – 1978/1981/1982): Towards the “pact of silence”

→ Some characteristics:

- A short period of vivid and public controversies about the past ; starting of first economical support measures to different categories of beneficiaries of the Republican side, and some exhumations of mass graves are carried out but they basically stop in 1981.

- The Amnesty Law from 15.10.1977: decision for de-facto-impunity regarding past crimes, voted by governmental and opposition parties. The Amnesty Law was not so important for political prisoners of this time - 89 political prisoners remained at this time and were subsequently liberated – , but for political, judicial and symbolic reasons: It put on the same level crimes of Francoism and crimes committed by the Republicans, and de facto shielded any Franco-era crime (not only during the war,

but also for the entire dictatorship) from being put under trial. Result is that until today no trial has been undertaken in Spain for crimes committed by the Franco-regime.

- The attempted putsch of 23.2.1981 (23-F) reinvigorates the fears of a recurrence of the civil war.

2.1.3. The political “neutralization” of the past in the 1980s and 1990s: The “pact of silence” in action

→ Some characteristics

- In the political sphere avoidance to tackle the war and dictatorship ; attempts not to attack the Francoist memories, but to neutralize and ignore them. Examples: the celebration of 1st April "Day of Victory" during the Franco era is changed to "Armed Forces Day" ; Francoist public memorials, such as the Valley of the Fallen, are not used any more for official occasions (but remain sites of pilgrimage for Francoists) ; no official commemoration around the 18.7.1986, 50th anniversary of the beginning of the civil war

- Some timid governmental measures in the field of memory politics, for example 1984 law which gives a rent also to former Republican soldiers

- Measures of de-francoisation of the public space (for example renaming of streets) are left to the municipalities and regions, and are rarely undertaken, except in regions which regained their autonomy and with a strong Republican heritage understanding, as in Basque country and in Catalonia

- Absence of political debates and controversies about the past, but in the same time development of a strong cultural production about the recent past (books, tv-series, congresses, etc.), including academic research.

2.1.4. Challenging the “pact of silence” and the development of strong memory controversies (end of the 1990s until today): the “memory movement” and the revival of Francoist memories

→ Some characteristics:

- Development of the *movimiento memorialista / memory-movement* (also called movement for “the recovery of historical memory”) since the year 2000, carried out by families of the victims and many different associations and initiatives on civil society level, partially in (political) competition with each other, and which became the decisive factor for re-opening the question of dealing with the Spanish Civil War and the Franco-dictatorship.

- Exhumations of mass graves of victims of the Francoist repression as one crucial activity of many of these associations (some rare associations also including Francoist victims of the Republicans who had not been exhumed during the Franco-era). Between 2000 and 2012, more than 300 mass graves have been exhumed and more than 5.700 bodies have been recovered.

- Historical Memory Law from 2007, passed under the PSOE-government, against the fierce opposition of the PP: first comprehensive political attempt in democratic Spain to actively tackle the legacies of the Civil War and Francoism through a series of measures, regulating for example the financial support of the state for exhumations and the removal of Francoist symbols. The Law was/is criticized by some as too moderate, even more as it was implemented very cautiously, while others accused the Law to be divisive for Spain and to re-open old wounds.

- Shifting of governmental commitment with arrival of the PP-government in 2011: Between 2006 and 2012 all together 25,1 Millions Euro had been given by the State for memory work, from which 8,1 millions for exhumations. In 2012, the budget is shortened by 60%, and totally suppressed in 2013.

- Failed attempts by judge Baltasar Garzon to challenge judicial impunity and to carry out trials for Francoist crimes

- Revival of Francoist / nationalist revisionist narratives about the past, started already in the 1990s, around the following discourse: The war had been wanted and provoked by the Left, Franco did not fight against democracy but against a revolution which was already ongoing and which was sponsored by Stalin.

- Numerous beatifications and canonizations of catholic “martyrs” - victims of Republican repression during the Civil war – by the Catholic Church

- Further development of academic research in Spain, especially on the repression of the Franco-regime

- International involvements in the debate, for example February 2012: the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights demands the 1977 Amnesty Law to be repealed on the basis that it violates international human rights law.

2.2. Legacies and memories of the Spanish Civil War, from 1939 until today: Reading recommendations

2.2.1. News-articles about the ongoing disputes on the Francoist legacies in Spain:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/29/national-museum-spanish-civil-war-barcelona> (“Eighty years on, Spain may at last be able to confront the ghosts of civil war”: Article in *The Guardian* from May 2016)

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34844939> (“Spain feels Franco's legacy 40 years after his death » : Article by Paul Preston from 2015)

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/28/spain-lingering-legacy-franco> (“Spain and the lingering legacy of Franco”: Article in *The Guardian* from 2011)

https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/20/world/europe/in-spain-civil-war-legacy-continues-to-divide-politics-and-streets.html?_r=0 (“Civil War Legacy Continues to Divide Spain’s Politics and Its Streets”: Article in the *New York Times* from 2015)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvBhbnd69mA> (“Franco’s ghost”: TV-report (15 min.) from *ABC Australia* made in April 2007, the year the Spanish Parliament discussed and ratified the “Historical Memory Law”)

2.2.2. Going deeper:

- Paloma Aguilar and Clara Ramirez-Barat, "Past Injustices, Memory Politics and Transitional Justice in Spain" (published in 2016): an overview about the evolutions and different aspects of memory politics and transitional justice in Spain from Franco's death in 1975 until today, here accessible as pdf:

<http://www.iemed.org/publicacions/historic-de-publicacions/monografies/sumaris-fotos-monografies/memory-politics-transitional-justice-aguilar-paloma-ramirez-barat-clara.pdf>

- Giles Tremlett : *Ghosts of Spain: Travels Through Spain and Its Silent Past*, 2nd edition 2012: Journalistic inquiry of today’s Spain by the *Guardian*-correspondent to Spain, the relation of the Spanish society to the Civil War being the starting point of his journey. Here two reviews:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/01/books/review/wildman.t.html>

<https://spaininlondonblog.wordpress.com/2012/03/25/ghosts-of-spain-by-giles-tremlett-2nd-edition/>

- In German language: Georg Pichler, “Gegenwart der Vergangenheit. Die Kontroverse um Bürgerkrieg und Diktatur in Spanien » (“The Presence of the Past. The Controversy about Civil War and Dictatorship in Spain”), Rotbuchverlag, Zürich, 2012 : This book gathers portraits/interviews of different actors of the current memory debate in Spain as well as overview-texts about the most discussed topics, and provides therefore a very good panorama about the memory-discussion in today’s Spain. Here a review of the book (in German) :

http://www.deutschlandradiokultur.de/spaniens-verdraengte-erinnerung.1270.de.html?dram:article_id=242082

- Website about a comprehensive research project on the impact of the exhumations of mass graves from the Spanish Civil War in contemporary Spain, led by one of our speakers, the anthropologist Francisco (Paco) Ferrandiz: www.politicadela memoria.org

3. Glossary: Important terms and names regarding the Spanish Civil War and its memories

1st April: End of the war in 1939, celebrated in Francoist Spain as “Day of Victory”, sometimes also as “Day of Peace”, and changed in the 1980s into "Armed Forces Day".

14th April: Refers to the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931, most important memorial day for the Antifrancoists until today (but no official holiday)

18th July: Day of the military coup in 1936, became Spanish national holiday in 1939 and remained as such during the Franco-dictatorship. It was abandoned as national holiday in democratic Spain, which celebrates as national holidays the 12th October (related to the day in 1492 when Christopher Columbus first set foot in the Americas), and the 6th December as Constitution Day (referring to 1978, when on this day the new constitution of democratic Spain was approved by referendum).

23-F: Name given to the attempted putsch that began on 23 February 1981 and which collapsed the following day. Led by Francoist officers against the young democratic regime which had been established some years earlier. 23-F is generally seen as a major reason for perpetuating the « the Pact of Silence », as the coup was set in parallel with the military insurrection from 1936 and alimeted the fears of the recurrence of the Civil War.

Alcazar de Toledo: fortress nearby Madrid, became in Francoist narratives one of the symbols of Francoist heroism because of the successful defense of the fortress against Republican troops between July and September 1936.

Amnesty Law 1977: Following the democratic elections of June 1977 (the first elections after the end of the dictatorship) the first law approved by parliament was an Amnesty Law which applied not only to pro-democratic political prisoners but also de-facto provided impunity to the perpetrators of crimes ordered by the dictatorship. This law is still valid today and is often considered as the quintessence of ‘national reconciliation’ in Spain.

Anarchists: One of the major forces of resistance against the Nationalists during the Civil War. It’s strongest organization was the trade union CNT, with Barcelona being one of their strongholds. Partially supporting and partially opposing the Republican government.

Antonio Tejero: Officer who led the failed 23-F putsch in 1981 against the newly established democracy.

Arriba Espana! (Get up Spain!): characteristic call of the Francoist Spain, together with the upheld right arm.

“Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory” (*Asociacion para la Recuperacion de la Memoria Historica* - ARMH): created in 2000 by Emilio Silva, and pioneer of the *memory-movement* : it was the first association to advocate the exhumation of mass graves of Franco’s victims and was followed by many other associations. Continues to carry out exhumations and to be an important actor in the public debate about Francoist legacies, and is critical towards the Transition of the 1970s and the idealizing discourses about the Transition.

Badajoz: Town close to the Portuguese border, where mass murders of 2.000 - 4.000 Republican prisoners were carried in August 1936 in the bullfight arena of the town by Nationalist troops of General Yague after they had conquered the town. Became one of the major symbols of the brutality of the Francoist repression.

Baltasar Garzon: Spanish judge who tried – unsuccessfully – in 2008 to challenge the Amnesty Law from 1977 and to to bring to trial crimes of the Francoist repression related to the disappearance of

tens of thousands of people during Franco-era, and which he qualified as crimes against humanity. His initiative sparked strong political and judicial reactions against him, and he was suspended from judicial activity in Spain in 2010.

Burgos: city in northern Spain and the historic capital of Castile, and base of the Nationalist governments during the Spanish Civil War.

Caídos por Dios y por España (Fallen for God and for Spain): Designation used in Francoist Spain for the Nationalists who died during the battles or as victims of the repression by the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War, present for example on numerous memorial plaques placed throughout Spain during the Franco-dictatorship.

Caudillo: “*El caudillo* » (*The leader*) is the term which officially designated Franco since October 1936, a term similar to *Il duce* for Benito Mussolini and *Der Führer* for Adolf Hitler. Franco kept this designation as term associated to his name during his whole reign. By his supporters, Franco continues to be remembered as *Caudillo*.

CNT - *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* / National Confederation of Labour : Spanish confederation of anarcho-syndicalist labour unions which was long affiliated with the AIT – *Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores* /International Workers Association.. When working with the latter group it was also known as CNT-AIT. Throughout its history, the CNT has played a major role in the Spanish labor movement, and also during the Spanish Civil War, where it was one of the major forces against the Nationalists and carried out a social revolution in the territories where it was dominating, as in Catalonia.

Emilio Silva Barrera: Born in 1965, journalist, his grandfather Emilio Silva Faba was murdered by the Nationalists in 1936 and buried along the road, before he was exhumated by his grand son in 2000. One of the founders of the “Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory », and one of the most important voices of the “historical memory”-movement.

Falange, in full: *Falange Española* (“Spanish Phalanx”): Extreme nationalist political group inspired by Italian fascism, created in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, which became one of the pillars of the Nationalist movement against the Republic during the Spanish Civil War. It was merged by Franco in 1937 with traditionalist, clericalist and monarchist groups into one unique organisation under Franco’s control, in which the fascism of the Falange was partially counterbalanced by more conservative tendencies, but it remained a crucial political and ideological factor in the *Movimiento Nacional*, especially in the first phase of the Franco-dictatorship.

Fundacion Nacional Francisco Franco (FNFF): Created in 1978 in order to keep up the memory of Franco. Presided by the lawyer Jaime Alonso Garcia, one of the main instigators of the judicial investigations against Baltasar Garzon.

Generalitat de Catalunya: Catalan term designating the government of Catalonia (today and in the past). The *Generalitat* of Catalonia as an institution was abolished after the victory of the Nationalists in 1939 and was restored during the transition to democracy after 1975.

Guernica: The Basque town of Guernica was bombed in April 1937 by aircraft from Nazi Germany (Legion Condor) and fascist Italy, and became a symbol of the devastation caused by war. The raids constituted one of the first systematic aerial bombing campaigns to be conducted against civilians. Shortly afterwards, Pablo Picasso chose the bombing as topic for the mural painting for the 1937-World’s Fair in Paris for which the Republican government had commissioned him.

“Historical Memory” (*Memoria historica*) / “Recovery of the Historical Memory” (*Recuperacion de la memoria historica*): Central term within the discourses of the multifaceted memory-movement which, since the 2000s, is challenging the “pact of silence”, the equalization of Francoism and

Republicanism and/or the one-sided Francoist memory-domination. The term itself is sometimes criticized because mixing history and memory.

Historical Memory Law (*Ley de Memoria Historica*): announced in July 2004 by the PSOE-led government, finally ratified the 26.12.2007, after long controversies and against fierce opposition of the PP. The Historical Memory Law (formally titled "Law 52/2007, which recognizes and expands the rights, and establishes measures in favour of those who suffered persecution or violence during the Civil War and the dictatorship") mainly regulates four different issues: reparations, the exhumation of mass graves, the removal of Francoist symbols, and the question of access to archives. The law has been differently assessed within the *memory-movement*: some see it is an important step, as for the first time the government passed a comprehensive law which tackles the legacies of the Francoist past on different levels, while others see mainly the short-comings: it did not challenge the impunity established by the 1977 Amnesty Law, and left in the hands of civil society actors the exhumation of mass graves (who can apply for state-funding), instead of putting in place a nationally coordinated policy. After its ratification the Law was very cautiously implemented by the PSOE-government. After the return into power of the PP in 2011, the PP-government first lowered and then totally suppressed the budgetary allocations related to the implementation of the Law.

International Brigades: During the Spanish Civil War, the Republicans were supported by numerous international brigades consisting of more than 30.000 volunteers from more than 50 countries, among them nearly 2.000 volunteers from Yugoslavia. They were mainly controlled by the Communist International (Comintern) with the aim to assist the Popular Front government of the Spanish Republic.

José Antonio Primo de Rivera: Founder of the *Falange Espanola*. Executed by the Republican government in November 1936. Became in Francoist ideology a martyr of the "crusade against Marxism », designed by his supporters as *El Ausente* (The Missing One) In 1959 his mortal remains were exhumed and re-interred in the newly erected basilica of the Valley of the Fallen.

Juan Negrin: Moderated socialist leader who became Spanish Prime Minister in 1937, throughout the remainder of the war, and served as premier in exile until 1945. He died in exile in Paris in 1956.

Manuel Azana: Republican politician and last President of the Spanish Republic, died in 1940 in exile in France, buried in the town of Montauban. Important symbol for Republican discourses, since the 1990s also partially honoured by the PP.

May Days: Term which refers to a series of violent clashes beginning of May 1937, when different groups of the Republican side engaged each other in street battles in various parts of Catalonia, especially in Barcelona.

Movimiento (Movement) or *Movimiento Nacional* (National Movement): Central term under which the Nationalist camp under Franco designated itself, especially after Franco's unification of the falangist, traditionalist, clericalist and monarchist groups in one political organization in 1937. After the end of the war, the *Movimiento* remained the central and all-controlling political, sociopolitical and ideological structure of the Franco-dictatorship.

Movimiento memorialista / memory-movement: Term designating the numerous initiatives on civil society level which developed since the year 2000, partially in (political) competition with each others, but in general aiming for a revision of the dominant discourses on the past, for a stronger commitment of the state in this field, and for the social recognition of the victims of the Francoist repression.

Nationalists: General term for those who fought against the Second Spanish Republic during the Civil War following the military uprising from July 1936. See also *Movimiento Nacional*.

No pasaran (“They shall not pass”): Republican slogan used during the Spanish Civil War, popularized for example by the speech « No pasaran » which *La Pasionaria* Dolores Ibarruri held in 1936 during the siege of Madrid.

“Pact of Silence“: Term used to describe the dominating political attitude developing after the end of the dictatorship among the Francoist successors and the democratic opposition, and which was continued in the 1980s and 1990s under the PSOE and PP-governments. It is not a formally signed “Pact”, more an implicit agreement of government and opposition parties to leave the past behind and to avoid the thorniest aspects of the Civil War and the Francoist repression, with the main argument to uphold social peace. One of its strongest illustrations is the Amnesty Law from 1977.

Paracuellos: Little town nearby Madrid, where in late 1936 were killed more than 2.000 prisoners made by the Republicans (soldiers, falangists, priests, ...), who had been evacuated there during the Nationalist offensive against Madrid in November 1936. Became in the Francoist narratives one of the symbols of the “red terror”, as *matanzas de Paracuellos*, the “bloodbath of Paracuellos”. Until today one of the strongest symbols of the Francoist narrative, upheld for example by the “Association of the families and friends of the victims of the genocide of Paracuellos”. It was the only massacre of this amplitude committed by the Republican forces.

La Pasionara (“*The Passionflower*”): Surname of Dolores Ibarruri, member of the Communist Party of Spain, who earned a legendary reputation as an impassioned orator during the civil war. A dedicated follower of consequent Comintern policies, she later became General Secretary of the PCE, a position she held from 1942 until 1960. She returned from exile to Spain in 1977, shortly after the legalization of the PCE, and remained honorary president of the Spanish Communist Party until her death in 1989.

Pio Moa: born in 1948, former member of the PCE, since the 1990s one of the most vigorous public protagonists of neo-Francoist revisionism. Published in 2003 the book “*Los mitos de la guerra civil*” (The myths of the Civil War) which has become a bestseller and one of the bibles of the Francoists in Spain.

PCE – Spanish Communist Party (*Partido Comunista de España*), became part of the Popular Front-government in 1936. Supported the moderate Republican government against the leftist groups which advocated a social revolution during the civil war. Forbidden during the Franco-dictatorship, legalized again in 1977, when it became one of the political forces supporting the Transition.

PSOE - Spanish Socialist Workers Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*), one of the main forces in the Popular Front-government during the civil war. Banned by Franco in 1939, legalized again in 1977, the PSOE supported the Transition and the Amnesty Law from 1977, and became until the 1990s, also as a government party, a main pillar of the “Pact of Silence”. Under social pressure of the movement for recovery of historical memory the PSOE started to change its position and passed the “Historical Memory Law” in 2007, but remains in general very cautious in dealing with the legacies of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco-dictatorship.

PP -People’s Party (*Partido Popular*): Created in 1989 the PP has become the major conservative party in democratic Spain. Led the government, with Jose Maria Aznar as Prime Minister, from 1996 until 2004, and again since 2011, with Mariano Rajoy as Prime-Minister. Opposed the Historical Memory Law in 2007, arguing for example that exhumations are dividing Spain and are opening old wounds. At a national level, the PP has not yet publicly condemned Franco’s dictatorship in an explicit manner. In May 2013 the PP government was also the only party voting against a parliamentary initiative aimed at establishing 18 July as the “day of the condemnation of Francoism”.

POUM - Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (*Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista*), Dissident communist political party created in 1935, with strongholds in Catalonia. The POUM's independent communist position, including opposition to Stalin, brought it into direct conflict with PCE which

remained loyal to the Comintern. The POUM was one of the military and political forces in Catalonia in the war against the Nationalists and in carrying out the social revolution, until it was crushed by the government forces during the May Days 1937 in Barcelona.

Represaliados: Term used by the *memory-movement* for the victims of repression of the Franco-regime.

Republicans: General term for those who defended the Spanish Republic against the Nationalist forces in the Spanish Civil War, regrouping very different tendencies: liberal and conservative republicans, socialists, communists, anarchists..., partially with very antagonistic positions (also within each group) which led also to violent clashes between them, as during the May Days in Barcelona in 1937. Trade union and workers organisations were especially strong at the beginning of the war in comparison to the republican government.

Retirada (retreat) : Term for mass exodus in February 1939 of soldiers and civilians loyal to the government from Catalonia over the Pyrenees towards France, related to the conquest of Catalonia by the Nationalist forces beginning 1939.

Santiago Carillo: during the Civil War President of the United Socialist Youth and member of the “Junta de Defensa de Madrid” against the Nationalists. Accused of being involved in the mass murders of Paracuellos, his exact role remaining unclear and controversial, but he is therefore until today presented in Nationalist narratives as mass-murderer. Became 1960 Secretary General of the exiled PCE, and was from 1977 to 1982 the leader of the legalized PCE, supporting the Transition.

Teruel: Town in Southern Aragon where, following a Republican offensive, one of the major battles of the Spanish Civil War took place, between December 1937 and February 1938, with heavy casualties on both sides. The Republicans first succeeded in taking the town, but it was reconquered by the Nationalists some weeks later. The lost battle constituted a heavy blow to the Republicans, morally and materially, and is therefore often considered as an important step towards the final victory of the Nationalists.

The Transition (*La Transición*) : Term which refers to the restoration of democracy in Spain after the death of Franco in 1975. The Transition began shortly after Franco's death on 20 November 1975, while its completion has been variously said to be marked by the Spanish Constitution of 1978, the failure of an attempted coup on 23 February 1981, or the electoral victory of the PSOE on 28 October 1982. Criticized today by the *memory-movement* for its refusal to tackle the legacies of the Franco-repression, while political parties who organized and supported the Transition continue to defend it as an exemplary process which allowed the peaceful alternance from dictatorship to parliamentary monarchy.

Valle de los Caídos / Valley of the Fallen: Central Francoist memory site, built nearby Madrid in the 1940 and 1950s by Republican prisoners, inaugurated in 1957, with a basilica and a mausoleum, one of the biggest catholic churches in the world, and where have been buried, between 1959 and 1983, in 491 actions, 33.833 dead of the Civil War, mainly from the Nationalist side, but not only. After his death in 1975, Franco was buried there, and the 20 November, day of Franco's death, became an annual day of pilgrimage by his supporters. The PSOE-government established in 2011 an Expert Commission for the Future of the Valley of Fallen, which developed several proposals, but the new PP-government refused to follow them. Temporarily closed in 2009, the Valley was reopened for visits in 2012.

4. Infos and links about the sites we will visit

→ The **Ciudad Universitaria de Madrid (University City of Madrid)** is a large university campus built in Madrid between 1929 and 1936, when the Spanish Civil War began. Its scenery and architecture condenses a long span of the history of 20th century Spain: It offers insights into the modernizing projects of the 1920s and 30s, the turbulence of the Civil War, the consolidation and evolution of Franco's dictatorship, and the subsequent transition to democracy. The university campus became a field of battle in the Civil War, and, after the Nationalist victory, a landscape of ruins that have since undergone several phases of reconstruction. When looking closely, the scars of war can still be spotted: shrapnel in the granite plinth of the Faculty of Pharmacy, bunkers in the Parque del Oeste, and the remains of trenches. The victors also left their mark on the campus, as can be clearly seen when confronted with the Franco-era 49 meter-high Victory Arch, built to celebrate the victory of the Nationalists against the Republicans during the Civil War. - Every day, hundreds of thousands of people – mainly students – pass through the Ciudad Universitaria of Madrid.

More info about the Ciudad and current memory debates in Madrid more in general:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jun/06/madrid-history-anti-fascist-resistance>

(Article in the *Guardian* from 2013 about the planned removal of a monument to the International Brigades which had been placed on the University Campus some years earlier)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3zNEe9ITd_c (Report from France 24 in 2016 about current memory controversies in Madrid and elsewhere in Spain, and which talks also about the Valley of the Fallen)

→ **Valle de los Caídos (The Valley of the Fallen)**, the most important Francoist memory site, and the most controversial one, built in the 1950s nearby Madrid, where the remains from more than 30.000 mainly nationalist soldiers have been buried, and in 1975 also Franco himself. In May 2011, the PSOE-led government created an 'Expert Commission for the Future of the Valley of the Fallen', composed of eleven experts; five months later, the Commission submitted a report with several recommendations, all of which except one – the relocation of the remains of Franco in a private cemetery – were agreed upon by all of its members. But the PP-government which came into power in 2011 has so far not implemented these recommendations.

We will be introduced and guided through the site by the anthropologist Paco Ferrandiz, who has been a member of the Expert Commission.

More info about the Valley of the Fallen:

http://elpais.com/elpais/2015/01/16/inenglish/1421412080_290015.html (*El Pais*-article in English from 2015)

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p0512v5k> (BBC-radio-report from May 2017, including statements from Paco Ferrandiz with whom we will visit the Valley)

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/02/spain-monument-franco-divisive-reminder-150203122215875.html> (*Al Jazeera*-article from 2015)

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-14189534> ("Fate of Franco's Valley of Fallen reopens Spain wounds": article in BBC-News from 2011)

<http://spanishsabores.com/2012/03/25/visiting-valle-de-los-caidos-valley-of-the-fallen-spain/> (Personal impressions from a Spanish travel guide)

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/11/its-shameful-for-francos-victims-spanish-mps-agree-to-exhume-dictator> (Article in the *Guardian* from May 2017 about a vote in Spanish Parliament asking to remove Franco's remains from the Valley of the Fallen)

→ **Belchite**: The battle of Belchite in Autumn 1937 was part of the Republican Army's major offensive in Aragon against Franco's troops; the Republican forces, including International Brigades, took Belchite after two weeks of heavy fighting which left the little town heavily destroyed and several thousands killed. Belchite was reconquered by Nationalist troops in April 1938. After the nationalist victory in 1939, Franco gave to the town the epithet "Heroica", and Belchite became in

Francoist narratives a symbol for heroic defense against communism. The town was left destroyed, intended to be a reminder of the damage wrought by the forces of communism on Spain, while Republican prisoners were forced to build a new town next to the ruins. The old town of Belchite remains a ghost town until today while there are ongoing discussions what should happen with this site. More info:

<https://historycompany.co.uk/2012/09/05/what-franco-wanted-us-to-see/> (“What Franco wanted us to see”, article from 2012)

→ **Barcelona**: Catalonia and its capital Barcelona has been one of the strongholds of the Republican camp during the Spanish civil war, with a particular strong influence of anarchist movements, and which became internationally known for example through George Orwell’s “Homage to Catalonia” (first published in 1938). In Barcelona we will visit various memory sites within the town which are linked to the history of the Spanish Republic, the Civil War and the Franco-dictatorship. Many examples can be found on the website:

<http://www.memoriabcn.cat/index.php> from the NGO *Associació Conèixer Història* (Knowing History Association) coordinated by Oriol. About memory sites in Barcelona see also Oriols article “The recovery of memory sites in the city of Barcelona” from 2015, which you can access as pdf-document here:

<http://europeanmemories.net/publications/book-travelling-europe-interdisciplinary-perspectives-on-place-and-space/>

Besides Oriol, our other tour guide through Barcelona will be Nick Lloyd who is also regularly organizing memory walks through Barcelona and who wrote the book “Forgotten Places. Barcelona and the Spanish Civil War”. You can find a review of the book here:

<https://carolineangusbaker.com/2016/05/19/spain-book-review-february-forgotten-places-barcelona-and-the-spanish-civil-war-by-nick-lloyd/>

See also:

<https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2012/jul/22/barcelona-spanish-civil-war-travel>

→ The **La Model-prison in Barcelona** was opened in 1904 and closed some months ago, in June 2017. During the Civil War military personnel implicated in the coup, fascists and right-wingers were held in this prison, and after the May Days in 1937, also militants from CNT, FAI and POUM. With the entry of Franco’s troops into Barcelona on 26 January 1939, it became a center of the Francoist repression policy, and thousands accused of being hostile to the new regime were imprisoned here. It remained a symbol of Francoist repression for the following decades, with “common criminals” and political prisoners being detained here, and executions being carried out also in the late years of dictatorship. In recent years, several associations of former prisoners and historians have requested that a memorial on repression under Franco and the fight for freedoms should be established at the Model prison after the closing of the penitentiary.

More info:

<http://www.catalannews.com/society-science/item/la-model-prison-a-symbol-of-francoist-repression-is-shut-down-in-barcelona> (Article from “Catalan News” from 8.6.2017)

<http://europeanmemories.net/projects/participatory-process-of-transformation-of-the-model-prison-in-a-culture-and-memory-space/> (about EUROM’s call for a participatory process to transform a part of the prison into a space of Culture and Memorial)

→ Our working venue in Barcelona will be the **El Born Cultural and Memorial Centre** in the centre of the city, created by the Barcelona City Council as a space “to encourage and promote the remembrance of local and national events, as well as those affecting communities around the world”. The Centre is housed in a building that was formerly El Born market, which opened in 1876. More info : <http://elbornculturaimemoria.barcelona.cat/en/the-center/>

→ **Memorial-Museum of Exile (MUME) in La Jonquera** (nearby French border): Inaugurated in 2008, the site is focusing on the one hand on museum work, in the form of permanent and temporary

exhibitions, and on the other on historical research and educational dissemination. The main exhibition takes a visual and written journey to the border area of La Jonquera-El Portús (between Catalonia and France) in January and February 1939, a period that saw the mass exodus by supporters of the Spanish Republic in the face of the definitive occupation of Catalonia by Francoist troops. More info:

<http://www.museuexili.cat/index.php?lang=en> (website of the MUME):

<https://temoigner.revues.org/455?lang=en> (text in French language written by the director of the MUME, Jordi Font, and which presents the concept and aims of the Memorial -Museum and places it in its sociopolitical context,

→ **Rivesaltes Memorial** (France): Situated in South-Western France, nearby the Spanish border, the Rivesaltes Camp was opened in 1939 as a military camp, but for the following decades served also for many other purposes, mainly as an internment and detention camp, especially under the Vichy Regime during the Second World War, but also under the 4th and 5th French Republic, until its closure in 2007. Rivesaltes has been linked to the history of the Spanish Civil War several times: following the “Retirada” (the exodus of about half a million refugees from Spain to France in early 1939) some of the Spanish refugees were placed here, and in 1941, Rivesaltes was used by the French State of Vichy as an internment camp for thousands of « undesirable foreigners », especially Spanish Republicans, Jews and Roma. After many delays and controversies, the Memorial of Rivesaltes was finally opened as a Memorial site which tackles the different layers of its history, including the Spanish civil war. It was inaugurated in 2015 by French Prime-Minister Manuel Valls, whose father had been a Republican refugee from Spain – More info:

<http://www.memorialcamprivesaltes.eu/> (website of the Rivesaltes Memorial)

<http://www.memorialmuseums.org/eng/staettens/view/114/Rivesaltes-Memorial-%E2%80%94-Joffre-Camp> (Information Portal to European Sites of Remembrance)

https://elpais.com/elpais/2015/10/20/inenglish/1445343358_762317.html (*El Pais*-article in English from 2015 about the Memorial and the connection between the Rivesaltes camp and the Spanish civil war)

http://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2015/12/07/the_rivesaltes_memorial.html (article on the architecture of the Memorial)



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